

The J. Paul Getty Museum

JOURNAL Volume 14/1986



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Including Acquisitions/1985

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An Archaic Red-Figured Kylix

Dietrich von Bothmer

Among the most recent purchases of the J. Paul Getty Museum is a red-figured kylix (figs. 1a–d)¹ that deserves closer study for a variety of reasons. The fairly large cup is complete. Broken in only three or four places and skillfully repaired, nothing is missing, and what little damage there is is limited to the fractures. The entire outside is devoted to athletes training in the palaestra, or stadium. On one half of the exterior, reading from left to right, five boys or youths are being kept quite busy: two of them, the first and fourth, practice the diskos-throw; two others, the second and the fifth, carry a single jumping weight in their left hands. These four are nude; a fifth boy, his garment tied around his waist, is placed next to the right handle. He bends over to the left with a pick in his hands, about to loosen the ground for the jumpers so that they will not break their legs or sprain their ankles when they complete their jumps. The sixth figure, also a boy or youth, plays the flutes—the normal musical accompaniment for athletes training. As a performer, he wears the festive garb of a musician, a long sleeveless garment, and the φορβειά is firmly secured over his lips, his earlobes, and his nape and held steady by a strap that goes over his ears and the top of his head. To soften the contrast between the nude athletes and the draped musician, the artist has rendered the garment as if it were transparent, revealing the outlines of his shoulders, back, buttocks, legs, and genitals. His knees are slightly bent, and the heel of his right foot is raised off the ground; he is swaying to the sound of his own music and keeping time with his right foot. Behind the musician, two pairs of javelins are lashed together in the middle by their thongs and set firmly in the ground at an angle that forms a cross. These javelins may be intended for another exercise, either by the athletes on this side of the cup or by the five bearded men on the other half of the exterior.

Four of the five men pictured on the other side are busy with javelins. The first tightens the thongs by holding the javelin (the akontion) at an angle against the ground, with the index and middle fingers of his right hand slipped through the loop, while the left hand lightly fingers the other end of the javelin. Presently he will push the akontion

farther into the ground, thus tightening the thong that is wound around the middle of the projectile. The three men in front of him are portrayed in different phases of the actual throw: the one on the far right has bent his legs and looks around; the one in the middle, still looking back, has raised the javelin to the level of his shoulder and has begun to run. The next phase is shown by the man who is about to throw the akontion from a leaping position, his left arm extended and almost horizontal for better balance. Now the gaze is forward, toward the end of the stadium where he hopes his spear will land. The last bearded figure on this side of the cup, near handle B/A, is on a farther plane, between the foremost akontist and an altar. He takes a big stride to the left, a diskos (emblazoned with an owl, as often on Attic vases) in his raised left hand, looking around at the boys or youths on the other side of the handle. The empty space between the diskos and the handle and above the altar is filled with a suspended aryballos to which a sponge has been attached.

The amorous encounter of a man and a boy on the inside of the cup is only indirectly connected with the athletic scenes on the exterior. The tondo is bordered by a single reserved circle; an exergue, left reserved, furnishes a shared horizontal groundline for the two figures. On the right, a slender boy sits on a block seat, his legs crossed. His long chiton is lowered to his hips and wrapped around his thighs, with the upper part of the garment spread across his lap. Both his arms reach toward the head of his older friend, as if to pull it down for a kiss. The man, clearly qualifying as an ἐραστής, approaches gingerly on tiptoe, his bent left arm reaching over the shoulder of the boy for his head and his right held somewhat stiffly in back of his body. The man wears a very short chlamys fastened over his left shoulder; he is intended to be shown leaning on his knobby walking stick, but the painter has forgotten to continue it all the way down to the ground, behind the thighs of the seated boy. At first one might be somewhat shocked by the expression on his face, until one realizes that all the figures on this cup share a somewhat sullen look: a tight, small mouth above a pugnacious chin and below a sneering

1. Accession number 85.AE.25. Published here at the kind invitation of Marion True. I also wish to thank Joan R. Mertens for reading

the manuscript and making some suggestions.



Figure 1a. Cup by the Carpenter Painter. Tondo. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 85.AE.25.



Figure 1b. Cup by the Carpenter Painter. Profile, side B. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 85.AE.25.

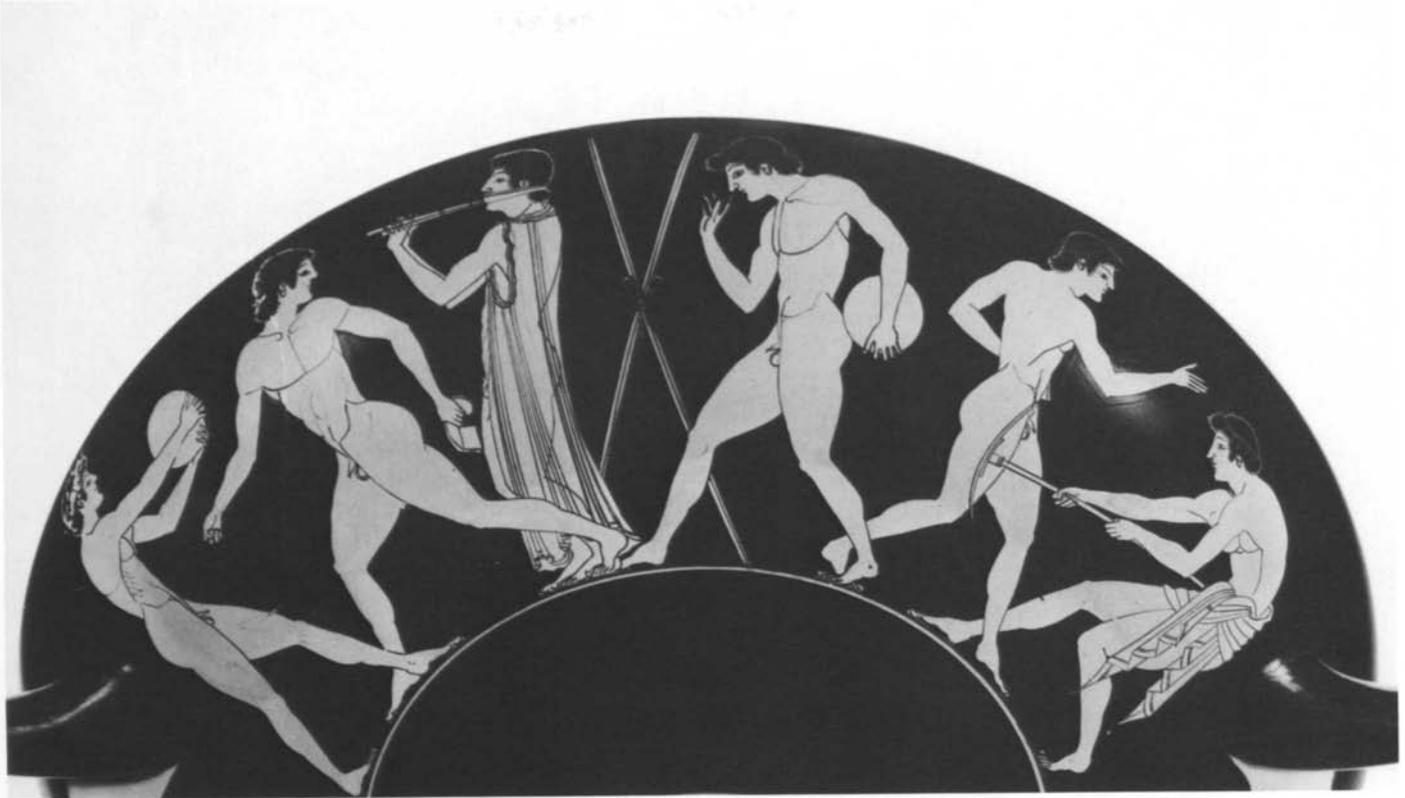


Figure 1c. Cup by the Carpenter Painter. Side A. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 85.AE.25.

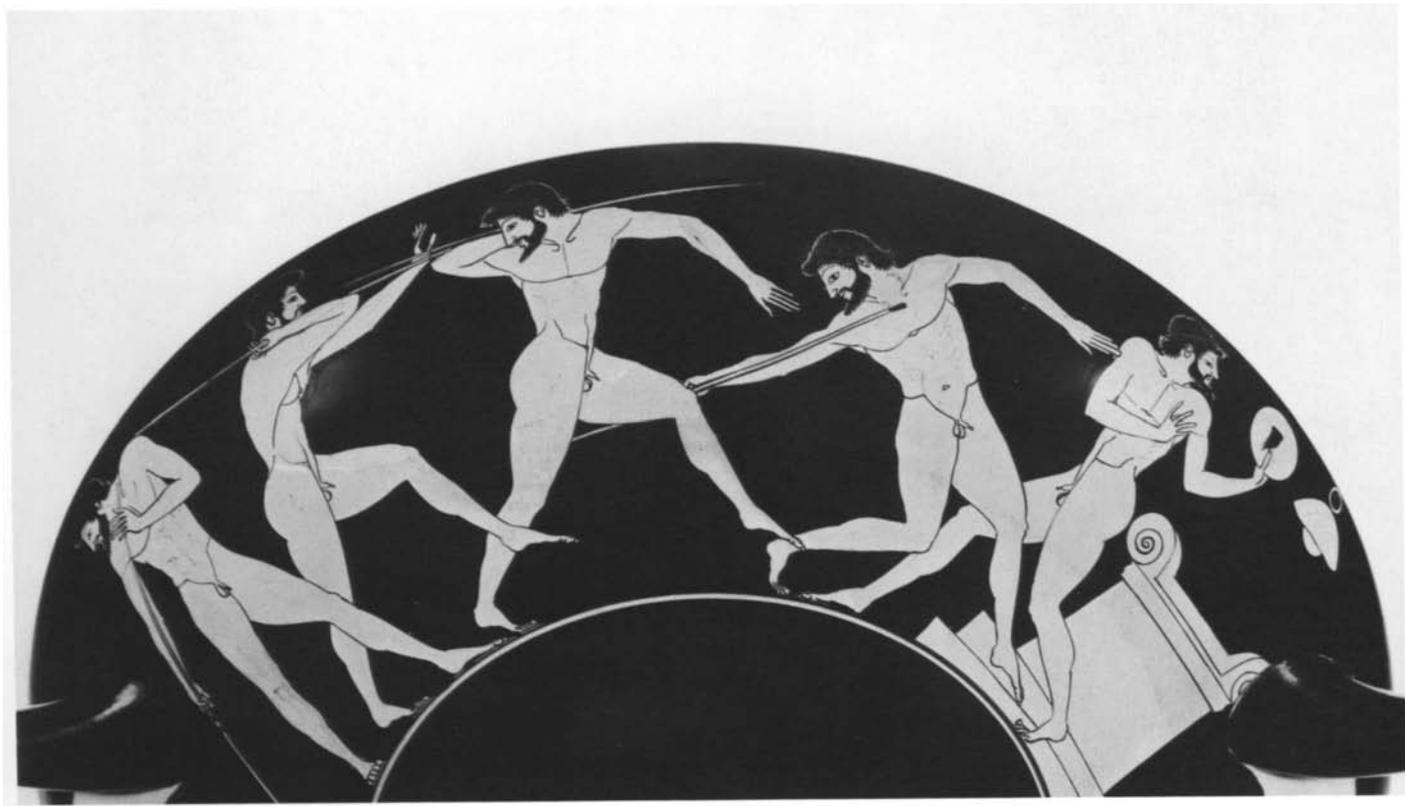


Figure 1d. Cup by the Carpenter Painter. Side B. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 85.AE.25.



Figures 2a–d. Psykter by Oltos. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 10.210.18.

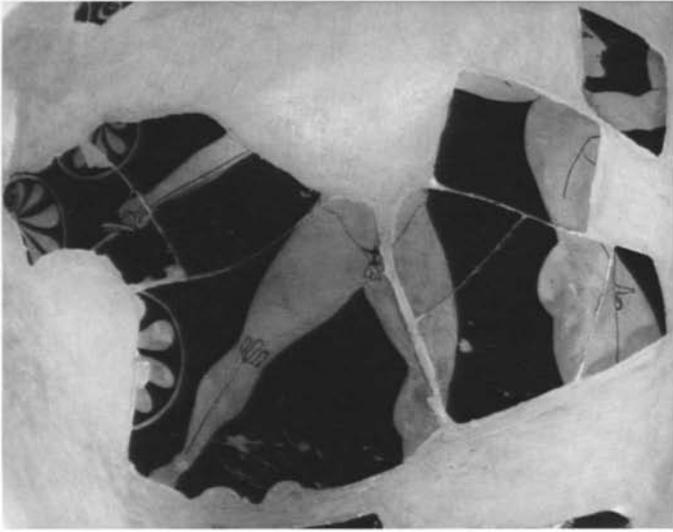


Figure 3a. Detail of a fragmentary stamnos by Euphronios. Leipzig, Antikenmuseum der Karl-Marx Universität T 523.

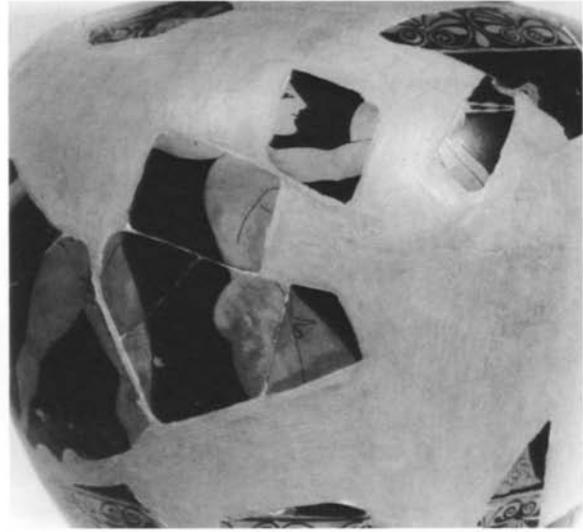


Figure 3b. Detail of a fragmentary stamnos by Euphronios. Leipzig, Antikenmuseum der Karl-Marx Universität T 523.

nostril. Such grim determination may be normal in athletes bent on winning in their competitions, but it is somewhat disappointing to observe that they cannot relax when engaged in other pursuits.

The distinction between men and boys on the two halves of the exterior is surely deliberate, for in most of the ancient athletic competitions, the boys, youths, and men trained and competed separately. The diskos-throw, the javelin-throw, and the jump are three of the five events that were part of the pentathlon, and a diskobolos, an akontist, and a jumper figure prominently on the Oltos psykter in New York (figs. 2a–d),² that also gives us a flute-player. The reverse of the N. B. Hunt krater by Euphronios³ shows a flute-player, a youth loosening the ground with a pick, two akontists, one of whom tightens the thongs, and another athlete—now all but lost—who may have been a jumper. On his stamnos in Leipzig, (figs. 3a–c),⁴ Euphronios limits himself to an akontist, a diskos-thrower, and a flute-player. A diskobolos and a javelin-thrower appear as single figures on the two sides of his neck-amphora in the Louvre (figs. 4a–b),⁵ while on Euphronios' kalpis in Dresden (fig. 5),⁶ an akontist and a flute-player are shown together, without other figures, separated by a pick with one point driven into the ground between them. A famous psykter by Phintias, in Boston,⁷ concentrates on akontists and a pair of wrestlers; another psykter in a Swiss private collection (figs.



Figure 3c. Detail of a fragmentary stamnos by Euphronios. Leipzig, Antikenmuseum der Karl-Marx Universität T 523.

6a–e)⁸ is more ambitious by including not only wrestlers (two pairs), an akontist, a pick on the ground, a diskos-thrower, two boxers tying the protective thongs around their hands and wrists, and a bearded flute-player, but also, evocative of the Oltos psykter in New York, a man crowning a victorious boy athlete with a fillet.

2. J. D. Beazley, *Attic Red-figure Vase-painters*² (Oxford, 1963) (hereafter abbreviated ARV²), p. 54, no. 7.

3. *Wealth of the Ancient World*, ex. cat. (Fort Worth, Texas, Kimbell Art Museum, 1983), p. 59.

4. ARV², p. 15, no. 8.

5. ARV², p. 15, no. 10.

6. ARV², p. 16, no. 13.

7. ARV², p. 24, no. 11.

8. ARV², p. 1623, Pezzino Group no. 3. bis.

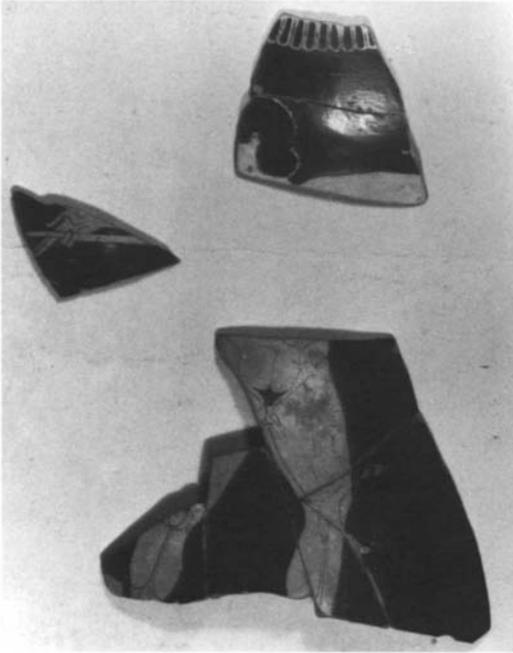


Figure 4a. Fragments of a neck-amphora by Euphronios. Paris, Musée du Louvre Cp 11071. Photo: Giroux.



Figure 4b. Fragments of a neck-amphora by Euphronios. Paris, Musée du Louvre Cp 11071. Photo: Giroux.

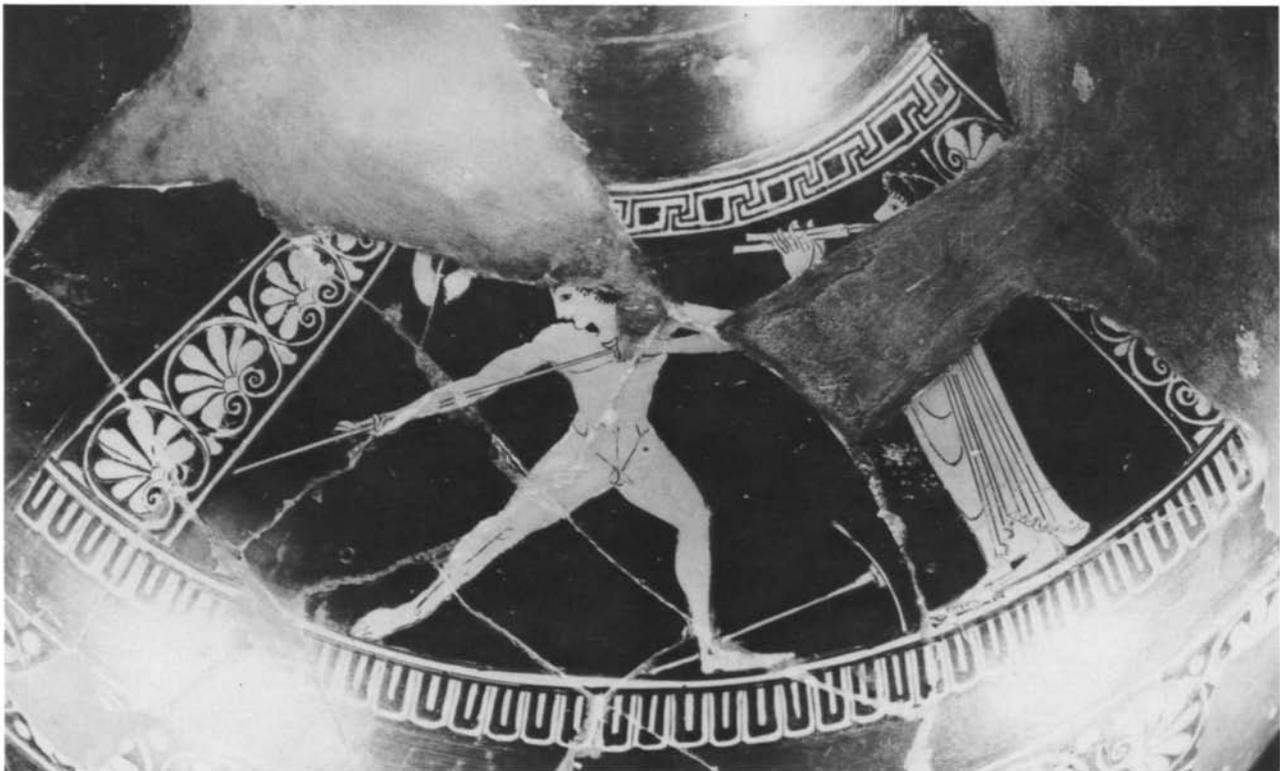


Figure 5. Kalpis by Euphronios. Detail of shoulder. Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen (Albertinum) Z.V. 925. Photo: Joan Mertens.



Figures 6a–b. Details of a psykter by a member of the Pezzino Group. Swiss private collection. Photo: author.



Figures 6c–d. Details of a psykter by a member of the Pezzino Group. Swiss private collection. Photo: author.



Figure 6e. Detail of a psykter by a member of the Pezzino Group. Swiss private collection. Photo: author.

Many another athletic comparison can be adduced, but these examples help to establish the ground shared by the Getty cup—the vases of the Pioneer Group. When first exhibited in the J. Paul Getty Museum in the spring of 1985, the cup was labeled with a provisional attribution to Euthymides, and, as we shall see, there is a touch of Euthymides in the drawing. The cup, however, is not by him but by a younger colleague, the Carpenter Painter, who in Beazley’s *ARV* and *ARV*² has been assigned a relatively minor role. In the first edition of *ARV* (pp. 90–91, 950), he is the last of the individual painters in chapter 3 (“Early Archaic Cup-painters, I”); in the second edition he reappears as the last of the “Other Early Red-figure Cup-painters,” toward the end of chapter 13 in Book II. As Beazley explained in the preamble to this chapter:

Hardly necessary to say that the vases in this chapter do



Figure 7. Cup by the Carpenter Painter. Tondo. London, The British Museum E 23.



Figure 8. Kalpis by the Carpenter Painter. Detail of shoulder. Vatican. Photo: Alinari/Art Resource, New York 35841.

not form a group. They are smaller batches, some early, some later; some by good painters, some not; some connected more or less closely with artists described in previous chapters, others not seen to be so.

In *ARV* the Carpenter Painter follows the Kiss Painter (on pp. 90–91), but in *ARV*² the Salting Painter (who in the first edition had preceded the Kiss Painter) was recognized as being akin to the Carpenter Painter and hence was placed between the Kiss Painter and the Carpenter Painter

on pp. 178–179. The new cup in the Getty affects the relationship among these three painters, but first the attribution of the Getty vase has to be substantiated. The nude athletes on this cup supply countless anatomical details as well as conventions of compositions. In the tondo of the Carpenter Painter's name-piece, London E 23 (fig. 7),⁹ we encounter the same treatment of the clavicles and pectorals as on the interior of the Getty cup. The turned-down corner of the mouth, the line of the scapha of the ear, the toes, and the contours of feet and legs all can be matched. The carpenter's nipple on his left breast is somewhat misplaced and exaggerated, but so are the nipples of the boy in the Getty tondo. The carpenter's red wreath, with undulating stem and detached, strokelike foliage, is surely painted by the same hand that put wreaths on every head of the Getty cup, and the convention of the garment pattern, two lines close together a little above the edge, as well as the way the garment is tied at the level of the hips, is shared by the carpenter in London and the boy with the pick in the Getty.

The second vase attributed by Beazley to the Carpenter Painter is a cup in the Faina collection in Orvieto.¹⁰ Here the satyr in the tondo has the same nipples as the seated boy in the Getty, and the long, slender fingers of the satyr bring to mind the hands of the two friends in the tondo of the new cup. The outside of the Orvieto cup is incompletely preserved, but we can make out several komasts, with mantles over their shoulders, of whom the second carries an empty calyx krater braced against his thigh. A lampstand appears between the first and the second reveler. The garments, as is to be expected, are decorated with twin lines, set off a short distance from and parallel to the edge.

The third vase attributed by Beazley to the Carpenter Painter is not a cup but a kalpis (fig. 8).¹¹ In the panel on the shoulder, a young hunter wearing a petasos and a chlamys has wounded a huge boar with his spear and has thrown stones at the beast. Now the boar charges, and the only weapon left is the sword in the right hand of the youth. His left arm is protected by the chlamys in the traditional fashion of hunters. Ear, mouth, pectorals, and toes are drawn as expected, but the clavicles are hidden by the chlamys. On the other hand, we gain the line of the groin, which seems to stand halfway between the groin of the Orvieto satyr, drawn in a rather soft line, and the pronounced angularity of the groins on the exterior of the Getty cup.

The pelvic line of the hunter recurs on three vases that Beazley¹² has put "near the Carpenter Painter": a fragmentary cup in Paris (Louvre Cp 11230 bis, *ARV*² p. 179, near

9. *ARV*², p. 179, no. 1.

10. *ARV*², p. 179, no. 2.

11. *ARV*², p. 179, no. 3.

12. *ARV*², p. 179.

13. *ARV*², p. 178.

14. *Greek Vases: Molly and Walter Bareiss Collection*, ex. cat. (Malibu, 1983), p. 80, no. 166.

15. *ARV*², p. 83, no. 13.

foot, no. 2), a cup in Boston (figs. 9a–b; *ARV*² p. 179, near foot, no. 1), and a kalpis in Rouen (fig. 10; *ARV*² p. 179, near foot, no. 4). Links with the Carpenter Painter proper are furnished by the decoration of the border of Herakles' wrap on the Rouen kalpis (two lines close together, a little distance from the edge): the very full thighs, and the absence of ankle markings. Other features in the vases put by Beazley as merely "akin to the Carpenter Painter," however, reveal what separates them from the painter himself: the ears of the Boston komasts (*ARV*² p. 179, 1) are as different as can be from the ears on the painter's better works, and the nipples on the Louvre tondo (*ARV*² p. 179, no. 2) are more typical of the Salting Painter.¹³ The Oxford fragment (*ARV*² p. 179, no. 3), lastly, is even farther removed from the Carpenter Painter and is unfortunately somewhat damaged. Of a fragment from the Acropolis (fig. 11), on the other hand, given in Addenda I of *ARV*² (p. 1631), Beazley said it "might be unusually delicate work by him [i.e., the Carpenter Painter]." The subject, a youth bending over to kiss a young girl, vividly recalls the interior of the Getty cup, and Beazley's thought that it might be by the Carpenter Painter is strongly reinforced by the Getty tondo. The slender fingers, the shapes of eye and eyebrow, and the turned-down corner of the mouth are sufficient to confirm the attribution, even though the treatment of the wreath and the contour of the hair on the crown of the head show a care that the Carpenter Painter has not bestowed on his other works. The Acropolis fragment, in turn, leads us to reconsider the relationship to the Carpenter Painter of the archer on a cup in Boston (fig. 12; Boston 00.336; *ARV*² p. 180), which Beazley called "earlier than all these [i.e., Louvre G 11 and Cp 11231], but near the Carpenter Painter." I believe that the Boston archer is indeed his. The toes, the fingers, the contours, and the volume of his limbs can hardly be separated from the figures in the Getty tondo, and the striking similarity even extends to the drapery. Note the horizontal folds of the short chiton around the hips of the archer, and turn next to the similar angles applied to the horizontal folds of the seated boy and his approaching older friend, an angularity that stands in marked contrast to even the most accomplished horizontal folds drawn by Epiktetos (e.g., on the Bareiss fragment [fig. 13]¹⁴) or Skythes (fig. 19).¹⁵ The closest attempt to enliven the horizontal folds can be found on a cup fragment in Adria attributed to the Hermaios Painter,¹⁶ and Apollodoros develops this trait further (fig. 15).¹⁷ Comparable, too, are the horizontal folds on a cup



Figure 9a. Cup near the Carpenter Painter. Side A. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 00.337.



Figure 9b. Cup near the Carpenter Painter. Side B. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 00.337.



Figure 10. Kalpis near the Carpenter Painter. Detail of shoulder. Musée départemental des Antiquités de Rouen 24.

16. *ARV*², p. 110, no. 11.

17. *ARV*², p. 120, no. 12.



Figure 11. Fragment probably by the Carpenter Painter. Athens, National Museum Akr. 189. Photo: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Athens.



Figure 12. Cup by the Carpenter Painter. Tondo. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts. 00.336.

by the Mario Painter (fig. 16)¹⁸ which, however, carry us farther afield.

Even if we add the four vases, designated as “near the Carpenter Painter,” the half-page in *ARV*² with three vases attributed by Beazley to the Carpenter Painter himself, hardly inspires us to consider the Carpenter Painter a major archaic vase painter when compared with his more prolific colleagues in the *Ceramicus*. There are many reasons why some artists are credited with only a few works. To begin with, there is the fortuitous aspect of survival. Not every vase-painter may have worked for a potter who enjoyed excellent trade relations with Etruria. If his works were sold almost exclusively to parts of the ancient world such as Asia Minor, where different burial customs or our ignorance of

the necropolises have eluded our rediscovery of them, such an artist, no matter how valiant or industrious, is not recognized quite so readily as his colleagues, whose export to Cerveteri, Vulci, or Tarquinia assured them almost instant fame. Others may have changed careers, and still others may well have died young. Lastly, there are those, especially in the first generation of Attic red-figure, who probably did not survive the climate of fierce competition. I once asked Beazley why there were so many archaic red-figure vase-painters whom he had identified and yet credited with such a limited number of vases. Beazley explained that the new technique of red-figure may have appealed to many with limited talent, who made a stab at it until older friends persuaded them to seek employment elsewhere.

The Carpenter Painter surely does not fall into the category of the enthusiastic hacks, and the apparent paucity of vases known to have been painted by him probably calls for another explanation: our relative ignorance of the normal development of an artist. This should be expanded to mean that we have not in every instance been sure to recognize the artist's hand. Are there perhaps other works by him that Beazley did *not* connect with him? In December 1978, at the General Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America in Vancouver,¹⁹ Gloria Ferrari Pinney read a paper entitled “The Carpenter Painter and the Salting Painter: Apprentices to Phintias,” which in April 1981 was enlarged and published under the title “The Nonage of the Berlin Painter.”²⁰ I did not hear her present her paper, but the change in title reveals that Mrs. Pinney, in extending her research, came to the conclusion that the Carpenter Painter and the Salting Painter were both pupils of Phintias; that the Carpenter Painter's oeuvre should be increased to include Beazley's H. P. Painter; and that he was, in fact, the earliest phase of the Berlin Painter. While I do not follow Mrs. Pinney in her final conclusion and am not completely won over by her emphasis on Phintias, I do accept her equation of the H. P. Painter with the Carpenter Painter, as was seen independently by D. J. R. Williams and J. Robert Guy.

The inclusion of the two cups by the H. P. Painter in the oeuvre of the Carpenter Painter receives welcome additional support, thanks to the Getty cup, for of the two newcomers, the name-piece of the (former) H. P. Painter in Basel (figs. 17a–d)²¹ can hardly be separated from the cup in the Getty. The similarity extends even to the potting, as a comparison of the key measurements (in centimeters) proves:

18. *ARV*², p. 171, no. 1.

19. Archaeological Institute of America, *Abstracts* 3 (1978), p. 43.

20. *AJA* 85 (1981), pp. 145–158.

21. *ARV*², p. 454, no. 1; L. Burn and R. Glynn, *Beazley Addenda* (Oxford, 1982), p. 119.

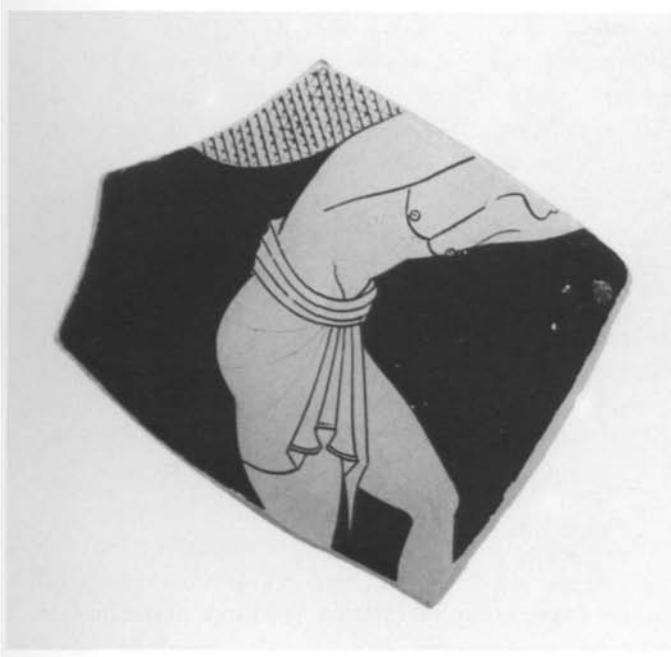


Figure 13. Fragment of a cup by Epiktetos. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 86.AE.299.



Figure 14. Fragment of a cup by Skythes. Athens, National Museum 16269. Photo: Lady Beazlev.



Figure 15. Cup by Apollodoros. Tondo. Athens, Theodoracopoulos. Photo: Borel-Boissonnas 61929.



Figure 16. Cup by the Mario Painter. Tondo. Swiss private collection. Photo: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Rome.



Figures 17a–b. *Top*, cup by the Carpenter Painter (formerly identified as the H. P. Painter). Tondo. *Bottom*, profile, side B. Basel, Antikenmuseum und Sammlung Ludwig BS 489.



Figure 17c. Cup by the Carpenter Painter (formerly identified as the H. P. Painter). Side A. Basel, Antikenmuseum und Sammlung Ludwig BS 489.

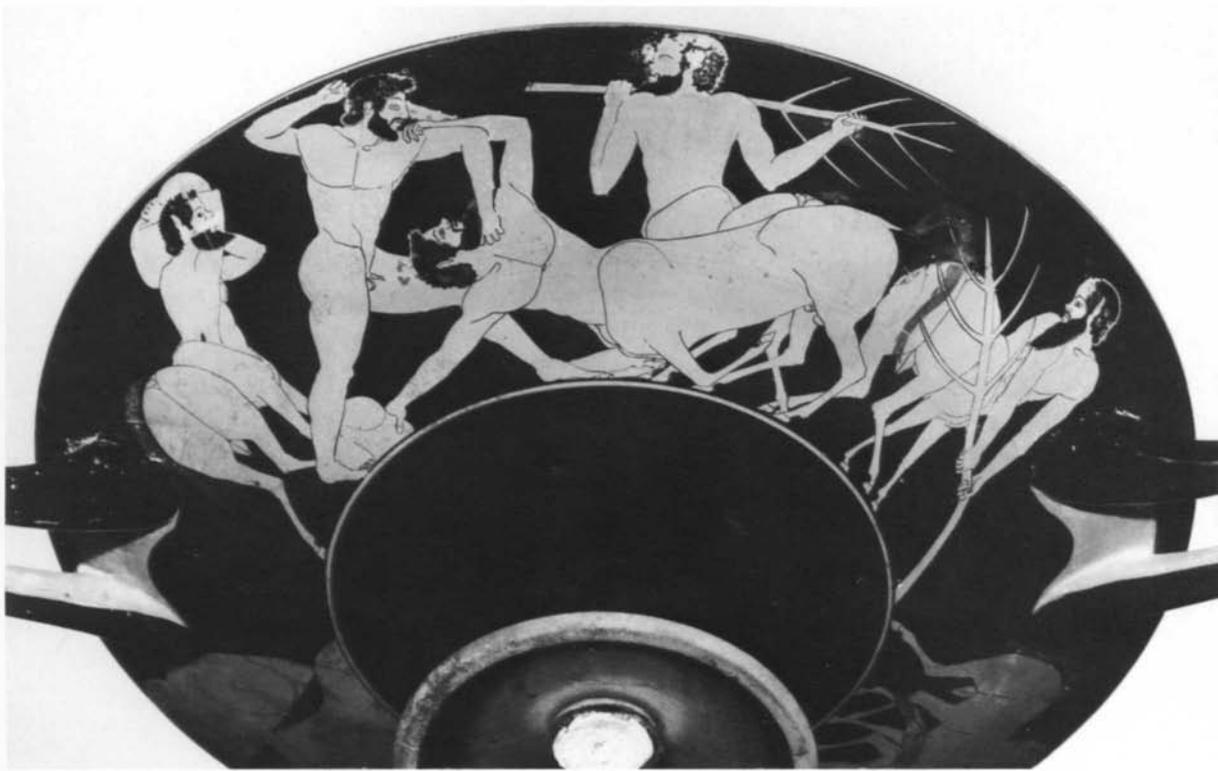


Figure 17d. Cup by the Carpenter Painter (formerly identified as the H. P. Painter). Side B. Basel, Antikenmuseum und Sammlung Ludwig BS 489.



Figure 18. Detail of stamnos by Smikros. Brussels, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire A 717. Photo: photo ACL, Brussels.



Figure 19. Detail of a fragmentary calyx krater by Euphronios. Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlung and Glyptothek 8935.



Figure 20. Detail of calyx krater by Euphronios. Paris, Musée du Louvre G 103. Photo: Maurice Chuzeville.

	Basel B.S. 489	Getty
Height	10.6	11.0
Width	38.0	38.1
Diameter	30.5	30.5
Diameter, tondo	16.8	15.7
Diameter, groundline A-B	14.24	14.8
Diameter, foot	10.69	11.8

That the same painter was at work on both cups is revealed, in addition to the measurements, by the placement of the tondo in relation to the handles, of which the left is slightly below the horizontal established by the exergues of the tondo and/or the couch on the Basel interior, while the right is slightly above it: 8:30/2:30, using the hours of a clock face. In addition, all the characteristics of anatomy and drapery, previously fully commented on when introducing the Getty cup, recur line for line on the Basel cup and need not be repeated here. Lastly, the composition: the tondo in Basel is again amorous, though perhaps not quite so advanced. The youth reaches with his right hand for the nape of the girl playing the flutes, but his left hand cannot be used, for it holds the big skyphos filled with wine. As to the girl, she is not as yet distracted from her musical performance by the advances of her companion, but we sense that presently the melody will end and that the youth will pull the girl toward him for a closer embrace, in a progression that we know from the Smikros stamnos (fig. 18) in Brussels.²² Surely the Carpenter Painter remembered Choro and Pheidiades from the stamnos, and Smikros in turn must have been familiar with symposia by Euphronios, like the one on the fragmentary calyx krater in Munich (fig. 19),²³ on which Euphronios has portrayed and named him as the fair-haired youth facing a flute-player called Syko. This group is echoed in the Basel tondo not only in the gesture of the youth but also in such details as the light eyes of the youth and girl.

The exterior of the Basel cup tells the story of Herakles and the centaur Pholos: on one side Herakles reclines with his host in the cave, into which two uninvited centaurs have intruded, while the other side shows Herakles fighting the centaurs. He is shown naked and unarmed, giving battle with his bare hands like a pancratiast. Note that all the figures are wreathed, as are the athletes on the Getty cup. The bearded Herakles has no pubic hair, but neither have

22. *ARV*², p. 20, no. 1. A joining fragment in New York, 1985.601, was seen by the author to join the Brussels stamnos and has been placed on permanent loan to Brussels. It supplies the back of Rhode, the girl on the couch on the right, and completes the name of her male companion: Automenes.

23. *ARV*², p. 1619; Beazley, *Paralipomena* (Oxford, 1971), p. 322; L. Burn and R. Glynn, *Beazley Addenda* (Oxford, 1982), p. 73, no. 3 bis.

24. *ARV*², p. 454; *AM* 86 (1971), pls. 34–36.

25. *AJA* 85 (1981), pls. 32–33; p. 149, fig. 1,1; p. 150, fig. 2,1.

the men in the palaestra of the Getty cup.

A cup in the Throne-Holst collection in Stockholm, published by K. Schauenburg²⁴ and Mrs. Pinney,²⁵ was taken by Beazley to be an early work of (his) H. P. Painter.²⁶ The palmettes around the handles limit the figures on the exterior to three on each side, and there is little attempt to group the men and youths in a meaningful composition—be it the fight on the obverse or the komos on the reverse. The solitary, seated youth in the tondo on the inside looks like an excerpt from the concert scene on the Antaios krater by Euphronios in the Louvre (fig. 20).²⁷ The anatomical details are rather quaint—bifurcated spines, odd kneecaps, and a profusion of oblique parallel lines on the back that may stand for the *latissimus dorsi*. Two of the figures on the cup, the seated spectator on the inside and the leftmost youth in the battle scene, have the arch of the left foot indicated, as has the seated flute-player in the tondo of the Basel cup, but the vertical from the clavicles to the horizontal of the breast is not shown. This cup is somewhat smaller²⁸ than the ones in Malibu and Basel—smaller and earlier—but Beazley's recognition that the Stockholm cup is an immature work of the man who painted the Basel cup cannot be brushed aside quite so readily as Schauenburg²⁹ proposes. Schauenburg also exaggerates when he dates the Stockholm cup fifteen to twenty years earlier than the Basel cup: Mrs. Pinney rightly observes³⁰ that “a painter's ability and approach can change in a much shorter time during his formative years than in his maturity,” and in the same article she notes,³¹ “The difficulty often concerns a painter's first production, since from the time he learned the rudiments of his craft to that of his mature early works his style may change considerably and, to our eyes, unaccountably.”

In her paper read at the Archaeological Institute of America meeting in 1978, Mrs. Pinney's chief interest was to show that both the Carpenter Painter and the Salting Painter learned their craft in the atelier of Phintias; in her article she identifies the Carpenter Painter's vases as early works by the Berlin Painter, expanding the arguments first advanced in the fifth chapter of her Cincinnati doctoral dissertation of 1976,³² and she thus draws a straight line from Phintias to the Berlin Painter. The strict application of the so-called Morellian method of stylistic analysis does

indeed help to trace anatomical idiosyncrasies and conventions, but the question arises as to whether vase-painters invariably limited themselves in their apprenticeship to mastering the anatomical details of their teacher(s) or, for that matter, whether learning a craft was based on formal instruction and always resulted in faithful adoption of anatomical lines. There is more to style than rendering this or that part of the human body in a special fashion, which, in any event, is often at variance with the visible aspect of a living model. Many a recent examination of a vase-painter abounds in clinical terms but pays less attention to the effect of an artist's finished product—his spirit as it were, which cannot be dissected quite so easily as the bodies he has rendered—and one is reminded of the memorable lines by the South African poet Roy Campbell (1901–1957):

I see the snaffle and the curb allright
But where's the bloody horse?

Beazley himself, as Donna Kurtz notes in her Oxford monograph, *The Berlin Painter*,³³ did not go in for lengthy anatomical discussions after his article “Citharoedus” of 1922, and he remained remarkably undogmatic in the preambles to the lists of his vases or the short summaries of his ancestry. In *Vases in America* (1918),³⁴ he gives Hauser credit for the suggestion “that the Berlin Painter might have learnt his craft from Phintias.” Beazley adds, “and this may well be true. At the same time, the subtle flow of his lines and his fine sense of composition place him nearer Euthymides.” In *Attische Vasenmaler* (1925),³⁵ this is condensed to “Aus dem Kreis des Phintias und des Euthymides hervorgegangen,” which becomes shortened in *ARV* (1943)³⁶ and *ARV²* (1963)³⁷ to “issued from the group of Euthymides and Phintias.” Note that by reversing the sequence of the two pioneers, Beazley tacitly put the greater emphasis on Euthymides.

Today we should feel free to cite a third member of the Pioneer Group to be included among the artists from whom the Berlin Painter issues: Euphronios. As more calyx kraters by Euphronios and the Berlin Painter become known, it can no longer be asserted that only one or two Pioneers were responsible for the style of the Berlin Painter. The newly acquired calyx krater in the Getty by the Berlin Painter, provisionally published by Martin Robertson³⁸

26. *ARV²*, p. 454, second entry.

27. *ARV²*, p. 14, no. 2; L. Burn and R. Glynn, *Beazley Addenda*, (Oxford, 1982), p. 73; A. Pasquier, *Revue du Louvre*, (1981), pp. 4–8.

28. K. Schauenburg (*AM* 86 [1971], p. 48, n. 34) gives the height as 9 cm and the diameter as 27 cm.

29. *Idem*, *loc. cit.*

30. *AJA* 85 (1981), p. 148, n. 9.

31. *Ibid.*, p. 145.

32. *Prolegomena to a Study of Archaic Attic Red-figure*.

33. D. C. Kurtz, *The Berlin Painter* (Oxford, 1983), p. 18.

34. *Attic Red-figured Vases in American Museums* (Cambridge, Mass., 1918), p. 38.

35. P. 76.

36. P. 131.

37. P. 196.

38. *Greek Vases I* (1983), pp. 55–61.



Figure 21. Cup. Interior. Athens, National Museum 1666 (C.C. 1166). Photo: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Athens.

and soon to be treated afresh by Mary Moore, furnishes abundant proof of the Berlin Painter's great indebtedness to Euphronios.

I do not believe that the Carpenter Painter, even with the addition of the Basel and Stockholm cups by the H. P. Painter, quite qualifies as the very early Berlin Painter, for aside from anatomical details (that he might well have borrowed from or shared with colleagues), there is nothing in his compositions that anticipates the great and moving compositions of the Berlin Painter; and even his individual figures, whether drawn as singletons or arranged in groups, cannot be taken as links between those of the Pioneer Group and the majestic creations of the early Berlin Painter. It should also be observed that young artists develop a sense of composition and preferences for physical poses long before they are fully competent to draw "correctly," i.e., having mastered corporeal perspective. The other cup in Athens, NM 1666 (fig. 21), which Mrs. Pinney wishes to add to her list of Carpenter-H. P. Painters,³⁹ had better be left out of the discussion altogether, as it differs in too many respects from the vases we can now safely accept as works of the painter. The tondo, unusually big for so small a cup, is framed by a stopped maeander to left; the top of the altar with the volute curving up and in rather than down and out, the absence of an exergue or an exergue line, and even the inscriptions all militate against including it in the Car-

penter Painter's oeuvre. The markings on the rock behind Procrustes, the shape of Herakles' quiver, the reserved contour of the mustaches, and the maeander around the tondo all point away from both the Carpenter Painter and the Berlin Painter.

The reader might now ask where the Carpenter Painter should be put if he is not the adolescent Berlin Painter. For this, alas, I have no final answer, nor do I want to anticipate some of the unpublished attributions of J. Robert Guy. Suffice it to say, however, that the painter is an accomplished artist who may well have known most of the Pioneers personally. I take him to be younger than Euphronios but older than the Berlin Painter, an artist who shared fully in the excitement generated by the Pioneers. If I were pressed to reveal who among the Pioneers exerted the greatest influence on him, I would opt for Euthymides rather than Phintias.

Although Beazley attributed a kalpis in the Vatican to the Carpenter Painter and placed another kalpis in Rouen near him, the artist is primarily a cup-painter, and in red-figure the division between cup-painters and pot-painters becomes more pronounced in the last decade of the sixth century B.C. Such increasing specialization on the part of vase-painters may perhaps, in addition to personal preferences on the part of the artists, find its explanation in the economic aspects of the trade in vases: the great popularity of Attic red-figured drinking cups in Etruria would have encouraged young vase-painters and potters to apply their talents to a shape for which there was a steady demand. At a banquet, for instance, each symposiast would have insisted on his own cup, while one krater, constantly refilled from the pantry, would have served many guests; cups, moreover, would break more easily and, if beyond repair, would have to be replaced more frequently than pots.

The indebtedness of the Carpenter Painter to the Pioneers has been hinted at above, but as to his following, we are not on totally safe ground. That his works represent the nonage of the Berlin Painter, as argued by Mrs. Pinney, is, in my opinion, highly unlikely. Instead we should look to cups that were painted at the end of the sixth century, and one promising lead may well be a critical examination of the so-called Proto-Panaetian Group. Such an investigation, however, would go beyond the limits set for this publication of the splendid cup in the Getty.

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

39. *AJA* 85 (1981), pp. 148–150; pl. 32, figs. 12–14.

Vom Etruskischen zum Römischen

Noch einmal zu einem Spiegelrelief in Malibu

Dietrich Willers

I.

Im Band 9 dieser Zeitschrift untersuchte Maxwell L. Anderson die Reliefdarstellung eines etruskischen Klappspiegels im Getty Museum und gab aus diesem Anlaß eine Übersicht über die verwandten Spiegel mit der gleichen Thematik einer dionysischen Gruppe.¹ Ihm war damals entgangen, daß Carmela A. Di Stefano die gleiche Problematik bereits ein Jahrzehnt zuvor verfolgt hatte.² Die Denkmälerlisten beider Studien ergänzen sich jedoch gegenseitig; beide Übersichten nennen jeweils Spiegel, die die andere nicht kennt. Weitere Exemplare sind inzwischen durch Publikationen und im Kunsthandel bekanntgeworden. So kann die bei Anderson mitgeteilte Liste von 15 Exemplaren³ auf zur Zeit 30 verwandte Spiegelreliefs erweitert werden, was aber nur einen Zwischenstand festhält.⁴ Ich führe die Liste mit Ergänzungen noch einmal auf und benutze die Gelegenheit, einige Abbildungen nachzutragen, die die Dokumentationen bei Di Stefano und Anderson vervollständigen.

1. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 71.AC.152; D: 10,5 cm: Anderson, 60f., Abb. 10.

2. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art 29.141c: Anderson, 60, Abb. 2.

3. Berlin, Antikemuseum Staatliche Museen Preußischer Kulturbesitz. Misc. 6318: Di Stefano, 79, Taf. 26,2 (hier Abb. 1). Die Zeichnung bei E. Gerhard, *Etruskische Spiegel*, vol. 1 (Berlin, 1840), 86, Taf. 21,3 (wiederholt bei Di Stefano ebenda) und das heute unter

der gleichen Nummer inventarisierte Exemplar sind zwei verschiedene Reliefs; der Widerspruch läßt sich vorerst nicht auflösen.

4. Genève, Musée d'art et d'histoire 902: Di Stefano, 79, Taf. 25,2.

5. Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum 254: Di Stefano, 78, 81, Taf. 23,2.

6. Tarquinia, Museo Nazionale R.C.6277; D: 13 cm: Di Stefano, 79, Anm. 16, Taf. 26,3; Gabinetto Fotografico Nazionale Neg. E 26 739.

7. London, British Museum 732: Di Stefano, 77f., Taf. 23,1; E. H. Richardson in *A Guide to Etruscan Mirrors*, Hrsg. N. Thomson de Grummond (Tallahassee 1982), 18f., Abb. 18.

8. Paris, Louvre 7182: Di Stefano, 80, Taf. 27,1.

9. München, Antikensammlungen 3534: Di Stefano, 79, Taf. 25,1.

10. Ehemals Rom, Vatikan, Museo Etrusco (das nachmalige Gregoriano Profano): Di Stefano, 79, 81, Taf. 26,1.

11. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College: Di Stefano, 80, Taf. 27,2; *Classical Heritage: Greek and Roman Art from Cambridge College Collections*, Ausstellungskatalog (Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, 1978), 16, Nr. 64 mit Abb.

12. Kopenhagen, Thorvaldsens Museum 2181: Di Stefano, 82, Anm. 26 (hier Abb. 2).

13. Palermo, Museo Nazionale B 22 (bei Anderson irrtümlich "Chiusi"): Di Stefano, 76ff., Taf. 22.

Bei der Vorbereitung dieser Notiz waren behilflich: S. Andres, Zürich; E. Bollmann, Horgen; U. Gehrig, Hannover; G. Platz, Berlin; K. Roth, Bern; W. Schadendorf, Lübeck; U. Sinn, Bonn; J. Zbinden, Bern; G. Zahlhaas, München; und vor allem J. Frel, Malibu, dessen großzügige Einladung einen Aufenthalt in Malibu ermöglichte; er gab auch zusätzliche Literaturhinweise. H. u. I. Jucker/Bern, E. Pochmarski, Graz, und K. Roth, Bern, ist für kritische Lektüre des Manuskripts zu danken. Pochmarski gab Einblick in einschlägige Teile seiner umfangreichen Untersuchung "Dionysische Gruppen" (im Druck). Alle Spiegel in Schweizer Besitz wird I. Jucker im "Corpus Speculorum Etruscorum" vorlegen. Deshalb beschränkt sich die Notiz für diese Stücke auf Ikonographisches.

1. M. L. Anderson, *GettyMusJ* 9 (1981), 59ff. (im Folgenden: Anderson).

2. C. A. Di Stefano, *ArchCl* 22 (1970), 76ff., Taf. 22–31 (im Folgenden: Di Stefano).

3. Anderson, 60, Anm. 12; im Folgenden wird seine Zählung beibehalten, um mögliche Verwechslungen zu vermeiden.

4. Es war mir z.B. nicht möglich, die teilweise sehr verkürzten Angaben in *CRPetersbourg* (1865), 16 und R. Pagenstecher, *Die Calenische Reliefkeramik* (9. *Ergh. JdI* [1909]), 36 vollständig zu verifizieren. Die beiden dort genannten Exemplare der Sammlung Campana und in Lübeck lassen sich nicht nachweisen. Im Museum für Kunst und Kulturgeschichte ist kein entsprechender etruskischer Spiegel vorhanden (freundliche Auskunft von W. Schadendorf). B. v. Freytag gen. Löringhoff weist mich auf 30. Exemplar hin: Stuttgart, Württ. Landesmuseum 3.839; unpubliziert, Herkunft unbekannt, Exemplar der Hauptgruppe, Rand Fischgrätenmuster. Vgl. ferner zu Nr. 3.



Abb. 1. Deckelrelief eines etruskischen Klappspiegels. Berlin, Antikemuseum der Staatlichen Museen Preußischer Kulturbesitz Misc. 63.18.



Abb. 2. Relieffragment eines etruskischen Klappspiegels.
Kopenhagen, Thorvaldsens Museum H 2181.



Abb. 3. Deckelrelief eines etruskischen Klappspiegels.
Ehemals Kunsthandel London (1939). Foto:
nach Auktionskatalog, Sotheby's, July 11, 1939,
Taf. 9.

14. Ehemals Kunsthandel Paris: *non vidi*.

15. Ehemals Kunsthandel, Sotheby's, London, July 11, 1939, 47, Nr. 273, Taf. 9 (danach hier Abb. 3).

16. Bruxelles, Musée du Cinquantième 1264: Di Stefano, 80, Taf. 28,1. R. Lambrechts, *Les miroirs étrusques et prénestins des Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire* (Brussels, 1978), 97ff., Nr. 14 mit 8 Abb.

17. Kopenhagen, National Museum 95: CSE Denmark 1 (Odense, 1982), 40, Nr. 8, Abb. 8a–b.

18. Marseille, Musée Borély 2293: Di Stefano, 78, Taf. 24,2.

19. Tarquinia, Museo Nazionale R.B.181/327: Di Stefano, 79, Anm. 17; Gabinetto Fotografico Nazionale Neg. E 26 738 (hier Abb. 4).

20. Tarquinia, Museo Nazionale R.C.5979: Di Stefano, 79, Anm. 15; *non vidi*.

20bis. Tarquinia, Museo Nazionale o. Nr. Fragment mit Teil der Mänade, nicht zu einem der anderen Exemplare in Tarquinia gehörig; Hinweis I. Jucker; *non vidi*.

21. Wien, Kunsthistorisches Museum VI 4670; Di Stefano, 78, 81, Taf. 24,1.

22. Esslingen, Privatbesitz, angeblich aus Vulci: O.W. von Vacano, *Italische Antiken*, Ausstellungskatalog (Tübingen, 1971), 71, Nr. 222, Taf. 2 r; Lambrechts (a.O., Kat. Nr. 16), 102, Anm. 4 (hier Abb. 5).

23. Horgen (ZH), Privatbesitz E. Bollmann (hier Abb. 6), nur das Deckelrelief erhalten; D: 10,8 cm.



Abb. 4. Relieffragment eines etruskischen Klappspiegels.
Tarquinia, Museo Nazionale R.B.181/327. Foto:
GFN E 26 738.



Abb. 5. Deckelrelief eines etruskischen Klappspiegels. Esslingen, Privatbesitz. Foto: Archäologisches Institut der Universität Tübingen.



Abb. 6. Deckelrelief eines etruskischen Klappspiegels. Horgen (Zürich), Privatbesitz. Foto: J. Zbinden, Bern.



Abb. 7. Relieffragment eines etruskischen Klappspiegels. Ehemals Kunsthandel Bern (1975). Foto: J. Zbinden, Bern.

24. Kunsthandel Bern 1975 (hier Abb. 7), stark fragmentiert, aber die Figurengruppe weitgehend unversehrt.

25. Kunsthandel Zürich, Arete: Galerie für antike Kunst (hier Abb. 8); ausgestellt auf der Kunst- und Antiquitätenmesse, Basel 1983, *Messekatalog*, Nr. 53 (1980, Kunsthandel Ascona; 1980–1983, Privatbesitz, Solothurn); sehr stark korrodiert, aber ganz erhalten. Was das Segment unter den Füßen der Figuren enthielt, ist nicht mehr zu erkennen. Die Figuren haben stämmige Extremitäten und untersetzte Proportionen.

26. Privatbesitz, Schweiz: Galerie Nefer, Zürich, Liste 3, 1985 (erschienen Dez. 1984), Nr. 11 ("griechisch, 4. Jh.") (hier Abb. 9); ungleich, aber stellenweise vorzüglich erhalten; feine Arbeit; D: 16 cm.

27. Rom, Museo Nazionale Romano di Villa Giulia: Mus. Photo, Neg. Nr. 36002. Freundlicher Hinweis von E. Pochmarski, Graz, der die Publikation vorbereitet.

28. Florenz, Museo Archeologico 594: Di Stefano, 80, Taf. 28,2. Der Wulstrand ist originärer Bestandteil der ursprünglichen, antiken Arbeit, wie K. Roth nach Autopsie bestätigt.

Alle aufgezählten Spiegel verbindet die Ikonographie des Deckelreliefs. Links sind Dionysos und Eros in einer Stützgruppe eng miteinander verbunden, rechts geht eine Kitharaspielderin voraus, Muse oder Mänade. Innerhalb der nicht sehr großen Gruppe etruskischer Spiegel mit reliefiertem Deckel hat das Motiv mit Abstand den größten



Abb. 8. Deckelrelief eines etruskischen Klappspiegels. Zürich, Kunsthandel (1983). Foto: J. Zbinden, Bern.



Abb. 9. Deckelrelief eines etruskischen Klappspiegels.
Privatbesitz, Schweiz. Foto: J. Zbinden, Bern.

Anteil,⁵ doch die Übereinstimmung geht weit über Motivisches hinaus. Nr. 2 bis Nr. 26 stimmen in allem so weit überein, daß ihnen allen ein gemeinsamer Entwurf zugrunde liegen muß, auch wenn sie nicht alle aus dem gleichen Model getrieben worden sind. Außer kleineren Unterschieden in der Zeichnung der Gewandteile, geringfügigen Abwandlungen des Musikinstruments und verschiedenartiger Ausgestaltung des Segments unter den Füßen der Figuren gibt es nur ein weiteres Unterscheidungsmerkmal: die flüchtigeren Darstellungen—und das ist die Mehrzahl—lassen vom linken Bein des Gottes die untere Hälfte weg.⁶ Die von Di Stefano erkannte Übereinstimmung der Form von Nr. 3 und Nr. 4⁷ gilt nur für die Zeichnung bei Gerhard, nicht aber für den unter Misc. 6318 in Berlin inventarisierten Spiegel. Das Berliner Exemplar gehört vielmehr zu dem gleichen Überlieferungsweig wie Nr. 5, 13 und 15. Nr. 2 gibt einen guten, früheren Zustand der gleichen Vorlage wieder, wohl vor einem zwischengeschalteten Abguß, auf den die jüngeren Versionen zurückgehen. Formgleich, aber von den vorherigen zu trennen sind Nr. 6 und Nr. 17. Di

Stefano verband bereits Nr. 10 und Nr. 18;⁸ an diesen Model ist Nr. 24 und wahrscheinlich auch Nr. 21 anzuschließen. Ähnlich nahe stehen einander Nr. 7 und Nr. 26. Die genannten Formentsprechungen, vor allem aber die Nähe aller Varianten zueinander deuten darauf hin, daß der Typus an einem einzigen Platz entstanden ist, d.h. daß einst ein einziger Prototypus vorausging. Aber die Wiederverbenutzung gleicher Formen ermöglicht es nicht, nach Art eines Stemmas systematisch zu ordnen.

Das Randornament hilft nicht, einzelne Toreutenhände zu erkennen und Werkstattzusammenhänge zu rekonstruieren. Es ist offensichtlich auswechselbar, gehört nicht zum eigentlichen Bildfeld hinzu und wird häufig freihändig in Kaltarbeit hinzugefügt. Als Beweis ist etwa das Verhältnis von Nr. 6 und Nr. 17 anzuführen: obwohl beide aus der gleichen Form getrieben sind, wird Nr. 6 vom meistverbreiteten Fischgrätmuster gerahmt, während der Rand bei Nr. 17 aus einer singulären Folge von Dreiecken mit blattähnlicher Binnenritzung besteht. Neben dem Fischgrätmuster⁹ ist, dem allgemeinen Vorkommen entsprechend, das Zungenblattmuster häufiger (Nr. 5, 7, 10, und 18). Vereinzelt stehen zwei Varianten des Fischgrätmusters da, eine Doppelreihe gleichgerichteter Schrägstriche (Nr. 2) und eine Verbindung des Fischgrätmusters mit einer Dreiecksfolge (Nr. 19); eine Reliefrahmung besteht aus einer Rosettenfolge zwischen Flechtbändern (Nr. 8). Alle Rahmenmuster sind flach und erheben sich nicht oder nur minimal über den Relieffgrund.

Auch die vorhandenen Fundortangaben liefern keinen sicheren Hinweis zum Sitz der Werkstatt oder, falls mehrere Werkstätten angenommen werden müssen, der wichtigsten Werkstatt. Mit Tarquinia sind Nr. 6, 19, 20, und 20bis verbunden, Nr. 22 kommt angeblich aus Vulci, Nr. 5 stammt aus einer Sammlung, die vorwiegend mit Funden aus Tarquinia und Vulci zusammenkam. Italische Fundortangaben liegen ferner für Nr. 16 (Umgebung von Orvieto) und Nr. 7 (Elba) vor. Nicht nachprüfbar sind die Herkunftsangaben 'Korinth' für Nr. 11 und 'Griechenland' für Nr. 18. Jedenfalls besagen sie nichts über den Ursprung der Spiegel. So kommen mehrere Zentren Südetruriens als Ort der Werkstatt in Frage, aber mit einer breiten Streuung wird man nicht rechnen dürfen. Tarquinia scheint für die Klasse der Reliefspiegel Etruriens insgesamt wichtig, da hier der Bestand auch an Werken mit anderen Bildern besonders hoch ist.

5. Die letzte Übersicht über die Probleme der Gattung bei Richardson (a.O., Kat. Nr. 7), 14f.; dieselbe, *Röm Mitt* 89 (1982), 27f., Taf. 8–13.

6. Nr. 2–5, 7–10, 12, 13, 15, 18, 19, 21?, 24, 25.

7. Di Stefano, 79.

8. Di Stefano, 78.

9. Nr. 3, 4, 6, 9, 13, 15, 16, 21–23, 25, 26.

10. Di Stefano, 90f.

11. Richardson (a.O., Kat. Nr. 7), 16f.; ähnlich Lambrechts (a.O., Kat. Nr. 16), 102f.

12. Anderson, 61f., Abb. 4; Di Stefano, 84, Anm. 32f.

13. M. O. Jentel in: *CVA Louvre* 15, IV E; L. Sanesi, *RdA* 3 (1979), 59f.

14. So schon Anderson, 60, ohne Nachweise.

Zur absoluten, aber auch zur relativen Chronologie der Spiegelgruppe bietet das Material wenig Anhaltspunkte. Methodisch muß das Datum des Prototyps von der Ausführung der erhaltenen Spiegel getrennt werden. Dabei wird man der Gruppe Nr. 2–26 angesichts dessen, daß keine markante Entwicklung in ihr festzustellen ist, nur einen begrenzten Zeitraum zugestehen. Die ältere Untersuchung von Di Stefano wollte sie relativ spät in der 2. Hälfte des 2. Jhs. v. Chr. ansetzen,¹⁰ während der jüngste Überblick über die Probleme der Gattung die Hauptblüte im 3. Jh. sieht.¹¹ Die Übernahme der Stützgruppe in die Calenische Reliefkeramik, auf die Anderson bereits hingewiesen hatte,¹² gibt auch einen chronologischen Anhaltspunkt. In der Werkstätte der schwarzgefirnißten Reliefschalen Campaniens verfällt das Niveau bald nach der Jahrhundertwende vom 3. zum 2. Jh.;¹³ so ist es sehr wahrscheinlich, daß die Übernahme noch zuvor erfolgte. Das bestätigt die ältere Ansicht, daß die Dreifigurengruppe eine Erfindung des dritten Jahrhunderts, wahrscheinlich der zweiten Hälfte des dritten Jahrhunderts ist,¹⁴ sichert jedenfalls den Beginn der Spiegelserie.

Wann die Tradition der Spiegelgruppe endet, läßt sich präziser bestimmen, als bisher gesehen worden ist, da ein Indiz nur zum Teil nutzbar gemacht wurde. Das führt zu den drei Spiegeln zurück, die bisher außer Betracht blieben, dem Exemplar des Getty Museum, Nr. 1; dem noch unpublizierten Spiegel der Villa Giulia, Nr. 27; und dem Florentiner Spiegel, Nr. 28. Als einzige unterscheiden sie sich von der einheitlichen Formulierung aller anderen Reliefs. Sie tun dies in markanter Weise, und das, was sie von den anderen trennt, haben alle drei gemeinsam. Dionysos hat seinen Kopf nicht mehr dem Eros zugewandt, sondern blickt zur anderen Seite; er hält den Thyrsos nicht mehr geschultert, sondern senkrecht. Anderson hat bei der Charakterisierung von Nr. 1 zutreffend zusammengefaßt, was die Veränderungen bewirken: "The transformation of the type . . . results from the copyist's urge for a more symmetrical composition—one which is balanced rather than tending towards the right. The artist's impulse to effect this symmetry is stronger than his interest in the original significance of the type; this preoccupation with design is ironically his undoing, since what was previously an animated trio with subtle visual exchanges has become a static scene with three separate figures" (S. 61).

Die Übereinstimmung zwischen den Spiegeln in Malibu

und dem Pendant der Villa Giulia ist von ganz unmittelbarer und vordergründiger Art, so daß beide auch technisch zusammenhängen müssen: sie gehen innerhalb der 'Textüberlieferung' unserer Gruppe auf den Reliefspiegeln Etruriens auf die gleiche Vorlage zurück.¹⁵ Die Proportionen der Figuren sind zu unterschiedlich—bei dem Exemplar in Rom deutlich untersetzter—als daß sie unmittelbar mit dem gleichen Model getrieben sein könnten. Aber die spezielle Übereinstimmung löst den Spiegel in Malibu aus seiner scheinbaren Isolierung und macht allfällige Zweifel an der Bonität der Überlieferung gegenstandslos.

Was von Anderson nur für das Getty-Exemplar formuliert war, gilt in noch verstärktem Maße für die Darstellung des Florentiner Spiegels, Nr. 28. Der Befund ist nicht leicht zu verifizieren, weil die starke Korrosion erhebliche Einbußen mit sich gebracht hat. Dose und Deckel des Spiegels sind ineinander verbacken. Der Eros links ist so weit geschwunden, daß nicht mehr zu entscheiden ist, ob seine erhobene linke Hand etwas hielt. Bei der linken Schulter des Gottes liegt eine zusätzliche Verletzung; da sie über die Patina hinweggeht, wird sie modern und bei der Auffindung zustande gekommen sein. Wie der Abschnitt unter den Figuren gestaltet war, ist nicht mehr auszumachen. Aber deutlich geblieben ist, daß alle Figuren nunmehr ganz aufrecht stehen. Von der einstigen Neigung zueinander ist nichts übrig, die Parallelisierung ist vollends durchgeführt. In der Gewandung ist keine gekrümmte Linie mehr, alles ist nur mit Geraden gezeichnet. Diese Merkmale setzen die Darstellungsweise und die stilistische Eigenart der Spiegel im Getty Museum und in Rom fort und steigern sie.

II

Ein Weiteres kommt noch hinzu. Der Spiegeldeckel in Florenz ist als einziger von einem erhabenen, halbrunden Wulstrand eingefast, der höher ist als das Relief. In diesem scheinbar 'peripheren' Detail unterscheidet er sich von allen etruskischen Reliefspiegeln und stellt sich auf die Seite der römischen! Wolfgang Züchner hatte als erster darauf aufmerksam gemacht, daß der Wulstrand nachetruskisch und charakteristisch für römische Reliefspiegel ist,¹⁶ hatte auch eine Reihe von Beispielen in einer Liste zusammengestellt. Er datierte seinerzeit noch alle Spiegel in den späten 'Hellenismus'. Diese Chronologie versuchte Gisela Zahlhaas vor einem Jahrzehnt total zu revidieren.¹⁷

15. Was zuerst E. Pochmarski erkannte; er erwägt (brieflich), ob beide Exemplare aus derselben Form stammen. Beide Spiegel werden von einem Zungenblattnmuster eingefast.

16. W. Züchner, *Griechische Klappspiegel* (14. *Ergh. JdI* [1942]), 149ff.

17. G. Zahlhaas, *Römische Reliefspiegel: Kataloge der prähistorischen Staatssammlung München* 17 (Kallmütz, 1975), mit einem Katalog aller der Verfasserin bekannten Spiegel von insgesamt 35 Exemplaren. Die

Nr. 19, 31, und 32 jetzt im Museum von Weissenburg ausgestellt (freundlicher Hinweis von Frau Zahlhaas; in der unten folgenden Liste verdanke ich ebenfalls ihrer Hilfe die Nr. 51, 52, 61, 62, 63. K. Roth wies mich hin auf die Nr. 49, 50, 56, 59 und das Bleirelie unten, Anm. 19.



Abb. 10. Relief eines römischen Bronzespiegels. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 71.AC.152.



Abb. 11. Relief eines römischen Bronzespiegels. Privatbesitz, Deutschland. Foto: nach *Kunst der Antike* 1981, Nr. 43.



Abb. 12. Relief eines römischen Bronzespiegels. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 71.AC.59.

Aufgrund vereinzelter Fundbeobachtungen und mit parallel entwickelter Stilbewertung datierte sie die ihr bekannten Spiegelreliefs in das Jahrhundert etwa von 130–230 n. Chr. und erschloß einen Ursprung der Gattung in flavischer Zeit.¹⁸ In sich schien der Entwurf stimmig, zumal da in den Darstellungen der Klassizismus des 2. Jhs. n. Chr. deutlich dominiert. Zwischen den spätesten etruskischen Reliefspiegeln und den römischen mit dem Wulstrand scheint also ein breiter Hiatus zu klaffen, so daß es Schwierigkeiten bereitet, die Stellung des Florentiner Spiegels (Nr. 28) innerhalb der Entwicklung zu bestimmen. Handelt es sich bei der Wiedergabe der dionysischen Dreifigurengruppe ebenfalls um die Wiederaufnahme eines späten Klassizismus, oder steht sie wirklich auf einer Wendemarke viel früherer Zeit, d. h. auf der Grenze zwischen Späthellenismus und dem frühen Klassizismus des 1. Jh. v. Chr.?

Eine Antwort hierauf muß zunächst einmal in Rechnung stellen, daß inzwischen zahlreiche weitere Exemplare aus dem Kunsthandel bekannt geworden sind. Die erhebliche Vermehrung fordert erneut zu der Frage auf, wie es sich denn mit der internen und absoluten Chronologie der Gruppe mit dem Wulstrand verhalte. Auch bringen einige

18. Zahlhaas (a. O., Anm. 17); G. Lloyd Morgan, *The Mirrors: Description of the Collection in the Rijksmuseum G. M. Kam at Nijmegen* 9 (Nijmegen, 1981), 88f. in gleichem Sinn; für späteren (trajanischen) Beginn der Serie M. Mackensen, *BayVgBl* 40 (1975), 158f.

19. Nicht mitgezählt wird hier ein Bleimedaillon des gleichen

typologisch nahestehende Varianten zusätzliche Gesichtspunkte. Die Lage ist so unübersichtlich, daß am Anfang wiederum eine Liste stehen muß. Sie setzt diejenige von Frau Zahlhaas fort, ohne die dort gezählten Stücke hier erneut aufzuführen. Sie hatte seinerzeit in "Römische Reliefspiegel" 35 Exemplare gesammelt.

Der Typus der Drei Grazien wurde um drei Beispiele vermehrt:¹⁹

36. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 76.AC.59 (hier Abb. 12); erwähnt bei C. C. Vermeule, North Carolina Museum of Art, *Bulletin* 14 (1980), Nr. 2–3, Anm. 38, nach Vermeule mit Nr. 37 und 43 zusammengefunden; stark ruinöser Zustand. Zur Rezeption und Ausnutzung der Charitengruppe zuletzt W. Trillmich, *Jdl* 89 (1983), 311ff., allerdings ohne Bezugnahme auf die Reliefspiegel.

37. Raleigh, North Carolina Museum of Art 771.8. Vermeule (a. O., Kat. Nr. 36), 27f., Abb. 1.

38. Jerusalem, Privatsammlung J. Ternbach. R. Merhav u. a., *A Glimpse into the Past: The Joseph Ternbach Collection*, Ausstellungskatalog (Jerusalem, Israel Museum, 1981), Nr. 163.

Zuwachs erhielten ebenfalls der Typus von Dionysos und Ariadne und die Darstellung der Europa auf dem Stier:

39. Privatbesitz, anonym, zuvor Helgoland, Slg. Kropatscheck, Bronzespiegel mit der Gruppe von Dionysos und Ariadne. W. Hornbostel u. a., *Kunst der Antike: Schätze aus norddeutschem Privatbesitz ex. cat.*, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe (Mainz, 1977), 102f., Nr. 72; W. Hornbostel u. a., *Aus Gräbern und Heiligtümern: Die Antikensammlung W. Kropatscheck* (Mainz, 1980), Nr. 155; *Kunstwerke der Antike*, MuM AG Basel, Auktion 63, 25–28 Juni, 1983, 37f., Nr. 90.

40. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art 1978.11.4, Bronzespiegel mit Europa auf dem Stier. Sotheby Parke Bernet, New York, Sale 17 Februar, 1978, Nr. 47; *Notable Acquisitions, 1975–1979*, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, N.Y. 16 mit Abb. (D. v. Bothmer). Zum Gegenstück in Oxford (Zahlhaas [a. O., Anm. 17], Nr. 18) vgl. zuletzt E. Zahn, *Europa und der Stier* (Würzburg, 1983), 67f. 136f; Nr. 114, Taf. 21,2.

Der Typus der Venus Victrix wurde um eine Variante bereichert, der eine neu aufgetauchte Romadarstellung nahesteht:

Motivs im Museum von Avenches, das nicht sicher von einem Spiegel stammt und typologisch abweicht: Inv. 3021, Fundort Conches-dessus von 1897; D: ca. 6,2 cm; E. Dunant, *Guide illustré du Musée d'Avenches* (Genève, 1900), 73.

41. Ehemals Kunsthandel, München (1975), Bronzespiegel mit reicher Vergoldung, Venus Victrix frontal mit Kopfwendung nach links. G. Zahlhaas, *Gymnasium* 82 (1975), 534, Taf. 18.

42. Privatbesitz, USA, Roma mit Trophäen und Personifikationen. S. K. Morgan u.a., *Romans and Barbarians*, ex. cat. (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (1976), 50, Nr. 65; Vermeule (a.O., Kat. Nr. 36), 35f., Abb.6.

Neu ist das Thema von zwei unbekleideten Frauen am Louterion; es liegt bereits in zwei Ausführungen vor:

43. Boston, Museum of Fine Art 1978.158. Hornbostel, *Aus Gräbern und Heiligtümern* (1980), 273 mit Abb. unten rechts; Vermeule (a.O., Kat. Nr. 36), 27ff., Abb. 4 (gleiche Herkunft wie Nr. 36 und 37).

44. Richmond, Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, unpubliziert. Erwähnt bei Vermeule (a.O., Kat. Nr. 36), 39, zu Nr. 4.

Die Reliefs weiterer zehn Spiegel haben Eroten oder Eros zum Thema:

45. Providence, Rhode Island School of Design, Museum of Art 26.272, Eroten bei ländlichem Opfer. D. G. Mitten, *Classical Bronzes, Catalogue of the Classical Collection*, Rhode Island School of Design, Museum of Art (Providence, R.I., 1975), Nr. 61; Vermeule (a.O., Kat. Nr. 36), 33f., Abb. 5.

46. Hamburg, Slg. Schwartzkopf, Drei Eroten hantieren mit Wein (Trankopfer?). Hornbostel, *Kunst der Antike* (1977) 102f., Nr. 72.

47. Jerusalem, Slg. J. Ternbach, Drei Eroten in beschwingter Prozession. Merhav (a.O., Kat. Nr. 38), Nr. 162.

48. Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheiden I 1978/41, Drei Eroten und Psyche. Hornbostel, *Aus Gräbern und Heiligtümern* (1980), 273, mit Abb. rechts oben; L. Byvanck—Quarles van Ufford, *FA* 32/33 (1977/78), 50, Nr. 407,2 (fin de l'hellénisme, début de l'époque augustéenne); wohl identisch mit einem Exemplar im Kunsthandel New York, Royal Athena-Collector's Cabinet. Das New Yorker Händler-Photo im Archiv des Getty Center for the History of Art and the Humanities, Santa Monica zeigt zumindest einen früheren, nicht restaurierten Zustand.

49. Paris, Louvre MND 225 (Bj. 38), stark vergoldeter Bronzespiegel mit zwei kelternden Eroten. Relief antik auf Spiegelscheibe mit Wulstrand montiert, D: 8,7 cm. A. de Ridder, *Catalogue sommaire des bijoux antiques* (Paris, 1924), 4, Nr. 38, Taf. 1.

50. Ehemals Kunsthandel Rom (um 1929). Mir nur von einem unbeschrifteten Photo her bekannt; auf dem Relief eine nach rechts liegende, nackte Frau, Kopf in

Vorderansicht, Körper in Dreiviertelprofil, um sie herum 3 Eroten mit Syrinx, Harfe und Spiegel, hinter ihnen ein Baum, unter der Leiste Aryballos, Muschel, zwei Vögel. Der Spiegel war seinerzeit als Griffspiegel mit einer Keule als Griff hergerichtet; die Spiegelscheibe—mit Wulstrand—gehört aber sicher nicht dazu und stammt von einem Klappspiegel.

51. Ingolstadt, Museum. Sehr fragmentierte Spiegelmedaillons mit Eroten aus Oberstimm b. Ingolstadt. *Sammelblatt des Historischen Vereins Ingolstadt* 74 (1965), 90ff.

52. Alanya, Türkei, Museum. Merkur und Eroten; non vidi.

53. Kunsthandel, zuerst München, zuletzt London, Bronzespiegel mit Zweifigurengruppe von Eros und Psyche, außen Wulstrand. Erwähnt bei Hornbostel, *Aus Gräbern und Heiligtümern* (1980) 273; Sotheby's, London, December 13–14, 1982, Nr. 247 mit Abb.

54. Perugia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale dell'Umbria 986. Bronzespiegel aus Perugia mit Zweifigurengruppe von Eros und Psyche, Wulstrand in der Form von teigigen Blättern. G. Bellucci, *Guida alle collezioni del museo etrusco-romano in Perugia* (n.p., 1910) 124, Nr. 217, Abb. 28; Züchner (a.O., Anm. 16), 150.

Das Thema zweier weiterer Spiegel gehört in den bacchischen Bereich oder ist ihm nicht fern, während fünf andere verschiedene mythisch-allegorische Themen zeigen:

55. Privatbesitz, ehemals Kunsthandel Freiburg i.Br. Dionysos zwischen Mädchen (Mänade) und Satyr mit Rhyton. *Kunst der Antike*, Galerie Günter Puhze, Katalog 1981, Nr. 43 mit Abb. (hier Abb. 11).

56. Privatbesitz Deutschland, Der trunkene Herakles zwischen zwei Nymphen, unpubliziert. Aus Silifke, Kleinasien, über Kölner Kunsthandel; vergoldete Bronze. Das Innenbild wird von einem breiten Kranz aus Eichenblättern und Eicheln gerahmt.

57. Columbia (Miss.), University of Missouri, Museum of Art and Archaeology, Paris auf dem Ida, Vergoldetes Silber. *Muse* 11 (1977), 3, Abb. 3.

58. Kunsthandel, zuerst Hamburg, dann New York, Unbekleidete Frau auf Felsen in sakralidyllischem Ambiente. Hornbostel, *Aus Gräbern und Heiligtümern* (1980), 273, mit Abb. unten links.

59. Basel, Privatbesitz, aus Kleinasien über Kölner Kunsthandel, Bronzespiegel ohne Patina, Hirtin und Hirte, säugendes Tier. Unpubliziert.

60. Paris, Louvre C 7126–7, Bronzespiegel mit ungedeuteter Szene, Rand gewölbt (nach freundlicher Auskunft von J. Frel). A. de Ridder, *Les bronzes antiques du Louvre*, vol. 2 (Paris, 1915), Nr. 1836, Taf. 88. Korrekturzusatz: Nach mündlicher Auskunft. 1. Juckers nicht

zur Gruppe gehörig.

61. Athen, Agora Museum, Spiegel mit Apollon und Daphne. Unpubliziert; *non vidi*.

Zwei fragmentierte Spiegel aus Bayern sind ikonographisch nicht lesbar:

62. Fragmente mit Rest einer Figur aus Pförring, Landkreis Ingolstadt; *non vidi*.

63. Reliefspiegel aus der Grabung des Landesamts Augsburg in Günzburg; *non vidi*.

Auch die Porträtmedaillons und Dosenspiegel konnten um zwei Exemplare vermehrt werden:

64. Köln, Römisch-Germanisches Museum, Dosenspiegel mit Münze des Kaisers Nero. K. Vierneisel und P. Zanker, Hrsg., *Die Bildnisse des Augustus* Ausstellung. Kat. Glyptothek (München, 1979), 20, mit Abb.

65. Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum, Silber Spiegel mit Porträtbüste des Domitian und Signatur des Künstlers Europos, aus Persien, südlich des Kaspischen Sees. M. R. Alföldi, in *Festschrift A. N. Zadoks-Josephus Jitta* (Groningen, o.J.), 15ff.; Vierneisel und Zanker (a.O., Kat. Nr. 64), 20, mit Abb.

Schließlich müssen drei in der chronologisch-kunstgeschichtlichen Bewertung sehr problematische Stücke mit einbezogen werden:²⁰

66. Hannover, Kestner-Museum 1929.184, Deckel einer Spiegelkapsel mit Relief eines Löwen, 'aus Todi.' The Burlington Fine Arts Club, *Exhibition 1904*, 61, Nr. D 96, Taf. 65; R. Zahn, *Antike, byzantinische, islamische Arbeiten der Kleinkunst und des Kunstgewerbes*, Ausstellungskatalog Galerie Bachstitz II (Berlin, 1921), Nr. 96, Taf. 34; Züchner (a.O., Anm. 16), 152. An dem breiten, äußeren Rand fällt die sparsame Profilierung auf. Da die große Scheibe ganz flach schien, was bei den römischen Spiegeln nicht üblich ist, war zu prüfen, ob darin der ursprüngliche Bestand erhalten ist. Auf meine Bitte hin ließ U. Gehrig den Spiegelrest restaurieren und konnte die Zusammengehörigkeit der erhaltenen Teile bestätigen. Ich zitiere seinen Bericht (vom 9 Juli, 1985) im Auszug:

Die Spiegelscheibe besteht aus dünner Bronze, die Spiegelseite ist glatt und nur am Rand durch unregelmäßig eingedrehte Kreise verziert. Die Rückseite

hat einen breiten, glatten Rand und in der Mitte ein sehr scharf eingedrehtes Feld, so scharf eingedreht, daß das schabende Instrument der Drehbank an zwei Stellen bis zur Spiegelseite durchgegangen ist.

Dieses mittlere, vertiefte Feld nun besteht aus 2 Zonen, einem breiten Rand, der gefüllt ist mit Lotmasse, die unregelmäßig verschmiert ist, und einer kreisrunden Innenfläche, die ohne Lot und ohne Patina erhalten ist.

Der sogenannte Deckel nun mit dem Löwen auf der Außenseite paßt haarscharf in dieses abgedrehte Feld. Aber nicht nur das, sondern auch die Oberfläche der Unterseite dieses Deckels ist dem Zustand auf dem abgedrehten Feld der Spiegelscheibe sehr ähnlich: auch hier ein breiter Streifen mit unregelmäßig verschmierter Lotmasse und in der Mitte ein kreisrundes Feld, das ohne Lot geblieben ist und sich ziemlich genau in der Größe mit dem Feld auf der Spiegelscheibe deckt.

Die Patina auf der Oberseite der Spiegelscheibe ist jetzt, da sie gereinigt ist, etwas anders in der Farbe als die Patina des gegossenen Teiles mit dem Löwen. Trotzdem scheint es mir, daß beide Teile wohl einst zusammengehört haben.

Auf dem Rand der Spiegelscheibenoberseite befindet sich an einer Stelle auch noch ein größerer Lotrest. Ein zweiter Lotrest ist nicht auf der Spiegelscheibenoberseite zu finden. Die Drehbankspuren auf beiden Seiten der Spiegelscheibe—eine nicht konzentrisch verlaufende Linie am Rand der Oberseite sei noch erwähnt—zeigen eigentlich eine erfahrene Lässigkeit, wie sie im Griechischen noch nicht denkbar ist.

67. Athen, Ethniko Archaologiko Musion 7679, Bronzespiegel mit vergoldetem Relief, Herakles Schlangen würgend, "aus Korinth." G. E. Mylonas, *AM 3* (1878), 226ff., Taf. 10; Züchner (a.O., Anm. 16), 152.

68. London, British Museum Br. 1582, Reliefmedaillon mit Romulus und Remus, H. B. Walters, *Catalogue of the Bronzes, Greek, Roman, and Etruscan* (London, 1899), 257, Nr. 1582, Taf. 11.

Die vorliegenden Äußerungen zu dem Material der Liste ergeben ein kontroverses Bild; die interne Chronologie der Gruppe mit dem Wulstrand scheint noch nicht endgültig geklärt. So wird der Oxfordener Europa-Spiegel, Nr. 18, von

opposta al bassorilievo vi è uno specchio antico roto in piu pezzi).

21. Durch E. Zahn, s.o. zu Nr. 40.

22. Zahlhaas (a.O., Anm. 17), 45ff.; L. Byvanck-Quarles van Ufford, in *Mélanges Mansel*, vol. 1 (Ankara, 1974), 335ff.

23. Nr. 12, 30, 35, 38, 41, 47–49, 52, 56, 59.

24. Nr. 5, 7, 20, 22, 36, 37, 39, 40, 42–46, 53, 57, 58.

25. Nr. 29.

20. Nicht antik ist das Silberrelief angeblich eines Klappspiegels aus Herculaneum mit der Darstellung des Phädra-Mythos in Neapel, Museo Nazionale 25 490: *Ori e argenti dell'Italia antica*, Ausstellungskatalog (Torino, Palazzo Chiabrese, 1961), Nr. 633, Taf. 73; *EAA 3* (1960), 613, Abb. 740. K. Roth entdeckte im Neapolitaner Museumsinventar die Angabe, daß sich auf der Rückseite ein antiker Spiegel befinde, der in mehrere Stücke zerbrochen ist (nella parte

G. Zahlhaas dem frühen 3. Jh. n. Chr. zugewiesen, in der jüngsten Äußerung dagegen in die Mitte des 1. Jhs. n. Chr. gerückt.²¹ Die Eroten der Sammlung Schwartzkopf, Nr. 46, wurden ursprünglich spontan mit claudischem Stil verbunden, das Gegenstück in Providence, Nr. 45, aber in das 2. Jh. n. Chr. datiert. Ähnlich spontan ist die Ansetzung des Erotenspiegel in Leiden, Nr. 48, in späthellenistische bis frühaugusteische Zeit erfolgt. Das Schließungsdatum der Gräber von Lüleburgaz, aus dem die Spiegel Nr. 12 und 30 stammen, darf nicht überbewertet werden. Die Fundinventare der ostthrakischen Grabhügel sind häufig uneinheitlich und enthalten ältere "Erinnerungsstücke."²²

Besondere Aufmerksamkeit verlangt der Spiegel mit dionysischer Szene, Nr. 55, einst im Freiburger Kunsthandel (Abb. 11). Man hätte ihn auf Grund seines glatten Wulstrand spontan unter die römischen gestellt. Zwar scheint das Relief neu auf seinem Untergrund montiert, auch unterscheiden sich die Figuren stilistisch durch ihr größeres Volumen von den flachen Reliefs in der klassizistischen Manier des 2. Jhs. n. Chr., aber es gibt keinen konkreten Anlaß, das Relief und die darunterliegende Deckplatte des Spiegelkastens für ursprünglich nicht zueinander gehörig zu halten. Auch hebt sich der Figurenstil deutlich von der Darstellungsweise der etruskischen Gruppe ab, die wenig strukturierte plastische Formen mit vorwiegend zeichnerischen Elementen unbefangen mischt. Dennoch hat Hans Jucker den Spiegel seinerzeit im Katalog der Kunsthandlung ohne Vorbehalt als etruskische Arbeit des 3. Jhs. v. Chr. in Anspruch genommen. Wir empfinden auf das schmerzlichste, daß wir dieses Urteil nicht mehr mit dem hervorragenden Kenner etruskischer Kunst diskutieren können. Sollten die Auffälligkeiten im Befund dieses Spiegels Zeichen einer besonderen Zeitstellung sein? Steht er etruskischen Vorbildern nahe und ist er ein früher Vertreter der Gruppe mit dem Wulstrand? Die Fragen sind die gleichen wie zu dem Florentiner Spiegel, Nr. 28 der ersten Liste.

Eine Antwort mit abschliessender Beweiskraft läßt sich heute noch nicht geben. Aber Indizien sprechen mir für eine frühe Datierung des dionysischen Spiegels in Florenz und wohl auch des Exemplars Liste 2, Nr. 55. Da ist einmal die Herkunft der Spiegel in Liste 2. Den Florentiner Spiegel mitgezählt, liegen für 56 der 69 Spiegel Angaben zur Herkunft oder begründete Vermutungen vor. Der Übersichtlichkeit halber wieder in Listenform:

Kleinasien, Ostthrakien, Syrien, gesichert ²³	11
Kleinasien, wahrscheinlich ²⁴	16
Südliche Schwarzmeerküste ²⁵	1
Nördliche Schwarzmeerküste ²⁶	3
Persien ²⁷	1
Africa Romana ²⁸	8
Nördliche Provinzen ²⁹	9
Griechenland ³⁰	2
Italien, gesichert ³¹	3
Italien, möglicherweise ³²	2

Es dominiert der Osten des römischen Imperiums, was sicher kein statistischer Zufall ist. Der in den letzten zwei Jahrzehnten durch den Kunsthandel gewonnene Zuwachs stammt fast ausschließlich aus Kleinasien, und in eben dieser Gruppe überwiegt der Klassizismus des 2. Jhs. n. Chr. deutlich. In Kleinasien ist mit eigenen Werkstätten zu rechnen. Zwei weitere Schwerpunkte liegen in der Africa Romana des modernen Tunesiens und in den Provinzen nördlich der Alpen, letzteres wohl wesentlich durch die Intensität der Bodenforschung in Bayern mitbestimmt. Daß die Spiegel Afrikas und des Nordens jedoch keine isolierte Entwicklung durchgemacht haben und nicht lokale Werkstätten in selbständiger Tradition die Gattung weiterentwickelten, ist von vornherein zu vermuten und wird durch die Querverbindungen etwa in der Drei Grazien-Gruppe,³³ im Typus der Proserpina-Büste³⁴ oder in der Darstellung der Venus Victrix³⁵ bestätigt. Wenn es wirklich eine Entwicklung vom etruskischen Reliefspiegel zum römischen mit dem aufgewölbten Rand gegeben hat, dann muß sie in Italien stattgefunden haben. Aber hier sind die Funde der römischen Variante überraschend rar, jedenfalls soweit sie in die Publikationen und die Ausstellungsbereiche der Museen gelangt sind. Die Vesuvstädte waren an der Ausbildung des Typus mit dem Wulstrand nicht beteiligt,³⁶ sei es daß er noch nicht bekannt war, sei es daß die frühe Entwicklung sich nicht in Kampanien abspielte, wie ich vermute. Ob die nord- und mittellitalienischen Sammlungen weitere Zeugen für den vermuteten Konnex bieten, wird erst die Durchsicht ihrer Magazine klären. Der Spiegel aus Perugia mit der Eros-Psyche-Gruppe, Nr. 54, könnte ein weiteres Zeugnis dafür sein, daß die Entwicklung zum Wulstrand sich im Umkreis Etruriens abspielte. Sein Wulstrand in Form von teigigen Blättern, der nicht durch einen Absatz vom Relief

26. Nr. 4, 17, 23.

27. Nr. 65.

28. Nr. 3, 8, 11, 14, 16, 25, 27, 28.

29. Nr. 1, 10, 15, 24, 33, 34, 51, 62, 63.

30. Nr. 61, 67.

31. Nr. 54, 66. Liste 1, 28.

32. Nr. 21, 50, beide aus dem römischen Kunsthandel.

33. Nr. 1–4, 36–38.

34. Nr. 16, 17.

35. Nr. 21, 22, 41.

36. Zahlhaas (a.O., Anm. 17), 13ff.; G. Lloyd-Morgan, in *Papers in Italian Archaeology* vol. 1, Hrsg. H. Blake u.a. (Oxford, 1978), 227f.; dies., *The Mirrors* (a.O., Anm. 18).

getrennt ist, scheint eine Vorform der kanonischen Gestaltung, wie sie in Nr. 53 vorliegt. Auch der Pariser Spiegel, Nr. 60, vermittelt in der Publikation den Eindruck, daß er 'zwischen' Etruskischem und Römischem stehe (eine Untersuchung steht freilich noch aus).

Es gibt ein weiteres Argument dafür, daß die Verbindung des Wulstrand mit dem Spiegelrelief in Italien, aber nicht erst in flavischer Zeit geschah. Späthellenistische unverzierte Spiegelscheiben Großgriechenlands zeigen vereinzelt Vorstufen zum Wulstrand hin.³⁷ Wenn diese Durchbildung den Handwerkern der 'römischen' Spiegel bekannt war, dann leisteten sie die Vereinigung des 'etruskischen' Hochreliefs mit der Rahmung der unverzierten Spiegel.

In einem vergleichbaren entwicklungsgeschichtlichen Zusammenhang sind die Spiegel Nr. 66–68 zu sehen, von denen für das Exemplar in Hannover, Nr. 66, durch die Angabe 'Todi' eine mittelitalische Herkunft ausgedrückt ist. Das eigentliche Relief ist auf eine größere, flache oder einfach profilierte Scheibe in der Tradition der griechischen Klappspiegel appliziert. Schon Zahn hatte ihre römische Zeitstellung erkannt und auf den medaillonartig umgebogenen Rand des Reliefs hingewiesen. Sie gehören formal zu den Spiegeln mit den Münzmedaillons, nicht als eine Vorstufe der Spiegel mit dem Wulstrand, sondern als eine parallele Erscheinung.

Die vorgetragenen Überlegungen legen eine Datierung des Florentiner Spiegels mit dem dionysischen Thema 'um 100 v. Chr.' nahe—hierbei ist die Zahlenangabe vorwiegend als Chiffre für den entwicklungsgeschichtlichen Standort zwischen Späthellenismus und erstem Klassizismus zu verstehen. Eine genauere Eingrenzung wird erst möglich sein, wenn die italischen Parallelen zur Verfügung stehen und das Corpus Speculorum Etruscorum ausreichende Grundlagen geschaffen hat.

Der enge Zusammenhang des Florentiner Spiegels mit dem Spiegelrelief des Getty Museum erlaubt mehrere Schlußfolgerungen. Die Arbeit des Reliefs ist nicht die Arbeit eines "copyist," wie Anderson formulierte, sondern die Veränderungen gegenüber der einheitlichen Überlieferung Nr. 2–26 sind deutliche und bewußte Umformungen, für die ein veränderter Kunstgeschmack verantwortlich ist. Die beginnende *klassizistische* Gesin-

nung formuliert hier neu, was so lange in der hellenistischen Darstellungsweise des Themas gegolten hatte. Das bedingt auch für den Spiegeldeckel in Malibu ein Datum 'um 100 v. Chr.' Der Florentiner Spiegel kommt aus Tarquinia. Zum Verständnis des Übergangs von der etruskischen Tradition zu den römischen Spiegeln ist dieser Fundort nicht unwichtig. Es handelt sich nicht um Unterbrechung und Neuanfang, sondern die etruskische Gestaltungsweise wird in einer Phase des Übergangs aufgenommen und allmählich anverwandelt. Die etruskischen Spiegel gehen in die römischen über, ohne daß eine krasse Zäsur zwischen ihnen liegt. Die römischen Kunsthandwerker stützen sich dabei direkt und ohne vermittelnde Zwischenstufen auf die etruskische Tradition. Die terminologische Unterscheidung, hier einen 'etruskischen,' dort einen 'römischen' Spiegel sehen zu wollen, schafft ein Diesseits und Jenseits, das in dieser Weise gar nicht existiert. Das Exemplar des Getty Museum steht typologisch in der Tradition der etruskischen Reliefspiegel, schließt sich aber stilistisch mit dem römischen Nachfolger zusammen. Der Spiegel steht unmittelbar auf der Grenze des Formwandels zum römischen Klassizismus hin und hat dadurch eine besondere und eigene Bedeutung.

III.

Die Stützgruppe des Gottes und seines Gehilfen hat ihre motivischen Entsprechungen in der Fülle von Zweifigurengruppen, in denen sich Dionysos auf einen Satyrn oder Silen stützt. Die Denkmäler, die von der Vasenmalerei Athens und Großgriechenlands über die kleinformatischen Darstellungen der Bronzeappliken und der Tonreliefs bis hin zur kaiserzeitlichen Großplastik aus Marmor und zu den Bildern der dionysischen Sarkophage wie der Mosaiken reichen, sind zu gut bekannt, als daß sie hier erneut vorgestellt werden müssen.³⁸ Sowohl Di Stefano als auch Anderson sind dem Zusammenhang der Spiegelreliefs mit dieser Überlieferung nachgegangen. In diesem Zusammenhang war es lange ein Hauptproblem der Forschung, ob am Anfang der Tradition bestimmte Werke der 'großen' Kunst gestanden hätten, die für die Fülle der Darstellungen in der Kleinkunst Vorbild gewesen wären, und wann diese Vorbilder der Großplastik oder der

37. E. M. De Juliis u.a., *Gli Ori di Taranto in Età Ellenistica*, Ausstellungskatalog (Milano, 1984), 425, Nr. 85: 6; 437, Nr. 95: 5.

38. Allein innerhalb des kaiserzeitlichen Materials zähle ich zur Zeit, ohne daß ich besondern Wert auf Vollständigkeit legte, 22 großplastische Gruppen, 16 Gruppen kleinen Formats in Marmor, 10 Reliefs aus dem Umfeld der Neuaattischen Werkstätten, ca. 100 Darstellungen der Stützgruppe auf Sarkophagen des 2. und 3. Jhs. n. Chr., 10 Mosaikbilder, 10 kaiserzeitliche und spät republikanische Gemmen und eine Handvoll Darstellungen in Bronze. Hierzu

dernächst eingehend E. Pochmarski, "Dionysische Gruppen" (im Druck).

39. Z. B. P. Arndt im Text zu *BrBr*, 620, anlässlich der Vorlage der Gruppe in den Uffizien.

40. Das gilt nicht für die Gruppen kleineren Formats. Die Exemplare in Kos (L. Morricone, *BdA*, Ser. 4, 35 [1950], 238f., mit Abb. 72), Rhethymnon, Mus. Inv. 2 aus Eleutherna (*To Ergon*, 1954, 52, Abb. 67; *DAI Athen Neg.* 75/1213) und ex Bufali (Reinach, *RSt*, vol. 3, 35, 4) sind echte Repliken mit Repliken-Problemen, gehören aber erst der

Tafelmalerei anzusetzen seien. Die von der Meisterforschung bestimmten Generationen nahmen als gleichsam selbstverständlich an, daß die großformatigen Gruppen in Marmor auf namhafte Meister zurückzuführen seien.³⁹ Als die verfeinerte und methodisch präzisierte Kopienkritik sich bewußt wurde, daß unter den Marmorgruppen kein einziges Exemplar den Anspruch erheben kann, wirklich im strengen Sinn Replik eines anderen zu sein,⁴⁰ wurde die Beurteilung des Urbilds modifiziert und ein Ursprung in der großen Tafelmalerei postuliert.⁴¹

Di Stefano folgte dieser Forschungsstradition und schickte ihren Überlegungen zur Herleitung des Typus gleichsam programmatisch die Prämisse voraus, daß am Anfang ein einziger *Archetypus* gestanden haben müsse, den sie dann vorwiegend mit Hilfe der Großplastik zu rekonstruieren suchte.⁴² Anders Anderson verfolgte die Stützgruppe in der Kleinkunst und kam zu dem Schluß, daß die Formulierung der etruskischen Spiegel von der Ikonographie der Vasenbilder und der spätklassischen Bronzereliefs des 4. Jhs. v. Chr. abstamme.

Beide Versuche begehen den methodischen Fehler, daß sie den *Typus* und das *Motiv* bei der Bewertung des Materials nicht scheiden. Motiv meint die Wiedergabe des Themas "Dionysos auf einen Gefährten seines Thiasos gestützt," der Typus ist die spezielle Formulierung dieses Motivs in einer Schöpfung der bildenden Kunst und das Weiterwirken dieser in einer bestimmten Schöpfung in anderen Kunstwerken durch Übernahme oder Abwandlung. Da die Denkmäler so zahlreich sind, lassen sich für alle vorgeschlagenen Gruppierungen hinreichend Vertreter finden, die die typologische Kontinuität scheinbar bestätigen, auch wenn man "Typus" strenger faßt, als es z. B. Di Stefano und Anderson tun. Alle Behandlungen des Materials gingen deshalb so vor, daß sie typologische Stränge in ihrem angenommenen Entwicklungsgang verfolgten.⁴³ Daß aber die kaiserzeitlichen Denkmäler auf klassische Typoi im engeren Sinn zurückgehen, könnte nur damit bewiesen werden, daß datierte klassische Vorlagen nachgewiesen werden oder daß vermittelnde Überlieferungsreihen der hellenistischen Kunst gebildet werden. Es kommt also darauf an, das vorrömische ikonographische Material möglichst genau chronologisch zu ordnen. Gerade hierin sind ältere Untersuchungen nicht

konsequent genug vorgegangen.

Es würde hier zu weit führen, alle Materialklassen und Gattungen einzubeziehen. Es mag genügen, die griechischen Bronzespiegel zu überprüfen, die im Hinblick auf die etruskischen Spiegel immer wieder herangezogen worden sind. Vorauszuschicken ist, was längst festgehalten wurde, daß der Eros anstelle des Satyrs bereits von der griechischen Kunst des 4. Jhs. eingeführt wurde. Aber das rotfigurige Kertscher Schaleninnenbild in Leningrad⁴⁴ ist kein typologischer Vorläufer der Spiegel. Die Figurenverteilung ist anders, die Verwandtschaft rein inhaltlicher, aber nicht kompositorischer Art. Das gilt ebenfalls für den schönen fragmentierten Spiegeldeckel im Louvre.⁴⁵ Daß der Eros rechts vom Gott angeordnet ist, darf auch nicht als eine seitenverkehrte Wiedergabe des Typus der etruskischen Spiegel verstanden werden. Der Impetus der Darstellung, die Bewegungsrichtungen und alle Details von Gewandung und Charakterisierung der Figuren sind bei jeder Lesung der Figuren völlig anders. Erst recht gilt das für die Spiegel mit der Zweifigurengruppe von Dionysos und Satyr—das im zweiten Weltkrieg zerstörte Exemplar, das sich in Leipzig befunden hatte,⁴⁶ und den Typus, der durch den Spiegel im Cabinet des Médailles bekannt ist.⁴⁷ Über das Motivische geht die Beziehung zu der etruskischen Gruppe in keinem Fall hinaus. Angesichts der ungemein weit verbreiteten Beliebtheit des Motivs ist man nicht berechtigt, von Abhängigkeit und Übernahme zu sprechen. Die Formulierung des Motivs im einzelnen Typus bleibt jeweils auf die einzelne Werkstatt beschränkt, so daß umgekehrt gefolgert werden muß, die Dreifigurengruppe der Spiegel Nr. 2–26 sei in der etruskischen toreutischen Werkstatt oder ihrer nächsten Umgebung durchformuliert worden.

Es gibt nur eine motivisch eng verwandte Gruppe auf drei Silberspiegeln aus Chiusi und Aquileia, die sich heute in Boston und London befinden.⁴⁸ Wenn sie antik sind, was mehrfach bezweifelt wurde, sind sie Arbeiten des 3. Jhs. Die Gruppe zieht nach links, nicht wie die der Spiegel Nr. 2–26 nach rechts. Voraus geht ein bärtiger Silen, der den Doppelaulos bläst; ihm folgen, im Stützmotiv verbunden, Dionysos und Eros. Hier liegt in der Tat der Verdacht nahe, daß derselbe Typus wie der der Bronzespiegel in spiegelverkehrter Weise benutzt sei. Eine genaue

Welt der kaiserzeitlichen 'dekorativen' Ausstattungsware an.

41. G. Lippold, *Kopien und Umbildungen* (München, 1923), 175ff.

42. Di Stefano 82ff.

43. Z. B. Arndt (a. O., Amn. 39); P. Ducati, *ÖJh* 16 (1913), 107ff.; A. Levi, *Ausonia* 9 (1919), 55ff.; G. Lippold (a. O., Amn. 41); J. Sieveking, *JdI* 56 (1941), 72ff.; P. Amandry, *ASAtene* 24–26, N. S. 8–10 (1946–48), 181ff.; D. Levi, *Antioch Mosaic Pavements* (Princeton, 1947), 40ff.; F. Matz, *Die Dionysischen Sarkophage*, *ARS*, vol. 4.1 (1968), 66ff.; E. Pochmarski, in *Greece and Italy in the Classical World*, *ICCA* 12 (1978),

228 und die Anm. 38 genannte grundlegende Arbeit zu dionysischen Gruppen.

44. *CRPetersbourg* (1865–69), Atlas Taf. 4, 9; Anderson, 59, Anm. 9.

45. Paris, Louvre Br. 1708; Anderson, 59f. Abb. 1.

46. Ehemals Leipzig, Universitätssammlung; Züchner (a. O., Anm. 16), 38f., Nr. 46, Abb. 17; Anderson, 59, Anm. 6.

47. Paris, Cabinet des Médailles 1355: *BCH* 9 (1885), Taf. 7; Ander-

Prüfung lehrt das Gegenteil! So konsequent die ikonographischen Details einander in der Gruppe Nr. 2–26 entsprechen, ebenso konsequent schließen sich die beiden Silberspiegel zusammen. Dionysos trägt auf beiden Silberspiegeln Stiefel und einen Gürtel, aber auf keinem der Bronzespiegel; Eros hilft dem Gott mit dem angewinkelten rechten Knie direkt auf, was auf den Bronzespiegeln nicht vorkommt. Auch der stilistische Habitus der Silberspiegel mit weich gerundeten, fülligen Formen und unteretzten Proportionen hebt sich deutlich von der mehr graphisch bestimmten Zeichenweise der Bronzespiegel ab. Auch hier handelt es sich um einen eigenen Typus, der neben dem Typus der Bronzespiegel für sich besteht, unabhängig wann er entstanden ist. Und bemerkenswert ist in diesem Zusammenhang, daß die Erfindung der Bronzespiegel das Rund des Spiegeldeckels durchaus erfolgreicher gestaltet und dem Typus der Silberspiegel kompositionell überlegen ist.

Daß die Grenzen einzelner Werkstätten bei der Benutzung ikonographischer Typen nicht oder selten überschritten werden, gilt in spätklassischer und noch in hellenistischer Zeit. Deshalb ist es umgekehrt auffällig, daß die etruskische Gruppe auf andere Kunstgattungen direkt eingewirkt hat und dort wiederholt wurde. Die Kopien fanden sich in einer Klasse wohl südetruskischer Reliefkeramik⁴⁹ und in den Reliefs Calenischer Schalen.⁵⁰ Hinsichtlich der tiefen Schale der Villa Giulia kann nur

vermutet werden, daß gegenseitige Werkstattnähe die Übernahme verursacht hat. Die Werkstätten der campanischen Reliefkeramik hingegen sind bekannt dafür, daß speziell sie bereitwillig, ja begierig Vorbilder von überall her aufgreifen. In den Bildern der Calenischen Schalen treffen sich Vorlagen, die aus den unterschiedlichsten Richtungen herkommen. Es wird Griechisches wie Etruskisches verwertet. Der Sitz der Werkstätten in Campanien erleichterte es, Vorlagen aus beiden Bereichen heranzuziehen. Die Übernahme der Dreifigurengruppe der etruskischen Spiegel ist somit als Sonderfall des Vorgehens calenischer Werkstätten verständlich, aber ihre Verbreitung bleibt auf Italien beschränkt. In den Calenischen Schalen⁵¹ begegnet sie der anderen dionysischen Dreifigurengruppe, die ebenfalls eine Erfindung des 3. Jhs. ist, doch in den griechischen Bereich gehört—der Kußgruppe mit Dionysos, einer Mänade und einem Satyr, die ursprünglich den Werkstätten der Megarischen Becher⁵² und der Tonarulen⁵³ zugehört.

Die römischen Glaspasten,⁵⁴ die ebenfalls bereits als Zeugnis des Weiterwirkens der etruskischen Spiegel angeführt worden sind, greifen bezeichnenderweise nicht auf die ursprüngliche etruskische Version zurück, sondern übernehmen die Neuformulierung der Spiegel Malibu und Florenz, die, wie sich zeigte, bereits vom Geist des Klassizismus bestimmt sind.

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son, 59, Anm. 8.

48. H. B. Walters, *British Museum Catalogue of Silver Plate* (London, 1921), 16, Nr. 70, Taf. 8; Di Stefano, 83; Richardson (a.O., Kat. Nr. 7), Abb. 19; L. G. Eldridge, *AJA* 22 (1918), 257ff., mit Abb. 4.

49. Di Stefano, 82, Taf. 29, 1–2.

50. A.O., Anm. 12, 13.

51. O. Benndorf, *Griechische und sizilische Vasenbilder*, vol. 4 (Berlin, 1883), Taf. 56.

52. Zuletzt G. Siebert, *Recherches sur les ateliers de bol à reliefs du Péloponnèse à l'époque Hellénistique*, BEFAR 233 (1978), 244ff.; S. I. Rotroff, *Hellenistic Pottery: Athenian and Imported Moldmade ware*. The Athenian Agora, vol. 22 (1982), 20, 21, 25, 30.

53. Zuletzt C. E. Vafopoulou-Richardson, *JHS* 102 (1982), 229ff.

54. Anderson, 62, Anm. 16; *AGDS*, vol. 3 (Göttingen), 76, Nr. 23, Taf. 30, *AGDS*, vol. 4 (Hannover), 21, Nr. 29, 30, Taf. 10.

La fin de Falerii Veteres: Un témoignage archéologique

Jean-Louis Zimmermann

Un superbe plastron en bronze est actuellement exposé au Musée J. Paul Getty de Malibu (figs. 1a–d).¹ Il s'agit de la partie antérieure d'une cuirasse de la classe dite *anatomique* ou *musculaire*.²

Les qualités plastiques de cette protection métallique ont incontestablement une valeur artistique: le relief anatomique est puissamment modelé et les muscles sont subtilement différenciés, comme en témoignent les pectoraux asymétriques. Même les saillies osseuses et les tendons sont rendus à la perfection. Toutefois, ce style réaliste et de haute qualité relève moins d'une recherche esthétique que du désir d'adapter parfaitement l'arme défensive à la morphologie du guerrier.³

La profondeur de la partie inférieure du plastron et surtout l'inclinaison du couvre-ventre ne conviennent qu'à un cavalier.⁴ La base du cou était protégée par un col bas, au bord rabattu et renforcé par une tige métallique interne. Un tel renforcement longe aussi les échancrures brachiales et la bordure abdominale; ce système assure une meilleure protection des parties vulnérables et il évite la friction de parties tranchantes sur la peau. Autrefois en métal rapporté, les mamelons ont malheureusement disparu. Les brisures qui rayonnent à proximité du mamelon gauche pourraient correspondre à un point d'impact, comme d'ailleurs l'arrachement situé à la base du muscle oblique.⁵

Bien que la protection dorsale ne soit pas conservée, il n'est pas difficile de la reconstituer, par comparaison avec les autres cuirasses du même type: le dos était moins profond et moins épais que le plastron, auquel il était relié par des charnières rivées sur les flancs et sur les épaules. Les charnières sont des plaquettes de bronze; leurs mortaises et leurs tenons s'encastrent les uns dans les autres et ils sont reliés par une clavette. Les perforations qui sont indépendantes des charnières assuraient la fixation du rembourrage.

Le plastron de Malibu appartient à l'un des deux principaux types de cuirasses réalisées en Italie méridionale, lors du quatrième siècle av. J.-C. Contrairement au type *campanien court*,⁶ produit dans un atelier itاليque sous influence italiote,⁷ le type représenté ici est de facture coloniale grecque, peut-être tarentine.⁸ La localisation de l'atelier est basée sur la répartition spatiale⁹ de ces cuirasses et sur leurs innombrables représentations dans l'art apulien.¹⁰

Par ses proportions et le style du relief musculaire, cette cuirasse est grecque,¹¹ comme le confirme d'ailleurs une cuirasse en fer, qui appartient au même type et qui a été découverte dans une tombe, à Prodrumi, en Thesprotie.¹² Ces affinités entre la cuirasse en fer d'un haut dignitaire épirote et un type *apulien* contemporain ne sont guère surprenantes, si l'on songe à l'expédition d'Alexandre le Molosse, assassiné à son retour de Tarente, en 331 av.

Je tiens à exprimer tous mes remerciements à Messieurs Jiří Frel et Arthur Houghton qui m'ont autorisé à publier cette oeuvre.

1. Cuirasse en bronze; H: (du col à l'aîne) 37,6 cm, et (du col à la base de l'abdomen) 42,9 cm; larg. max. 33,8 cm; prof. max. 23,3 cm. L.80.AC.37.

2. A. Hagemann, *Griechische Panzerung*, vol. 1 (Berlin et Leipzig, 1919), pp. 20–88.

3. J.-L. Zimmermann, *MusHelv* 36 (1979), p. 177.

4. Cf. Zimmermann (supra, note 3), p. 178 n. 18, p. 181 n. 57. Ce fait est confirmé par le mors trouvé en association avec la cuirasse (infra, note 21). A. Oliver, *AntK Beiheft* 5 (1968), p. 13, fig. 9.2.

5. Cf. Zimmermann (supra, note 3), p. 182.

6. Cf. Zimmermann, *GettyMusJ* 10 (1982), p. 138 n. 62, p. 140 n. 113.

7. Par exemple, à Paestum, cf. P. G. Guzzo, *MusHelv* 38 (1981), p. 57.

8. Cf. Zimmermann (supra, note 3), p. 181 et idem (supra, note 6), pp. 57–59; contra Guzzo (supra, note 7), pp. 55–61, qui énonce pourtant un argument supplémentaire en faveur de l'hypothèse tarentine (p. 60, nn. 25–26), de même que G. Colonna, *Studi di Antichità in Onore di G. Maetzelke* (Rome, 1984), P. 232. Influence tarentine sur l'armement

italique, cf. A. Pontrandolfo Greco, *I Lucani* (Milan, 1982), pp. 144–145.

9. Cf. Zimmermann (supra, note 6), p. 138, nn. 83–84. Comme me l'a très aimablement indiqué Giuseppe Andreassi, les fragments d'une cuirasse de ce type se trouvent à Tarente; ils proviennent d'une tombe découverte à Ginosa, en 1935.

10. Cf. Zimmermann (supra, note 3), p. 180 n. 37, p. 181 n. 57; *CVI* Milan coll. H.A. I, pl. 34, no. 221 et pl. 35, no. 341.

11. Cf. Zimmermann (supra, note 6), p. 138 n. 76, p. 139 n. 103.

12. A. Choremis, *AAA* 13.1 (1980), pp. 10–18. Cette cuirasse ne diffère de cuirasses *apuliennes* comme New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 16.173 (Oliver, supra, note 4, p. 14 n. 74; Zimmermann, supra, note 6, p. 138 n. 81, no. 11) que par le choix du matériau et par la présence d'appliques en or (cf. M. Andronikos, *Vergina* [Athènes, 1984], pp. 138–139), deux éléments qui confirment le rang élevé du défunt. Qu'il s'agisse d'une cuirasse tarentine ou d'une imitation épirote, peu importe! Ce qui compte est le fait qu'elle est non seulement apparentée aux cuirasses en bronze d'Italie du sud, mais contemporaine; elle n'est même pas l'une des plus anciennes, au point de vue typologique, et elle n'est certainement pas le précurseur grec des cuirasses italiotes.



Figure 1a. Cuirasse en bronze. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum L.80.AC.37.



Figure 1b. Profil droit de la cuirasse, figure 1a.



Figure 1c. Profil gauche de la cuirasse, figure 1a.

J.-C.¹³ D'après son contenu, la tombe de Prodromi date du troisième quart du quatrième siècle.¹⁴

Deux cuirasses de Canosa¹⁵ et une cuirasse de Cariati¹⁶ permettent de dater le plastron L80.AC.37 du Musée J. Paul Getty, à la fin du troisième ou au début du dernier quart du quatrième siècle.¹⁷

L'armure 80.AC.12 du Musée J. Paul Getty¹⁸ est un peu



Figure 1d. L'inscription latine de la cuirasse, figure 1a.

13. A Pandosia, un site non identifié (Prodromi?). Sur Alexandre le Molosse, cf. H. Berve, *Das Alexanderreich auf prosopographischer Grundlage* 2 (Munich, 1926), pp. 19 sqq.; M. Vlasto, *NumChron* 5:6 (1926), 154–231.

14. Cf. Choremis (supra, note 12), p. 18.

15. A. Naples 5725: Zimmermann (supra, note 6), p. 137 n. 44, 46 et p. 138 n. 81, no. 10. D'après ses proportions trapues, la faible protection ventrale, la raideur de la bordure inférieure et le style du relief musculaire, cette cuirasse pourrait être l'une des plus anciennes de la série. Or elle date déjà de la seconde moitié du quatrième siècle av. J.-C., d'après les objets trouvés dans la tombe, cf. *RömMitt* 29 (1914), pp. 99sq. B. Hambourg 1910.448: Oliver (supra, note 4), p. 24, trouvée dans une tombe du dernier quart du siècle, cf. Zimmermann (supra, note 6), p. 138 n. 81, no. 4.

16. Guzzo (supra, note 7), pp. 55–61, pl. 1; D. Ridgway, *JHS-AR* (1981–1982), p. 81, fig. 36; Zimmermann (supra, note 6), p. 138 n. 81, no. 2.

17. Cf. Zimmermann (supra, note 3), p. 181 no. 60 et (supra, note 6), p. 139 n. 90, 98.

18. Zimmermann (supra, note 6), pp. 133–140, figs. 1–4.

plus ancienne,¹⁹ mais elle appartient bien au même type,²⁰ si l'on en juge par ses proportions, son modelé et le mode de fixation des deux coques. Cependant, le plastron L80.AC.37 ressemble davantage à la cuirasse de Cariati, notamment en ce qui concerne le relief des muscles pectoraux, obliques et épigastriques. La position des mamelons et la forme du col sont également comparables. Le renforcement de la bordure, le resserrement des flancs et même la protection des aines sont des particularités communes au plastron de Malibu et à deux cuirasses de Canosa, l'une à Hambourg et l'autre à Bari.²¹

Toutes ces cuirasses constituent un type homogène, et elles appartiennent toutes à la même phase: la seconde moitié du quatrième siècle av. J.-C. Or cette constatation est importante, car l'inscription gravée sur le plastron de Malibu est nettement plus tardive. Grâce à elle, ce plastron a autant d'importance historique que l'armure en fer de Prodromi et que les cuirasses en bronze des mercenaires italiennes²² au service des Grecs²³ ou des Carthaginois.²⁴

L'INSCRIPTION

Les cuirasses qui portent des inscriptions sont rares:²⁵ pour le quatrième siècle av. J.-C., nous ne connaissons que trois cuirasses italiotes,²⁶ chacune d'entre elles fait partie d'un butin pris à l'ennemi: ce sont des dépouilles.

19. Cf. Zimmermann (supra, note 6), p. 138 n. 81, nos. 1 et 14.

20. Ibid., no. 12.

21. Cf. supra, note 15: Hambourg 1910.448; Bari 6075: Zimmermann (supra, note 6), p. 138 n. 81, no. 3.

22. Cf. G. Colonna, *Kôkalos* 26–27 (1980–1981), pp. 172–183; R. Martin, P. Pelagatti, G. Valet, G. Voza, *Sicilia Antica* vol. 1, fasc. 3 (1980), p. 761, fig. 230; Guzzo (supra, note 7), p. 59 n. 10.

23. Cf. G. Mafodda, *Kôkalos* 25 (1975), pp. 197–204; G. Colonna (supra, note 8), p. 229 n. 3 et idem (supra, note 22), p. 177 n. 79, pl. 5a.

24. J. Maluquer de Motes, *Zephyrus* 25 (1974), pp. 321–327.

25. Cf. A. Raubitschek, dans H. Hoffman, *Early Cretan Armors* (Mayence, 1972), pp. 8, 9, 15 n. 1.

26. Encore inédite, la plus ancienne des trois cuirasses proviendrait de Sicile et elle se trouve actuellement dans une collection privée genevoise. Cette cuirasse date vraisemblablement de la première moitié du quatrième siècle av. J.-C., et elle porte une inscription probablement plus tardive et en langue dorique: TAI ATHANAIAI SKYLA APO TÓN POLEMÍON: *A Athènes, les dépouilles des ennemis*. La seconde cuirasse est celle que nous avons publiée en 1979 (supra, note 3), pp. 177–184 et qui date des années 340–330 av. J.-C. Elle porte, en graphie grecque, le nom d'un Italique: *Noyios Bannios* (peut-être pour *Fannios*, cf. G. Colonna [supra, note 8], pp. 235–241, même si le rapprochement proposé par cet auteur avec la fresque des Fabii, puis avec la défaite romaine des Fourches Caudines, est pour le moins hasardeux).

27. Grâce à l'aimable collaboration de Rudolf Wachter, que je remercie vivement, il est possible de faire les constatations suivantes: "Consolibus" correspond ici plutôt à *sous le commandement des consuls* qu'à *sous le consulat de Q. Lutatius et d'A. Manlius*. "Faleries" (forme de transition dans le processus de monophthongaison entre Faleriis et Faleriis) est incontestablement un ablatif pluriel; sur la construction de "capere" avec l'ablatif, cf. *CIL* I², nos. 608, 613, 622. Selon toute vraisemblance, "capto" est utilisé ici à la place de "captom" (captum); il pourrait s'agir

L'originalité de l'inscription de Malibu réside dans la mention d'un évènement précis. D'autre part, elle est la seule qui soit écrite en latin.

Q.LVTATIO.C.F. A.MANLIO.C.F.
CONSOLIBVS.FALERIES.CAPTO.

*Sous les consuls Quintus Lutatius, fils de Caius et Aulus Manlius, fils de Caius, (ce qui a été) pris de Faléries.*²⁷

Grâce aux noms des deux consuls qui ont détruit la cité falisque, il est possible de dater, avec précision, cette inscription de l'an 241 avant notre ère. L'inscription pointillée pose moins de problèmes épigraphiques que linguistiques.²⁸ La forme des lettres, en particulier la présence simultanée du "A" à barre interne brisée et du "L" à barre oblique, du "S" et de "E" et "F" aux barres inclinées, confirme la datation de cette inscription au troisième siècle av. J.-C.,²⁹ une date particulièrement ancienne pour une inscription latine et à valeur historique.³⁰ Par conséquent, sous réserve de la pertinence de la datation proposée pour la cuirasse elle-même,³¹ une conclusion s'impose: l'armure a été portée pendant environ trois générations, avant de tomber aux mains des Romains.

Par son inscription exceptionnelle, le plastron de Malibu est un témoignage émouvant sur la victoire éclair, remportée en cinq ou six jours,³² par les deux consuls, sur la

d'un participe passé au nominatif neutre, cf. *CIL* I², no. 19: (. . . c) osoled (. . .) one captom, plutôt qu'à l'accusatif masculin. Toutefois, cette possibilité ne me semble pas totalement exclue, au cas où la cuirasse proviendrait d'un sanctuaire: "(j'offre ou je dédie)ce *thorax* pris de Faléries."

28. Comme me l'a signalé R. Wachter, cette inscription présente plusieurs traits archaïques, analogues à ceux de *CIL* I², no. 9 (circa 230 av. J.-C.): *consolibus*, cf. *consol*; *Faleries*, cf. *plourime* pour "plurimi"; *capto(m)*, cf. *optumo(m)* . . . *viro(m)*.

29. Cette inscription est vraisemblablement antérieure à celle qui figure sur le sarcophage de L. Cornelius Scipion Barbatus: *CIL* I², nos. 29–30; R. Bianchi Bandinelli, *Rome, le centre du pouvoir* (Paris, 1969), pp. 26, 400, fig. 29.

30. Cf. A. Lippold, *Consules* (Bonn, 1963), pp. 2–3; A. Degrassi, *Inscription Latinae Liberae Rei Publicae Imagines* (Berlin, 1965), pl. 43, no. 59; I. Calabi Limentani, *Epigrafia latina* (Milan, 1968), pp. 238, 250. Un milliaire trouvé en Sicile mentionne le consul de 252 av. J.-C.: C. Aurelius Cotta, censeur au moment des évènements de 241, cf. infra, note 55. Sur ce personnage, cf. A. Di Vita, *Kôkalos* 1 (1955), pp. 10–21; A. Merlin, *Année Epigraphique* (1957), no. 172.

31. Le plastron de Malibu est certainement antérieur à une représentation tarentine de cuirasse qui date du début du troisième siècle (E. Langlotz et M. Hirmer, *Kunst der Westgriechen* [Munich, 1963], pp. 91–92, pl. 140), compte tenu de la forme de la protection abdominale, cf. A. Hagemann (supra, note 2), pp. 20–23.

32. Liv., Per. XX; Eutrope II, 28.

33. Aujourd'hui Cività Castellana, située à 54 km au nord de Rome. Sur Falerii Veteres, cf. G. Cressedi, dans *EAA* 3 (Rome, 1960), pp. 569–570.

34. Pol. I, 63–65, D'ailleurs, pendant la première partie de l'année 241 av. J.-C., Q. Lutatius Cerco n'a pas encore succédé à son frère aîné (cf. Zonar. VIII, 17) comme consul. C. Lutatius Catulus a non seulement eu le temps de remporter la victoire décisive sur la flotte

ville de Faléries, située en Etrurie méridionale.³³

Peu après la fin de la première guerre punique,³⁴ alors que Rome se relevait à peine de deux catastrophes,³⁵ les Falisques ont jugé que le moment était opportun pour secouer le joug romain.³⁶ Ce fut une grave erreur³⁷ et la dernière révolte de la ville principale de l'*Ager Faliscus*. Q. Lutatius Cerco³⁸ et A. Manlius Torquatus Atticus II, qui était consul pour la seconde fois,³⁹ ont mâté cette révolte de manière aussi rapide qu'impitoyable. Cependant, la victoire a été difficile et elle n'a été obtenue qu'après des combats meurtriers:⁴⁰ l'infanterie lourde d'A. Manlius a tout d'abord été battue et il fallut l'intervention de la cavalerie pour remporter la victoire, lors d'un second engagement. En se basant sur Cassius Dion, Zonaras⁴¹ précise que le consul prit possession des armes, de la cavalerie, des dieux,⁴² des esclaves et de la moitié du pays falisque.

Or, bien qu'il ne soit vraisemblablement pas de facture locale,⁴³ le plastron de Malibu fait partie d'une armure portée par un cavalier falisque. De plus, les Falisques, qui sont des Italiques plus ou moins influencés par les Etrusques, avaient l'habitude peu commune d'utiliser des armes défensives anciennes et de tradition grecque.⁴⁴ Tel est précisément le cas du plastron de Malibu que le guerrier tué par les Romains avait peut-être hérité de son père, voire de son grand-père. En tout cas, cette cuirasse prouve, de manière

irréfutable, que des cuirasses *musculaires* sont tombées aux mains des Romains, au moins dès le troisième siècle av. J.-C. La qualité de ces protections métalliques explique le choix de ce type comme armure romaine de parade.⁴⁵

Malgré la reddition de la ville,⁴⁶ probablement au cours de l'automne 241,⁴⁷ le Sénat et le Peuple romain réclamèrent un châtement exemplaire:⁴⁸ Faléries a été complètement détruite,⁴⁹ à l'exception du temple de Junon Curitis,⁵⁰ dont le culte fut transporté à Rome;⁵¹ la population a été déportée dans une nouvelle ville: Falerii Novi.⁵²

Pour cette victoire, chacun des deux consuls a eu droit au triomphe, comme nous l'apprennent les "acta triumphalia" des "Fasti Capitolini," rédigés sous Auguste, entre 19 et 10 av. J.-C.⁵³ D'après cette source, le triomphe de Q. Lutatius Cerco a eu lieu le 1er mars de l'an 240 et celui d'A. Manlius Torquatus, trois jours plus tard.⁵⁴

Pour A. Manlius, les "fasti triumphales" et les "fasti consulares" indiquent une autre filiation que celle qui est attestée sur la cuirasse.⁵⁵ Certes, on ne peut exclure la possibilité d'une erreur de transcription de la part du graveur du plastron; toutefois, celui-ci est un document contemporain des événements dont il est question. Le fait que les deux consuls aient eu droit au triomphe pour la même victoire est d'autant plus intéressant qu'en principe, ils ne remplissaient pas toutes les conditions pour recevoir un tel

carthaginoise aux îles Aegates, mais aussi d'élaborer les clauses du traité de paix. Sur la participation de Q. Lutatius Cerco à la tête des dix commissaires envoyés en Sicile pour rendre le traité plus favorable aux Romains, cf. F. Cassolá, *I gruppi politici romani nel III secolo A.C.* (Rome, 1968), p. 192.

35. Une inondation (Oros. IV,11,6-7) suivie d'un incendie (Liv., Per. XIX; Oros. IV,11,9; Plin., N.H. VII,141; Ov., Fast. VI,437-439). Sur l'antériorité de ces deux catastrophes par rapport à la prise de Faléries, cf. Münzer, *RE* 13, 2 (1927), col. 2095.

36. Ov., fast. 6,49; Val. Max. VI,5,1.

37. L'armée était encore concentrée à Rome, le 6 octobre, pour le triomphe de Q. Valérius Falto qui était vraisemblablement encore consul à ce moment-là. En effet, le triomphe a lieu "in magistratu," (Liv. X,46,2; XXXI,48,6 et 49,2; XXXIII,37,10; XLI,13,6), sauf en cas de guerre prolongée. Or la guerre punique est terminée depuis le début de l'été.

38. Cf. T. R. S. Broughton, *The Magistrates of the Roman Republic*, vol. 1 (Lancaster, N. Y., 1951-1952), p. 222.

39. Cf. A. Lippold (supra, note 30), pp. 119, 334-335.

40. Eutrope II,28.

41. VIII,18.

42. Sur la "Minerva Capta" (Ov., Fast. 3,843-844), cf. Wissowa, *RE* XV, 2, col. 1777-1778, s. v. Minerva.

43. Cf. supra, note 8.

44. Dion. Hal. I,21,1; cf. G. Ch. Picard, *Les trophées romains* (Paris, 1957), pp. 113-114. Cependant, cette pratique ne remonte pas à l'époque archaïque, comme le prouvent les armes italiques, de tradition villanovienne, trouvées dans l'*Ager Faliscus*, notamment à Narce, cf. M. Pallottino, *Il Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia* (Rome, 1980), p. 236, fig. 316; P. F. Stary, *Zur eisenzeitlichen Bewaffnung und Kampfweise in Mittelitalien*, Vol. 3 de *Marburger Studien zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte* (1981), pp. 202-205, nn. 1165, 1180.

45. Cf. Hagemann (supra, note 2), p. 29, fig. 43; J. Garbsch,

Römische Paraderüstungen (Munich, 1978), pp. 7-8; K. Stemmer, *Untersuchungen zur Typologie, Chronologie und Ikonographie der Panzerstatuen*, Vol. 4 de *DAI, Archäologische Forschungen* (Berlin, 1978).

46. Liv., Epit. XX.; Val. Max. VI,5,1.

47. Après le 6 octobre (cf. supra, note 37); d'autre part, l'inondation n'a certainement pas eu lieu en été! (cf. supra, note 35).

48. Malgré le plaidoyer de Papirius, cf. Val. Max. VI,5,1. Sur C. Papirius Maso, cf. *RE* 36,2 (1949), col. 1062.

49. Zonar. VIII,18.

50. Dion. Hal. I,21; Ov., Fast. 6,49 et Am. 3,13,35; cf. E. Stefani, *NSc*, 72 (1947), pp. 69-74.

51. Cf. "Minerva Capta," (supra, note 42).

52. Pol. 1,65; Liv. Epit. XIX; Val. Max. 6,5,1; Eutr. II,18.

53. *CIL* I², no. 47 et XXI, no. 513, v.6-9; A. Degrassi, *Inscriptiones Italiae* (Rome, 1949), p. 549 et *Fasti Capitolini* (Turin, 1954), p. 101.

Q. LVTATIVS. C. F. C. N. CERCO. COS. AN. ÆXII

DE. FALISCEIS K. MART.

A. MANLIVS. T. F. T. N. TORQVATVS. ANN. ÆXII

ATTICVS. COS. II. DE. FALISCEIS. IV. NON. MA. (RT)

54. Les deux consuls ont eu les honneurs du triomphe pour le même événement; pendant la guerre, ils ont dû exercer, alternativement ou successivement, l'*imperium* et l'*auspicium*, cf. Liv. 28, 9, 10 et 38, 4. D'ailleurs, à l'exception d'Eutrope (II, 28), toutes les sources mentionnent l'action séparée des deux troupes consulaires: selon toute vraisemblance, A. Manlius s'est battu, dans la plaine, contre l'armée falisque (Zonar. VIII, 18) et Q. Lutatius a assiégé la ville (Val. Max. VI, 5, 1).

55. Sur la cuirasse: A. Manlius, fils de Caius; dans les Fasti: fils de Titus. Fasti consulares, cf. Degrassi, *Fasti Capitolini* (Turin, 1954), p. 56: A. MANLIVS T. F. T. N. TO(RQVATVS) ATTIC(VS) II Q. LVTATIVS (C.F.) C. N. CER(CO) CENS(ores) C. Aurelius L. f. C. n. Co(tta) M. Fabius M. f. M. n. Buteo I(ustrum) f(ecerunt) XXXIX.

honneur: même si le sang a été versé⁵⁶ pendant cette *guerre juste*,⁵⁷ il s'agit d'une guerre civile⁵⁸ et la victoire a été précédée d'une défaite.⁵⁹ Malheureusement, nous ignorons la provenance du plastron de Malibu; cette information aurait permis de préciser la raison d'être de cette inscription et la destination finale de la cuirasse. Trois hypothèses sont plausibles, si, bien entendu, la cuirasse n'a pas été déplacée après les événements.

Premièrement, cette cuirasse a pu faire partie d'un trophée⁶⁰ élevé par un commandant romain,⁶¹ soit dans la plaine, à l'endroit même de la défaite de la cavalerie falisque et selon la coutume de tradition hellénique,⁶² soit dans un sanctuaire des environs de Cività Castellana.⁶³ Compte tenu de la nature commémorative de l'inscription,⁶⁴ cette hypothèse n'est pas à exclure. Dans ce cas, le plastron de Malibu confirmerait le fait que les Romains ont élevé des trophées, bien avant leur victoire sur les Allobroges, en 121 av. J.-C.⁶⁵ Deuxièmement, cette cuirasse a pu faire partie des dépouilles offertes à une divinité guerrière,⁶⁶ à Rome même. Cependant, l'inscription ne révèle aucune allusion à une telle offrande⁶⁷ et l'excellent état de conservation de la cuirasse n'est guère en faveur de cette deuxième hypothèse.⁶⁸

Troisièmement, l'inscription a pu être gravée pour le

compte d'un Romain qui a eu droit à la dépouille de son adversaire vaincu en duel.⁶⁹ En particulier, les commandants plébéiens⁷⁰ avaient coutume d'exposer, à leur domicile,⁷¹ leurs prises de guerre. A la mort du propriétaire, il était fréquent de placer, dans la tombe⁷² ou même pour orner la stèle funéraire,⁷³ les armes qu'il avait gagnées au combat. Cette hypothèse paraît être la plus satisfaisante, compte tenu de l'état de la cuirasse, certainement conservée dans un milieu protégé, comme, par exemple, une tombe. Cependant, contrairement aux autres cuirasses inscrites,⁷⁴ l'inscription de Malibu ne porte aucune marque de propriété⁷⁵ ou d'allusion au fait que le soldat faisait forcément partie d'une seule des deux troupes dirigées séparément par les deux consuls.⁷⁶ Logiquement, si cette cuirasse a été attribuée par le commandant à l'un de ses soldats ou si elle a fait partie du butin porté en triomphe, elle ne devrait porter que la mention de l'un des deux consuls.

De toute façon, cette inscription a un caractère honorifique, précisément par la mention des deux consuls et de leur fonction sous une forme non abrégée. Gravée sur les dépouilles d'un ennemi vaincu, cette inscription révèle sans doute une volonté personnelle de commémorer, peut-être sur le moment et aux yeux de tous, la victoire décisive qui marque la fin d'une cité révoltée.

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56. Pline, N.H. XV,125; Serv. Aen. X,775 et XI,6,790, cf. Eutr. II,28. 57. Liv. XXXVIII,47,5.

58. Pol. I,65,2. Une révolte mâtée ne donne pas droit au triomphe, cf. Liv. VI,16,5; Val. Max. II,8,7; Lucan. I,12; Flor., Epit. III,22,9; Cass. Dio 42,18,1; 43,42,1 et 51,19,5.

59. Oros. Hist. IV,12,1 (cf. supra, note 41).

60. Cf. Zimmermann (supra, note 3), p. 182 et idem (supra, note 6), p. 140 n. 111; Colonna (supra, note 8), pp. 229–230. Sur les inscriptions victorieuses, gravées sur des trophées, cf. Picard (supra, note 44), pp. 350–351; T. Hölscher, *Victoria Romana* (Mayence, 1967). Sur les trophées romains, cf. K. Woelcke, *BonnerJb* 110 (1911), pp. 127–235; Picard, op. cit.; A. J. Janssen, *Het antieke tropaion* (Bruxelles, 1957); R. H. Storch, *Tropea on the Coinage of Ancient Rome* (Ohio State University, 1967).

61. Picard (supra, note 44), pp. 41–42, 91 n.3.

62. Picard (supra, note 44), p. 117.

63. Soit dans le temple épargné de Falerii Veteres (supra, note 50), soit dans un temple de Falerii Novi. Sur les armes déposées dans les sanctuaires romains, cf. Liv. I,10,5 et X,46,4; Verg., Aen. III,286–288; Sil. Ital. I,621–623 et XV,491–493; Plut., Quaest. Rom. 37. Sur le caractère sacré des armes prises à l'ennemi: Hdt. 8, 37; cf. K. Latte, *Römische Religionsgeschichte* (Munich, 1960), pp. 129, 205.

64. Sur l'inscription du nom d'un commandant victorieux sur la cuirasse prise à un ennemi: Liv. IV,20,5–7, cf. F. Cassola, *Rivista Storica*

Italiana 82 (1970), pp. 5–7.

65. Contrairement à l'affirmation de Florus (Epit. I,37,6), cf. Woelcke (supra, note 60), 146; Picard (supra, note 44), pp. 104–107, 117, 148.

66. Vitruve, 2,8,15. Sur l'offrande des *spolia opima* à Jupiter Férétrien, cf. Picard (supra, note 44), p. 139; H. Versnel, *Triumphus* (Leiden, 1970); C. Saulnier, *L'armée et la guerre dans le monde étrusco-romain* (Paris, 1980), 151. *Spolia secunda*, offertes à Mars (Serv., Aen. 6,859; Liv. 45,33,2) et *spolia tertia* dédiées à Janus Quirinus (Fest. 204,9–14; Plut. Marc. 8,6).

67. Contrairement à la cuirasse trouvée en Sicile (supra, note 26).

68. Cf. Colonna (supra, note 8), p. 230.

69. *Spolia provocatoria*: Pline, N.H. VII,102; Gell. II,11,3; peut-être de tradition campanienne, cf. Colonna (supra, note 8), p. 231.

70. Liv. 23,23,6 et 38,43,11.

71. Cic., Phil. II,68; Verg., Aen. II,504; V,393 et VII,183; Propert. III,9,26; Tibull. I, 1, 54; Ovid., Trist. III,1,3; Serv., Aen. VII,183.

72. Cf. Colonna (supra, note 8), pp. 231–232.

73. *CIL* III rec. 14, 398 et même une stèle en forme de trophée: E. Gabba et G. Valet, *Sicilia Antica* 3.1 (1980), fig. 105.

74. Le nom d'une personne au nominatif ou d'une divinité au datif, cf. supra, notes 25–26.

75. Contrairement à de nombreuses armes personnelles des Romains, cf. R. McMullen, *AJA* 64 (1960), pp. 23–40.

76. Cf. supra, note 54.

Late Etruscan Cinerary Urns from Volterra at the J. Paul Getty Museum: A Lid Figure Altered from Male to Female, and an Ancestor to Satirist Persius

Marjatta Nielsen

In the Etruscan Vestibule, gallery 119, at the J. Paul Getty Museum, two lid sculptures with reclining figures and one relief-decorated chest belonging to Etruscan cinerary urns are exhibited.¹ The three pieces were purchased in 1971 on the New York art market, which is the only information available about their provenance.² Their style and material prove, however, that they originate from the North Etruscan city of Volterra, where small chests and figured lid sculptures of this kind were produced from local materials, mostly alabaster and tufa, from about 300 B.C. until the Augustan age.³

I wish to express my deepest gratitude to senior curator for research Jiri Frel for entrusting me with the publication of the Volterranean urns and for providing me with information. Very warm thanks go also to curatorial assistant Karen Manchester for supplying me with further information and with photographs, partly taken for this article, as well as to Sandra Knudsen Morgan and manuscript editors Sarah Lifton and Vera Trapnell for invaluable assistance. I am also greatly indebted to the late director of the Museo Guarnacci at Volterra, Dr. Enrico Fiumi, and to current director, Dr. Gabriele Cateni, and their always helpful staff.

In addition to the abbreviations listed in the *American Journal of Archaeology* 82 (1978), pp. 5–10, and 84 (1980), pp. 3–4, I have used the following:

Artigianato artistico: A. Maggiani, ed., *Artigianato artistico in Etruria*, ex. cat. (Volterra-Chiusi, 1985).

Caratteri: M. Martelli and M. Cristofani, eds., *Caratteri dell'ellenismo nelle urne etrusche*, Atti dell'incontro di studi, Università di Siena, April 28–30, 1976, Primo suppl. a *Prospettiva* (Florence, 1977).

Cateni: G. Cateni, *Le urne di Volterra* (Florence, 1984).

Cristofani, *NSc* 29 (1975): M. Cristofani, "Volterra (Pisa). Scavi nella necropoli del Portone (1971): tomba ellenistica," *NSc* 29 (1975), pp. 5–35.

Frel, *Checklist II*: J. Frel, *Antiquities in the J. Paul Getty Museum: A Checklist. Sculpture. II. Greek Portraits and Varia* (Malibu, 1979).

Frel, *Roman Portraits*: J. Frel, *Roman Portraits in the J. Paul Getty Museum* (Malibu, 1981).

Maggiani, *Contributo*: A. Maggiani, *Contributo alla cronologia delle urne volterrane: i coperchi*, Memorie della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei 19, 1 (1976).

Nielsen, *Lid Sculptures*: M. Nielsen, "The Lid Sculptures of Volterranean Cinerary Urns," *Studies in the Romanization of Etruria*, Acta Instituti Romani Finlandiae, vol. 5 (Rome, 1975), pp. 263–404.

Nielsen, *Fra mand til kvinde*: M. Nielsen, "Fra mand til kvinde eller

At Volterra and its environs, family tomb chambers containing cinerary urns have been excavated in large numbers since the eighteenth century. With the most recent finds, the known urns now amount to about eleven hundred pieces. The majority, about eight hundred, are kept at the local museum at Volterra, the Museo Guarnacci, but the rest have found their way to many collections all over Europe and the United States. When they arrived at the Getty Museum, only one of these three pieces (71.AA.262) had been published.⁴

None of the Getty Museum pieces represents a complete

vice versa: hastvaerk i sen etruskisk gravkunst," *Museum Tusulanum*, vol. 56–59 (Copenhagen, 1984 [1986]).

ThLE I: M. Pallottino, M. Pandolfini Angeletti, et al., *Thesaurus Linguae Etruscae*, vol. 1, *Indice Lessicale* (Rome, 1978).

ThLE I, 1. suppl.: M. Pallottino and M. Pandolfini Angeletti, *Thesaurus Linguae Etruscae*, vol. 1, *Indice Lessicale, primo supplemento* (Rome, 1984).

UV 1: M. Cristofani, et al., *Urne volterrane*, vol. 1. *I Complessi tombali*, Corpus delle urne etrusche di età ellenistica, vol. 1 (Florence, 1975).

UV 2: M. Cristofani, et al., *Urne volterrane*, vol. 2. *Il Museo Guarnacci, Parte prima*, Corpus delle urne etrusche di età ellenistica, vol. 2 (Florence, 1977).

1. J. Frel, *The J. Paul Getty Museum Guidebook* 3rd ed. (1975), p. 39; 4th ed. (1978), p. 55; 5th ed. (1980), pp. 36–37.

2. Information provided by J. Frel in his letter of February 2, 1984; the urns were purchased before he came to the Getty Museum. Cf. C. Vermeule and N. Neuerburg, *Catalogue of the Ancient Art in the J. Paul Getty Museum* (Malibu, 1973), p. 25, pl. 52.

3. The literature on Volterranean urns has increased markedly during recent decades. Further references can be found in *Caratteri*; E. Fiumi, *Volterra etrusca e romana* (Pisa, 1976); *UV 1* and 2; Cateni; *Artigianato artistico*.

4. The tombs found and excavated along the road through the necropolis of Portone from summer 1970 to winter 1971 do not come into question as find places. The materials are kept at the Museo Guarnacci and at the Museo Archeologico in Florence, and none of the single chests and lids, which lack their counterparts, correspond to the Getty Museum pieces; see *UV 1*, pp. 64–81, tombs XII–XVIII; M. Cristofani, "Volterra, scavi 1969–1971," *NSc* 27, *supplemento* (1973), pp. 246–272; idem, *NSc* 29 (1975), pp. 5–35. In the same period, however, some tombs were found down the slopes of the Portone necropolis, almost at the bottom of the valley, but these were not properly excavated. Recently, with the help of old literature and



Figures 1a–b. Top, lid of a cinerary urn from Volterra, with a reclining figure altered from male to female. Bottom, back view. Earlier Idealizing Group. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 71.AA.295.

monument: the tufa lid has lost its corresponding chest, while the alabaster lid and chest have dimensions too divergent to belong together, although chronologically they are very close and were probably made in the same workshop. Between the tufa lid and the two alabaster pieces, there is a gap of about one generation, which, however, does not exclude an origin from the same tomb complex. Here we will treat only the two lid figures.

1. LID OF A CINERARY URN WITH A RECLINING FIGURE, ALTERED FROM MALE TO FEMALE

(figs. 1a–d)

Local “tufa” (see note 16), H: 39 cm (15 $\frac{5}{8}$ ”); W: 53.5 cm (21 $\frac{1}{8}$ ”); D: 19.3 cm (7 $\frac{5}{8}$ ”)

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The left hand and cushions are somewhat corroded. The right rear corner is slightly chipped. In other respects, the sculpture is well preserved. Tool marks remain, especially on the roughly modeled back (fig. 1b), and traces of a claw chisel, used to finish the surface, can be seen on the face and stomach (figs. 1a, c). Remnants of red paint remain, primarily on the head, pomegranate, and underside of the lid. Bibliography: *The J. Paul Getty Museum Guidebook*, 4th ed. (1978), p. 55 (J. Frel); 5th ed. (1980), p. 37 (J. Frel); J. Frel, *Checklist II*, p. 19, no. V23; M. Nielsen, *Fra mand til kvinde*, no. 11.

At first glance the sculpture seems to represent a standard female lid figure, clad in a tunic girt below the breast and holding a pomegranate in the right hand. It has a female coiffure, but the unveiled head and the pomegranate in the right hand were not customary for the female figures in the group to which this sculpture definitely can be attributed. This group, the earlier part of the Idealizing Group,⁵ is characterized by vivid surface treatment with waving drapery; the soberly idealized features and the serene—even impassive—expressions are also typical of the group (cf. figs. 2–3) and have often been given as examples of the “Middle-Italic” current, as parallels to the so-called Ennius from the tomb of the Scipios at Rome,⁶ although more

archives, several urns have been identified, while many other urns seem to have disappeared. Many old finds have left no traces in written sources.

5. The first rough definition of the group was given by M. Nielsen, *Lid Sculptures*, pp. 301–322, 380–381, but a division of the group into two parts, as well as the definition of two contemporaneous Realistic Groups, was proposed by Nielsen in *Caratteri*, pp. 138–140, where an earlier dating was put forward for the earlier part of the group. See also the group 7.2 in the scheme in *Caratteri*, p. 137, and Gruppo Idealizzante I in the scheme in *Artigianato artistico*, p. 53. For attributions of other scholars, see *infra*, note 10.

6. For the head of “Ennius,” see P. Liverani, in *Artigianato artistico*, p. 92, no. 78, with references; for some Volterranean counterparts, see A. Maggiani, *ibid.*, p. 93, nos. 80–81.



Figure 1c. Head of figure on lid, figure 1a, showing the wreath reworked into female hair.



Figure 1d. Right hand of figure on lid, figure 1a, holding a pomegranate.



Figure 2. Lid of a cinerary urn with a male reclining figure. Earlier Idealizing Group. Volterra, Museo Guarnacci 432. Photo: Svend Nielsen.

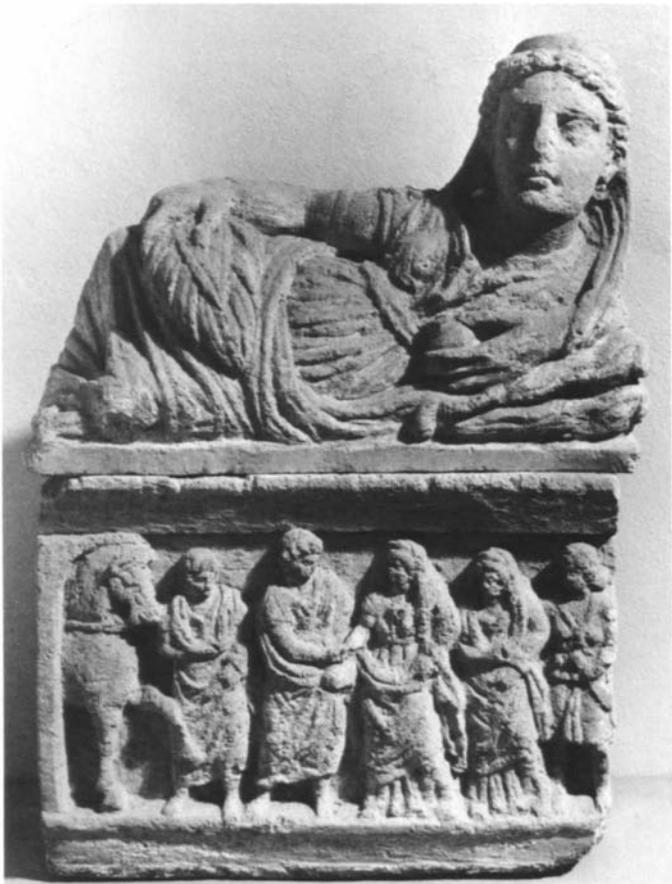


Figure 3. Cinerary urn with a farewell scene and lid with a female reclining figure. Earlier Idealizing Group. Volterra, Museo Guarnacci 95. Photo: Svend Nielsen.

realistically treated, frowning and furrowed faces also occur in the group (fig. 4).

The back of the lid, which would not have been seen when the urn was placed along the wall in the tomb, has also been treated in a typical manner: the back is only summarily sketched, with the right arm (worked partly free), the cloak border, the cushions, and the sole of the left foot modeled (fig. 1b).⁷

The very large group of lids and chests that constitutes the earlier part of the Idealizing Group—more than one hundred monuments—includes different levels of quality, from masterly carved alabaster chests and lids to a large quantity of more standardized alabaster figures and simply modeled tufa sculptures; there is even an exceptional terracotta lid, representing a married couple.⁸ In spite of these differences, the general characteristics of the group are so uniform that we have to consider these monuments as having been produced in one workshop, executed under the direction of one master but undoubtedly by several hands.⁹ The workshop tradition itself continued through generations, but each master transformed the canonic schemes and created his own style, keeping the production up to date with the latest artistic currents in the Hellenistic and Roman worlds.

7. The backs of figures, with the sole of the left foot, can be seen in illustrations in *UV* 1, no. 284 and C. Carter, "A Funerary Urn from Volterra," *AJA* 88 (1984), pl. 71,3. In the slightly earlier Transitional Group, not only the sole of the foot but the draperies were more carefully rendered at the back; see *UV* 1, no. 119.

8. For my attributions, see note 5; for the corresponding groups of lids and urns defined by other scholars, see note 10. For the terracotta lid, Museo Guarnacci 613, see Cateni, pl. 17 and figs. 101–103.

9. It is difficult—or at least impractical—to establish where the many subdivisions within the group end and others begin. For the problem of masters and assistants cooperating in urn workshops, see M. Nielsen, in *Artigianato artistico*, pp. 26–27 and 52–61, where the later part of the Idealizing Group has been used as an example.

10. The relevant groups are the lids of *Gruppo B* of A. Maggiani, *Contributo*, pp. 22–27; the lids and urns of "fase I" of Tomb 1971/R of Portone, in M. Cristofani, *NSc* 29 (1975), especially p. 31; the urns of "Atelier des rosettes et Palmettes" in Fr.-H. Pairault, *Recherches sur quelques séries d'urnes de Volterra à représentations mythologiques* (Rome, 1972), pp. 62–68; urns of the *Gruppo dell'astragalo I* (and part of II) of A. Maggiani, in *Caratteri*, p. 128; some of the urns of *Gruppo del kymation ionico* (ibid., pp. 130–131); some Telephos urns, Pairault, op. cit. pls. 140, 149–154; and M. Martelli's *Gruppo di Castiglioncello*, in *Caratteri*, p. 90 (for the eponymous urn, see most recently, M. Nielsen, in *Artigianato artistico*, no. 54). These contributions are more or less contemporaneous with each other. For the most recent datings of Maggiani and Pairault-Massa to the second half of the second century B.C., see *Artigianato artistico*, nos. 15 (only the lid; the urn is slightly earlier), 16 (lid and urn), 63 (urn), and 80–81 (tufa lids). For the terracotta couple (supra, note 8) the most generally accepted dating is, however, about 100 B.C. (on which I concur), although G. Cateni places it somewhat later.

11. Sometimes the dating value of the grave goods has been over-emphasized (only in rare cases are the grave contents entirely known, as the tombs have more or less been plundered). The chamber tombs

The urns and lids of the group have been variously dated from the middle of the second century to the beginning of the first century B.C.¹⁰ The difficulty with Volterranean material in general is that almost any dating can be corroborated by one argument or another, and an early chronology has won almost general acceptance. I support a later chronology that places this group in the decades before the Sullan siege (i.e., circa 110–80 B.C.). In establishing the chronology, I have tried to balance all kinds of evidence and deal with all lids and chests (not only selected alabaster pieces), as well as with the production before and after this phase. I have consciously avoided discussing written sources, since their conclusion would not be of much value for the control and reevaluation of the Roman historiographic view. Although the tomb contexts do not give any narrow dates for any of the urns from this period (there have, for example, been no instances of coins found inside the urns, which could have given at least *terminus post quem* dates), the contexts do correspond to this later dating.¹¹ The late chronology of this group suggests a peak in the production curve before and especially after the Sullan siege of Volterra (81–79 B.C.),¹² which could be explained both by changes in the demographic structure in the Volterranean territory, caused by historical circumstances, as well as by a general tendency

were used through several generations, even for centuries, and only seldom do we know exactly which objects belong to which burial. Dating of the grave goods themselves—the pottery, jewelry, glass, bronzes, and even the earliest coins—is usually less precise than that of the urns; the objects may have been in use for a long time before ending up in the tombs. In the first century B.C., the coins are, however, not very abundant in the tombs (and the pottery and other objects not very well known in general). This might be due to a changed attitude toward rich grave goods, perhaps the result of Roman influence or the fact that the funerary monument itself began to be considered the most important item. The picture changes in the early empire, not only at Volterra but elsewhere as well (perhaps because of economic factors). Many of the urns and lids of the earlier Idealizing Group come from known tombs, but only a few of these are of use for anything other than relative chronology. Many urns come from the Inghirami tomb, which covers the period from the early second to late first century B.C. (Maggiani, in *UV* 1, nos. 120, 122, 130, 133, 134, 153, 165; idem, in *Caratteri*). In the tomb of San Martino ai Colli, these urns belong to the latest burials, while the grave goods cover a very long period: *UV* 1, nos. 282, 284, 288, 300; most recently G. Cianferoni, et al., *San Martino ai Colli, un centro rurale etrusco in Val d'Elsa*, ex. cat. (Barberino Val d'Elsa, 1984), nos. 136, 139. The two urns from Montaione come from a tomb where a third, somewhat earlier, urn was also found, and the coin from the middle of the second century could also have belonged to this; M. Martelli, in *UV* 1, nos. 242–243; idem, in *Caratteri*, p. 89. The most useful context is, however, tomb 1971/R of Portone, with relatively abundant accessory material. The urns of this group belong to the earliest phase of the tomb, placed by M. Cristofani in the late second century B.C.: M. Cristofani, *NSc* 29 (1975); *UV* 1, nos. 101, 106, 107, 114; cf. also M. Martelli, in *Caratteri*, p. 89.

12. See Nielsen's chart (phases 7 and 8), in *Caratteri*, p. 139; for a more up-to-date picture, see Nielsen, in *Artigianato artistico*, p. 53, the columns above Gruppo Idealizzante I and II.



Figure 4a. Lid of a cinerary urn from Volterra, with a reclining figure altered from male to female. Earlier Idealizing Group. Volterra, Museo Guarnacci 574. Photo: Svend Nielsen.



Figure 4b. Head of figure on lid, figure 4a. Photo: Svend Nielsen.



Figure 5. Cinerary urn with a reclining lid figure altered from male to female. Later Idealizing Group. Volterra, Museo Guarnacci 325. Photo: Svend Nielsen.

toward mass production all over Italy from the Gracchan period on.¹³ The earlier chronology, by contrast, would indicate an extraordinary climax in production in the middle decades of the second century B.C. and would suggest the contemporaneity of most divergent stylistic and typological tendencies—it is unlikely that the works could

13. The largest Volterranean group, the later part of the Idealizing Group, is very poorly represented in the city's territory. See Nielsen, in *Caratteri*, p. 140 (the urns cited as exceptions in notes 53–54 have now been attributed to the period before the Sullan siege; for my current opinion, see *Artigianato artistico*, p. 62, n. 6, p. 117, and the map on p. 63). For mass production of urns in general, see *ibid.*, p. 54, n. 18.

14. Volterra, Museo Guarnacci 432; *UV 2*, no. 89. There are about thirty replicas in tufa that follow exactly the same typology, with only the proportions, face types, and the grade of finish varying slightly; see, for example, *UV 1*, nos. 85–86, 106–107, 242–243, 284 (but veiled); *UV 2*, nos. 25, 105 (fig. 106, with wrong head), 109, 120, 122, 127, 130, 151, 160–161 (the illustrations of these two lids have been transposed), 162, 165.

15. Volterra, Museo Guarnacci 95; *UV 2*, no. 141. Here the number of replicas is more restricted, since the female iconography was more varied, with different fan types, held upright or downward, and the presence or absence of jewelry and other details. The following lids come typologically very near, but with varying features: *UV 1*, no. 101;

have been produced all the way through to the end of the first century B.C. and into the Augustan period.

But let us return to the Getty Museum lid sculpture. By comparing it to a typical male (fig. 2)¹⁴ and a typical female figure (fig. 3)¹⁵ of the same group, we can see that there are some anomalies that can only be explained by the fact that the figure was originally a male and has been reworked into a female. The original short hair, the wreath on the male figure's head, and part of the ears have been turned into a wavy female coiffure with a central part (figs. 1b–c). But since the male figures of the group have their heads unveiled, a knot of hair had to be added to the neck. This was done by removing the neck portion of the wreath and drilling a deep hole for a tenon to keep a separately carved chignon in its place. This addition is now lost (fig. 1b); hence we do not know whether it was made of a piece of tufa or of stucco. Additions of both kinds were quite common on Volterranean alabaster figures (cf. no. 2), but the use of joinery was very rare in tufa sculptures because the material itself was homogeneous and did not have weak veins or other surprises for the sculptor. It was quarried in rectangular blocks, suitable for urn production as well as for building purposes.¹⁶

Other changes necessary to alter this sculpture from male to female include the girdle that had to be added to the ungirt tunic of the male figure. This was executed by carving some perfunctory furrows, which left the original folds almost intact. The looped cloak drapery in the left hand remained unaltered, since it was ideologically acceptable, though typical only of male figures. The standard male attribute during this period was a drinking bowl held in the right hand (fig. 2),¹⁷ but this was inappropriate for a woman and had to be reworked. The hand of the Getty Museum figure now holds a somewhat chipped and bulky object that can be identified as a pomegranate, the customary female attribute alluding to fertility and the afterlife

UV 2, no. 42; Volterra, Museo Guarnacci 436; Florence, Museo Archeologico 5480, 5744, and 5778. Many female figures of the group hold the fan upright, including the recently republished figure at the New York University Museum in New York; see C. Carter (supra, note 7), pp. 88–89, pl. 71. Here, I have to correct her attribution to the Idealizing Group in general, and place it instead into the earlier phase, as described in *Caratteri*, pp. 138, 140; as a result, the dating also falls earlier—toward the end of the second or the beginning of the first century B.C. This also applies to the chest, which seems related. It is out of the question that the figure would have anything to do with the *nodus* coiffure and its dating (cf. infra); in fact, with *nodus* C. Carter seems to indicate the chignon at the neck and not at the forehead.

16. Tufa is the conventional, though erroneous, term for this soft and porous stone, which in spite of the name is not volcanic but sedimentary limestone. Several qualities and varieties of tufa are quarried around Volterra, but that of Pignano corresponds perfectly to the quality used for most of the Volterranean urns. See A. Niccolai, "Sui materiali in cui sono scolpite le urne cinerarie di Volterra," *StEtr* 2 (1928), p. 425.

(fig. 1d).¹⁸ Standard female figures in the group always hold this attribute in the left hand because the right hand is occupied by a fan (fig. 3).¹⁹

While changing these external features required considerable labor, the face has been left almost intact, though it is possible that the jaws were carved down to be thinner and less prominent (cf. figs. 1a, c to figs. 2–3). The face type in this case was, however, as suitable for a woman as for a young man.

Since the chest that belonged to the Getty Museum figure has been lost, we can only guess that it might have been similar to the one in fig. 3, showing a farewell scene between husband and wife in the presence of family members and an infernal demon, Vanth, possibly with a horse. The theme was standard on numerous tufa urns of this period, since it could be used for both men and women. It is, consequently, not worthwhile discussing which of the two central figures represents the deceased.²⁰

The Getty Museum figure is not the only lid sculpture that has been subjected to similar changes: in the earlier part of the Idealizing Group alone, it is one of five such figures. Three of these are made of alabaster and represent a very high artistic standard,²¹ while the fourth is of tufa (figs. 4a–b).²² On the tufa figure a chignon was not added to the neck, but holes were drilled at the back of the original male wreath to hold a diadem (fig. 4b). The original right-hand attribute was removed and replaced with another object, probably a fan, attached by means of a hole in the right knee (fig. 4a). In other respects, the methods used to change the gender were very similar to those used on the Getty Museum lid. Again, for instance, a simple and realistic facial type, suiting elderly people of both sexes, was used. Almost identical changes to those of the Getty Museum piece were also made to a tufa figure of the later Idealizing Group (fig. 5);²³ a male attribute was reworked into a pomegranate and a girdle was added, as was a twisted

torque around the neck. The coiffure required fewer adaptations, however, since the original male figure was veiled.

Among all Volterranean lid sculptures, twenty-three male figures have been turned into females, while only three were reworked from female to male.²⁴ It must be stressed that every detail of these changes reveals the hands of the same sculptors who were responsible for the original versions. (There are no misunderstood modern restorations nor results of reutilization in ancient times.) The changed figures come from many different workshops, but the largest group dates to the period when the production of cinerary urns was greatest—starting with the earlier Idealizing Group. This seemingly implies a paradox but can be explained in terms of production and sales methods in the urn workshops. On the one hand, by standardizing production and increasing the number of collaborators, the urn workshops were able to increase their output and to provide a large clientele with ready-made urns and lids that could be bought from a store. Thus, almost everyone could afford an urn, since the workshops had a selection of urns of different quality and prices appropriate for different social classes—and there still remained the possibility of commissioning special works. On the other hand, the workshops seemed to have been more concerned with assuring a steady supply of male figures rather than female figures. This must have been based on the assumption that women were less often expected to be buried in this manner, and thus the workshops did not produce female figures in the same quantities as they did males. In fact, of all Volterranean cinerary urns, sixty percent were made for male burials and only forty percent for female. This seems to reflect a difference in social status between men and women, a difference that is more or less marked in other localities in late Etruria.²⁵

Hence, in cases of emergency, when all the figures of the requested sex were sold out, the family of the deceased preferred a hurriedly reworked effigy instead of waiting for

For quarrying blocks in standard sizes, see Nielsen, in *Artigianato artistico*, pp. 52–53, and the diagram of sizes on p. 53. The Getty Museum figure also matches perfectly the standard sizes of the group.

17. Cf. *supra*, note 14; this also applies to alabaster figures.

18. In Frel, *Checklist II*, p. 19, the attribute is called a “pet,” and the figure is presented as male. There are, in fact, many examples of boys holding birds among the Volterranean lids, but these are sculpted with much attention to detail and are easily identifiable. Here, a pomegranate seems a more plausible explanation.

19. Cf. *supra*, note 15. This also concerns the alabaster figures.

20. The theme, known at Volterra since the earliest relief-decorated urns, was very common in the two phases of the Idealizing Group, where it was carved in slightly varying versions. In the earlier phase of the group, the representation was more vivid than it was in the later phase. See Nielsen, in *Artigianato artistico*, nos. 51–52; Pairault-Massa, *ibid.*, no. 60. For some of the farewell scenes of the group, see, for example, *UV* 1, nos. 85, 88, 106–107, 242–243 in tufa, and no. 287 in alabaster; *UV* 2, nos. 95–96, 99–101, 105 (fig. 106), 116, 120, 122, all in

tufa; and C. Carter (*supra*, note 7), pl. 73, 4.

21. Volterra, Museo Guarnacci 492 and 37 (*UV* 2, no. 45), both changed from male to female, and a lost lid, formerly at Mannheim, probably altered from female to male; Nielsen, *Fra mand til kvinde*, nos. 7–9.

22. Volterra, Museo Guarnacci 574; *UV* 2, no. 168; Nielsen, *Fra mand til kvinde*, no. 10.

23. Volterra, Museo Guarnacci 325; Nielsen, in *Artigianato artistico*, no. 45; *idem*, *Fra mand til kvinde*, no. 12.

24. M. Nielsen, *Fra mand til kvinde*.

25. M. Nielsen, “Women in the Late Etruscan Society: Practices of Commemoration and Social Stress,” in *Fronhed og verdslighed i middelalder og renaissance*, Festschrift til Thelma Jexlev (Odense, 1985), pp. 192–202. A more detailed study will appear in *Analecta Romana Instituti Danici* 16 (1987).



Figure 6a. Lid of a cinerary urn from Volterra with a reclining male figure of the Persu family. Book Scroll Group. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 71.AA.262.

a new one to be carved or instead of using a pottery jar or other receptacle for the ashes. The masters of the workshops, like their customers, obviously did not have higher standards nor more rigid scruples concerning the funerary monuments than circumstances permitted. This fact throws a new light on the widely held view that the Etruscans ascribed enormous importance to funerary monuments. Likewise, the reworked figures, in which the faces were altered only seldom, demonstrate unequivocally that individual portrait likenesses were not required. This would have caused too many problems in the mass production of the lid figures.

2. LID OF A CINERARY URN WITH RECLINING MALE FIGURE OF THE "PERSU" FAMILY (figs. 6a–b)

Veined alabaster from the region of Volterra, H: 31.5 cm

(12 $\frac{7}{16}$ "); present W: 54 cm (21 $\frac{5}{16}$ "); D: 15.2 cm (6")
Accession number 71.AA.262

Most of the surface has been worn and corroded by water. The original surface remains on the cloak, but it is encrusted.²⁶ Parts of the head, the right hand, and the knee are cracked off. Both the left and right lower edges are missing, and deep tenon holes in the uneven, cracked surfaces reveal that the missing parts were added with stucco or separately carved pieces of alabaster. There are no visible traces of paint. Bibliography: *The J. Paul Getty Museum Guidebook*, 3rd ed. (1975), p. 39 (J. Frel); 4th ed. (1978), p. 55 (J. Frel); 5th ed. (1980), pp. 36–37 (J. Frel); J. Frel, *Checklist II*, p. 19, no. V22; idem, *Roman Portraits*, p. 2, fig. 2; *Selected Works from the Ancient Art Collection of The John Paul Getty Museum, Malibu, California*, ex. cat. (Hetzl Union Gallery, Pennsylvania State University,

26. This phenomenon is very common on Volterran alabaster urns and has been explained as a coating of stucco; O.-W. von Vacano, "Studien an volterraner Urnenreliefs," *RömMitt* 67 (1960), pp. 80–97. The conservator of the Museo Guarnacci, Otello Pasquinelli, is of the opinion, however, that the encrusting surface is the result of a natural decomposition of alabaster.

27. M. Nielsen, *Lid Sculptures*, pp. 226–250, figs. 1–27; idem, in *Caratteri*, pp. 138–139, nn. 23–25, 36, 41. Now the group comprises over one hundred lids. The group corresponds to *Gruppo G* of A. Maggiani, *Contributo*, pp. 34–36. The corresponding production in tufa has been treated by M. Cristofani Martelli, "Contributo alla classificazione delle urne volterranne: l'officina di Poggio alle Croci," *DialAr*,



Figure 6b. Right side of lid, figure 6a.

1971), no. 12; Parke-Bernet sale catalogue (December 4, 1969), lot 171. For the inscription, see also *ThLE I*, 1. *suppl.*, under the entries *persu*, *ls*, *ril*, *XXXIV*, and *leine*).

Before turning our attention to the inscription and its implications, we will discuss the lid figure's attribution and date. This male figure is a typical example of one of the last groups of Etruscan lid sculptures at Volterra, the Book Scroll Group, or A. Maggiani's *Gruppo G*.²⁷ Many features are inherited from the later part of the Idealizing Group:²⁸ the veiled head, the schematically plaited laurel wreath on the head, and the arrangement of the drapery. The latter is best seen on the cloak, where stiff folds form parallel curves or fanlike triangles. But here strict frontality has been emphasized even further than it was in the later Idealizing Group; the sculpture was intended to be seen only from the front, from slightly above. It is almost leaning forward,

possibly to give a sense of greater depth (fig. 6b). The back lacks detailing, save for the projecting lower edge. This almost two-dimensional, relieflike flatness is one of the hallmarks of the group, as is the generally diminishing size, especially in depth and height.²⁹ Alabaster was quarried in ovoid blocks, and great economy was practiced in utilizing the material to the maximum, which explains the sculpture's patched corners.³⁰ The head and face are scarred by dark veins, since mostly veined and mottled grades of alabaster (*bardiglio*) were available.

The flatness of the figure has brought about strange proportions, and anatomical correctness was certainly not the forte of the master of the workshop that made this piece. The large head and the long neck are sunk between the shoulders and into the bulky upper body, which is clad in a wide-collared tunic. The right upper arm is almost nonexistent, and the rest of the arm is very short. The left hand, which has stiff fingers, originally held a corner of the cloak (cf. fig. 7), while another corner of the cloak is folded stepwise in front of the figure. The cushion is damaged, but from other lids we gather that there was only one, tasseled cushion (cf. fig. 7).

Although the right hand and the object it holds are badly chipped, the remaining portion proves that the hand held the standard attribute of the group, a tightly rolled book scroll, held here in a diagonal position. Since this attribute was very common (cf. fig. 7),³¹ it is unlikely that the figures with books were made only for magistrates or particularly learned men, especially in light of the writing tablet that was almost the exclusive male attribute in the partly contemporary Diptych Group.³² We may, rather, consider the popularity of books in the late groups as due to a changed attitude or a new interpretation of the figures—perhaps a general wish to emphasize the written traditions of Etruscan culture, Etruscan expertise in predicting the future, or the constitutional foundations of the community—the right to own property or the like, whether these applied to the deceased himself or not. But books were not the only male attributes in the Book Scroll Group; many of the earliest figures still hold a *rhyton* (drinking horn) in their hands, following the typology and “heroic” ideology of the later Idealizing Group.³³

The face of the Getty Museum figure is badly worn, which makes it appear smoother and younger than the standard facial type of the group, here illustrated with a

vol. 8, no. 2 (1974–1975), pp. 213–230. See also the contributions of M. Martelli and A. Maggiani in *Caratteri*.

28. *Supra*, note 5.

29. See the diagram of sizes in Nielsen, *Lid Sculptures*, diagram 4. The number of monuments has now increased markedly, but the general picture is unaltered.

30. See Niccolai (*supra*, note 16), pl. 47.

31. There are at least seventeen replicas with book scrolls and tasseled cloak corners; cf. only a few examples, Nielsen, *Lid Sculptures*, figs. 6–10.

32. See Nielsen, *Lid Sculptures*, figs. 38–44.

33. *Ibid.*, figs. 2–5.



Figure 7. Lid of the cinerary urn of Avle Cneuna. Book Scroll Group. Volterra, Museo Guarnacci 318. Photo: Marjatta Nielsen.

typical example (fig. 7).³⁴ In this well-preserved figure, we can recognize most of the characteristics of the Getty Museum figure, except that the temples are bald to give an impression of advanced age; according to the inscription, *Avle Cneuna* died at the age of seventy-three. The face is narrow and long, and the ears are enormous and strongly projecting. (This is not an individual feature, since these kinds of ears are strictly connected with the presence of the veil or a flat background in general.) The brow is furrowed, conveying responsibility and maturity, and the almond-shaped eyes are surrounded by numerous wrinkles. The nose is long and rather thick (not at all as elegant as the worn nose of the Getty Museum figure), and the lips are tightly compressed. The numerous similarities show us that these serious faces represent types rather than portrait likenesses of individual persons,³⁵ just as do the ideal, heroic youths of the Idealizing Group. Thus, here too, as with the change in attributes, we can trace a change of

34. *Ibid.*, p. 333, no. 8, p. 348, fig. 6, with earlier literature; Maggiani, *Contributo*, p. 35, pls. 12,4 and 20,2. The figure comes from the Cneuna family tomb found at the Portone necropolis in 1737. The supposed grandmother, Larthi Cracnei (Museo Guarnacci 356), does not come from this tomb and thus has no relevance to the reconstruction of the family tree of the Cneunas; see Fiumi, in *UV* 2, p. 16, n. 20.

35. See, for example, Nielsen, *Lid Sculptures*, figs. 1–10.

36. See, for example, Frel, *Roman Portraits*, pp. 2–4, 7, 18–26. See also references in Nielsen, *Lid Sculptures*, p. 350, and Maggiani, *Contributo*, pp. 35–36.

37. Most recently, A. Maggiani, in *Artigianato artistico*, nos. 15, 82–85, and Nielsen, *ibid.*, no. 36. For the terra-cotta couple, see *supra*, note 8. See also Cateni, pl. 6, and figs. 84–85, 89, 95, 104; figs. 78, 81, and 98 belong to the Book Scroll Group, and fig. 87 is later still.

38. Nielsen, in *Artigianato artistico*, the schematic representation on p. 53; also described in Nielsen, *Lid Sculptures*, and *idem*, in *Caratteri*. Latest, Nielsen, “Sculptori perugini a Volterra nel I sec. a.C.?” *Atti del Secondo Congresso Internazionale Etrusco* (Florence, 1985, forthcoming).

39. The *nodus* in the Book Scroll Group, Nielsen, *Lid Sculptures*, fig. 27; in the Diptych Group, figs. 55, 58–60; *idem*, in *Caratteri*, p. 139, notes 30, 35–38, figs. 94–95; urn reliefs of the group with

attitude, from the Idealizing Group’s heroic banqueters in the afterlife to the Book Scroll Group’s responsible citizens.

Late Roman Republican portraiture does not help define the chronology of the Book Scroll Group more precisely; comparisons with the portraiture of the first and second triumvirates up through funerary portraiture outside the imperial circles in the Augustan age³⁶ (which retains a realistic current) suggest dates during most of the first century B.C. In Volterran lid sculptures, realistic “portraits” were long known for aged men with softly modeled wrinkles, as well as harsher, even veristic tendencies.³⁷ The Book Scroll Group belongs near the end of this long line, and its inspiration definitely is derived from Rome.

Of great importance to the relative chronology of the group are its relationships with other groups of urns.³⁸ The Book Scroll Group continues the traditions of the later Idealizing Group, and it must be contemporaneous with the less prolific Caecina Selcia Group and at least partly overlapping the last workshop, the Diptych Group. In the Diptych Group the *nodus* coiffure, the characteristic hairstyle of the leading Roman women of the second triumvirate and the Augustan period, was quite common. One of the last female figures of the Book Scroll Group also wears this *nodus* coiffure. This does not necessarily mean that only the last years of the Book Scroll Group coincide with the appearance of this coiffure; the old-fashioned classical hairstyle belonged to a deeply rooted workshop tradition, while the Diptych Group received many outside influences.³⁹

The known tomb contexts for the most part seem to point toward a late dating, though only a few finds give any decisive indications.⁴⁰ Taking all the evidence into consideration, the most probable date for the Book Scroll Group is, in my opinion, the third quarter of the first century B.C.,

nodus, p. 139, n. 37, fig. 95. On the problem and on the last groups in general, see my contribution, “Sculptori perugini . . .” cited in the preceding note. On the coiffure in Roman portraiture, see, for example, Frel, *Roman Portraits*, pp. 24–25, 30–31.

40. The tomb context is known for several urns. See, for example, *UV* 1: tomb II, nos. 8, 10–12, 16–17 (but not no. 32); tomb IV (but not no. 46), Museo Guarnacci 441 and 398; tomb XVII, nos. 97–98; tomb XVIII, nos. 102–103, 108–110; tomb XIX, nos. 125, 149, 154, 167; tomb XXI, nos. 199–204, and the urn in the shape of a figured capital, no. 196; tomb XXVI, no. 230. The grave goods of tomb XVIII (Portone 1971/R) cover the period from the second to late first century B.C., as analyzed by M. Cristofani (*NSc* 1975). He attributes the urns in question to the later phase of the tomb, which he places at the beginning of the first century B.C., immediately after the phase corresponding to the earlier Idealizing Group (cf. *supra*, note 11). This is due to the fact that the later Idealizing Group, representing the period of maximum urn production, is not represented in the tomb. The reason for this conspicuous absence is not known (perhaps we have here one of the families who had suffered from the Sullan proscriptions), but the gap of one generation certainly affects the chronology. The grave contents, however, permit a later dating during the first century B.C. One

placed with each other in a remarkable way. None of the indications are conclusive, when taken literally or separated from their contexts, but the coincidences are too many to be discarded altogether.⁵³

Here, *Persu* is quite definitely a family name, *gentilicium*, and not a *nomen agentis*. We might conjecture that a remote ancestor of *Persu* was an actor. Here we have, however, persons of more elevated social standing—at least the mother, probably a Ceicnei, belonged to a prominent family in Volterra.

In Roman times the *Persius* family is much better documented. Its most illustrious member—about three generations later than this *Persu*—is the Roman satirist Aulus Persius Flaccus, who was born in Volterra in A.D. 34 and died near Rome in A.D. 62. His biography states that he was an *eques Romanus*. This is seen from the Roman point of view; in fact, not having reached senatorial rank in Rome does not mean that Persius did not belong to the nobility of his own town. In fact, the biographer states that he was related to most noble men, “sanguine et affinitate primi ordinis viris coniunctus.”⁵⁴ We now also have the proof that his father must have been an Etruscan as well as his mother, Fulvia Sisennia, whose name has long been recognized as

having a strong Etruscan flavor.⁵⁵ The poet's first name is given in the biography in a curious form: *Aules*, a compromise between the Etruscan *Aule* and the Latin *Aulus*. Also, the pure Latin form was much more common in Romanized Etruria than elsewhere, certainly, because it had an Etruscan equivalent.⁵⁶

Aulus Persius Flaccus was six years old when his father died. The poet got his first education at Volterra, but at the age of twelve (about A.D. 46) he moved to Rome, where he received the best possible schooling in literature and Stoic philosophy. This philosophic school may have already had adherents at Volterra in Etruscan times, judging from some motifs on cinerary urns.⁵⁷ Persius is said to have written slowly and with difficulty, “scriptavit et raro et tarde.”⁵⁸ This was not due to an imperfect knowledge of the language, but rather to the complexity of his concentrated, many-layered, and original style. His extant literary production, six satires, shows an audacious use of Latin, with an astonishing mixture of everyday expressions and literary allusions. His zealous pursuit of high moral standards secured him readers throughout the Middle Ages and the Renaissance.

Persius' premature death of stomach illness at twenty-

(1928), pp. 309–315; F. Altheim, “Persona,” *ArchRW* 27 (1929), pp. 35–52; idem, “Maske und Totenkult,” *Terra Mater*, Religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zur italischen Religionsgeschichte, 22,2 (Giessen, 1931), pp. 48–65; E. Vetter, s.v. “Phersu,” *RE* XIX, 2 (1938), cols. 2057–2058; A. v. Blumenthal, s.v. “Persona,” *RE* XIX, 1 (1937), cols. 1036–1040; Becatti, *Magi* (supra, note 50), especially pp. 12–18; A. Baldi, “Perseus e Phersu,” *Aevum* 35 (1961), pp. 131–135; S. De Marinis, s.v. “Phersu,” *EAA* 6 (1965), pp. 119–120; J. Heurgon, *La vie quotidienne chez les Étrusques* (Paris, 1961), pp. 264–269; N. Cafarella, “Phersu,” *Tetraonyma* (Publicazioni dell'Istituto di Filologia Classica dell'Università di Genova, 25; [Genoa, 1966]), pp. 85–89; J. Heurgon, *Recherches sur l'histoire, la religion et la civilisation de Capoue Preromaine* (Paris, 1970), pp. 429–439; C. De Simone, *Die griechische Entlehnungen* (supra, note 49), vol. 1, p. 139 (with further literature); vol. 2, pp. 293–298, detailed discussion; G. Ville, *La gladiature en Occident des origines à la mort de Domitien* (Rome, 1981); D. Rebuffat-Emmanuel, “Le jeu du Phersu à Tarquinia: nouvelle interprétation,” *CRAI* (1983), pp. 421–438 (Phersu is interpreted as taking part in a funerary play with Herakles catching Cerberus).

53. Livy VII.2, 4–12 (in 364 B.C.); W. Hering, “Satura und Hyporchem (Einige Gedanken zur Livius VII.2),” *Römische Satire* (Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Universität Rostock, 15, 1966), pp. 418–429; M. Coffey, *Roman Satire* (London, New York, 1976), pp. 17–23; J. G. Szilágyi, “Impletæ modis saturæ,” *Prospettiva* 24 (1981), pp. 2–23, where much more material is discussed. Just to name one of the “coincidences,” the professional *ploratores* of the Tomba degli Auguri are called *tanasar* and *apas tanasar* (CIE 5333–5334), which might be compared to a late bilingual inscription from Chiusi, where *ath:trep:i:thanasa* is translated into *Ar. Trebi. Histro* (CIE 2965; *CIL* XI, 1, 2469; Rix (supra, note 49), p. 157. This *cognomen*, in turn, corresponds to the Latin *histrion* (actor), which Latin etymologists derive from an otherwise unknown Etruscan word, *ister* (Livy VII.2).

54. This would mean by blood ties as well as by marriage; since Persius himself died unmarried, this would concern other family members. The short but chaotic *Vita Persii* can be found in many

editions of the satires of Persius, together with other biographical information; see, for example, O. Jahn, *Auli Persii Flacci Saturarum Liber, cum scholiis antiquis* (Leipzig, 1843), still the most complete edition; W. V. Clausen, *A. Persi Flacci Saturarum Liber, Accedit Vita* (Oxford, 1956); D. Bo, *A. Persi Flacci Saturarum Liber, Praecedit Vita* (Turin, 1969); G. G. Ramsay, *Juvenal and Persius*, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, Mass., 1969), with an English translation; N. Rudd, *Horace: Satires and Epistles; Persius: Satires* (Harmondsworth, 1979), an easily accessible English edition, with biographical notes, pp. 26–31. Literature on Persius and his work is very abundant; see, for example, M. Schanz, *Geschichte der römischen Literatur* 2d ed. (Munich, 1901), vol. 2,2, pp. 63–65; W. Kroll, s.v. “A. Persius Flaccus, Satiriker,” *RE* Suppl. VII (1940), cols. 972–979; J. P. Sullivan, “In Defense of Persius,” *Ramus* 1 (1972), pp. 48–62; J. C. Bramble, *Persius and the Programmatic Satire* (Cambridge, 1974); M. Coffey, *Roman Satire* (London, New York, 1976), pp. 98–118; R. A. Harvey, *A Commentary on Persius (Mnemosyne, suppl. 64, Leiden, 1981)*. A new edition of the *scholia* will be published, edited by W. V. Clausen and J. E. C. Zetzel.

55. This is, however, mostly because of Fulvia Sisennia herself, the mother of Persius; W. Schulze, *Zur Geschichte lateinischer Eigennamen* (Berlin, 1904), p. 94. On the Etruscan origin of Latin names ending in *-na* in general, *ibid.* pp. 65–107. The perfect Latin *gentilicium* Fulvius might, in this case, derive from the Etruscan *fulu*, known in Volterra (see *ThLEI*, s.v. *fulu, fului, fuluial*), translated into a well-known Latin name. For other Fulvii, see E. Groag and A. Stein, *PIR* (Berlin, Leipzig, 1943), vol. 3, nos. 521–568, where Fulvia Sisennia is no. 568.

56. *Vita Persii*, 1 (cf. note 54); Jahn (supra, note 54), pp. iv–v; Schulze (supra, note 55), p. 134, n. 6, 207, n. 4; E. Marmorale, *Persio* 2d ed. (Florence, 1956), p. 109, n. 2; De Simone, “Il nome di Persio,” *RivFC* 96 (1968), p. 434, n. 3. On the commonness of Aulus in Etruria: H. Rix (supra, note 49), p. 155; Káimio (supra, note 49), pp. 173–176. Flaccus is a very common Latin *cognomen*, see *PIR* 3, pp. 129–130, and does not necessarily require Etruscan equivalents.

57. F.-H. Pairault Massa, in *Artigianato artistico*, pp. 82, 85, no. 65.

58. *Vita Persii* 42.

seven perhaps saved him from sharing the fate of most of his friends and teachers in Rome, who were executed, compelled to commit suicide, or were exiled a few years later because of their opposition, supposed or real, to the emperor Nero.⁵⁹ Among these was his closest friend, P. Clodius Thræsea Paetus, a native of Padua, who was married to Caecina Arria, said to be his *cognata* (relative).⁶⁰ She was the daughter of A. Caecina Paetus, of Volterranean origin and of the same influential family as was most likely the mother of Persius.⁶¹

The Ceicna/Caecina family is well known in both Etruscan and Latin epigraphical material at Volterra and is also frequently mentioned in Roman literary sources from the time of Cicero.⁶² The mother of Persius' *cognata*, the older Arria, may also have been of Etruscan origin.⁶³ She was famous for her heroic death, recorded by many authors; indeed, Persius composed verses to her memory.⁶⁴

Though mostly living in Rome and writing in Latin, Persius did not lose his Etruscan identity. This is most directly expressed in his third satire, wherein he criticizes himself for taking pride in long lines of Etruscan fore-

fathers and in the parades of the *equites*, certainly attitudes common among the municipal nobility:

Hoc satis? an deceat pulmonem rumpere ventis, stemmate quod Tusco ramum, millesime, ducis, censoremve tuum vel quod trabeate salutas?⁶⁵

Among those forefathers must also have been the Persu whose funerary effigy we have dealt with.

Persius modestly writes that his ancestral estate yielded a moderate crop (*Sat.* III 24–25), yet the family seems to have been wealthy. Apart from a fair amount of money, two million sesterces, that Persius left to his mother and sisters, and the seven hundred volumes of the Stoic philosopher Chrysippus's works bequeathed to his former teacher, L. Annaeus Cornutus,⁶⁶ there seem to have been considerable land possessions. Persius' sixth satire was written on his estate far up the Tyrrhenian coast at Luni,⁶⁷ whereas he died on his estate near Bovillae, south of Rome along the Via Appia.⁶⁸

Other Persii are known from a funerary inscription from Populonia⁶⁹ and another from Capännoli, some thirty kilo-

59. E. Cizek, *L'Époque de Néron et ses controverses idéologiques* (Leiden, 1972), especially pp. 179–184; C. Witke, "Persius and the Neronian Institution of Literature," *Latomus* 43 (1984), pp. 802–812. Many of the biographical notes cited in note 54 add information about Persius' teachers and friends.

60. On Thræsea, see, for example, M. Schanz, *Geschichte der römischen Literatur* 2d ed. (Munich, 1901), vol. 2.2, p. 258; *PIR* (1936), vol. 2, no. 1187; R. Syme, *Tacitus* (Oxford, 1958), vol. 2, pp. 555–562; Cizek (supra, note 59), pp. 381–387; O. Murray, "The 'Quinquennium Neronis' and the Stoics," *Historia* 14 (1965), pp. 52–61. On the younger Arria, see also P. v. Rohden, s.v. "Arrius Nr. 40," *RE* 2.1 (1895), col. 1259, with a genealogical tree; *PIR* 1 (1933), no. 1114.

61. S.v. "Caecina," *RE* III (1899), no. 22; *PIR* 2 (1936), p. 20, no. 103. Only Syme (supra, note 60), p. 559, no. 3, proposes a Patavine origin, in correspondence with the son-in-law, but a Volterranean origin is much more probable; an A. Caecina Alienus, *PIR* 2, pp. 17–18, no. 99, was from Vicenza, but no Caecinae are known from Padua.

62. See, for example, *UV* 1, tombs II and III. Bibliography on the Caecinae is very abundant. See, for example, *RE* 3 (Stuttgart, 1899), s.v. Caecina; *PIR* 2 (1936), pp. 17–23; M. Torelli, "Senatori Etruschi della tarda repubblica e dell'Impero," *DialAr* 3.3 (1969), pp. 295–298; W. V. Harris, *Rome in Etruria and Umbria* (Oxford, 1971), s.v. index; P. Hohti, "Aulus Caecina the Volaterran: Romanization of an Etruscan," *Acta Instituti Romani Finlandiae* 5 (Rome, 1975), p. 405–433; T. P. Wiseman, "Domi nobiles and the Roman Cultural Elite," *Les 'Bourgeoisies' municipales Italiennes aux II^e et I^{er} siècles av. J.-C.* (Naples, 1983), p. 306, n. 57.

63. Many Arrii seem to be of Campanian origin; see s.v. "Arrius," *RE* 2.1 (1895), cols. 1251ff.; *RE* suppl. I (1903), cols. 140–141; *PIR* I, 2d ed. (1933), pp. 211–220. There are, however, bilingual inscriptions that show that the Etruscan name *arntni* has been transformed into *Arrius* (*CIE* 1048 from Chianciano, and *CIE* 1468 and 1469 from Sarteano); in both Etruscan and Latin forms, these names abound in the same tombs, and in the area of Sarteano, Montepulciano, and Chiusi (see *ThLE* I, s.v.); cf. Rix (supra, note 49), pp. 166–167, 169, and Kaimio (supra, note 49), pp. 122, 180–181. D. Geissendorfer, *Der Ursprung der Gorgia Toscana* (Diss., Erlangen-Nürnberg, 1964), pp. 32–55, argues

that the Arrius ridiculed by Catullus for his strange pronunciation is an Etruscan.

64. *Vita Persii*, 47–48; these verses are not preserved. The most comprehensive account of Arria maior is to be found in Pliny, *Ep.* III. 16. Caecina Paetus and Arria maior had already died in A.D. 42/43, when Persius was still a boy in Volterra. For further references, see literature cited in note 54, and P. v. Rohden, s.v. "Arrius, Nr. 39," *RE* 2.1 (1895), col. 1259; *PIR* I, 2d ed. (1933), p. 218, no. 113.

65. *Sat.* III.27–29: "Is that enough? Or again, should you puff up your lungs till they burst because you, descendant one thousand, trace your family tree to Tuscan stock and parade for your Censor in full regalia?" (translation: Rudd [supra, note 54], p. 217). On Etruscan features in Persius, see J. Heurgon, "Les éléments italiques dans la satire romaine," *Römische Satire* (Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Universität Rostock, 15, 1966), pp. 433–438.

66. *Vita Persii*. Though moderate compared with the views of Bachofen, Heurgon seems to lay too much weight on the role of female relatives in Persius' life and testament (supra, note 65, pp. 435–437); it just happened that Persius' nearest surviving relatives were women. The lists of female relatives in *Sat.* VI.52–55 seem to exaggerate his real situation and do not permit even a hypothetical reconstruction of a genealogical tree (Heurgon, p. 437). For Cornutus, see bibliography in notes 54 and 59; A. D. Nock, s.v. "Kornutos," *RE* Suppl. V (1931), cols. 995–1005; *PIR* I, 2d ed. (1933), p. 100; Cizek (supra, note 59), pp. 349–358.

67. *Sat.* VI.6–9. The scholia (ed. Jahn, 1843), p. 341, inform us that the estate at Luni was left to Persius' mother, Fulvia Sisennia, by her second husband, Fusius, not known from other sources (*PIR* III [1943], p. 235, no. 604). In the epigraphic material from Luni no Fusius occurs, but there are some Fulvii: *CIL* XI.1, 1336–1337, 1355 (B 7). On the passage: H. Beikircher, *Kommentar zur VI. Satire des A. Persius Flaccus*, *Wiener Studien, Beiheft* 1 (1969), p. 31, n. 10, 32, n. 8.

68. *Vita Persii*; Jahn, p. xlv.

69. The inscription is conserved at the Antiquarium of Populonia: "v. C. Persius. A. f. Gal(---) / v. Gallonia M. f. Quar(---) / L. Persius C. f. F(---) / Persia C. f. Polla"; published by A. Minto, *NSc* (1914), pp. 417–418 (b); idem, *Populonia* (Florence, 1943), pp. 280–281, no. 1;



Figure 8a. Roman theater at Volterra. Photo: Marjatta Nielsen.



Figure 8b. Cavea of the Roman theater at Volterra, where the reserved seat inscriptions in figure 9 come from. Photo: Marjatta Nielsen.



Figure 9. Reserved seat inscriptions of *Persi* and *Laeli* on a marble revetment slab from the Roman theater at Volterra. Volterra, Museo Guarnacci. Photo: Marjatta Nielsen.

meters north of Volterra, in the valley of the Era river.⁷⁰ Persii remained, however, at Volterra. A marble tablet in Volterra that commemorates a five-year-old A. Persius Severus has been known since at least the sixteenth century.⁷¹ More recently, other inscriptions of anonymous family members have come to light at the excavations of the Roman theater at Volterra, among the reserved seats (figs. 8–9).⁷² The theater was built during Augustus' reign by two members of the aforementioned Caecina family, whose names appear in the dedication inscription: "A Caecina A.f. Severus Cos." (consul of 2–1 B.C.), and "C. Caecina A.f. Largus,"⁷³ who thus secured for themselves a prominent position in Rome as well as a lasting memory in their hometown.

Aules Persius Flaccus was thus born in a town where a Roman theater, a symbol of Romanization, had only recently been finished, probably during the reign of Tiberius (A.D. 14–37),⁷⁴ and where the last visible traces of Etruscan culture and funerary customs had been abandoned.⁷⁵ Etruscan identity continued to survive, however, as a local patriotic pride in a glorious past. It is not surprising that the cultural interests of Persius Flaccus were directed toward Rome, with which the Caecinae had held close relationships for several generations. But many Caecinae, Persii, and other families remained in Volterra, where Hellenized culture had been recognized for centuries.⁷⁶

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mentioned also by L. Consortini, *Volterra nell'Antichità* (Volterra, 1940), pp. 244–245; E. Marmorale, *Persio*, 2d ed. (Florence, 1956), p. 111; J. Heurgon (supra, note 65), p. 434, n. 43 (contrary to Heurgon's statement, Populonia does belong to the tribe of Galeria); De Simone, "Il nome di Persio," *RivFC* 96 (1968), p. 421, no. 3; idem, *Griechische Entlehnungen . . . 2* (1970), p. 240; F. Fedeli, *Populonia, Storia e territorio* (Florence, 1983), p. 155.

70. Funerary inscription dedicated by A. Persius Severus to his wife; *CIL* XI,1, 1785. The provenance is not known.

71. On the wall of Via Guarnacci No. 22 at Volterra; *CIL* XI,1, 1784; he is perhaps the son of the former Persius.

72. The inscriptions are exhibited in the Roman room (now on the first floor) at the Museo Guarnacci. One is published by E. Fiumi, "Volterra: Scavi nell'area del teatro romano degli anni 1950–1953," *NSc* 9 (1955), p. 143, no. 2, fig. 21, p. 136.

73. O. Luchi, "Per la storia del teatro romano di Volterra," *Prospettiva* 8 (1977), pp. 37–41; M. Torelli, "Edilizia pubblica in Italia centrale tra guerra sociale ed età augustea: ideologia e classi sociali," *Les 'Bourgeoisies' municipales . . .* (Naples, 1983), pp. 247–248. For A. Caecina Severus, *PIR* II (1936), p. 21, no. 106.

74. G. Maetzke, "Nuovo ritratto dal teatro romano di Volterra,"

Studi per Enrico Fiumi (Pisa, 1979), pp. 115–120.

75. The production of Etruscan cinerary urns came to an end at Volterra during the Augustan period, with the Diptych Group: Nielsen, *Lid Sculptures*, pp. 358–377; Nielsen, in *Caratteri*, p. 139. Only three lid figures are of a later date, probably from the Tiberian period, which prove an occasional survival of conservative attitudes, perhaps in a single family, but not a widespread continuation of Etruscan funerary customs; lastly, Nielsen, in *Artigianato artistico*, pp. 46–47, nos. 18–20. The cinerary urns in Roman Volterra were different in form but did not imply any radical change in funerary rites, a circumstance that furthered the adoption of Roman-type urns.

76. The surviving Etruscan families in Roman Volterra are many more than those listed under that heading by O. Luchi, in *Caratteri*, pp. 143–144, since many of the "non-Etruscan families" are known to have had Etruscan ancestors. See also the reply of M. Cristofani, *ibid.*, p. 144.

When this article was already in print, the inscription on the alabaster lid was published by M. Pandolfini, in *StEtr* 52 (1986), pp. 310–311, no. 66, pl. 50.

Three Hellenistic Rulers at the Getty

R. R. R. Smith

The Getty Museum recently acquired three interesting Hellenistic ruler portraits, which are published here. The first two are much ruined but impressive, large-scale pieces. None can be dated or identified precisely, as is common in this field. The first is a nearly twice life-size head with unusual evidence of reworking and the addition of royal-divine attributes. The second is an imposing head, well over twice life-size, and perhaps Ptolemaic. The third piece is a striking and individual life-size head, certainly the image of a late Ptolemy (probably IX or X), and also shows signs of reworking.

1. RULER HEAD WITH "EXCAVATED" TEMPLES¹

(figs. 1a–d)

No documented provenance; said to be from western Asia Minor, third–first century B.C.

White marble with some gray-purple patches and streaks on the surface of the left cheek and chin; slight traces of red in the eyeballs.

H: (total) 40 cm (1'3¾"), (chin to crown) approx. 34 cm (1'1⅜")

76.AA.72

The head is nearly twice life-size and was broken off diagonally through the neck, presumably from a statue. The break and the right side of the neck as far up as the right ear, which is almost entirely gone, have been worn smooth. Most of the chin, lips, and nose are broken off. The surface of the face is considerably weathered and chipped. The oblique slice missing from the forehead above the right eye is the result of a natural break, not a deliberate cut. What remains of the left ear gives some indication of the original quality of the head—good, but not the best.

The head was made to turn and look up quite sharply to

the right. The lips are parted by a simple drill line. The subject is beardless and youthful, or rather he has been given a clean-shaven, ideal agelessness. The rounded face is full and soft looking and, despite its damaged condition, clearly had very generalized features. The surface of the face is smooth and even with a minimum of detail. The only surface movement is in the slight swelling of the lower brow. Although the subject is barely individualized, he is clearly not a hero or an Olympian god. However, both the large scale of the head and its style of image exclude an ordinary mortal. The vigorous upward turn of the head, the parted lips, the ideal agelessness, and the smooth, flat sculptural style are all typical of Hellenistic ruler portraits. These characteristics, combined with the strong likelihood that the portrait once wore royal and/or divinizing attributes, make it virtually certain that the head is of a Hellenistic king.

The hair and top of the head show interesting evidence of separately added attributes and of extensive secondary working. The hair as preserved is most probably cut back for a second version of the portrait. There are two sets of cuttings for attributes: (1) ten small dowel holes around the head and (2) two very large square holes cut, or "excavated," in the temples. The two sets of cuttings almost certainly belong to two different stages or versions.

The ten small dowel holes are of two different sizes. Seven toward the front of the head (three on each side and one directly over the middle of the forehead) are roughly square (approx. 1.2 x 1.2 cm), with their depth varying from about 2 to 3 cm. At the rear, on the nape, there are three smaller circular holes (diam. approx. 0.6 cm): one in the middle of the nape and one to each side. Two of these holes (the center and left) still have iron dowels or nails in them. These ten holes must have been used for the separate

I studied these heads on a visit to the Getty Museum in April 1984. I would like to thank Klaus Parlasca for discussing the late Ptolemy (No. 3) with me.

Left and right are throughout the proper left and right of the portraits. The following works are abbreviated:

Ptol. Äg.: H. Maehler and V. M. Strocka, eds., *Das ptolemäische Ägypten* (Mainz, 1978).

Kyrieleis: H. Kyrieleis, *Bildnisse der Ptolemäer* (Berlin, 1975).

Maehler: H. Maehler, "Egypt under the Last Ptolemies," *BICS* 30 (1983), pp. 1–16.

Parlasca: K. Parlasca, "Ein verkanntes hellenistisches Herrscherbildnis," *JdI* 82 (1967), pp. 167–194.

Richter: G. M. A. Richter, *The Portraits of the Greeks* (London, 1965).

1. Illustrated and briefly discussed by J. Frel, *Greek Portraits in the J. Paul Getty Museum* (Malibu, 1981), pp. 78–79, 114, no. 28, where he suggests an identification as Ptolemy II; and by R. Kabus-Preissshofen, *AA* (1983), pp. 682–683, figs. 3 and 4, who follows Frel's identification. The head is nicknamed after the large holes "excavated" in the temples.



Figure 1a. Marble head of a Hellenistic ruler. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 76.AA.72.



Figure 1b. Right profile of Hellenistic ruler, figure 1a.



Figure 1c. Left profile of Hellenistic ruler, figure 1a.

attachment of some kind of wreath or diadem—possibly a diadem with rays anchored in the holes.²

The large cuttings in the temples are unusual and harder to interpret. They are roughly worked, approximately square, and of slightly divergent dimensions. The right cavity measures approximately 6.5 x 6.5 cm and is approximately 4 cm deep; the left is approximately 7 x 6 cm and about 4.5 cm deep. What attributes—clearly very substantial—these excavated holes were made to contain or fasten to the head is not immediately obvious. Their position and scale most easily suggest large animal horns, which are sometimes worn on Hellenistic royal portraits.³

A difficulty is encountered, however, in the cutting back of the hair. At the front and over the temples, the hair has been dressed down roughly with the point, leaving an unnatural dip at the hairline over the forehead, best seen in profile. The hair thus dressed down must have been covered, which means that the large holes cannot simply have



Figure 1d. Back of Hellenistic ruler, figure 1a.

2. Rays (of light) are relatively common attributes on Hellenistic royal portraits. See examples on coins in Kyrieleis, pls. 171–4; 404; 52.1 (Ptolemies); E. Babelon, *Les rois de Syrie* (Paris, 1890), examples on pls. 13, 14, 17, 20, 23, 25, 26, 28, 29 (Seleucids, from Antiochos IV and mainly on bronze issues); cf., with caution, J. G. Bunge, “Antiochos-Helios,” *Historia* 24 (1975), pp. 164–188.

3. See *infra* and notes 5–9.

held horns protruding from the hair. On top of the head, the hair is roughly cut back even further, leaving a kind of ridge at the line of the smaller dowel holes.

It is not likely that the large square holes (and their putative horns) belong to the original version and were covered in the second version; on the contrary, it seems fairly certain that the large holes belong to a *secondary* working. This follows from the fact that the large hole on the left temple interrupts the path of two of the smaller holes, rendering them redundant for holding dowels. One of the small holes emerges into the large cavity at its upper front corner, forming a small tunnel with a bridge of stone intact; the other, at the upper rear corner of the cavity, runs into it with the bridge of stone broken away. So the small dowel holes are most unlikely to have been used simultaneously with the large cavities and probably belong to an earlier version of the portrait.

We may then reconstruct the following hypothetical sequence. The head originally had fuller marble hair with some kind of wreath or diadem (perhaps radiate) attached by iron dowels in the smaller holes. In the second version, the wreath or diadem was taken off and the iron dowels removed, except for two at the back, which were broken or cut off in their holes. The hair was then cut back all over to take a new headdress that covered the whole head—presumably, therefore, some kind of helmet.⁴ Connected in some way with the second version are the large holes in the temples. This much we can posit with some confidence. Further interpretation—notably of the large cavities—must allow for several alternatives.

It is possible that the large holes were cut simply for the purpose of attaching a helmet, but it is hard to see why they

should be so large and why on the temples and symmetrically disposed. Coin portraits of Demetrios Poliorketes and Seleukos I show that it was precisely in this position that the long horns of a mature bull, worn by some images of Hellenistic kings, were placed.⁵ (Bull horns referred to Dionysos and suggested a king's Dionysos-like powers.)⁶ The short, stumplike horns of a young bull worn on other royal portraits would not require such large cavities for attachment and on marble heads would be easily executed from the same block as the head.⁷ Ram horns seem to have been worn mainly or exclusively on portraits of Alexander (posthumously), and they spring from close to the ears, as in nature.⁸ (They refer to Zeus-Ammon, with whom Alexander had a well-known special relationship.) Goat horns are rarer on royal portraits and are placed closer together above the forehead, again “as in nature.”⁹

The easiest explanation, then, of the size and position of the large holes would be that they were designed to secure long bull horns of bronze or marble. Marble horns would perhaps be more likely because their weight would require more careful anchoring in the head and so better explain the size of the cavities. As already observed, however, at the same time as we think the cavities were cut to hold horns, the hair was also cut back to be covered by some headgear. Since there is no sign that a new hairstyle was added in stucco, the most logical explanation would be that the head was made to receive, in its second version, new headgear consisting of both a helmet and separately added horns—that is, a helmet with horns seeming to appear “naturalistically” through it. This would have the potential advantage that the horns would be represented as belong-

4. Compare a Hellenistic ruler head in Terracina, published by B. Conticello, *BdA* 48 (1963), pp. 289–294, figs. 1–4. Its skull has been shaped and roughly carved almost certainly to attach a helmet by means of dowel holes on the crown and the nape. Neither of Conticello's proposed reconstructions—a separately added diadem or “crown,” or added stucco hair—fits the physical evidence of the head.

5. Demetrios: E. T. Newell, *The Coinages of Demetrius Poliorketes* (New York, 1927); G. K. Jenkins, *Greek Coins* (London, 1972), fig. 538. Richter, fig. 1744, illustrates a very poor specimen with the horn barely visible. Seleukos I: E. T. Newell, *The Coinage of the Western Seleucids Mints* (New York, 1941), pp. 246–249, pls. 54.5–10 (Sardis, 270s B.C., i.e., posthumous). See also *infra* note 7.

6. The bull was the most common animal manifestation of Dionysos. See especially E. R. Dodds, *Euripides: Bacchae*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1960), pp. xi–xxv and xviii–xx. Bull horns, however, were not a usual part of Dionysos' iconography in the Classical period. See, in general, E. Pochmarski, *Das Bild des Dionysos in der Rundplastik der klassischen Zeit Griechenlands* (Vienna, 1974). They seem to have been a known part of Dionysiac symbolism given new prominence by early Hellenistic royal portrait images.

7. Seen (unusually) on some coin issues of two later Seleucids, Demetrios II and Seleukos VI: N. Dürr, *Schweiz. Münzbl.* 91 (1973), pp. 90–92 and *Schweiz. Münzbl.* 113 (1979), pp. 7–9. Marble heads, e.g.: (1) the Demetrios Poliorketes herm in Naples: Richter, p. 256, figs.

1741–1742; (2) a head from the Lateran collection: *ABr* nos. 351–352; Helbig,⁴ vol. 1, 1086. On both these, cf. A. Rumpf, *AthMitt* 78 (1963), p. 181. Beilage 92.1, 93.1, in a useful article on horned portraits, which, however, seems mistaken in identifying these (and several others) as ram horns; see also *LIMC* I (1981) s.v. Ammon 182,* on the Lateran head. Cf. Kyrieleis, p. 78, on Rumpf's article. Horns were added separately in rounded cavities on a head in the Sala dei Busti of the Vatican (which, like the Naples Demetrios and the Lateran head, is a work of the Roman period): *ABr* nos. 489–490; Helbig,⁴ vol. 1, 178; Rumpf (supra), Beilage 92.2; J. Fink, *RömMitt* 76 (1969), p. 240, pls. 76.2, 78.3–4, and 79.3. Large bull horns were probably added to specially prepared surfaces over the forehead of an important Hellenistic ruler head in the Antakya Museum, to be published by A. Houghton, who kindly showed me photographs and a draft of his article, forthcoming in *AntK* (1986).

8. For Alexander, see e.g.: Richter, figs. 1719–1722, 1724. The only other ruler who regularly wears ram horns on coins is Arsinoe II, who has a very small horn worn behind and below the ear; see Kyrieleis, pl. 70. See also the small head in Athens, in D. B. Thompson, *AJA* 59 (1955), pp. 199f., pl. 54.1–2; Kyrieleis, K6. For A. Rumpf's views on ram horns on portraits, see supra, note 7.

9. For goat horns see: (1) a statuette in Naples (Richter, fig. 1743); (2) a large ruler head from Delos on which they were probably attached to prepared surfaces (C. Picard, *Mon Piot* 41 [1946]), p. 73, fig. 3 and pl.

ing directly to the subject, rather than merely to his helmet, which would have a weaker symbolic reference.¹⁰

This is only one hypothetical reconstruction; one could think of others. The large holes may, after all, have been used simply for attaching a helmet. Or it could have been decided first simply to add horns to the head and then, perhaps because it was technically easier, to cut back the whole top of the head and add a helmet without using the large holes for their original purpose. But these and other possibilities seem to me to explain the physical evidence of the head less economically and less satisfactorily than the first hypothesis.

An analogous alternative to bull horns and helmet would be an elephant-scalp headdress or a helmet in the form of an elephant scalp, which was suggested by J. Frel.¹¹ Portraits of Alexander (posthumous) and of other Hellenistic kings sometimes wore elephant headgear as a symbol of victory over India.¹² In this case, the large cavities could simply have been designed to secure the helmet or headdress, or one could suppose an elephant-scalp helmet (of bronze), with large tusks (of marble?) attached separately in the holes. This would have been done to increase the "verisimilitude" of the helmet, not to suggest that the tusks belonged to the king's head, for, unlike bull horns, the elephant scalp referred only to the spoils of Far Eastern conquest, not the animal manifestation of a god.

Even before it was damaged, this portrait head was probably always too generalized to have been identified without the inscription on its statue's base. The facial features clearly do not follow any closely defined model, whether a real-life or an official portrait type. Coins are no help in such circumstances, even with more perfectly preserved portraits.

Nor would it help much if we were certain which attributes the head wore in either or both of its versions because such attributes were not restricted to one king or even one dynasty.¹³

Style cannot provide a date for our head except very broadly. From its technique (especially the alterations) and sculptural style, it seems clearly not to be a copy of the Roman period. The third, second, and first centuries B.C. would all be possible for its style, in terms of both execution and royal image—that is, its manner of presenting the king. Since the Hellenistic monarchy was in severe trouble by the end of the second century, and most dynasties were extinct by the mid-first century, one might prefer a third- or second-century date. This could be said for most Hellenistic royal portraits that cannot be dated on other grounds. Since this full- or fat-faced image is not found on royal coins until the mid- and late third century and is quite common in the second,¹⁴ one might prefer a date in the second half of the third century or in the second century. But this is merely guessing.

Nor can we deduce the dynasty or place of manufacture with any confidence. The fat-faced style of image is best attested on coins for the Ptolemies, but this can hardly be relied upon for a sculptured portrait not closely connected with any coin types. The reported provenance of western Asia Minor, even if known to be correct, would not provide much help in deciding the dynasty unless one also knew precisely where in western Asia Minor it was found and the portrait's precise date.

Archaeologists should not despair that it is impossible either to date or localize sculptures such as this with any precision. We can confidently say only that this undocu-

8; Rumpf (supra, note 7), p. 195, Beilage 94.2; J. Marcadé, *Au Musée de Délos* (Paris, 1969), p. 263, pl. 73; and (3) a small granite head of Pan with portraitlike features in Dresden (Kyrieleis, 12, A4, pl. 61–2). No Hellenistic royal coins have portraits with goat horns. The head of Pan on the shield blazon of the coins of Antigonos Gonatas (Richter, fig. 1745) is just Pan. Philip V, however, appears on Roman denarii of his namesake L. Marcus Philippus (cos. 91 B.C.) with goat horns on his helmet; see M. Crawford, *Roman Republican Coinage* (London and New York, 1974), no. 293/1 (113 or 112 B.C.). On goat-horned helmets, see also Plut., *Pyrrh.*, 11.5 and Livy 27.33.2–3 (Pyrrhos and Philip V). Goat horns refer to the god Pan, who was virtually the patron deity of the Antigonids—see W. W. Tarn, *Antigonos Gonatas* (Oxford, 1913), pp. 174, 380–381—and perhaps more generally to the foundation myth of the Macedonian kingdom at Aigai (Goat City), which involved selection of the site by a herd of wild goats (see Diod. Sic. 7.16–17 and Justin 71). See also now H. P. Laubscher, "Hellenistische Herrscher und Pan," *AthMitt* 100 (1985), pp. 333–353, publishing a bronze statuette in Berlin that wears a diadem and goat horns.

10. Bull horns and ears are, however, quite often attached to royal helmets on coins, worn first by Alexander posthumously on early Seleucid coins, circa 300 B.C. Richter, fig. 1865, with R. A. Hadley, *NumChron* 14 (1974), pp. 9–13, shows that these coins probably do not represent Seleukos I. Bull horns and ears were in Bactria and India (Richter, figs. 1986, 1990–1991, and 1996).

11. Frel (supra, note 1), p. 78: "After the death of the king, an elephant-head helmet was added to the portrait to make it more impressive."

12. Alexander wears an elephant-scalp headdress on early Ptolemaic coins (Richter, fig. 1721; Kyrieleis, pl. 11) and on early Seleucid coins (Jenkins, [supra, note 5], fig. 525), and also much later on a marble head in Copenhagen from Carthage or Utica (Richter, fig. 1724). Later kings seem to wear the elephant scalp relatively rarely; a statuette in the British Museum, probably of Ptolemy II, and an equestrian statuette in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York (Kyrieleis, B 1–2, pls. 9–10.3) wear it, as does a late Ptolemy on clay sealings (infra, note 46). Helmets in the shape of an elephant scalp seem to be worn by only a few kings on coins in Bactria and India (Richter, figs. 1976–1977; R. Curiel and G. Fussman, *Le trésor monétaire de Qunduz* (Paris, 1965), pl. 51.611–613 (Demetrios and Lysias).

13. The ram horns of Zeus-Ammon are an exception; they are worn by Alexander but do not seem to have been used by other kings (see above and supra, notes 7–8). The eagle headdress, to be discussed with the third head (infra, notes 44–46), is probably another exception.

14. The corpulent royal image will be discussed more fully in connection with the second head.

mented and unprovenanced marble head was made within the third to first centuries somewhere in the Greek East (the extent of the possible geographical areas would depend on the date). The inability to be more precise is itself an important fact, however; it tells us something interesting about the homogeneity, within broad limits, of some kinds or strata of the Hellenistic royal image over a very wide geographical and chronological range. This applies especially to the less detailed and less high-quality works (like this piece), which were produced, one suspects, at some distance (in terms of status or miles) from the relevant royal center. Such pieces make up a substantial proportion of surviving Hellenistic royal portraits. At other levels, of course, there are observable changes in the royal image according to time and place.

Apart from this very general information, the chief interest of this head lies in its apparently elaborate reworking. Ruler portraits could be reworked for one of two reasons: to change the identity of the subject or, no doubt less commonly, to change some external aspect of the subject, like beard, hairstyle, or attributes. In the Roman period, portrait heads of “bad” emperors were regularly recut to make portraits of their “good” successors,¹⁵ and there is evidence of this practice in the Hellenistic period, notably in late Ptolemaic Egypt, as will be seen in the discussion of the third head. (This practice is different in kind from the frequent reuse of portrait heads in late antiquity, where the motive was no doubt usually economic rather than political.)

There is no indication that the features of the Getty Museum head were recut; as far as we can tell, the second version gave it only new headgear. The insignia and attributes worn by a king in real life, especially those worn by his portrait images, were important symbols of his royal and divine status, and one can infer that the troublesome alteration of marble portraits like this one would be occasioned by major changes or “promotions” in that status. Likely events for such changes would be dynastic occasions like accessions, great victories, new royal cult institutions, and royal apotheoses.¹⁶ Since we do not know for certain what attributes our head wore in its first and second versions, we cannot interpret the change, except that in the second version it clearly wore something more elaborate, probably some kind of helmet with large horns.

15. See especially H. Jucker, *JdI* 96 (1981), pp. 236–316, and M. Bergmann and P. Zanker, *JdI* 96 (1981), pp. 317–412; cf. also J. Pollini, *AJA* 88 (1984), pp. 547–555.

16. The best example of such an alteration to indicate change in status, I will argue elsewhere, is the fine head, probably of Attalos I, from Pergamon, which has a separately added secondary wreath of hair (F. Winter, *AvP* VII.1 [1908], no. 30, pls. 31–32). It seems to me that in the original publication, Winter, followed by all later scholars, misin-

2. A ROYAL *PHYSKON* (figs. 2a–d)

No documented provenance; said to be from Alexandria, third–first century B.C.

White marble with large crystals (perhaps from the Greek islands).

H: (total) approx. 51 cm (21”), (chin to crown) approx. 40 cm (15¾”) (originally approx. 43–44 cm with the added hair)

83.AA.205, presented by Vasek Polak

The head is well over twice life-size and must originally have been set in a statue. This is clear from the undersurface of the neck, which, though now partly broken, was worked for insertion into another member. There is also a large square dowel hole cut vertically into the neck (in which the modern mounting is fastened) for attaching the head to its statue; the dowel hole measures 6 x 7 cm and is approximately 11.5 cm deep. The nose, lower part of the mouth, and chin are broken off, and the surface of the face and neck is chipped and scratched. The top and back of the head, with most of the hair, are missing; these would have been added separately in stucco, since the surface is left rough and uneven and has no dowel holes, which would usually be required for large, separately added pieces of marble.

The head must have had quite thick, long hair framing the face and covering the tops of the ears and back of the neck. Crudely worked locks of hair remain around the face and over the right ear. The hair length can be seen best at the back left. There are two small prepared surfaces that have been cut smooth for added pieces of hair, presumably small pieces of marble rather than stucco: (1) an oval-shaped surface over the middle of the forehead with a few point marks on it (max. dimens. 5.5 x 13 cm) and (2) a vertical surface on the left side, which removes most of the left ear (max. dimens. 19 x 8 cm). The latter is finished with a fine claw chisel toward the front and a point toward the back, and there is a small ledge at the bottom formed partly by the lobe of the ear. The head has no sign of a diadem or other attributes, but the hair is not preserved far enough back to exclude these.

The head is set on a thick neck and made to look up and turn to the left, forming creases on the left of the neck; these are engraved, not modeled. The now badly damaged mouth is open with the line of the upper teeth indicated.

terpreted the physical evidence of the head in thinking it wore a diadem in both versions. It seems that, in fact, there was no diadem in the first version and that a diadem, together with the thick wreath of hair, was added only in the second version. The second version would then have been made when the king took the royal title, and the difficult alteration of the head would be explained by the need to advertise his new status as *basileus*, symbolized by the diadem.



Figure 2a. Marble head of a Ptolemy (?). Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 83.AA.205.



Figure 2b. Right profile of a Ptolemy (?), figure 2a.



Figure 2c. Left profile of a Ptolemy (?), figure 2a.

The rounded face looks soft and fat, with a sagging underchin and jowl; it is constructed with great formal simplicity, and the surface is completely smooth and devoid of detail. On the right side the cheek is barely distinguished from the neck, and on the left there is simply an abrupt line where the planes change from cheek to neck.

The eyes are large and staring and are outlined above and below by simple flat lids. The character of their treatment is best seen at the inner corner of the better-preserved left eye, where the inner canthus has a rather mannered simplicity. The eyes are set relatively shallowly in the head, with their

front plane not far behind the plane of the brows above. The eyebrows are arched and follow the line of the lids and eyes; they are plastically modeled ridges standing slightly raised from the surface.

Even without evidence of royal attributes, we can be fairly certain from the head's near-colossal scale and its style that it is a Hellenistic king or ruler. As with the "excavated" head discussed above (no. 1), the plain sculptural style combined with the dynamic pose, the subject's agelessness, and the highly generalized but clearly portraitlike features are typical of a certain class of Hellenistic royal portrait. Most

17. Louvre Ma 3168 (Kyrieleis, pp. 46–47, D3, pls. 34–35); Serapeion queen (Kyrieleis, pp. 105–106, L5, pls. 95–97.2); the whole group with head of Serapis (Kyrieleis, in *Stèle: tomos eis mnēmēn N. Kontoleonos* (Athens, 1980), pp. 383–387, pls. 168–174). The queen and the Serapis are in the Alexandria Museum.

18. Kyrieleis, p. 69, H1, pls. 56–57.

19. Louvre Ma 3449 (Kyrieleis, pp. 76–77, I1, pl. 69).

20. R. Kabus-Preisshofen, *AA* (1983), pp. 679–684, figs. 1–2. She rightly compares the Kos head with our first head but uses the latter to identify the Kos head as Ptolemy II—an unwarranted procedure. For



Figure 2d. Back of a Ptolemy (?), figure 2a.

of the remarks made there concerning identification, style, and dating apply to this head as well. But here a little more precision can be tentatively attempted.

In the technique and in the soft, generalized treatment of the surface, this head belongs to a loosely formed group of heads, most of which are probably Ptolemaic. A head in the Louvre (figs. 3a–b) without documented provenience (but which was most likely part of a group with two very similar heads of a queen and Serapis from the Serapeion at Alexandria) is of comparable scale and dynamic effect, only much more finely modeled and finished.¹⁷ A much smaller

scale and general effect, compare also a finer and more individualized late Seleucid head in Antakya (inv. 14318) (A. Houghton, *AntK* 27 [1984], pp. 123–128, pls. 13–14. This is a different head from that mentioned supra, in note 7, but the two are part of the same find.)

21. S. Sherwin-White, *Ancient Cos* (Göttingen, 1978), pp. 90–131,

diademed head from Alexandria in the Salm collection is more muted in expression.¹⁸ With these belongs a more individual head, probably from Egypt, also in the Louvre (figs. 4a–b).¹⁹ These heads are close enough in style and technique—especially in the use of stucco to complete the back of the head and hair—to make the reported provenience of our head quite credible, in which case it should be a Ptolemy. Another quite close parallel in style and general appearance comes from outside Egypt—a large, fat-faced portrait head in the Kos Museum, which had the hair and back of its head added in marble pieces with large dowels.²⁰ To judge by its scale and size, it, too, is probably a king. However, the most likely royal portrait subjects on Kos would also be Ptolemies, with whom the island had a special relationship for much of the Hellenistic period.²¹

These comparisons can only indicate the general milieu of our ruler head, since none of them can be precisely identified by coins or closely dated by style.²² Kyrieleis proposed Ptolemy IV for the Louvre-Serapeion head (figs. 3a–b), but the portrait is much too generalized and too ill-preserved to be securely identified. For the other Louvre head (figs. 4a–b), which has the nose still intact, Kyrieleis suggested Ptolemy XII Auletes, whose coin profiles make this an attractive possibility. This head seems to have undergone some recutting, however (notably at the root of the nose, the eyebrows, and the mouth), and is probably therefore an earlier portrait reused (perhaps for Auletes). None of these heads is, anyway, very close in its portrait features to the Getty Museum head. The Kos head (see note 20) is much more individualized than the Getty Museum head but is close to it in its fat, heavy-jowled appearance. However, the Kos head also cannot be identified or closely dated and therefore is of limited use.

Even when pristine, the Getty Museum portrait would probably have been insufficiently individualized for coin identification. Its portrait character is so abraded, so emptied of details and particulars, that many identifications would be possible but none more probable than the others. We cannot date the head more precisely than in the mid-to-late Hellenistic period, but it is worth showing why more precision should not be attempted.

The only legitimate parallels for dating the head are externally dated royal portraits—that is, coins and securely identified sculptures. We can use these not to compare physiognomical details (our head has few or none) in a search for possible names, but more broadly to suggest likely contexts for it.

135–137 for details.

22. Pace Kyrieleis, whose extremely useful book is in general too optimistic about the precise identification of many Hellenistic royal portraits. Some can be identified, and for a variety of reasons, many more cannot.

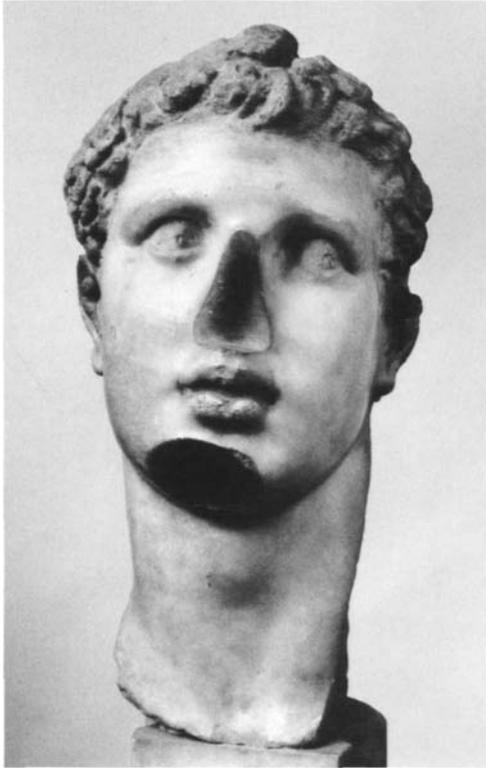


Figure 3a. Marble head of a Ptolemy. Paris, Musée du Louvre MA 3168.

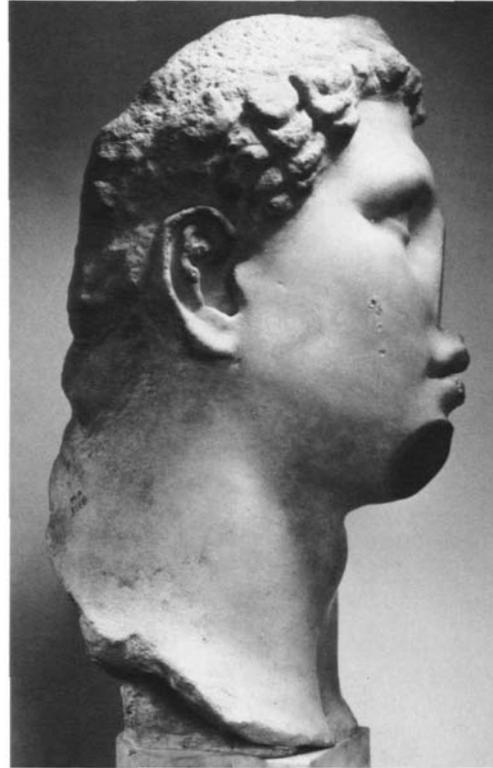


Figure 3b. Right profile of a Ptolemy, figure 3a.

The dated evidence suggests two contexts, in the third century and the late second to early first century, with the latter marginally favored. In the third century, Ptolemies II, III, and IV are all portrayed with quite full, rounded faces and soft jowls on their fine gold portrait coins minted at Alexandria (probably all posthumously).²³ None seems quite as plump-faced as this head. Further, the Getty head probably had quite long hair down the back of the neck, which would be an unusual style for the third century. In other dynasties, most notably the Seleucids, longer hairstyles appear mainly on later royal coin portraits, from the mid-second century.²⁴ Although long hairstyles, as far as we can tell from the available coins and clay sealings, were unusual even then for the Ptolemies, it would be quite possible for some sculpted portraits of a king to have hairstyles different from his coin portraits (and from reality). The main period for fat-faced Ptolemies was the late

second and early first centuries B.C., in the reigns of Ptolemies VIII, IX, and X, who were all either nicknamed “Physkon” (Fatty or Potbelly) or were renowned for their corpulence.²⁵ They do not seem to have resented or discouraged the cognomen or the reputation. Ptolemy IX is given the title “Physkon” twice in a quasi-public document,²⁶ and it is clearly reflected in some royal images that were certainly centrally controlled, namely coins of Ptolemy VIII and clay sealings of Ptolemy IX or X.²⁷ This corpulent image probably expresses a positive evaluation of the distinctively royal quality of *tryphē*, which connotes royal abundance, surplus, and magnificence of life-style.²⁸ (It could, of course, be evaluated negatively as decadent luxury by those inclined to do so—typically, moralizing philosophers.)²⁹

The use of a distinctively fat royal image seems to have been started by Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II (r. 170–164 and

23. See Kyrieleis, pp. 17–18, 28–30, 42, 43, with pls. 8.1 and 3, 171–4, 301–4.

24. See, conveniently, Richter, figs. 1897–1909.

25. Main sources: Strabo 17.794–798; Josephus *AJ* 12.235; Athenaeus 12.549d–e and 550b = *FGH* 87 F6 and 26 (Poseidonios). See also H. Volkmann, in *RE* XX111.2 (1959), s.v. Ptolemaios, cols. 1722, 1739, and 1744.

26. *IG* XIV.1297, which is a fragment of a Greek chronicle inscribed on lead, perhaps found in Rome. Col. 2 lists events from Solon to the

capture of Rome by the Gauls; col. 1 gives events from the Mithradatic Wars and the accession of Ptolemy IX to Sulla’s dictatorship and the death of Ptolemy IX. In col. 1, lines 5 and 33, the king is called Σωτήρ ὁ φύσκων.

27. See *infra* and note 31 for Ptolemy VIII and note 36 for the clay sealings.

28. On *tryphē*, see J. Tondrau, *REA* 50 (1948), pp. 49ff; Kyrieleis, pp. 163–164; A. Wallace-Hadrill, *JRS* 72 (1982), p. 34.

29. See, for example, the passages from Poseidonios, *supra*, note 25.



Figure 4a. Marble head of a Ptolemy. Paris, Musée du Louvre MA 3449.



Figure 4b. Left profile of a Ptolemy, figure 4a.



Figure 5a. Diorite head of a Ptolemy VIII. Brussels, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire E 1839. Photo: A. C. L. Bruxelles.



Figure 5b. Right profile of a Ptolemy VIII, figure 5a. Photo: A. C. L. Bruxelles.

145–116 B.C.), probably in his second and main period of rule. Between Ptolemy IV and Ptolemy VIII, we have coin portraits of Ptolemies V and VI (but not the ephemeral Ptolemy VII) and identified sculptures of Ptolemy VI.³⁰ These are all distinctly lean faced. Of Ptolemy VIII we have some rare coin portraits (didrachms) minted in 138/37 B.C., from which Kyrieleis convincingly identified a stucco head in Hildesheim and a fine diorite head in Brussels (figs. 5a–b), which is clearly an Egyptian version of the same portrait type as that in the coin portrait.³¹ The Brussels head provides the best large-scale parallel for the general style of the Getty Museum head, except that since it is an Egyptian or “Pharaonized” version of a royal portrait, it has been divested of any expressive dynamism. The Getty head could be seen as a full-scale Greek version of the same portrait, with all or most of the individuality of the features sacrificed to the expression of a royal ideal that called for both corpulence and dynamism. This is, of course, only a possible interpretation, since the head is too generalized to relate it more specifically to Ptolemy VIII’s quite individual portrait than to other well-fed royal candidates. So although the Getty head perhaps looks best beside Ptolemy VIII, we can hardly say from the available evidence that this is where it probably belongs.

There is a simple and important point that emerges from this inconclusive discussion: while some sculpted Hellenistic royal portraits clearly reproduce defined portrait types that can also sometimes be found on coins and by which those sculptures may be securely identified (like the Brussels Ptolemy VIII), others need not—even large-scale Hellenistic “originals.” This head, like the first one discussed, belongs in a large category of nonindividualized royal portraits that would always have been unidentifiable without external indications such as inscribed bases or privileged locations. In these portraits, for whatever reasons, the representation of the king’s individuality was deemed less important than the expression of other ideas about his royal qualities. The very best royal portraits can combine both aspects, but in many circumstances this was clearly either not possible or was not felt to be necessary.³² There are other royal portraits that lie somewhere between—that is, they seem to reflect or to be based more or less closely on

defined portrait types but without reproducing them in a way that makes them certainly recognizable. A good example of this is the third portrait to be discussed. It belongs in a known but problematic context—the portraits of Ptolemies IX to XI.

3. A LATE PTOLEMY³³ (figs. 6a–d)

No documented provenance; said to be from Alexandria, 116–80 B.C.

White marble with medium-large crystals

H: (total) 34 cm (13³/₈”), (chin to crown) 24 cm (9⁷/₁₆”) (originally approx. 26 cm with added hair)

83.AA.330

The head is approximately life-size, or a little over, and is preserved with a small bust that was made for insertion into a statue. Some drapery is preserved at the left shoulder (from what kind of garment it is not clear). In the underside of the bust there is a square dowel hole to attach it to the statue; it tapers slightly and measures 2.8 x 2.2 cm and is more than 3 cm deep (the hole is now partly filled with glue for the modern mounting).

The head is quite well preserved. A part of the lower lip, much of the nose, and a lock of hair over the forehead are broken off. The eyes and upper lip have also sustained some damage. The surface is lightly chipped in places but is fresh and unweathered. A large piece of the front of the bust is broken off. The back of the head and hair are missing and would have been added separately in stucco. The upper part of the back of the head and the underside of the bust were prepared in the same way—with long drill lines that appear as rough grooves in the surface running diagonally to the axis of the head. The bust then was presumably bedded into the statue in the same way that the added hair was attached. The ends of one or two of the diagonal grooves on the back of the head end in definite drill holes. It is possible that the purpose of this drill work was to remove earlier stucco, for the head seems to have been taken down at some point and partly reworked.

The surface of the face and forehead is rubbed down to a near polish that leaves the crystal structure of the marble clearly visible. This is common on the better Ptolemaic royal portraits.³⁴ The hair around the forehead is mostly an

30. Ptolemy V: Kyrieleis, pl. 40 (coins). Ptolemy VI: Kyrieleis, pp. 58–62, pl. 461–3 (coins), F 1–3, pls. 47–51 (sculptures).

31. Kyrieleis, pp. 63–64, G 1–2, pls. 52–53. For a recently appeared tetradrachm of Ptolemy VIII, see *Leu*, cat. 36, May 7, 1985, no. 220; the portrait is of the same type as on the didrachms.

32. This makes an interesting contrast with the apparently more tightly organized Roman imperial portrait system, in which the portraits of the emperors stay relatively closely within the types provided.

33. Studied and briefly discussed, while still on the art market, by H. Jucker, “Marmorporträts aus dem römischen Ägypten,” in *Das römisch-byzantinische Ägypten* (Akten des internationalen Symposions,

September 26–30, 1978, in Trier), eds. G. Grimm, H. Heinen, and E. Winter (Trier, 1983), pp. 140–141, pl. 61–2. Jucker saw correctly that the head is of a late Ptolemy. The head was sold at auction (Sotheby’s, London, December 4, 1979, lot 112—“A Roman marble bearded male bust, the beard added in stucco, 1 ft. 3 in. (38 cm), from Alexandria, 1st century B.C.,” with pl. XXVI). Note that the beard is *not* of stucco. See also “Acquisitions/1983,” *GettyMusJ* 12 (1984), p. 234, no. 17.

34. See Kyrieleis, pp. 133–134, citing examples. I doubt, however, if this is to be explained as an imitation of or is connected with the surface treatment of Egyptian alabaster sculpture, as Kyrieleis suggests (p. 134).



Figure 6a. Marble head of a late Ptolemy (IX or X [?]). Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 83.AA.330.



Figure 6b. Right profile of a late Ptolemy, figure 6a.



Figure 6c. Left profile of a late Ptolemy, figure 6a.



Figure 6d. Back of a late Ptolemy, figure 6a.

unarticulated mass with some ill-defined locks at the hair-line, where it is cut short and square across the forehead. The stucco must have begun just behind this area. The beard, by contrast, is executed in rough but clearly articulated polygonal lumps (quasi pentagons and hexagons). It forms a thick layer around the underside of the jaw and chin, leaving the chin itself bare; there is no trace of a mustache. The eyes are rather crudely executed compared to the smoothly modeled surrounding surfaces. The lower lid is poorly articulated, and the broad upper lid is formed by a crude drill line (most noticeable on the left eye). The eyebrows are not modeled and would, as usual, have been added in paint. The brows, the bridge of the nose, and the outlines of the broad, rather mannered mouth are cut in sharp, simple lines.

Some secondary carving on the neck provides evidence for the partial reworking of the head. This is most obvious on the right side, where the neck has been significantly slimmed down with a claw-chisel, leaving irregular lines that no attempt has been made to remove. This recarving stretches across the right side of the neck, forming a clear ridge, and onto the right shoulder. A preserved part of the adjoining vertical edge of the bust shows the same tooling. The front and left side of the neck also have similar claw-chisel marks.



Figure 7. Clay sealing of a late Ptolemy (IX or X [?]) from Edfu (?). Toronto, Royal Ontario Museum 906.12.84.



Figure 8. Clay sealing of a late Ptolemy (IX or X [?]) from Edfu (?) wearing an eagle-scalp head-dress. Toronto, Royal Ontario Museum 906.12.125.

Such a contrast between the fine surface of the face and the claw-chisel marks on the neck is unusual—face and neck (at least on the front) are usually finished in the same way—indicating that the work on the neck is most likely secondary. The possibility that the head is merely unfinished is ruled out by the fine finish of the face and the awkward ridge left by the cutting down on the right side of the neck, which cannot be explained except as an alteration of the original design.

A passage just below the right ear must also be secondary; an area of stone has been crudely hacked out with a chisel between the beard and the unformed mass of hair behind the ear. In the same place, beneath the left ear, this area is undisturbed. It is hard to tell if the main area of the beard or the facial features have been reworked in any way. The sharp dip beneath the lower lip and the exaggerated treatment of the Cupid's bow in the upper lip seem perhaps a little crude, but it cannot be determined if this is due to recutting.

The ears require special comment. Both are very crudely worked; the left is even cruder than the right and considerably smaller. Given the quality of the rest of the portrait, they can never have been intended to be seen like this. Their appearance could be explained in several ways: either the ears were worked in this way in the first version and

were to be completed in stucco; or they were cut down in the second version, to be remodeled in stucco; or they were cut down or left because they were to be wholly or partly covered. We will return to the matter of possible head coverings later.

The head turns and leans to its left, with the head and neck on divergent axes, as is common in Hellenistic royal portraits. The lips are not parted, and the whole has little dynamic expression beyond that given by the pose of the head. This is typical of many Ptolemaic portraits, which tend to use a muted, placid royal image. There are other, more dynamic Ptolemaic portraits, such as the Serapeion head at the Louvre (see note 17 and figs. 3a–b), but they are not common. Although the features of the Getty Museum portrait are simply and plainly carved, the shape of the long face, the form of the under-chin beard, the lack of a mustache, and the broad, thick-lipped mouth give the portrait a strong individuality marked by a rather sullen expression. These features link it firmly to a quite large group of late Ptolemaic royal portraits.

These portraits have been the object of much detailed recent study and controversy. The group was first isolated by K. Parlasca, who placed it in its proper context in an important article of 1967 on the till-then-controversial late Ptolemy in Boston (*infra*, figs. 9a–c). H. Kyrieleis added

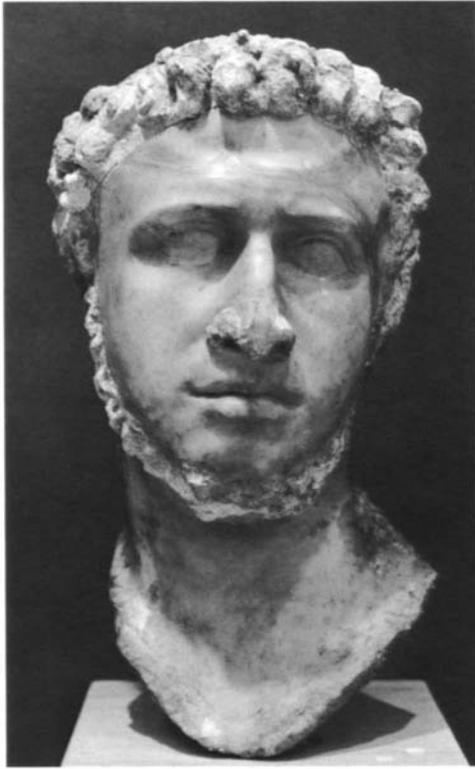


Figure 9a. Marble and stucco head of a late Ptolemy. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, Edwin L. Jack Fund, 59.51.



Figure 9b. Right profile of a late Ptolemy, figure 9a.



Figure 9c. Left profile of a late Ptolemy, figure 9a.

much new material; more recent additions have been made by A. Krug and Parlasca again; and most recently the evidence has been reviewed briefly by H. Maehler.³⁵ This is not the place, however, to address all the problems of this group. There is now a consensus that a number of sculptured portraits belong in the reigns of Ptolemies IX–XI, in the late second and early first centuries B.C. Controversy has arisen from attempts to identify portraits of each of these three kings with a precision that is not attainable. The secure evidence and the central problems can be briefly explained.

We have no coin portraits of Ptolemy IX, X, or XI. This gap, however, can be partly filled by the royal portraits on the clay sealings from two late Ptolemaic archives, one reportedly from Edfu and the other found at Nea Paphos

35. Parlasca, pp. 167–194; Kyrieleis, pp. 64–75; Krug, in *Ptol. Äg.*, pp. 9–22; Parlasca in *Ptol. Äg.*, pp. 25–30; Maehler, pp. 8–10. See also briefly Jucker (supra, note 33).

36. The part of the Edfu find (circa 330 sealings) acquired by the Royal Ontario Museum in Toronto (hereafter ROM) was published partly by A. Murray, *ZÄS* 44 (1907), pp. 62–70 (for the Egyptian types) and partly by J. Milne, *JHS* 36 (1916), pp. 87–101, pls. 4–5 (for the Greek types). The other half was apparently acquired by F. von Bissing and now lies unpublished in the Allard Pierson Museum in Amsterdam; see R. A. Lunsingh-Scheurleer, in *Ptol. Äg.*, p. 7; cf. Krug,



Figures 10a–b. Left, red granite head of a late Ptolemy. Formerly Berlin, Egyptian Museum 14079; now lost. Photo from H. Kyrieleis, *Bildnisse der Ptolemäer* (Berlin, 1975), pl. 63.1. Right, left profile of a late Ptolemy, figure 10a. Photo from Kyrieleis, pl. 63.3.

on Cyprus. Only the Edfu (?) find (or part of it, now in Toronto) is published,³⁶ but the Nea Paphos cache contains apparently much the same range of sealings, though many more of them.³⁷ The Edfu (?) sealings in Toronto also include some with purely Pharaonic designs, one of which is a cartouche of Ptolemy IX.³⁸ In addition, there are probably also sealing portraits of Ptolemy XII and Kleopatra VII, recognizable from their coins.³⁹ It is generally assumed, correctly, that the otherwise unknown portraits that make up the bulk of the sealings must belong to Ptolemies IX–XI. (A large number of these is well reproduced in Kyrieleis, pls. 54–55.) There are three separate issues here: (1) dividing the sealings as far as possible into coherent groups or types, (2) hypothesizing which groups are to be identified with which of the three kings,

and (3) deciding which of the sculptured portraits, if any, can be said to reproduce or reflect the same portrait types seen on any of the groups of sealings.

Kyrieleis divided the sealings into five or more groups to represent all three kings at different stages. This is probably an overly subtle division of the material. It is also historically unlikely. Among the unidentified portraits, two basic portrait images stand out and are repeated with variations on many of the sealings (figs. 7–8):⁴⁰ one has a full, fat face with heavy features, sometimes with a light stubble beard and sometimes clean shaven (fig. 7);⁴¹ the other has a smaller, thinner face with finer features and usually wears a beard that covers only the jaws and the area under the chin (as on the Getty Museum head), but, again, sometimes is fully shaven (fig. 8).⁴² The fatter type is also seen on four

in *Ptol. Äg.*, p. 9, n. 3; and Maehler, p. 8. On the sealing portraits, see also Parlasca, pp. 180–185, figs. 4–5 and 9–13; D. B. Thompson, *Ptolemaic Oinochoai and Portraits in Faience* (Oxford, 1973), p. 81, pl. 74; Kyrieleis, pp. 64–69, pls. 54–55; Krug, in *Ptol. Äg.*, pp. 9–13, figs. 13–22; Maehler, pp. 8–9, pl. 2c–d; G. M. A. Richter, *The Portraits of the Greeks*, rev. ed. (1984), p. 236, figs. 217a–d.

37. K. Nicolaou, *AJA* 76 (1972), pp. 315–316, pl. 66, fig. 35; Kyrieleis, p. 64, n. 240, pl. 55.7–8; Krug, in *Ptol. Äg.*, p. 9, n. 3.

38. Murray (supra, note 36), no. 11, ROM 906.12.332.

39. Kyrieleis, p. 65, pls. 68.3 and 107.5–7.

40. This was also seen by Maehler, p. 9.

41. For clear examples see Kyrieleis, pl. 54.1–4, 6–8, and pl. 55.3–6.

42. For examples see Kyrieleis, pl. 55.10–14; he illustrates fewer of the sealings with thinner-faced portraits, but there are about as many as the fatter-faced sealings, at least in the Toronto part of the archive (cf. supra, note 36). A strong version of this portrait, with under-chin beard, appears on a good-quality gem in a private Swiss collection: *Gesichter. Griechische und römische Bildnisse aus Schweizer Besitz*, ex. cat., H. Jucker and D. Willers, eds. (Bern, 1982), no. 133.

sealings in an impressive three-quarter view, wearing a crested “Thracian” helmet with a feather on either side.⁴³ The thinner type sometimes has an unusual headdress in the form of an eagle’s head, worn on the back of the head (fig. 8).⁴⁴ If these two basic portraits represent two of the Ptolemies IX–XI, they must be Ptolemies IX and X, because Ptolemy XI ruled for only eighteen or nineteen days.

We have no secure way of deciding which is which between Ptolemies IX and X, both of whom had a reputation for being fat (see notes 25–26). The attributes might give some indication, but they are not decisive. The eagle headdress could be taken to refer to the eagle represented prominently on the reverse of the standard Ptolemaic silver coinage started by the founder Ptolemy Soter. The obverse of this coinage carried Soter’s head in his and all subsequent reigns, so that a connection between Soter and the eagle might have been widely recognized.⁴⁵ This would make the thinner portrait Ptolemy IX since his official cognomen was Soter (II). By elimination, the fatter portrait would be Ptolemy X. This might also be confirmed by a poor-quality sealing with what is probably a crude version of the fatter-faced portrait (here paired with a queen) wearing an elephant-scalp headdress.⁴⁶ This could be intended to refer to Alexander’s conquest in India and would make the fatter portrait Ptolemy X, since his official cognomen was Alexander (I). Although mutually supporting, these indications are admittedly not strong. Even weaker, however, is the evidence given by the feathered helmet worn on the sealing portraits previously mentioned. It has been claimed to refer decisively to Alexander, but this argument is ill founded.⁴⁷

The complex and violent dynastic history of the Ptolemies in this period helps to explain the apparently frequent reworking of royal portraits at this time.⁴⁸ Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II had two sons, the elder of whom succeeded him as Ptolemy IX Soter II, ruling at Alexandria from 116 until 107 B.C., when he was forced out to Cyprus by his younger brother. The latter ruled as Ptolemy X Alexander I from 107 to 88 B.C., when he was defeated and killed by his returning elder brother. The second reign of

Ptolemy IX Soter II lasted from 88 B.C. until his death in obscure circumstances in 80 B.C. The son of Ptolemy X was then put on the throne (by Sulla) as Ptolemy XI Alexander II. He was murdered, however, after only eighteen or nineteen days for killing his recently acquired wife.⁴⁹ There were then at least two violent changes of power that could have occasioned the reworking of the statues of a predecessor and rival: first, 107 B.C., when Ptolemy X ousted Ptolemy IX, and then 88 B.C., when Ptolemy IX ousted Ptolemy X in his turn. One could therefore expect portraits both of Ptolemy IX reworked into Ptolemy X and vice versa. We should probably not expect portraits of the ephemeral Ptolemy XI in any form.⁵⁰

The centerpiece of the sculptured portraits that belong in this context is the well-known head in Boston (figs. 9a–c), which, as Parlasca showed, is a reworking of a damaged, older, and slightly larger head.⁵¹ This head is important because not only is it a carefully worked major portrait (more than twice life-size), but also in its remodeled version, it is closely related to one of the Edfu sealing portraits—the thinner portrait with the eagle headdress and the under-chin beard (fig. 8). These sealings and the Boston head most probably copy or reflect a common portrait image.

While they are in no sense copies, three other heads of widely varying scale, and now a fourth—the head in the Getty Museum—seem clearly to be loose versions of the same portrait as the Boston head. They all have the under-chin beard, the hair cut squarely across the forehead, the long face, and the unusually broad mouth with prominent lips. They are as follows: (1) a small marble diademed head from Athribis, now in Stuttgart,⁵² which is also reworked; (2) a very small diademed bronze head also in Stuttgart, which clearly belongs with (1);⁵³ and (3) a red granite head in Pharaonic format, formerly in Berlin and now lost (figs. 10a–b).⁵⁴ This last piece was rescued from oblivion by Kyrieleis. It is important because although the portrait features are partly Egyptianized, they are still strikingly close to those of the Boston head.

43. Kyrieleis, pl. 55.9; Krug, in *Ptol. Äg.*, p. 10, fig. 13. The four are ROM 906.12.96–99.

44. Kyrieleis, p. 66, pl. 55, pp. 10–11 (ROM 906.12.140 and 1125). It was H. Jucker (reported by Parlasca, in *Ptol. Äg.*, p. 25, n. 7) who saw that it is, in fact, an eagle’s scalp rather than a lion’s.

45. This may also have been known from a Ptolemaic myth according to which the infant Soter had once been rescued by an eagle. He had been exposed on a shield by his father, Lagos, who suspected him of being another man’s son. Suda s.v. *Lagos*; cf. D. Salzman, *Schweiz-Münzbl* 118 (1980), pp. 33–39. Other sources fill in the background; the story went that Philip II was Soter’s real father and had married Arsinoe (Soter’s mother) to Lagos when she was already pregnant by him (Philip); Paus. 1.6.2 and 8; Curt Ruf 9.8.22. The purpose of the story was, of course, to make Soter a blood-relation (half-brother) of Alexander.

46. Kyrieleis, pl. 100.5 (ROM 906.12.192). There is another example of this jugate portrait among the Toronto sealings: ROM 906.12.193. Two or three other sealings have jugate portraits, but with the thin-faced portrait, again wearing the eagle headdress: ROM 906.12.194–195 and 196. On elephant headdresses, cf. *supra*, note 12.

47. W. B. Kaiser, *Jdl* 77 (1962), p. 229f. (followed by Kyrieleis, p. 67; Krug, in *Ptol. Äg.*, p. 12; and Maehler, p. 9) argued that the crested helmet with feathers was meant to refer to Alexander because Plutarch, *Alex.*, 16.7, reports that at the Granikos Alexander the Great wore a conspicuously crested helmet with large feathers on each side. And, indeed, Alexander seems to wear a headdress with a feather on the Porus medallions (e.g., Kaiser, *supra*, fig. 2). This would make the sealing portrait Ptolemy X Alexander and would corroborate the attributions proposed on the basis of the eagle and elephant headdresses. However, a crest and feathers seem hardly diagnostic. Not only

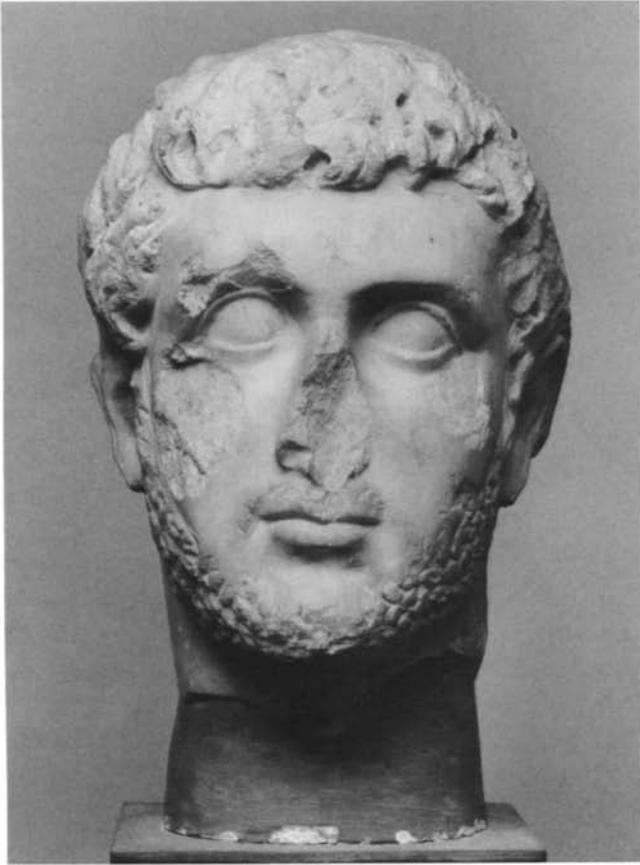


Figure 11a. Marble head of a late Ptolemy from Paraitonion. Alexandria Museum 24.660.

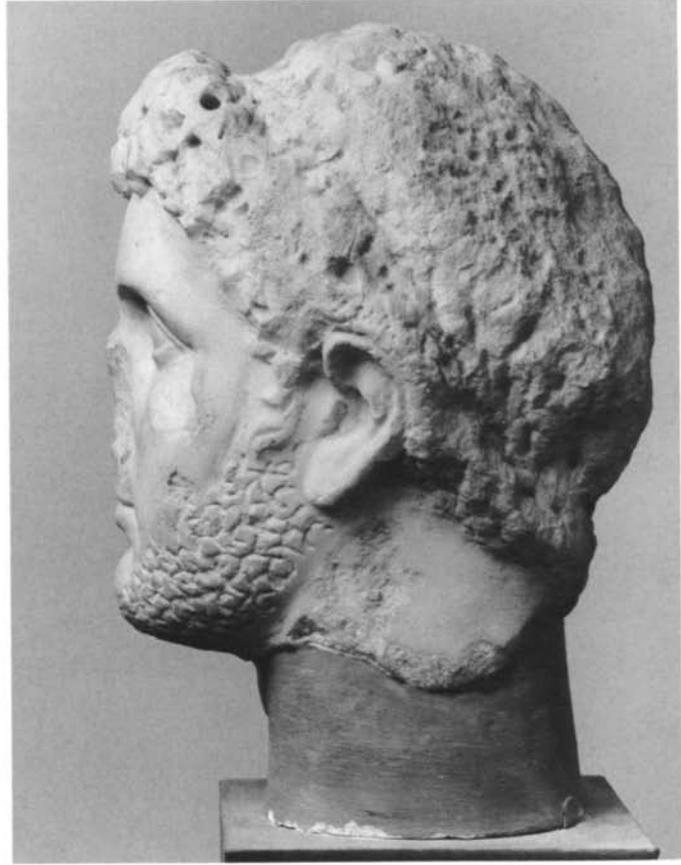


Figure 11b. Left profile of a late Ptolemy, figure 11a.

The Getty head is not so carefully worked as the Boston head and differs somewhat in its physiognomy: the lower face is much fuller or broader. For the rest, it seems quite closely related. It has the same beard, only slightly fuller than the applied stucco of the Boston head; the same square-cut hairline at the forehead; and the same very broad, pouting mouth with the accentuated dip beneath the lower lip. It is probably a version of the same portrait image or at least based on it.

Since the Getty head is so close to this central group of

late Ptolemaic portraits and connects directly with the Edfu sealing portraits, there is no need to consider here the other heads, some of which form another group and some of which can be said only to belong roughly in this context. These have been conveniently collected by Kyrieleis, with addenda by Krug and Parlasca.⁵⁵

Attention might be called briefly to the fine marble head from Paraitonion (figs. 11a–b), brought into this discussion by Krug, since it illustrates well some of the difficulties in this area.⁵⁶ It is similar to the Boston and Getty Museum

Alexander wore a crest and feathers on his helmet; many others did—for example (almost at random), ordinary soldiers in Lucanian tomb paintings—see M. Napoli, *Il museo di Paestum* (Naples, 1969), pl. 34, and *Paestum Guide* (ed. Plurigraf, 1976), ill. on pp. 59, 62–63; or Roma on Roman coins—M. Crawford (supra, note 9), nos. 380.1, 381.1a (80 B.C.); see also J. Charbonneaux, R. Martin, and F. Villard, *Hellenistic Art* (London, 1973), fig. 102 (Tarquinia Amazon sarcophagus) and fig. 123 (Pompeian mythological painting).

48. See, conveniently, E. Will, *Histoire politique du monde hellénistique*, 2nd ed. (Nancy, 1982), pp. 440–445 and 518–519.

49. Kleopatra Berenike, who was the daughter of Ptolemy IX and the widow of Ptolemy X, and was therefore also both his cousin and his stepmother.

50. Pace Kyrieleis and Krug (supra, note 35), who both attribute sealings and several sculptures to him.

51. Parlasca, pp. 167f., figs. 1–3 and 8; Kyrieleis, pp. 71–72, H6, pls. 62 and 64.

52. Parlasca, pp. 188f., figs. 14 and 16; Kyrieleis, p. 72–73, H8, pl. 65.1.

53. Parlasca, pp. 187f., figs. 15 and 17; Kyrieleis, p. 73, H9, pl. 65.2–3.

54. Kyrieleis, p. 72, H 7, pl. 631–3.

55. Refs. supra, note 35. The other portraits that seem to me to form another, though much less coherent, group are the Louvre basalt head (Kyrieleis, H 2), the Cairo “Antony” (Kyrieleis, H 3), and the Salm head (Kyrieleis, H 1); perhaps also the Paraitonion head (next note).

56. Krug, in *Ptol. Äg.*, pp. 18–19, figs. 29–33; cf. Maehler, p. 9, pl. 1a.

heads in its under-chin beard and its haircut, but it has a much shorter, squarer face. While it must belong in this context, it is hard to decide its relationship to the Boston and Getty heads. It could be a portrait of a different king altogether or a different portrait of the same king or even a very divergent version of the same basic portrait type. The point that emerges here is that this is not a world of strict typologies, like that of Roman imperial portraits, but one where much greater flexibility is the norm. Without further evidence a firm attribution in a case like this would be subjective.

We may return briefly to the question of the reworking and completion of the back of the Getty Museum head. We have seen that it should represent the same king as the Boston head (in its present, second version) and the king with the eagle headdress on the clay sealings. One could conjecture that both the Boston and Getty Museum heads in their reworked versions were given not simply stucco hair but new headgear, as probably happened with the first head discussed above. In this case an eagle headdress might be likely. On both the Boston and Getty Museum heads, the part of the hair and head that would have been covered by an eagle headdress (as we know from the sealings) is missing and left for a separate attachment. Furthermore, the eagle headdress is worn by no other Hellenistic king and so was most probably an identifying personal symbol for this particular Ptolemy. The headdress would perhaps then be a likely addition to those of his portraits that were recut from portraits of a rival. This can only be a conjecture, since there is no sure indication of how the top and back of these heads were completed.

An eagle headdress, however, could perhaps explain two features of the reworking of the Getty Museum head: (1) the substantial cutting down of the neck on the right side, which leaves an unnatural ridge (the sealing portraits show that precisely this area would be covered by the neck feathers of an eagle headdress); and (2) the crude, half-worked or reworked ears, one of which is too small and the other with much of its outer rim removed (these could have been partly covered by the eagle's mouth, which on the sealings abuts onto the back of the ears). Other explanations would also be possible.

We cannot name this portrait precisely. Kyrieleis identified the Boston head as a portrait of Ptolemy XI cut from one of Ptolemy X in 80 B.C. But this is scarcely credible, given Ptolemy XI's reign of less than three weeks. Much better as a working hypothesis is Parlasca's original suggestion that the Boston piece is a Ptolemy IX made from a Ptolemy X in the former's second reign (88–80 B.C.).⁵⁷ But unless the sealing portraits can be precisely identified, it should be admitted that a Ptolemy X reworked from a Ptolemy IX after the former had driven the latter out of Alexandria in 107 B.C. is an equally possible interpretation. If it could be known with certainty that the eagle headdress on the sealings denoted a connection with the name Soter (or the elephant headdress with the name Alexander), then both the Boston and Getty heads in their present state would almost certainly represent Ptolemy IX Soter. For the time being, these heads should be designated as "Ptolemy IX/X (116–80 B.C.)." To feel reasonably sure of this degree of precision is a rare luxury in the study of Hellenistic royal portraits.

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57. Favored also by Jucker (*supra*, note 33).

The Getty Instrumentarium: A Revised Opinion

Lawrence J. Bliquez

In 1980 I published in this journal two sets of surgical tools, one in the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts and one in the J. Paul Getty Museum.¹ At the time I believed that both sets were made of bronze and had been produced at the time of the Roman Empire. I have, alas, had good reason to revise my opinions since that publication.

Misgivings were initially prompted by the appearance on the European antiquities market of two other instrumentaria with similar characteristics. Like the Getty and Virginia sets, the individual pieces in these two additional sets consisted chiefly of attractively and complexly turned shafts, each with an instrument mounted on one end and a finial on the other. In some cases the instruments duplicated standard Roman types (for example, spatulae, ligulae, lancets, and sharp and blunt retractors) whose find spots were securely known; in other cases the instruments were of types that had not previously been found in Roman contexts but that matched descriptions found among the Graeco-Roman literary testimonia on surgical tools (for example, crescent-shaped knives, which I identified as tonsil knives). Similarly, the finials sometimes exactly reflected recovered Roman types and sometimes varied; they appeared to depict stylized vegetable motifs (pine cones, buds, ears of grain) or, occasionally, readily identifiable items (such as a phallus or a hand).

The individual pieces in each ensemble had sufficient characteristics in common to ensure that each was not a haphazard assemblage but had been manufactured specifically as a set. As all of the sets had common features, there was obviously a relationship among them. Like the Getty and Virginia sets, the new sets had no known provenance, so that within a few years' time four sets of similar, supposedly Roman objects had become available for sale.

For these reasons it was decided by a number of interested parties, including myself, to have the metal of as many of the sets as possible analyzed to see if some light

could be shed on the situation. First to be tested were a number of the Virginia pieces and a selection from one of the "new" sets, which had been acquired by the Museum of Art and Archaeology of the University of Missouri (Columbia). A nondestructive analysis (Prompt Gamma Neutron Activation Analysis) was performed on these instruments at the University of Missouri's Research Reactor Facility and the results published in 1983 by M. D. Glascock and M. F. Cornman. Glascock and Cornman found that the instruments analyzed were not bronze but brass and that the brass in every case contained zinc in the 36%–38% range.²

Recent research into classical brasses has shown that in no case does the amount of zinc exceed 28%.³ This 28% limit is determined by the technique of manufacturing brass employed by the ancients, a technique that is now known as the cementation process. The cementation process was in fact the standard means of producing brass right into the nineteenth century. At that time it was superseded by other techniques that allowed for zinc content well in excess of 28%. Thus, any putatively Roman brass made up of more than 28% zinc would not be classical and would date to the nineteenth century at the earliest. This was precisely the case with the Virginia and Missouri sets.

It is my chief purpose to report here that Quantitative X-Ray Fluorescence Analysis was performed on the Getty set in the summer of 1985 by the J. Paul Getty Conservation Institute. The analysis has revealed that the Getty set, too, consists of brasses with an unacceptably high zinc content. To quote the report: "The instruments are made of brass. Most of them contain more than 30% zinc. Therefore the earliest date of their manufacture is the beginning of the 19th century."

The following chart is a breakdown of the analysis performed by the Getty Conservation Institute:

I am indebted to Jiří Frel and Arthur Houghton of the J. Paul Getty Museum for their assistance. I am also very grateful to Frank Preusser, Program Director, Scientific Research, Getty Conservation Institute, under whose supervision the metal analysis of the Getty instrumentarium was conducted.

1. Lawrence J. Bliquez, "Roman Surgical Instruments in Malibu and Richmond," *GettyMusJ* 8 (1980), pp. 189–196.

2. M. D. Glascock and M. F. Cornman, "Nondestructive Analysis of Ancient Roman Artifacts Using Neutron Capture Gamma Rays," *Radiochemical and Radioanalytical Letters* 57 (1983), pp. 73–82.

3. See especially P. T. Craddock, "The Composition of the Copper Alloys Used by the Greek, Etruscan and Roman Civilizations. 3. The Origins and Early Use of Brass," *JArchaeolSci* 5 (1978), pp. 1–16.

Description of area or name of standard	% Cu	% Zn	% Sn	% Pb	% Fe	% Ni	% Ag	% Sb	% Au	Mass balance	Trace elements
1	64.1	30.7	<0.1	1.1	0.4	0.2	<0.12	n.d.	n.d.	96.72	Ca
2	68.1	27.1	<0.1	0.8	0.3	0.3	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	96.70	Ca
3	59.1	35.4	<0.1	0.2	0.4	0.4	<0.12	n.d.	n.d.	95.72	Ca
4	64.8	29.2	0.3	1.0	0.3	0.3	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	95.90	Ca
5	58.9	35.7	0.6	1.0	1.0	0.6	<0.12	n.d.	n.d.	97.92	Ca
6	58.6	35.5	<0.1	1.1	0.3	0.3	<0.12	n.d.	n.d.	96.02	Ca
7	56.4	32.9	0.9	1.6	0.9	0.7	<0.12	n.d.	n.d.	93.52	Ca
8	65.2	30.3	<0.1	0.7	0.3	0.3	<0.12	n.d.	n.d.	97.02	Ca
9	59.7	36.4	0.2	1.0	0.3	0.3	<0.12	n.d.	n.d.	98.02	Ca
10	57.9	34.0	<0.1	1.1	0.5	0.4	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	94.00	Ca
11	61.1	32.6	<0.1	2.2	0.4	0.3	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	96.70	Ca
12	59.0	34.3	1.0	1.0	0.7	0.8	<0.12	<0.12	n.d.	97.04	Ca
13	58.0	34.0	0.8	1.2	0.6	0.7	<0.12	n.d.	n.d.	95.40	Ca

As the four sets have only become known recently, they are much more likely to be forgeries manufactured in the 1970s than relatively modern surgical instrumentaria that have been mistakenly offered for sale as Roman. This view is reinforced by the appearance in Europe in recent years of yet another three sets with the same features.

In some respects the objects in all seven sets resemble instrumentaria of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.⁴ I have also been informed of finial motifs on spoons of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries that are similar.⁵ It is probable that whoever produced these sets deliberately combined features of more modern surgical tools and minor objects, such as spoons, with Roman instrument

shapes and decorative motifs. This combination of ancient and more modern features facilitated the initial acceptance of these objects as Roman. Had they been mere reproductions of well-known types from Pompeii, for example, such as those produced for educational purposes by the firm of De Angelis and Son many years ago, they would have been immediately suspect.⁶ As it was, however, they initially appeared to be unique but not so unusual as to arouse serious misgivings. Another factor contributing to their acceptance was the absence at the time of known instances of the outright forgery of Roman surgical tools. As I have learned the hard way, this is no longer the case.

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4. Cf., for example, G. Snyder, *Instrumentum Medici* (Ingelheim am Rhein, 1972), p. 103. I owe this suggestion to Mr. Abraham Levy of Jerusalem.

5. Cf. John Emery, *European Spoons Before 1700* (Edinburgh, 1976), p. 60, fig. 33; F. G. Hilton-Price, *Old Base Metal Spoons* (London, 1908),

p. 60, pl. 1, p. 61, pl. 2. I owe these references to Mr. David Buckton of the British Museum.

6. Pieces produced by De Angelis and Son are figured in F. B. Tarbell, *Catalogue of Bronzes, etc. in the Field Museum of Natural History* (Chicago, 1909), pls. 114–117.

A French Lit de Parade “A la Duchesse” 1690–1715

Anne Ratzki-Kraatz

Il faut présentement descendre dans le détail de ce superbe Ameublement et puisque le Lit en fait la plus noble partie, et celle qui attire d’abord les yeux, c’est par luy qu’il faut commencer.¹

—M. de Soucy

The embroidered yellow satin parade bed *à la duchesse* in the collection of the J. Paul Getty Museum is a singular example of the type of furniture that occupied a predominant position in the decor of grand French houses at the end of the seventeenth century (figs. 1–3, passim). Very few unaltered beds of that period have survived, and, as such, the Getty Museum bed is exceptional. Its singularity resides most, however, in its particularly representative decor, based as it is on aesthetic concepts of equilibrium and restraint that are characteristically French.

Following a description of the bed and a review of what is known about its provenance, an attempt will be made to trace the various sources of its embroidered decor and to relate these to previously unpublished ornamental furnishing designs proposed by little-known French artists of that period. A brief account of the importance of beds as decorative objects of great value will be given before the concluding remarks.

It is generally considered that beds *à la duchesse* differ from other sixteenth- and seventeenth-century beds in their lack of supporting posts and in the corresponding lack of *cantons*, or front curtains.² They appear to have evolved from the smaller *lits de repos*, originally surmounted with draped curtains affixed to the wall, that figure so prominently in engravings of the time, particularly those of *scènes gallantes*.

Beds *à la duchesse* were not entered into the French royal inventories in any significant number until the last decade of the seventeenth century. It may be assumed, therefore, that they became fashionable only then. Their openness made them particularly suited for use as parade beds in which grand personages could receive their visitors. Indeed, this form of bed remained in use for that purpose until the end of the eighteenth century.

The bed in the Getty Museum is composed of several parts: a backpiece (*fond-de-lit*) (figs. 7, 10); a headboard (*champtourné*) (figs. 2, 9); a pair of inner side curtains (*bonnegrâces*) (fig. 18); a coverlet (*courtepointe*) (fig. 26); three upper inside panels (*pentés de dedans*); and a tester, variously referred to as a *ciel-de-lit* or *impériale* (fig. 17). These elements are all contemporaneous and may be dated to the 1690s on the basis of their shape, size, and decor. The other elements, three upper outside valances (*pentés de dehors*) (fig. 22), outer side curtains (*bonnegrâces*) (fig. 6), and three lower panels (*soubassements*) (fig. 5) were modified some ten to fifteen years after the bed was made by replacing the original embroidered satin with panels of blue brocade and other fabrics, among which the latest may be dated to 1710–1715.

The bed is therefore complete, although altered, except for the part that fitted between the outer edges of the embroidered *ciel-de-lit* and the upper edges of the top inner valances. The bare part of the tester, now visible, obviously would have been concealed by a fabric element made to fit the hexagonal space around the embroidery (fig. 17). The presence of 127 eyelets, strengthened with buttonhole stitching, is clearly for the purpose of attaching the tester to such a framing device by laces or strings threaded through the eyelets and through corresponding eyelets or holes in the now missing frame. The possibility of a wooden frame rather than a fabric frame having been used appears unlikely; there are no wooden frames shown on French designs for beds *à la duchesse* of that period except those of Daniel Marot. Designs for elaborate wooden frames, published by the artist while in exile in Holland, never found favor in France.

All of the original elements of the bed are embroidered on yellow satin in a pattern of strapwork, leafy scrolls, quatrefoil motifs, and fleurons. The embroidery materials are silk chenille in shades of bluish green and claret for most of the strapwork and silver cording along the edges. A number of decorative elements—the shell-like motifs at the bottom of the backpiece, the rosettes at either side of the

1. M. de Soucy, “Ameublement du Roy pour son grand appartement de Versailles, Reproduction d’un Manuscrit Original à la Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal,” *Revue Universelle de l’Art* 8 (1858), p. 329.

2. J. Deville, *Dictionnaire du Tapissier* (Paris, 1878–1880), vol. 1, p. 205; H. Havard, *Dictionnaire de l’Ameublement* (Paris, n.d.), vol. 2, p. 236, vol. 3, p. 418.



Figure 1. Embroidered bed *à la duchesse*. Paris or Lyon, circa 1690–1715. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 79.DH.3.

headboard, and the flower basket at the center—are worked in satin-stitch technique with multicolored floss silk.

The yellow satin used is the same fabric throughout, as evidenced by its uniform, twin-striped green selvedge. The width of the fabric is also a uniform 58 cm (1'10³/₈"), a regular size for that period. The back panel is made of three full widths, and so is the top of the coverlet, the bed having the same width from head to foot (1 m, 60 cm [5'3"]). That very squareness would designate it as French. Visitors to France in the late seventeenth century all remarked on what they evidently considered the uninteresting, boxlike appearance of French beds. In 1698, for example, the Earl of Portland, William III's ambassador to Paris, reported to his royal master, "les Lits sont tous carrés par dehors, jusques au haut, c'est a dire, . . . en haut . . . ils ne sont pas plus large qu'au bas."³ According to Th. H. Lunsingh-Scheurleer, M. Bertinck, the Dutch ambassador, writing at the end of the century, plainly declared there were no new, up-to-date beds to be had in France; one would have to purchase them instead in England, or even in Holland.⁴ This sort of criticism seems to have affected the French little or not at all, and parade beds remained stubbornly square in shape for the next hundred years.

What must have appeared old-fashioned to at least one owner of the present bed, however, were its most immediately visible elements: the outer curtains and top and lower valances. Clearly a need was felt at some point during the first decades of the eighteenth century to renew their appearance, possibly because of a specific event such as a royal visit, as the presence of the fleurs-de-lis-like padded fleurons might indicate, a wedding, or, more prosaically, because water or other forms of damage had affected those particular parts of the bed.

An attempt was made to retain the flavor of the original decorative scheme of the bed with these new elements by adopting the same type of silk chenille to embroider the strapwork, instead of using appliqué fabric galloons, as was then frequently the case. Inside the contours of the strapwork medallions, panels of various silk brocades were inserted, the whole being sewn onto the yellow satin. The bottom third of the inner curtains also was entirely redone on new yellow satin, but it followed the original design. The joining stitches, rather clumsily executed, are clearly visible. The quality of the embroidery on these lower parts of the panels is inferior and suggests homemade rather than professional repairs.

Most of the fabric used on the new elements is a light blue silk damask with multicolored and silver-gilt thread



Figure 2. Detail of the headboard showing the couched chenille and silver-corded edging and satin-stitch embroidery.

brocading of the late Bizarre type, datable circa 1700–1715 (fig. 3). The flower sprays and boughs issuing from the silver Bizarre motifs are treated in a naturalistic manner already far removed from that found on earlier silks. The leaves are rendered in various shades of yellow and olive green, with the blossoms done in white and salmon pink.

The Bizarre elements, vaguely resembling an oriental bow case or arrow quiver, appear in similar forms on numerous silk fabrics of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. A remarkably similar design (fig. 4), incorporating several such elements, albeit in a busier decorative scheme, is reproduced here. This little-known engraved pattern, which may have been drawn for wallpaper rather than fabric, does not appear to have been published until now. It is found in a collection of engravings entitled *Oeuvre de Jean-Michel Papillon, Graveur en bois . . . contenant la collection des Frontispices . . . et autres sujets qu'il a gravé depuis l'année 1712 jusqu'à l'année 1760 et suivantes*.⁵

The title mentions the year 1712 as the earliest date of

3. G. Jackson-Stops, "William III and French Furniture," *Furniture History* 6 (February 1970), pp. 123–124.

4. Th. H. Lunsingh-Scheurleer, "Meubles Français Importés en

Hollande, 1650–1810," *Congrès International d'Histoire de l'Art* (1958), p. 99.

5. J.-M. Papillon, *Oeuvre Gravé . . .* (Paris, 1760), vol. 1, p. 2.



Figure 3. Detail showing the Bizarre element on the blue-and-silver brocade.

publication for Papillon's patterns. The example shown may safely be assigned to the earliest period, 1712–1715. Indeed, this pattern, as well as the few others in the collection that are in a similar vein, may well have been produced by Papillon père, a designer who is credited with the invention of wallpaper, instead of Papillon fils.⁶

In addition to the Bizarre silk, the newer hangings contain smaller panels of various other fabrics. These clearly predate the blue and silver panels by two decades or more, so that they are contemporary with the original part of the bed. Their motifs, which are still highly visible despite the much tarnished traces of gold-and-silver brocading, include flower garlands, pomegranates, Persian-style tulips, and elongated palmettes. Their style and variety of color are typical of Louis XIV furnishing fabrics, with their insistence on silver-on-gold backgrounds and fearless combinations of purple and yellow or green and orange.

These earlier fabrics were obviously designed for furnishing purposes, whereas the Bizarre silk was most probably a dress fabric originally. It was not an uncommon practice to redecorate furnishings with clothing fabrics. Here, the dress had ceased to please and the bed needed sprucing up; it was therefore logical to salvage the one in order to refurbish the other. In 1673 an article in *Le Mercure Galant* dealing with furnishing fashions explained, “Les femmes qui font dépense en jupes, ont inventé [une autre] manière de lit, et de toutes celles dont les étoffes ne se portent plus, elles font des lits qui sont à la nouvelle mode.”⁷

A number of joinings and repairs on the blue brocade provide evidence that the fabric had been used before for other purposes. A small tear or cut on the bottom valance has been cleverly sewn together, the missing part of the design having been embroidered in matching colors over the seam to produce the illusion of uninterrupted brocading.

The new elements are mounted on heavy backing fabric of the type manufactured in Mortagne (Perche), called *toiles à paillasse*.⁸ These were generally made with hemp wefting and cotton warping. To this backing fabric has been glued a layer of fairly thick paper. Although the original elements of the bed are also mounted onto a similar type of coarse backing, there is no additional paper layer. In the new panels, the paper layer has shrunk and become fragmented, causing the fabric on top to pucker or float, as if it is too loose. The result is an amateurish appearance compared to the flawless form of the original hangings.

The three new outer valances at the top of the bed are lined halfway with pale blue silk taffeta, which shows a number of water stains. The lower panels, like the rest of the bed, are fully lined with a checkered cotton cloth in shades of pale yellow, beige, and brick red. Samples of the same or very similar fabric may be seen in the Richelieu collection under the heading *Toilles à carreaux de Meslay*.⁹

A number of padded fleurons are used on all the new panels to add a three-dimensional effect to the decor (fig. 5). These are made out of a white fabric with remnants of heavy gold-and-silver brocading. It has been suggested that the large side fleurons (one of which is missing) at either side of the upper and lower valances are fleur-de-lis and therefore indicate a royal possession or, at the very least, a royal gift. No evidence has been found as yet to support this theory. All the fleurons are mounted on a pad made of various bits of red felt, heavy blue cloth, and strands of brown wool firmly packed under a layer of paper.

The coverlet is in the same fine condition as the rest of

6. Baron R. Portalis and H. Bérardi, *Les Graveurs du 18ème Siècle* (Paris, 1882), vol. 3, pp. 256–267.

7. *Le Mercure Galant* 3 (Paris, 1673), p. 299.

8. For samples of *toiles à paillasse*, see Collection Richelieu, Cabinet des Estampes, Bibliothèque Nationale, LH45a², p. 186.

9. Ibid. LH45¹, p. 85.



Figure 4. Jean-Michel Papillon (1698–1776) or Jean Papillon (1661–1723). Engraving showing Bizarre elements similar to those on figure 3, circa 1712. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale.



Figure 5. Detail of the lower front panel, circa 1715, showing padded fleuron.

the bed, save for water stains on the upper right-hand corner and sides of the bolster insertions. These insertions, meant to fit tightly over the bolster, seem to have been peculiar to French beds. They were referred to as *joues*, or cheeks.¹⁰ The edges of the coverlet are trimmed with a narrow, tightly woven, turquoise-and-silver braid of the 1690s.

The main feature of the headboard is the embroidered flower basket at the top (fig. 23). It is executed in satin-stitch embroidery with floss silk thread on paper backing. The backing paper has been pricked to follow a different pattern than that of the basket. In a professional embroiderer's atelier there would have been many such used patterns pricked on heavy paper or parchment and kept for later reuse as backing material.

A number of holes are clearly visible around the headboard, suggesting that it was tacked or nailed to a piece of wood. The wooden backing would probably have been lined with felt or cotton padding. There are two small bits of ribbon, one of greenish fabric, the other of blue satin, stitched to either side of the headboard. One can only conjecture about what sort of object might have been threaded through these small loops: a bellpull to ring for servants or vessels to hold small flowers? The two water stains on the reverse of the headboard could give credibility to the second hypothesis.

There are a number of tack or nail holes at the top and sides of the backpiece, showing that it, too, had once been fastened against a wooden backdrop. It is possible that the

10. J. Guiffrey, *Inventaire Général des Meubles de la Couronne* (Paris, 1885), vol. 2, pp. 396–397.

11. M. Loyer, "L'Exposition Rétrospective de la Chambre à Coucher," *Revue Officielle du Salon des Arts Ménagers* (February 1933),

holes were made later, when the bed was mounted for display at the Salon des Arts Ménagers in Paris, in 1933.

The bed was exhibited on two occasions in France during the 1930s. The first was in 1933 in the Salon des Arts Ménagers at the Grand Palais in Paris. The Syndicat des Négociants en Objets d'Art organized an exhibition there entitled *Exposition Rétrospective de la Chambre à Coucher*. The pièce de résistance was this bed, displayed under the heading, *Reconstitution d'un Lit Royal de l'Époque Louis XIV*. It was listed as the property of Bertrand et Cie., 10, rue d'Argenson, antiquarian dealers whose shop has since closed and who seem to have left no successors.

Writing in the official salon catalogue, a journalist, Maurice Loyer, described the embroidered furnishings of the bed as having been executed in a convent in or near Lyons: "d'après les dessins et sous la direction de Jean Bérain, architecte et décorateur du roi."¹¹

Loyer went on to say that the bed had taken one hundred nuns a full year to complete, and it had been made for a castle situated in the center of France, used by Louis XIV as one of his favorite retreats. Without giving any indication as to his sources of information, he further explained that the bed hangings had been stored in a casket to save them from the hands of the French revolutionaries. The casket was then hidden away underground in one of the castle's prison cells, where it remained for many years, all but forgotten. Thanks to this neglect, he concluded, the hangings had been miraculously preserved! However fanciful parts of Loyer's account may appear, one cannot dispute his conclusion that "Ce lit constitue l'un des plus beaux et des plus rarissimes documents d'étoffes de lit d'époque Louis XIV qui soient connus."

The bed was displayed a second time, albeit not in so prominent a position. It was used as part of the stage decor for a performance of Racine's tragedy, *Esther*, given by the Comédie Française on June 20, 1936, in the Galerie des Glaces of the Château de Versailles. The tragedy was written by Racine in 1689 in an attempt to please Mme de Maintenon, and the play was actually performed on January 26, 1689, at the school for young ladies that Mme de Maintenon founded in Saint-Cyr in 1686. A special gala program, entitled *Esther et la Maison de Saint-Cyr*, was written for the 1936 occasion by M. Mauricheau-Beaupré, then assistant curator of Versailles.¹² No copy of the program appears to have survived.

That the article in the 1936 program would have contained much information about the bed itself is unlikely. Possibly an attempt was made to present the decoration of the bed hangings as similar to the celebrated embroideries

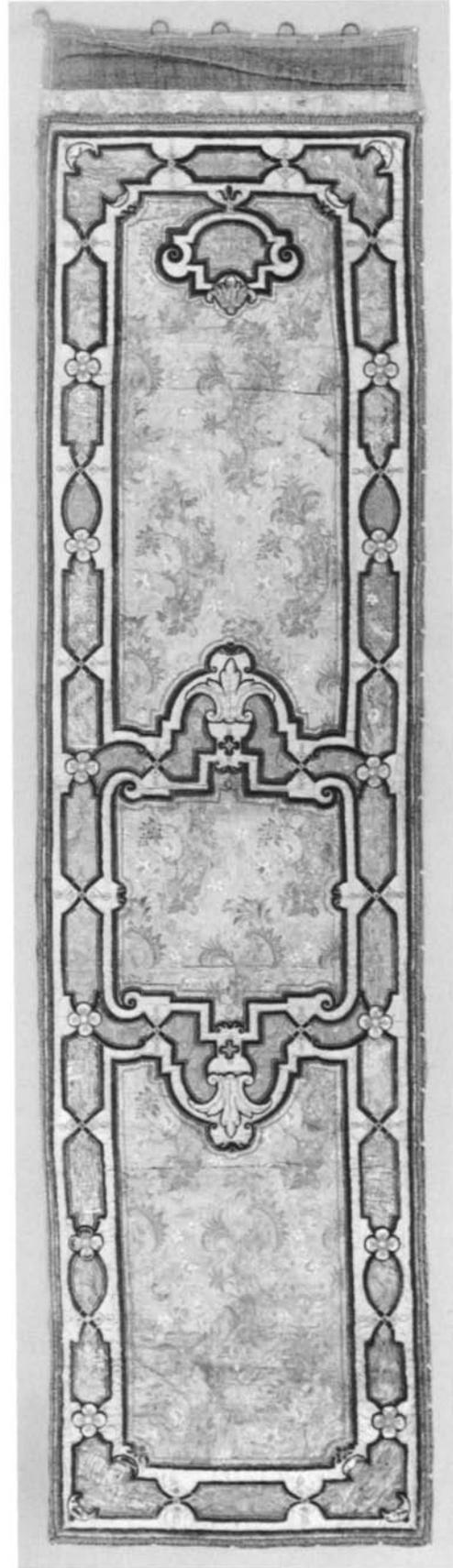


Figure 6. Outer side curtains.

pp. 45–47.

12. E. Champion, *La Comédie Française* (Paris, 1937), p. 310.



Figure 7. Detail of the backpiece, showing treatment of the vine motif.

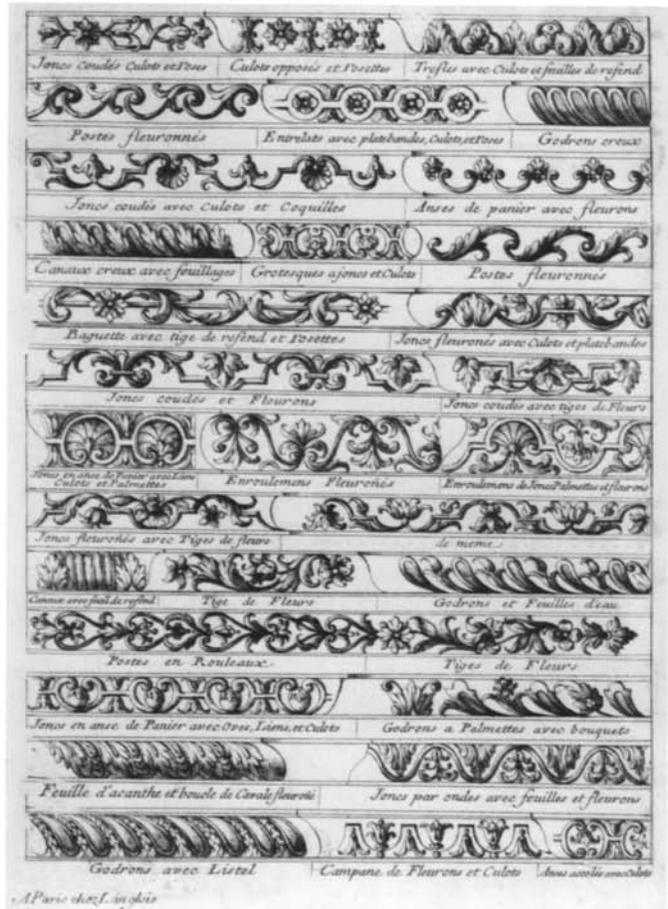


Figure 8. Nicolas Langlois (1640–1702). Engraving showing ornaments used, albeit on a different scale, in the embroidered decor of the Getty bed, circa 1700. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale.

undertaken at the school, known as *broderies de Saint-Cyr*. Whether the Getty Museum bed was in fact embroidered at Saint-Cyr, as its display in the performance of *Esther* might seem to imply, is rather doubtful given the relative simplicity of its technique, which contrasts greatly with the elaborately gilded, three-dimensional embroideries reputed to have been produced in the Saint-Cyr ateliers.¹³

The whereabouts of the bed are unknown from 1936 until 1979, when it was purchased by the J. Paul Getty Museum from a New York antique dealer who indicated that it had originally come from the Château de Montbrian in Messimy, a small village near Lyons. The present owner of the castle, who purchased it some twenty years ago, recalls that the previous owner mentioned the existence of a so-called “royal bed” in the castle. The former owner had received the château and all its contents following the death

of his wife. She had been a servant to the last comtesse de Montbrian and was the comtesse’s sole inheritor. Nothing remains of the original furnishings, most of which were sold off by the former servant and her husband long before the current owner purchased the château.

Saint-Simon does not mention the comtes de Montbrian, so it would appear they were not represented at court. This makes visits by or gifts from the king rather unlikely. Nevertheless, they were of good peerage, being direct descendants of the Léviste de Briandas who, at the end of the fifteenth century, commissioned the set of tapestries known as *La Dame à la Licorne*, now at the Musée de Cluny in Paris.¹⁴

The regional archives in Bourg-en-Bresse possess several account books rescued from the Château de Montbrian’s library, ranging in date from the late seventeenth to the late

13. R.-A. Weigert, “Un Don de Louis XIV à la Cathédrale de Strasbourg,” *Archives Alsaciennes d’Histoire de l’Art* 10 (1931),

pp. 161–172.

14. F. Joubert, *La Tapisserie au Musée de Cluny, Catalogue Raisonné*

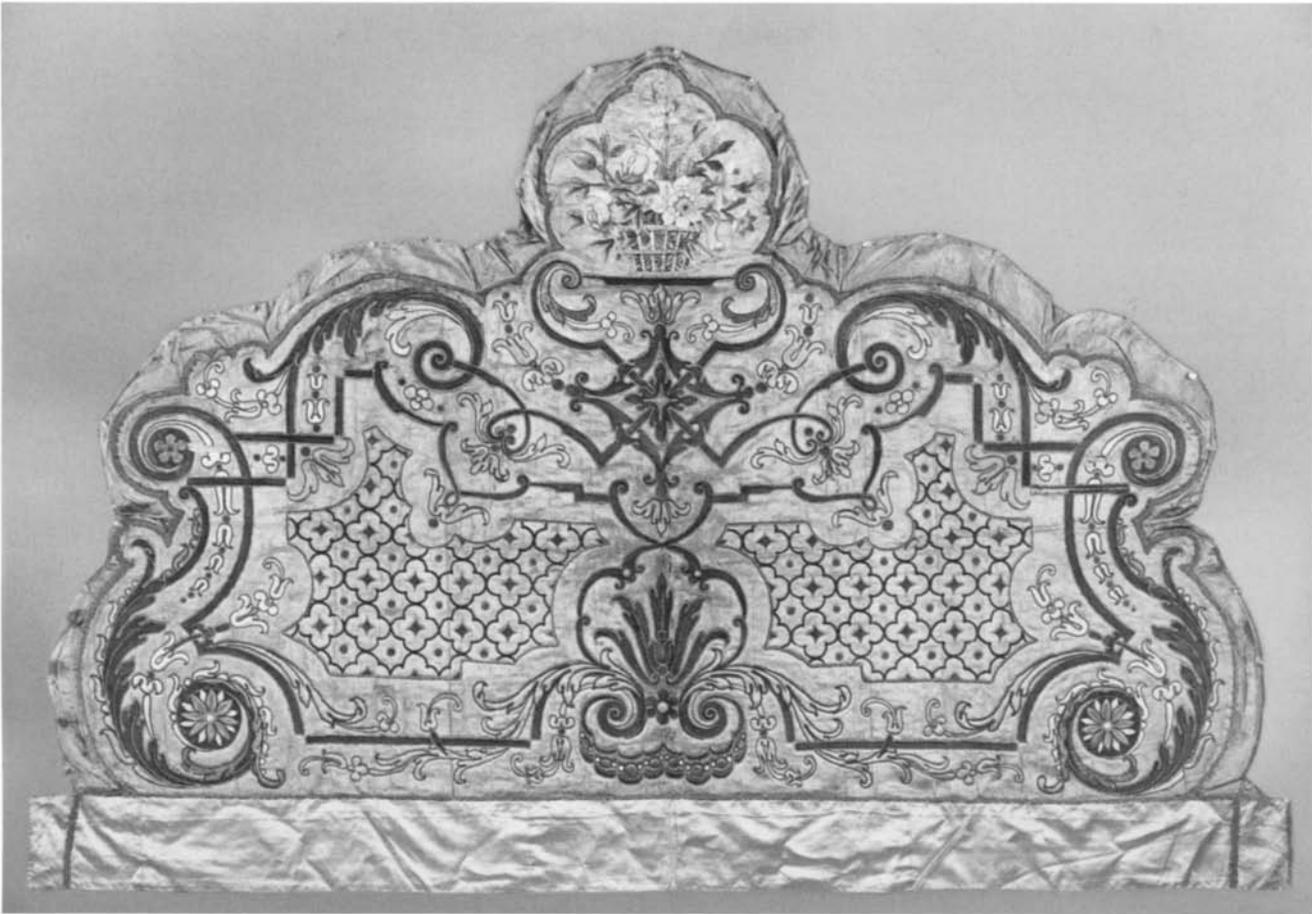


Figure 9. Headboard.

eighteenth century. One of these in particular, for the years 1674–1693, seemed worth examining. As we shall see, the book actually offers little to confirm the bed's presence in the castle during the 1690s, but two of its entries do appear to be relevant.

The identity of the writer of the account book is not indicated, but it seems probable that it was the master of the house, Gaspard Léviste de Briandas (1626–1704). Written in the first person and in the same clear, elegant hand throughout, the book primarily records income and expenses connected with the farming domain of the family. There are few furnishing expenses listed, save for two entries in 1691 concerning a bed.

On October 15, 1691, *pour un lit* appears in the margin; next to it is the entry itself: “Ce même jour bailée à Melle de la Feuillade Cent livres pour m’achepter un lit ci . . .

100# (*livres tournois*, or *livres*). On December 27, 1691, there is another entry. In the margin we find, “à Melle de la Feuillade pour un lit et une tapisserie,” then the entry, “j’ay donné deux cent livres à Melle de la Feuillade pour m’achepter une tapisserie et cent livres pour m’achepter un lit faisant la somme de trois cent livres cy . . . 300#.”¹⁵

The *tapisserie* mentioned in the second entry probably refers to bed hangings—made of the type of fabric known as *tapisserie de Bergame*—rather than to a woven tapestry, because the amount quoted is entirely too low for the latter. The total of both entries is four hundred *livres*, a figure that does not compare with what we know to be the cost of parade beds at that time. It is possible that the amounts involved might have constituted only a down payment, but, because the book stops with the year 1693 and begins again in 1737, it cannot be established with certainty.

(forthcoming 1986).

15. *Livres de raison du Château de Montbrian*, Archives Régionales

de l’Ain, Bourg-en-Bresse. I am grateful to Mr. Cattin, director, for allowing me to see this and other manuscripts.

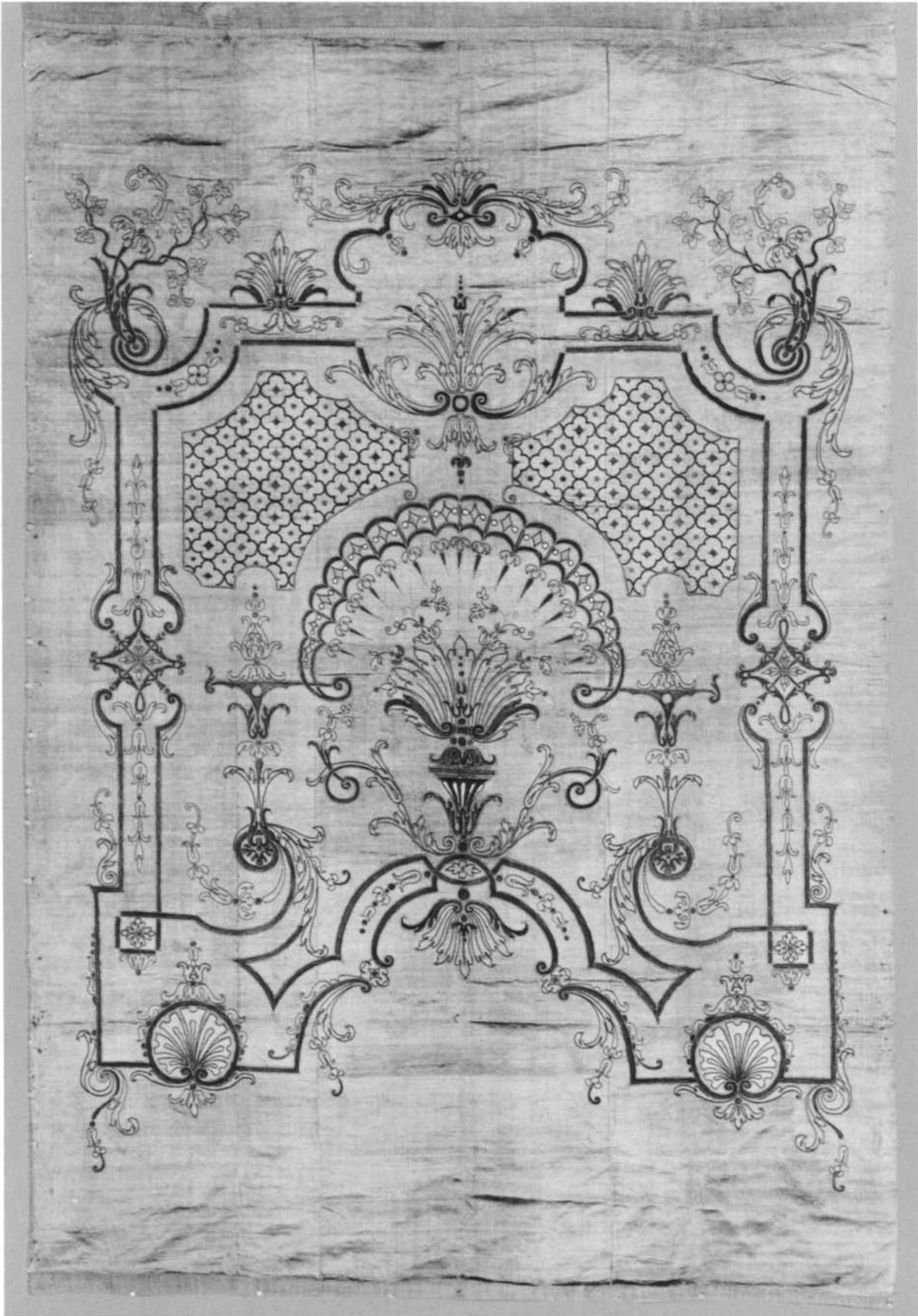


Figure 10. Backpiece.

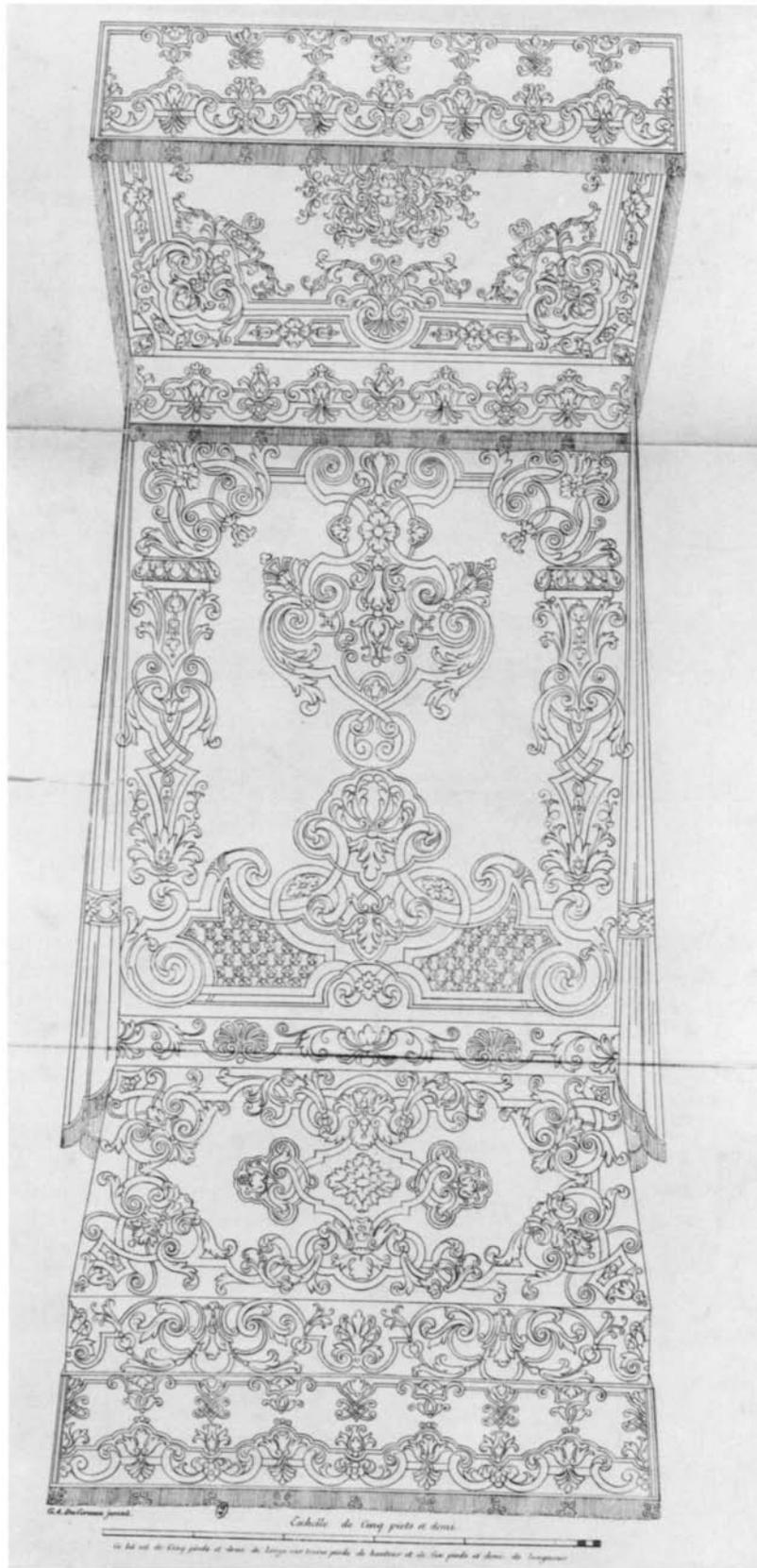
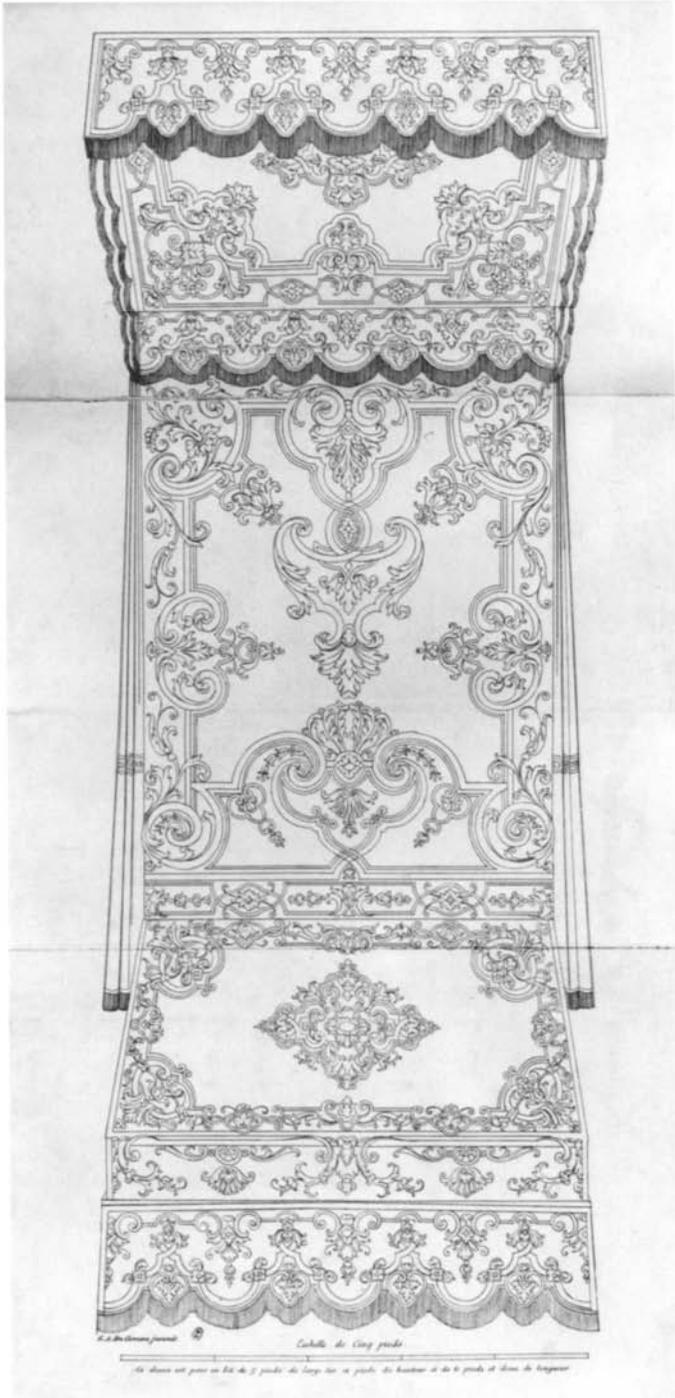


Figure 11. Gabriel-Androuet DuCerceau (active 1690–1705). Engraving showing bed designs, circa 1690. Paris, Bibliothèque des Arts Décoratifs, Collection Maciet.



Figures 12–13. Gabriel-Androuet DuCerceau (active 1690–1705). Engravings showing bed designs, circa 1690. Paris, Bibliothèque des Arts Décoratifs, Collection Maciet.



Figure 15. Nicolas Guérard (active 1670–1696). Engraving for a bed headboard and backpiece, circa 1695. Paris, Bibliothèque des Arts Décoratifs, Collection Maciet.



Figure 16. Bed hangings embroidered after the engraving in figure 15, circa 1695–1700. Paris, Musée des Arts Décoratifs 16997.

The book indicates that Mlle de la Feuillade, whose name appears in connection with the bed, retired on November 7, 1676, to a convent in Lyons that belonged to a congregation of Ursulines, an order of enclosed nuns.¹⁶ Enclosed nuns traditionally engage in sewing and embroidery as a means of support for their institution, and the tradition continues today in French convents of this type. It is possible, therefore, that this is the convent mentioned in Maurice Loyer's article of 1933. Most of the French conventual archives were dispersed during the French Revolution, but an investigation of what has been preserved in Lyons might yield information concerning embroidery projects carried out by local nuns at that time. Such investigation

presently falls outside the scope of this article, but plans are being made to undertake it in the future.

In 1933, as we have seen, Maurice Loyer unhesitatingly ascribed the design of the bed to Jean Bérain, specifying even that the embroidery had been executed under the direction of that celebrated artist, albeit without offering any evidence to support this assertion. Besides the obvious impossibility of Bérain's having supervised embroidery in a convent in Lyons when he lived and worked in Paris, the case for a design having been done by Bérain himself is very slight indeed, even if his influence is apparent to some degree. Bérain's particular genius may be summarily described as involving the use of empty spaces to achieve a

16. *Ibid.*

17. N. Langlois, "Dessins de Divers ornements et moulures antiques et modernes propres pour l'Architecture, la Peinture, . . . la Broderie . . .," Cabinet des Estampes, Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris, n.d.).

18. J. Evans, *Pattern: A Study of Ornament in Western Europe from 1180 to 1900* (Oxford, 1931 and New York, 1976), p. 53.

19. *Ibid.*, p. 24.

20. G. Wilson, "Pair of Coffers on Stand, Acquisitions made by the Department of Decorative Arts in 1982," *GettyMusJ* 11 (1983), p. 15,

fig. 2.

21. Th. H. Lunsingh-Scheurleer, "Pierre Golle, Ebeniste du Roi Louis XIV," *Burlington Magazine* 122 (June 1980), pp. 380–394.

22. Albums Maciet, vol. 350⁴, Bibliothèque des Arts Décoratifs. Note that the three plates shown are not reproduced from actual engravings—the present whereabouts of the seventeenth-century engravings are unknown—but from late nineteenth- or early twentieth-century reproductions. The original engravings may have been in poor condition and simply discarded after having been reproduced.

sense of architectural perspective; a predilection for human or animal figures as decorative elements; and a special ability to both suggest movement and to render sculptural effect. None of these features are present here.

The relationship between empty and occupied spaces in the bed's decor is equal, so that the design has the look of having been conceived on a flat and definite plane. There are no birds, no plumed Indians, and no trellised backgrounds, such as may be found in Bérain's work. The decorative elements are derived from the classic repertoire of ornaments, such as those published by Nicolas Langlois and other designers, both famous and obscure (fig. 8).¹⁷

The even distribution of the decorative elements and the almost obsessive symmetry of their positioning remove, as if on purpose, all dynamism from the design of the bed and produce an austere, static look. Instead of giving an impression of aridity, however, the restraint exercised here "satisfies by the suggestion of power unused,"¹⁸ and the whole achieves "the dry perfection that is characteristically French."¹⁹

The preceding remarks do not preclude the designer of the bed's use of decorative references to Bérain. In particular, the general design of the backpiece might conceivably be traced to Bérain. The curved architrave at the center is a motif frequently used by Bérain, although usually in a more forceful, architectural manner. The candelabralike elements on either side also are reminiscent of his work, but their proportions are arguably too small for the architrave. The quatrefoil pattern on the backpiece and headboard is typical of the end of the seventeenth century, on the other hand, and is not linked to any particular designer.

It is, perhaps, rather to André-Charles Boulle's influence that some of the elements might be traced. In particular, the foliated scrolls with curving tendrils ending in stylized vine leaves at the top of the backpiece (fig. 7) bring to an otherwise severe decor a whimsical touch reminiscent of Boulle's manner. Some of these curving vines may be seen on the underside of the Boulle coffer on a stand in the collection of the J. Paul Getty Museum.²⁰

Rather than attempt to ascribe the bed to a famous designer, however, one should turn to the evidence provided by the work of lesser-known artists. In his recently published study of Pierre Golle, Lunsingh-Scheurleer

showed that the present obscurity of some designers does not in the least reflect the status or influence they enjoyed in their lifetimes.²¹

The three previously unpublished designs for beds *à la duchesse* reproduced are closely related to the spirit, if not the letter, of the Getty Museum bed (figs. 11, 12, 13). Their boxlike shape and proportions, as indicated by the scale, are exactly the same. The designs, datable to 1690–1700, are signed "G. A. DuCerceau invenit," for Gabriel-Androuet DuCerceau.²² Little is known about him except that he was the son of the considerably more famous Paul-Androuet DuCerceau. His profession was entered as "désigneur" on his marriage certificate, dated February 27, 1691, and as "dessinateur pour le Roi" on his son's birth certificate, dated October 7, 1697.²³

In addition to designing beds, Gabriel-Androuet DuCerceau published a series of engravings for "chaises d'appartemens pour découpure et broderie" that were decorated in a similar vein, including a richly embroidered chair "pour broderie au petit point" with an open-work basket in the center quite like the one on the bed's headboard.²⁴

Many other designers published designs for bed hangings, of course. Daniel Marot is one of the most celebrated among them, and his designs have been frequently reproduced. His sculptural, essentially baroque, style has little in common, however, with the formal, crisply delineated contours of the Getty Museum bed's decor, even if some elements, such as the quatrefoil pattern, were used by Marot, particularly on his fabrics' designs. It will readily be seen, from the lesser-known designs for bed testers and coverlets reproduced, how different Daniel Marot's approach is toward embroidery patterns (fig. 14).

Another designer who seems to have fallen into almost complete oblivion is Nicolas Guérard, who was active in Paris between 1670 and 1696.²⁵ His name is known to art historians in connection with his series of engravings entitled *Livre Curieux des Modes sous Louis XIV*, but his decorative engravings, such as the series *Second livre de desseins de lit*, appear to have been ignored. It is known that he worked for a time with Jean le Pautre, who had himself produced several models of elaborate *lits à la romaine*.²⁶

The two designs by Nicolas Guérard, reproduced for the first time, are datable to the early 1690s.²⁷ They represent

Other engravings by Gabriel-Androuet DuCerceau in the Bibliothèque du Musée des Arts Décoratifs are genuine. They are pasted into the Maciet albums.

23. H. Herluison, *Actes d'Etat-Civil d'Artistes Français* (Orléans, 1873), p. 6.

24. Albums Maciet, vol. 354⁶. I am grateful to Madame Béatrix Saule, curator, Musée National du Château de Versailles et des Trianons, for calling my attention to the existence of the chair engravings.

25. D. Guilnard, *Les Maîtres Ornemanistes* (Paris, 1881), vol. 1, p. 108; R.-A. Weigert, *Inventaire du Fonds Français, Graveurs du 17ème Siècle* (Paris, 1968), vol. 5, p. 80.

26. Jean le Pautre (1618–1682). For a reproduction of one of his elaborate beds, see P. Thornton, *Seventeenth-Century Interior Decoration in England, France and Holland* (New Haven, 1978), p. 151, pl. 121.

27. Albums Maciet, vol. 288⁶, loc. cit.

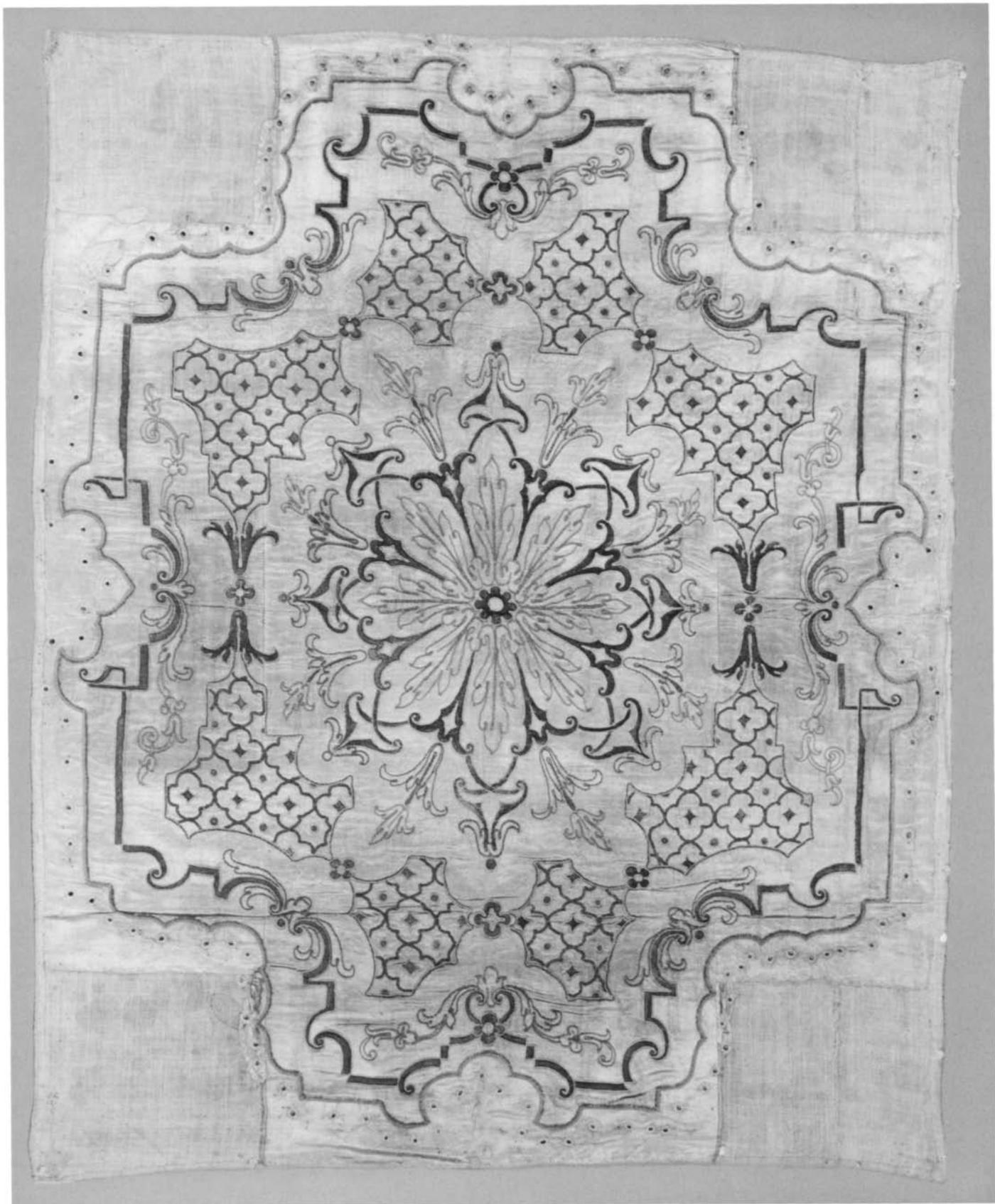


Figure 17. Tester.

the backpiece, headboard, tester, and lower valance of a bed *en broderie et application* (figs. 15, 19). The motifs used are very similar to those on the Getty Museum bed; the central motif of the tester (fig. 19) in particular is closely related to those of the *ciel-de-lit* and of the inner curtains (figs. 17, 18).

These engravings by Guérard are particularly important, not only because of their aesthetic similarity to the Getty Museum bed but also because the author was able to match them with contemporary bed hangings now in the collection of the Musée des Arts Décoratifs in Paris. The hangings have been embroidered in appliquéd yellow silk galloons on red wool (figs. 16, 20). The use of galloons for the strapwork and fleurons has given the decor of the actual bed hangings a heavier appearance than the model, but the pattern is without question the same, the slight modifications of scale and positioning notwithstanding. The flower basket has even retained its three round, ball-like feet. The relationship between Guérard's engraving and the bed hangings has gone unnoticed since 1892, when the bed hangings were given to the French museum.

As a final example of the work of lesser-known but probably once influential designers, the first three engravings from a series by Baptiste Antheaume²⁸ are reproduced, probably for the first time.²⁹ The first of the two pelmets shown is closely related to the upper and lower valances of the Getty Museum bed, even though the engravings were probably executed some ten to twenty years earlier, in the late 1690s or, as it happens, at the same time as the original part of the bed (figs. 21, 22). The series by Antheaume is entitled, *Livre de Meubles propre pour Mrs. les Brodeurs et Tapisiers*.

The flower basket on the headpiece of the Getty bed deserves special attention (fig. 23). This type of openwork basket, with a ropelike twist at the bottom, center, and top, is characteristic of Jean-Baptiste Monnoyer's manner. Also known as Baptiste, the artist specialized in flower baskets and vases, and he worked extensively on the decoration of Versailles and other royal palaces.³⁰ He produced cartoons for the Gobelins and Beauvais manufactories as well as, in all probability, for the Savonnerie ateliers. His was a tradition of flower arrangement dating back to the Dutch painters of the second quarter of the seventeenth century.

A similar basket is shown, reproduced from Monnoyer's *Livre de toutes sortes de fleurs d'après nature*, published circa 1680 (fig. 24). Another flower basket in the same vein, albeit somewhat stiffer in appearance, can be seen on the longitudinal border of a Savonnerie carpet circa 1640–1660

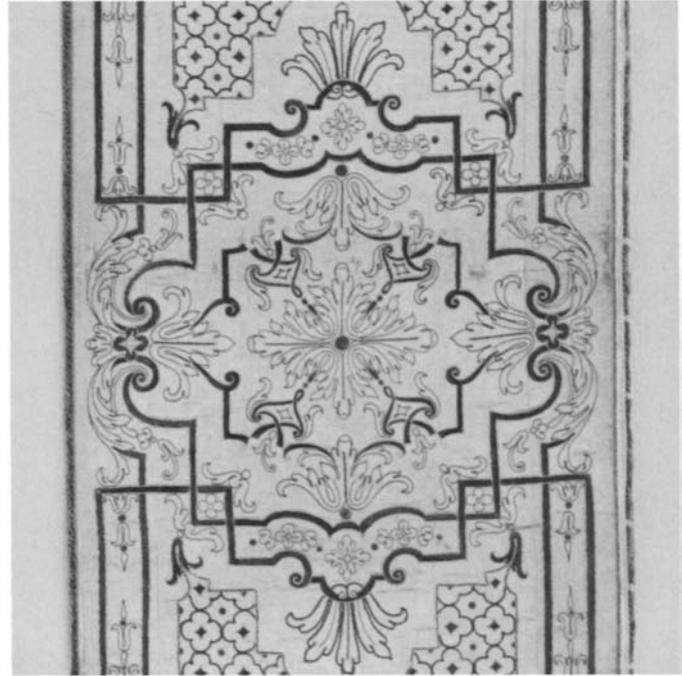


Figure 18. Detail of inner curtains.

in the J. Paul Getty Museum collection (fig. 25). Still other flower baskets are used above the royal cipher on either side and, in some cases, at the bottom of each of the tapestries in the set entitled, "The Story of the Emperor of China," woven at Beauvais, an atelier for which Monnoyer worked.³¹

This point deserves to be stressed, because the shape, size, and general appearance of flower baskets and arrangements underwent a complete change at the end of the seventeenth century, a time when Monnoyer's manner must already have seemed somewhat archaic. Jean Bérain, for one, never used such baskets; instead he favored elongated, vasselike shapes, without openwork.

The points of design reviewed apply equally to all the elements of the bed. The coverlet's central motif constitutes the sole exception. It is in the shape of a perfectly circular rosette, almost gothic in appearance, and, as such, it stands somewhat apart from the rest of the design. The treatment of the spokes radiating from the center may be compared with those appearing on an anonymous drawing for a ceiling of the same period (circa 1690) in the collection of the Musée des Arts Décoratifs (figs. 26, 27). Useful comparisons could no doubt also be made with the radiating central decor of Rouen ceramics of that period. Jean

28. Guilmard (supra, note 25), vol. 1, p. 127.

29. Albums Maciet, vol. 288⁶, loc. cit.

30. Guilmard (supra, note 25), vol. 1, p. 84.

31. C. Bremer-David, "Set of Five Tapestries," *GettyMusJ* 12 (1984), pp. 176–177, figs. 3–4.

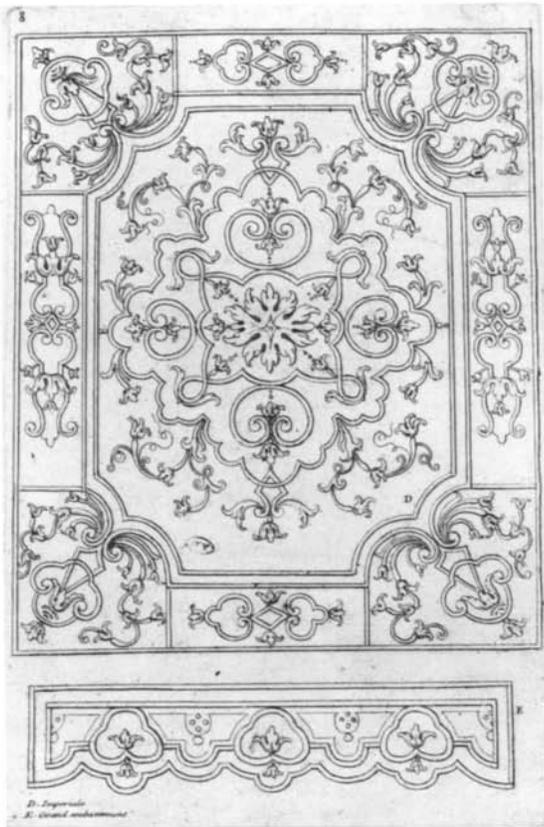


Figure 19. Nicolas Guérard (active 1670–1696). Detail of engraving for a tester and outer valance, circa 1695. Paris, Bibliothèque des Arts Décoratifs, Collection Maciet.



Figure 20. Bed tester and valances embroidered after the engraving in figure 19, circa 1695–1700. Paris, Musée des Arts Décoratifs 16997.

Bérain's decors with circular central motifs, such as his ceiling for the Hôtel de Mailly-Nesles in Paris³² or his design for the tester of the Swedish royal carriage in Stockholm,³³ are oval rather than round and attempt to render a dome-like architectural structure rather than a flat one, as on the Getty bed.

From what we know of Jean Bérain's taste and style, as well as the evidence of the bed itself, it may be stated with tolerable certainty that Bérain did not design the embroidered decor, in spite of assertions to the contrary. The old tendency to bring up Bérain's name in connection with any and all decorative objects of the late seventeenth century has resulted in the eclipse of a number of other artists who were no less representative of their era. It could be convincingly argued that such men as Gabriel-Androuet DuCerceau and Nicolas Guérard reflect French taste, with their emphasis

on subordinating the design of the parts to the elegance of the whole, at least as accurately as Bérain's individualistic brand of genius.

No other item of furniture in the second half of the seventeenth century carried as much aesthetic or financial importance as the bed. The French royal inventories describe no less than 413 beds, 155 of them in detail.³⁴ The extravagant confections created for the *Chambre des Amours* in the Trianon de Porcelaine are known to have excited the curiosity and wonder of all who saw them.³⁵ Nicodème Tessin le Jeune even sketched several of them during his visit to Versailles in 1687, apparently just before the beds were destroyed.³⁶

The majority of the beds described in the royal inventory were hung with red damask and extensively trimmed with gold-and-silver lace. Red was the king's color, as confirmed

32. R.-A. Weigert, "Les Travaux Décoratifs de Jean Bérain à l'Hôtel de Mailly-Nesles," *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de l'Art Français* (1931), pp. 167–177.

33. G. Walton, *Versailles à Stockholm*, ex. cat. (Stockholm, National Museum, and Institut Culturel Suédois, Paris, 1985), p. 210, fig. R6.

34. Havard (supra, note 2), vol. 3, p. 418.

35. R. Josephson, *Nicodème Tessin le Jeune, Relation de sa Visite à Marly, Versailles, Clagny, Rueil et Saint-Cloud en 1687* (Versailles, 1927), p. 42.

36. Walton (supra, note 33), pp. 151–153, figs. K8–K11.

37. Josephson (supra, note 35), p. 35.

38. Guiffrey (supra, note 10), p. 314.

by Tessin himself; green was for the Dauphin; blue was for the king's brother, Monsieur; and *aurore*, or the palest yellow, was for his wife, Madame.³⁷ Needle-and-bobbin lace also played an extremely important part in giving bed furnishings of all colors, as well as sofas and chairs *en suite*, a rich and costly appearance, especially before 1690. The *lits de repos* in the *cabinet des bains*, for example, were upholstered in China satin and "garnis de dentelle de Flandre plissée de plusieurs hauteurs."³⁸ A suite consisting of a bed, two armchairs, and six folding stools of blue satin were trimmed with "une grande et petite dentelle de point de France d'or et d'argent."³⁹

In the fall issue, 1673, *Le Mercure Galant* described the extravagant use of point lace and ribbons on stylish beds: "Les uns sont de divers taffeta, les autres de toile jaune, tous garnis de point et j'en ai vu sur lesquels il y avait pour huit ou neuf cent livres de rubans." The article went on to say that the upholstery firm of the Sieurs Bon, *fameux tapissiers*, was so besieged with orders for fashionable beds that they had to be approached one year in advance if one was to secure their services.⁴⁰ Delobel, the king's upholsterer, was equally famous; the sumptuous bed described by M. de Soucy (see note 1) was probably executed in Delobel's atelier.

Toward the end of the seventeenth century, beds in Versailles and in other royal residences became less obsessively covered with gold-and-silver trimmings and embroidery, no doubt because of the economic situation that prevailed in France during that time. In 1693, for example, a number of almost completely plain bed furnishings are listed in the royal inventory; some were made of yellow satin, a color clearly more *en vogue* then than during the more prosperous days of the reign. Among these, "Un lit a huit pilliers, de satin jaune picqué de cordonnets d'argent" sounds similar in its description to the Getty Museum bed. Also beginning in 1693, there are several entries for new *lits à la duchesse* hung in white taffeta or flesh-colored satin and embroidered with appliquéd silk galloons.⁴¹

Beds were immensely valuable, as a rule, so that they made handsome gifts for the appropriate occasion. In 1693 the king's surgeon, M. Felix, received several beds as a reward for having bled the king. One of these beds was made of China satin painted with Chinese figures and landscapes.⁴² The velvet-and-silk gallooned and embroidered bed, which was given by Louis XIV in 1682 to Count Bielke, the Swedish ambassador, is another example.

Because of their worth, bed hangings were sometimes used as gambling stakes at court, where card playing and other games of chance were a daily activity.

Members of the wealthy nobility furnished their Parisian townhouses with sumptuous beds. One of the wealthiest women in France at the time was Marie de Lorraine, duchesse de Guise. The inventory taken after her death on March 3, 1686, lists no less than thirty beds made of blue velvet, gold cloth, green-and-purple brocade, striped taffeta, gray wool, etc.⁴³ The duchess being without progeny, her furnishings were auctioned off. The Swedish envoy to Paris, Daniel Cronström, ever on the lookout for bargains, urged Nicodème Tessin, in a letter dated August 10, 1696, to buy one of the two splendid beds left over from the original sale of Mlle de Guise's furniture.⁴⁴ In his letter, he describes one of them as "de velours . . . et de satin couleur d'or, brodé de découpeuses . . . et licéré de cordonnets . . . d'argent; l'impérial, le dossier et la courtepointe de satin couleur d'or toute brodée. . . ." According to Cronström, the bed was estimated to be worth five thousand *livres*, but would fetch less. Tessin's reply was less than enthusiastic, so Cronström, in another letter dated August 19, 1696, argued that the bed originally cost Mlle de Guise "plus de 20 mille livres," and that if it could be had for two thousand or twenty-five hundred *livres*, "vous m'avouerez, Monsieur, que c'est une bonne affaire."⁴⁵ He insisted that the king himself, as well as his brother, Monsieur, were thinking of acquiring the bed; that the king's storehouse was full of secondhand furniture; and, finally, that no one in Sweden, or in Paris for that matter, would ever know where the bed had come from or where it had gone! Tessin was not convinced.

There is no doubt that it was common practice among members of the nobility, or of the rich bourgeoisie, to purchase used furniture and hangings at auction or elsewhere. As for the king, it is rather more doubtful; indeed, he apparently turned down a magnificent bed *en broderie de perles* that had been bequeathed to him by the same Mlle de Guise.⁴⁶

Parisian houses were not alone in having grand furniture. Among the few authentic beds of that period that have survived in France, no less than three came from the remote Château d'Effiat, in the central province of Puy-de-Dôme, not far from the Château de Montbrian, from which the Getty Museum bed is said to have come. One of the Effiat beds, datable circa 1650, is on permanent display in the

39. *Ibid.*, p. 285.

40. *Le Mercure Galant* (supra, note 7), p. 299.

41. Guiffrey (supra, note 10), pp. 412, 447, 453, 458–459.

42. *Ibid.*, p. 259.

43. Ch. V. Langlois, *Les Hôtels de Clisson, de Guise et de Rohan-Soubise au Marais* (Paris, 1922), p. 109.

44. R.-A. Weigert and C. Hernmarck, *L'Art en France et en Suède, 1693–1718* (Stockholm, 1964), p. 137.

45. *Ibid.*, p. 147.

46. Langlois (supra, note 43), p. 1021.

decorative arts galleries of the Musée du Louvre. The other two, one of which is reproduced (fig. 28), are on permanent loan from the Musée de Cluny to the Château d'Azay-le-Rideau. The one shown is of figured red damask with gold-and-silver galloons; the other is of green damask with gold-colored trim. Both beds are hung from the ceiling on ropes supporting the flying tester; the Getty Museum bed was probably hung in a similar fashion. The wooden finials, or cups, on top of the testers of both beds are authentic; they may well have served as supports for bouquets of ostrich feathers. Some of the Effiat bed hangings at Azay-le-Rideau have been replaced with matching contemporary ones.

The number of beds from the period 1650–1720 that have survived in France is low, as previously indicated. In addition to the two already mentioned, the Château d'Azay-le-Rideau also possesses a bed made of white satin embroidered in multicolored flowers. It was being embroidered in 1705 when its owner, Maréchal Pierre de Filley de la Barre, was killed in battle, and, as a result, it was never completed. According to M. Jean Féray, former Inspecteur des Monuments Historiques, who was responsible for installing the beds at Azay-le-Rideau, there are another ten or twelve beds of that period, with more or less unaltered hangings, distributed in various French provincial houses.⁴⁷ It is hoped that a complete survey of these beds will eventually be made.

One of these beds, similar in style to the one designed by Nicolas Guérard, is reproduced (fig. 29). It is part of the original furnishings of the Château de Bussy-Rabutin, where Mme de Sevigné's cousin, Roger de Rabutin, spent seventeen years in exile from the court for his supposedly scandalous conduct. During all those years, his wife, Mme de Rabutin, worked at embroidering a bed, possibly the one shown, prompting her husband's ironic remark in a letter that reads, "S'embarquer à faire un lit . . . n'est point une petite affaire . . . Il y a tantôt trente ans que Madame de Rabutin a commencé le sien, il n'est pas encore fait et mille gens y ont travaillé."⁴⁸

The most famous French bed of that period in foreign collections belonged to Count Bielke, who was mentioned earlier, and it is still on display at the National Museum in Stockholm. Curiously, an exact replica of the Bielke bed was made in Paris, in 1968, and is displayed in the king's chamber at the Château de Maisons near Paris, from which the original Bielke bed is said to have come. The Château de Maisons was designed by François Mansart in 1642.

In the United States, the Metropolitan Museum of Art possesses in its collections a French bed *à la duchesse* of the

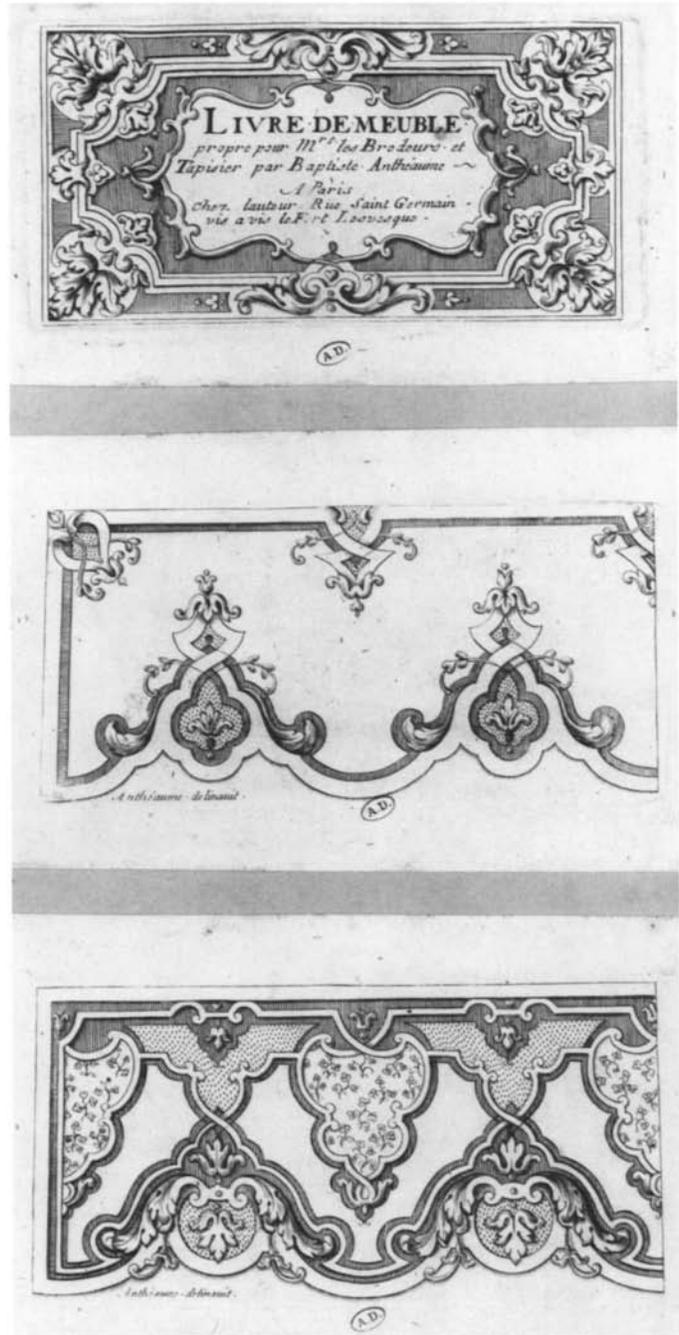


Figure 21. Baptiste Antheaume (active end of seventeenth century). Engraving of designs for embroidered pelmets, circa 1690–1700. Paris, Bibliothèque des Arts Décoratifs, Collection Maciet.

47. I am grateful to Mr. Jean Féray for providing information to me on the beds at Azay-le-Rideau and other French houses.

48. Havard (*supra*, note 2), vol. 3, p. 454.



Figure 22. Full view of lower front valance similar in design to pelmet 1 on preceding figure.



Figure 23. Detail showing flower basket on headboard.



Figure 24. Jean-Baptiste Monnoyer (1655–1699). Engraving of flower basket, circa 1675–1690. Photo: from *Livre de toutes sortes de fleurs d'après nature* (Paris, circa 1680) (facsimile edition, Paris, n.d.), pl. 26.



Figure 25. Detail showing flower basket on Savonnerie carpet, circa 1640–1660. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 70.DC.633.



Figure 26. Full view of the coverlet with radiating central motif.

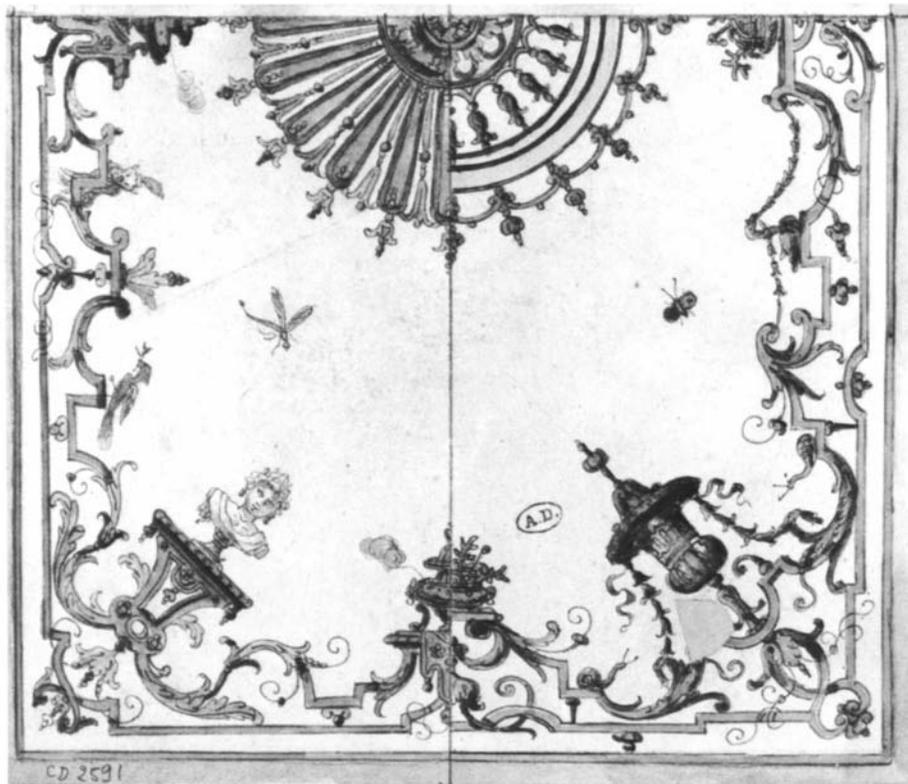


Figure 27. Detail of an anonymous drawing, a project for a ceiling, circa 1690. Paris, Musée des Arts Décoratifs CD 2591.



Figure 28. Parade bed. French, circa 1690. Château d'Azay-le-Rideau. Photo: Caisse des Monuments Historiques, Paris. ARCH. PHOT., PARIS/S.P.A.D.E.M./V.A.G.A., New York, 1986.



Figure 29. Bed à la duchesse. French, circa 1690–1700. Château de Bussy-Rabutin. Photo: Caisse des Monuments Historiques, Paris. ARCH. PHOT., PARIS/S.P.A.D.E.M./V.A.G.A., New York, 1986.

1690s. It is made of a combination of petit point embroidery and appliquéed galloons on damask. Two French, or French-inspired, beds were recently reproduced in Peter Thornton's book on seventeenth-century interior decoration: one of them is in the Swedish Royal Collection at Gripsholm Castle; the other is from the National Trust property, Knole, Sevenoaks.⁴⁹

None of the 413 beds used at Versailles during Louis XIV's reign have survived. Mlle de Guise's thirty luxurious beds have disappeared without a trace, their hangings probably cut up or discarded, their gold-and-silver lace melted

down, as were those belonging to Louis XIV himself, to recover the precious metals out of which they were made. It is therefore no exaggeration to say that the French *lit à la duchesse* in the J. Paul Getty Museum collection is exceptional, not only because of its rarity and state of conservation but also because of the quality of its design. In its splendid but perfectly controlled elegance and its accurate reflection of the aesthetic concepts of the time, the bed constitutes a particularly significant and reliable example of the French approach to furnishing decor at the end of the seventeenth century.

Paris

49. Thornton (*supra*, note 26), p. 166, pl. 140, p. 167, pl. 142.

Tapestry “Le Château de Monceaux” from the Series *Les Maisons Royales*

Charissa Bremer-David

The J. Paul Getty Museum recently acquired a tapestry entitled “Le Château de Monceaux/Le Mois de Décembre” from the series entitled *Les Maisons Royales*, which was produced at the Gobelins manufactory (figs. 1a–b).¹ The *tenture* consists of twelve tapestries, one for each month of the year, each representing a royal château. The example acquired by the Museum is for the month of December and portrays the residence of Monceaux, or properly Montceaux-en-Brie, near Paris, that was almost completely demolished by 1799.²

The tapestry is treated as if it were a portico that opens, through a columned balustrade, to the outdoors. In the foreground is displayed a selection of the possessions of the king, Louis XIV. There are three birds from the royal aviary: a great bustard, a crane of the *Gruidae* family, and a moorhen.³ A Near Eastern carpet, held by two liveried pages, is draped over the balustrade while a *basse de viole*⁴ leans against it. Nearby, to the left on the balustrade, a *treble viole* weighs down sheets of music. The two Ionic columns are hung with garlands of winter fruits and gourds. Located centrally above is a cartouche that holds an oval, designed with the zodiacal sign Capricorn for the month of December. Beyond the balustrade is a wooded landscape, thick with undergrowth. Only the tall trees to the left and the shrubs retain their foliage. The king, mounted, leads a party of equestrian huntsmen after a pack of hounds attacking a wild boar. Beyond the wood is the king’s château.

The border of the tapestry consists of entwined flowers and acanthus leaves with agrafes in the corners, all within a narrow guilloche frame. At the middle of the lower border is a ribboned cartouche woven with CHÂSTEAU DE

MONCEAUX. The lower right *galon* bears the signature I. D. L. CROX (fig. 1b).

The tapestry is the last in the famous series of the months, designed by Charles Le Brun (1619–1690) for production at the Gobelins manufactory. Woven with gold thread, the series was intended to glorify the king and display his possessions. *Les Maisons Royales* was woven contemporaneously with the famous *L’Histoire du Roi*, the grand cycle of tapestries depicting the life of the monarch, also designed by Le Brun. Like the latter, the series of *Les Maisons Royales* portrayed the king, and tapestries from both series, woven to the same height, were hung together in the long, formal public galleries of the royal residences.⁵ Eighty-seven tapestries of *Les Maisons Royales* were woven from 1668 to 1711 for the use of the crown, along with forty *entrefenêtres*.

In this series the king is shown in his daily pursuits on the grounds of the royal châteaux: promenading, hunting, riding, or drilling the troops. All but two of the months portray the façades of royal residences. The months of January and February show the king attending an opera at the Louvre and a ballet in the Palais-Royal or the Louvre. In sequence from March to December, the tapestries depict the châteaux de Madrid, Versailles, Saint-Germain, Fontainebleau, Vincennes, Marimont en Hainaut, Chambord, Tuileries, Blois, and Monceaux. Representations of the king’s properties are accompanied by the portrayal of yet more royal wealth: each balustrade is a stage set with exotic animals and birds, large, ornate silver and gold plates, musical instruments, oriental carpets and rich fabrics, and finely dressed servants. In addition to the twelve months of

1. The tapestry, bearing the signature I. D. L. CROX, was woven at the Gobelins manufactory before 1712. (H: 3.16 m [10' 4¼"], L: 3.28 m [10' 9"]).

2. Rosalys Coope, “The Château of Montceaux-en-Brie,” *The Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* (1959), pp. 71–87.

3. I thank Michael A. Cunningham, Curator of Birds at the Los Angeles Zoo, for this identification.

4. The *basse de viole* portrayed has six strings, though the French introduced a seventh string to the instrument by the mid-seventeenth century. This fact infers that the instrument displayed was not an example of the latest design but an older or old-fashioned one, presum-

ably of high value. I am grateful to Frank Traficante, Chairman of the Department of Music, Claremont Graduate School, California, for this information and for the identification of the instruments.

5. According to Maurice Fenaille, the two series exemplify the height of production achieved at the manufactory: “la suite de *L’Histoire du Roi* est la plus importante des tentures tissées aux Gobelins et forme avec *les Maisons Royales* un ensemble qui permet d’apprécier le travail considérable accompli en quelques années par Le Brun et ses collaborateurs.” Maurice Fenaille, *Etat Général des Tapisseries de la Manufacture des Gobelins, 1600–1900*, vol. 2 (Paris, 1903–1923), p. 99.



Figure 1a. “Le Château de Monceaux/Le Mois de Décembre” from the series *Les Maisons Royales*. French (Gobelins), woven before 1712. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 85.DD.309.



Figure 1b. Detail of *galon* from “Le Château de Monceaux” (figure 1a), showing the woven signature I. D. L. CROIX for Jean de la Croix (active at the Gobelins Manufactory 1662–1712).



Figure 2. "Le Château neuf de Saint-Germain/Le Mois de Mai." One of the twelve painted cartoons for the series *Les Maisons Royales*, now deposited at Versailles. Photo: Courtesy of the Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Paris.



Figure 3. "Le Château de Monceaux/Le Mois de Décembre," woven with gold for the crown (H: 3.28 m [10' 9 1/8"], L: 5.41 m [17' 9"]). The tapestry is conserved at the Musée National du Château de Pau P.291. Photo: M.-L. Perony.

the year, designs were made for a total of sixteen *entrefenêtres*, eight designs for the *haute-lisse* looms, and eight for the *basse-lisse* looms. These narrower tapestries took the form of abbreviated scenes based upon the original series of twelve.

The scope of these tapestries called for many specialized artists to make paintings from the drawings by Le Brun, and these paintings are conserved today at the Musée National de Château de Versailles (they were formerly at the Musée des Art Décoratifs, Paris) (fig. 2).⁶ The records of payments to these artists are quite complicated because some worked on all the scenes and one or two worked on just a few.⁷ The *Comptes des Bâtiments du Roi*⁸ list the following painters who were paid for their contributions: Abraham Genoëls (1640–1723) and François van der Meulen (1632–1690) for the landscapes, and Francart⁹ in 1666 and Pierre Patel¹⁰ in 1667 for making working cartoons from the paintings. A *mémoire* of Jan *filz* (overseer of the *haute-lisse* looms), dated 1691, states that the following individuals were paid to paint “l’invention de M. Le Brun”:¹¹ Baudrain Yvart *le père* (1611–1690) for the large-sized figures, carpets, and *rideaux*; Jean-Baptiste Monnoyer (1636–1699) for the flowers and fruits; Pierre Boels Boulle (dates unknown) for the animals and birds; Guillaume Anguier (1628–1708) for the architecture; and Abraham Genoëls and Baudrain Yvart *le père* for the rest of the landscapes. For the cartoons used by the *basse-lisse* workshops, Joseph Yvart *filz* (1649–1728) was paid for the figures, animals, and carpets; Abraham Genouels (Genoëls) and Jean-Baptiste Martin (1659–1735) for the landscapes; Manory

(dates unknown) for the architecture; and François Arvier (dates unknown, *peintre du roi* 1687) for the flowers and fruits. Fenaille records that in 1900 the Musée des Gobelins conserved a number of the designs of van der Meulen and that the Louvre still possessed some of the cut cartoons used by the weavers.¹²

In total, two complete sets of months, each with eight *entrefenêtres*, were woven with gold thread on the *haute-lisse* looms. Five more complete sets and twenty-four *entrefenêtres*, also woven with gold, were produced on the *basse-lisse* looms. A sixth weaving on the *basse-lisse* looms was begun, but not completed. There were a number of variations between the weavings of the *haute-lisse* and *basse-lisse* looms: The former were greater in height, measuring three and one-half *aunes*,¹³ while the latter measured two and three-quarter *aunes*. All *basse-lisse* tapestries were designed with one or two columns on either side. Those tapestries from the *haute-lisse* looms were flanked by either a pair of columns and a pilaster on either side (January to June) or by a pair of male and female terms and a pilaster on either side (July to December).

Fenaille lists the dispersal of these tapestries woven for the crown among the palaces, the locations of those known in 1900, as well as the presentation of tapestries from the series to foreign dignitaries.¹⁴ The Musée National du Château de Pau today conserves five tapestries, among which is an example of “Le Château de Monceaux/Le Mois de Décembre,” possibly from the last complete set, the seventh *tenture*, *basse-lisse* (fig. 3).¹⁵ The Mobilier National has three more tapestries of the same month in its collec-

6. Due to the unmanageable size of these full-scale paintings, not all have been photographed. I am grateful to Madame Sonia Edard of Le Service Photographique of the Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Paris, for her help in obtaining a print of the cartoon, “Le Château neuf de Saint-Germain” (cl 2660).

7. Fenaille (supra, note 5) p. 129, records the *mémoire* of Jan *filz*, 1691–. Archives Nationales 0¹ 2040.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 128.

9. Jules Guiffrey, *Comptes des Bâtiments du roi sous le règne de Louis XIV*, vol. 1, (Paris, 1877–1880), p. 126, under the date of November 3, 1666. Francart is identified by Fenaille as a painter of ornaments at the Gobelins. This artist may be either Gilbert Francart (dates unknown, but active circa 1661) or his son, François Francart (1622–1672), who became *peintre ordinaire du roi dans l’hôtel des Gobelins*.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 151, under the date of September 24, 1667. The artist may be identified as Pierre Patel I (circa 1605–1676).

11. Fenaille (supra, note 5), p. 129.

12. *Ibid.*, p. 132.

13. The measurement of the *aune* is equivalent to 1.18 meters or 47 inches.

14. Fenaille (supra, note 5), p. 129ff. On July 8, 1682, the king directed that twelve tapestries, including four *entrefenêtres*, be collected (Archives Nationales 0¹ 3305). They were presented to the ministers of the king of Denmark on September 16, 1682. See Jules Guiffrey, *Inventaire général du mobilier de la couronne sous Louis XIV, 1663–1715* (Paris, 1886), p. 310, no. 78. Vibeke Woldbye of the Museum of Deco-

rative Art in Copenhagen suggests that the tapestries never went to the king but were kept by Chancellor Frederik Ahlefeldt (died 1686). Among the probate documents for the chancellor’s newly built house is the description, “six French tapestries woven with gold, some trees.” It is impossible to trace the gift more precisely. Of the six tapestries and two *entrefenêtres* presented by the king on December 11, 1682, to the marquis de Croissy and shipped on December 20, 1682, to England, it seems that they may have been given to the Duchess of Portsmouth, mistress of Charles II (Archives Nationales 0¹ 3305). See Frances Buckland, “Gobelins Tapestries and Paintings as a Source of Information about the Silver Furniture of Louis XIV,” *Burlington Magazine* 75 (May 1983), pp. 271–283. Certainly tapestries from this series were described in the duchess’s apartments at Whitehall Palace in 1683 by the diarist John Evelyn. It is unlikely that the tapestries survived a fire in her apartments in 1691 or a second fire in the palace in 1698. Of the dozen tapestries collected for the Electrice of Brandenburg (“Brandebourg” as recorded in Fenaille) on October 27, 1683, and presented in November of 1683, nothing is known (Archives Nationales 0¹ 3305). No tapestries from this series survive at Huis Doorn, Holland, the residence of her heirs. The electrice was given luxurious gifts by Louis XIV earlier, in the year 1666, that included furniture upholstered in velvet and gold-and-silver brocade, a mirror, a chandelier, a table and two gueridons of silver, and a set of tapestries. I am grateful to Frances Buckland for this information.

15. The others are “Le Château de Fontainebleau/Le Mois de Juin” from the third *tenture*, 1668–1680, and three more from the fifth *tenture*,



Figure 4. "Le Château de Vincennes/Le Mois de Juillet," woven with the signature I. D. L. (H: 3.35 m [10' 11⁷/₈"], L: 3.45 m [11' 3³/₁₆"]). London, The Victoria and Albert Museum T.371-1977.

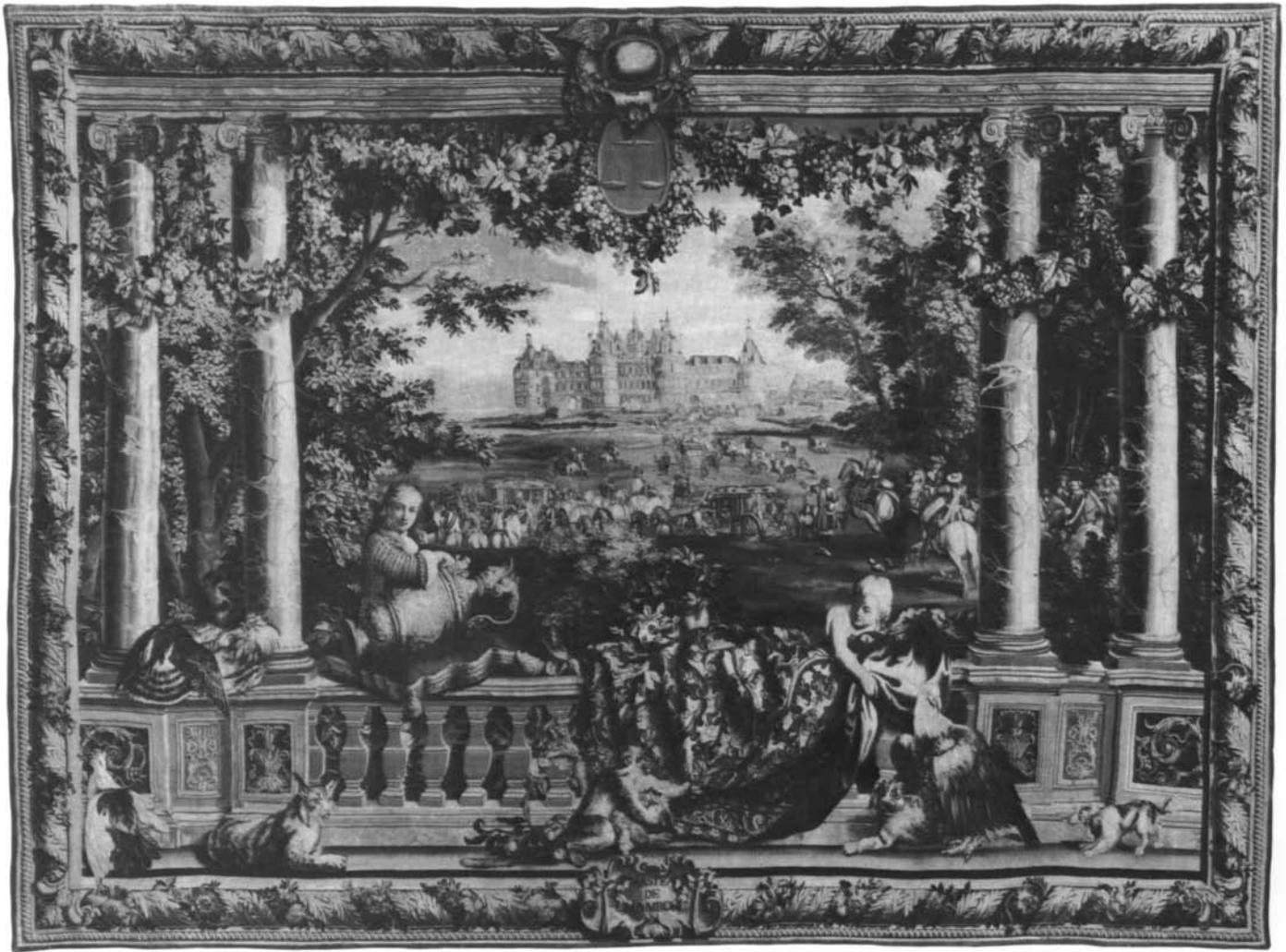


Figure 5. "Le Château de Chambord/Le Mois de Septembre" (H: 3.25 m [10' 7¹⁵/₁₆"], L: 4.27 m [14' 1¹/₈"]). Tokyo, The National Museum of Western Art OA. 1977-1.

tion: "Le Châteaux de Monceaux" from the first weaving on the *haute-lisse* loom, woven with the initials I. L. F. for Jean Lefebvre; "Le Château de Monceaux" from the second weaving, *haute-lisse*; and a third tapestry of the same château also identified as the one of the seventh *tenture*, yet possibly from the fifth weaving.¹⁶

An unknown number of tapestries of this series were woven without gold, apparently not complete sets, as commissions for private individuals. The example in the J. Paul Getty Museum falls into this category. Little is known

about the weavings of these later tapestries, but many survive and bear the woven signature of either Jean de la Croix (active at the Gobelins 1662–1712) or Mathieu Monmerqué (*entrepreneur* for the *basse-lisse* looms—*atelier* number 4—1730–1735; for the *haute-lisse* looms—*atelier* number 2—1736–1749). It is interesting to note that this series was still so popular that tapestries were commissioned as late as the 1730s, and the cartoons still existed in a state that permitted their use. These separate weavings are, for the most part, narrower than those made for the king because

1676–1682: "Le Bal du Palais-Royal/Le Mois de Février," "Le Château de Madrid/Le Mois de Mars," and "Le Château de Marimont en Hainaut/Le Mois d'Août." The Château de Pau also has eight *entrefenêtres* from the series. I am grateful to Jacques Perot, Conservateur, Musée National du Château de Pau, for this information.

16. This information has been generously given by Jean Coural, L'Administrateur Général du Mobilier National.

17. Fenaille (*supra*, note 5), p. 160. The border is similar to the series

of *Psyché* woven at the Manufacture of Raphaël de la Planche.

18. *Ibid.*, p. 160 and illustrated in Göbel, *Wandteppiche*, no. 91.

19. N. Birioukova, *Les Tapisseries Françaises de la fin du XV^e au XX^e siècle dans les collections de L'Ermitage* (Leningrad, 1974), n.p., no. 21, illustrated.

20. French and Company stock sheet number 19059; The J. Paul Getty Center for the History of Art and the Humanities, Photo Archive.

they lack the flanking double columns, or terms, and pilasters. The majority were woven with a border of entwined acanthus leaves and flowers, with agrafes or rosettes in the corners, or with a border described as "d'ornements et de petites figures."¹⁷ They also vary in the detailing of the balustrade, which is alternately open and pillared or closed and carved in relief with scrolls and *fleurs-de-lys*.

The following separately commissioned tapestries have been identified. They have been divided into four groups according to their border design, and, within each group, they have been listed in order of those first mentioned by Fenaille succeeded by those identified by the present writer.

Of the tapestries woven with the border of entwined acanthus leaves and flowers with rosettes in the corners:

1. "Le Château de Chambord," bearing the woven signature GOB^S ♣ MONMERQUÉ and, above, with a coat-of-arms encircled by the collars of the Toison d'or, the Saint-Michel, and the Saint-Esprit, which was in the Musée Stieglitz, St. Petersburg, in 1900¹⁸ and may be identified as the one now in the Hermitage Museum, Leningrad. (H: 3.40 m [11' 1⁷/₈"], L: 4.94 m [16' 2¹/₂"])¹⁹

2. A very wide version of "Le Château de Chambord," woven above with the monogram LQDP above and, in the balustrade, with the cypher of crossed Ls to the left and with ST to the right, for Stanislas Leczinska, the father-in-law of Louis XV and the king of Poland, who inhabited the Château de Chambord from 1725 to 1733.²⁰ It was formerly in the Velghe Collection, Paris, circa 1900, and later, 1937–1938, it passed through French and Company, New York.²¹ It was later presented by Mrs. James Flood of San Francisco as a gift to that city. It is currently on loan, but not on view, to the Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco from the War Memorial Opera House.²² (H: 3.50 m [11' 5¹³/₁₆"], L: 7 m [22' 11⁵/₈"])

3. "Le Château de Blois," woven with signature GOB^S ♣ MONMERQUÉ, formerly in the countess Szechenyi's collection, having passed through French and Company, New York, in 1953, was sold from that collection to Parke-Bernet, New York, November 29, 1975, lot 160. (H: 3.43 m [11' 3¹/₁₆"], L: 4.98 m [16' 4¹/₁₆"])

4. "Le Château de Versailles," with the woven signature GOB ♣ MONMERQUÉ, in the collection of

the comte Patrice de Vogüé, Vaux-le-Vicomte (acquired by his grandfather, Alfred Sommer, in Paris in 1893). (H: 3.10 m [10' 2¹/₁₆"], L: 4.75 m [15' 7"'])

5. "Le Château du Louvre" (H: 3.80 m [12' 5⁵/₁₆"], L: 4.50 m [14' 9³/₁₆"]) and "Le Château de Versailles" (H: 3.80 m, L: 4.50 m) were with baronne Adolphe de Rothschild at Pregny, near Geneva, in 1900.²³

6. "Le Château de Versailles," woven with signature GOB^S ♣ MONMERQUÉ and bearing the crowned cypher of the king, was sold from the Mérinville collection, Paris, June 27, 1878, lot 4 (measurements unknown).²⁴

Of the tapestries woven with the border described as "ornaments and small figures":

1. "Le Château neuf de Saint-Germain" (H: 3.18 m [10' 5³/₁₆"], L: 2.91 m [9' 6⁹/₁₆"]) and "Le Château des Tuileries" (H: 2.16 m [7' 1"], L: 3.31 m [10' 10⁵/₁₆"]) were sold in Paris, April 11, 1881, lots 6 and 7 respectively. In 1900 they were in the Stieglitz Museum, St. Petersburg, and now they are in the collections of the Hermitage Museum, Leningrad.²⁵

2. "Le Château de Versailles" (H: 1.90 m [6' 2¹³/₁₆"], L: 4.50 m [14' 9³/₁₆"]) and "Le Château de Chambord" (H: 2.40 m [7' 10¹/₂"], L: 5 m [16' 4⁷/₈"]), both woven with the crowned cypher of the king, were sold from the collection of the comtesse Lehon, Paris, April 2, 1861, lots 95 and 96 respectively.

3. "Le Château de Chambord" (H: 3 m [9' 10¹/₈"], L: 4.90 m [16' 1"]), woven as a wide version, yet without terms, was sold by Dario Boccara of Paris, before 1971.²⁶

A tapestry, "Le Château neuf de Saint-Germain," cut at the top and the bottom, bearing a border of entwined acanthus leaves and flowers at the top and bottom and, at the sides, acanthus scrolls and husks enclosing flowers and fruits, with urns at the base, appeared on the Paris market in autumn of 1985 (H: 3.05 m [10'], L: 3.95 m [12' 11¹/₂"]).

Of the tapestries woven with the border of entwined acanthus leaves and flowers, but with agrafes in the corners:

1. "Le Château de Monceaux," with the woven signature I. D. CROX, was sold from the collection of the comte de Camondo, Paris, February 1–3, 1893, lot 291.

21. Illustrated in George Leland Hunter, *Tapestries, Their Origin, History, and Renaissance* (New York, 1913), p. 166 and recorded in Fenaille (supra, note 5), p. 162.

22. This information was kindly given by Gloria Ravitch and Anna Bennett, Curator Emerita of the Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco. The tapestry appears in the Alfred Hitchcock film *Vertigo* (1958) in a scene filmed in the California Palace of the Legion of Honor.

23. Fenaille (supra, note 5), p. 161.

24. Ibid.

25. Birioukova (supra, note 19), nos. 20 and 22. They consist only of the middle of the balustrade, as they lack the flanking columns. Fenaille records the height of "Le Château des Tuileries" as 3.20 m (10' 1/2") and the length as 3.35 m (10' 11⁷/₈"), which suggests that it was cut in height after 1900.

26. It was illustrated without borders. Da. Boccara, *Les Belles heures de la Tapisserie* (Milan, 1971), p. 122.

In 1903 it was in the collection of Gaston Menier,²⁷ and it was sold at Galerie Charpentier, Paris, November 22, 1936, lot 111. It was later in the collection of Baron Gendebien-Salvay in Belgium. The J. Paul Getty Museum acquired the tapestry from the dealer Vincent Laloux of Brussels. (H: 3.16 m [10' 4⁷/₁₆"], L: 3.28 m [10' 9¹/₈"])

2. "Le Château de Vincennes," woven with the signature I. D. L., was sold at Sotheby's, London, July 1, 1977, lot 6. It was acquired by the Victoria and Albert Museum, London (fig. 4).²⁸ (H: 3.35 m [10' 11⁷/₈"], L: 3.45 m [11' 3¹³/₁₆"])

3. "Le Château de Chambord" was sold at Sotheby's, London, July 1, 1977, lot 7. It was acquired at that sale by

the National Museum of Western Art, Tokyo (fig. 5).²⁹ (H: 3.25 m [10' 7¹⁵/₁₆"], L: 4.27 m [14' 1¹/₈"])

It is not known whether these last three tapestries were woven together as a single commission. They share the same border with ribboned cartouches at the bottom center, and two bear signatures for the same *entrepreneur d'atelier*, Jean de la Croix. A detail that might indicate they were not woven as one commission is the fact that the Museum's example has a closed balustrade while the other two have open balustrades. They also vary in their height measurement by twenty centimeters, a variance which suggests they did not constitute a set.

The J. Paul Getty Museum
Malibu

27. Fenaille (supra, note 5), p. 160, illustrated.

28. London, Victoria and Albert Museum T.371-1977.

29. Tokyo, National Museum of Western Art OA 1977-1.

Huquier's *Second Livre*

Simon Jervis

In 1980 the J. Paul Getty Museum acquired two substantial groups of engraved designs for ornament and the decorative arts, a total of some 1400 leaves. From the late fifteenth century onward, the latest fashions in ornament and design were disseminated by means of such prints, which are therefore basic to the understanding of the history of design and ornament, and of the decorative arts. Some may be crude and provincial, others refined and sophisticated, but all are documents of the history of taste and are particularly valuable when they are signed or attributable and/or dated or datable. This note singles out one small group of eleven prints by Gabriel Huquier, but it is also intended to draw attention to the Getty holdings in this field, which range from the sixteenth century to the eighteenth century and include works by DuCerceau, Vredeman de Vries, Lepautre, Toro, Meissonnier, and Pineau.

Gabriel Huquier (1695–1772) was the most important engraver and publisher of French Rococo ornament.¹ From about 1731 to about 1761, when he seems to have retired, he engraved over two thousand plates. His earliest works were after Gillot and Watteau, and he later engraved designs by, among others, Lajoue, Boucher, Oppenord, Meissonnier, Peyrotte, and Pineau. Huquier was also a celebrated collector of drawings; three great sales dispersed his collection—in Amsterdam in 1761, in Paris in 1771, and, after his death, in Paris in 1772. He welcomed students and connoisseurs, and many of the suites of ornament that he issued were explicitly educational in purpose. Huquier was not only an engraver, publisher, and collector; he was also a designer. His prints after Watteau, who had died in 1722, are based on Watteau drawings, but he rearranged, extended, and sometimes distorted the sketchy originals, which seem to have been in his own collection.² The version of Watteau's ornament familiar to artists, designers, and craftsmen in the mid-eighteenth century was thus created by

Huquier. Huquier's own activity as a designer seems to have been a belated outgrowth of his experience in interpreting Watteau.

Huquier's first presumed designs, published as *Nouveau Livre propre à ceux qui veulent apprendre à dessiner l'Ornement et à différens Usages Comme pour les Feuilles de Paravents, Paneaux & c.*, comprising two suites of six plates, each numbered A, 1 to 7, and B, 1 to 7, were in a foliate, floral, and fruity Rococo manner. His sequel, however, comprising two suites of six plates, each numbered C, 1 to 7, and D, 1 to 7, with the same title (apart from the substitution of *Second* for *Nouveau*, and the addition of *Chinoise* after *Ornement*), was closer to his Watteau cartouches.³ The *Nouveau Livre* was announced in the *Mercure de France* in July 1737 as follows:

Le sieur *Huquier*, pour épargner aux Dames qui aiment à découper, la trop grande vetillerie dans leurs découpages, a fait dessiner par un habile Maître, douze feuilles d'Ornemens qu'il a gravés, et qui assemblées les unes à la suite des autres, forment deux différentes Bordures de feuilles de Paravent, d'un goût admirable, ces mêmes feuilles peuvent servir à différens usages et même à apprendre à dessiner l'Ornement.⁴

This announcement suggests that another designer may have been responsible for the *Nouveau Livre*. But it is noteworthy that the notice of Huquier's *Livre de Bordures d'écrans à la Chinoise*, which is printed immediately below, omits any reference to his part as designer. The case for his authorship of the *Nouveau Livre* must remain unproven, although the fact that the *Mercure de France* announcement of the *Second Livre*, published in January 1738, refers to Huquier as "L'Auteur" of both books, tilts the balance in his favor:

'Le sieur *Huquier* a gravé et débite actuellement un second Livre pour apprendre à dessiner l'ornement. Les six

I am grateful to Gillian Wilson for her help in the preparation of this article.

1. For Huquier, see Y. Bruand, "Un Grand Collectionneur, Marchand et Graveur du XVIIIe Siècle, Gabriel Huquier (1695–1772)," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* (1950), pp. 99–114, and Y. Bruand and M. Hébert, *Inventaire du Fonds Français, Graveurs du XVIIIe Siècle* (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1970), pp. 446–538.

2. M. Eidelberg, "Gabriel Huquier—Friend or Foe of Watteau?" *The Print Collector's Newsletter* 15 (1984), pp. 158–164.

3. Y. Bruand and M. Hébert (supra, note 1), pp. 1–24, 451; P. Jessen, *Katalog der Ornamentstichsammlung der Staatlichen Kunstbibliothek Berlin* (Berlin and Leipzig, 1939), p. 408.

4. *Mercure de France* 838 (July 1737), p. 1622.



Figures 1–2. Gabriel Huquier, plates C 1 and C 2 from the *Second Livre propre à ceux qui veulent apprendre à dessiner l'Ornement Chinois et à différents Usages Comme pour des Feuilles de Paravents, Paneaux &c.*, Paris, 1738. Engraving. Plate mark 16.8 x 20.7 cm. (6 $\frac{5}{16}$ " x 8 $\frac{1}{16}$ ") Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum.



Figure 3. Gabriel Huquier, plates C 3 and C 4 from the *Second Livre*. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum.

feuilles, marquées en haut par la Lettre C. avec leurs chiffres, qui étant collées l'une au-dessous de l'autre et leurs contr'épreuves sur le côté (de même que ceux qui comportent la lettre D.) forment deux très belles feuilles de Paravent. Ces mêmes Morceaux peuvent former de grands Ecrans, même des Paneaux de quelque grandeur qu'il puissent être, quand on en voudra faire des Découpures. On trouve chés le même quantité de Sujets diférens qui peuvent orner ces sortes d'Ouvrages.

Le succès qu'a eu le premier Livre qui a été annoncé il y a quelques mois, a déterminé l'Auteur à donner ce second; comme ils sont dans deux genres oposés, il se flate que le Public en sera satisfait.⁵

The J. Paul Getty Museum possesses all but one of the twelve engravings comprising the *Second Livre* (figs. 1–10, 12): the missing element is present with the rest of the suite in Berlin (fig. 11).⁶ When these are photographically dissected and rearranged, it is apparent that, as the *Mercure* states, they compose elaborate half-cartouches in Huquier's Watteau style, about 122 cm high (3'7 $\frac{1}{16}$ ") and, doubled, about 38 cm wide (1'2 $\frac{3}{16}$ ") (figs. 13 and 14). According to his title and to the *Mercure*, such ornaments could be applied to screens and panels. Huquier himself owned a six-fold screen composed of panels 162 cm high (5'3 $\frac{3}{16}$ ") by 57.5 cm wide (1'10 $\frac{7}{16}$ "), painted with not dissimilar cartouches by Jacques de Lajoue.⁷ In the Ecole des Beaux-Arts in Paris are two designs by Huquier for his trade card,

5. *Ibid.*, 845 (January 1738), pp. 127–128.

6. Accession number 81.GI.99.246.

7. M. R. Michel, *Lajoue et l'Art Rocaille* (Neuilly-sur-Seine, 1984), pp. 196–198, figs. 88–89.

8. I am grateful to Peter Fuhring for drawing my attention to these designs. M. Snodin ("George Bickham Junior, Master of the Rococo,"



Figure 4. Gabriel Huquier, plate C 5 from the *Second Livre*. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum.



Figure 5. Gabriel Huquier, plate C 6 from the *Second Livre*. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum.

one dated 1749 and both headed “Estampes différentes pour l’Etude du Dessain”: included among his wares are “Ecrans et Paravents” (on a portfolio in the design dated 1749) and “Paravents” and “Ecrans très beaux” (on a portfolio and a drawer, respectively, in the other design).⁸

This particular type of print, intended to be cut out by the user, was not uncommon. The announcement in the *Mercure de France* in February 1738 of Chedel’s *Fantaisies nouvelles* states that this work “peut servir à divers usages, tels que les desseins d’étofes, les découpures, & c.” and that “L’Auteur compte donner plusieurs suites en ce genre.”⁹ Details have recently been published of a case brought in May 1746 by the Lyons printsellers, Daudet and Pariset, against a Parisian printseller, Estienne Charpentier, who, they claimed, had infringed their copyright on such *découpures* designed by Peyrotte.¹⁰ Daudet and Pariset stated that they had published their prints five years before Charpentier, who said his designs were copied from foreign prints, despite having ordered *découpures* from Pariset in 1743 and 1744. In November 1746 they won their case, but in April 1747 the chancellor discouraged any further pursuit of the matter, on the grounds that other copies existed. Prints designed for use were also destined for destruction, and thus it is likely that their importance has been underestimated.

In the print room of the Victoria and Albert Museum is an unrecorded engraving of a scrolled and floral Rococo



Figure 6. Gabriel Huquier, plate C 7 from the *Second Livre*. The marginal sketch is probably from the eighteenth century. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum.

cartouche signed “huquier in sculp et ex a paris rue St jacques” (fig. 15); the paper is watermarked for 1749, and, as Huquier changed his address in February of that year, the engraving is likely to have been executed in January.¹¹ Its interest, in the present context, lies partly in its dimensions: the sheet is no less than 60.3 cm high (1’11½”) by 46 cm wide (1’5¼”), a good size for a chairback. The engraving

The V & A Album 2 [London, 1983], pp. 359–360) points out that Bickham borrowed the undated design for the title of his *The Drawing and Writing Tutor* (London, n.d.).

9. *Mercure de France*, 846 (February 1738), pp. 320–321.

10. P. Fuhring, “The Print Privilege in Eighteenth-Century France—I,” *Print Quarterly* 2 (1985), pp. 181, 191–193.

11. Victoria and Albert Museum Number E 836-1969 (Press Mark EO 117). I am grateful to Peter Fuhring for the information concerning Huquier’s change of address. He has also drawn my attention to six prints of Rococo cartouches of almost the same size, three in portrait (or chair-back) format, three in landscape (or chair-seat) format, in the print room of the Österreichisches Museum für angewandte Kunst,



Figure 7. Gabriel Huquier, plate D 1 from the *Second Livre*. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum.

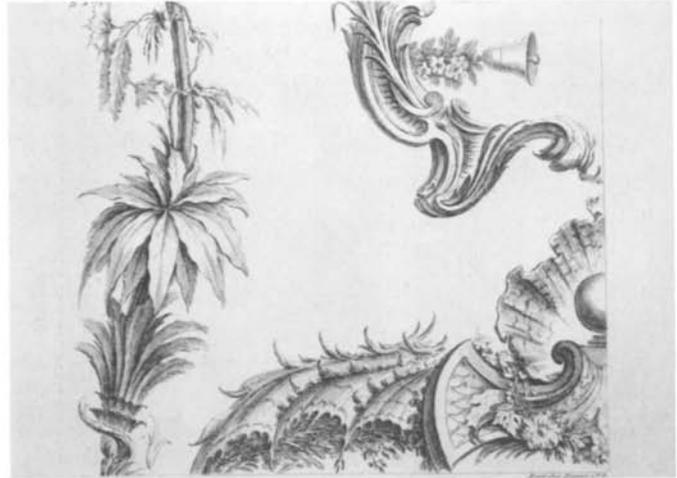


Figure 8. Gabriel Huquier, plate D 2 from the *Second Livre*. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum.

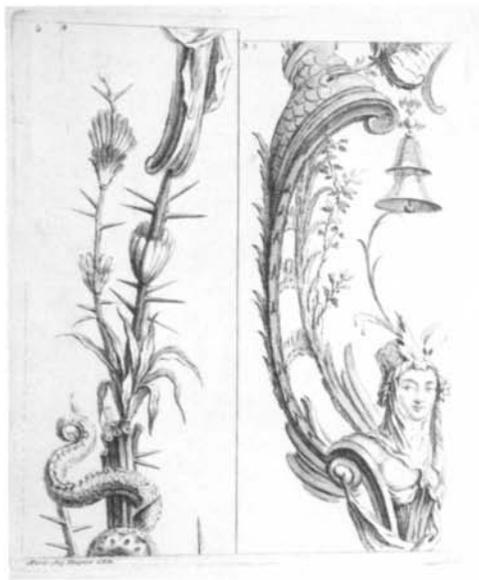


Figure 9. Gabriel Huquier, plates D 3 and D 4 from the *Second Livre*. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum.



Figure 10. Gabriel Huquier, plate D 5 from the *Second Livre*. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum.

was discovered in 1969 at Uppark in Sussex, a house purchased by Sir Matthew Fetherstonhaugh, baronet, in 1747 and refurnished by him from 1752 on after his return from the Grand Tour.¹² At Uppark is a set of eight armchairs and a settee, whose gilt frames are attributed to John Bladwell,

and one of whose tapestry covers is signed “Danthon,” by a member of a Huguenot family of tapestry weavers from Aubusson who had settled in London.¹³ These covers have scenes from Aesop’s fables within scrolled and floral Rococo cartouches. It seems possible that Sir Matthew

Vienna (in. 172/37 and 41–45). Two, engraved by Aveline, are inscribed with Huquier’s rue Saint-Jacques address and are therefore earlier than February 1749, but a third, after Oppenord, whose designs Huquier propagated after Oppenord’s death in 1742, was engraved by Huquier and bears his new address in the rue des Mathurins. Also in the Vienna print room is a cartouche by Huquier very close in feeling to that from Uppark but with the addition of a chinoiserie scene in its center (See R. Berliner and G. Egger, *Ornamentale Vortageblätter des 15. bis 19. Jahr-*

hunderts [Munich, 1981] vol. 1, p. 102, and vol. 3, p. 1257).
 12. *The Treasure Houses of Britain*, ex. cat. (Washington, National Gallery of Art, 1985), p. 261.
 13. *The Quiet Conquest* (Museum of London, 1985), p. 310.
 14. *Uppark* (London, The National Trust, 1976), p. 8.
 15. The mirror frame is illustrated in *Rococo, Art and Design in Hogarth’s England* (London, Victoria and Albert Museum, 1984), pl. 13; see also p. 165. I am grateful to John Hardy for drawing this correspon-

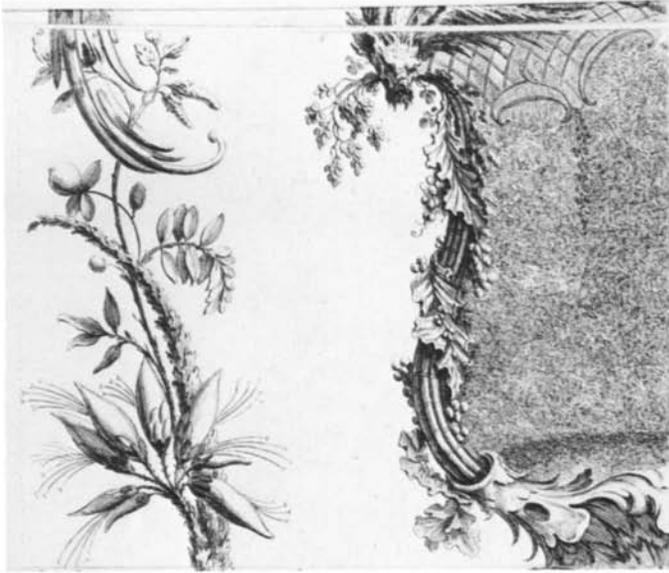


Figure 11. Gabriel Huquier, plate D 6 from the *Second Livre*. Berlin, Stiftung Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Staatliche Museen, Kunstbibliothek.



Figure 12. Gabriel Huquier, plate D 7 from the *Second Livre*. The added sketches and the inscriptions "Marc antoine Senat" and "Mo . . . e" are probably from the eighteenth century. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum.

Fetherstonhaugh or his Huguenot wife, born Sarah Lethieullier, may have acquired Huquier's engraving during their Grand Tour of 1749 to 1751, to serve as an inspiration for such cartouches.¹⁴ A celebrated mirror frame designed and carved about 1745 by Matthias Lock for the drawing room of Hinton House, Somerset, the seat of the second Earl Poulett, provides another probable example of Huquier's influence in England.¹⁵ It incorporates two Chinese heads that appear to be directly based on those so prominent in C 3 and D 3 of his *Second Livre*.

The Uppark cartouche, dated 1749, is subdued, symmetrical, and, perhaps, a little dull in comparison to those in the 1738 *Second Livre*, which are full of unpredictable variety and jagged energy. The *Second Livre* anticipates the designs of Jean Pillement, who continued to produce prints of strange, spiky, and exotic flowers, often combined with explicitly Chinese elements, into the 1770s.¹⁶ Huquier's *Livre de divers Esquices et Griffonements*, after Lajoue, displays individual motifs of a similar quirky character.¹⁷ This type of ornament is a contrast to the vigorously scrolled sculptural forms usually associated with Lajoue, Meisson-

dence to my attention.

16. For a brief survey of Pillement's career, see Simon Jarvis, *The Penguin Dictionary of Design and Designers* (Harmondsworth, 1984), pp. 382–383. Typical Pillement flowers and chinoiserie are illustrated in E.-M. Hanebutt-Benz, *Ornament und Entwurf* (Frankfurt, Museum für Kunsthandwerk, 1983), pp. 151–153.

17. M. R. Michel (supra, note 7), pp. 350–351 and figs. 462–470.



Figure 15. Gabriel Huquier, cartouche, 1749. 60.3 x 46 cm (1'11½" x 1'5½"). Formerly at Uppark, Sussex. London, Victoria and Albert Museum.



Figure 13. Gabriel Huquier, plates D 1–7 from the *Second Livre* put together to create half a cartouche.



Figure 14. Gabriel Huquier, plates C 1–7 from the *Second Livre* put together to create half a cartouche.



Figure 16. Gabriel Huquier, plates B 1–7 from the *Nouveau Livre*. Paris, 1737. Put together to create half a cartouche. Plates B 3 and 4 have been reversed photographically from the *contr'épreuves* in Berlin. Berlin, Stiftung Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Staatliche Museen, Kunstbibliothek.

Figure 17. Gabriel Huquier, plates A 1–7 from Huquier's *Nouveau Livre* put together to create half a cartouche. Plate A 1 has been reversed photographically from the *contr'épreuve* in Berlin. Berlin, Stiftung Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Staatliche Museen, Kunstbibliothek.



Figure 18. Gabriel Huquier, *contr'épreuve* of plate A 1 of the *Nouveau Livre*. Berlin, Stiftung Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Staatliche Museen, Kunstbibliothek.

nier, and the other creators of the Rococo. The Uppark cartouche has much more in common with the two cartouches comprising Huquier's *Nouveau Livre* of 1737 (figs. 16 and 17), which, although they do not compete with Meissonnier or Lajoue in force or asymmetry, are nonetheless recognizable as fluently Rococo. The fact that the *Mercure de France* described the two books as in "deux genres opposés" suggests that the modern tendency to lump together Chinoiserie and Rococo or to subsume the former under the latter during the Rococo period may sometimes need careful qualification. Dissecting Rococo, its sources,

and its varieties inevitably raises problems of definition too broad to be tackled here. The *Nouveau Livre* and *Second Livre* also raise simpler questions about the practical use of prints. The Berlin set of the *Nouveau Livre* consists partly of "contr'épreuves" (fig. 18), demonstrating that such cartouches could be glued together, as suggested by the *Mercure de France*. But how exactly were they then used and how often? Answers even to such simple questions are hard to come by, but if the history of design, ornament, and the decorative arts is to make progress, it is important that such sources be exploited and such problems addressed.

Victoria and Albert Museum
London

A Secrétaire by Philippe-Claude Montigny

Gillian Wilson

When a piece of furniture of unique form and decoration appears at auction with no apparent earlier history, it often fails to sell and disappears back into the obscurity from which it came. Such was nearly the case with the *secrétaire* illustrated here (figs. 1, 4, 7). Stamped MONTIGNY for Philippe-Claude Montigny (born 1734, master 1766, died 1800) and veneered with panels of late seventeenth-century marquetry of brass, pewter, and tortoiseshell, it was designed in the early Neoclassical style and is also an early and extreme example of a fashion now known as the “boulle revival.”¹

The *secrétaire* was put up for sale in 1983 at Sotheby's, Monaco,² and, having failed to find a buyer, it was acquired shortly after the sale by B. Fabre et fils, the Paris dealers, from whom the J. Paul Getty Museum acquired it in 1985. It was apparent that the piece was genuine, and it excited considerable interest among the furniture scholars of Paris. Alexandre Pradère was the first to identify the *secrétaire* in the 1787 sale of the comte de Vaudreuil, and soon after this discovery, Jean-Nérée Ronfort found it in the sale of M. de Billy, on November 15, 1784.

Both aristocrats were members of the court at Versailles. Little is known of M. de Billy, but in the preamble of the catalogue of his sale, held by the *marchand-mercier* A.-J. Paillet at the Hôtel de Bullion, he is described as “Ecuyer, ancien commissaire des guerres, l'ancien premier Valet de Garde Robe du Roi.” His sale contained the usual preponderance of Italian paintings, seven of which were bought by Louis XVI for 21,103 *livres*.³ Apart from a Guido Reni, they were mostly by fairly obscure artists. In the section of the catalogue devoted to “Meubles de Marqueterie, par Boulle et autres,” there are fourteen lots, four of which are described as being decorated with boulle marquetry: a commode, an armoire, a table and this *secrétaire*. The latter is described as follows:

171. Un Secrétaire en armore, de forme quarée, garni sur la face d'un grand panneau de marqueterie de cuivre et étain, seconde partie, coupé dans le milieu pour former table rabatue, & armoire par le bas, avec encadrement de cuivre, pilastres à cannelures, terminé en haut par un quarée en avant corps, avec rozette. Tiroir au-dessus, avec mufle de lion placé dans le milieu; les côtés aussi en marqueterie de même genre, sont encadrés de moulures unies; ce meuble intéressant est terminé du haut par un quart de rond, renfermant un dessus plaqué en albâtre fleurie. Hauteur 49 pouces, largeur 31, profondeur 15.⁴

Apart from the three other pieces, which from their description would seem to be of late seventeenth-century date, the rest of M. de Billy's *ébénisterie* was in the Neoclassical style. In the section devoted to “Pendules, Lustre & Bras,” we find a similar mixture of late seventeenth-century pieces and objects in the Neoclassical style. Two pairs of candlesticks are described as being “genre de Boule,” while two gilt-bronze chandeliers are listed as being “modèle de Boule.” The larger one, with eight branches and set with dolphins, is of the same model as one in the Getty Museum (fig. 2). Thus we see that M. de Billy had furnished his house most fashionably with contemporary pieces and objects made a hundred years earlier, a taste exhibited by many of his aristocratic contemporaries.⁵ The *secrétaire* shows the ultimate combination of the two styles—classical Baroque and early Neoclassicism.

It is possible that the *secrétaire* was acquired at the Billy sale by the *marchand-mercier* Le Brun, who was an intimate of the comte de Vaudreuil, as was his wife, Louise-Elizabeth Vigée Le Brun. Le Brun supplied Vaudreuil with many of the contemporary French paintings that Vaudreuil had avidly begun to collect, having disposed of his previous collection of paintings from earlier European schools in his sale of 1784.⁶ In that year he had acquired a town house on

1. For a similar *secrétaire*, attributed to P.-C. Montigny, see the sale of M. A. Kann, Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, December 6–8, 1912, lot 333. H: 127 cm (4' 2"), W: 92 cm (3'). Sold to the comte de Vaux for 21,500 francs.

2. Sotheby's, Monaco, June 14, 1982, lot 423.

3. I am grateful to JoLynn Edwards for allowing me to read her unpublished dissertation, “Alexandre-Joseph Paillet (1743–1814), Study of a Parisian Art Dealer,” University of Washington.

4. Lugt No. 3791.

5. Furniture described as being by Boulle appears in the following sales: comte de Lauraguais, March 12, 1772 (Lugt No. 2008); baron de Bezenval, August 10, 1795 (Lugt No. 5336); duc d'Aumont, December 12, 1782 (Lugt No. 3488); M. Boisset-Dailly, December 30, 1783 (Lugt No. 3654); M. de Selle, February 19, 1761 (Lugt No. 1137). Many more sales could be cited.

6. I am grateful to Colin Baily for allowing me to read his unpublished dissertation, “Aspects of the Patronage and Collecting of French Paintings in France at the End of the Ancien Régime,” Oxford



Figure 1. *Secrétaire* by Philippe-Claude Montigny. French (Paris), circa 1765–1770. H: 141.5 cm (4' 7½"); W: 84.5 cm (2' 9"); D: 40.3 cm (1' 3¾"). Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 85.DA.378. Photo: Studio Lourmel, Paris.



Figure 2. Chandelier attributed to André-Charles Boulle. French (Paris), circa 1680. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 76.DF.13.

the rue de la Chaise, formerly the residence of the *fermier-general* Jean-Baptiste-Gaillard de Beaumanoir. It is likely that the *secrétaire* was acquired for this *hôtel*.

In 1787 the fortunes of Vaudreuil changed, and, having sold his country estate and his office of *Lieutenant de la Capitainerie de la chasse*, he fled to Italy. His paintings, furniture, and porcelain were sold on November 26, 1787, at the Grande Salle on the rue de Cléry, under the direction of M. Le Brun. The *secrétaire* appeared as no. 368 and was described as follows:

Un très-beau secrétaire en marqueterie fond écaille, cuivre & étain, l'entablement à quart de rond, & à tiroirs à battans & formant bas d'armoire; il est enrichi de mufles de lion, rosaces, pilastres à cannelures & tigettes, cadres à feuilles; le milieu, offrant un fort mascarón d'Apollon, est terminé par un socle à rosaces, en avant corps & frise arabesque, & à quatre gaines en limaçon; ce meuble est surmonté d'une pendule en lyre, à mosaïque, enrichie du haut, d'un enfant ailé tenant une faux, & du bas par une figure du Temps & d'autres accessoires; le pied, à quatre consoles, est orné de mascarons & de rinceaux d'ornemens en bronze doré. Hauteur du Secrétaire: 53 pouces, & de la pendule: 37 pouces⁷

University. The information on the comte de Vaudreuil is taken from that source.

7. Lugt No. 4223.

8. A clock of this model is in the Getty Museum's collection (see



Figure 3. Mantel clock attributed to André-Charles Boulle (the movement by Jacques Gudin). French (Paris), circa 1700. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 72.DB.55.

It was sold for 1,305 *livres* to Lerouge.

The clock that appears in this description fitted to the *secrétaire* is of a fairly common model given to the atelier of André-Charles Boulle (fig. 3).⁸ It must have looked a little ungainly on top of the *secrétaire*, but to Vaudreuil, who was

fig. 3), accession number 72.DB.55. The clock described in the Vaudreuil sale as being on top of the *secrétaire* would appear to have been of the same model.



Figure 4. Side of *secrétaire*, figure 1. Photo: Studio Lourmel, Paris.

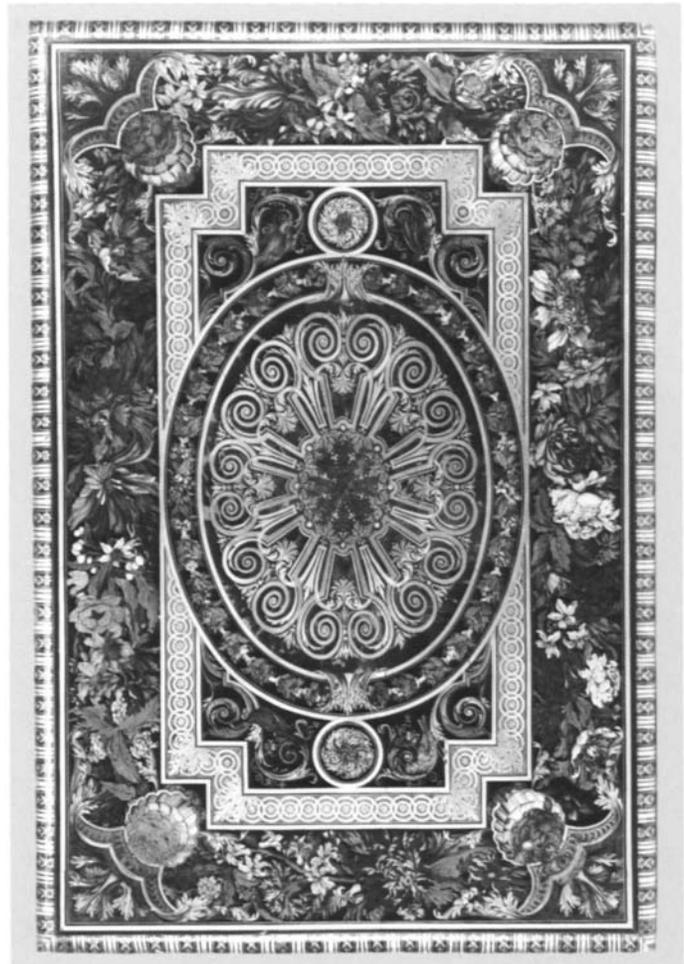


Figure 5. Table attributed to André-Charles Boulle. French (Paris), circa 1680. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 71.DA.100.

considered to be in the forefront of fashion and, indeed, a pioneer in his support and acquisition of the works of contemporary artists, it must have seemed a most suitable mixture. His sale, as with that of M. de Billy, contained the same combination of late seventeenth- and late eighteenth-century objects.

As has been stated above, the *secrétaire* was made by Philippe-Claude Montigny. He worked consistently for the crown and was a specialist in “boulle” furniture, both restoring it and making it. In the *Almanach Dauphin* of 1777, he is described as

... un des plus renommés pour les meubles de marqueterie en écaille, & argent ou ébène & cuivre, dans le genre des ouvrages du célèbre Boulle, dont on peut voir au cabinet des médailles de sa Majesté au Louvre ...

Furniture made in the style of what is now termed the “boulle revival” usually either incorporated panels of late seventeenth-century boulle marquetry and earlier mounts



Figure 6. Top of a “boulle” table sold at Christie’s, London, 1985. Photo: Courtesy of Christie’s, London.

or were conscious copies of works by that great master, whose fame had not diminished during the eighteenth century. This *secrétaire* is most unusual in that it is entirely covered with panels of seventeenth-century marquetry, set on a severely rectangular, blocklike piece. Its general design and the use of large gilt-bronze mounts indicates that it was made in the mid to late 1760s, probably for M. de Billy himself.

It would seem that the marquetry of two seventeenth-century *boulle* tabletops of considerable size has been used to decorate this piece, one tabletop halved along its length and set onto the sides and the other cut across its width to form the front. The side panels (fig. 4) are of considerable interest, for they are centered by a circular motif of the same design, though larger in scale, as that found in the center of a late seventeenth-century table in the Getty

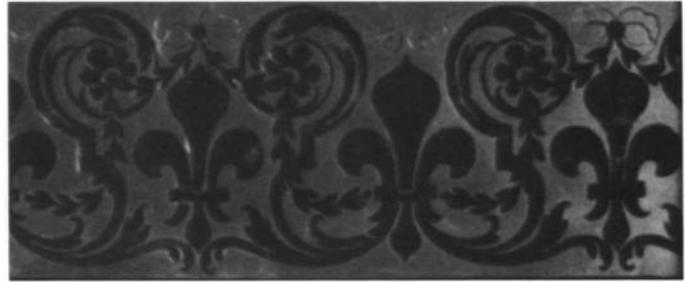


Figure 7. Detail of the frieze of *secrétaire*, figure 1.

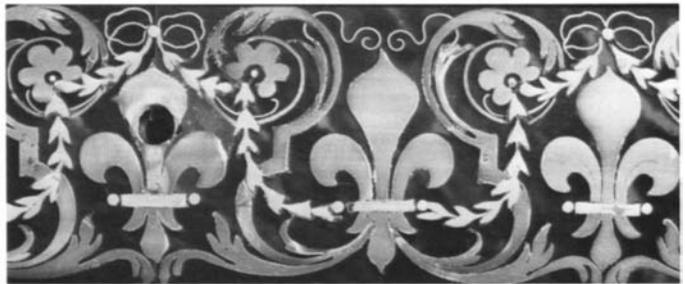


Figure 8. Detail of the frieze of a cabinet attributed to André-Charles Boulle. French (Paris), circa 1675. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 77.DA.1.

Museum (fig. 5) that is attributed, with some certainty, to André-Charles Boulle. The two side panels, if joined together, would measure 69 cm (2' 3") by 114 cm (3' 8"). It is apparent that a complete tabletop has not been used, for the motifs at the top, bottom, and on one side are not complete. The panel forming the front of the *secrétaire* measures 56.7 cm (1' 10") by 102 cm (3' 4"). Again, the panel does not seem to be complete, as several inches on all four sides apparently are lacking.

There is further evidence that the tops of late seventeenth-century “*boulle*” tables have been reused. A number of existing tables bear tops veneered with somewhat similar marquetry and of similar (and even larger) size. In particular, a table that was sold at auction in 1985 may be cited (fig. 6).⁹ Its top measures 115 cm by 73 cm (3' 7" by 2' 4"). Another table, sold in Geneva in 1984,¹⁰ bore a top measuring 118 cm by 74 cm (3' 8" by 2' 4"). Equally, a *bureau mazarin* at Blenheim Castle has a *contre-partie* top measuring 156 cm by 72 cm (5' by 2' 3").

The hypothesis has been put forward that the panels on the Getty *secrétaire* are the remains of “*boulle*” floors. But if this were so, the panels would surely show some indication of denting and damage. They do not. That a *boulle* floor, out of fashion and probably uprooted by the second quarter

9. Christie's, London, June 20, 1985, lot 75.

10. Christie's, Geneva, November 18, 1984, lot 55.

of the eighteenth century, could have survived to be reused in the late 1760s is questionable. Though no longer fashionable during the years when the Rococo style held sway, late seventeenth-century furniture veneered in this technique was cared for and it survived, as is shown by the countless examples that appear in their original form in the great sales of the 1770s and 1780s.

The frieze panel of the *secrétaire*, set with fleurs-de-lys (fig. 7), is a *contre-partie* version of the frieze found in the same position on the large boulle cabinet in the Getty Museum and on its counterpart in the collection of the

Duke of Buccleuch at Drumlanrig (fig. 8). While these two cabinets are also attributed to André-Charles Boulle, their early history is unknown.¹¹ The presence of this *contre-partie* frieze might indicate that a third cabinet once existed.

This extraordinary *secrétaire*, which first appeared at auction three years ago, was unrecognized and unsold. The fairly recent detailed study of eighteenth-century sale catalogues has revealed its aristocratic provenance, and it may eventually be possible to pinpoint more accurately the form of late seventeenth-century furniture from which the large panels of boulle marquetry may have come.

The J. Paul Getty Museum
Malibu

11. See G. Wilson, "A Late Seventeenth-Century French Cabinet at the J. Paul Getty Museum," *The Art Institute of Chicago, Centennial*

Lecture, Museum Studies 10 (Chicago, 1983) pp. 119–131.

A Sèvres Vase à Panneaux

C. Gay Nieda

La Manufacture Royale de Porcelain at Sèvres produced hundreds of vases, tableware, *objets*, and sculptures throughout the second half of the eighteenth century. The subject of this article is a vase produced at Sèvres during the 1760s called a *vase à panneaux* (figs. 1–3, 7–9), recently acquired by the Getty Museum.¹

The model is of oviform shape, incurving sharply at the shoulder, with a tapered neck that flares out at the top with a prominent rim set with pearls. A single pearl is set in the center of the neck, and pearls of diminishing scale are set in the domed cover and on the handles on either side of the vase (fig. 3). The handles, which run from the lip of the vase to the stem of the base, are in the form of folded straps through which pass laurel swags suspended from small pegs. The lower portion of this model is molded with alternating long and short gadroons. The body of the vase rests on a short circular stem above a circular foot molded with bound reeding. The vase sits on a square gilt-bronze base with a wreath of berried laurel bound with a ribbon. The sides of the base are set with scrolls and corner fret motifs, and the base rests on four paw feet. The only other

known example of a *vase à panneaux* with the same gilt-bronze base was formerly in the collection of Alfred Rothschild,² along with the Getty Museum's vase.

Two drawings for the *vase à panneaux* shape are preserved in the Archives of the Manufacture Nationale de Sèvres (figs. 4–5).³ Neither drawing is signed, and each represents one size of the model that first appeared at Sèvres in the mid-1760s. It was produced in three sizes,⁴ of which this vase is the largest, *première grandeur*. The plaster model of the second size, *deuxième grandeur*, is also preserved at Sèvres (fig. 6) and appears in Troude.⁵ The vase bears no painted marks but has an incised numeral 2 on the interior rim of the vase (fig. 7).

The exact date of creation of this model remains unknown. The earliest known examples of this model date from 1766: a pair of vases in the Wallace Collection, London,⁶ and a pair in the Musée Nationale de Céramique, Sèvres.⁷ Both pairs bear the date letter N for 1766.⁸ Although some of the surviving examples of this model bear date letters, the majority of them do not. Mention of *vases à panneaux* is rare in the Sèvres archives. They were

1. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 85.DE.219. Circa 1766–1770. H: 47.5 cm (1' 6¾"), W: 26.0 cm (10¼"), D: 20.5 cm (8⅞"). The Getty Museum's vase shares its provenance with a vase from the Alfred de Rothschild collection, number seven in the list on p. 134. Both were inherited after Alfred's death in 1918 by his nephew, Lionel de Rothschild of Exbury, and sold, after his death, at auction in 1946. Both vases appear in the auction catalogue of the effects of Alfred de Rothschild and Lionel de Rothschild (Christie's, London, *Catalogue of Fine Foreign Silver, Important Sèvres Porcelain ... Formerly the Property of the Late Alfred de Rothschild, Esq. and the Late Lionel de Rothschild, Esq.* July 4, 1946, lots 87 and 88). The other vase (lot 88) was purchased at this sale by Mrs. Chester Beatty and appeared at auction in London in 1955, as the property of Sir Alfred Chester Beatty (Sotheby's, London, *Catalogue of the Important Collection of Sèvres Porcelain. The Property of Sir Chester Beatty*. November 15, 1955, lot 125 [unsold]). This vase reappeared on the market in 1980 catalogued as "The property of a Lady" (Christie's, New York, *Fine English and Continental Pottery and Porcelain*, November 21, 1980, lot 303); it was purchased by a Saudi Arabian collector.

The Getty Museum's vase was purchased at the 1946 Rothschild sale (lot 87) by Partridge Fine Arts (Ltd) and was subsequently sold to Colonel Norman Colville in exchange for another vase. It reappeared at auction, in 1985, from the collection of a California resident (Christie's East, New York, *Important European Porcelain and Faience*. January 30, 1985, lot 137). It was purchased at this auction by the Antique Porcelain Company (New York) from whom the Getty Museum acquired it.

2. C. Davis, *A Description of the Works of Art: Collection of Alfred de Rothschild*, vol. 2 (London, 1884), fig. 87. Note, however, that it appears with a different base (Christie's, London, July 4, 1946, lot 87). This indicates that the base was changed between 1884 and 1946. A single *vase à panneaux* in the Wallace Collection, London (IV A 18), has a similar base without the paw feet. Rosalind Savill, Assistant to the Director, The Wallace Collection, suggests that this base was made in the early 1840s and that such gilt-bronze bases were made throughout the nineteenth century. It is interesting to note that a garniture of three *vases des âges*, acquired by the Getty Museum in 1984 (84.DE.718. 1–3), were also formerly in the Alfred de Rothschild collection.

3. M. Brunet and T. Préaud, *Sèvres des Origines à Nos Jours* (Fribourg, 1978), p. 166.

4. Manufacture Nationale de Sèvres, Archives (R.1, liasse 1, dossier 5, folio 19; R.1, liasse 1, dossier 5, folio 18).

5. A. Troude, *Choix de Modèles de la Manufacture Nationale de Porcelaines de Sèvres Appartenant au Musée Céramique* (Paris, 1897), pl. 3.

6. Accession number XII 57–58.

7. Accession number 25.173.

8. Although earlier examples have been suggested, G. de Bellaigue states that it was due to a misreading by Sir Guy Francis Laking of the date letter R (1770) for an I (1761) on a pair of *vases à panneaux* in the British Royal Collection that has confused subsequent writers. G. F. Laking, *Sèvres Porcelain of Buckingham Palace and Windsor Castle* (London, n.d.), nos. 38–39. See also G. de Bellaigue, *Sèvres Porcelain from the Royal Collection* (London, 1979), p. 31.



Figure 1. Vase (*vase à panneaux*), front. Sèvres, circa 1766–1770. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 85.DE.219.



Figure 2. Back of vase, figure 1.

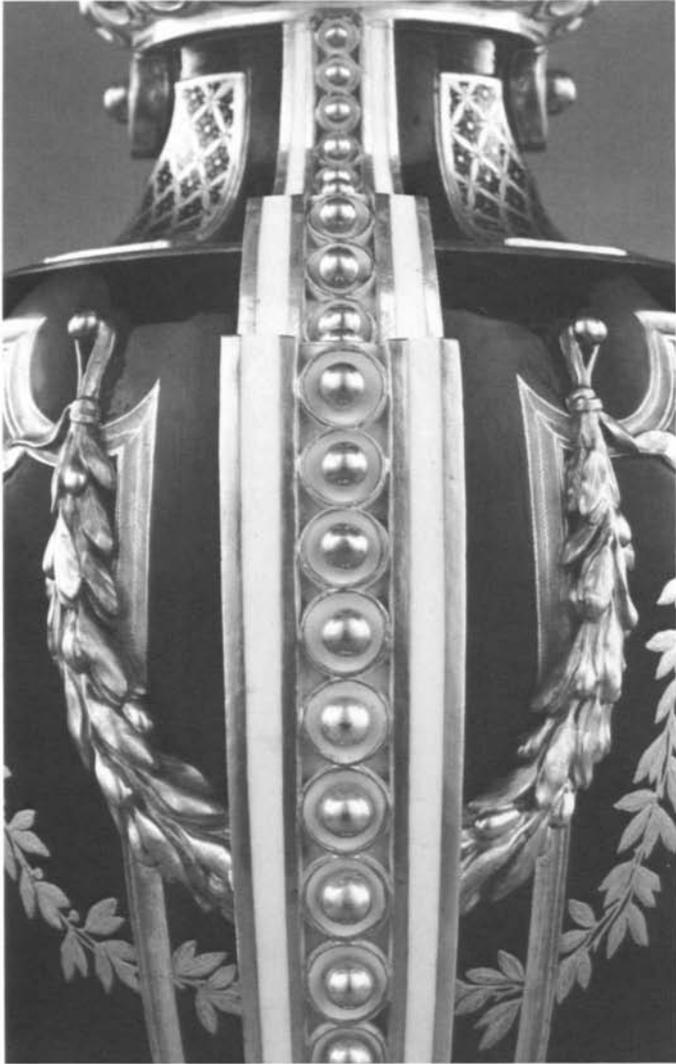


Figure 3. Detail of the side handle of vase, figure 1.

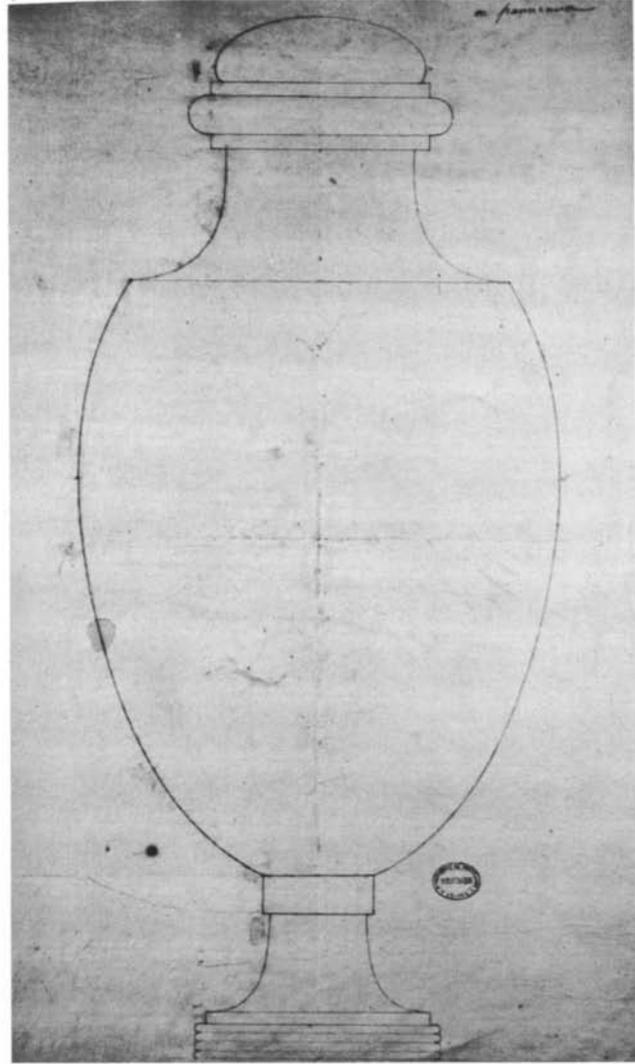


Figure 4. Drawing of the *vase à panneaux* shape. Sèvres, Archives de la Manufacture Nationale de Sèvres, R.1, 1.1, d.5, fol. 19. Photo: J. P. Hammond/MNS.

most likely described and sold as *vases d'ornements*, as many vases were, thus making them difficult to identify in the sales registers of the manufactory.⁹

The Getty Museum's soft-paste porcelain vase is painted with a *bleu nouveau* ground color with oval reserves on the front and back. In imitation of gilt bronze, burnished gilding decorates the pearls on the handles, the handles themselves, the laurel swags, the lower-body gadroons, and the reeding on the foot. The neck of the vase is decorated with a gilt lattice-and-floral pattern.¹⁰ Tooled gilding surrounds the front reserve of the body with a frame of two bands

wound with laurel leaves and ribbons at the four axes and surrounded by a second border of dots and diamonds. Above the reserve hang two gilded laurel branches tied together at the top with a ribbon bow. These branches continue around the vase and encircle the back reserve. The gilt gadroons below have alternating plain and smooth surfaces, as well as surfaces tooled with a "scribble" pattern.¹¹

The white reserve on the back of the vase is painted with a bouquet of flowers (fig. 8) composed of tulips, narcissi, primulas, roses, peonies, and ranunculuses. The compositional tonality of the bouquet is divided laterally between

9. I am grateful to Rosalind Savill for this information.

10. Of the numerous known examples of this model, the Getty Museum's *vase à panneaux* and a *vase à panneaux* in the Fine Arts

Museums of San Francisco (San Francisco 1926.186) appear to be the only instances of such neck decoration. They are more commonly gilded with a gilt laurel swag on the neck.

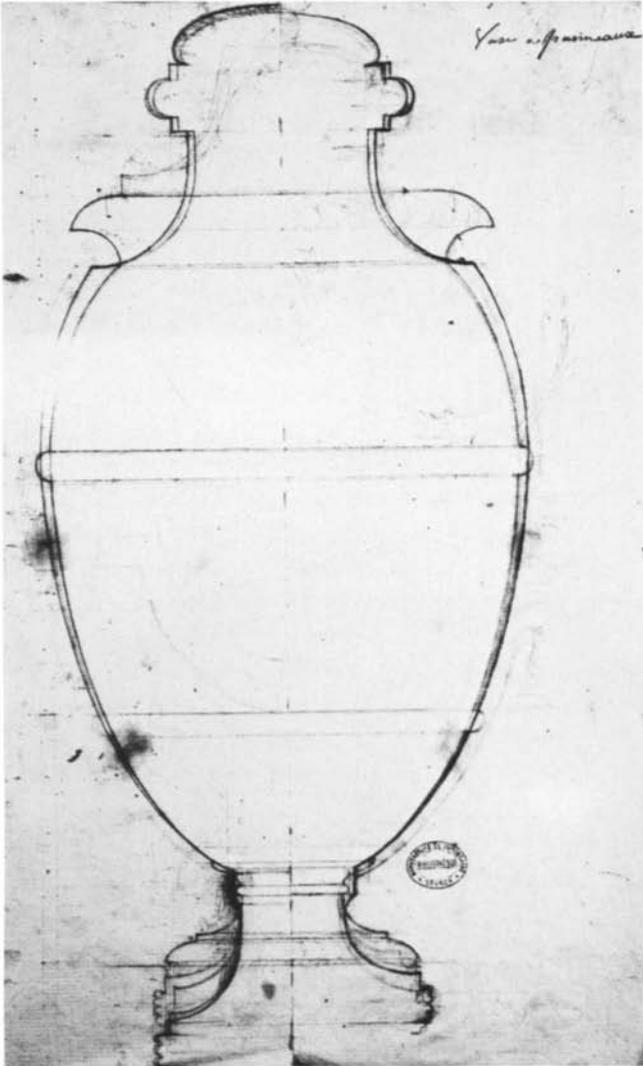


Figure 5. Drawing of the vase à panneaux shape. Sèvres, Archives de la Manufacture Nationale de Sèvres, R.1, 1.1, d.5, fol. 18. Photo: J. P. Hammond/MNS.



Figure 6. Plaster model of a vase à panneaux, deuxième grandeur. Sèvres, Archives de la Manufacture Nationale de Sèvres. Photo: J. P. Hammond/MNS.

the lighter tones on the left and the darker ones on the right. The predominant colors of the bouquet are mauve, purple, and pink, and certain areas are highlighted with pale blue, red, and yellow. Large bouquets, conjoined wreaths, and trophies were popular forms of vase decoration at Sèvres, usually for the back reserves.

The front reserve is painted in polychrome with a pastoral scene composed of a boy carrying wood, a milkmaid milking a cow, a young shepherdess, a donkey, a second cow, and two sheep (fig. 9). Although differing slightly in composition and scale, there is an etching preserved at



Figure 7. Detail of the incised mark from the interior lip of vase, figure 1.

11. Antoine d'Albis, Chimiste en Chef, Manufacture Nationale de Sèvres, has pointed out that this gilding is *travaillée au clou*.



Figure 8. Detail of back reserve of vase, figure 1.

Sèvres that probably served as the source for this scene (fig. 10).¹² The same etching also served as a model for the decoration of the front of a *vase à batons rompus*, now in the Musée National de Céramique, Sèvres (fig. 11).¹³ The identity of the artist responsible for this etching is not known, but it appears to have belonged to a suite of three prints originally printed in Holland before the plates were bought by the English print dealer Dubois.¹⁴

Both the Sèvres *vase à batons rompus* and the Getty *vase à panneaux* illustrate the artistic license taken by the painters at Sèvres. Although based on the same print, the front reserve compositions and treatment of the figures on the

vases differ slightly from each other and from the etching itself. It is interesting to note that, in the print, the shepherdess is depicted as a young woman whereas, on the Getty Museum vase, she is shown as a younger girl. This modification of the print follows the French tradition and taste for idyllic pastoral scenes. There is also the addition of a sheep and a woman milking a cow that do not appear in the etching. The scene on the Musée National de Céramique *vase à batons rompus* follows the etching more closely in its depiction of the shepherdess as a young woman but omits some of the animals and the boy carrying the wood. Such modifications and adaptations are indicative of the fact that it was not unusual for the painters at Sèvres to borrow, directly and indirectly, from a vast repertory of images created by other artists from previous times.

Although the etching cannot be firmly attributed to a particular artist, it is certain that we are dealing with an artist working in the manner of Nicolaes Berchem (1620–1683). Berchem worked with a standard repertory of figures and animals that were easily identified in the majority of his works. The shepherdess on the vase, for example, is very Berchem-like in her stance and attire (fig. 12). The boy carrying the wood, however, with his back to the viewer and moving into the scene, is not.¹⁵ Although the majority of the prints used at Sèvres as models were taken from paintings by Boucher, Huet, Teniers, and Lemoyne, there were also several prints of paintings by Berchem.

The identity of the artist responsible for painting the Getty Museum's vase is not known, but it is interesting to note that there is only one other pair of *vases à panneaux*, in the Kress Collection, that is decorated with pastoral scenes and enclosed within large cartouches rather than ovals.¹⁶ This pair is decorated with scenes of a girl milking a cow and a boy mounting a horse. Marine and military camp scenes were the more usual decorations on *vases à panneaux*. Although an attribution would be premature at this time, research will continue in order to identify the artist of the etching and the painter from Sèvres.

The J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu

12. I am grateful to Tamara Préaud, Directeur des Archives, Manufacture Nationale de Sèvres, for bringing this etching to my attention and providing me with the following information. The back of the etching is marked "Section P. S. 2. N° 19," which corresponds to the inventory of 1814. The back is also marked with "Porcelaines de Sèvres, P.f. N° 14, N° 192." This inscription refers to the *portefeuille* number and is certainly the eighteenth-century inventory reference.

13. The back reserve of this vase (Sèvres, Musée National de Céramique 25084) is painted with three conjoined wreaths of roses, cornflowers, and laurel, suspended from a bowknot. This decoration is similar to that on the backs of a pair of *vases à panneaux*, New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Kress Collection, 58.75.81a–c, 82a–c.

14. The Département des Estampes of the Bibliothèque Nationale

contains among its holdings examples from this suite with the acknowledgments in Dutch. I am grateful to Maxime Préaud, Conservateur, Département des Estampes, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, for this information.

15. I am grateful to Dr. Renate Trnek, Gemäldegalerie der Akademie der Bildenden Künste, Vienna, and to Dr. Thomas Kren, Curator, Department of Manuscripts, The J. Paul Getty Museum, for their comments on Berchem.

16. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Kress Collection, 58.75.83 a–b, 84 a–b. No. 2 in the appendix below. Illustrated, C. C. Dauterman, J. Parker, and E. A. Standen, *Decorative Art From the Samuel H. Kress Collection at the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York, 1964), pp. 220–221, figs. 170–173.



Figure 9. Detail of the front reserve of vase, figure 1.



Figure 10. Etching that served as a *modèle* for the front reserve. Sèvres, Archives de la Manufacture Nationale de Sèvres, Section P.S. 2. N° 19; P.f. N° 14, N° 192.



Figure 11. *Vase à batons rompus*. Sèvres, Musée National de Céramique 25084.



Figure 12. Nicolaes Berchem, *Bergère trayant une chèvre*. Paris, Musée du Louvre 1043. Photo: Réunion des Musées Nationaux.

APPENDIX

In addition to the Museum's vase, there are ten known pairs of *vases à panneaux* and seven known single examples. Of these twenty-eight examples, including the Getty Museum's vase, the majority are of the largest size, *première grandeur*, and have *bleu nouveau* ground color. The ten pairs are as follows:

1. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Kress Collection, 58.75.81a–c, 82a–c; painted with military camp scenes, the reverse with three conjoined wreaths; *bleu nouveau* ground color; painted with the crossed Ls within the stem foot (H: 46.2 cm [1' 6³/₁₆"]).

2. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Kress Collection, 58.75.83a–b, 84a–b; painted with pastoral scenes, the reverse with two conjoined wreaths; both within large cartouches; *bleu nouveau* ground color; unmarked (H: 33.4 cm [1' 1¹/₈"]). As stated previously, this is the only other pair of *vases à panneaux* painted with pastoral scenes.

3. England, The Royal Collection; painted with marine scenes, the reverse with three conjoined wreaths; *bleu nouveau* ground color; one of the vases is incised within the neck with a Q in script and painted with the crossed Ls and the date letter O for 1767 (H: 47.6 cm [1' 6³/₄"]).¹⁷

4. England, The Royal Collection; painted with marine scenes; the reverse shows a trophy with fishing implements and nets; *bleu nouveau* ground color with *oeil-de-perdrix* gilded decoration; painted with the date letter R for 1770 (H: 32.4 cm [1' 1³/₄"]).¹⁸

5. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, R.B.K. 17514; painted with military camp scenes, the reverse with trophies, green ground color; unmarked. (H: 32 cm [1' 1¹/₂"]).

6. Sèvres, Musée National de Céramique 25.173; painted with marine scenes, the reverse with trophies, all within large cartouches; *bleu nouveau* ground color; painted with the crossed Ls enclosing the date letter N for 1766 (H: 32 cm [1' 1¹/₂"]).

7. London, The Wallace Collection XII 57–58; painted with military camp scenes, the reverse with three conjoined wreaths within large cartouches; *bleu nouveau* ground color; painted with the crossed Ls enclosing the date letter N for 1766 (H: 33 cm [1' 1"], H: 32.6 cm [1' 7⁸/₁₆"]).

8. London, Victoria and Albert Museum 785–1882, 785A–1882; painted with marine scenes, the reverse with military trophies; *bleu nouveau* ground color with *oeil-de-perdrix* gilded decoration; painted with the blue crossed Ls

(H: 28 cm [11"]).

9. Jerusalem, Israel Museum 120.75 a–b; painted with putti in landscape, the reverse with bouquets of flowers; *bleu nouveau* ground color; unmarked (H: 44 cm [1' 6⁵/₁₆"]).

10. Paris market, 1981; painted with a vase of flowers and a basket of flowers, the reverse with trophies; pale green ground color with *oeil-de-perdrix* gilded decoration; painted with the crossed Ls enclosing the date letters CC for 1780; one incised *Vase panneau p. 1 g r* (H: 45 cm [1' 5³/₄"]).¹⁹

The seven single examples are as follows:

1. London, The Wallace Collection IV A 18; painted with a marine scene, the reverse with a bouquet of flowers; *bleu nouveau* ground color; incised *F* (H: 47.5 cm [1' 6³/₄"]).

2. London, The Wallace Collection XXV C 33; painted with a marine scene and a marine trophy; *bleu nouveau* ground color; incised *10* in the neck and *41* on the foot (H: 49.5 cm [1' 8³/₄"]). This vase forms a garniture with a pair of *vases antiques ferrés* (The Wallace Collection C 300–2).

3. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Kress Collection, 58.75.80a–c; painted with an allegorical figure of Victory, the reverse with a bouquet of flowers; *bleu nouveau* ground color; unmarked (H: 48.2 cm [1' 7"]).

4. England, The Royal Collection; painted with a scene of "Le Concert Russien," the reverse with a bouquet of flowers; *bleu céleste* ground color; painted with the crossed Ls enclosing the date letter Z for 1777; incised *J* and *8* in script (H: 47.3 cm [1' 6⁵/₈"]).²⁰

5. San Francisco, The Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco 1927.186; painted *incrusté* with a floral bouquet, the reverse with three conjoined wreaths; *bleu Falloit* ground color with *oeil-de-perdrix* gilded decoration; unidentified incised mark (H: 49.2 cm [1' 7³/₁₆"]). This vase à panneaux forms a garniture with a pair of *vases oeuf* in the same collection, 1927.184,5 and 6.

6. London, Edward Steinkopff collection; painted with a mother and her four children, the reverse with bouquets of flowers; *bleu nouveau* ground color; unmarked (H: 42 cm [1' 4¹/₂"]).²¹

7. London, Alfred de Rothschild collection; painted with a military camp scene, the reverse with a bouquet of flowers; *bleu nouveau* ground color; unmarked (H: 48 cm [1' 6⁷/₈"]).²²

17. Laking (supra, note 8), p. 67, nos. 92–93, pl. 32; de Bellaigue (supra, note 8), pp. 30–31, no. 10.

18. Laking (supra, note 8), p. 34, nos. 38–39, pl. 11.

19. Ader, Picard, Tajan, Paris, December 9, 1981, lot 275.

20. Laking (supra, note 8), p. 55, no. 70, pl. 23; de Bellaigue (supra, note 8), pp. 45–46, no. 33.

21. Christie's, London, May 22–23, 1935, lot 10.

22. Davis (supra, note 2).

A Pair of Sèvres Vases: From the Collection of Sir Richard Wallace to the J. Paul Getty Museum

Rosalind Savill

J. Paul Getty's first pair of Sèvres vases (figs. 1a–b), acquired in 1938, was a surprising choice.¹ They are of hard-paste porcelain, rather than the more favored soft paste and without the brilliant ground colors usually associated with the factory. But they are rare, both in form and decoration, and a credit to his discernment as a collector.

The model for the vases, of bulbous form with a low foot and a slender, collared neck, has elaborate applied decoration consisting of two sculpted goat's-head handles, draped goatskins around the lower part of the vase, and garlands of flowers suspended from the neck. The white ground is painted and gilded on one side with a basket of flowers suspended from a ribbon bow and on the other with a cartouche of silvered trelliswork (blackened by oxidization), scrolls enclosing a vase of flowers, perched exotic birds, and floral garlands. Other decorative details include flying birds, butterflies, and insects.

Both vases bear the factory mark of the crossed Ls surmounted by a crown denoting hard paste, and the date letters AA for 1778. They are also marked IN for the gilder Jean Chauveaux *jeune* (active at Sèvres 1765–1802), and one bears what may be the remains of the .F. associated with the painter and gilder Fallot (active at Sèvres 1773–1790) (fig. 1c).

Vases with goat's-head handles were first recorded at Sèvres in 1762, and a number of different models were produced.² These range from small biscuit examples to

large potpourri vases and include another version that was acquired by the Getty Museum in 1982.³ The different types are difficult to distinguish in the factory documents, where most of them were called *vases à tête de bouc* or *vases à tête de bélier*, but the model under discussion is known from a label on the plaster model as *vase bouc du Barry*.⁴ This title is confirmed by a reference to a “vase du bary a tete de bouc” in 1779.⁵

The association with Madame du Barry suggests that the model was introduced between December 1768, when she became Louis XV's official mistress, and 1774, when she departed from court life at Versailles following his death. The most likely date is 1771, when a *vase à tête de bouc* (in three sizes) appeared among the new models in the factory's stock list.⁶ This was the year in which Madame du Barry was most honored at Sèvres: other new models included the *vase du Barry à guirlandes* and a *vase du Barry* (of the fifth size).⁷ In addition, her biscuit bust was first recorded that year, and she took delivery of the dinner service designed for her by Augustin de Saint Aubin.⁸

The model was produced in four versions: a) with the goat's heads and the collared neck (fig. 2);⁹ b) with the goat's heads, draped goatskins, and the collared neck (fig. 3);¹⁰ c) with both heads and skins but without the collar at the neck (fig. 4);¹¹ and d) with heads, skins, collar, and garlands of flowers in relief (fig. 1). It was made in hard and soft paste, but only the hard-paste examples are known

The author is grateful to Gillian Wilson, Tamara Préaud, and Carolyn Gay Nieda for help with this article.

1. Accession number 70.DE.99; Mortimer L. Schiff sale, Christie's, London, June 22, 1938, lot 26.

2. Manufacture Nationale de Sèvres, Archives (hereafter MNS), I 7, 1763 (for 1762), f.5.

3. Accession number 82.DE.36; see Adrian Sassoon, “Acquisitions by the Department of Decorative Arts, 1982,” *GettyMusJ* 11 (1983), pp. 54–56, no. 11.

4. Albert Troude, *Choix de Modèles de la Manufacture Nationale de Porcelaine de Sèvres . . .* (Paris [1897]), pl. 98.

5. MNS, Va 5 (Deperrai and David père).

6. MNS, I 8, 1772 (for 1771), f.7. It has been suggested that the model is the one in the stock list for 1767 (I 7, 1768 [for 1767], f.6)—see Marcelle Brunet and Tamara Préaud, *Sèvres, des Origines à Nos Jours* (Fribourg, 1978), p. 107, pl. 47—but this is less likely than 1771 because

Madame du Barry had not been officially received at court in 1767. The 1767 reference has also been claimed for the model with goat's-head handles in the Getty Museum—see Sassoon (supra, note 3) and Geoffrey de Bellaigue, *Sèvres Porcelain from the Royal Collection*, ex. cat. (London, The Queen's Gallery, 1979–1980), pp. 111–112, no. 116—and this is more probable.

7. MNS, I 8, 1772 (for 1771), f.7; for the *vase du Barry à guirlandes*, see Brunet and Préaud (supra, note 6), p. 188, fig. 192, and de Bellaigue (supra, note 6), p. 106, no. 111.

8. MNS, I 8, 1772 (for 1771), f.7, and Vy 5, August 29, 1771, f.17r.

9. Paris, Musée du Louvre OA 6237; see Brunet and Préaud (supra, note 6), p. 107, pl. 47.

10. Troude (supra, note 4), pl. 98 (*vase bouc du Barry B*). For a soft-paste example with a blue ground, painted with baskets of flowers, see Edouard Garnier, *La porcelaine tendre de Sèvres* (Paris [1889]), pl. 42.

11. Troude (supra, note 4), pl. 98 (*vase bouc du Barry A*).



Figure 1a. Pair of vases *bouc du Barry*. Front. French (Sèvres), 1778. Hard-paste porcelain, H: 29.5 cm (11 $\frac{5}{8}$ "). Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 70.DE.991-2.



Figure 1b. Back of the pair of vases bouc du Barry, figure 1a.



Figure 1c. Marks on the base of the vase on the right in figure 1a.

with the garlands of flowers. Hard-paste copies of the soft-paste version with heads, skins, and collar (b) were made by Samson of Paris in the late nineteenth century.¹²

In addition to the Getty Museum vases, examples of the model include pairs in the Musée du Louvre, formerly in the René Fribourg collection, and in Earl Spencer's collection at Althorp. Those in the Louvre and from the Fribourg collection are of soft paste. The Louvre pair, of version (a) with only the heads and the collar, is painted with a pale blue *pointillé* ground and baskets of flowers; they bear neither a painter's mark nor a date letter (fig. 2).¹³ The Fribourg pair, of version (b) with the heads, skins, and collar, forms a garniture with a central *vase à feuilles de laurier*; they have a blue ground, are painted with scenes of figures in landscapes at the front, and with flowers at the back (fig. 5).¹⁴ The pair at Althorp, of hard paste, is of the

12. Christie's, London, March 3, 1980, lot 37. The hard-paste version was also used for an agate and gilt-bronze clock; see Sotheby Parke Bernet, Monaco, May 26–27, 1980, lot 711.

13. See *supra*, note 9.

14. René Fribourg sale, Sotheby's, London, October 15, 1963, V, lot 455.

15. See R. J. Charleston, "Sèvres and Other French Porcelain in Earl Spencer's Collection at Althorp," *The Connoisseur* 173 (February, 1970), pp. 77–86, fig. 11. The mark was read as M for 1765, but the documents show that it is AA for 1778 (see *infra*, note 23). For another example, see Dr. Annella Brown sale, Sotheby Parke Bernet, New York, April 23, 1977, lot 56 (blue ground with marbling).

16. For examples, see MNS, Vj 1, f.290r–292r (Bailly and Legrand), f.356r (Lécot), and f.364r (Decambot).

same version (d) as the Getty Museum vases; they are painted with chinoiserie sea battles by Jean-Jacques Dieu (active at Sèvres intermittently from 1777–1810) and gilded by Chauveaux *jeune*.¹⁵

The unusual decoration of the Getty Museum vases is found on dated pieces of Sèvres between 1776 and 1779. The lack of a ground color is typical of hard-paste products made in the 1770s, when for technical reasons the newly introduced paste could not take the earlier soft-paste ground colors. It was not until later that the novel red, black, and simulated-wood grounds were perfected for this material. The use of silver, in contrast to gilding, appears in the painters' records in 1778 and 1779;¹⁶ it tarnished easily, possibly prompting the use of platinum as an alternative in 1779.¹⁷ Antoine d'Albis, *chef du laboratoire* at Sèvres, has recently discovered that at this time the gilding on hard paste was applied before the enamel colors; decoration was first outlined in gilding and colored subsequently.¹⁸ Usually this combined technique was carried out by an artist who was both a painter and a gilder; a separate gilder's mark probably identifies the gilder of the sculptural details, the neck, and the foot.

The source of the painted decoration on the Getty Museum vases has not been identified, but it echoes contemporary designs by J. B. Huet (1745–1811) for painted papers at the Manufacture de Jouy (for example *Les Quatres Portes du Monde* and *Le Couronnement de la Rosière*).¹⁹

Although barely recognizable and appearing on only one of the Getty Museum vases, the mark of Fallot is not unexpected with this decoration. He painted similar subjects on other marked pieces that may be traced in the factory's documents. A garniture of three vases dated 1776 (fig. 6),²⁰ corresponds to an entry in his overtime records for that year, when he received 360 *livres* for "3 vases oeufs en arabesque."²¹ A pair of vases in the Wallace Collection (fig. 7) may be from the set of "3 vases Paris nouvelle forme en blanc, arabesques oiseaux," which Fallot decorated on April 1, 1779.²² This evidence, together with the probability that Dieu received 60 *livres* each for decorating the pair of vases at Althorp,²³ may help to identify the Getty

17. For examples, see MNS, Vj 1, f.152v (Sinsson) and f.164r (Le Bel).

18. I am grateful to Antoine d'Albis for this unpublished information.

19. Paris, Musée des Arts Décoratifs 9753 and D 9746; also see D 9744 and D 9752.

20. A photograph of the vases, bearing this information, is in the Wallace Collection, London; they were also illustrated in an advertisement for Frank Partridge and Son, *The Connoisseur* 145 (June, 1960).

21. MNS, F 18.

22. MNS, Vj 1, f.354r.

23. MNS, Vj 1, f.119v (August 10, 1778); see also V1 1, f.34r (December 8, 1778).



Figure 2. Pair of Sèvres vases. French (Sèvres), circa 1775. Soft-paste porcelain, H: 30 cm (11³/₁₆""). Paris, Musée du Louvre OA 6237.



Figure 3. Model of a vase bouc du Barry B. French (Sèvres). Plaster, H: 34 cm (1' 1³/₈""). Sèvres, Manufacture Nationale de Sèvres.

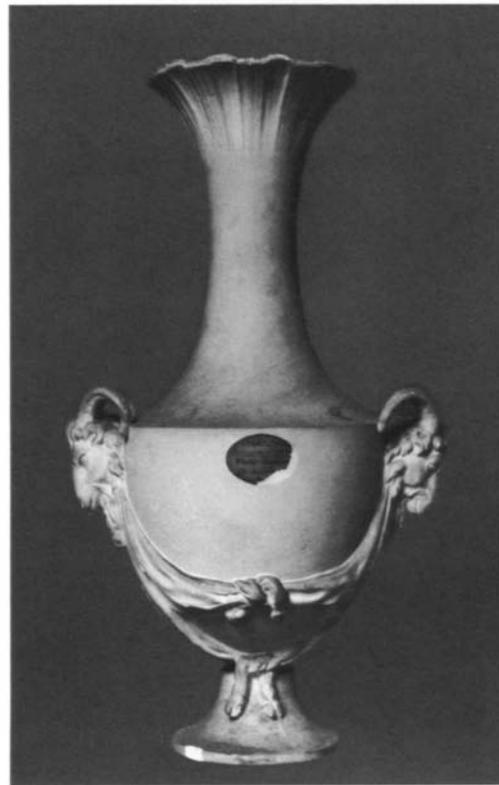


Figure 4. Model for a vase bouc du Barry A. French (Sèvres). Plaster, H: 34 cm (1' 1³/₈""). Sèvres, Manufacture Nationale de Sèvres.



Figure 5. Garniture of vases. French (Sèvres), circa 1775. Soft-paste porcelain, center vase H: 39.5 cm (1' 3½"); flanking vases H: 30 cm (11¾"). Formerly René Fribourg collection. Photo: Courtesy of Sotheby Parke Bernet.

Museum vases in the documents. The overtime records for 1778 show that Fallot was also paid 60 *livres* each for two vases,²⁴ a figure suggesting that they too were *vases à tête de bouc du Barry*, and these appear beside his name in the kiln records on November 16 described as “2 vases à testes de Bouc, corbeilles oiseau.”²⁵ This reference could apply to the Getty Museum vases.

The Sèvres sales records may indicate that the vases were bought by a member of the court. The kiln records for 1778 show that nine examples of this model, almost certainly of hard paste and with similar types of decoration, were fired between August and November. In addition to those deco-

rated by Fallot and Dieu, there was a set of three painted by Lécot (active at Sèvres intermittently from 1763–1800) and a pair with gilded monograms by Chauveaux *jeune*.²⁶ Because it is known that a pair of *vases à tête de bouc* presented by Louis XVI to Marie Antoinette's brother, the emperor of Austria, in 1777 cost 360 *livres* per vase,²⁷ it is likely that the 1778 examples carried the same price. There are thirteen unspecified vases listed at 360 *livres* in the sales records between August 1778 and December 1779, and Madame Elisabeth and the duchesse de Mazarin each bought pairs in 1778.²⁸ In 1779 nine examples were delivered to Versailles: during the course of that year, the king

24. MNS, F 20. The documentation concerning the Getty Museum vases was first researched by Geoffrey de Bellaigue and communicated in a letter to the Museum dated April 5, 1983 (the letter never arrived).

25. MNS, V1 1, f.31r.

26. MNS, V1 1, f.21v (Lécot, August 24, 1778) and f.24r (Chauveaux *jeune*, September 15, 1778).

27. MNS, Vy 6, f.207v (April 30, 1977). The reason for supposing that these were also of hard paste with gilding is that they were pre-

sented together with a pair of *vases Bachelier* of the first size, and there is a hard-paste pair of *vases Bachelier* with a white ground and gilding in the Hofburg Palace, Vienna, today.

28. MNS, Vy 7, f.126r and f.119v (November 28, 1778); in both instances the pairs seem to have been the smaller vases in a set of three, possibly precluding them from being among the nine *vases à tête de bouc* fired in 1778.



Figure 6. Garniture of vases painted by Fallot. French (Sèvres), 1776. Hard-paste porcelain, center vase H: 45.7 cm (1' 6"); flanking vases H: 36.8 cm (1' 2½"). Formerly Garbisch Collection; Sotheby Parke Bernet, New York, May 17, 1980, lot 179. Photo: Courtesy of the Trustees, Wallace Collection.



Figure 7. Pair of vases painted by Fallot. French (Sèvres), circa 1779. Hard-paste porcelain, H: 39.4 cm (1' 3½"). London, The Wallace Collection C331-2. Photo: Courtesy of the Trustees, Wallace Collection.

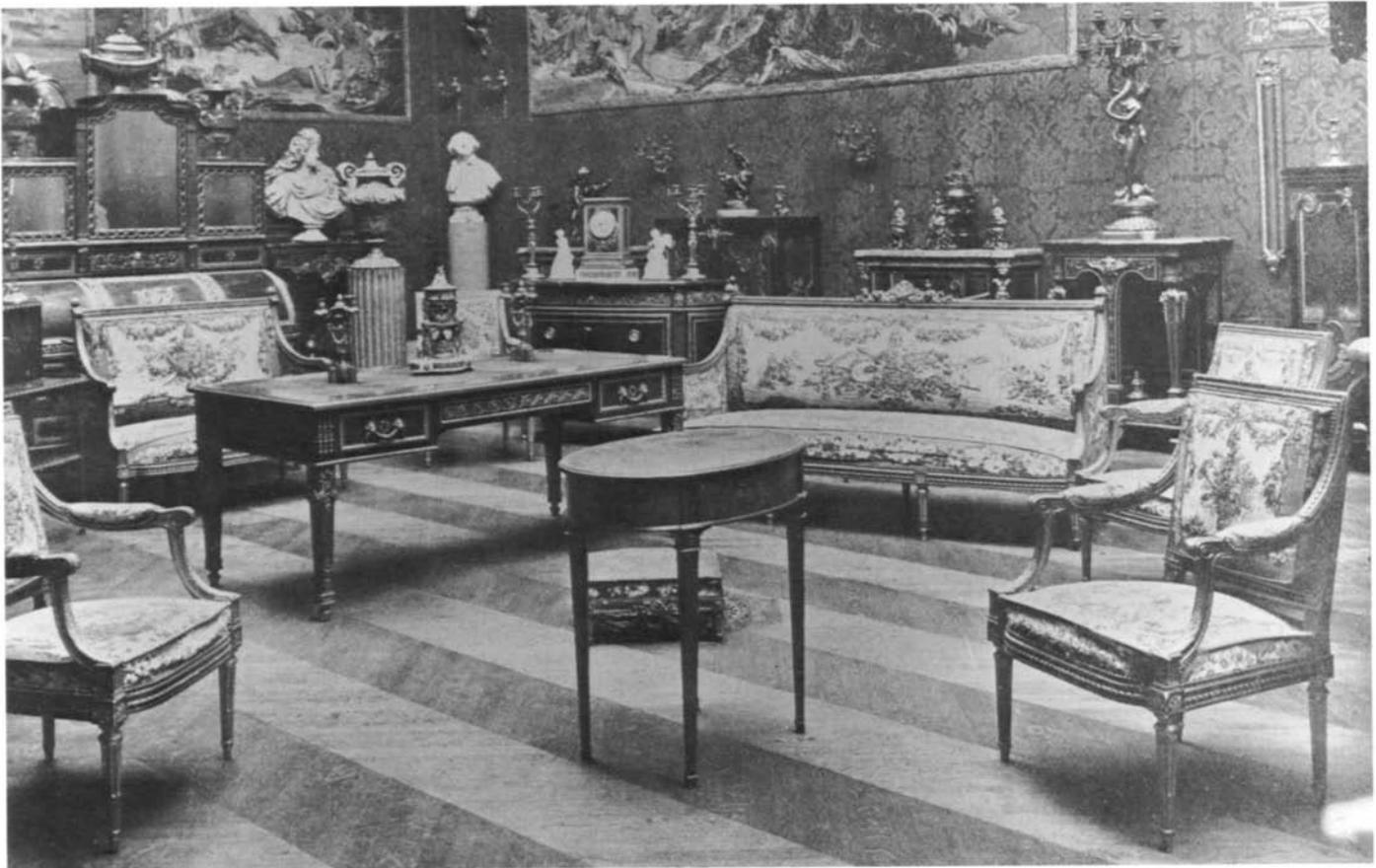


Figure 8. The Grand Gallery, 2 rue Laffitte, Paris, circa 1900. Photo: Courtesy of the Trustees, Wallace Collection.

purchased a pair and a set of three (the latter may have been those decorated by Lécot);²⁹ his aunt, Madame Victoire, bought a pair;³⁰ and an unnamed member of the court purchased another pair on December 24.³¹ Since the Getty Museum vases do not appear to have been listed in the kiln records until November 1778, it is likely that they were among the pairs sold in 1779.

Labels on nineteenth-century stands of marble and gilt bronze prove that these vases belonged to Sir Richard Wallace (1818–1890).³² They were probably bought in Paris after 1870, for they were not included in his consignment of Sèvres sent from Paris to London in 1870 (for safekeeping during the Franco-Prussian War). They passed to Lady

Wallace (1819–1897), who bequeathed them, together with all her husband's Paris collections and property, to Sir John Murray Scott (1846–1912). (Only those works of art in Hertford House, London, in 1897 became the Wallace Collection.)

On Murray Scott's death, the vases appeared in the inventory of one of those properties: in the Petit Boudoir of 2 Rue Laffitte (for the Grand Gallery, circa 1900, see fig. 8).³³ He left the apartment and its contents to Lady Sackville, who sold the works of art to the dealer Jacques Seligman; he removed them to New York in 1916–1917.³⁴ Seligman probably sold the vases to Mortimer L. Schiff, at whose London sale J. Paul Getty bought them in 1938.³⁵

The Wallace Collection
London

29. MNS, Vy 7, f.178v.

30. MNS, Vy 7, f.181v.

31. MNS, Vy 7, f.190r.

32. On the labels are the notations 29 1 and 29 2; I 12 and R. Wallace; it is not known what the numbers represent. The stands have now been removed.

33. Inventory of 2 Rue Laffitte, Paris, 1912, 51 (the Wallace Col-

lection archives; they appear among the "objets d'[i]nterret artistique historique et national" where they were described as "Deux vases en porcelaine sur base carrée en marbre et bronze prisés mille cinq cent frs.")

34. Information kindly supplied by John McKee.

35. See supra, note 1.

Francesco Maffei: Newly Discovered Scenes from Tasso's *Jerusalem Delivered*

M. Roy Fisher

Rinaldo and the Mirror-Shield and *Rinaldo Conquering the Enchanted Forest*, two scenes from Tasso by the spirited and captivating Vicentine artist Francesco Maffei (circa 1605–1660), have only recently come to light (figs. 1 and 2).¹ Their discovery and subsequent acquisition by the Getty Museum provide the occasion for this brief note.

Until relatively recent times, the traditional view of the Venetian seicento had been that it was something of a historical hiatus—a period of winding down from the great century of Titian, Tintoretto, and Veronese, a time of hibernation until the Venetian genius would again be roused from slumber with the likes of Tiepolo, Guardi, and Canaletto. In fact, Venice was a lively center for painting during the seventeenth century, but it was dominated by a trio of outsiders, Domenico Fetti, Johann Liss, and Bernardo Strozzi, all of whom came there in the late 1620s. Nonetheless, the Veneto did produce at least one remarkable indigenous master, for Francesco Maffei can fairly be said to have sprung from the *genius loci*. Despite competition from the great non-Venetian artists, he remains one of the most original artistic personalities of the entire seventeenth century in northern Italy, whose unique accomplishment was the synthesis of late Venetian Mannerism, with its special emphasis on the chromatic, and the unleashed pictorial energy of the Baroque.²

Maffei was born in Vicenza, probably in 1605, and trained there under the Mannerist painter Alessandro Maganza. His production begins in the 1620s with a signed work of 1626 for the Oratory of San Nicola di Tolentino, Vicenza, but despite his numerous works, the lack of documentary data has left him with an uncertain chronology.

He was active in Vicenza for most of his career, leaving intermittently to work in other centers but always returning to his native city. He traveled to Venice after 1638 for an undetermined period to complete projects left unfinished by Santo Peranda, and to Rovigo and Brescia. Several major commissions in the latter center, among them the masterful *Translation of the Bodies of the Bishop Saints Paul and Anastasius* (Brescia, Duomo Vecchio), attest to a prolonged sojourn there, probably in the late 1640s and early 1650s. This Brescian experience was especially decisive for Maffei's mature development—his singularly Mannerist solutions derive not only from late sixteenth-century Venice but from the emotional and hallucinatory art of Lombardy as well, from Morazzone, Cerano, and Francesco del Cairo. Maffei left Vicenza in 1657 and settled in Padua, where he died of the plague in 1660.

Maffei worked in a decidedly Baroque key—the atmospheric coloring of Liss certainly had an effect on the young artist, as did the intimate poetry of Fetti—yet his works are informed throughout with the language of late sixteenth-century Venetian Mannerism. The figural types and exaggerated lighting of Jacopo Bassano are strongly in evidence even in Maffei's mature work, such as his remarkable *Crucifixion Supported by God the Father* (Vicenza, Church of San Nicola), circa 1651, or the *Sacrifice of Melchizedek* (Venice, Count Ludovico Foscari). Equally essential to his style are the tortile and attenuated forms, the sudden lunges into pictorial space, and the instantaneous brushwork associated with Tintoretto, to whom, in a sense, Maffei's work stands as a kind of continual Baroque homage.³

The subjects of the paintings by Maffei in the Getty

1. Accession numbers 85.PC.3211–2. Oil on copper, each 34.4 x 30.5 cm (1' 1½"). Beyond the fact that the paintings come from an unidentified English collection, their earlier provenance is still to be established. Acquired in 1985 from the London firm of Somerville & Simpson.

2. The first modern scholar to study Maffei seriously was G. Fiocco, "Francesco Maffei," *Dedalo* 5 (1924), pp. 219–250. For our full understanding of the artist, however, credit lies with N. Ivanoff, whose enthusiastic scholarship resulted in the first monograph on the artist, *Francesco Maffei* (Padua, 1942; 2nd ed., 1947), and the essential exhibition and catalogue, *Catalogo della mostra di Francesco Maffei*

(Vicenza, 1956). For further bibliography, see G. Donzelli and G. M. Pilo, in *I pittori dei seicento veneto* (Florence, 1967), pp. 257–259; a recent comprehensive and well-illustrated study is R. Pallucchini, in *La pittura veneziana del seicento* (Milan, 1981), vol. 1, pp. 185–196, vol. 2, figs. 561–660.

3. The importance of sixteenth-century Venetian painting in Maffei's artistic expression has been much commented upon. The connection with Bassano was observed by G. Fiocco in his seminal study of 1924, *supra*, note 2, p. 224, and by W. Arslan, in *I concetti di luminismo e la pittura veneta barocca* (Milan, 1946), p. 27. The artist's dependence on Tintoretto and Veronese is noted throughout the studies of Ivanoff, and



Figure 1. Francesco Maffei, *Rinaldo and the Mirror-Shield*, circa 1650–1655. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 85.PC.321.1.



Figure 2. Francesco Maffei, *Rinaldo Conquering the Enchanted Forest*, circa 1650–1655. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 85.PC.321.2.

Museum are taken from Torquato Tasso's epic *Jerusalem Delivered* (*Gerusalemme Liberata*, 1581), the literary masterpiece of the Renaissance that was, from its own day until the eighteenth century, a wellspring of inspiration for innumerable artists. Tasso's work is a poetic celebration of the First Crusade of 1099: as Godfrey of Bouillon besieges the city of Jerusalem, the forces of Hell rise up in a desperate attempt to halt the Christian knights and by means of sorcery and enchantment lay obstacles in their way. Throughout the poem, running counter to the Christian ideal and ever threatening to subvert it, is the theme of chivalric love. The knight Rinaldo is held in thrall by the beautiful sorceress Armida on the Fortunate Isles, where, abandoning his true moral self, he lives a life of easy sensuality, having completely forgotten his duties.

Meanwhile, seeking timber with which to build siege towers and war machines, the Christian soldiers enter a nearby forest, an impenetrable place of fearful magic, where terrifying darkness is relieved only by monstrous apparitions. Without Rinaldo, whose role is that of a Christian Achilles,⁴ the panic-stricken warriors are helpless against their mysterious enemies and cannot achieve the goal of the Crusade.

In the first of the paintings, *Rinaldo and the Mirror-Shield* (fig. 1), Maffei depicts the episode from canto 16 in which the knights Carlo and Ubaldo are sent with a gleaming magic shield to return Rinaldo to the cause. From a hiding place they observe Armida with her captive, languid and corrupted by soft pleasures. When the sorceress leaves her garden, the knights approach Rinaldo, and the flash of their weapons and armor reawaken his military soul:

... when the glorious light
Of their bright harness glistred in his eies,
His noble sprite awaked at that sight,
His bloud began to warme, his hart to rise,
Though drunke with ease deuoid of wonted might,
On sleepe till then his weakned vertue lies,
Ubaldo forward stept, and to him heild
Of dimonds cleere, that pure and pretious sheild.
Vpon the targe his lookes amas'd he bent,
And therein all his wanton habite spide,
His ciuet, baulme, and perfumes redolent,
How from his lockes they smoakt, and mantle wide,
His sword that many a Pagan stout had shent,

the interaction with his own contemporaries, such as Strozzi and Liss, has been pointed out by G. M. Pilo, "La pala per San Pietro Martire di Padova ed altri inediti di Francesco Maffei," *Arte antica e moderna* 13/16 (1961), pp. 393–395.

4. This characterization of Rinaldo was first made by R. W. Lee, "Armida's Abandonment: A Study in Tasso iconography before 1700," in *De Artibus Opuscula* 40 (New York, 1961), p. 335.

5. The lines from Tasso are quoted from the splendid heroic verse translation by Edward Fairfax, first published in 1600, K. M. Lea and

Bewrapt with flowres, hung idlie by his side,
So nicely decked, that it seemed the knight
Wore it for fashion sake, but not for fight.

(16.29–30)⁵

In the scene from canto 18, *Rinaldo Conquering the Enchanted Forest* (fig. 2), the hero, having rejoined the holy expedition, enters the enchanted forest, whose aspect is now magically benign. It is bedewed and fragrant, a sylvan paradise from within whose trees hundreds of nymphs appear and surround the warrior. A great myrtle tree rends itself in two, and out of it appears Armida, who feigns an impassioned appeal to renew their love. When Rinaldo approaches the myrtle, his sword unsheathed,

... she thither start,
Before him stept, embrast the plant and cride,
'Ah, neuer do me such a spitefull part,
To cut my tree, this forrests ioy and pride,
Put vp thy sword, else pierce therewith the hart
Of thy forsaken and despis'd *Armide*;
For through this brest, and through this hart (vnkind)
To this faire tree thy sword shall passage find.'

(18.34)

Unwavering, Rinaldo strikes the tree as the air is filled with moans and monsters and harsh storms:

... he feard them nought,
But on the myrtle smote with all his might,
That groaned like liuing soules to death nie brought...
But yet his arme grew neither weake nor slow,
Nor of that furie heed or care he tooke,
Till low to earth, the wounded tree downe bended;
Then fled the spirits all, the charmes all ended.

(18.36–37)

The enchantments conquered, the high enterprise of the epic can at last be fulfilled. Heaven triumphs in the taking of the Sepulchre of Christ, and the sacred city of Jerusalem is delivered from the hands of the pagans.

The artist's choice of episodes within the story is uncommon; neither scene appears in the editions of the *Liberata* by Tasso's first illustrator, Benardo Castello (1557–1629), and they are rarely utilized by the later illustrators. Rather than the moment of the hero's self-revelation, the preeminent choice of artists is to show him in his love-weakened state,

T. M. Gang, eds., *Godfrey of Bulloigne: A Critical Edition of Edward Fairfax's Translation of Tasso's Gerusalemme Liberata* . . . (Oxford and New York, 1981).

6. For an illustration, see R. W. Lee, "Observations on the First Illustrations of Tasso's *Gerusalemme Liberata*," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 125 (October 1981), p. 354, fig. 24. For a recent discussion of Mona and other Tasso illustrators, see *Torquato Tasso tra letteratura, musica, teatro, e arti figurative*, A. Buzzoni, ed. (Bologna, 1985), pp. 85–139.



Figure 3. Filippo Zaniberti, *Rinaldo Conquering the Enchanted Forest*, mid-seventeenth century. Munich, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen 256.



Figure 4. Francesco Maffei, *Orpheus and Eurydice*, circa 1650–1655. Rome, Accademia dei Lincei. Photo: Fratelli Alinari/Art Resource, New York 52956.

as he and Armida are discovered lazing in their pleasure garden. The scene of Rinaldo about to smite Armida is, similarly, rarely depicted. One early instance is in a set of drawings of 1580, obviously intended for but never executed as engraved illustrations, by the Ferrarese Domenico Mona.⁶ Interestingly, another example of the scene is to be found in a painting by a rather obscure and somewhat older contemporary of Maffei's, Filippo Zaniberti (1585–1636), a Brescian working mainly in Venice and a pupil of Peranda's, whose work Maffei had been summoned to Venice to complete. In the painting by Zaniberti, the arrangement of the figures is reversed, but the scene is conceived in very similar terms (fig. 3).⁷

Small paintings are unusual in Maffei's oeuvre and at first sight they almost have the appearance of bozzetti. However, contemporary records provide a precedent: two small paintings by Maffei, depicting Ovidian subjects, *Pan and Syrinx* and *Apollo and Daphne*, now lost, were catalogued as of 1650 in the Vicentine collection of Girolamo Gualdo.⁸ The Getty Museum's scenes from Tasso—also small coppers—almost certainly date from about the same time or slightly later, perhaps in the early 1650s, but in the absence

of clear outlines for Maffei's chronology, a more precise dating remains impossible. There is also a significant connection with another work of the artist: the central figure of Ubaldo in the mirror-shield episode reappears, in nearly identical pose and costume, as Orpheus in Maffei's *Orpheus and Eurydice* (Rome, Accademia dei Lincei), unquestionably a painting of the same moment (fig. 4).

The Getty panels are executed in the artist's most sparkling style, with flashes of brilliant color and light that fuse the loosely rendered figures with their settings. By means of an exciting interplay between equilibrium and imbalance, Maffei's forms take on a driving, energetic motion that gives these dramatic scenes from Tasso's epic their remarkable narrative pulse. And with his use of strong local color, Maffei signals the colorism of later Venetian painters, namely Sebastiano Ricci and Tiepolo.

In his own time Maffei was obviously an artistic figure of some standing, for his list of major commissions is impressive. And as a specialist in civic allegories—elaborately conceived machines glorifying dignitaries of the region, men of position and power—he must have been politically astute. One contemporary critic, Boschini,

7. Munich, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen 256; canvas: 130 x 140 cm. The attribution to Maffei's contemporary was first made by G. Fiocco, *Venetian Painting of the Seicento and the Settecento* (Florence, n.d. [1929]), p. 30, pl. 26. Edward L. Michael kindly pointed out an early nineteenth-century lithograph by Piloti, erroneously ascribing the Berlin painting to the Emilian Alessandro Tiriani; at one time or another the painting has also been given to Furini and to Valerio Castello.

8. An inventory of this fascinating early collection at Chà Gualdo,

Vicenza, records under an entry dated 1650 a book of early drawings and four paintings by Maffei, among them: "... doi altri, un poco minori, fatti sopra rame, in uno sta la bella Siringa, che deviene tremula canna, nel ragiongerla dal lascivo dio, nell'altro Dafne, che si converte in alloro, perseguitata dal biondo Apollo." See G. Gualdo, Jr., *1650. Giardino di Chà Gualdo* (Florence, 1972), p. 93, item 124. I am very grateful to Dr. Bert W. Meijer for having informed me of these lost paintings on copper and the Gualdo inventory.

wrote that he was a painter “not of dwarfs but of giants . . . whose style stupefied everyone,”⁹ and saw in him a true embodiment of the art of his age. Nonetheless, Maffei was to have almost no influence on subsequent artists, and he all but disappeared from the history books. However, in our

century he has been reassessed and his uniqueness recognized: with his fluid, richly colorful manner, based as it is on a structure that is essentially Mannerist, Maffei’s art can now be seen properly as a peculiarly Venetian solution to the ever-persistent Mannerist-Baroque dichotomy.

The J. Paul Getty Museum
Malibu

9. M. Boschini, “Pitor no da Pigmei, ora da giganti . . . Manieron che stupir fa tuti quanti,” *La carta del navegar pitoresco* . . . (Venice, 1660), p. 519.

A Footnote to Goya's *Portrait of the Marquesa de Santiago*

Nigel Glendinning

Archivists working in the historical collection of notarial documents in Madrid (Archivo Histórico de Protocolos, hereafter referred to as AHP) have recently drawn attention to the existence of a number of wills and similar legal papers relating to the marqueses de Santiago. Two of these are relevant to Goya's painting of María de la Soledad Rodríguez de los Ríos, and it is unfortunate that their existence was not known to me when I wrote my original article a year ago.¹

The most interesting document, drawn up between 1845 and 1847 (AHP, P^o 25456 and 16557), is an inventory of the family's pictures, among which the Getty Museum's portrait of the marquesa appears as no. 839:

Un cuadro en lienzo, de dos varas y media de alto y una y media de ancho con marco dorado, su autor, Goya. Es retrato de la Excm^a Sra D^a María de la Soledad Rodríguez de los Ríos, Marquesa de Santiago.

(A painting on canvas, measuring two and a half Spanish yards high by one and a half wide [209 x 125 cm] with a gilded frame, by Goya. It is a portrait of Her Excellency Doña María de la Soledad Rodríguez de los Ríos, marquesa de Santiago.)

The portrait, valued at 3,000 *reales*, was not, however, the only painting by Goya in the collection. The entry for no. 899 in the same inventory, valued at 2,000 *reales*, reads as follows:

Un cuadro en lienzo, en mal estado, pintado por Goya, de cinco cuartas de alto y cuatro de ancho, retrato de la Excm^a. Sra. D^a María de la Soledad Rodríguez de los Ríos, cuando era niña.

(A picture on canvas, painted by Goya, in poor condition, measuring five *cuartas* high by four wide [104 x 84 cm], being a portrait of Her Excellency Doña María de la Soledad Rodríguez de los Ríos, when she was a child.)

If this second entry is accurate, Goya's contacts with the Santiago household, and with María de la Soledad in particular, have to be brought forward some years, presumably to the early phase of the artist's career in Madrid, between 1774 and 1783, when the future marquesa was between ten

and nineteen years old. This in turn would place the Santiago family among the earliest of Goya's aristocratic protectors, whose patronage might then explain, in a new way, how Goya came to paint the marquesa de Pontejos circa 1786. The latter was, of course, married to the brother of Charles III's minister, the Count Floridablanca. But the Pontejos family was also related by marriage to the Santiagos. Either of these two connections could equally well have given rise to the commission.

The other document of undoubted interest is the inventory of the estates and property of Don Francisco Esteban Rodríguez de los Ríos, the first holder of the Santiago title. This was drawn up after his death, in 1728, and reveals in fresh detail the remarkable combination of wealth and artistic taste that ran in María de la Soledad's family. Religious pictures inevitably predominate in her great-grandfather's collection (AHP, 14529), but he had some genre works and also a number of flower pieces, including one or two by Arellano. The inventory identifies no fewer than six important paintings by Murillo: *Saint Francis of Assisi*, *Saint Francis of Paula*, and *Saint Francis Xavier* (all saints linked with the marqués' first Christian name); *The Annunciation*, a *Virgin and Child*, and *Saint Joseph with the Infant Jesus*. The full-length *Saint Francis Xavier* is without much doubt the painting by Murillo of this subject now in the Wadsworth Atheneum in Hartford, Connecticut, measuring approximately 249 x 167 cm in 1728. The *Virgin and Child* (described as "Our Lady of the Milk with the Child") must be the superb picture in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, that has been traced back to the Santiago collection in the early nineteenth century, although the width given in the inventory is rather less than might be expected (167 x 84 cm as opposed to 163 x 109 cm). *Saint Francis of Paula*, "full-length with cherubs," is in all probability the Murillo in the Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery in England, although it was larger in 1728 (209 x 167 cm) than it is today. So far as the *Story of Jacob* series by Murillo is concerned, later one of the glories of the Santiago collection, it does not seem to have belonged to Don Francisco Esteban and must therefore have been acquired

1. Nigel Glendinning, "Goya's *Portrait of the Marquesa de Santiago*," *GettyMusJ* 13 (1985), pp. 141–146.

by the second or even the third marqués, contrary to my original supposition. But the inspired acquisitiveness of the first marqués was by no means confined to Murillo. Somewhat surprisingly for the period, he also owned four paintings of saints by El Greco and an unusual *Portrait of a Dog with a Red Collar*, which might well be the lively and original picture signed and dated by Antolínez now in the Stirling collection at Keir in Scotland. The inventory does not record the artist's name in this last instance, but the measurements are very close to those of the Stirling picture today (62.7 x 41.8 cm as opposed to 55.9 x 41.3 cm), and there were certainly other paintings by Antolínez in the Santiago collection.

Don Francisco Esteban also took the lead in encouraging purchases of contemporary art in his family. He commissioned Antonio Palomino, for instance, to undertake a

series of four paintings on the story of Saint James (i.e., Santiago, the patron saint connected with the family title) for the ceiling of the main reception room in his palace. And there was a group of religious paintings, also by Palomino, elsewhere in the building: *The Conception*, *The Nativity of Christ*, *The Adoration of the Kings*, and *The Flight into Egypt*. No doubt Don Francisco Esteban acquired most of his works of art in the usual way by buying them from artists, dealers, or owners. The inventory also reveals, however, that he was not averse to taking them as deposits on loans. Perhaps this was just his way of putting into practice the Horatian dictum that art should be useful as well as sweet or delightful. His approach nevertheless reflects the real value, material as well as spiritual, that he and his family after him placed on art.

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Goya's *Portrait of the Marquesa de Santiago*: A Correction

Burton B. Fredericksen

Professor Glendinning's discovery of the new Santiago inventory allows us to close another portion of the gap in the provenance of Goya's *Portrait of the Marquesa de Santiago* and also allows us to correct a statement made in my article in volume 13 (1985).¹ On page 140 of that article, it was stated that "the titles of San Adrián and Santiago merged upon the death of the marqués de San Adrián in 1845," and this led further to the implication that the portraits of the marqués and marquesa could have remained together after that time. The new inventory of 1845–1847 shows that the two portraits were certainly separated by that time and points up the fact that the two titles did *not* merge, as was stated. Upon the marquesa's death in 1807, the title of marqués de Santiago was assumed by Don Antonio María Bernaldo de Quirós, her son by her first husband. The

inventory referred to by Professor Glendinning was occasioned by Don Antonio's death in 1836, when the title passed to his eldest son, Antonio Hipólito. Since the two portraits were apparently still together in the Santiago Palace when listed by Carderera between 1834 and 1840 (quoted p. 140, note 11), it appears that they were separated at just about this time and that the division of the estate brought about by Don Antonio's death was probably the occasion. The marqués' portrait went to the marqués de San Adrián himself. The portrait of the marquesa stayed within the Santiago family, but we do not yet know which of the twelve children of Don Antonio inherited it. Whichever one it was, he or she will probably prove to be the one who later—before 1887—caused it to be acquired by the Tamames family.

The J. Paul Getty Museum
Malibu

1. Burton B. Fredericksen, "Goya's Portraits of the Marqueses de Santiago and de San Adrián," *GettyMusJ* 13 (1985), pp. 133–140.

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David Octavius Hill, David Roberts, and J. M. W. Turner's *Wreck of a Transport Ship*

Graham Smith

David Octavius Hill (fig. 1) is remembered today for the splendid photographs he produced in partnership with Robert Adamson in Edinburgh between June 1843 and the middle of 1846. However, Hill's principal career was that of landscape painter, and in that capacity he held the influential and demanding position of Secretary to the Royal Scottish Academy from 1829 until 1869, the year before his death in 1870. As Secretary he was obliged to travel to London and had responsibility for planning the annual Royal Scottish Academy Exhibitions and for bringing to Edinburgh examples of the work of prominent English artists.¹

The letter published here was discovered in the Department of Photographs at the J. Paul Getty Museum among the files pertaining to William Henry Fox Talbot, the inventor of the calotype process.² Written by Hill in Edinburgh on January 10, 1850, the letter is addressed to his friend and colleague in London, David Roberts (fig. 2).³ While the letter makes a brief reference to calotypes, thereby accounting for its presence in a collection of material relating to the early history of photography, it is of interest primarily in regard to Hill's activities as Secretary to the Royal Scottish Academy. The text of the letter can be transcribed as follows:

This note was written during a period of residence as a Guest Scholar at the J. Paul Getty Museum. I am most grateful to John Walsh and George Goldner for inviting me to the Museum as a guest of the Department of Drawings. I also want to thank Weston Naef who made it easy for me to stray occasionally into the Department of Photographs.

1. The most recent study of Hill is by S. Stevenson, *David Octavius Hill and Robert Adamson: Catalogue of their calotypes taken between 1843 and 1847 in the collection of the Scottish National Portrait Gallery* (Edinburgh, 1981) (hereafter *Catalogue*). On Hill's activity as Secretary to the Royal Scottish Academy, see E. Gordon, *The Royal Scottish Academy of Painting, Sculpture, and Architecture, 1826–1976* (Skilton, 1976), passim.

2. Accession number 84.XG.1003.

3. Hill and Adamson photographed David Roberts in Greyfriars' Churchyard during his visit to Edinburgh in September 1844. Hill and Roberts appear to have corresponded regularly during the 1840s and early 1850s (see Stevenson, *Catalogue*, pp. 15, 20, and 28). For an interesting discussion of a long letter to Roberts, written in March 1845, in which Hill described his ambitions for his and Adamson's calotypes, see S. Stevenson, "Cold Buckets of ignorant criticism: Qualified suc-

My Dear Roberts

Thanks for your most kind note. Before replying to it I thought it better to see our worthy President⁴—he being the person who a number of months ago suggested Mr. Schetky⁵—who he believed to be acquainted with Lord Yarborough,⁶ as one channel through which we might approach his lordship with acceptance. I was on calling last night allowed to penetrate into the good knight's bedchamber—the first time I have been permitted to see him in a fortnight past, and on talking over the subject of the Great Shipwreck and the mighty importance of getting it for the Royal Scottish Academy Exhibition, he said he would rather ten times over the application went to his Lordship through you than through his good friend Schetky—if you would not consider it too grave an inroad upon your good nature & you wish to do good offices to carry our respectful wishes to Lord Yarborough. Your note seems to allow us to infer that you are not unwilling to make the attempt, and if we have interpreted you aright we will feel obliged that you make it posthaste & wish you all good speed. I need hardly repeat that in the event of his Lordship giving his consent—Green will be employed to remove, pack and forward the picture with most scrupulous care—and all expenses whatsoever—including insurance against sea

cess in the partnership of David Octavius Hill and Robert Adamson," *The Photographic Collector* 4 (1983), pp. 336–347.

4. The "worthy President" is Sir William Allan, President of the Royal Scottish Academy from 1833 until his death in 1850 (see *The Dictionary of National Biography* 1 [1917], pp. 297–298, and Gordon, *Royal Scottish Academy* [supra, note 1], passim). A calotype portrait of Sir William by Hill and Adamson was exhibited at the Royal Scottish Academy in 1844 (see Stevenson, *Catalogue*, p. 38).

5. Presumably this is John Christian Schetky, the marine painter, who was born in Edinburgh in 1778 (see *The Dictionary of National Biography* 17 [1917], pp. 904–905). Schetky and his daughter were photographed by Hill and Adamson in 1846 (see Stevenson, *Catalogue*, pp. 103 and 170).

6. Lord Yarborough is Charles Anderson Worsley, Second Earl of Yarborough, Lord Lieutenant, and *custos rotulorum* of Lincolnshire (see *Burke's Peerage and Baronetage* [London, 1975], p. 2893). Lord Yarborough's collection was described briefly by Waagen in 1854 and more fully in 1857 (*Treasures of Art in Great Britain*, vol 2 [London, 1854], pp. 86–87, and *Galleries and Cabinets of Art in Great Britain* [London, 1857], pp. 64–71).



Figure 1. David Octavius Hill and Robert Adamson, *David Octavius Hill*. Calotype, 20.8 x 15.7 cm. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 84.XO.7344(3).

and fire risks to any amount named by Lord Yarborough we will defray. Nor need I give you further assurance that its safety while with us will be closely watched over—and that it will be returned with all proper precaution.

Nothing I am sure could better show to this portion of the island, the greatness of the mind and the giant power of the poet-painter of the ocean, than this most noble work; indeed I feel that its presence among us would

7. Elhanan Bicknell formed an important collection of modern British paintings, including major works by Gainsborough and Turner, between 1838 and 1850 (see *The Dictionary of National Biography* 2 [1917], pp. 471–472). The collection was described by Waagen in 1854 (*Treasures of Art in Great Britain*, vol. 2 [London, 1854], p. 351), and was the subject of a long article in *The Art-Journal* in 1857: “Visits to Private Galleries of the British School: The Collection of Elhanan Bicknell,

Esq., at Herne Hill,” 3, pp. 8–10. Bicknell’s “Frost” is presumably the painting *Euphrosyne* by William Edward Frost, which fetched 780 guineas at the sale of the Bicknell collection in 1863 (*Catalogue of the Renowned Collection of English Pictures and Sculpture of that distinguished Patron of Art, Elhanan Bicknell, Esq., Deceased*, Christie, Manson & Woods, April 25, 1863, lot 109). The painting was first exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1848, where it made such an impression on Queen



Figure 2. David Octavius Hill and Robert Adamson, *David Roberts*. Calotype, 20.8 x 15.7 cm. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 84.XO.7344(1).

give new aspirations, and higher resolves to our whole school.

If Mr. Bicknell will thaw sufficiently to send us his Frost here,⁷ which is its native region—then I, and many

more will sing welcome Jack Frost “to your ain countrie.” Seriously I hope Mr. Henry will do more than break the ice in this matter.⁸

I say nothing of your own works—nevertheless

Victoria that she had Frost do a smaller painting copying three of the figures from *Euphrosyne* (see “British Artists: Their Style and Character,” *The Art-Journal* 3 [1857], pp. 5–7). A great admirer of William Etty, Frost specialized in pastoral and bacchanalian scenes, with subjects drawn from the writings of Spenser and Milton (see *The Dictionary of National Biography* 7 [1917], pp. 729–730). By 1856, Ruskin at least felt that Frost’s subjects had become predictable, and wrote:

“Everyone knows well enough by this time, that Graces always stand on one leg, and bend the other, and never have anything to fasten their dresses with at the waists. Cannot Mr. Frost tell us something new?” (quoted from D. Robertson, *Sir Charles Eastlake and the Victorian Art World* [Princeton, 1978], pp. 385–386).

8. Mr. Henry presumably is Henry S. Bicknell, Elhanan Bicknell’s son, who married Christine Roberts, the only child of David Roberts.



Figure 3. J. M. W. Turner, *The Wreck of a Transport Ship*. Oil on canvas, 173 x 241 cm. Lisbon, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian.

believe that they are ever welcome here with something more than admiration. Is Stanfield _____ table?⁹

The calotypes shall be forthcoming when you let me know what they are to be.

Ever yours most truly
D. O. Hill

Sir William is a little better, but has been prisoner to his bedroom for a fortnight.¹⁰ Miss Allan has also been unwell.

The letter gives a nice sense of Hill's lively and ebullient personality. We can take it that he meant what he said when he stated his readiness to join his friends in singing "welcome Jack Frost 'to your ain countrie.'" According to the obituary of Hill which appeared in *The Scotsman* on May 18, 1970, his "manner in society was blythe and genial and he sang a capital song, not infrequently entertaining his companions with a ballad of his own composition."¹¹

9. This sentence is virtually illegible, but the name appears to be Stanfield. Clarkson Stanfield, the marine and landscape painter, had strong ties with Edinburgh and with David Roberts (see *The Dictionary of National Biography*, 18 [1917], pp. 884–886). He can also be connected with Elhanan Bicknell, who owned at least four paintings by him (*Catalogue of the Renowned Collection* [supra, note 7], lots 85, 101, 107, and 121). A good indication of Stanfield's reputation is the fact that his *Pic du Midi d'Ossau* fetched 2,550 guineas, whereas Turner's *Port Ruysdael* and *Palestrina*, the preceding and following lots, respectively, each fetched 1,900 guineas (see "Picture Sales: The Bicknell Collection," *The Art-Journal* 25 [1863], p. 121).

10. He died six weeks later.

11. On this aspect of Hill's personality, see G. Smith, "Edinburgh Ale by David Hill and Robert Adamson," *Source* 2 (1983), pp. 14–16.

12. See Stevenson, *Catalogue*, p. 26.

13. See Stevenson, "Cold Buckets of ignorant criticism..." (supra,

The reference to the calotypes to be sent to Roberts is also interesting, although it is made in an offhand fashion. Some years earlier, in 1846, Roberts bought a calotype by Hill and Adamson of soldiers of the 42nd Highlanders, intending to use it as a study for one of his own paintings.¹² Perhaps Roberts had something like this in mind again. On the other hand, perhaps the calotypes were to be sent in connection with Hill's attempts to market the calotypes in London and gain recognition for his and Adamson's achievements.¹³

However, the main interest of the letter lies in the number and variety of artists and collectors who crowd Hill's four minutely written pages: Sir William Allan, William Edward Frost, David Roberts, John Christian Schetky, Clarkson Stanfield, J. M. W. Turner, Elhanan Bicknell, and the Earl of Yarborough. Similarly, the main subject of the letter concerns Hill's plans for the Royal Scottish Academy Exhibition and specifically the "mighty importance" of getting for it the Earl of Yarborough's "Great Shipwreck."

The "Great Shipwreck" is, of course, J. M. W. Turner's monumental painting, *The Wreck of a Transport Ship* (fig. 3), which is now in the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation in Lisbon, but which was in the collection of the Earl of Yarborough at the time that Hill was writing.¹⁴ Although Hill does not mention Turner by name, his reference to the artist as "poet-painter of the ocean" would have been sufficiently specific for the nineteenth-century reader.¹⁵ Hill's urgent ambition to borrow the Earl of Yarborough's painting met with success, presumably with the assistance of David Roberts. Turner's *Wreck of a Transport Ship* was in fact shown in Edinburgh at the Royal Scottish Academy Exhibition in 1851, where it impressed one viewer as "one of the most sublime and awful pictures that ever came from mortal hand."¹⁶

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note 3).

14. See M. Butlin and E. Joll, *The Paintings of J. M. W. Turner* (New Haven, 1984), cat. no. 210. Butlin and Joll mention that Christine Bicknell recorded seeing *The Wreck of a Transport Ship* at Appuldurcombe, the Earl of Yarborough's house on the Isle of Wight, on June 22, 1846.

15. On Turner's nineteenth-century reputation as a marine painter, see L. Herrman, "Turner and the Sea," *Turner Studies: His Art and Epoch 1775–1851*, 11 (1980[?]), pp. 4–18.

16. See Butlin and Joll (supra, note 14), p. 129. The picture appears in the catalogue of the Royal Scottish Academy Exhibition as "The Wreck of the Minotaur, Seventy-four, on the Haack Sands, 22nd December 1810," with a note indicating that it was painted for the father of the Earl of Yarborough. Butlin and Joll discuss in detail the question of the proper title for the painting.

Photographs for Industry: The Career of Charles Aubry

Anne McCauley

In early March 1869, the well-established Parisian photographer Nadar (1820–1910) received a peculiar letter from an unknown man signing himself “Ch. Aubry, dessinateur.” Assuming a playful and unjustifiably familiar tone, Aubry claimed that he had just produced some two hundred negatives of fruits and flowers like the ones he enclosed with the letter and had convinced a commission named by the Prefect of the Seine to choose sixteen photographs to serve as models for local drawing schools. Having left Paris after the expropriation of his property, he had set up a studio (which he invited Nadar to visit) and was now interested in marketing his photographs to all the schools in France and even overseas to New Caledonia and Australia. What he needed, however, was “the support of people who attract public curiosity (how skillfully I avoided pronouncing the word, *journalist*),”—in other words, Nadar. In exchange for Nadar’s connections with the press, Aubry offered him a partnership in the venture and promised his studio exclusive sale of the prints. Calculating that profits would run from 3 francs per large-format print to 1.75 francs for smaller images, Aubry envisioned amassing a huge fortune with a small amount of advertising.¹

Nadar’s response to this letter, not preserved in the

archives in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, would have undoubtedly been cool. With all his parenthetical asides claiming that “you are going to see how well I can mount a business” and “you are going to see how clever I am in business,” Aubry undoubtedly seemed like a crackpot with yet another money-making scheme. If Nadar had tried to uncover Aubry’s past activities, he would have been even more wary: no listings under “photographers” in the Parisian commercial directories of the 1860s, no membership in the Société française de Photographie nor participation in their exhibitions, no entries in the photographic sections of the London and Paris international exhibitions of 1862 and 1867. The man even called himself a “draftsman”: as a photographer he was obviously a Sunday amateur out to get rich quick on a few mediocre, homemade products.

With the revival of interest in early French photography in the 1970s and the purchase of eleven Aubry prints by the Getty Museum in 1984, the name of this obscure photographer has resurfaced. His large close-ups of isolated leaves or scattered flowers on solid grounds appeal to modern viewers who cut their teeth on Edward Weston’s cabbage leaves or Imogen Cunningham’s magnolias and who equate “modernism” with flatness and an apparently artless

This article is part of a forthcoming book on commercial photography in Paris from 1848 to 1870. Funding for this project was provided in part by an N. E. A. Museum Professionals Grant and a J. Paul Getty Postdoctoral Fellowship in the History of Art and the Humanities.

1. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Cabinet des Manuscrits, N.A.F. 24993, p. 79, March 1, 1869 letter, from Aubry to Nadar. All translations are by the author. The text of Aubry’s letter is as follows:

Mandres [-les-Roses]
(Seine-et-Oise)

1er Mars 1869

Monsieur,

Je voudrais (vous allez voir comme je suis malin en affaires) tirer parti de deux cents clichés de fleurs et de fruits du genre des épreuves que je joins à la présente.

Déjà (vous allez voir comme je sais faire mousser une affaire) le Préfet de la Seine, ou plutôt la commission nommée par lui, a fait choix de seize de mes photographies, sur vingt—cinq présentées, pour être données comme modèles aux écoles de dessin de la capitale.—Et je viens de fournir vingt collections de ces modèles pour commencer.

Exproprié, j’ai quitté Paris et me suis fait construire un atelier TYPE que je voudrais bien vous voir visiter (comme cette invitation à venir goûter le vin et le fromage de Brie est adroitement faite, avouez-le?).

Je voudrais tirer un bon parti de mon ouvrage, ainsi que je vous l’ai déjà dit, mais pour cela il faut l’appui des personnes qui disposent de la curiosité publique (comme j’ai bien évité de prononcer le nom de: journaliste?).

Mes épreuves coûtent sur beau bristol, très grand, de 90 centimes à

1 franc. Je voudrais les vendre 4 francs. Bénéfice net: 3 francs!

Les épreuves d’écoles sont sur des moitiés de feuilles de bristol gris et coûtent 75 centimes.—Je les vends à Stuttgart et à Paris 2, 50 francs. Bénéfice net: 1,75 francs.

Vous voyez d’ici que si l’on tirait pour toutes les écoles de France, je ne dis pas mes deux cents clichés, mais cent, on réaliserait pas mal de mille francs.

Et que si le public du monde entier, non compris celui de la Nouvelle Calédonie, de l’Australie et *ejusdem farinae*, achète si peu que ce soit des épreuves de mes deux cents clichés, on pourrait ajouter pas mal de mille francs aux mille francs des écoles.

Enfin tout cela présente une spéculation honnête (en voilà deux mots stupéfaits d’être ensemble . . . enfin!) dont les bénéfiques peuvent être partagés entre nous deux, si vous n’y trouvez pas d’inconvénients, aux conditions suivantes.

Vous deviendrez mon associé et vous forcerez les journaux à parler de notre affaire.—Puis votre établissement sera le seul endroit où parisiens, provinciaux et étrangers trouveront mes photographies, nos photographies.

J’aurais pu aller vous raconter tout cela mais, *ex abrupto*, vous n’auriez pu que demander à réfléchir.

Et puis, si vous veniez, vous pourriez vous rendre compte des moyens de reproduction dont je dispose, moyens curieux et nouveaux.

Vous allez vous demander pourquoi je m’adresse à vous plutôt qu’à de riches spéculateurs, n’est-ce pas?—Si vous aviez l’imprudence de me faire cette question, je vous répondrais pas pour vous punir de ce que vous ne vous connaissez pas assez.

Agrérez toutes mes civilités.

Ch. Aubry
dessinateur

minimalism, a kind of “dumb” frontality, exploited in the 1970s photographs of Lewis Baltz, Michael Bishop, Richard Misrach, Stephen Shore, and Bernd and Hilla Becker, among others. But the facts of Aubry’s life and, more important, the rationale behind his studio production have not been unraveled; the audience that he hoped to address and the cultural world in which he shaped these images have not been reconstructed. This essay will attempt to rescue Aubry’s works from the category of “proto-modernist” and return them to the arena in which he intended them to operate: the drawing class—or, more specifically, the industrial design class.

The beginnings of Aubry’s career remain shadowy. Born on June 3, 1811, in the present-day Tenth Arrondissement,² Charles Hippolyte Aubry was apprenticed to an industrial designer and for more than thirty years supported himself by drawing patterns for carpet, wallpaper, and fabric manufacturers. In his choice of occupation, he can be compared with the photographers Etienne Carjat, A. A. E. Disdéri, Eugène-Marie Rouxel, and Charles Leroy, who were also trained as industrial and mechanical draftsmen but who rejected their adolescent trades somewhat earlier in life than Aubry did. For a Brussels industrial exhibition in 1857, Aubry exhibited a drawing for “lace appliqué and stitching for the flounce of a dress,” which indicates his ongoing activities and aspirations as a designer.³ In January 1864, Aubry formed a company for the production of plaster casts and photographs of plants and flowers; the reasons why he did so cannot be determined.⁴ We can only assume that he needed a new line of work and was able to find an unnamed backer to pump 10,000 francs into the shop that he established in the courtyard of a building at 8, rue de la Reine Blanche, just off the avenue des Gobelins in an area of Paris traditionally associated with textile manufacturing.⁵ The absence of his name under the listings for photographers in the Paris *Almanach-Bottin* suggests that he intended to rely on his established contacts in the industrial design field to promote and purchase his works. He did, however, legally register fifty-six photographs of flowers, leaves, and, oddly enough, Neapolitan ruins for public sale in 1864.⁶

Although the dating of Aubry’s negatives and positive

prints is difficult, several factors suggest that his first year of studio operation was an extremely prolific one. Negative numbers on the prints, registered in 1864 and now in the collection of the Bibliothèque Nationale, range as high as 141; the compositions vary from a simple rose in a crystal glass to a complex still life with a skull and digitalis (see *infra*, fig. 12). Furthermore, Aubry assembled a magnificent presentation album of large (up to 18½” x 15”) albumen prints (now in the collection of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris), which he dedicated to the prince imperial on May 31, 1864, and for which he received a special medal from the emperor. These prints, which were selected from a series of at least forty-four images, can be divided into two main groups: one consisting of geometrically arranged compositions of loose leaves, often coated with plaster and mounted on a flat support, and another of flowers in vases or combined with other still-life objects arranged on a table. In other words, almost all of the compositional styles of existing Aubry prints can be found in works that can be dated to 1864 or before.

A year later, however, Aubry filed for bankruptcy, owing over 54,000 francs to the camera and lens retailer Arthur Chevalier and other creditors outside the photographic world. As the author of the syndic’s report concluded, his goods “meant nothing to anyone else.”⁷ Although the bankruptcy was not closed until June 1868, Aubry continued working and registered four more prints of flowers and fruits in 1866, with two views of a skull and skeleton offered for sale in 1867.⁸ He also attempted to diversify his products and profit from the favor that the imperial family had shown him in 1864: on December 5, 1866, he wrote to Maréchal Vaillant, Ministre de la Maison de l’Empereur et des Beaux-Arts, to obtain permission to photograph some of the tapestries in the collection of the Gobelins. His goal was to assemble a body of work to be used by industrial designers, which he planned to contribute to the 1867 Paris Exposition universelle. This letter, received by a secretary, prompted a memo on December 11 recalling Aubry’s past involvement with the court and the interest that the emperor had taken in his earlier album. On December 28, an official response approved the project with the stipula-

2. Archives de la Seine, Paris (hereafter A.S.), D11 U3, Bankruptcy #4018, January 10, 1865.

3. *Catalogue de la 4^e Exposition instituée par l’Association pour l’Encouragement et le Développement des Arts Industriels en Belgique* (Brussels, 1857). Aubry’s address is given as 7, rue de Strasbourg.

4. A.S., D31, U3, Acte de Société Charles Aubry et Cie., January 5, 1864. The company was founded for a ten-year period with one unnamed backer.

5. A.S., D1 P4, Cadastre, rue de la Reine Blanche, 1852.

6. Archives Nationales, Paris (hereafter A.N.), F18* VI 71–72.

7. A.S., D11 U3, Bankruptcy #4018.

8. A.N., F18* VI bis 1.

9. A.N., F21 671.

10. *Exposition universelle de 1867 à Paris—Catalogue Général* (Paris, 1867), vol. I.

11. A.S., D11 U3, Bankruptcy #4018.

12. For information on Aubry’s stay in Mandres-les-Roses, I would like to thank Pierre Nicol, former adjunct to the Mairie of Mandres, for his letter of July 1983.

13. A.N., F21 558.

14. Aubry’s death certificate of 1877 lists him as “célibataire.” Evidence shows that he had a son. Aubry had applied to exhibit pho-

tion that tapestries produced after the First Empire could not be reproduced. No Aubry copies of Gobelins holdings have been located, so it is not clear if he ever pursued this project.⁹ He did, however, manage to exhibit a “group of plasters and photographs of art objects” in the section devoted to the “Application du dessin et de la plastique aux arts usuels” (Groupe II, Classe 8) of the Paris Exposition universelle of 1867. In another section containing materials for teaching adults (Groupe X, Classe 90), he displayed “plaster casts from life serving as models.”¹⁰

Aubry’s career seems to have suffered a setback in 1867, when his property on the rue de la Reine Blanche was expropriated. As part of Haussmann’s plan to connect large boulevards between key monuments in the city, the Blvd. St. Marcel was begun, and Aubry was paid 25,000 francs by the city to leave his studio.¹¹ Probably using the money to appease his creditors, he moved to a small village east of Paris, Mandres-les-Roses (Seine-et-Oise) and constructed a modest studio in a garden on the rue de Brie. While in Mandres, he participated in local activities, signed a petition in February 1870 to obtain exemption from military service for a young neighbor, railed against the ruling peasants who forced him to pay a *patente*, or occupational tax, in 1869, and, after the Prussian occupation of the town (between November 27, 1870 and March 17, 1871), was brought before the royalist city council as a result of his republican opinions. Something of an urban upstart in a sleepy, conservative village, Aubry sold his new studio to his landlord at the conclusion of the Paris Commune and returned to the capital sometime in late 1871 or early 1872.¹² From the letter that he wrote to Nadar in 1869, we can infer that his photographic activities in Mandres were consistent with his work in 1864 and that he needed money to continue his operations.

Between 1872 and his death in 1877, Aubry seems to have produced little. Following the pattern he had established in the 1860s, he continued to solicit municipal or national commissions with decreasing success. On December 4, 1872, he wrote to Charles Blanc, Ministre des Beaux-Arts, demanding an audience to display his plates “destined for artists and drawing schools.”¹³ No response from Blanc is

recorded, and no images that can be concretely dated to the 1870s have been located. The variety of tones and degrees of fading in existing Aubry prints suggest that he continued to reprint his 1860s negatives, often changing the inscribed negative numbers from those written in ink directly on the collodion-on-glass plate to small squares of paper with ink numbers pasted over the old markings.

Never marrying,¹⁴ Aubry must have been a loner with fantastic schemes that did not often materialize. His photographic venture was extremely speculative and remained tangential to his original profession of “dessinateur,” a designation that followed his name on all his official correspondence. At the time of his death on March 22, 1877, on the rue des Solitaires, a neighborhood near Buttes-Chaumont park, where rents were low but natural contacts with the consumers of his images impossible, Aubry was listed as a draftsman and, as such, has eluded most photographic historians.

The skeletal facts of Aubry’s life are tantalizing but tell us painfully little about how and why he produced the striking artifacts that survive today. One major clue to the meaningful reading of his photographs can be found in the 1864 dedication of his album to the prince imperial: “In order to facilitate the study of nature, I have made models from life for the workers, which must help improve the industrial arts, which are compromised by the inadequate portfolios of drawing schools. In dedicating this regenerative work to you, I affirm to the student workers that, if you think of their material needs with loans . . ., you also think of that which moralizes and develops the best feelings, the true and the beautiful.”¹⁵ Making explicit the idea that the photographs in the album were supposed to improve the teaching of industrial design in France, Aubry also echoed debates about the state of French manufactured goods and the causes for a noticeable decline in French quality, which had been raging since the 1862 London International Exhibition.

Throughout the nineteenth century, France had been considered the European leader in all aesthetic questions and had exported not only large quantities of printed silks, carpets, and wallpapers, but also patterns for foreign manu-

tographs of flowers in the 1878 Paris Exposition (A.N., F12 3355). In an Archives Nationales file on “Demandes d’exposants annulés” regarding the photographic section of the Exposition, there is a letter dated July 5, 1877, from “Ch. Aubry, rue Petitot #2,” stating that his father had died and therefore would not be exhibiting. Neither the birth certificate of this son nor a marriage certificate have been located. Apparently, Aubry was estranged from his family, which resulted in the erroneous information on his death certificate (A.N., F12 3356).

15. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Eo 69a Fol, *Etude de Feuilles*, 1^{re} Série, signed dedication by Aubry, May 31, 1864. The French text is as follows:

Prince, Pour faciliter l’étude de la nature, je l’ai prise sur le fait et j’apporte aux ouvriers des modèles qui doivent faire grandir l’art industriel un peu compromis par le portefeuille insuffisant des écoles de dessin.

En vous dédiant cette oeuvre de régénération, j’affirme aux élèves ouvriers que si vous pensez aux besoins matériels avec les prêts au travail pour l’enfance, vous pensez aussi à ce qui moralise et développe les meilleurs sentiments, le beau et le vrai.

Veillez recevoir l’assurance du profond respect de votre très humble et très obéissant serviteur

Ch. Aubry

facturers. In 1858 a British writer in *The Universal Decorator* deplored the fact that his country's "skill and power in design" were still "most perniciously controlled by foreign influences."¹⁶ By the late 1850s, however, the French began to sense that the English were outstripping them in government support for art schools, the foundation of museums, and, ultimately in the production of low-cost, attractive manufactured goods. The South Kensington Museum (now the Victoria and Albert Museum), conceived in 1852 and moved to its present site in 1857, exhibited praiseworthy examples of the industrial arts and greatly impressed French visitors such as Natalis Rondot, who in 1859 recommended the foundation of a comparable "Musée d'Art et d'Industrie" in Lyons, which would contain a department of art with a flower gallery, a department of industry with samples of fabrics, and a history section surveying past achievements.¹⁷ Joseph Felon, in his 1861 *Du progrès de l'art industriel*, bemoaned the lack of originality and individuality in French industrial designs and warned that "our neighbors profit from our teaching and progress; they carry off our most talented designers, our most intelligent heads of studios."¹⁸

What was expressed as uneasy French paranoia between 1859 and 1861 became a full-fledged crisis after the 1862 London Exhibition, where British goods were universally acknowledged as being more attractive than their somewhat overworked and falsely luxurious Continental counterparts. Instead of establishing regional decorative arts museums, French observers felt that the national government should make a commitment to the improvement of design. In his 1862 recommendations for a Musée Napoléon III, Emile Galichon decried the "state of stagnation" in the arts in France and cited the increase in the British Museum's annual budget from 1.4 million francs in the 1850s to 2.5 million francs in 1860.¹⁹ The French had good taste, he admitted, but taste resulted from education, and the English had used the South Kensington Museum and over eight new drawing schools to expose the lower classes to beautiful objects. As a result, he concluded, "English fabrics are preferred everywhere in America because our neighbors decorate them better than we do."²⁰ Since the Louvre was an "essentially conservative and not at all vital" institution, the only hope for the French was to open a new museum to rival British models.

By placing the blame for lack of French fabric sales on bad design, writers such as Galichon were in fact sidestepping the real problem, which was that French manufacturers were less mechanized than their English counterparts and furthermore were beginning to suffer shrinking markets and a shortage of cotton as a result of the American Civil War. In addition, the 1860 Anglo-French Trade Treaty, put into effect in 1861 in France, removed the prohibitive tariffs that had kept British textiles out of France since the reign of Napoléon I.²¹ The promise of increased competition, higher production costs, and lackluster economic growth in the 1860s forced a reexamination of French techniques, with design being the most conspicuous and least costly component to change.

Napoléon III, who had pushed through the free trade treaty in the face of opposition from textile manufacturers,²² was obviously sensitive to the plight of French industry and endorsed the organization of an Exposition des Beaux-Arts appliqués à l'Industrie in 1863. Masterminded by Edouard Guichard, with Baron Taylor serving as president of the jury, this exhibition included samples of ceramics, furniture, metalwork, and even photography, and also for the first time presented designs and models produced by students at over fifty drawing schools throughout the country. The empress, in the prince imperial's name, donated five gold medals to be awarded to the most promising students.²³

Reactions to the show, and particularly to the student work, were a mixture of enthusiasm over the idea of a public exhibition of industrial design and dismay over the quality of the pieces included. Adalbert de Beaumont, in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, repeated the idea that the 1862 London Exhibition had demonstrated English superiority and attributed French decline to outdated teaching practices. Whereas England had one hundred art schools and three hundred schools run by private industry, France had put little money into aesthetic education and continued to cloister a student "in a closed room, before a boring plaster or one of those painful and tormented lithographs which the child must carefully imitate during laborious months."²⁴ The painter Charles Duval, in his review of the 1863 show, concluded that the student works were "weak and incomplete"; their execution was good, but the forms and concepts were often bad.²⁵ Similarly, Emile Cardon

16. *The Universal Decorator* (1858), p. 77.

17. N. Rondot, *Musée d'art et d'industrie—Rapport* (Lyons, 1859).

18. J. Felon, *Du progrès de l'art industriel* (Paris, 1861).

19. E. Galichon, *Des destinées au Musée Napoléon III—Fondation d'un Musée d'Art industriel* (Paris, 1862), p. 14.

20. *Ibid.*, p. 17.

21. For a discussion of the history of the French textile industry in the nineteenth century and the effects of the Cobden-Chevalier Treaty,

see A. L. Dunham, *The Anglo-French Treaty of Commerce of 1860 and the Progress of the Industrial Revolution in France* (Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1930).

22. A petition against the treaty was organized on January 20, 1860, by 165 manufacturers, with the eventual addition of a thousand more names, primarily of textile owners from Amiens, Roubaix, Normandy, and Mulhouse. Dunham (supra, note 21), pp. 126–127.

23. *Exposition des Beaux-Arts appliqués à l'Industrie, Catalogue*

found the designs imitative of past art and lacking in personality.²⁶ Faced with a more open marketplace, French producers could no longer ignore the consequences of such noticeably uninspired creations. “It is no longer a question of a simple fight for emulation between comrades,” Duval wrote, “it is necessary to prepare ourselves to maintain the superiority of our arts over rival nations.”²⁷ Cultural hegemony was perceived as the visible sign of political hegemony.

Aubry’s comments in the dedication of his 1864 album suggest that he crafted his photographs and perhaps even founded his business with the specific goal of responding to criticisms of the 1863 exhibition. From his own training as a design student, he would have been familiar both with the curriculum for aspiring industrial artists and with its shortcomings. Despite the Swiss educational reformer J. H. Pestalozzi’s 1826 proposals that children be taught by observing nature and empirically rediscovering the geometric principles of Euclid,²⁸ most French drawing schools preserved the academic practice of copying simple forms from engraved or lithographed patterns and then proceeding rationally to more complex shading and eventually study from plaster casts and from life. The problem with this dependence on flat models was that they already falsified nature and presented students with stylized forms that were perpetuated with little real understanding of the principles underlying organic growth. To rectify this practice, schools were encouraged to purchase plants so that students could work from life; in 1860 the Ecole Impériale du Dessin, according to its budgets (now in the Archives Nationales), supplemented engravings after still lifes by Van Spaendonck, Jules Sette, and Professor Ruprich-Robert’s popular, lithographic *Flore ornementale* with real potted plants. Furthermore, in 1862 the school sponsored a contest in drawing and sculpting from live plants.²⁹

The question of how industrial design should be taught also necessarily involved the definition of the aesthetic goals of ornament, particularly ornament based on natural forms. As the French turned to the English for inspiration in the early 1860s, they also entered into the debate continuing within England over so-called “conventional” versus “natural” ornament. Owen Jones, in his 1856 *Grammar of Ornament*, set forth a series of rules for the decorative artist that emphasized that “all ornament should be based upon a



Figure 1. Adolphe Braun, *Roses, Poppies, and Carnations*, circa 1856. Albumen print from collodion-on-glass negative, 35 x 25.2 cm. Rochester, New York, International Museum of Photography at George Eastman House EHPHC 1951.

geometrical construction” and that “flowers or other natural objects should not be used as ornaments, but conventional representations founded upon them sufficiently suggestive to convey the intended image to the mind, without destroying the unity of the object they are employed to decorate.”³⁰ Despite public fatigue with repetitive, conventional designs and the “universal cry of ‘Go back to nature,’”³¹ the solution was, according to Jones, not the servile imitation or copying of nature but its idealization. To this end, he reproduced chromolithographs of decorative patterns used by various races “not that they

(Paris, 1863).

24. A. de Beaumont, “Les Arts industriels en France et l’Exposition de 1863,” *Revue des Deux Mondes* (October 15, 1863), pp. 987–988.

25. Ch. L. Duval, *Du dessin dans l’industrie par les beaux-arts. A propos de l’Exposition industrielle de 1863 et du concours des écoles* (Paris, 1864), p. 6.

26. E. Cardon, *L’Art industriel en 1863—Etude sur l’Exposition des Beaux-Arts appliqués à l’Industrie* (Paris, 1863), p. 32.

27. Duval (supra, note 25), p. 1.

28. J. H. Pestalozzi, *Méthode théorique et pratique de Pestalozzi pour l’éducation et l’instruction élémentaire*, 1e cahier (Paris, 1826).

29. A.N., AJ53 123, 124.

30. O. Jones, *Grammar of Ornament* (London, 1856), pp. 5–6.

31. *Ibid.*, p. 154.

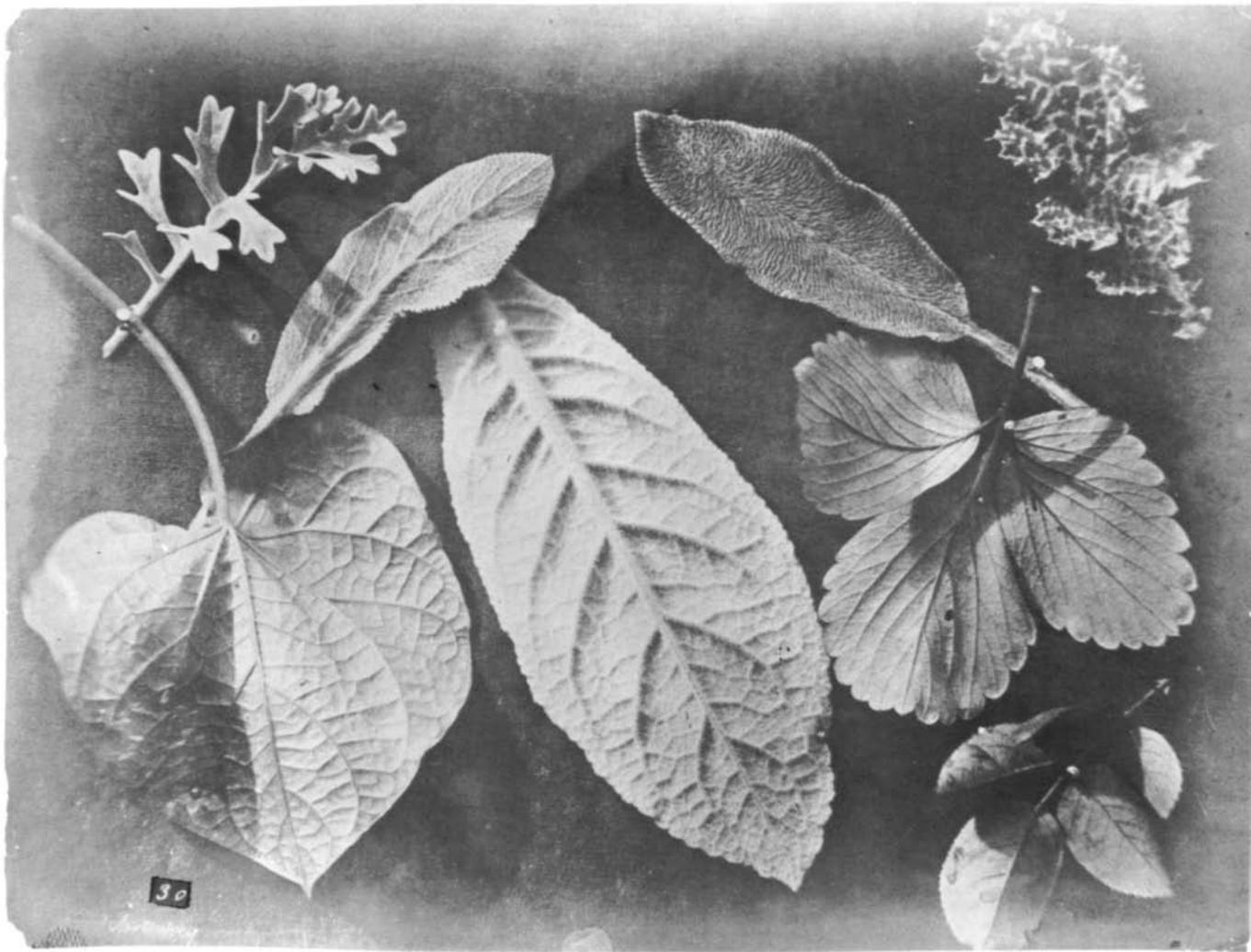


Figure 2. Charles Aubry, *Leaves*, circa 1864. Albumen print from collodion-on-glass negative, 26.9 x 35.5 cm. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 84.XM.795.6.

should be slavishly copied, but that artists should by an attentive examination of the principles which pervade all the works of the past . . . be led to the creation of new forms equally beautiful.”³²

Jones’ ideas were supported and embellished by a host of English writers in the 1860s to 1870s, such as Richard Redgrave (R.A.), the architect A. Welby Pugin, and F. E. Hulme. Hulme, who published such books as *Principles of Ornamental Art* (1875), *Plants—Their Natural Growth and Ornamental Treatment* (1874), and *Suggestions on Floral Design*, approved of the study of landscape or rural scenes to acquaint the designer with nature but argued that the

resulting product had to be simplified and flattened.³³ Pugin, through his examination of Gothic ornament, which he published in 1849 as *Floriated Ornament*, concluded that ancient artists “disposed the leaves and flowers of which their design was composed into geometrical forms and figures” that were “represented in such a manner as not to destroy the consistency of the peculiar feature or object they were employed to decorate, by merely imitative rotundity or shadow.” On the other hand, he wrote, the modern painter erroneously tried to create a “fictitious idea of relief..an appearance of cavity, or projection..and instead of a well-defined, clear and beautiful enrichment in

32. *Ibid.*, p. 156.

33. F. E. Hulme, *Plants—Their Natural Growth and Ornamental Treatment* (London, 1874), p. 3.

34. A. Welby Pugin, *Floriated Ornament* (London, 1875), p. iv.

35. Cited in R. S. Burn, ed., *Ornamental Drawing and Architectural Design* (London, 1882), p. 38.

36. A. de Beaumont, “Les Arts décoratifs en Orient et en France—Les Gobelins,” *Revue des Deux Mondes* (October 15, 1861), p. 946.

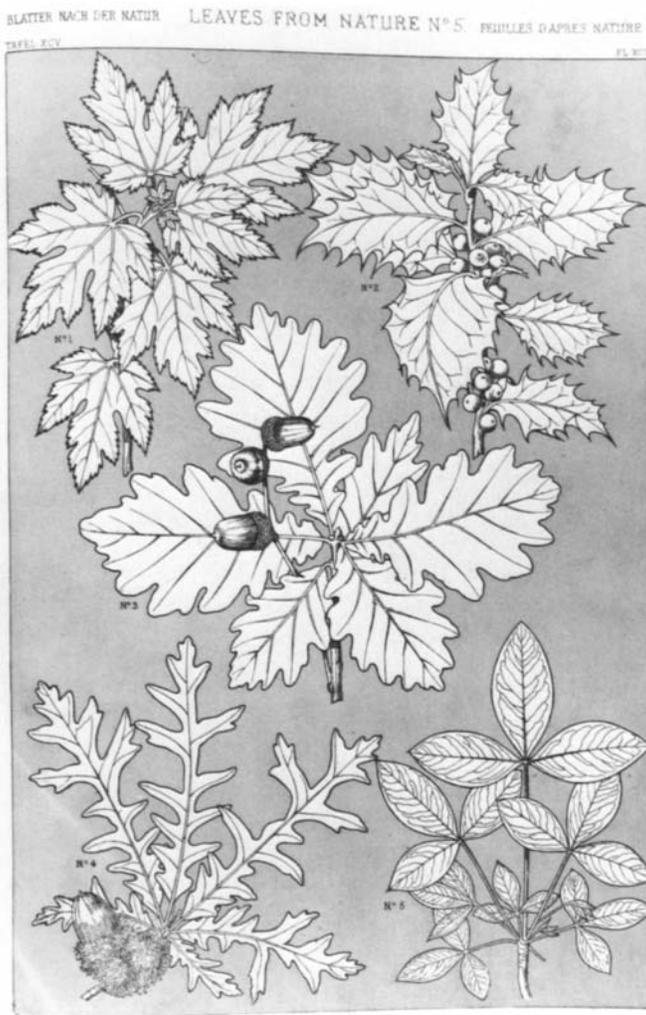


Figure 3. Owen Jones, *Grammar of Ornament* (London, 1856), pl. XCV. Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center, The University of Texas at Austin.

harmony with the construction of the past, an irregular and confused effect is produced, at utter variance with the main design."³⁴

In contrast to this advocacy of flat, geometric design based on the understanding rather than the imitation of nature, John Ruskin favored naturalistic patterns closer to what the conventionalists would accept as appropriate for still life paintings. Ruskin claimed that the original creator, God, could be taken as a model: since God had decorated the fields with living, three-dimensional flowers, there could be nothing wrong with drawing illusionistic bouquets on carpets that would be walked on.³⁵ Despite his

prestige as the author of *Modern Painters*, Ruskin was definitely in the minority, and the French began listening to the conventionalist argument. Adalbert de Beaumont, in an 1861 survey of the decorative arts in France and the Orient, concluded that the fabrics that "satisfied both the eye and common sense [were the] flat patterns, arabesque flowers, geometric interlaces that India and Persia offer to us."³⁶ Nonetheless, the French designs displayed in London in 1862 and in Paris in 1867 remained more often than not complex clusters of trompe l'oeil flowers with pronounced shadows and textural detail.

Aubry's idea to substitute photographs for the standard engravings and lithographs was by no means original in 1864. Adolphe Braun, trained like Aubry as a fabric designer and employed after 1843 by the Mulhouse textile firm of Dollfus Mieg et Cie., had begun taking photographs of flowers in 1853 and the following year published a large album entitled *Fleurs photographiées*. Henri Regnault, the director of the Sèvres porcelain manufactory and an amateur photographer, presented this album to the Académie des Sciences, and a reporter in the *Journal des Débats* praised the detail and verisimilitude of the life-size prints: "In this gradation running from white to dark brown, the rose seems to recover its cool incarnate, the digitalis is nuanced with purple, and the finely striated iris appears to have kept its tender blue."³⁷ A Mulhouse Société industrielle report the following year asserted that Braun's models were far superior in purity, sharpness, and harmony to the repetitious lithographs after Van Spaendonck that designers had traditionally used.

Braun's works, which critics insisted would appeal to amateurs, botanists, horticulturists, and artists, garnered further recognition and money during the 1850s. An album was presented to the empress in 1855, and Braun was awarded a gold medal (which was withdrawn and replaced by a silver one) at the 1855 Paris Exposition universelle. The still lifes, varying from loose clusters of flowers (fig. 1) to circular garlands against a mid-gray ground, were exhibited in the 1855 and 1859 Société française de Photographie shows, the 1862 London Exhibition (where they again won a medal), and the 1865 exhibition of the newly founded Union Centrale des Beaux-Arts appliqués à l'Industrie. They were distributed to the public by the editor Gaudin for ten francs apiece or six francs for a small-format print; after 1857 they were also sold as stereo cards.³⁸

Undoubtedly familiar with Braun's career, which began focusing on Alsatian views and art reproductions by the

37. Cited in A. Braun, *Photographies de fleurs à l'usage des fabriques de toiles peintes, papiers peints, soieries, porcelaines, etc.* (Mulhouse, 1855).

38. The best source on the Braun family business is P. Tyl, *Adolphe Braun—Photographe mulhousien 1812–1877* (University of Strasbourg, Mémoire de Maîtrise, 1982). See also N. Rosenblum, "Adolphe Braun: A 19th Century Career in Photography," *History of Photography* (October, 1979), pp. 357–372, and *Etablissement Braun et Cie* (Paris, 1953).



Figure 4. Charles Aubry, *Arrangement of Leaves*, circa 1864. Albumen print from collodion-on-glass negative, 34.6 x 26.9 cm. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 84.XM.795.1.



Figure 5. F. Edward Hulme, *Plants: Their Natural Growth and Ornamental Treatment* (London, 1874), pl. 31. Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center, The University of Texas at Austin.

1860s, Aubry may also have seen other photographs of flowers such as those exhibited by Bolotte and Martin, so-called “dessinateurs pour l’industrie,” in the 1863 Exposition des Beaux-Arts appliqués à l’Industrie. He was

39. Ingres and Jouffroy did not participate; Meissonier was also absent as a result of a “cruel accident” that befell him. F. Ravaisson, *De l’enseignement du dessin dans les lycées* (Paris, 1854), p. 1.

40. Elizabeth Cavé’s book, *Le Dessin sans maître* (1850), advocated using a transparent gauze interposed between the artist and his subject to aid in the translation of three dimensions onto a two-dimensional surface, and tracing from models that she provided. Her book was reviewed by her friend, Eugène Delacroix, in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* (September 15, 1850), pp. 1139–1146. Lecoq de Boisbaudran, professor at the Ecole de Dessin, first published his technique of memory drawing in *L’Education de la mémoire pittoresque* (1848).

41. Ravaisson (*supra*, note 39), p. 63.

42. A.N., F12 6902. According to the *Revue photographique* (April 1857), the printer Lemerrier annexed a photographic studio to his shop at 57, rue de Seine in 1857. By 1856 he had already registered photographs at the Dépôt Légal. In 1858 Lemerrier’s studio was taken over

probably also aware of the various attitudes that had been expressed by French and English writers and government officials toward the introduction of photographic models. As early as 1853, a commission consisting of the painters Delacroix, Ingres, H. Flandrin, Meissonier, and Picot; the sculptor Simart; the inspector of higher education, Félix Ravaisson; the director of the Ecole speciale de dessin et de mathematiques appliquées, Belloc; the architect Joseph-Louis Duc; the sculptor Jouffroy; Gustave Pilet; and Brongniart, was set up by the Ministry of Public Instruction to evaluate drawing teaching in France.³⁹ In his 1853 report, Ravaisson criticized techniques such as that of Mme Elizabeth Cavé and Lecoq de Boisbaudran’s memory drawing⁴⁰ and concluded that “photography can also aid the crayon or the burin, either in multiplying drawings by good artists or rare prints, or by offering immediate reproductions of sculpted or painted masterpieces, or representations of nature.”⁴¹ In the new curriculum approved on December 29, 1853, French students began drawing lessons in the sixth grade and used photographs as models after the eighth grade.

The consequences of this ruling and the degree to which it was enacted are difficult to evaluate. An undated document in the Archives Nationales from the office of the Ministry of Public Instruction claims that for ten years the idea of reorganizing drawing teaching had been debated, but the first problem was to assemble a collection of models:

But the question is complicated because people have tried to find another means of reproduction; they wanted to use photographs, and numerous attempts have been made to make them more permanent without losing any halftones.

MM. Lemerrier, Jolly Grangedor [sic] and Thomson are the artists primarily involved with this task.⁴²

Ravaisson reportedly remained enthusiastic and estimated that it would cost 150,000 francs to provide models to all

by Charles Paul Furne fils, photographer, and Henri Tournier, employee at the Ministry of Finance (A.S., D31, U3, Acte de Société Furne fils et Tournier, January 29, 1858). Since Furne’s profession in 1850 was listed as an “imprimeur en toile,” it is possible that he continued Lemerrier’s experiments with photographs for industrial designers (A.S., D32 U3 Reg. 30, Ste. Furne fils et Cie, November 6, 1850). Both Lemerrier and Furne fils et Tournier specialized in stereo views. The “efforts” for which Lemerrier sought reimbursement in 1860 could also have been experiments in photolithography, since lack of permanence was one of the main obstacles to the production of photographic models.

Joly-Grangedor reproduced drawings after the antique for use in drawing classes. Some of his photographs were exhibited in the 1862 London International Exhibition.

Thomson’s identity has not been verified.



Figure 6. Charles Aubry, *Pears*, circa 1864. Albumen print from collodion-on-glass negative, 24.4 x 34.6 cm. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 84.XM.795.2.

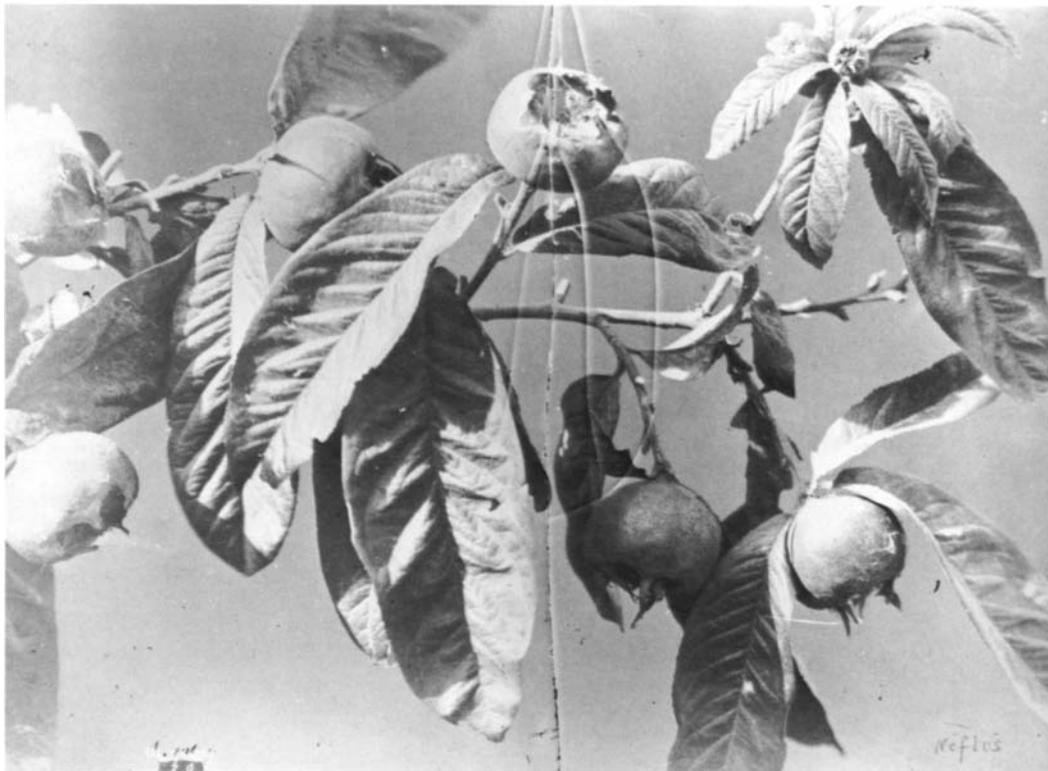


Figure 7. Charles Aubry, *Medlars*, circa 1864. Albumen print from collodion-on-glass negative, 23 x 33.6 cm. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 84.XM.795.8.



Figure 8. Charles Aubry, *Bluebells*, circa 1864. Albumen print from collodion-on-glass negative, 26.3 x 33.6 cm. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 84.XM.795.9.



Figure 9. Charles Aubry, *Roses*, circa 1864. Albumen print from collodion-on-glass negative, 35.2 x 25.5 cm. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 84.XM.795.10.



Figure 10. Charles Aubry, *Peaches*, circa 1864. Albumen print from collodion-on-glass negative, 25.5 x 35.2 cm. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 84.XM.795.7.

French secondary schools. Gustave Rouland, however, who was minister of public instruction from 1859 to 1863, was frightened by the proposal and abandoned the project. Furthermore, in 1860 Lemercier had protested that he was owed 6,375 francs for his efforts. According to the Archives Nationales document, Parisian high schools were authorized in 1864 to use the photographs of Joly-Grangedor as an experiment, and Ravaisson was given a sum of 400 francs to continue his research.⁴³

The interest that the Ministry of Public Instruction was taking in photography as a pedagogic tool during the 1850s to 1860s was matched by that of other reformers. The Museum of Art and Industry that Natalis Rondot envi-

sioned for Lyons in 1857 included “photographs of the most beautiful plants and flowers” next to “faithful drawings” in the flower gallery.⁴⁴ Believing that “our designers do not immerse themselves enough in the rich, brilliant and varied study that nature offers them,” Rondot viewed the photograph as the equivalent of the real world and went so far as to suggest that a photographer (as well as a wood engraver) be given a small studio in the museum. Likewise, the report on the 1869 exhibition of the Union Centrale des Beaux-Arts appliqués à l’Industrie emphasized the idea that models for designers should not be distorted by the interpretation of an artist’s hand and recommended facsimile engravings or photographs to aid in the improvement of national taste.⁴⁵ And in an international conference and exhibition devoted to the teaching of drawing, held in Brussels in 1869, one of the most highly praised entries was that of Goupil et Cie. (represented by Vincent van Gogh), which consisted of photographs after antique statues and old master drawings.⁴⁶

Although there is a great difference between advocating the study of photographs after art works and copying photographs of plants or human figures, the very mention of the medium in conjunction with art sparked controversy throughout the period (and continued to do so throughout the century). Writers of the conventionalist persuasion protested strongly against the use of photographs in the design process. Conceding that reproductions such as those made of Raphael’s cartoons under the patronage of Prince Albert or Benjamin Delessert’s prints after Raimondi engravings (1853–1855) were beneficial to artists and the public at large, they argued that copying detailed photographs of a landscape, *académie*, or plant encouraged three-dimensional modeling. Echoing the responses of many artists to photography, Victor Ruprich-Robert, professor at the Ecole de Dessin and author of *Flore ornementale*, claimed that “if the goal that the artist proposed was uniquely reality, then what one calls the art of photography or casting would replace the means that he employs.”⁴⁷

The British writer Christopher Dresser, author of several books on decorative design in the 1860s, reiterated, “If mere imitation is ornament, then the ornamentist must at once give place to the photographer, who by his art repeats natural objects with far more accuracy than the most careful draftsman; but photography cannot invent, as it is devoid of the mental or imaginative faculty, for the working of mind is essential to the production of decoration.”⁴⁸ This fear

43. Ibid.

44. Rondot (supra, note 17), p. 16.

45. *Union Centrale des Beaux-Arts appliqués à l’Industrie*, Catalogue (Paris, 1869), p. 90.

46. Ministry of the Interior, *Exposition des Académies et Ecoles des Beaux-Arts et Congrès de l’Enseignement des Arts du Dessin—Sept./Oct. 1869*

(Brussels, 1869), p. 337. The “van Gogh” referred to in this study could be either the painter’s uncle, Vincent van Gogh, who had sold his gallery to Goupil, or his sixteen-year-old nephew, who began working for the firm in 1869. Van Gogh received an honorable mention for his entry. For more information on the van Gogh family’s involvement with Goupil, see J. Rewald, “Theo van Gogh, Goupil, and the Impres-



Figure 11. Charles Aubry, *Grapes*, circa 1864. Albumen print from collodion-on-glass negative, 27.3 x 37.4 cm. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 84.XM.795.3.

that the photograph, or machine-generated image, would replace the designer altogether was also fueled by other proposed technological advances in textile printing, such as the Mulhouse chemist Charles Thierry Mieg's 1858 patent for the multiplication of patterns and their transfer to a wooden block by means of photography.⁴⁹

When Aubry conceived the idea of a photographic business in 1863–1864, he was concerned with adapting a new technology to an outdated and increasingly threatened manufacturing process rather than protecting the status quo. The models that he produced reveal his confusion over what “modern” design should look like and his unwillingness to limit his market to students in decorative or applied arts schools. Many works, such as the flat arrange-

ment of different types of leaves (fig. 2), resemble the diagrammatic patterns that Owen Jones appended to his *Grammar of Ornament* (fig. 3). Jones intended the plates in the section entitled “Leaves from Nature” to reveal the laws of plant growth rather than the particularities of each species. “We may see in an assemblage of leaves of the vine or the ivy, that the same law which prevails in the formation of the single leaf prevails also in the assemblage of leaves,”⁵⁰ he wrote. The student or designer studying Jones’ and, by implication, Aubry’s plate would observe the principles of symmetry and variation that nature used in producing plant forms and would adhere to those principles in his own simplified or conventionalized ornaments.

In other Aubry plates, such as the view of various leaves

sionists,” *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* (January 1873), pp. 1–64.

47. Ruprich-Robert, *Flore ornementale—Essai sur la composition de l'ornement—Elements tirés de la nature et principes de leur application* (Paris, 1876), p. 122.

48. Cited in F. Edward Hulme, *Principles of Ornamental Art* (London, 1875), p. 113.

49. French Patent No. 35637, Charles Thierry Mieg, Mulhouse, Application de la photographie à la reproduction des dessins de fabrique, March 3, 1858.

50. Jones (supra, note 30), p. 157.



Figure 12. Charles Aubry, *Still-Life with Digitalis*, circa 1864. Albumen print from collodion-on-glass negative, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale.

centered on an octagonal wooden block (fig. 4), the photographer demonstrates his skill as an experienced designer and constructs a ready-made pattern to be copied. Part of the series of “Etudes de Feuilles” that constitutes the first half of the prince imperial album, this image, according to Aubry, was intended to show the method of combining different types of leaves under a natural light that allowed their veins and textures to be clearly readable.⁵¹ Such an arrangement of layers of greenery and painted or plaster-covered leaves would be used by designers of architectural rosettes or three-dimensional ornaments in metal, wood, or plaster rather than fabric or wallpaper manufacturers. Conservative in its composition, Aubry’s balance of shapes around a central axis and preservation of a geometric border recall the stylized ornaments that appear in traditionally illustrated design manuals (fig. 5). Aubry’s originality here derives not from the arrangement of objects but from the increased detail that the photograph preserves.

A third type of image that Aubry sold was a more natural, truncated cluster of fruit or flowers shot against a solid field of gray or white. Focusing on the plant itself, which was suspended a few inches in front of a background screen, and eliminating any indication of the base, trunk, or supporting stem, Aubry forces the viewer to concentrate on a fragment—a part of an organism—that could be carefully copied (figs. 6–9). Instead of the flatness of his more obviously contrived patterns (figs. 2, 4), he emphasizes the rotundity and tactile qualities of bulbous pears (clumsily suspended by a coarse string), decaying medlars, or writhing bluebells by placing them in raking sunlight that in some instances confuses the structure of the form by breaking irregularly across its surface. What Aubry seems to be striving for in these works is a kind of dictionary of plant forms, which could be consulted by all artists, whether composing a still life or adding a floral border to a religious painting. Unlike prototypes such as Eugène Bléry’s chiaroscuro lithographs in *Guide industriel—dessiné d’après nature et lithographié*, in which casual groupings of flowers and grasses are shown from a worm’s-eye view, Aubry takes his camera in close to his subjects and is not bothered by leaves and blossoms that crowd outside the confines of the frame. In one extreme example (fig. 10), branches of peaches layered over one another chaotically fill the foreground; not a single complete shape—fruit or leaf—is clearly outlined. In this case, students are presented with a model for growth patterns rather than a botanical dissection of a single peach.

Although there are fine lines dividing Aubry’s compositional types, which he probably did not articulate clearly in his own mind, a fourth category consisting of three-dimensional arrangements or still lifes can be defined. The cluster of grapes against a painted lattice in figure 11 is as transparently contrived as the leaves in figure 2 but, unlike the flat leaves, could be literally copied by a fabric or wallpaper designer who believed in naturalistic decoration. Other photographs, which are not represented in the Getty Museum’s holdings, show flowers, fruits, and often rather incongruous objects like hats and vials arranged on a table (fig. 12). In a work referring to the medicinal properties of digitalis, in which the plant, its liquid extract, and a skull are gathered around a ring stand, Aubry has wandered far from the world of industrial designers and closer to the symbolic still lifes of seventeenth-century Holland. When compared with the contemporary painted flower pieces of Fantin-Latour or the beautiful, close-up photographs of fruits, jewelry, and exotic carved ivory boxes by the Englishman Roger Fenton, Aubry’s ventures into picture rather than pattern making seem awkward and at times even

51. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Eo 69a Fol, *Etude de Feuilles*, pl. 14.



Figure 13. M. P. Verneuil, *Chrysanthemum*, in Eugène Grasset, *La Plante et ses applications ornementales* (Paris, 1896), pl. 70. Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center, The University of Texas at Austin.

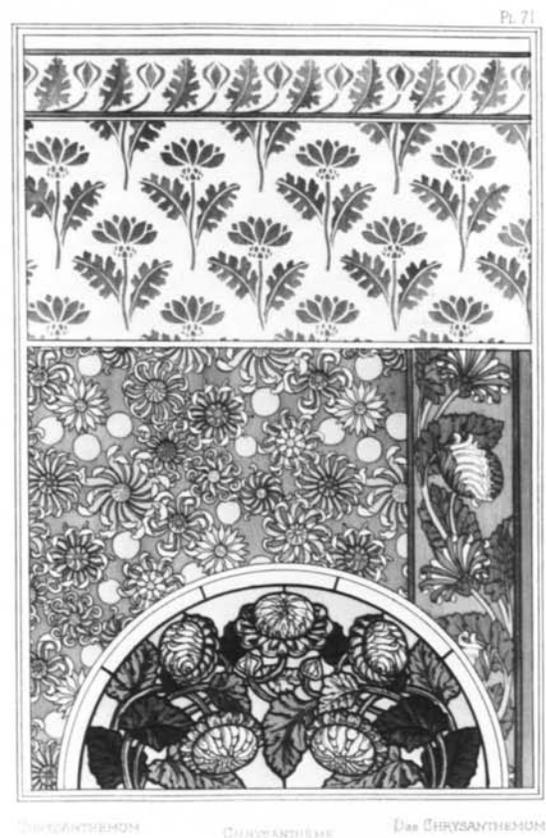


Figure 14. M. P. Verneuil, *Chrysanthemum*, in Eugène Grasset, *La Plante et ses applications ornementales* (Paris, 1896), pl. 71. Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center, The University of Texas at Austin.

incoherent. As models for aspiring draftsmen, they can be faulted for their crowding of too many objects onto a tabletop, lack of tonal variation, uniformly hard texture and sharp focus, and juxtaposition of unrelated items.

Despite his attempts to diversify his products, to construct decorative patterns, details of individual plants, and complete, illusionistic still lifes, Aubry's enterprise ultimately failed in the 1870s because of a persistent resistance to photography in the worlds of both the fine and applied arts and an almost exclusive acceptance of conventional design in the late nineteenth century. The reluctance of the Paris school system to shift to photographic models and Charles Blanc's lackluster response to Aubry's images were indicative of the nervousness of the fine arts establishment when faced with mechanical substitutes for handmade goods. By the late 1870s, a French government document

outlining the "Rules for Drawing Instruction" bluntly stated that "photographs are only admitted insofar as they reproduce drawings or prints";⁵² photographs from life had been banished from the curriculum.

In the area of design instruction, improvements in photomechanical printing in the 1880s, which made the costs of photographic models comparable to lithographic ones, did not result in the introduction of photographs in design manuals; the most popular pedagogic aid became the luxuriously colored chromolithograph. Paul Lorain's *La Flore décorative* and Eugène Grasset's *La Plante et ses applications ornementales* (1896), with color plates of the simplified plant as it appeared in nature and its translation into stained glass, fabric, or wallpaper (figs. 13–14), presented the latest flat, curvilinear, Japanese-influenced patterns for aspiring art nouveau decorators. The plant remained unchallenged as

the ideal source for ornament, and Jones' original call for the simplification of its portrayal was echoed by Grasset, Walter Crane, Verneuil, Robert Scott Burn, Lewis F. Day, and many others.⁵³ Although English design schools at the turn of the century still tested students in memory plant drawing and design, they were expected to master such skills by sketching from life or drawing isolated stems, pistils, and leaves rather than copying photographs.⁵⁴

If we jump ahead to the post-Cubist 1920s and 1930s, we find a rejection of plant-inspired ornament in favor of simple geometric patterns that, as Musée Galliera curator Henri Clouzot observed, had been rediscovered in primitive cultures and with the help of an "intimate contact with our machines."⁵⁵ Design manuals, such as Adolfo Best's *A Method for Creative Design* (1931), now focused on abstract zigzags, spiral motifs, circles, and interlaces eclectically borrowed from a variety of primitive or non-Western sources. When photographs of plants finally did appear in conjunction with industrial design, in Berlin high school professor Karl Blossfeldt's *Urformen der Kunst* (1928), enlargements of seeds and stamens were shown to possess a rhythmic beauty that could be found in all of nature's creations. The photographs were no longer models for designers but

objects of aesthetic contemplation that triggered philosophical speculation.⁵⁶

The convergence of photography and the decorative arts therefore occurred during the short period in which new technologies promised the rejuvenation and simplification of a tedious, artisanal design process. In the two decades following the commercialization of the collodion-on-glass negative process, photographers struggled to develop new markets or uses for the medium with a frenzy that was comparable to today's computer software explosion. Patents for often unrealizable and fuzzily conceived photographic gimmicks were registered at a dizzying rate—jumping in France from two to three per year in the 1840s to over thirty-one in 1860—as everyone clambered aboard the sun-powered gravy train. Charles Aubry, like most photographers who adopted rather than originated new applications for the medium, shared his era's faith in material progress and sought to profit from what his contemporaries saw as a decline in French international competitiveness. His mistake, however, was to overestimate the real growth potential of his intended market and to ignore the persistent retrenchment of both art schools and tastemakers.

The University of Texas at Austin

53. E. Grasset, *La Plante et ses applications ornementales* (Paris, 1896); W. Crane, *The Bases of Design* (London, 1898); M. P. Verneuil, *Etude de la plante* (Paris, n.d.); R. Scott Burn, ed., *Ornamental Drawing and Architectural Design* (London, 1882); L. F. Day, *The Application of Ornament* (London, 1888); W. and G. Audsley, *Outlines of Ornament* (London, 1881).

54. E. E. Clark, "Art Master, Derby Technical College," in *A Handbook of Plant Form* (London, 1904), refers to the government exams in this area and presents illustrations of entire plants accompanied by

botanical information, presumably to help students in preparing for these tests.

55. H. Clouzot, *Le Décor moderne dans la tenture et le tissu* (Paris, 1929).

56. G. Mattenklott has traced the origins of Blossfeldt's idea of "Urformen der Kunst" to G. Semper, E. Haeckel, and Blossfeldt's teacher, M. Meurer. *Karl Blossfeldt 1865–1932—Das Fotografische Werk* (Munich, 1981).

Acquisitions / 1985

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Acquisitions in 1985: Introduction

Looking over my introductions to the first two acquisitions supplements, for 1983 and 1984, I realize that these pages have become an annual chronicle of the Museum's growth. This seems a good thing for us and perhaps also for our readers. Change at the Getty has been so rapid and often so heady that we need the perspective, as well as the written record, that regular stocktaking can provide. In this report I will summarize our acquisitions, and take a broader look at the year's events.

The major achievement of 1985 was to define the Museum for our architect and make a forecast of its future. Richard Meier was chosen by the Getty Trust in the autumn of 1984; at that point the Museum staff had already spent a year discussing its likes and dislikes, hopes and dreams. By early 1985 we were involved in an intricate collaboration with our colleagues at the Getty Trust and with Mr. Meier that will eventually result in a complex of buildings to house a new museum and the other organizations of the Getty Trust. The site is 24 acres of a 162-acre tract in the foothills of the Santa Monica Mountains in Brentwood, about twenty minutes' drive from the present Museum. (The Museum building in Malibu, after the later collections are moved to Brentwood in 1992 or 1993, will be devoted solely to Greek and Roman art.)

The entire year was spent developing a written program for the new museum and fitting it together with the programs of other Getty Trust activities. The finished document describes the goals of the complex, the kinds of functions to be housed, and the size and character of the different spaces required. This so-called user program is undergoing a thorough analysis by the Meier office as I write, being refined, amplified, and improved to serve as the "architectural program" for the next phase of the project, schematic design. The architect has met regularly with us and the Trust staff and has worked especially closely with Stephen Rountree, formerly deputy director for administration of the Museum, now director of the building project for the Trust.

Our description of the goals and character of the new Getty Museum includes the following:

"The character of the new Getty Museum ought to be markedly different from that of a large general art museum. Its size and scale will be relatively modest. The collections will be specialized, the emphasis will be on the permanent collections rather than loan exhibitions, and the spirit will be contemplative rather than frenetic. The new Museum will be an elevated place, literally because it will sit on a hill above the surrounding city and figuratively because visitors will feel that they have withdrawn for a while from the anxieties of daily life. They should be put in a receptive frame of mind by

the atmosphere of a beautiful, comfortable building. In the galleries, they ought to be seduced by the beauty of individual works of art, a seduction that will be more complete if the works of art are not only especially fine but are seen in beautiful light and harmonious settings.

"The Museum is to be a place where art is respected, where the public gets uncondescending guidance, and where integrity reigns. The seriousness of its purpose will be reinforced by the presence nearby of two other Getty institutions devoted to scholarship and conservation. Visitors will understand that the Museum is far more than a public showplace. Their receptivity should not be diminished by overcrowded galleries.

"In the new Museum we have a remarkable chance to deepen the visitor's experience by a variety of means, including a lucid organization of the collections, helpful labeling, and educational adjuncts in the vicinity of the collections that provide information and interpretation.

"The Museum's form and layout ought to express the special character of the Getty collections. The physical plan should organize the collections logically and include routes of travel that reward the visitor with variety, surprise, and beauty.

"The large general museum is typically housed in one or several large building masses whose interiors are subdivided for the various collections; these are presented synoptically, like chapters in a text on the history of art. The Getty collections, however, are less a text than an anthology, chosen somewhat arbitrarily and edited rigorously. We have elected to build subcollections of strength and depth, such as eighteenth-century French art and European paintings, and to sacrifice broad or uniform coverage of the history of art. As a result, the various Getty collections may logically be housed, singly or in combinations, in discrete but connected clusters.

"The setting is of great importance to an optimal experience. For this, we need a museum building that plays skillful accompanist to the collection. The building should subordinate itself to the works of art in the galleries, assert itself with dignity and grace in the public spaces, and contribute logic as well as pleasure to the visitors' progress. We hope that the building can give modern form to the well-proven virtues, aesthetic and functional, of the great museums of the past. We require settings for the works of art that bear some relation to their original context, with lighting, scale, decor, and materials chosen to make works of art look at home—albeit in a home of the 1990s. Visual competition needs to be kept to a minimum. We need to provide many intervals for visual relief, rest and reflection, for it defeats our purpose to tax the

visitor's body and overload his senses. Looking at art should be an intense experience. After a while recovery is necessary, for which we need to provide appropriate spaces."

During the year we made three trips with Richard Meier and our Trust colleagues to look at buildings of all kinds. The objective was not to find features to copy but, instead, to study sites that have particularly suggestive power for us or to see buildings that we think of as especially successful in one way or another. Away from our daily duties, stirred by common experiences, we were able to push ideas for our own project further. It was valuable just to compare our reactions with the architect's (and vice versa) and in the process to learn something of one another's minds and vocabularies long before our ability to communicate is tested in earnest.

The chance to build a new museum is rare enough; to do it under the peculiar conditions enjoyed by the Getty Museum is rarer still. We are planning for a collection that is only partly formed, one that will grow and change unpredictably. And the Trust is planning to house organizations so new that their activities are only now developing, yet whose shape in 1993 must nevertheless be estimated for the architect as accurately as possible. Writing a program, difficult as it proved to be, did much to accelerate the development of our ideas.

Meanwhile, the Getty Museum in Malibu continued its own steady evolution.

A growing collection requires diverse kinds of care, so we completed new conservation studios and laboratories for antiquities, for sculpture and decorative arts, and for paintings, as well as an analytical lab that is operated for our benefit by the Conservation Institute. All are grouped around the courtyard of Mr. Getty's Ranch House. The house, which contained the Museum from 1954 to 1974, has undergone constant alterations ever since to serve as an all-purpose office building. In the Museum proper, upstairs galleries have been renovated for new acquisitions, of which the largest are the collections of maiolica and glass acquired in 1984. Much of 1985 was spent developing plans for an improved gallery to exhibit illuminated manuscripts and preparing to renovate a gallery for selections from the large collection of photographs that we acquired in 1984 and subsequently.

The appointment as associate director for education and public affairs of Bret Waller, formerly director of the Memorial Art Gallery of the University of Rochester, stimulated much planning and recruitment in order to improve the Museum's services to the public. We will have the chance to explore many new kinds of services in the near future—new forms of orientation, new ways to provide information about the collection, and new places for visitors to go for assistance, for example—that will provide

potential models for the new museum in Brentwood, in addition to being useful in their own right.

During 1985 we were glad to see the Getty Museum's purposes gradually come to be understood more fully. The press was far better informed and consequently less alarmist, both here and abroad. Museum colleagues no longer appear to fear the specter of our total domination of the art market, since they now realize that we are active in a relatively small number of fields, prudent in matters of price, and respectful of national patrimonies.

This was a year in which purchases stayed within the self-imposed boundaries. We acquire only antiquities, illuminated manuscripts, paintings, drawings, decorative arts, sculpture, and photographs. We resisted opportunities to expand into new fields. The hard realities of today's art market prevent any museum, no matter how well endowed, from collecting brilliantly in many areas at once. The Museum has chosen to form a few varied and extensive collections rather than a thinner survey of the whole history of art. We are willing to live with somewhat oddly shaped collections so long as they are truly distinguished, or will be one day.

In 1985 we had some success in our pursuit of that vanishing species, the important work of art.

IN ANTIQUITIES, few events could surpass the purchase of a kouros, the only such complete figure to reach America since 1932, when the Metropolitan Museum bought a kouros of an earlier date. The Getty's piece is one of the best surviving examples of the sculptural type that introduced into Europe the heroic human form in stone, upon which so much later art rests. Its study and restoration will have taken the staff nearly two years when it is shown to the public in the autumn of 1986. Some other important sculptures were added to the collection, including a Cycladic harpist; a small Etruscan bronze kouros; a spectacular Hellenistic group representing griffins killing a deer; a group of Roman portrait sculptures of exceptional quality; and a Hellenistic marble footbath with a colorful and well-preserved painting inside—one of the few Greek paintings to survive anywhere. The collection of Greek vases gained important Attic examples and a group of fine Mycenaean, Corinthian, and Laconian vases that add diversity and depth to a growing collection. The "minor" arts gained strength with the purchase of a remarkable variety of glass objects, engraved gems, and metalwork.

THE ACQUISITION OF MANUSCRIPTS of various nationalities and periods in 1985 was overshadowed by one event, the appearance of a long-lost volume with illuminations by Jean Fouquet, part of a book of hours whose two other parts are well known. Its four full-page miniatures show why Fouquet, the greatest painter of the fifteenth century in France, exerted such a powerful influence on his contem-

poraries, since he combined traditional French delicacy of execution with a new gravity drawn from Italian figure painting. Among other manuscript acquisitions, an Ottoman gospel lectionary is remarkable for its rarity (it dates from around A.D. 960) and for the splendor of its decorated initials. A Gothic psalter made in Bruges around 1250 adds further strength to a collection of Flemish manuscripts which now has no equal in America. We acquire detached miniatures from time to time if their interest warrants and there was no hesitation in the case of the pair of Anglo-Saxon leaves sold at auction by a Belgian museum; they are exceedingly rare examples of the flowering of a lively narrative art in England around 1000.

PAINTINGS saw acquisitions unrivaled in any previous year in our history. The *Adoration of the Magi* by Andrea Mantegna is a late work of the greatest intensity of feeling; it will be of fundamental significance to the collection after cleaning and restoration. An *Annunciation* by the Flemish mid-fifteenth-century master Dieric Bouts, another picture of exceptional rarity and originality of conception, becomes our most important early Netherlandish picture. And *Man with a Hoe* by Jean-François Millet, in its time the painter's most celebrated work, adds weight to our growing group of nineteenth-century paintings.

We were especially fortunate to be able to buy a few brilliant French, Flemish, and Dutch pictures, notably the robust *modello* Rubens painted for his Freising altarpiece; the earliest dated church interior by Saenredam, a picture of 1628 whose chaste delicacy is hardly surpassed in his later work; and a panoramic landscape by Koninck that is one of the master's most powerful pictures. We acquired two small paintings by Gericault in the Bühler sale in London, each connected with a major project of this Romantic genius: the haunting head of a black man, made at the time of *The Raft of the Medusa*, and an oil study for *The Race of the Riderless Horses*. We bought a sumptuous flower piece by Courbet and two important pictures by Cézanne, an early portrait that shows him emerging as a keen analyst of form and a lyrical, mature landscape in the Ile-de-France.

DRAWINGS in greater numbers than usual were added in 1985, thanks to a relatively generous supply of excellent examples on the market. Of the eighteen Italian drawings, the most remarkable are probably Fra Bartolommeo's composition drawing for the altarpiece in the Accademia in Florence; a landscape by Titian, full of enigmatic poetry; a double-sided sheet of pungent studies by Annibale Carracci; and a pair of luminous pen drawings by G. B. Tiepolo. We were able to buy four Rembrandt drawings, so that our holdings now rival those of any American museum. When an unknown drawing by Chardin appeared—an expressive chalk study, one of only six Chardin drawings to have survived—we were fortunate enough

to purchase it. A remarkable Goya came to light, evidently representing Pygmalion and Galatea in a drolly unconventional guise. Finally, we had the chance to buy a drawing by Van Gogh that vibrates with life, the portrait of the postman Joseph Roulin, a friend whom the artist admired for his serene strength and wisdom.

THE DECORATIVE ARTS COLLECTION begins chronologically with an especially fine representation of the marquetry and veneered furniture made in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries during the reign of Louis XIV, especially by the Boulle workshop. A Boulle *bureau plat* was always needed and was finally found in 1985; so was a tapestry from a series representing the king's *châteaux*, and so was one of the most splendid objects ever made for the monarch, a huge Savonnerie carpet woven for the Long Gallery of the Louvre. Other countries, chiefly Germany, are gradually gaining representation in the collection. This year we bought a console table, possibly from Berlin, of exceptionally vigorous design; a reading stand by Abraham Roentgen made for the elector of Trier; a David Roentgen long-case clock; and an elegant *secrétaire* that may be Swedish. We are forming a collection of eighteenth-century ceramics, largely French and German, which tries to represent the best examples of the most successful models. Thus we added fine pieces of Sèvres and Sceaux and also bought a group of stoneware pieces made by Böttger in the earliest years of the Meissen manufactory, as well as other Meissen work that represents the first production of porcelain in Europe.

SCULPTURE AND WORKS OF ART, a department formed in 1984, had its first full year of activity. The big event was the purchase of some twenty-five objects from the collection of Mr. and Mrs. Erich Lederer of Geneva, which included a *Satyr* by Benvenuto Cellini among many other superb examples of Renaissance and Baroque bronze sculpture. Metalwork of all kinds was added to the collection, such as a suavely unadorned Augsburg ewer and basin of 1583 and a lavish plaque of silver and lapis lazuli made in the 1730s by Francesco Juvara. In this category the most remarkable objects were the smallest, two mid-sixteenth-century French jewels that demonstrate all the nimble sculptural inventiveness of the Renaissance goldsmith.

A series of French sculptures now complements the Getty's great strength in furniture and decorative arts. These include an impressive *morceau de réception* by Saly, a terracotta group by Clodion that is full of humorous eroticism, and Houdon's most affecting portrait of a little girl. The fertile Romantic imagination of Antoine-Louis Barye gets full play in a fatal encounter between a python and a gnu, one of the sculptor's rare wax and plaster models. Finally, the marble portrait by Carpeaux of Mme Alexandre Dumas *fil*s of about 1874, at once commanding and subtle,

carries the sculpture collection to its present chronological limit.

IN 1985, PHOTOGRAPHS were added to the considerable holdings formed the previous year, when we bought a group of large private collections. The rarest acquisition of 1985 was certainly the album of photographs of the 1840s put together by W. H. Maitland, a precious document of the exploration of the new medium by Fox Talbot and other members of a little group of Scottish pioneers. Early photography was enriched by a group of pictures by Roger Fenton, the great master of the camera in England during the 1850s; by additions to our extensive holdings of the American Carleton Watkins; and by new examples of Le Gray, Vallou-de-Villeneuve, Durieu, and Silvy. We added more rare or unique examples by August Sander, whose work can be seen more extensively here than anywhere else in the world. The Museum was fortunate to acquire a splendid group of American nineteenth-century photographs from the National Academy of Design. And in our role as a California collection, we have acquired the work of photographers whose principal activity was in California, especially in Los Angeles; among others these include Louis Fleckenstein, an important but neglected figure, and Edward Weston, a famous artist who reached his maturity in this city.

The Department of Photographs completed its move to new quarters in 1985. It continued cataloging the collection, lent generously to other museums, opened a study room for scholars and students, and began to foster a vigorous program of study. In 1986 a new Museum gallery for changing installations of photographs will open, and the department's first publications will appear.

John Walsh
Director

Notes to the Reader

Although there are variations that reflect 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, and inscriptions; Museum accession number; commentary; provenance; and bibliography.

In supplying dimensions, whenever possible we observed the formula "height (or length) precedes width, which precedes depth (or diameter)." When this was not appropriate to a work of art, the following abbreviations were employed:

H: Height
L: Length
W: Width
D: Depth
Diam: Diameter

In the provenance sections, dealers' names are bracketed.

ANTIQUITIES

STONE SCULPTURE

1. CYCLADIC HARPIST

Aegean, circa 2500 B. C.

Island marble, 35.8 x 9.5 cm (14¹/₈" x 3³/₄")

85.AA.103

This small marble statue of a seated harpist depicts the musician at rest with his arm embracing the exterior frame of his instrument. It is the largest and one of the best preserved of the surviving Cycladic harpists. The simplified carving, with its suggestion of anatomical detail, reveals the artist's clear understanding of human form. Ghosts of pigment are discernible for the hair and eyes. This harpist has been classified as a member of the Early Spedos variety, style EC.II.

PROVENANCE: European art market; private collection, United States.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: P. Getz-Preziosi, "The Male Figure in Early Cycladic Sculpture," *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 15 (1981), pp. 24–25; idem, *Early Cycladic Sculpture* (Malibu, 1985), pl. IVb, figs. 24–25, cover, pp. 45–49.

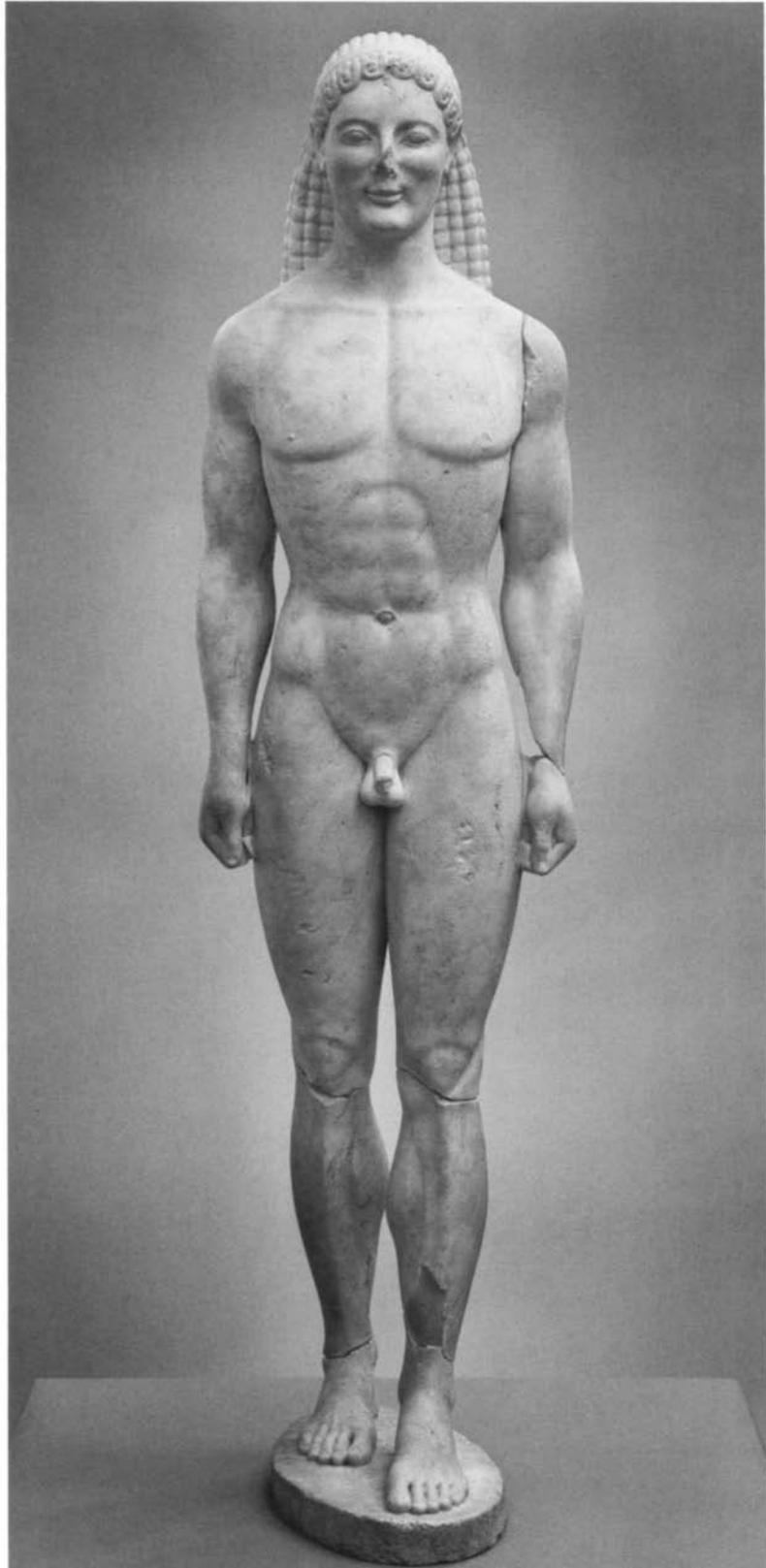
2. KOUROS

Greek, circa 530–520 B. C.

Marble (Thasian[?]), H (with plinth): 206 cm (80³/₈"); W (at shoulders): 52 cm (20⁵/₈"); W (greatest, knuckle to knuckle): 52 cm (20⁵/₈"); W (of plinth): 30.5 cm (12¹/₈")

85.AA.40

The statue is that of a nude youth standing with his left leg advanced and both feet firmly planted on an oval plinth. The figure's arms rest at his sides; his clenched hands, thumbs forward, are attached to his thighs. The braided hair, caught by an undulating flat fillet surrounding the top of the head, falls in a bell-shaped mass behind the neck and below the shoulders; each lock terminates in a small triangle, point down. Faint incisions outline the irises of the eyes. The sculpture is complete but for missing fragments at the left shin; the right leg, which is broken below the knee; the left inner forearm; a knuckle of the right hand; and the extremities of the



nose and penis. The surface is slightly weathered; no traces of color remain.

The closest of the full-figure parallels are to be found in G. M. A. Richter, *Kouroi: Archaic Greek Youths* (London, 1960), pp. 118–125, particularly the Anavysos kouros (Athens, National Museum no. 3851); see also *ibid.*, p. 137, no. 161 bis, figs. 483, 484, for a closely related partial torso.

PROVENANCE: Private collection, Switzerland; European art market.

3. FIVE MARBLE FRAGMENTS

Greek, circa 500 B.C.

Marble, various dimensions

85.AA.419.1–5

These pieces may belong to a fragmentary Archaic reclining figure (81.AA.193.4) already in the Museum's collection.

PROVENANCE: European art market.

4. TWO GRIFFINS ATTACKING A FALLEN DEER

Greek, second half of the fourth century B.C.

Marble, 149 x 90 x 29 cm (59¹/₈" x 35³/₄" x 11¹/₂")

85.AA.106

Two griffins with upraised wings crouch over a fallen deer, their beaks tearing at the flesh of the dying animal. A roughly hewn base supports the group. Extensive color survives: blue on the griffins' wings; red on their combs, around their mouths, and where their claws dig into their prey; brown on the coat of the deer; and green on the ground.

The sculpture was originally carved from a single block of stone, to which small pieces, such as the griffins' ears, were added. An attachment may have rested on the wings' flattened upper surfaces. The group may have been originally intended as an architectural element or furniture support.

The context and style of the sculpture suggest that it was created in the second half of the fourth century B.C., a period during which the griffin motif appeared broadly in Greek art, in such media as sculpture, terracotta, vase-painting, metal reliefs and vessels, jewelry, mosaics, and coins. The very large, sickle-shaped wings fall directly within the main-



4

stream of Achaemenid and Ionian Greek tradition.

PROVENANCE: European art market; private collection, United States.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: C. C. Vermeule, "Bench and Table Supports: Roman Egypt and Beyond," in *Studies in Ancient Egypt, the Aegean, and the Sudan*, eds. W. K. Simpson and W. Davis (Boston, 1981), p. 183; *idem*, *Catalogue of a Collection of Greek, Etruscan, and Roman Antiquities* (Cambridge, Mass., 1984), no. 9; *idem*, "The God Apollo, a Ceremonial Table with Griffins, and a Votive Basin," *GettyMusJ* 15 (forthcoming [1987]).



5



5

5. LEKANIS WITH PAINTED NEREIDS ON SEA CREATURES

Greek, second half of the fourth century B.C.

Parian marble, 30 x 65 x 56.5 cm (11⁷/₈" x 25³/₄" x 22¹/₂")

85.AA.107

The bowl has fluted handles and an ovolo molding around the lip. Its circular foot, decorated with a Lesbian cyma, rests on a rough column of marble, framed by three animal-paw supports. The column rises from a thin, slightly irregular base, which in turn rests on a heavy, rough support. In the bowl's painted interior, three nereids ride sea creatures—one on a hippocamp and two on ketoi. Each holds part of Achilles' armor (shield, cuirass, and perhaps helmet, although the last item is indistinct). Much of the original paint remains: gold for the shield, purple for the nereids' garments, and reds and blues for the hippocamps. Red and blue also decorate the foot of the bowl, the animal paws, the support, and the plinth.

The style of the interior figures points to the object's creation at the end of the fourth century B.C.; the form of its decorative cyma indicates that it was made in the Greek Islands or on mainland Greece, an origin that is separately supported by the material, Parian marble. C. C. Vermeule suggests that the theme of Thetis bearing Achilles' arms associates the lekanis with the Epirote rulers through their Macedonian relations and may indicate its dedication by Pyrrhus,

the powerful king of Epirus who lived between 319 and 272 B. C.

PROVENANCE: European art market; private collection, United States.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: C. C. Vermeule, *Catalogue of a Collection of Greek, Etruscan, and Roman Antiquities* (Cambridge, Mass., 1984), no. 10; idem, "The God Apollo, a Ceremonial Table with Griffins, and a Votive Basin," *GettyMusJ* 15 (forthcoming [1987]).



6

6. ARCHAISTIC STATUE OF APOLLO
Roman, perhaps first – second
century A. D.

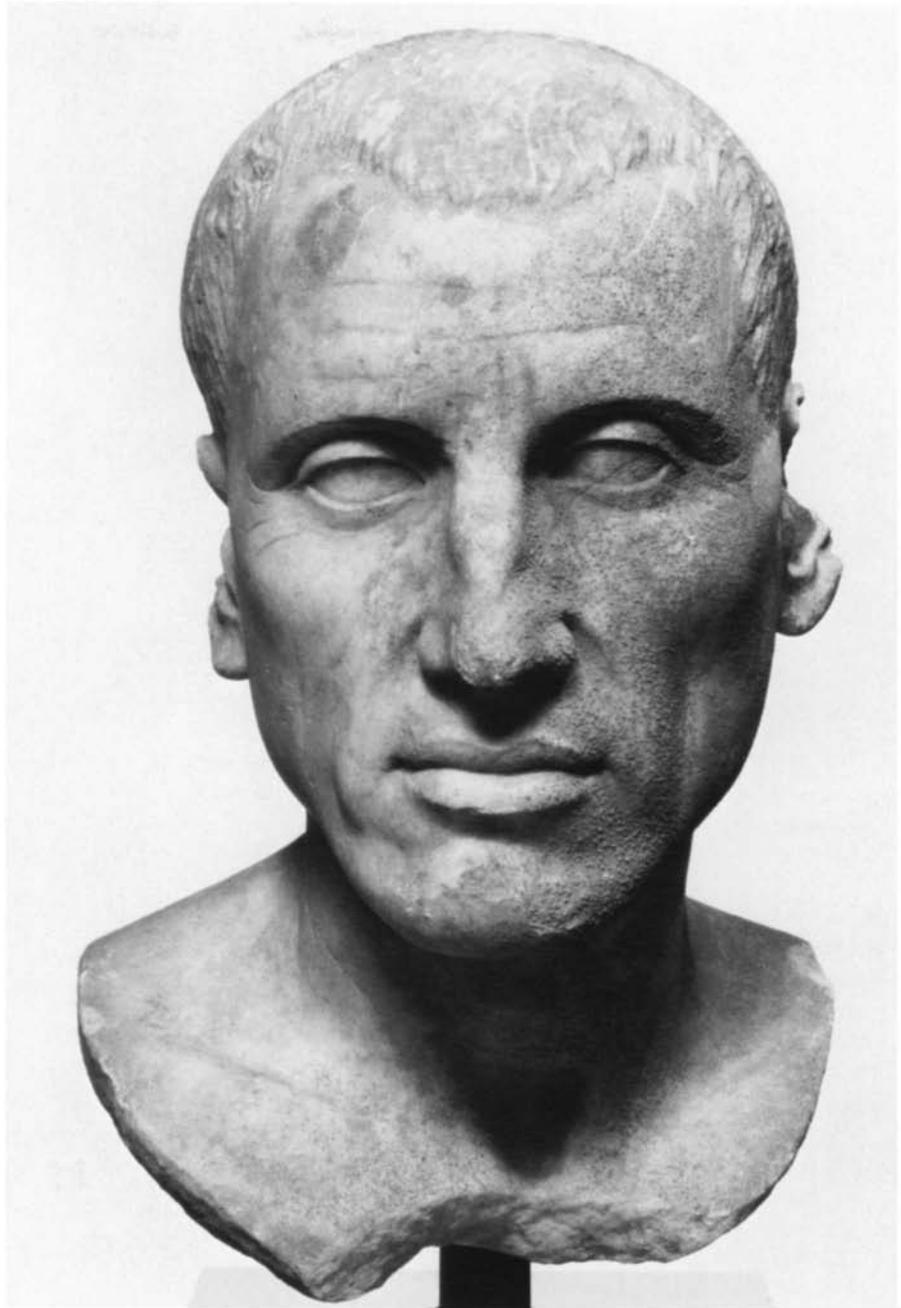
Marble, H (including base): 145 cm
(57 1/2"); H (without base): 141.8 cm
(56 1/4"); W (maximum, of base):
57.7 cm (23")

85.AA.108

The god stands frontally with his right leg slightly advanced. He is nude except for a cloak, which is caught around his left arm, covers most of his back, and hangs forward over his right shoulder. A fillet, flanked by braids, binds the god's hair and is tied in a knot at the back of his head; at his temples, two corkscrew curls of hair spiral downward. There are the remains of a griffin that was seated at his left foot, a fragmentary wing of which curls upward at his side.

PROVENANCE: European art market; private collection, United States.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: C. C. Vermeule, *Catalogue of a Collection of Greek, Etruscan, and Roman Antiquities* (Cambridge, Mass., 1984), no. 8; idem, "The God Apollo, a Ceremonial Table with Griffins, and a Votive Basin," *GettyMusJ* 15 (forthcoming [1987]).



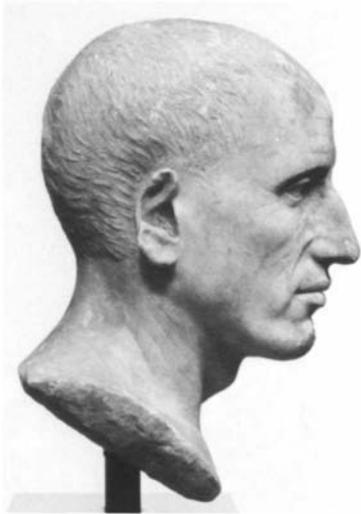
7

7. PORTRAIT BUST OF A MAN
Roman, circa 40 B. C.

Marble, H: 32.5 cm (12 7/8")
85.AA.265

The subject may have been a Roman official or other important person, apparently of about forty years of age. His head is turned slightly toward his right. His hair is cut short and recedes at the temples; his brow is furrowed. A prominent nose overhangs full, fleshy lips. The subject's features, though strong and fully modeled, are expressionless.

The style of the bust—veristic, with fully modeled subsurface structure and sharply defined transitions—is telling both as to its likely date (shortly after the middle of the first century B. C.) and its origin (probably Italy). It belongs to what one of the great authorities on Roman sculpture, Bernhard Schweizer, called the "plastic-realistic" style and, within this style, to a group of portraits believed (because some were copied in later generations) to represent famous personalities. This powerful exposition



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of character is emphasized by the severity of the subject's demeanor and by the daring sculptural asymmetries that the artist incorporated into his composition. Sheldon Nodelman is preparing a study of the bust for publication in the *Getty Museum Journal* 15 (forthcoming [1987]).

PROVENANCE: European art market.

8. BUST OF L. LICINIUS NEPOS

Roman, circa A.D. 100

Marble, H: 37.5 cm (14³/₄").

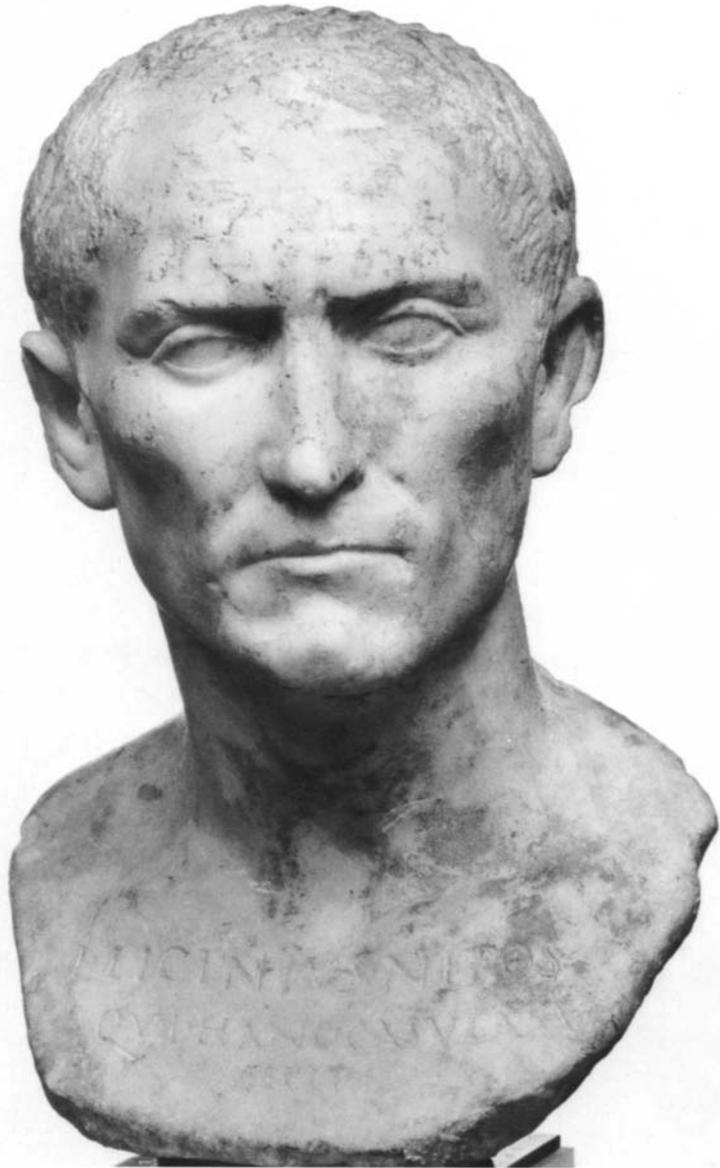
Inscribed: L·LICINIUS·NEPOS / QVI·
HANC·CASVLAM / FECIT.

85.AA.111

The bust, made to be set up in a family columbarium, identifies by inscription the subject, L. Licinius Nepos, a known figure of the Trajanic period. The front of the bust is in almost perfect condition, although there is some chipping at the brow and at the labial-nasal furrow on the right side. The nose is intact, but there are some small losses at both ears. The back of the head, which was cut separately and attached by means of two iron dowels, is also missing. Elaine Gazda is preparing a study of the piece for a forthcoming *Getty Museum Journal*.

PROVENANCE: European art market; private collection, United States.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: C. C. Vermeule, *Catalogue of a Collection of Greek, Etruscan, and Roman Antiquities* (Cambridge, Mass., 1984), no. 23.



8



9

9. BUST OF A SLAVE CHILD

Roman, early second century A.D.

Marble, H: 39.7 cm (15⁵/₈").

Inscribed: MARTIALI·VERN/
DVLCISSIMO·QVI /
VIXIT·ANN·II·M·X·D·VIII /
TI·CLAVDIVS·VITALIS /
B·M·FECIT.

85.AA.352

Dedicated as a funerary monument, the sculpture portrays a very young slave child who, according to the inscription, died before attaining the age of three. It is possible that the dedicator is the same individual known from other inscrip-tional evidence. The boy's hair, Trajanic in style, is braided into a so-called lock

of Horus behind and above the right ear. Except for some minor abrasions, the piece is exceptionally well preserved; the nose and ears are intact. The head was broken from the body and reattached. Publication is being prepared by Günter Grimm and Heinz Heinen for a forthcoming *Getty Museum Journal*.

PROVENANCE: European art market.

10. HEAD OF A BALDING MAN

Roman, fifth century A.D.

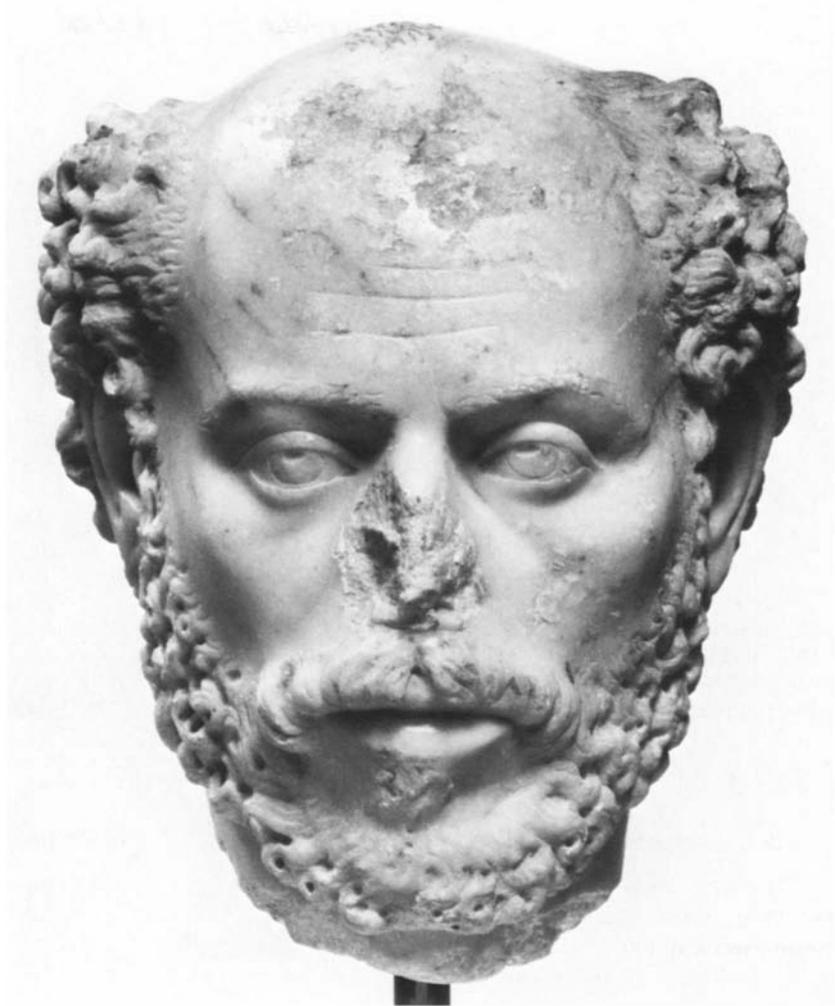
Gray marble, H: 25.5 cm (10¹/₁₆"

85.AA.112

The condition of this portrait of a balding man is marred only by some damage to the nose, upper forehead, and back of the head. The gray marble points to an origin of Asia Minor. Perhaps a magistrate or other important person, the subject has a curly beard and a considerable amount of curly hair over the ears and at the back of the head. The work is a highly competent and individualized representation.

PROVENANCE: European art market; private collection, United States.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: C. C. Vermeule, *Catalogue of a Collection of Greek, Etruscan, and Roman Antiquities* (Cambridge, Mass., 1984), no. 25.



10

11. STRIGILAR SARCOPHAGUS WITH EROTES

Roman, circa A.D. 300

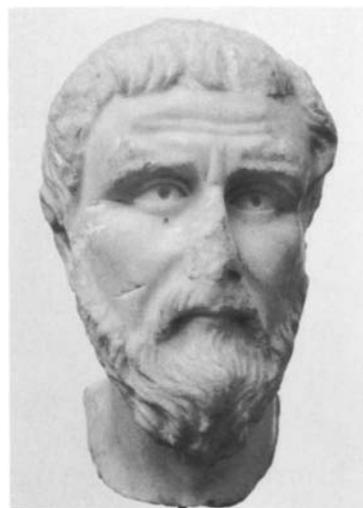
Marble, 58 x 177.6 x 60.6 cm (23" x 70¹/₂" x 24")

85.AA.30

The object belongs to a well-known group of fluted sarcophagi, some of which have similar small amphorae and standing erotes with reversed torches, a symbol of mourning. The drill work and other elements of its execution are characteristic of the Tetrarchic period. The condition of the sarcophagus is outstanding; only a small piece of marble is chipped from the rear rim. For related fluted sarcophagi, see G. Koch and H. Sichtermann, *Römische Sarkophage: Handbuch der Archäologie* (Tübingen, 1982), pp. 73ff. and 241ff.

PROVENANCE: European art market.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: G. Koch, *Roman Funerary Sculpture* (Malibu, forthcoming), no. 22.



12

12. HEAD OF A PRIEST OR SAINT

Roman (Asia Minor), fifth century A.D.

Marble, H: 28 cm (11¹/₁₆"

85.AA.113

This late Roman head appears to represent a holy man. The hair and beard are rendered in uniform waves, the forehead in soft furrows, the ears without inner elements. The pupils of the eyes are deeply drilled out in rough circles. There is minor damage to the right cheek, nose, hair at the right temple, and brows. The head is a fine example of the transitional style between Roman and early Christian art. It was carved for insertion, probably as part of an architectural sculptural group intended for public commemoration. It is closely related in size, form, and specific technique to a marble head in the Istanbul Archaeological Museum (inv. no. 5278). Both objects may be by the same hand.

PROVENANCE: European art market; private collection, United States.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: C. C. Vermeule, *Catalogue of a Collection of Greek, Etruscan, and Roman Antiquities* (Cambridge, Mass., 1984), no. 26.

BRONZE SCULPTURE



13

13. GEOMETRIC STATUETTE OF A HORSE

Greek, circa 800 – 600 B.C.

Bronze, H: 7.9 cm (3 1/8"); W (base):

3.5 cm (1 3/8"); L (base, including

tail): 5.5 cm (2 1/8")

85.AB.445, presented by Robert A. Kagan

This small statuette of a horse standing upon a perforated base is a fine example of small-scale Geometric bronze sculpture. The artist simplified the form, paying little attention to precise anatomical structure. The effect achieved is a flowing contour accentuated by the inward curve of the descending tail.

14. STATUETTE OF A YOUTH

Etruscan, circa 490 B.C.

Bronze, H: 25.4 cm (10")

85.AB.104

The partially draped youth stands frontally with left leg advanced. His right hand is extended with palm open and turned downward; his left hand held a cylindrical object, now lost. His garment is accented with wavy ridges of relief for its rope borders, engraved lines for the folds, and a series of dots for the embroidered hem. The statuette has some minor losses on the left hand, and the back is gouged. The overall patina is green with slight traces of red. The statuette is most closely related to a bronze figure from Pizzirimonte, Italy, now in the British Museum, London; see E. Richardson, *The Etruscans, Their Art and Civilization* (Chicago and Lon-



14

don, 1954), pp. 104, 282, pl. XXV,b;
H. Walters, *Catalogue of the Bronzes,
Greek, Roman, and Etruscan: The British
Museum* (London, 1899), p. 70, no. 509;
W. Lamb, *Greek and Roman Bronzes*
(London, 1919), p. 109, pl. 40b.

PROVENANCE: European art market; private
collection, United States.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: C. C. Vermeule, *Catalogue of a
Collection of Greek, Etruscan, and Roman Anti-
quities* (Cambridge, Mass., 1984), no. 14A.

15. RELIEF OF TWO MAGISTRATES

Roman, first century A.D.

Bronze, 26 x 13.8 cm (10¹/₄" x 5⁷/₁₆")

85.AB.109

This hollow-cast bronze sculpture, con-
sisting of two togate figures standing
frontally but turning their heads slightly
toward each other, may have been an
appliqué for a historical relief or cere-
monial vehicle. Both magistrates pos-
sess a portraitleike quality reminiscent of
such monuments as the Ara Pacis and
the Ara Pietatis Augusti. The figure on
the right holds a scroll in his left hand.
With the exception of some incrustation,
the overall condition of the sculpture is
very good. The patination, light green
at the heads, becomes a light greenish
brown near the feet.

The relief should be seen in connec-
tion with two other bronze sculptures in
the collection, 84.AB.670 (Juno) and
84.AB.671 (Roma), the latter perhaps by
the same hand. All are to be published
by J. Herrmann in a forthcoming exhibi-
tion catalogue of Greek, Etruscan, and
Roman bronzes.

PROVENANCE: European art market; private
collection, United States.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: C. C. Vermeule, *Catalogue of a
Collection of Greek, Etruscan, and Roman Anti-
quities* (Cambridge, Mass., 1984), no. 21.





16

16. BUST OF A ROMAN MAN
Roman, circa A.D. 90–110
Bronze, H: 38 cm (14¹⁵/₁₆"")
85.AB.110

The expression and gaunt features are those of an older man. The quality of the portrait, which may have come originally from Spain, suggests that the subject was a Roman of some importance in the province, perhaps with connections to the Imperial family. The style of his hair, combed over his forehead and above his ears, indicates a late first- to early second-century date. Some losses have occurred at the drapery edges and left ear, and the surface has suffered some blistering and pitting.

PROVENANCE: European art market; private collection, United States.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: C. C. Vermeule, *Catalogue of a Collection of Greek, Etruscan, and Roman Antiquities* (Cambridge, Mass., 1984), no. 22.

MISCELLANEOUS
BRONZES



17

17. BOX MIRROR AND CASE
Greek, circa 350 B.C.
Bronze, Diam (mirror): 15.5 cm (6¹/₁₆"");
Diam (case): 15.3 cm (6")
85.AC.87

The mirror and its case were both cast in bronze, but the female head attached to the outside of the case was hammered. The woman has wavy hair pulled away from her face and bound at the back of her head in a thick braid. A few corkscrew curls hang loosely at the rear. She wears a tubular necklace.

PROVENANCE: European art market.

(13¹⁵/₁₆""); Diam: 20 cm (7⁷/₈"")
85.AB.78

This bronze oinochoe is decorated with a variety of elaborate floral patterns. The tips of the water lily leaves that surround the lower body turn outward to reveal small upright lotus buds set between volutes. In the interstices are the points of smaller water lily leaves surmounted by plant stalks that branch out around the shoulder of the vessel into a profusion of lotus flowers, buds, and acanthus leaves. A convex collar decorated with a Lesbian cyma in relief separates the body from the neck, which is covered with an elegant silver grapevine. Simple beading above an ovolo pattern surrounds the flaring mouth. The junction between the handle and rim is marked in the center by a small frontal satyr's head with inlaid silver eyes; at the outer edges are ducks' heads, which also have silver eyes. A silver snake forms the central rib of the handle. The handle's lower end is attached to the body of the vase with a large frontal head of Pan, whose symmetrical goat horns curve outward from the center of his skull. Michael Pfrommer is preparing the publication for a forthcoming *Getty Museum Journal*.

PROVENANCE: European art market.

TERRACOTTA



18

18. OINOCHOE
Greek, circa 50 B.C.
Bronze and silver, H: 33 cm



19

19. HEAD OF A GOD
Greek (South Italy, perhaps Sicily),
circa 325 B.C.

Terracotta, H: 27.3 cm (10³/₄"
85.AD.105

Probably broken off from a statue, this head is a well-preserved example of a god of a type favored in South Italy and Sicily. It has a rich beard and curls made separately, then attached. The outlines of the eyes are incised. The blue beard suggests the subject's identity to be Zeus, who is called "blue bearded" in the Homeric epics. The terracotta is most closely related to a head of Zeus from South Italy, now in Leipzig, and, in the same collection, to the mask of Dionysos from Capua.

PROVENANCE: European art market; private collection, United States.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: C. C. Vermeule, *Catalogue of a Collection of Greek, Etruscan, and Roman Antiquities* (Cambridge, Mass., 1984), no. 11.

20. FOUR FEMALE FIGURES

Canosan, South Italy, first quarter of the third century B. C.

Terracotta, H (various): 94.5 – 96 cm (37¹/₂" – 38")

85.AD.76.1 – 4

The four female figures represent a group of mourners with their hands upraised in an attitude of despair. Their hair is parted in the middle and combed backwards. Each wears a peplos, with the trailing part of the apoxygma thrown forward and carried on the left shoulder. The statues are hollow, and two have a small hole near the hemline. The figures, which are probably the product of a local artist, are well preserved; only the ends of the fingers on some have been broken and repaired. Extensive added color survives on the hems of the dresses and in the hair.

These figures are closely related to other Canosan terracotta statues now in Copenhagen, Rouen, Bari, and Naples. For related statues of this type, see A. Levi, *Le terracotte figurate del Museo Nazionale di Napoli* (Milan, 1925), pp. 55 – 56, pl. II, figs. 1 – 3, nos. 223 – 237; and A. Oliver, Jr., *The Reconstruction of Two Apulian Tomb Groups* (Bern, 1968), p. 16, nn. 79 – 81, pl. 11, figs. 1 – 3. The four female figures are to be published by M. Lucia Ferruzza in a forthcoming *Getty Museum Journal*.

PROVENANCE: European art market.

VASES

21. FOUR HUNDRED FORTY-SEVEN FRAGMENTS OF ANCIENT VASES Greek, thirteenth – third century B. C.

Terracotta, various dimensions
85.AE.462 – 479, 85.AE.481 – 512,
anonymous donation

VASES: MYCENAEAN



22

22. SIEVE JUG

Circa thirteenth century B. C.

Attributed to Painter 20
[E. Vermeule]

Terracotta, H: 16.6 cm (6⁹/₁₆"");
Diam: 13 cm (5¹/₈"")

85.AE. 145

The body is surrounded by a continuous frieze of figures. Starting beside the handle, they are, from left to right: a sphinx with a pointed headdress holding a branch with pomegranates; a bull with one bird perched on his back and another beneath his belly; a man, perhaps a bull jumper, who grasps the bull by one horn; a small bird, beneath the strainer spout; and a very large bird. The vase is unbroken except for a chip missing from the rim. For Painter 20, see E. Vermeule and V. Karageorghis, *Mycenaean Pictorial Vase Painting* (Cambridge, Mass., 1982), V.76 – 77.
PROVENANCE: [Atlantis Antiquities, New York].

VASES: CORINTHIAN



23

23. TREFOIL OINOCHOE

Circa 650 – 625 B. C.

Attributed to the Painter of Vatican 73 [D. Amyx]

Terracotta, H (with handle): 27.7 cm (10⁷/₈""); Diam: 19.5 cm (7¹¹/₁₆"")

85.AE.88

White dot-rosettes decorate the black mouth and offset neck of this late Proto-Corinthian/early Transitional trefoil oinochoe. A row of polychrome tongues encircles the shoulder above a red and black scale pattern. Below, there are two continuous registers of processions of animals and fantastic creatures. In the field are black dot-rosettes.

PROVENANCE: European art market.



24

24. OLPE

Circa 650 – 625 B.C.
 Attributed to the Painter of Vatican 73 [D. Amyx]
 Terracotta, H (to top of rotellae): 32.8 cm (12¹⁵/₁₆"); Diam: 17 cm (6¹¹/₁₆")
 85.AE.89

The body of the olpe forms one continuous curve from its low, slightly flaring foot to its broad rim. White dot-rosettes decorate each of the two rotellae that flank the tall handle; they encircle the neck as well. Below the red band of the collar are four registers of animal processions. In the field are black dot-rosettes; a ray-pattern surrounds the lower body.

PROVENANCE: European art market.



25

25. ALABASTRON

Circa 640 – 625 B.C.
 Attributed to the Painter of Palermo 489 [D. Amyx]
 Terracotta, H: 8 cm (3¹/₈");
 Diam (mouth): 3.05 cm (1³/₁₆");
 Diam (body): 4.3 cm (1¹¹/₁₆")
 85.AE.51

This transitional-style alabastron is intact, with most of the surface decoration preserved. On the body is a hybrid panther with one frontal head serving two confronted bodies. The field around the creature is filled with incised rosettes and lozenges; black dots encircle the outer rim of the mouth; and a row of irregular black tongues surrounds the narrow neck.

PROVENANCE: European art market.

Diam (body): 12.5 cm (14¹⁵/₁₆")
 85.AE.52

The front of this intact Early Corinthian aryballos is decorated with an image of Artemis holding in either hand a swan, which she grasps by the neck. She is crowned with a polos and wears a long, elaborately embroidered peplos. Her sickle-shaped wings were borrowed from a Near Eastern representation of the Mistress of the Animals. Below the single handle, a bird flies to the right. The vase is decorated in the "white-dot" style. Around the mouth is a simple step-pattern, and in the field are various filler ornaments.

PROVENANCE: European art market.

VASES:
 LACONIAN

27. KYLIX

Circa 575 – 570 B.C.
 Attributed to the Boread Painter [D. von Bothmer]
 Terracotta, H: 11.8 cm (4⁵/₈");
 Diam: 19.2 cm (7⁹/₁₆")
 85.AE.461, anonymous donation

This kylix has been reconstructed from a number of fragments and is largely restored. In the tondo, the Boreads are pursuing the Harpies. There is a lion below. Another kylix by the same artist is 85.AE.121.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: C. Hoyt-Grimes, "A Kylix and Fragments by the Boread Painter," in *Greek Vases 3, Occasional Papers on Antiquities* (Malibu, 1986), pp. 29 – 34.



26

26. ARYBALLOS

Circa 625 – 600 B.C.
 Terracotta, H: 12.3 cm (4¹³/₁₆");



28

28. KYLIX

Circa 570 – 565 B.C.
 Attributed to the Boread Painter

[M. True]

Terracotta, H: 12 cm ($4\frac{3}{4}$ ");

Diam (bowl): 14 cm ($5\frac{1}{2}$ ")

85.AE.121

In the tondo of the fragmentary cup, within a frame of pomegranates, the hero Bellerophon is in the act of killing the Chimaera. Bellerophon pierces the monster's breast with a spear held in his right hand, and he grasps the reins of his winged mount Pegasus with his left. The exterior of the cup is decorated with bands of ornamental patterns. The cup, attributed to the Boread Painter, is placed within the last period of his work, Group C, circa 570 – 565 B.C. The cup is to be published by Conrad Stibbe.

PROVENANCE: European art market.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: The J. Paul Getty Museum, *Calendar*, February 1986.

VASES: BOEOTIAN



29

29. COCKLESHELL ARYBALLOS

Late sixth – early fifth century B.C.

Terracotta, H: 7.3 cm ($2\frac{13}{16}$ ");

Diam (mouth): 4 cm ($1\frac{9}{16}$ ")

85.AE.349

The body of the aryballos is composed of three mold-made terracotta shells that imitate the form of the edible cockle (*Cardium edule*). The radially ridged shells are joined at their tops by a gather of hand-formed clay, which was pulled upward to form a short, thin neck that is topped by a broad, wheel-made echinus mouth. Three rectangular handles originally extended upward to the lip from the interstices of the shells; one is

now lost, however. Seven thin stripes of alternating red and black glaze decorate the white surfaces of the shells.

PROVENANCE: European art market.

VASES: ATTIC

30. TWO HUNDRED SEVENTY-SIX

ASSORTED FRAGMENTS

Sixth – fifth century B.C.

Terracotta, various dimensions

85.AE.20, 85.AE.193,

85.AE.340, 85.AE.346,

85.AE.423, 85.AE.425 – 429,

85.AE.433 – 437

PROVENANCE: European art market.

VASES: ATTIC BLACK-FIGURE

31. TEN FRAGMENTS OF A DINOS AND STAND

Circa 565 B.C.

Attributed to the Kyllenios Painter

[J. Frel]

Terracotta, various dimensions

85.AE.1941 – 9, 85.AE.343

(joining 81.AE.211)

These fragments join a dinos and stand in the Museum's collection that is decorated with a gigantomachy.

PROVENANCE: European art market.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Moore, "Giants at the Getty," in *Greek Vases 2*, Occasional Papers on Antiquities (Malibu, 1985), pp. 21 – 40.



32

32. NECK-AMPHORA OF SPECIAL SHAPE

Circa 550 B.C.

Attributed to Group E, workshop of Exekias [J. D. Beazley]

Terracotta, H: 35.5 cm ($13\frac{15}{16}$ ");

Diam (mouth): 18.6 cm ($7\frac{3}{8}$ ");

Diam (body): 28 cm ($10\frac{15}{16}$ ");

85.AE.376

This neck-amphora is unbroken, with most of the original color preserved. On side A, Theseus battles with the Minotaur in the center of the scene. A youth and girl look on from each side. Side B presents a duel between armed warriors. A draped man stands behind the left warrior; a woman holding a wreath for the victor looks on from the right. Palmette-lotus festoons decorate the neck and shoulders.

PROVENANCE: Private collection, Switzerland; European art market.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. D. Beazley, *Paralipomena: Additions to Attic Black-figure Vase-painters and to Attic Red-figure Vase-painters*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1971), p. 57, no. 63 bis; U.S. Patitucci, "Una nova anfora del gruppo E in una collezione ticinese," *Numismatica e Antichità Classiche* 4 (1975), pp. 55 – 72.

33. VASE FRAGMENT

Circa 540 – 530 B.C.

Terracotta, 2.6 x 3.4 cm ($1\frac{1}{8}$ x $1\frac{5}{16}$ ");

85.AE.446 (joining 82.AE.40.72),

presented by Dietrich von Bothmer

This fragment joins an Attic band-skyphos fragment that is unusual in having two registers of decoration. The new fragment includes parts of both reg-

isters, showing in the upper register the legs of two warriors running to the left, in the lower register the helmeted head and upper torso of another warrior facing left.

34. TWENTY-TWO FRAGMENTS OF KYLIKES

Circa 540 – 520 B. C.
Terracotta, various dimensions
85. AE.334.1 – 5, 85. AE.421.1 – 16,
85. AE.422 (joining 81. AE.119,
81. AE.201, 81. AE.207)

These fragments join other fragmentary kylikes in the Museum's collection.

PROVENANCE: European art market.

35. THREE FRAGMENTS OF PANATHENAIK AMPHORAE

Late sixth century B. C.
Terracotta, various dimensions
85. AE.333.1 – 3 (joining 81. AE.203)

These fragments join fragmentary Panathenaic amphorae already in the Museum's collection.

PROVENANCE: European art market.

36. THREE PLATE FRAGMENTS circa 500 B. C.

Terracotta, various dimensions
85. AE.424.1 – 3

PROVENANCE: European art market.

VASES:
ATTIC RED-FIGURE

37. FRAGMENT OF A PLATE

Circa 520 – 510 B. C.
Attributed to Euthymides [J. Frel]
Terracotta, 4.9 x 2.6 cm ($1\frac{15}{16}$ " x $1\frac{1}{16}$ ")
85. AE.332 (joining 81. AE.206. A)

The fragment joins a fragmentary plate in the Museum's collection.

PROVENANCE: European art market.

38. KYLIX, TYPE B

Circa 515 – 510 B. C.
Attributed to the Carpenter Painter [D. von Bothmer; independently by D. Williams]
Terracotta, H: 11 cm ($4\frac{5}{16}$ ");
W (with handles): 38.1 cm (15");



39

Diam: 30.5 cm (12")
85. AE.25

The cup has been restored from several large fragments. On the exterior, side A, four nude youths practice their exercises—the long jump and the diskos throw—to the accompaniment of a flutist, while near handle A/B, a partially draped youth prepares the ground for the jumpers by loosening the soil with a pick. Four of the five bearded athletes on side B practice the javelin toss; a fifth strides forward with a diskos bearing the image of an owl in his left hand. He is separated from the others by an altar, above which hangs an aryballos and a sponge. In the tondo, a bearded man and youth embrace.

PROVENANCE: European art market.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: D. von Bothmer, "An Archaic Red-Figured Kylix," *GettyMusJ* 14 (1986), pp. 5 – 20.

39. KYLIX, TYPE C

Circa 500 B. C.
Attributed to the Kleomelos Painter
Terracotta, H: 7.9 cm ($3\frac{1}{4}$ "); W (including handles): 26.7 cm ($10\frac{1}{2}$ ");
Diam: 19.7 cm ($17\frac{3}{4}$ ")
85. AE.377

In the tondo framed by a simple reserved line, the Theban sphinx flies over the

sea, carrying in her talons the body of a dead youth. Inscribed in red around the figures is *KLEIMELOS KALOS*. Dyfri Williams is preparing a study of the cup for publication.

PROVENANCE: [Atlantis Antiquities, New York].

40. TWO FRAGMENTS OF A FOOTBATH

Circa 500 – 480 B. C.
Terracotta, various dimensions
85. AE.420.1 – 2 (joining 81. AE.196)

These fragments join a large fragmentary footbath in the Museum's collection, the decoration of which consists of concentric glaze circles.

PROVENANCE: European art market.

41. CALYX-KRATER FRAGMENT

Circa 500 – 490 B. C.
Attributed to the Berlin Painter [M. Robertson]
Terracotta
85. AE.411 (joining 77. AE.105)

The fragment belongs with another piece in the Museum's collection. The figural decoration shows maenads and satyrs.

PROVENANCE: European art market.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: The fragment in the Museum's collection that comes from the same vase is

published by M. Robertson, "The Berlin Painter at the Getty Museum and Some Others," in *Greek Vases 1, Occasional Papers on Antiquities* (Malibu, 1983), pp. 61–66, fig. 10.

42. FIVE HYDRIA FRAGMENTS
 Circa 490 B.C.
 Attributed to the Berlin Painter
 [M. Kotansky]
 Terracotta, various dimensions
 85.AE.195.1–2 (joining 81.AE.206)

These pieces belong with a large fragmentary hydria in the Museum's collection. The fragments provide enough evidence to prove that there were originally three standing figures on the front of the vase and two flying erotes on the shoulder.

PROVENANCE: European art market.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: The fragmentary hydria to which these pieces belong is published by M. Kotansky, K. Manchester, and J. Frel, "A Fragmentary Hydria by the Berlin Painter," in *Greek Vases 2, Occasional Papers on Antiquities* (Malibu, 1985), pp. 75–78.

43. THREE OINOCHOE FRAGMENTS
 Circa 490 B.C.
 Attributed to Douris [J. R. Guy]
 Terracotta, various dimensions
 85.AE.341.1–3 (joining 81.AE.206)

These fragments join a fragmentary red-figure oinochoe in the Museum's collection.

PROVENANCE: European art market.

44. TWELVE FRAGMENTS OF A
 PHIALE MESOMPHALOS
 Circa 490 B.C.
 Signed by Douris
 Terracotta, various dimensions
 85.AE.18.1–9, 85.AE.185.1–3
 (joining 81.AE.213)

These three fragments belong to a partially reconstructed libation vessel already in the Museum's collection that is decorated with mythological scenes. Martin Robertson is preparing a study of the vessel for *Greek Vases 4, Occasional Papers on Antiquities* (Malibu, forthcoming [1988]).

PROVENANCE: European art market.

45. KYLIX FRAGMENT
 Circa 490 B.C.
 Attributed to Douris
 Terracotta
 85.AE.448 (joining 82.AE.35,
 83.AE.146.19), anonymous donation

This fragment is decorated on the interior with part of a draped male figure, including his left hand, and on the exterior with part of a shield and helmet on a groundline of meanders with checkerboard interruptions. It unites two other fragments in the Museum's collection, published by Diana Buitron.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: The fragments that this piece joins are published by D. Buitron, "New Fragments of an Early Cup by Douris," in *Greek Vases 2, Occasional Papers on Antiquities* (Malibu, 1985), pp. 71–74.

46. TWENTY FRAGMENTS OF
 JANIFORM KANTHAROI
 Circa 490–480 B.C.
 Terracotta, various dimensions
 85.AE.16, 85.AE.189.1–8,
 85.AE.191.1–9, 85.AE.323.1–2
 (joining 81.AE.195, 81.AE.215)

These fragments join three fragmentary vases in the Museum's collection.

PROVENANCE: European art market.

47. KYLIX FRAGMENTS
 Circa 490–480 B.C.
 Attributed to Onesimos as painter
 and signed by Euphronios as potter
 Terracotta, various dimensions
 85.AE.385.1–2 (joining 83.AE.362,
 84.AE.80)

These fragments join a kylix in the Museum's collection that is decorated with scenes from the Trojan cycle. In the tondo Neoptolemos attacks Priam, who has taken sanctuary on the altar of Zeus. The interior zone shows scenes from the fall of Troy. On side A is represented the duel between Ajax and Hector, who are separated by Apollo; side B shows the abduction of Briseis by Agamemnon. The new fragments add, on the interior, to the tondo and zone and, on the exterior, to side A. The publication of this cup is being prepared by Dyfri Williams.

PROVENANCE: European art market.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: The cup to which these fragments belong is published in *GettyMusJ* 12 (1984), p. 246, no. 73.

48. SEVEN FRAGMENTS OF TWO
 LIDDED VESSELS
 circa 490–480 B.C.
 Attributed to Onesimos [J. Frel]
 Terracotta, various dimensions
 85.AE.324.1–5, 85.AE.328, 85.AE.17
 (joining 81.AE.214.A–B)

PROVENANCE: European art market.

49. THIRTY-FOUR PLASTIC VASE
 FRAGMENTS
 Circa 490–470 B.C.
 Terracotta, various dimensions
 85.AE.21, 85.AE.187.1–2,
 85.AE.190.1–3, 85.AE.192,
 85.AE.325.1–12, 85.AE.326.1–5,
 85.AE.327.1–3, 85.AE.330,
 85.AE.331.1–4, 85.AE.338.1–2
 (joining 81.AE.216)

These fragments join fragmentary Attic red-figure plastic vases in the Museum's collection.

PROVENANCE: European art market.

50. TWO KYLIX FRAGMENTS
 Circa 480 B.C.
 Attributed to the Brygos Painter
 [W. Bareiss]
 Terracotta, A: 3.5 x 1.8 cm ($1\frac{3}{8}$ " x
 $1\frac{1}{16}$ "); B: 2.6 x 2 cm ($1\frac{1}{16}$ " x $1\frac{3}{16}$ ")
 85.AE.19.A–B (joining 86.AE.286)

These two fragments join a kylix from the Bareiss collection decorated with scenes from the story of Ajax. Both fragments belong to side B, which shows the decision to award the armor of Achilles to Odysseus.

PROVENANCE: European art market.



51

51. KALPIS

Circa 480 B.C.

Attributed to the Kleophrades Painter

Terracotta, H: 39 cm (15³/₈"); Diam (mouth, restored): 15 cm (5¹⁵/₁₆")
85. AE.316

The kalpis has been reconstructed from fragments, and parts, including the mouth, the foot, and some sections of the neck, have been restored. In the panel on the shoulder, Phineus, the blind prophet-king of Thrace, sits before a table piled high with meat and loaves of bread trying to defend himself from the three Harpies, who fly in to steal his food. The publication of this vase will be prepared by Lily Kahil.

PROVENANCE: European art market.

52. ELEVEN KALPIS FRAGMENTS

Circa 480 B.C.

Attributed to the Kleophrades Painter [M. True]

Terracotta, various dimensions
85. AE.188, 85. AE.3391 – 8,
85. AE.342.1 – 2 (joining 81. AE.206)

These fragments join other red-figure kalpis fragments in the Museum's collection.

PROVENANCE: European art market.

53. FOUR FRAGMENTS OF A STAMNOS

Circa 480 – 470 B.C.

Attributed to the Kleophrades

Painter [J. Frel]

Terracotta, various dimensions
85. AE.196.1 – 3, 85. AE.345 (joining
81. AE.220)

These fragments join a fragmentary stamnos in the Museum's collection, with Peleus and Thetis on side A. The handles are surrounded by satyrs who climb on spiraling tendrils.

PROVENANCE: European art market.

54. FRAGMENT OF A KALPIS

Circa 480 – 470 B.C.

Attributed to the Kleophrades Painter

Terracotta, 41 x 3.1 cm (1⁵/₈" x 1¹/₄")
85. AE.344

The fragment joins to a fragmentary kalpis already in the Museum's collection (81. AE.206), which shows an athlete with javelins.

PROVENANCE: European art market.

55. JANIFORM KANTHAROS

Circa 480 – 470 B.C.

Attributed to the Foundry Painter [J. R. Guy]

Terracotta, H (to handle tops): 21.1 cm (8⁵/₁₆"); H (to rim): 14.7 cm (5³/₄"); Diam: 17.4 cm (6¹³/₁₆")
85. AE.263

The vase has been restored from a number of fragments. Attached to each side of the kantharos is a relief frontal male face, the one on side A of Dionysos, the one on side B of a smiling satyr. On

either side of the relief decoration, the bowl of the kantharos is decorated with youthful athletes. Each figure stands on a short maeander band; elaborate palmettes and lotus buds decorate the handle-roots and the calyx of the bowl. The concave rim of the vessel is surrounded by a delicate garland of ivy in added white.

PROVENANCE: European art market.

56. FOUR FRAGMENTS FROM TWO STAMNOI

Circa 480 – 470 B.C.

Attributed to the Brygan Workshop [J. Frel]

Terracotta, various dimensions
85. AE.337.1 – 4 (joining 81. AE.217,
81. AE.218)

PROVENANCE: European art market.

57. SIX CALYX-KRATER FRAGMENTS

Circa 470 B.C.

Attributed to the Altamura Painter [D. von Bothmer]

Terracotta, various dimensions
85. AE.335.1 – 6 (joining 81. AE.219)

These fragments join a calyx-krater in the Museum's collection that is decorated with an amazonomachy.

PROVENANCE: European art market.

58. FOUR FRAGMENTS OF TWO ASTRAGALOI

Circa 470 B.C.

Assigned to Syriskos as potter [M. True]

Terracotta, various dimensions
85. AE.186.1 – 2, 85. AE.329.1 – 2
(joining 81. AE.216)

These fragments join two fragmentary astragaloi in the Museum's collection.

PROVENANCE: European art market.

VASES: SOUTH ITALIAN

59. GEOMETRIC VASE FRAGMENT

Italic, late seventh century B.C.

Terracotta, 5.5 x 4.1 cm (2¹/₄" x 1⁹/₁₆")
85. AE.430

PROVENANCE: European art market.



60

60. RED-FIGURE VOLUTE-KRATER
South Italian (Lucanian), last third
of the fifth century B. C.

Attributed to the PKP Group,
probably the Palermo Painter
[A. D. Trendall]

Terracotta, H (to top of volutes): 56
cm (22"); H (to lip): 48.2 cm (19");
Diam (mouth): 33.2 cm (13¹/₈");
Diam (body): 34 cm (13³/₈")
85.AE.101

The vase is unbroken. On side A
stand Apollo, holding a kithara, and
his sister Artemis. Between them is a
deer, an animal sacred to Artemis. At the
left of the scene, Hermes is leaning on a
pillar inscribed with his name,
ἙΡΜΑΗΝΟΞ; on the right stands a
draped and veiled female figure, most
likely Leto, the mother of Apollo and
Artemis. Side B shows four draped
youths in conversation. This vase, a fine
example of Lucanian ceramics, is the
only volute-krater that can currently be
attributed to the Palermo Painter.

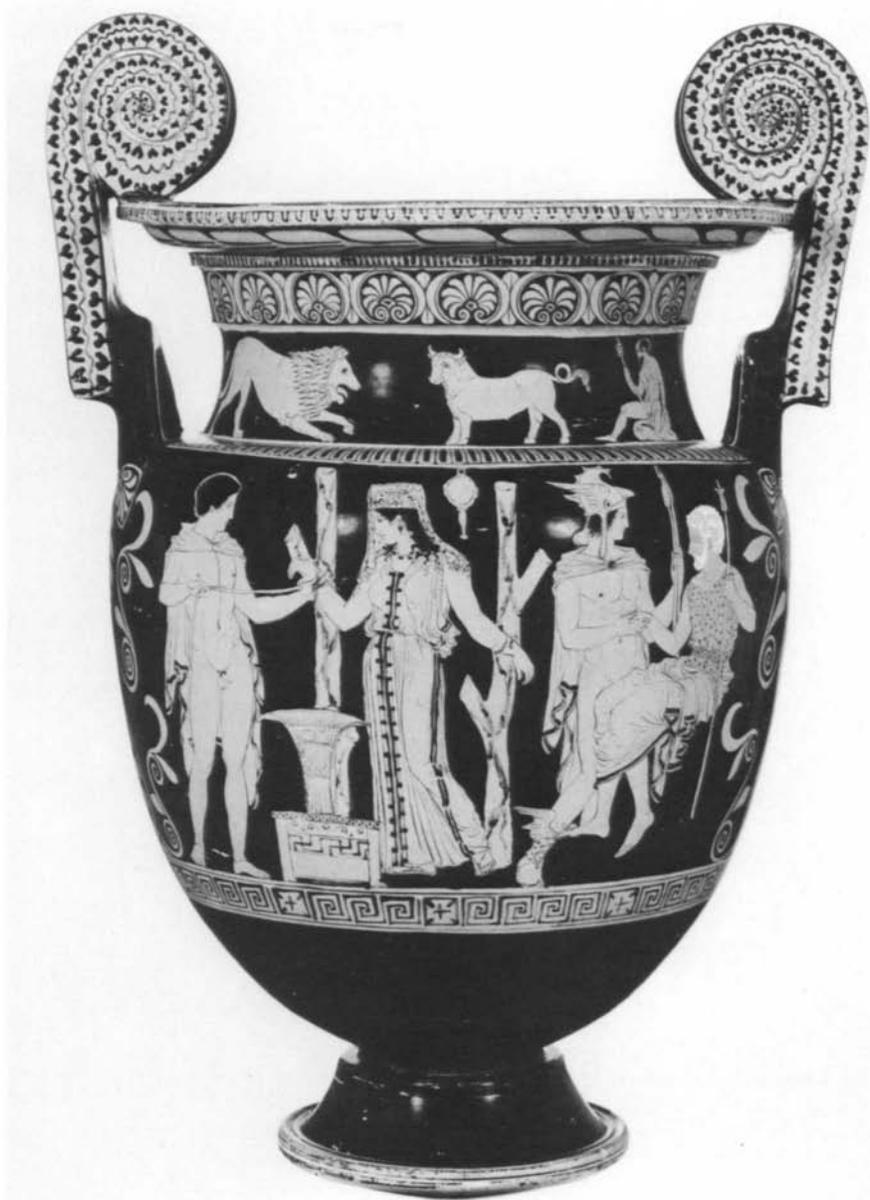
Publication will be by Arthur Dale Trendall
and Marit R. Jentoft-Nilsen in a
forthcoming *Getty Museum Journal*.

PROVENANCE: European art market.

61. RED-FIGURE VOLUTE-KRATER
South Italian (Apulian), last quarter
of the fifth century B. C.

Attributed to the Sisyphus Painter or
his circle

Terracotta, H (to top of volutes):
63.3 cm (24¹⁵/₁₆"); H (to lip): 53 cm
(20⁷/₈"); Diam (mouth): 37.5 cm



61

(14³/₄"); Diam (body): 38 cm (15")
85.AE.102

The vase is complete, with repaired
breaks only on the volutes and at the
mouth. Side A represents the liberation
of Andromeda. The princess stands be-
tween two tree trunks, to which she is
being bound by a youth on the left. On
the right, Perseus grasps the hand of
Cepheus as they conclude their pact for
Andromeda's rescue. On the neck, a lion
confronts a bull; a satyr holding a thyrsos
is seated on a rock. Side B shows two
draped women and two partially draped
youths. The woman on the left holds a
feline on her extended arm; the woman

on the right holds a mirror in her right
hand. The youth on the left holds a
strigil and a staff. On the neck, two
hounds pursue a hare.

This vase is a superb example em-
bodying the transition between late
Attic and early Apulian vase-painting.
It belongs in the group of other vases
published by Arthur Dale Trendall as
works of the Sisyphus Group. Trendall
and Marit R. Jentoft-Nilsen will publish
the vase in a forthcoming *Getty
Museum Journal*.

PROVENANCE: European art market.

62. VASE FRAGMENT

South Italian, fourth century B.C.
Terracotta, 1.8 x 1.6 cm ($1\frac{1}{16}$ " x $\frac{1}{2}$ "")
85.AE.431

This fragment is decorated with superposed color.

PROVENANCE: European art market.

63. RED-FIGURE CUP FRAGMENT

South Italian, fourth century B.C.
Terracotta, 1.8 x 1.6 cm ($1\frac{1}{16}$ " x $\frac{1}{2}$ "")
85.AE.432

PROVENANCE: European art market.

GLASS

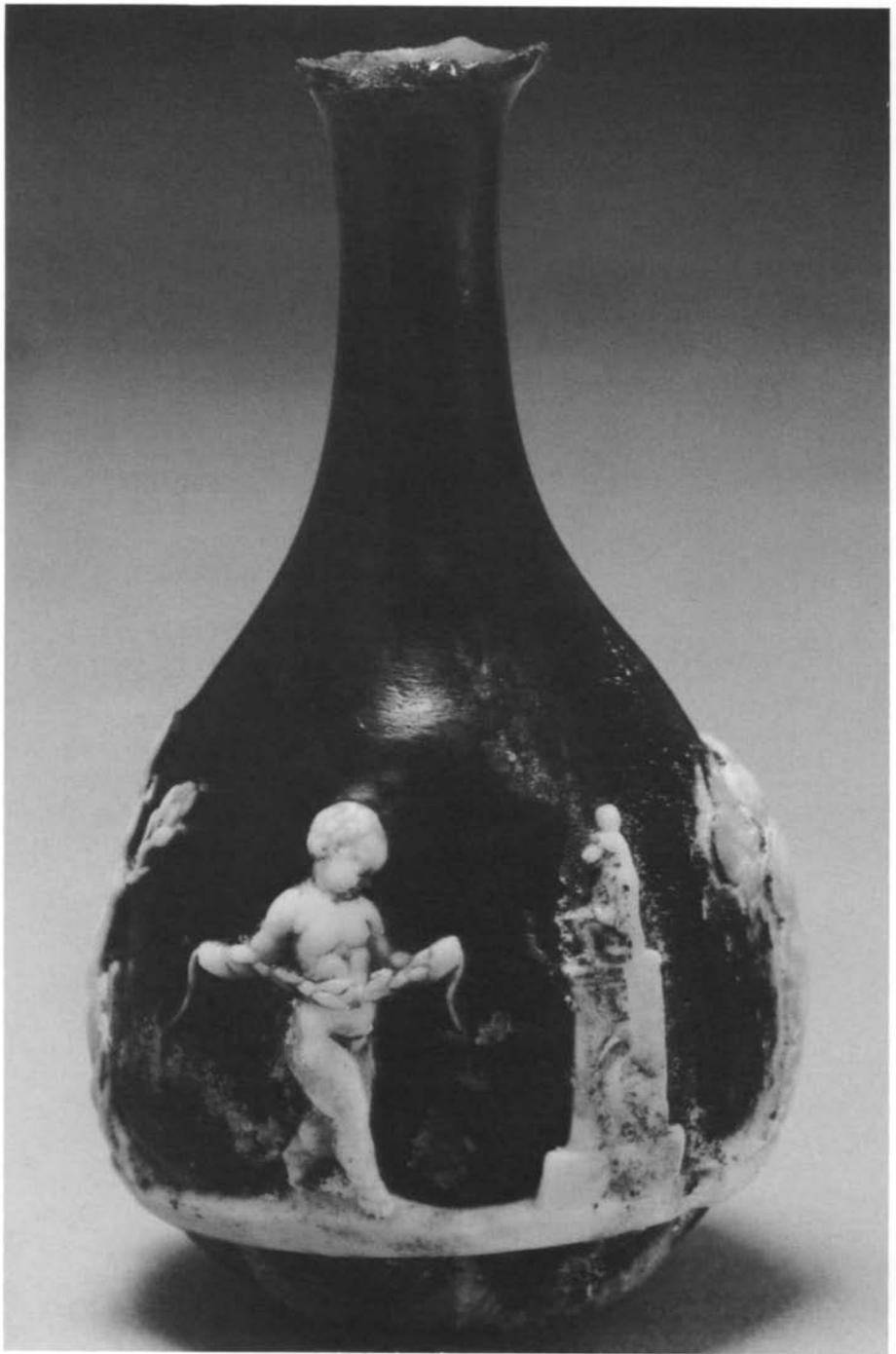


64

64. MOSAIC GLASS FOOTED BOWL

Roman, late second – first century B.C.
H: 4.5 cm ($1\frac{3}{4}$ ""); Diam: 8.8 cm ($2\frac{7}{16}$ "")
85.AF.86

Constructed in the mosaic glass technique with multicolored canes of glass, this footed bowl contains colored canes of amethyst with opaque white streaks or stripes; amethyst with opaque white stars and opaque yellow centers; translucent aquamarine with opaque yellow stars; opaque red within white centers; translucent aquamarine with opaque white stripes or stars; translucent aquamarine; and a single translucent amber glass strip. The rounded rim consists of an amethyst and opaque white twisted cane, and the ring base is composed of a trailed-on opaque brown, yellow, and green glass. Said to be from the eastern Mediterranean.



65

PROVENANCE: E. and M. Kofler-Truniger (sale, Christie's, London, March 5–6, 1985, lot 191).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Kunstmuseum Luzern, *3,000 Jahre Glaskunst von der Antike bis zum Jugendstil*, ex. cat. (Lucerne, 1981), p. 62; Christie's, London, March 5–6, 1985, lot 191, p. 107.

65. CAMEO GLASS FLASK

Roman, circa 25 B.C. – A.D. 25
H: 7.6 cm (3")
85.AF.84

The flask, composed of opaque white glass over translucent cobalt blue glass, is cameo carved and polished. A continuous figural frieze upon a thick groundline surrounds its body and consists of the following: a boy with a gar-

land approaches an altar surmounted by a seated figure of the god Thoth, who wears a moon disc headdress. The base of this altar is carved with the figure of an ibis. Another boy, whose mantle flares out behind him, holds up a curved rod or stick before a flame upon a second altar, whose base is carved with a uraeus crowned with a sun disc. The standing figure of a pharaoh approaches; he wears a double crown, lappet wig, and pleated kilt. He holds a *mpt*-sign (notched palm branch) in his right hand and a *nw*-pot in his left. Behind him stands an obelisk with indecipherable hieroglyphs and, behind it, a gnarled tree. The base of the vessel is carved with a rosette surrounded by leaves. The flask is said to come from near Eskişehir, Turkey.

PROVENANCE: E. and M. Kofler-Truniger (sale, Christie's, London, March 5–6, 1985, lot 150).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Journal of Glass Studies* 4 (1962), p. 140, no. 5; Kunsthau Zurich, *Sammlung E. und M. Kofler-Truniger, Kunsthau Zurich, 7. Juni bis 2. August, 1964*, ex. cat. (Basel, 1964), no. 456, pl. p. 37; H. Jucker, "'Promenade archéologique' durch die Ausstellung der Sammlung Kofler in Kunsthau Zurich," *Antike Kunst* 8 (1965), pp. 40–55; S. M. Goldstein, *Cameo Glass: Masterpieces from 2,000 Years of Glassmaking*, ex. cat. (Corning, N.Y., Corning Museum of Glass, 1982), no. 4; Kunstmuseum Luzern, *3,000 Jahre Glaskunst von der Antike bis zum Jugendstil*, ex. cat. (Lucerne, 1981), no. 226, p. 72; Christie's, London, March 5–6, 1985, lot 150, pp. 86–87.



66

66. MILLEFIORI PLATE
Roman, first century B.C. – first century A.D.

H: 1.9 cm ($3/4$ "); Diam: 16 cm ($6\frac{1}{2}$ ")
85.AF85

Constructed in a mosaic glass technique termed *millefiori*, or "thousand flowers," the plate is composed of a translucent amethyst matrix with canes of translucent emerald green with opaque yellow "cobwebs," and purple rods with opaque white centers and surround. The profile is carinated with a horizontal rim and a trailed-on ring foot (repaired).

PROVENANCE: E. and M. Kofler-Truniger (sale, Christie's, London, March 5–6, 1985, lot 183).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Kunstmuseum Zurich, *Sammlung E. und M. Kofler-Truniger, Kunsthau Zurich, 7. Juni bis 2. August, 1964*, ex. cat. (Basel, 1964), p. 459, pl. p. 36; Kunstmuseum Luzern, *3,000 Jahre Glaskunst von der Antike bis zum Jugendstil*, ex. cat. (Lucerne, 1981), p. 160, F7; Christie's, London, March 5–6, 1985, lot 183, p. 103.

67. LOTUS BUD BEAKER

Roman, first century A.D.
H: 21 cm ($8\frac{1}{4}$ "); Diam (base): 5 cm (2 "); Diam (rim): 9 cm ($2\frac{9}{16}$ ")
85.AF90

The flared beaker of greenish glass was blown into a four-part mold (including the base). Six rows of graduated drop-shaped motifs, arranged in offset horizontal registers, decorate the exterior. The rim is plain and cut. The mouth is enhanced by two wheel-incised lines just below the rim, and a concentric ring articulates the bottom of the vessel above the flattened base. There are also two mold-made concentric rings on the bottom of the base.

PROVENANCE: New York art market.

68. LEAF BEAKER

Roman, first century A.D.
H: 7.3 cm ($2\frac{7}{8}$ "); Diam (base): 6 cm ($2\frac{3}{8}$ "); Diam (rim): 6.3 cm ($2\frac{1}{2}$ ")
85.AF91

This straight-sided beaker of yellow-brown hue was blown into a four-part mold. Two concentric rings encircle the body of the vessel below the slightly everted rim and above the base. The bottom of the base also contains a concentric ring. The body is decorated with a foliate relief frieze of four vertical plants, each composed of a straight stem

with nine alternately plain and decorated leaves.

PROVENANCE: New York art market.



69

69. SEASONS BEAKER

Roman, circa A.D. 50–100
H: 12.5 cm ($4\frac{3}{4}$ ")
85.AF83

This straight-sided vessel is composed of bluish green glass, and its body is decorated in a continuous frieze of four images of gods and seasons blown into a mold in five parts (including the foot). The figures, separated by Ionic columns that are linked above by garlands, can be identified as Poseidon, wearing a himation and holding a trident and dolphin; the personification of Summer, holding a pedum and oinochoe; Dionysos, holding a thyrsos and kantharos, with a panther at his feet; and the personification of Autumn, holding a bird in his left hand and a flower or purse in his right. The beaker, as yet unpublished, fits iconographically into Weinberg's Group II (*Journal of Glass Studies* 14 [1972], pp. 26–47) and is said to have come from the Syro-Palestinian coast.

PROVENANCE: E. and M. Kofler-Truniger (sale, Christie's, London, March 5–6, 1985, lot 92).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Kunstmuseum Luzern, *3,000 Jahre Glaskunst von der Antike bis zum Jugendstil*, ex. cat. (Lucerne, 1981), no. 274, p. 19, F11, p. 81; Christie's, London, March 5–6, 1985, lot 92, pp. 60–61; P. Clayton, *Treasures of Ancient Rome* (New York, 1986), p. 183.



70

70. HEAD FLASK

Roman (Cologne[?]), fourth – fifth century A.D.

H: 17.2 cm (6³/₄"

85.AF.320

The flask is made of a translucent cobalt blue glass and was blown into a two-part mold. The cracked-off rim tapers inward and descends into a long, funnel-shaped neck before spreading out into the body of the vessel, whose form is that of the head of a long-haired youth, perhaps Apollo. The body of the flask is flattened at its base to form the vessel's bottom. A coiled cane of glass is added as a foot, and a hollow wishbone handle is attached. The handle begins halfway down the vessel's neck and is pulled out and attached to the back of the flask, at which point it resembles a braid of hair cascading down the back of the youth's head. The surface has a heavy layer of iridescence.

PROVENANCE: E. and M. Koffer-Truniger (sale, Christie's, London, March 5 – 6, 1985, lot 86).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Kunstmuseum Luzern, *3,000 Jahre Glaskunst von der Antike bis zum Jugendstil*, ex. cat. (Lucerne, 1981), pl. p. 5, p. 84; Christie's, London, March 5 – 6, 1985, lot 86, p. 57.

GOLD AND SILVER



71

71. OINOCHOE HANDLE IN THE FORM OF A TRITON

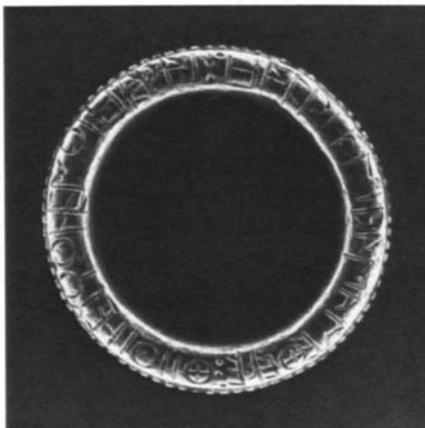
Greek, circa 150 B.C.

Silver with gilding, 27 x 9.5 cm (10⁵/₈" x 3³/₄"

85.AM.163

The upper body of the Triton is modeled as a piece of three-dimensional decorative sculpture, and his long tail formed the handle of the vessel. He originally held a trident in his left hand as an attribute. The points of attachment to the now-missing oinochoe are at the Triton's hips, which are surrounded by a calyx of gilded acanthus leaves, and at the lower end of his tail with its upturned fins. The handle will be published by Beryl Barr-Sharar.

PROVENANCE: [Ariadne Galleries, New York].



72

72. ARGIVE FINGER RING

Greek (Argolid), circa 550 B.C.

Gold, Diam (outside): 2.2 cm (7/8");
Diam (inside): 1.8 cm (11/16");
Thickness: 0.3 cm (1/8").

Inscribed:

ΗΡΡΕΙΚ ΝΙΔΑΜΑΝΕ ΘΕΚΕ:

ΘΙΟΙΕΥΥΟΓΕ ΝΟΙΗΕΡΑΙ:

(Harriknidas dedicated [this] to the goddess white-armed Hera).

85.AM.264

The dedicatory inscription to Hera, in ancient Argive script, completely encircles the ring on the front, while the other side is unmarked. Heretofore unattested is the name of the dedicator, Harriknidas. The ring is decorated on the outer edge with three grooves articulating two dentilated bands. Evidence of wear suggests that the inscription was added after the ring had been used for some time as jewelry. A minor fracture extends about two-thirds around its circumference.

PROVENANCE: Private collection, Lansing, Michigan.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S. V. Tracy, *Journal of Hellenic Studies* (forthcoming [1986]).



73 (4)



73 (7)



73 (8)



73 (12)



73 (10)



73 (11)

73. TWELVE FINGER RINGS
 Greek and Etruscan, late sixth – fourth century B. C.
 Gold, various dimensions
 85. AM.268 – 279

This group includes examples from the Archaic through the late Classical periods. The twelve rings are as follows:

1. Cartouche Bezel with Three Winged Creatures
 Etruscan
 Diam (ring): 2.6 cm (1¹/₁₆"")
2. Pointed Oval Bezel with a Siren
 Etruscan
 Diam (ring): 2.7 cm (1¹/₁₆"")
3. Oval Bezel with Two Standing Figures
 Etruscan
 Diam (ring): 2.2 cm (7⁷/₈"")
4. Cartouche Bezel with Figures at a Well
 Etruscan
 Diam (ring): 2.4 cm (1⁵/₁₆"")
5. Pointed Oval Bezel with a Sow
 Etruscan
 Diam (ring): 2.4 cm (1⁵/₁₆"")
6. Gold Scarab with the Head of a Goddess
 Greek
 Diam (ring): 2.2 cm (7⁷/₈"")
7. Rectangular Bezel with a Boar
 Greek
 Diam (ring): 2.5 cm (1")
8. Pointed Oval Bezel with a Satyr Mask
 Greek
 Diam (ring): 2.2 cm (7⁷/₈"")
9. Round Bezel with a Woman Holding a Mask

- Greek
 Diam (ring): 2.3 cm (1⁵/₁₆"")
10. Oval Bezel with Aphrodite Erotostasia
 Greek
 Diam (ring): 2.1 cm (7⁷/₈"")
 11. Round Bezel with the Bee of Ephesus
 Greek
 Diam (ring): 1.9 cm (3³/₄"")
 12. Pointed Bezel with Skopaic Maenad
 Greek
 Diam (ring): 2.2 cm (7⁷/₈"")

PROVENANCE: Private collection, Switzerland.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: 85. AM.273: sale, *Adolph Hess*, Lucerne, December 7, 1957, lot 87, pl. 86; H. Hoffmann and P. Davidson, *Greek Gold: Jewelry from the Age of Alexander*, ex. cat. (Boston, 1966), no. 103; 85. AM.275: *ibid.*, no. 104, p. 246; 85. AM.276: *ibid.*, p. 257, no. 116.



74

74. GOLD RING WITH ENGRAVED GEM OF A YOUTH FEEDING A DOG
 Greek, fourth century B. C.
 Gold (ring) and cornelian (stone),
 W (ring): 1.8 cm (3³/₄"")
 85. AN.165

The motif of a youth and a dog appears on scarabs of the fifth century B. C., but the fluent and mannered composition of the engraving may indicate a date as late as circa 350 B. C.

PROVENANCE: [Ariadne Galleries, New York].



75

75. GOLD RING WITH ENGRAVED GEM SHOWING THE BUST OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT
Greek, second – first century B.C.
Gold (ring) and cornelian (stone),
Ring: Diam (outside): 2.8 cm (1¹/₄");
Diam (inside): 2 cm (3/4"); Gem: 2.2
x 1.3 x 0.3 cm (7/8" x 1/2" x 1/8")
85.AN.124

The identity of the subject is suggested by the heroizing style and by the diadem, the use of which was reserved for rulers during the Hellenistic period. The long, freely flowing hair and the emphatic forelock are iconographic elements that sustain the identification.

PROVENANCE: [Safani Gallery, New York].



76

76. GOLD RING WITH CAMEO OF A SATYR FIGHTING A GOAT
Roman, first century A.D.
Gold (ring) and layered agate with chalcedony (cameo), L (ring):
2.3 cm (7/8"); W (ring): 1.6 cm (5/8")
85.AN.175

To the left a satyr is restrained by a woman, who holds his arms behind him. He lunges toward a rearing goat, which is held by a youth. A tree curves around the two figures at the right. Narrative scenes such as this reflect a strong current of Roman taste in the decorative arts of the first century B.C. to the first century A.D.; they are also to be found in sculptured reliefs, mosaics, frescoes, glass, and engraved gems. The fine carving of this cameo suggests that the stone was cut in a workshop of skilled gem engravers, likely in a principal city of the Roman Empire. For a cameo with a similar subject and treatment, see Summa Galleries, Beverly Hills, September 18, 1981, no. 106.

PROVENANCE: E. Guilhou; [Michael Ward, New York].

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Catalogue of a Collection of Ancient Rings Formed by the Late E. Guilhou*, ed. S. de Ricci (Paris, 1912), p. 43, no. 298, pl. v.

77. GOLD RING WITH GLASS PASTE INTAGLIO OF SILENUS AND AN EROS
Roman, first – second century A.D.
Gold (ring) and glass paste (engraving), Cameo: 1.1 x 1.5 cm (3/8" x 5/8")
85.AN.174, presented by Dennis Kapp

The blue-, green-, and white-banded intaglio shows Silenus, drunken and sagging, riding a mule; an eros follows.

G E M S



78



78

78. GROUP OF NINETY-ONE ENGRAVED GEMS AND FINGER RINGS
Minoan, Greek, Graeco-Persian, Etruscan, and Roman, circa 1400 B.C. – A.D. 400
L: 0.5 – 8 cm (1/4" – 3 1/8")
85.AN.370.1 – 91

The group comprises twenty-two Greek gems and rings; one Graeco-Persian scarab; five Graeco-Persian gems; one Graeco-Persian ring; ten Roman-period magic gems; forty-eight Roman gems, rings, and cameos; and three Roman seal impressions. The subjects of the individual pieces include mythological themes, animals, various human subjects, and—particularly among the Roman gems—narrative scenes. A small masterpiece within the group has been attributed to the gem engraver Epimenes on the basis of its relationship to this artist's signed piece in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, as well as four other unsigned but accepted examples of his work. A large Hellenistic scaraboid shows an aged centaur battling an unknown monster with serpent-head extremities, a scene otherwise unknown in Greek mythology or art.

PROVENANCE: U.S. and European art markets; private collection, United States.

79. SEAL WITH CARTOUCHE
Egyptian, seventh century B.C.
Steatite, 4.1 x 3 cm (2 5/8" x 1 3/16")
85.AI.480, anonymous donation

This seal was found together with an East Greek faience alabastron, also in the Museum's collection (86.AE.58).



80

80. ENGRAVED SCARAB WITH TWO BUTTING RAMS
Greek, circa 500 B. C.
Cornelian, 1.1 x 1.5 x 0.9 cm
($3/8'' \times 5/8'' \times 1/4''$)
85.AN.122

The gem is in the form of a ridge-carinated scarab. The rams stand on a groundline with a crosshatched exergue. Above, a bird flies to the right. The artist may have been associated with a workshop in western Asia Minor, since the modeling of the rams and the crosshatched exergue place the object very close to a gem, now in the British Museum, London, signed by Mandronax (see H. B. Walters, *Catalogue of Engraved Gems in the British Museum* [London, 1926], p. 53, no. 445; J. Boardman, *Archaic Greek Gems* [Evanston, Ill., 1966], p. 66, no. 131; idem, *Greek Gems and Finger Rings* [Evanston, Ill., 1970], p. 144, fig. 315).
PROVENANCE: [Derek Content, Houlton, Maine].



81

81. SCARAB WITH A YOUTH LEADING A HORSE
Greek, circa 500 B. C.
Rock crystal, 1 x 1.4 x 0.8 cm

($3/8'' \times 9/16'' \times 3/8''$)
85.AN.164

The gem, which is in the form of a ridge-carinated scarab, shows on its obverse a youth leading a horse. The exergue is crosshatched, the border dotted. The hair of the youth is in the East Greek style, and the crosshatched exergue also points toward an East Greek origin for the gem. The artist may have been associated with a group of master gem cutters working in Ionia. The style of the subject is typically ripe Archaic.

PROVENANCE: [Ariadne Galleries, New York].
BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Catalogue of the Collection of Antique Gems Formed by James, Ninth Earl of Southesk K. T.*, ed. Lady Helena Carnegie (London, 1908), no. 37.



82

82. ENGRAVED SCARAB WITH HERAKLES CROWNED BY NIKE
Etruscan, fifth – fourth century B. C.
Banded agate, 1.8 x 1.4 x 0.9 cm
($3/4'' \times 1/2'' \times 1/4''$)
85.AN.123

On the gem's obverse, Herakles is crowned by a winged Nike who holds his right hand. A lion-head waterspout is in the field above Herakles' left shoulder. The scarab itself has been decorated by careful hatching of the border of the wings and elytra and by a delicately carved molding around the plinth. The scarab was likely engraved by a member of a small group of master gem cutters working in Etruria. The artist exhibits a fine control of line and great sensitivity to the modeling of the

figures. Similar scenes of Herakles and Nike are known on Etruscan gems in the Archaeological Museum, Palermo, and in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

PROVENANCE: [Derek Content, Houlton, Maine].

83. GROUP OF THIRTY-THREE ENGRAVED GEMS, RINGS, AND SEALS
Greek, Graeco-Persian, and Roman, circa fifth century B. C. – fourth century A. D.
85.AN.444.1 – 33, presented by Jonathan Kagan

The group of engraved objects includes seven Greek rings and bezels; six Graeco-Persian objects, including three unusual engraved glass seals and two stones with a *globolo* – style animal figures, perhaps from Afghanistan; four Roman-period magic gems with mystical inscriptions or figures; and a fine Imperial cameo of a lyre player.

84. FIVE ENGRAVED GEMS WITH VARIOUS ANIMALS
Graeco-Persian, fourth – second century B. C.
Chalcedony (85.AN.300.1, 2, and 5), agate (85.AN.300.3), and cornelian (85.AN.300.4), L: 0.8 – 1.8 cm ($1/4'' - 3/4''$); W: 0.9 – 1.2 cm ($3/16'' - 1/2''$)
85.AN.300.1 – 5, presented by Michael J. Shubin

The objects are from different periods. The small tabloid engraved with the image of a bird, 85.AN.300.4, probably dates from the fourth century B. C. The other four stones show Asiatic animals, one a winged zebu; all are cut in the *a globolo* style, which was practiced in Persia during the third and second centuries B. C.

MODERN

85. IMITATION EAST GREEK BLACK-FIGURE KYLIX
Modern forgery
Terracotta, H: 9.5 cm ($3 3/4''$);
Diam: 15.5 cm ($6 1/8''$)
85.AK.301, presented by the U.S. Customs Service, Los Angeles

The tondo of this imitation black-figure kylix shows a rooster to the left, decorated with added red for some of the tail feathers, the comb, and the wattle. The background is reserved, and the bird is surrounded by concentric black rings. The exterior of the cup is decorated with alternating reserved and black glaze bands.

86. IMITATION ATTIC RED-FIGURE
LEKYTHOS

Modern forgery

Terracotta, H: 33 cm (13^{1/4}");

Diam (mouth): 6.5 cm (2^{9/16}");

Diam (body): 10.5 cm (4^{1/8}");

85.AK.302, presented by the U.S.

Customs Service, Los Angeles

The lekythos shows a woman walking to the left. She holds a kithara in her right hand and a plectrum in her left. The scene is framed by a double register of ivy leaves at the bottom and a maeander pattern on top. The shoulder of the vessel is decorated with palmettes.

87. IMITATION ASKOS

Modern forgery

Terracotta, H (to rim): 8.5 cm

(3^{5/16}"); W (body): 8.6 cm (3^{3/8}");

85.AK.303, presented by the U.S.

Customs Service, Los Angeles

The askos is decorated on either side with symplegma scenes. Its modeled handle ends in a stylized palmette.

88. IMITATION LIDDED KYATHOS

Modern forgery

Terracotta, H (body): 15.9 cm (6^{1/4}");

H (to top of handle): 22.3 cm (8^{3/4}");

Diam (mouth): 10.3 cm (4^{1/16}");

Diam (body): 15.9 cm (6^{1/4}");

85.AK.304, presented by the U.S.

Customs Service, Los Angeles

Resting upon three legs, this imitation bucchero kyathos has a bulbous body decorated with ribs separated by rouletted incision marks. Added rivets accentuate the interstices of the ribs. The vessel's high-slung handle is decorated with an animal-head finial at its apex. The lid of the vessel is also ribbed and rouletted. It has a knob handle on top, which is accommodated by a hemispherical section removed from the lid.

89. IMITATION ATTIC RED-FIGURE
NOLAN AMPHORA

Modern forgery

Terracotta, H: 38.5 cm (15^{3/16}");

Diam (mouth): 17 cm (6^{11/16}"); Diam

(body at shoulder): 20.8 cm (8^{3/16}");

85.AK.305, presented by the U.S.

Customs Service, Los Angeles

The amphora shows a woman walking to the left on a groundline of three red stripes. She holds a kithara in her right hand and a plectrum in her left.

90. IMITATION ARRETINE BOWL

Modern reproduction cast from an ancient mold

Terracotta, H: 10 cm (4^{15/16}");

Diam (mouth): 17 cm (6^{11/16}");

85.AK.306, presented by the U.S.

Customs Service, Los Angeles

The bowl is decorated on the exterior with a symplegma scene of four reclining couples. They are bordered above by an ivy tendril frieze and below by a foliate acanthus frieze. Between two of the couples, the name PERENNI has been stamped.

91. STATUETTE OF A RUNNING
WOMAN

Modern forgery

Terracotta, H: 15.2 cm (6")

85.AK.307, presented by the U.S.

Customs Service, Los Angeles

The object imitates an Archaic Etruscan terracotta figure of a running woman.

It was broken into nine pieces, reassembled, filled, and inpainted to disguise the breaks. The left arm is now detached.

92. IMITATION BUCCHERO
AMPHORA

Modern forgery

Terracotta, H: 25.4 cm (10");

Diam (mouth): 11.8 cm (3^{1/8}");

Diam (body): 19 cm (7^{1/2}");

85.AK.308, presented by the U.S.

Customs Service, Los Angeles

The flat handles of the amphora are modeled in relief as kore figures whose long braids join over their shoulders and are held in their hands at the waist. The body of the vessel is decorated with alternating areas of vertical incised lines,

in a pattern similar to that of a triglyph-metope frieze. Incised rays decorate the body of the amphora below this frieze.

93. IMITATION SOUTH ITALIAN
OINOCHOE

Modern forgery

Terracotta, H: 16.6 cm (6^{9/16}");

85.AK.173, presented by

Arthur Dale Trendall

The painted decoration shows a woman seated to the left, holding a bird in her extended right hand. She looks back over her shoulder at a deer in a basket. The handle has been reconstructed.

PROVENANCE: Munich art market; Harlan Berk, Chicago.

94. IMITATION WHITE-GROUND
ALABASTRON

Modern forgery

Terracotta, H: 17.5 cm (6^{7/8}");

Diam (mouth): 6.2 cm (2^{3/8}");

Diam (body): 6.7 cm (2^{5/8}");

85.AK.447, anonymous donation

The figural scene shows, on side A, from left to right, a standing female and a male, facing left. Side B shows a male standing facing right with a walking stick. The figural scene is bordered on top and bottom by a cyma pattern, and a ray-pattern decorates the reserved base. The mouth of the vessel is flat, and an inscription around the rim reads, from left to right: :ΠΑΙΣ ΚΑΛΟΣ .

MANUSCRIPTS

With the recent publication of the fourth volume of the Ludwig catalogue (A. von Euw and J. M. Plotzek, *Die Handschriften der Sammlung Ludwig* [Cologne, Schnütgen-Museum der Stadt Köln, 1985]), we have discovered that as a result of the authors' research, some of the entries have been renumbered. (Note that for these manuscripts, although the Ludwig numbers have been changed, the accession numbers remain the same.) The information presented in *Getty Museum Journal* 12 (1984), p. 304, should be changed as follows:

Ms. Ludwig XIV 4 in *Journal* 12 should now be:

Ms. Ludwig XIV 6

Vidal de Canellas, *In excelsis Dei thesauris* (Vidal Mayor), Pamplona, first quarter of the fourteenth century.

Ms. Ludwig XIV 5 in *Journal* 12 should now be:

Ms. Ludwig XIV 4

Johannes Monachus (Jean Le Moine), *Apparatus sexti libri Decretalium*, probably southern France, middle of the fourteenth century.

Ms. Ludwig XIV 6 in *Journal* 12 should now be:

Ms. Ludwig XIV 8

Jeremias de Montagnone, *Compendium moralium notabilium*, Venice, beginning of the fifteenth century.

Ms. Ludwig XIV 7 in *Journal* 12 should now be:

Ms. Ludwig XIV 5

Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Lectura super Prima Parte Digesti Infortiati*, probably Ferrara, circa 1400.

Ms. Ludwig XIV 8 in *Journal* 12 should now be:

Ms. Ludwig XIV 7

Actos de Corte and *ordenaciones* for the deputation of the courts of Aragon, circa 1505.



95

95. BAPTISM OF CHRIST

Illuminated by Mesrop of Xizan, active 1605 – 1651

Isfahan, 1615

Glazed paper, 17.2 x 22.8 cm (9" x 6³/₄"). One full-page miniature.

Ms. Ludwig II 7a; 85.MS.282

The leaf is one of sixteen originally added to Ms. Ludwig II 7 shortly after the manuscript was completed; they were removed sometime after 1913. Two of the sixteen, the *Marys at the Tomb* and the *Exaltation of the Crucified Christ*, are currently in the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin (no. 576); five others at one time belonged to Jean Pozzi, Paris, who also owned Ms. Ludwig II 7 (sale, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, April 30, 1971, lot 104).

The original inscription, "Baptism of Christ in the Jordan / He crushes the head of a dragon" in Armenian, bolorgir minuscule script, is now virtually illegible.

PROVENANCE: Ust'ay Martiros, Armenia; another Armenian collector, seventeenth century; Jacques-Jean-Marie de Morgan, by 1913, who reportedly acquired the manuscript in Isfahan; Charles Ratton, Paris, 1952; private collection, New York; [Ellin Mitchell, New York].

BIBLIOGRAPHY: F. Macler, "Notices de manuscrits arméniens," *Journal Asiatique* 2 (1913), p. 645; idem, *Miniatures arméniennes. Vies du Christ: Peintures ornementales (X^e au XVII^e siècle)* (Paris, 1913), pp. 29–30, pl. 34, fig. 84.



96 (fol. 1)

96. BOOK OF HOURS

(Hours of Simon de Varie)

Use of Paris

Illuminated by Jean Fouquet, circa 1420 – circa 1481; the chief associate of the Bedford Master (Hand A); and the Master of Jean Rolin II (Hand B)

Paris or Tours, 1455

Vellum, ninety-seven leaves. Collation: 1², 2⁸, 3³, 4⁸ (–1, before fol. 14, with beginning of terce of the Hours of the Virgin and a miniature of the *Annunciation to the Shepherds*), 5⁸ – 10⁸, 11³, 12⁵, 13⁸, 14¹, 15⁸, 16⁸ (–5, –6, –7, –8[?]); 11.4 to 11.5 x 8.2 cm (4¹/₂" to 4⁹/₁₆" x 3¹/₄"). Text area 5.6 to 5.7 x 3.5 to 3.6 cm, one column, fifteen lines. Latin text in *lettre bâtarde*. Four full-page miniatures, nine half-page miniatures, sixteen full borders, sixty-eight one-side borders, five historiated six-line initials, numerous decorated initials. Parisian mosaic binding, second quarter of the eighteenth century, in the style of Antoine-Michel Padeloup.

Ms. 7; 85.ML.27

The manuscript is a portion of a book of hours, the remainder of which is in The Hague, Royal Library (Ms. 74 G 37).

CONTENTS: Frontispiece miniatures by Jean Fouquet (fols. 1–2v): *Female Heraldic Figure Holding Escutcheon* (over-



96 (fols. 1v – 2)



96 (fol. 2v)

painted in the seventeenth century with the arms of the Bourbon-Condé family) (fol. 1); *Virgin and Child Enthroned* (fol. 1v); *Donor Kneeling in Prayer to the Virgin* (fol. 2); *Female Heraldic Figure* (fol. 2v); Gospel sequences (fols. 3 – 13v): *Saint John on Patmos* (fol. 3); *Saint Luke Seated at His Desk* (fol. 5v); *Saint Matthew Writing* (fol. 8v); *Saint Mark Writing* (fol. 11v); portion of the Hours of the Virgin, from the middle of terce onward (continuation of The Hague, Royal Library, Ms. 74 G 37, fol. 72v, which begins terce) (fols. 14 – 43v); *Adoration of the Magi* (fol. 18v); *Presentation in the Temple* (fol. 23v);

Flight into Egypt (fol. 28v); *Coronation of the Virgin* (fol. 36v); seven penitential psalms and litany (fols. 45 – 71v): *David in Penitence* (fol. 45); conclusion to the rhymed French prayer to the Virgin by Achilles Coulier (continuation of The Hague, Royal Library, Ms. 74 G 37, fol. 6v) (fol. 72); the verses of Saint Bernard (fols. 72 – 74): initial with *Saint Bernard Subduing a Demon* (fol. 72); *Stabat Mater Dolorosa* (fols. 74 – 76): initial with *Crucifixion and Sword Piercing the Virgin's Heart* (fol. 74); prayer on the seven words spoken from the Cross (fols. 76v – 79): initial with *Lamentation over Christ* (fol. 76v); prayer to Christ (fols. 79v – 85v): *Throne of Mercy* (fol. 79v); rhymed French prayer to the Virgin by Guillaume Alexis (fol. 85v): initial with *Assumption of the Virgin* (fol. 85v); conclusion of the vigils of the dead (continuation of The Hague, Royal Library, Ms. 74 G 37a, fol. 80v) (fols. 86 – 96).

PROVENANCE: Made for Simon de Varie (active 1449 – 1463); Philippe de Béthune (d. 1699); [H. M. Fletcher, London, 1979]; Mr. and Mrs. Gerald Borrmann, Lafayette, California.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: F. Avril, "Le destinataire des Heures *Vie à mon désir*: Simon de Varie," *Revue de l'Art* 67 (1985), pp. 33 – 44; J. Marrow, "Miniatures inédites de Jean Fouquet: Les Heures de Simon de Varie," *Revue de l'art* 67 (1985), pp. 7 – 32.



97

97. HISTORIATED INITIAL G: THE VIRGIN AND CHILD WITH SAINTS ELIZABETH AND JOHN THE BAPTIST
Lake Constance, Switzerland, circa 1300

Vellum, one leaf, 10.2 x 9.3 cm (4" x 3 1/2"), irregularly cut. Portion of musical text in Latin Gothic script appears on verso.

Ms. 8; 85.MS.77

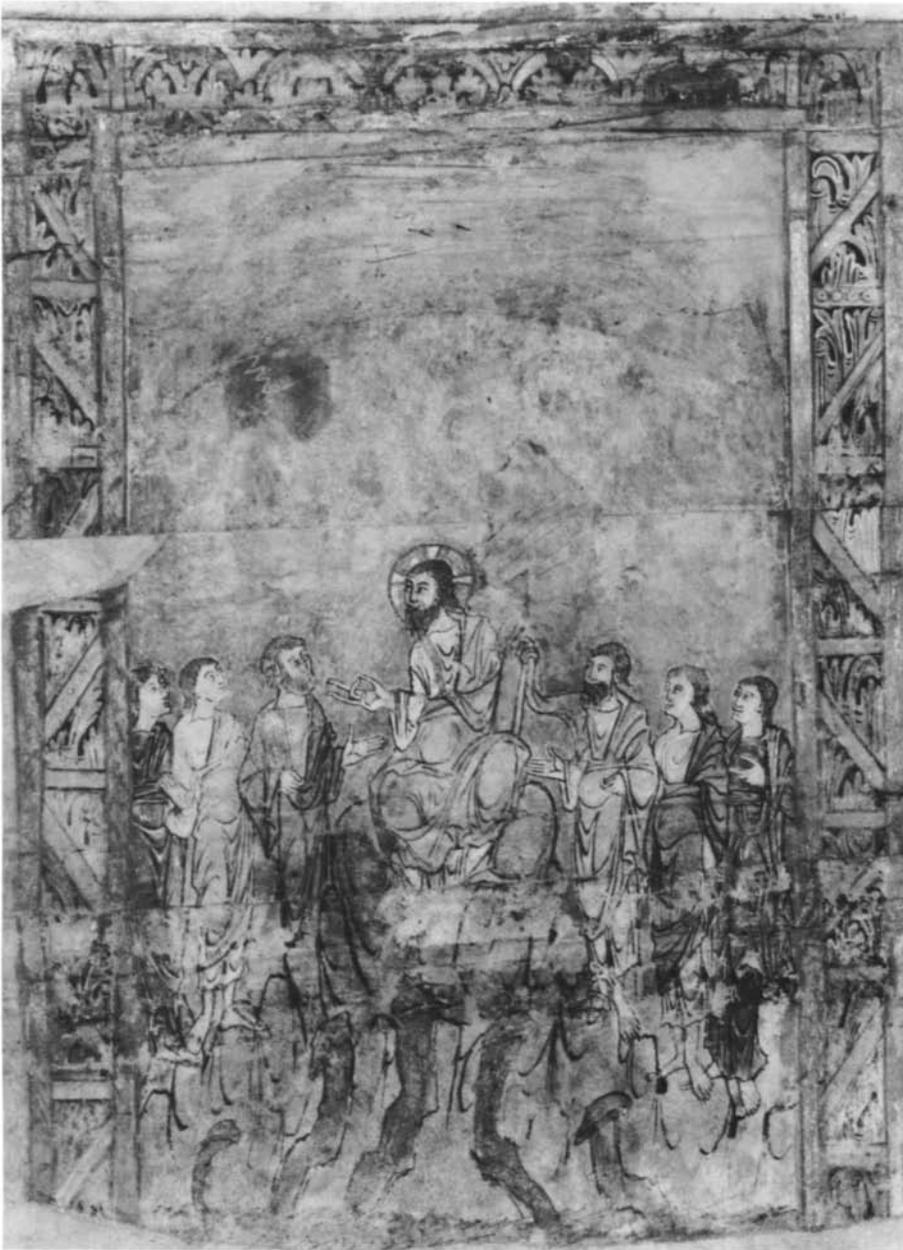
This cutting is from a Dominican antiphonal in the Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg (HS 21897, fol. 248). Another cutting from this manuscript is in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (no. 1982.175).

PROVENANCE: L. Salavin, Paris (sale, Nouveau Drouot, Paris, November 22, 1972, lot 77); Anne Otto Wertheimer, Paris (sale, Nouveau Drouot, Paris, April 21, 1982, lot 268); [Michael Ward, New York].

BIBLIOGRAPHY: H. J. Heuser, *Oberrheinische Goldschmiedekunst im Hochmittelalter* (Berlin, 1974), pp. 48 – 50; E. Beer, *Das Graduale Sankt Katharinenthal: Kommentar zur Faksimile-Ausgabe* (Lucerne, 1983), p. 172.

98. TWO LEAVES FROM A GOSPEL BOOK OR LECTONARY
Anglo-Saxon

Attributed to Canterbury, circa 1000
Vellum, two leaves, leaf I: 31.3 x 18.1 cm (12 3/8" x 7 1/8"), irregularly cut; leaf II: 30.5 x 20.2 cm (12 1/8" x 7 7/8"), with addition, irregularly cut. Text area 23.5 x 11 cm, one column, nineteen lines. Latin text in Anglo-Saxon Caroline minuscule script. Three full-page miniatures.



98

Ms. 9; 85.MS.79

The surviving text contains Matthew 8:23–7 and 8:28.

PROVENANCE: De Tracy, Ghent, 1952; Musée van Maerlant, Damme, Belgium; sale, Christie's, London, December 13, 1984, lot 123; [H. P. Kraus, New York].

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. Boutemy, "Les feuillets de Damme," *Scriptorium* 20 (1966), pp. 60–65; J. J. G. Alexander and C. M. Kauffman, *English Illuminated Manuscripts, 700–1500*, ex. cat. (Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale Albert I, 1973), pp. 27–28, no. 7; J. J. G. Alexander, "Some Aesthetic Principles in the Use of Colour in Anglo-Saxon Art," *Anglo-Saxon England* 4 (1975), pp. 150–154, figs. 4d, 8

(color); E. Temple, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts, 900–1066* (London, 1976), pp. 20, 22, 72–73, no. 53, ill. 173–175, 176 (color); T. H. Ohlgren, *Insular and Anglo-Saxon Illuminated Manuscripts: An Iconographic Catalogue, c. A.D. 625 to 1100* (New York, 1986), no. 158, pp. 136–137.



99 (fol. 52)

99. BOOK OF HOURS

Use of Rome

Illuminated by the Master of Guillaume Lambert, active circa 1475–1485

Lyons, 1478

Vellum, 191 leaves, Collation: 1^o, 2¹⁰, 3^o, 4¹⁰, 5^o, 6–8¹⁰, 9^o, 10¹⁰, 11^o, 12¹⁰, 13^o, 14¹⁰, 15^o, 16¹⁰, 17^o, 18¹⁰, 19^o, 20¹⁰, 21^o, 22¹⁰, 23^o, 24^o (–6, after fol. 191); 14.6 x 9.8 cm (5³/₄" x 4"). Text area 7.8 x 5.4 cm, one column, sixteen lines, seventeen lines on calendar pages. Latin text with three pages in Italian containing calculation of Easter and lunar calendar in Gothic, rounded script. Seventeen full-page miniatures, many one- and two-line decorated initials. Brown Jansenist morocco binding stamped with name of binder, Thibaron-Joly. Ms. 10; 85.ML.80

CONTENTS: Calendar (fols. 2–13v); instructions for the calculation of Easter and the lunar calendar, in Italian (fols. 14–15v); Gospel sequences (fols. 16–20v); Mass of the Virgin (fols. 21–26v); *Enthroned Virgin and Child with Angels* (fol. 21); Short Hours of the Cross (fols. 27–30v); *Crucifixion* (fol. 27); Short Hours of the Holy Spirit (fols. 31–34v); *Pentecost* (fol. 31); Hours of the Virgin, use of Rome (fols. 35–89); *Annunciation* (fol. 35); *Visitation* (fol. 52); *Nativity* (fol. 63); *Annunciation to the Shepherds* (fol. 67); *Adoration of the Magi* (fol. 71); *Presentation* (fol. 75); *Flight into Egypt* (fol. 78); *Virgin in Glory* (fol. 85);



99 (fol. 97)

changed Office of the Virgin for Advent (fols. 90 – 96v): *Annunciation* (?) or *Virgin Seated in Prayer* (fol. 90); seven penitential psalms (fols. 97 – 107): *King David in Prayer* (fol. 97); litany (fols. 107 – 125); Office of the Dead (fols. 126 – 158v): *Funeral Scene* (fol. 126); *Obsecro te* (fols. 159 – 163); *Pietà* (fol. 159); the verses of Saint Bernard (fols. 163 – 164v); suffrage of Saint Sebastian (fols. 164v – 165v); Psalm 91 (fols. 165v – 166v); two prayers attributed to Saint Augustine (fols. 167 – 176); Psalm 118 (fols. 176v – 178v); Prayers (fols. 178v – 181); apocryphal letter from Jesus to Abgar of Edessa (fols. 181 – 181v); names of the Virgin (fols. 181v – 182); prayers (fols. 182 – 182v); suffrage of Saint Christopher (fols. 183 – 185): *Saint Christopher* (fol. 183); suffrage of Saint Peter (fol. 185v); suffrage of Raphael (fols. 186 – 187): *Tobias and the Angel* (fol. 186); prayers for various occasions (fols. 187 – 188); prayers to the Virgin (fol. 188v).

PROVENANCE: Sale, A. L. van Gendt, Amsterdam, September 20 – 22, 1982, lot 1191; [Braunstein]; private collection, Switzerland; [Gilhofer and Ranschburg, Lucerne].

100. EMBLEMS (*devises*) CELEBRATING THE TRIUMPHS AND VIRTUES OF LOUIS XIV
Composed by the abbé Amable de Bourzeis, the abbé Jacques de Cassagne, and Charles Perrault
Illuminated by Jacques Bailly, 1634 – 1679, and possibly written by Nicolas Jarry, 1620 – 1670
Paris, circa 1663 – 1668



99 (fol. 159)

Gouache and gold on vellum, nine leaves, ranging from 39.3 x 27 cm to 36.2 x 25.4 cm (15 1/2" x 10 5/8" to 14" x 10"). Text area at top of page from 4.7 x 21.9 cm to 7.2 x 22.8 cm; text area at bottom of page from 3.5 x 16.0 cm to 3.7 x 18.2 cm and 3.3 x 4.5 cm to 5.5 x 16.7 cm, six to eight lines at top of page. French and Latin in humanistic script. Nine half-page miniatures.
Ms. 11; 85.MS.118

Ms. 11a comprises three other leaves from this manuscript; ten leaves are in the Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts; two are in a private collection in Paris.

CONTENTS: I: Pour le renouvellement de l'alliance entre la France et les suisses: devise by l'abbé de Cassagne (originally fol. 11); II: Pour le renouvellement de l'alliance entre la France et les suisses: devise by Perrault (originally fol. 16); III: Pour la cornette de monseigneur le

Dauphin: devise by l'abbé de Bourzeis (originally fol. 2); IV: Pour la cornette de monseigneur le Dauphin: devise by l'abbé de Bourzeis (originally fol. 5); V: Pour la cornette de monseigneur le Dauphin: devise by l'abbé de Bourzeis (originally fol. 15); VI: Pour la cornette de monseigneur le Dauphin: devise by Perrault (originally fol. 17); VII: Pour la cornette de monseigneur le Dauphin: devise by Perrault (originally fol. 22); VIII: Sur la réduction de Marsal en l'obéissance du roy, en l'année M.DC.LXIII: devise by l'abbé de Bourzeis (originally fol. 3); IX: Pour les Lettons de L'Espagne de l'année M.DC.LXIII: devise by Perrault (originally fol. 19).

PROVENANCE: Lord Cawdor, nineteenth century; to Louisa Lansdowne, Somerset; sale, Hodgson and Co., London, June 1954, lot 292; Heinrich Eisemann, London; Philip Hofer, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

SUR LE RENOUVELLEMENT DE L'ALLIANCE
ENTRE LA FRANCE ET LES SVISSES.

VN Essain d'Abeilles qui volent autour d'un grand & d'un petit
Palmier sous lesquels elles ont étably leur demeure & qui empêchent
qu'on n'en approche, avec ce mot. **PRO TEGMINE BELLA CAPESSUNT.**
Pour dire que les Suisses qui sont sous la protection du Roy & de Monsei-
gneur le Dauphin, sont toujours prêts à combattre pour eux.



*Maintenir contre tous cét Abey triomphant
Qui les nourrit & les défend.
De leur cœur magnanime est la plus forte cuir;
Quiconque y touchera pour en troubler la paix,
Densl-il leur en couster la vie,
Se verra perce de leurs traits.*

Labbe de Bourzeis

101. EMBLEMS (*devises*) CELEBRATING THE TRIUMPHS AND VIRTUES OF LOUIS XIV
Composed by the abbé Amable de Bourzeis

Illuminated by Jacques Bailly, 1634–1679, and possibly written by Nicolas Jarry, 1620–1670

Paris, circa 1663–1668

Gouache and gold on vellum, three leaves, leaf I: 37.4 x 25.5 cm (14³/₄" x 10"); leaf II: 37.5 x 25.2 cm (14³/₄" x 9⁷/₈""); leaf III: 36.7 x 25.4 cm (14⁷/₁₆" x 10")

Ms. 11a; 85.MS. 212

Ms. 11 comprises nine other leaves from this manuscript; ten leaves are in the Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts; two are in a private collection in Paris.

CONTENTS: I: Sur le renouvellement de l'alliance entre la France et les suisses: devise by l'abbé de Bourzeis (originally fol. 13); II: Sur l'assistance que le roy donna aux Parisiens et aux autres peuples de son royaume pour les garantir de la famine: devise by l'abbé de Bourzeis (originally fol. 4); III: devise with landscape (text not executed, originally fol. 9).

PROVENANCE: Lord Cawdor, nineteenth century; to Louisa Lansdowne, Somerset; sale, Hodgson and Co., London, June 1954, lot 292; Heinrich Eisemann, London; Philip Hofer, Cambridge, Massachusetts.



102

102. LEAF FROM A *LIFE OF APA SAMUEL*
Coptic
Egypt, possibly Fayum, tenth century
Vellum, one leaf, 34.9 x 25.4 cm (13³/₄" x 10"). Text area 20.9 x 19.6 cm (recto); 25.4 x 20.3 cm (verso), two columns, twenty-four lines. Coptic text, Sahidic dialect, in Coptic uncial. One decorated headpiece; animal decoration in lower border. Floral decoration in left border of verso.

Ms. 12; 85.MS.119

PROVENANCE: Private collection, Egypt, until 1956; Mark Lansburgh, Tesuque, New Mexico.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: E. Feinblatt, *Old Master Drawings from American Collections*, ex. cat. (Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1976), p. 14, no. 1.



103

103. *HARVEST SCENE* and HISTORIATED INITIAL *U*
Attributed to the Illustratore (Andrea da Bologna [?])
Bologna, second quarter of the fourteenth century
Vellum, one leaf, 14.5 x 7.7 cm (5⁵/₈" x 3¹/₈"). Latin text in Gothic script. One historiated and one decorated initial (verso).
Ms. 13; 85.MS.213

This cutting is from a manuscript of Justinian's *Digestum novum*. The surviving text is from *Digestum novum* VII.I.1 (recto) and VII.II.12 (verso).

PROVENANCE: Louis V. Randall, Montreal; [William Schab Gallery, New York].



104 (fol. 5)



104 (fol. 110)

104. PSALTER
Use of Bruges
Bruges, mid-thirteenth century
Vellum, 174 leaves. Collation: 1², 2⁶, 3⁸ (1 and 8 are single leaves, tipped in; 3 and 7 are detached), 4 – 11⁸, 12¹⁰ (+1, fol. 91), 13 – 16⁸, 17⁶, 18 – 22⁸, 23⁶ (-1 after fol. 174); 23.5 x 16.5 cm (9¹/₂" x 6¹/₂"). Text area 15 x 10.2 cm, one column, nineteen and twenty-one lines.
Latin text in Gothic script. Seven full-page miniatures, ten historiated initials, several dozen decorated initials with extenders, twelve quarter-page or smaller calendar miniatures. Black morocco binding with blind and gilt tooling over pasteboard, lacking one clasp; probably French.
Ms. 14; 85.MK.239

CONTENTS: Prayers and notes in *bâtarde* cursive, probably fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (fols. 1 – 2); calendar including numerous saints from the diocese of Cambrai and several specifically associated with Bruges (Saints Vincent [January 22], Macarius [May 9], and Donatian [October 14]), with labors of the months (fols. 3 – 8v): *Peasant Warming His Feet at the Hearth* (fol. 3); *Presentation in the Temple* (fol. 3v); *Chopping Trees* (fol. 4); *A Young Man Wearing a Crown, Holding Branches* (fol. 4v); *Falconer on Horseback* (fol. 5); *Gathering Faggots* (fol. 5v); *Scything and Raking Hay* (fol. 6); *Harvesting Wheat* (fol. 6v); *Harvesting Grapes* (fol. 7); *The Sower* (fol. 7v); *Harvesting Acorns* (fol. 8); *Baking*



104 (fol. 9v)

Bread (fol. 8v); a series of full-page miniatures (fols. 9v – 15v): *Annunciation* (fol. 9v); *Nativity* (fol. 10v); *Adoration of the Magi* (face of the Magus standing on the left is cut out) (fol. 11v); *Flagellation* (fol. 12v); *Crucifixion* (fol. 13v); *Resurrection* (fol. 14v); *Christ in Majesty with Evangelist Symbols* (two faces cut out) (fol. 15v); psalms (fols. 16v – 166v): Psalm 1, initial *B* with *David Playing His Harp While Saul Sleeps* and *David and Goliath* (fol. 16v); Psalm 26, initial *D* with *Judas Receiving the Thirty Pieces of Silver* (fol. 39); Psalm 38, initial *D* with *Arrest of Christ*

(fol. 52); Psalm 51, initial *Q* with *Christ Led Before Pilate* (fol. 63v); Psalm 52, initial *D* with *Christ Carrying the Cross* (fol. 64v); Psalm 68, initial *S* with *Crucifixion* (fol. 77); Psalm 80, initial *E* with *Judas' Suicide* (fol. 92); Psalm 101, initial *D* with *Harrowing of Hell* (fol. 110); Psalm 109, initial *D* with *Ascension of Christ* (fol. 123v); litany including Saints Lievin, Bavo, Trond, and Gudule, who were venerated in Flanders (fols. 167 – 170v); additional readings probably written and illuminated later than the manuscript itself (fols. 170v – 172); suffrages to Saints

Jacob and Barnabas and the Holy Spirit, in a fourteenth-century hand with *ex libris* “Iste liber est abbacie Beate Marie de Montisburgo in Normania, Constantiensis diocesis” (fol. 172v); inscriptions, in late fifteenth- or early sixteenth-century hands, including: “Iste liber est et spectat abbacie. Beate Marie de Montisburgo, ordinis sanctis Benedicti, Constantiensis diocesis. Rothomagensis provinciae,” with ink drawings of two saddled horses (fols. 173 – 174).

PROVENANCE: Benedictine Abbey of Notre-Dame de Montebourg, Manche (Normandy); private collection, France; sale, Ader Picard Tajan, Paris, June 21, 1985, lot 1; [H. P. Kraus, New York].



105

105. HISTORIATED INITIAL *R*: PERSONIFICATION OF *CARITAS*
Master of the Cypresses (Pedro de Toledo [?]) or Workshop
Seville, circa 1430 – 1440
Vellum, one leaf, 36 x 31.5 cm
(14³/₁₆" x 12⁷/₁₆"). One historiated initial (recto).
Ms. 15; 85.MS.211

This cutting is from a choir book, probably an antiphonal. The figure representing *Caritas* may be Saint Elizabeth of Hungary. She carries a banderole inscribed: “qui me habet operit • multitudinen [sic] • p[e]cc[at]or[um]”; above: “caritas.”

PROVENANCE: Sale, Sotheby's, London, June 25, 1985, lot 24.



106 (fol. 2)



106 (fol. 100)

106. GOSPEL LECTIONARY

Ottonian

Reichenau Abbey, Germany, or Saint Gall Abbey, Switzerland, third quarter of the tenth century
 Vellum, 212 + 1 leaves. Collation: 1⁸ – 10⁸, 11⁶ – 12⁶, 13⁸ – 21⁸ (-7, -8 before fol. 171), 23¹⁰, 24⁸ – 27⁸; 27.7 x 19.1 cm (10¹³/₁₆" x 7³/₈"). Text area 18.4 x 11.6 cm (13.2 cm to outside rulings), one column, twenty lines. Latin text in Carolingian minuscule. Four full-page and 180 smaller decorated initials. Light brown leather binding over Medieval wood boards; covering after 1601. Five bosses on rear cover, probably from gilt; lacking two clasps; gilt edges. Ms. 16; 85.MD.317

CONTENTS: Original portion (fols. 1v – 170); decorated title page, "In d[e]i



106 (fol. 4v)

nomine incipiunt evangelia quae legenda sunt per anni [sic] circulum inter sacra missarum solemnia" (fol. 1v); proper of time and proper of saints, mixed (fols. 1v – 151); Gospel reading for the vigil of the Nativity (Matt. 1:18 – 21), decorated initial C and ornamental border (fol. 2); Gospel reading for the third Christmas Mass (John 1:1 – 14), decorated initials IN in ornamental arcade (fol. 4v); Gospel reading for the feast of the Ascension (Mark 16:14 – 20), decorated initial R

(fol. 100); Gospel reading for the feast of Pentecost (John 14:23 – 31), decorated initials SI (fol. 103); Gospel reading for the feast of Saint Peter (Matt. 16:13 – 19), decorated initial V and border (fol. 116v); common of saints and votive Masses, mixed (fols. 151 – 170); supplement providing omissions (chiefly of lections for ferias; also some for saints' days) in the earlier portion, from the first Sunday after Epiphany to the Wednesday in the third week before

Nativity (fols. 172–212).

PROVENANCE: D. Petit, no. 364; Henri-Auguste Brölemann; by descent to his great-granddaughter, Mme Etienne Mallet (sale, Sotheby's, London, May 4, 1926, lot 29); A. Chester Beatty, Dublin (sold by Mrs. Beatty through Maggs Brothers, London, on July 25, 1952); Philip Hofer, Cambridge, Massachusetts; Myron A. Hofer II, New York.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: E. G. Millar, *The Library of A. Chester Beatty: A Descriptive Catalogue of the Western Manuscripts*, vol. 1 (Oxford, 1927), no. 42, pls. 34–42; W. Gernsheim, *Die Buchmalerei der Reichenau* (Ph.D. diss., Munich, 1934), p. 20; P. Bloch, *Das Hornbacher Sakramentar und seine Stellung innerhalb der frühen Reichenauer Buchmalerei* (Ph.D. diss., Universität Basel, 1956), p. 97; R. Bauerreiss, "Gab es eine 'Reichenauer Malschule' um die Jahrtausendwende?" *Geschichte des Benediktiner-Ordens und seiner Zweige* 68 (1957), p. 48.



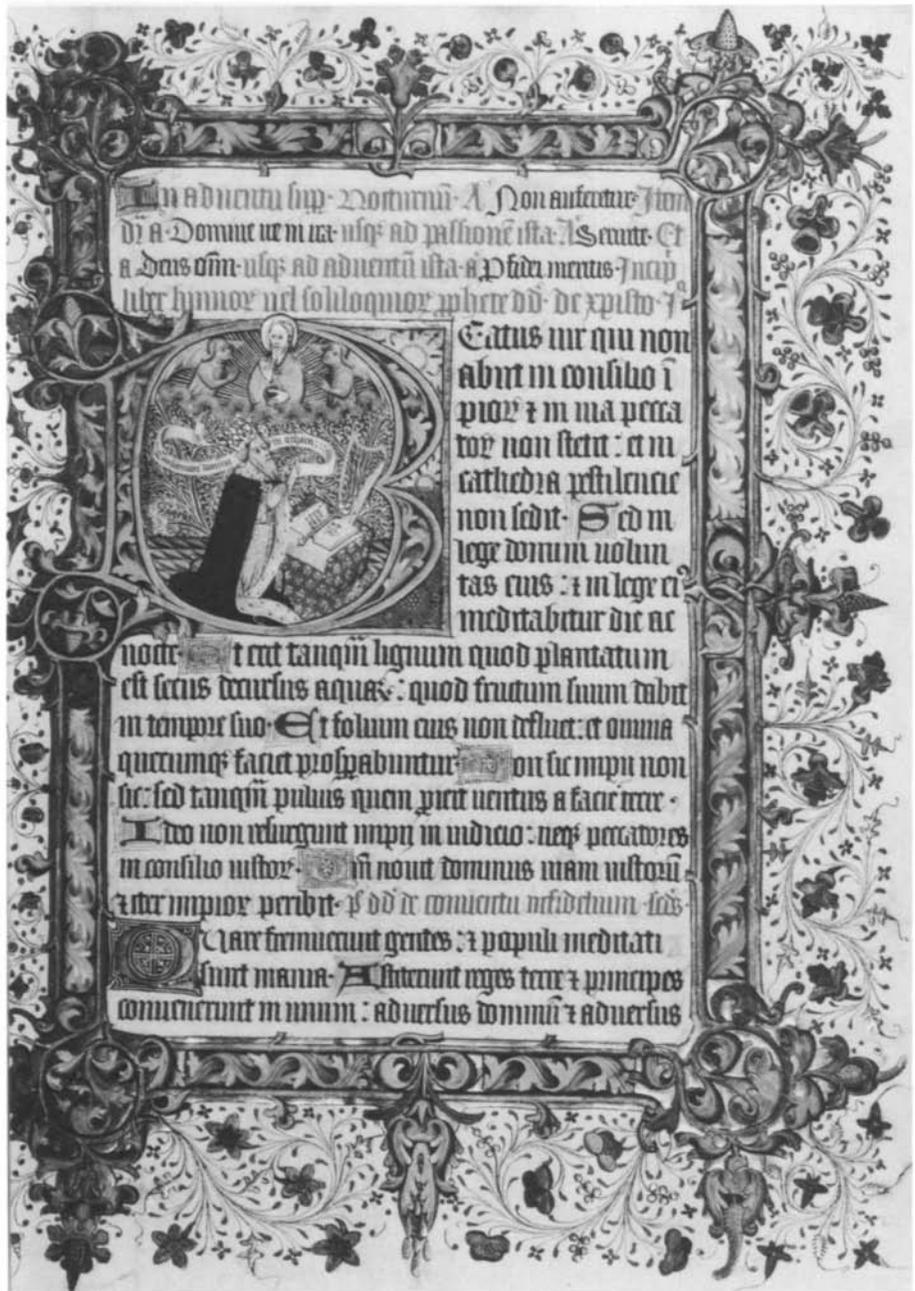
107 (front cover)



107 (fol. 13v)(detail)

107. PSALTER

Use of Old Sarum
 London, circa 1420–1430
 Vellum, iv (third and fourth vellum) + 128 + v (first vellum, last with marbled doublure on ver-



107 (fol. 1)

so) leaves. Collation: 1², 2–16⁸, 17⁸ (+ 1 flyleaf); 35.5 x 49.5 cm (14" x 9 1/2"). Text area 20.9 x 13.9 cm, one column, twenty-four lines. Latin text in Gothic script. Twelve decorated borders, one historiated initial, and eleven decorated initials. English red morocco over paper boards. Gold tooling inscribed with the arms of John Maitland, Duke of Lauderdale (K.G. 1672; d. 1682), with insignia of the Order of the Garter surmounted by a ducal coronet; gilt

edges.

Ms. 17; 85.MK.318

CONTENTS: Psalter with antiphons: Psalm 1, initial *B* with *David Kneeling in Prayer before God the Father* (fol. 1); Psalm 26, initial *D* with large flower (fol. 13v); Psalm 38, initial *D* with vines and scrolls (fol. 21); Psalm 52, initial *D* with flower and leaves (fol. 28); Psalm 68, initial *S* with leaves (fol. 35v); Psalm 80, initial *E* with leafy vines (fol. 44); Psalm 97, initial *C* with leafy vines entwined (fol. 52v); Psalm 109, initial *D* with large flower (fol. 61v); canticles (fols. 80–87);

litany (fols. 87v – 93v); prayers (fols. 95 – 96); Office of the Virgin: for Advent, small initial *D* with flower (fol. 96); from the feast of the Purification of the Virgin through Advent, initial *D* with leafy vines (fol. 100v); prayers to the Virgin (fols. 104v – 106v); other prayers (fols. 106v – 115v); Office of the Dead (fols. 116 – 127): at vespers, initial *D* with leafy vine (fol. 116); at matins, initial *V* with leafy vines entwined (fol. 117v); benedictions (fols. 127 – 128).

PROVENANCE: John Maitland, Duke of Lauderdale (d. 1682); C. W. H. Sotheby; by descent to Col. H. G. Sotheby (sale, London, July 24, 1924, lot 167); [Bernard Quaritch, London]; Philip Hofer, Cambridge, Massachusetts; given to Frances Hofer, Cambridge, Massachusetts, in 1930; Myron A. Hofer II, New York.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Harvard College Library, *Illuminated and Calligraphic Manuscripts* (Cambridge, Mass., 1955), no. 61.

PAINTINGS

ITALIAN



108

108. PACINO DI BONAGUIDA
Italian (Florence), documented
1303 – 1330, active until circa 1340s
The Chiarito Tabernacle, circa 1340s
Gilded gesso and tempera on
panel, overall: 101.4 x 113.3 cm
(39⁷/₈" x 44⁵/₈""); central panel: 104.4
x 56.8 cm (39⁷/₈" x 22³/₈""); left and
right wings: 97.1 x 27.8 cm (38¹/₄" x
11⁵/₁₆"")
85.PB.311

The lay friar Chiarito del Voglia commissioned this altarpiece for the Augustinian convent of Santa Maria Regina Coeli (popularly known as the Convento del Chiarito), which he founded in Florence in 1343. The work's unusual eucharistic iconography, intimately associated with the donor, places the *Chiarito Tabernacle* among the most significant Florentine gothic altarpieces of its time. Pacino di Bonaguida emphasized the differences between symbolic and narrative elements through an unusual combination of relief and painting. The *Communion of the Apostles*, dominating the central panel, is rendered in gilded gesso relief, while the narrative scenes below and on the right and left wings are painted in tempera. Below the iconic central image are three scenes of the donor at communion; together with the fourth representation of the donor as he witnesses a sermon in the bottom compartment of the right wing, these images are the only known

depictions of a layman's visions. The pictographic quality of the figures in the Passion cycle in the left wing, which is surmounted by Saint Catherine of Alexandria kneeling before the Madonna and Christ Child, characterizes the art of Pacino di Bonaguida, whose flourishing workshop specialized in illuminated manuscripts as well.

A study of the iconography and style of the *Chiarito Tabernacle* is being prepared by Adrian S. Hoch.

PROVENANCE: Commissioned by Chiarito del Voglia, Florence, circa 1340s; Santa Maria Regina Coeli, Florence, circa 1340s until at least 1759; [Stefano Bardini, Florence, circa late nineteenth century – 1918 (sale, American Art Galleries, New York, April 23 – 27, 1918, lot 467)]; Vladimir G. Simkhovitch, New York, 1918 – 1944; [Wildenstein & Co., New York, 1944 – 1985].

BIBLIOGRAPHY: R. Offner, *Corpus of Florentine Painting*, vol. 6, sect. 3 (New York, 1956), pp. xiv, 141 – 148, 170 – 171, n. 2, pl. XLII; J. White, *Art and Architecture in Italy, 1250 to 1400* (Baltimore, 1966), pp. 115, 260; R. Offner and M. Boskovits, *Corpus of Florentine Painting*, vol. 9, sect. 3: *The Fourteenth Century: The Painters of the Miniaturist Tendency* (Florence, 1984), pp. 49, 51.



109

109. UNIDENTIFIED ITALIAN
Venice
Portrait of a Young Man,
circa 1475 – 1490
Oil (and tempera?) on panel, 22.2

x 16.2 cm (8¹⁵/₁₆" x 6³/₈"")
85.PB.233

While this portrait has been attributed to the fifteenth-century Ferrarese painter Baldassare d'Este, Creighton Gilbert and other specialists believe it to be Venetian of the 1480s. This localization and date are supported by the young, unknown sitter's hairstyle and costume. Furthermore, the dating is confirmed by the masterful use of the oil medium, which was introduced into Venice by Antonello da Messina after 1475. The precise execution on so small a scale suggests that the artist may also have worked as a miniaturist. The luminous execution of the small profile and the painting of the reverse in simulation of green porphyry invite comparison with the work of Jacometto Veneziano.

PROVENANCE: Private collection, New York, by 1980; [Marco Grassi, New York, 1980 – 1985].

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Matthiesen Gallery, London, *From Borso to Cesare d'Este: The School of Ferrara*, ex. cat. (London, 1984), p. 65, no. 7; V. Sgarbi, "Arte/La scuola ferrarese alla Galleria di London," *Europeo*, June 30, 1984, p. 79; C. Gilbert, "London: Ferrara at Matthiesen," *Burlington Magazine* 126 (September 1984), p. 585.



110

110. GIOVANNI AMBROGIO DE
PREDIS
Italian (Milan), circa 1455 –

after 1506

Christ Carrying the Cross, circa
1495 – 1500

Oil on panel, 37 x 27.5 cm (14 1/2" x
10 3/4")

85.PB.412

David A. Brown's recent attribution to Giovanni Ambrogio de Predis supersedes this picture's nineteenth-century attribution to Leonardo da Vinci and subsequent assignment to Andrea Solario. An established figure at the Sforza court of Milan by 1483, de Predis became one of the principal disciples of Leonardo da Vinci during Leonardo's first extended stay in Milan (1482 – 1499).

The single half-length figure of Christ carrying the cross (John 19:16 – 17) first appeared in Lombard painting in the late fifteenth century. Frequent North Italian examples, among them several pictures by Giovanni Francesco Maineri and an anonymous Milanese woodcut of circa 1490, attest to this image's popularity. Giovanni Ambrogio de Predis appropriated their formula of depicting Christ in a three-quarter close-up view staring downward to the left. While the convention emphasizes Christ's humble submission to his burden, he wears the fine garments associated with the *Salvator Mundi*, which allude to his role of Savior. The panel's small size indicates that it was intended for private devotion.

PROVENANCE: Sir Thomas William Bograve Proctor-Beauchamp, Fourth Baronet, Langley Park, Norfolk, by 1871 – 1874; by descent to Sheila Beauchamp, Langley Park, and Ulting Lea, Maldon, Essex, 1912 – 1947 (sale, Sotheby's, London, June 11, 1947, lot 21); [Frank T. Sabin, London, 1947 – after 1951]; Capt. and Mrs. V. Bulkeley-Johnson, Churchill, Oxfordshire, by 1980 (sale, Sotheby's, London, April 18, 1980, lot 78); [Piero Corsini, Inc., New York, 1980 – 1985].

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Royal Academy, London, *Exhibition of Works of the Old Masters*, ex. cat. (London, 1871), p. 25, no. 275; Royal Academy, London, *Exhibition of Works by the Old Masters*, ex. cat. (London, 1878), p. 42, no. 22; Piero Corsini, Inc., *Italian Old Master Paintings*, ex. cat. (New York, 1984), pp. 24 – 25, no. 10.

111. ANDREA MANTEGNA

Italian (Padua), circa 1431 – 1506
Adoration of the Magi, circa
1495 – 1505

Tempera on canvas, stretcher size:



111

54.6 x 70.7 cm (21 1/2" x 27 7/8"); sight
size: 48.5 x 65.6 cm (19 1/8" x 25 7/8")
85.PA.417

This small devotional painting was probably meant for private use. The type of religious narrative represented here, composed of close-up, half-length figures in a compressed space, was perhaps Mantegna's invention, first appearing in his *Presentation in the Temple* of circa 1455 – 1460, now in the State Museum in Berlin-Dahlem. Executed in tempera on linen, a favorite technique of the aged Mantegna, this *Adoration of the Magi* must have been famous in its own day, since at least seven early North Italian copies survive. Caroline Elam and Ronald Lightbown have suggested that it originally belonged to the Gonzaga, and it may have passed with that collection to Charles I of England. Despite some damage, above all to the face of the black Magus, Mantegna's intensity and tenderness retain all their force.

PROVENANCE: Louisa, Lady Ashburton, Kent House, London, by 1871 (d. 1903); by descent to Lord Spencer Douglas Compton, Castle Ashby, Northamptonshire, circa 1903 – 1915; William Bingham Compton, Sixth Marquess of Northampton, Castle Ashby, 1915 – 1978; Spencer Douglas David Compton, Seventh Marquess of Northampton, Castle Ashby, 1978 – 1985 (sale, Christie's, London, April 18, 1985, lot 16).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S. Ringbom, *From Icon to Narrative: The Rise of the Dramatic Close-up in Fifteenth-Century Devotional Painting* (Åbo, 1965), pp. 88, 90 – 93, 102, 161, 181, fig. 41; D. Chambers and J. Martineau, eds., *Splendours of the Gonzaga*, ex. cat. (London, Victoria and Albert Museum, 1981 – 1982), pp. 122 – 123, no. 32 (entry by C. Elam); R. W. Lightbown, "The Adoration of the Magi by Andrea Mantegna," *Christie's Review of the Season* (Oxford, 1985), pp. 24 – 27.



112

112. GIOVANNI GEROLAMO
SAVOLDO

Italian (Lombardy), circa 1480 –
after 1548

Shepherd with a Flute, circa 1525
Oil on canvas, 97 x 78 cm (38¹/₁₆" x
30¹¹/₁₆")
85.PA.162

The representation of a peasant with a flute within an idyllic twilight landscape is Giorgionesque. Curiously, however, it has not been noted before that such a theme ultimately derives from Virgil's pastoral poetry. While this picture was probably executed in Venice, Savoldo's Lombard naturalism persists in the depiction of this shepherd and many details of the landscape. Savoldo was a specialist in nocturnal scenes, and his rendering of dusk accounts for much of this picture's evocative force.

An inferior version of this composition is in the collection of the Earl of Wemyss and March, Gosford House, near Edinburgh.

PROVENANCE: Duke of Anhalt-Dessau, Woerlitz, Germany, by the late nineteenth century; [Paul Cassirer, Berlin, and Julius Boehler, Munich, by 1927]; Count Alessandro Contini-Bonacossi, Florence, circa 1927–1970; [Eugene Thaw, New York, circa 1970–1984]; private collection, Connecticut, 1984–1985.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: R. Longhi, "Quesiti Caravaggeschi," *Pinacotheca* 1 (1928), pp. 19, 33; reprinted in *Opere complete di Roberto Longhi*, vol. 4 (Florence, 1968), pp. 119, 141; C. E. Gilbert, *The Works of Girolamo Savoldo* (Ph.D. dissertation, Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, 1955), vol. 1, pp. 83–84, 93, 169–170; vol. 2, fig. 31; Metropolitan Museum of Art, *The Age of Caravaggio*, ex. cat. (New York, 1985), pp. 81–83, no. 12 (entry by K. Christiansen).



113. PELLEGRINO TIBALDI
Italian (Bologna), 1527–1596
*Holy Family with Saints Anne,
Catherine of Alexandria, and Mary
Magdalen*, circa 1555–1558
Oil on panel, 100.1 x 77.7 cm
(39³/₄" x 30⁹/₁₆")
85.PB.310

The subject of this altarpiece, formerly called *Mystic Marriage of Saint Catherine of Alexandria*, was correctly identified in 1981. The modestly dressed Virgin sits on the floor as a sign of humility, while the contrastingly elegant Saints Catherine of Alexandria and Mary Magdalen adore the Christ Child. The strident colors and compressed space, as well as the forceful, twisted postures of the Michelangesque figures, reflect the most advanced Mannerist style from Rome.

Martha Dunkelman and Christine Baltay suggest that this picture is by the Bolognese contemporary of Tibaldi, Giovanni Francesco Bezzi, called Nosadella.

PROVENANCE: [Colnaghi, London and New York, 1977–1985].

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. L. Dunkelman, "The Holy Family with St. John the Baptist: Nosadella or Tibaldi?" *Perceptions* 1 (1981), pp. 49, 50, n. 19; E. Sambo, "Tibaldi e Nosadella," *Paragone* 32, no. 379 (1981), pp. 15–16, 25, n. 37, pls. 16–19; C. Baltay, *Pellegrino Tibaldi in Bologna and the Marches* (Ph.D. dissertation, Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, 1984), pp. 170–171, 175, 177–178, 180–181, 187, n. 59, fig. 177.



114



114

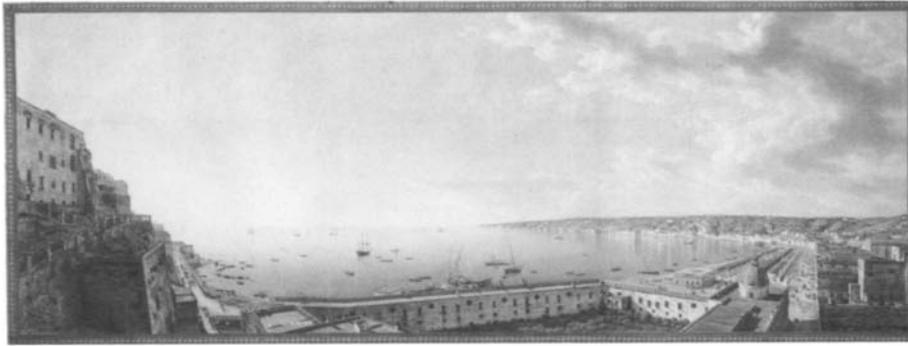
114. FRANCESCO MAFFEI
Italian (Venice), circa 1605–1660
*Rinaldo and the Mirror-Shield and
Rinaldo's Conquest of the Enchanted
Forest*, circa 1650–1655
Oil on copper, each: 34.4 x 30.5 cm
(12" x 13¹/₂")
85.PC.321.1–2

These hitherto-unknown paintings depict two scenes from Torquato Tasso's epic *Jerusalem Delivered* (*Gerusalemme liberata*, 1581), celebrating the First Crusade of 1095–1099, whose goal was to free Jerusalem from the infidel. Both works focus on Tasso's legendary hero, the knight Rinaldo, whose martial prowess is necessary to achieve the goal of the Crusade. In *Rinaldo and the Mirror-Shield* (Canto XVI:28–30), the knights Carlo and Ubaldo, by way of a magic mirror shield, succeed in reawakening the military spirit of Rinaldo, who had been bewitched into a life of easy sensuality by the sorceress Armida. He subsequently rejoins the holy expedition and, in *Rinaldo's Conquest of the Enchanted Forest* (Canto XVIII: 34–35), enters a nymph-inhabited wood where hideous apparitions had previously prevented his comrades from collecting timber for war machines. Rinaldo advances, striking the tree repeatedly with his sword, thus destroying the enchantments.

Maffei's fluid handling of paint, which produces dramatic flashes of brilliant light and color, reflects the influence of two of his contemporaries active in Venice, Domenico Fetti and Johann Liss.

PROVENANCE: [Somerville and Simpson Ltd., London, 1985].

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. R. Fisher, "Francesco Maffei: Newly Discovered Scenes from Tasso's *Jerusalem Delivered*," *GettyMusJ* 14 (1986), pp. 143–148.



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115. GIOVANNI BATTISTA LUSIERI
Italian (Naples), circa 1755 – 1821
*A View of the Bay of Naples, Looking
Southwest from the Pizzozalfone
Towards Capo di Posillipo, 1791*
Pen and ink, gouache, and water-
color on six sheets of paper, 102 x
272 cm (40¹/₂" x 107"). Signed and
dated: *G. B. Lusieri 1791* at the lower
center edge.
85.GC.281

This is one of the two panoramic views of the Bay of Naples formerly at Stowe. This view includes the Presidio di Spagnoli to the left and the Riviera di Chiaia and Posillipo to the right. The pendant (location unknown since the 1848 Stowe sale) was probably a similar view looking southeast toward Vesuvius. Lusieri, active in Naples from 1782 until 1799, found a large clientele among English tourists who admired the remarkable accuracy and beautiful coloring of his topographical studies. His use of gouache, beginning in the 1790s, was previously unrecorded.

PROVENANCE: Richard, First Duke of Buckingham and Chandos, Stowe, Buckinghamshire, by 1817; Richard, Second Duke of Buckingham and Chandos, by 1839; (sale, Christie and Manson [on the premises], September 13, 1848, lot 160); Richard, Third Duke of Buckingham and Chandos, until 1889; by descent to Baroness Kinloss, Stowe (sale, Stowe [Jackson Stops, auctioneer], July 4 – 28, 1921, lot 1652, acquired by H. Shaw as part of the fixtures of Stowe but not paid for); sale, Stowe (Jackson Stops, auctioneer), October 13, 1922, lot 204, acquired by Allied Schools as part of the fixtures of Stowe; Stowe School, until 1984; [Artemis Fine Arts Ltd., London, 1985].

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. Seely, *Stowe: A Description of the House and Gardens* (Buckingham, 1817), p. 58; R. Chandler and J. Seely, *Stowe: A Description of the House and Gardens* (Buckingham, 1832), p. 74, nos. 303, 304; H. R. Foster,

The Stowe Catalogue Priced and Annotated (London, 1848), p. 165, no. 160.

SPANISH



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116. JUAN NUÑEZ (attributed to)
Spanish (Seville), active circa
1480 – after 1501
Pietà, circa 1480 – 1490
Oil on panel, original painted
surface: 47 x 31.17 cm (18 x 12¹/₂");
panel size: 49.8 x 34.3 cm (19¹/₂" x
13¹/₂")
85.PB.267

Possibly intended for private devotion, this *Pietà* was formerly assigned to the French School, circa 1510. In 1941 Charles Sterling attributed it to Juan Nuñez on the basis of stylistic affinities with the artist's signed altarpiece the *Pietà with Saints Michael and Vincent Martyr*, now in the Sacristy of the Chalices in Seville Cathedral. The poignant and attenuated principal fig-

ures, set against a landscape rendered in minute detail, reflect the influence of contemporary Netherlandish art.

Infrared reflectography has recently revealed an elaborate and distinctive underdrawing. After the original, engaged frame was forcibly removed, the damaged edges of the painted surface were extended to cover the exposed wood.

PROVENANCE: Baron Michele Lazzaroni, Paris, by 1904; Baroness Lazzaroni, Villa Romain, Nice, until 1945; [Wildenstein & Co., New York, 1968 – 1985].

BIBLIOGRAPHY: H. Bouchot, *L'exposition des primitifs français: La peinture en France sous les Valois* (Paris, 1904), pl. XC; C. Sterling, *Les peintres du Moyen Age* (Paris, 1941), p. 60, no. 27; G. Schiller, *Ikongraphie der christlichen Kunst*, 2nd ed. (Gütersloh, 1983), vol. 2, pp. 190, 285, fig. 610.

FLEMISH

117. DIERIC BOUTS
Flemish, active circa 1440 – d. 1474
The Annunciation, circa 1450 – 1455
Tempera on canvas, 90 cm x 74.5
cm (35⁷/₁₆" x 29³/₈")
85.PA.24

Entries in the *Note Books* of Sir Charles Eastlake (MSS, National Gallery, London), corroborated by technical examinations of the canvases, indicate that *The Annunciation* was once associated with an *Adoration of the Magi* (unpublished, private collection, Europe), *Entombment* (National Gallery, London), and *Resurrection* (Norton Simon Museum, Pasadena, California). These four paintings, along with the large *Crucifixion* in the Royal Museum, Brussels, may once have formed an altarpiece configured like the artist's *Holy Sacrament* in Louvain (1464 – 1468).

Although many of the iconographic details commonly associated with the Annunciation are absent in this composition, Susan Koslow has pointed out that the angel is engaged in forming a curtain sack, a Rogerian motif symbolizing the Incarnation. The unusual light brown color of the Virgin's cloak, repeated in the related canvases, has yet to be explained.

PROVENANCE: Foscarei family, Venice, until circa 1810; Count Diego Guicciardi, Milan, circa 1810 – circa 1858; Count Diego Melzi, Milan,



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in 1858; Giuseppe Casanova, Milan, in 1872; private collection, Switzerland; [Eugene Thaw, New York, in 1984].

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Pinacoteca di Brera, *Catalogo delle opere d'arte antica esposte nel palazzo di Brera, 26 agosto – 7 ottobre 1872*, ex. cat. (Milan, 1872), p. 11, no. 40; M. Davies, *The National Gallery, London, Les Primitifs Flamands*, vol. 1. (Antwerp, 1953), pp. 25–27; M. J. Friedländer, *Dieric Bouts and Joos van Ghent*, comments and notes by N. Veronee-Verhaegen (Brussels, 1968), pp. 76, 89, n. 81; S. Koslow, "The Curtain Sack: A Newly Discovered Incarnation Motif in Rogier van der Weyden's *Columba Annunciation*," paper presented at the College Art Association meeting, Los Angeles, February 1985.



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118. PETER PAUL RUBENS
Flemish, 1577–1640
*The Virgin as the Woman of the
Apocalypse*, 1623–1624
Oil on oak panel, 64 x 49.5 cm
(25¹/₄" x 19¹/₂"")
85.PB.146

This is an oil study for the principal altarpiece of Freising Cathedral, commissioned by Prince-Bishop Veit Adam and now in the Alte Pinakothek in Munich. After taking over the commission, Rubens devised a subject complying with his patron's request (which had originally been expressed to the aging Johann Rottenhammer in a letter of July 11, 1623) for an image applicable to all feast days of the Virgin. *Revelation* 12:1–10 is the principal textual source for Rubens' conflated image. According to post-Tridentine interpretation, such an image can also be understood as an allusion to the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception and the themes of the Assumption of the Virgin and the Triumph of Religion over Heresy and Vice. Among the notable modifications to this subject in Rubens' finished altarpiece is the view of Freising in the lower right.

PROVENANCE: Kloster Neustift, Freising (See of Munich), circa 1624–1803; Benjamin West, London, by 1820 (sale, Christie's, London, June 23–24, 1820, lot 75); sale, Christie's, London, May 28, 1824, lot 70; Edmund M. Blood, London, by 1868; Eduard F. Weber, Hamburg, 1887–1912 (sale, Lepke, Berlin, February 20–22, 1912, lot 191); Marcell de Nemes, Budapest, 1912–1913 (sale, Galerie Manzi-Joyant, Paris, June 17–18, 1913, lot 72); Gentili di Giuseppe, Paris, by 1917; Bousquart, Paris, 1919; [Paul Cassirer, Berlin, and Walter Feilchenfeldt, Zurich, by 1938]; Alfred Hausamann, Zurich, 1938–1984.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: C. Meichelbeck, *Kurtze freysingische Chronica oder Historia*, vol. 1 (Freising, 1724), p. 288; M. Rooses, *L'oeuvre de P. P. Rubens*, vol. 5 (Antwerp, 1892), p. 331, no. 384 bis; J. S. Held, *The Oil Sketches of Peter Paul Rubens: A Critical Catalogue* (Princeton, N.J., 1980), vol. 1, pp. 525–526, no. 389, vol. 2, pl. 379; L. Weber, *Die Erneuerung des Domes zu Freising, 1621–1630* (Munich, 1985), pp. 83–90, fig. 118.



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119. ANTHONY VAN DYCK
Flemish, 1599 – 1641
The Apostle Simon, circa 1618
Oil on panel, 64 x 48.2 cm
(25 1/8" x 19")
85.PB.99

This painting is one of a group of five Apostles until recently in the Earl Spencer collection at Althorp. There have been several attempts to complete this series with other panels in various collections. The slightly later and complete series of *Christ and the Apostles*, known as the Cellemare-Boehler set (dispersed after 1914), included a very similar *Saint Simon* (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna). This image of *Saint Simon* was repeated in the artist's studio, as well as engraved; the artist also used this profile figure in later religious compositions of his early Antwerp period—among them, *Suffer Little Children to Come unto Me*, circa 1618 – 1620 (National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa).

PROVENANCE: Possibly P. H. Lankrink, London, sold by 1692/93; Robert Spencer, Second Earl of Sunderland, Althorp House, Northamptonshire (d. 1702); Hon. John Spencer, London; by descent to the First Earl Spencer, Althorp, in 1746; by descent to the Eighth Earl Spencer, Althorp, until circa 1984 [bought by Colnaghi]; [Colnaghi, London]; private collection, Great Britain.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: G. Glück, "Van Dycks Apostel-folge," in *Festschrift für Max J. Friedländer zum 60 Geburtstag* (Leipzig, 1927), pp. 130 – 147; A. McNairn, *The Young van Dyck*, ex. cat. (Ottawa, National Gallery of Canada, 1980), pp. 39 – 40, 44; M. Roland, "Van Dyck's Early Workshop, the Apostle Series, and the *Drunken Silenus*," *Art Bulletin* 64 (June 1984), pp. 211 – 218, 222 – 223.



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120. ANTHONY VAN DYCK
Flemish, 1599 – 1641
Saint Sebastian Tended by an Angel,
circa 1630 – 1632
Oil on panel, 40.5 x 30.5 cm
(16" x 12")
85.PB.31

The Saint Sebastian theme was a favorite of van Dyck. This monochrome oil sketch from van Dyck's second Antwerp period (1627 – 1632) illustrates the rare subject of an angel removing arrows from the wounded plague saint. The large composition most clearly related to this sketch is the artist's *Saint Sebastian* altarpiece (circa 1630) in the Musée du Louvre, Paris.

A three-centimeter addition along the left side of the panel, added in the nineteenth century, was removed in 1984 during cleaning.

PROVENANCE: Gaspar de Heyne, Ghent (sale, Ghent, October 26, 1761); Sir Abraham Hume, Bt., London, bought 1808; by descent to his granddaughter Lady Sophia Frances Tower (d. 1883); Brownlow Richard Christopher Tower, Ellesmere, Shropshire, 1932; Geoffrey Egerton Tower (sale, Sotheby's, London, December 17, 1947, lot 49 [bought by Agnew's, London]); Kenneth Clark (Lord Clark of Saltwood), Kent, 1948 – 1984 (sale, Sotheby's, London, June 27, 1984, lot 88 [bought by Agnew's, London, 1984]).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: L. Cust, *Anthony van Dyck: An Historical Study of His Life and Works* (London, 1900), p. 240, no. 46; R. d'Hulst and H. Vey, *Antoon van Dyck: Tekeningen en olieverschetsen*, ex. cat. (Antwerp, Rubenshuis, and Rotterdam, Museum Boymans van Beunigen, 1960), no. 125; E. Larsen, *L'opera completa di Van Dyck, 1626 – 1641*, vol. 2 (Milan, 1980), p. 105, no. 716.



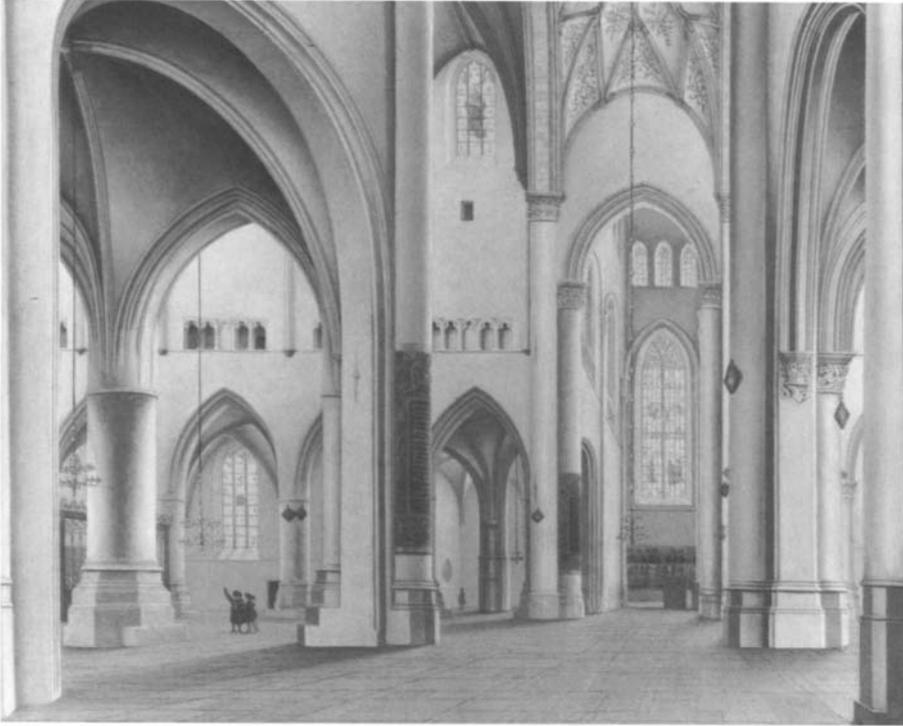
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121. MICHAEL SWEERTS
Flemish, 1618 – 1664
Double Portrait, circa 1660 – 1662
Oil on panel, 21.7 x 17.8 cm
(8 9/16" x 7"). Signed: *Sig: mio / videte / la strada di [sa] / lute per la / mano di sweerts* on the cartellino, at the lower right.
85.PB.348

The fine execution, orientalizing costumes, and enigmatic but apparently religious inscription point to a date after circa 1660, and it is likely that this is Sweerts' latest known work. A red velvet gown similar to that on the foreground figure also appears in Sweerts' *Clothing the Naked* (Wrightsman collection, New York, on loan to the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York), which is placed at the end of his Amsterdam period, circa 1660 – 1661. More difficult to determine are the identities of the two men, although the figure in the background has been thought by Wolfgang Stechow to represent Sweerts himself. Quite possibly one or both belonged to the Société des Missions Etrangères, the missionary group under the direction of Bishop François Pallu, whom Sweerts accompanied from Marseilles to the Near East in 1661.

During a recent cleaning, overpaint was removed from the parapet's green drapery to reveal its proper form—a pillow; the coloring throughout is remarkably brilliant.

PROVENANCE: [Curt Benedict, Paris, circa 1949/50]; [S. Nystad, The Hague, by 1950]; A. Schwartz, Amsterdam, by 1951; his daughter, by 1985.



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BIBLIOGRAPHY: W. Stechow, "Some Portraits by Michael Sweerts," *Art Quarterly* 14, no. 3 (autumn 1951), pp. 208, 212–213, 215; R. Kultzen, *Michael Sweerts e i Bamboccianti*, ex. cat. (Rome, Museo di Palazzo Venezia,

1958), pp. 55–56, no. 58; W. A. Liedtke, "Clothing the Naked by Michiel Sweerts," *Apollo*, n.s. 117, no. 251 (January 1983), p. 23.

DUTCH

122. PIETER JANSZ. SAENREDAM
Dutch, 1597–1665
The Interior of Saint Bavo, Haarlem,
1628
Oil on panel, 38.5 x 47.5 cm
(15¹/₈" x 18³/₄"). Signed:
P. Saenredam F. AD 1628 in the
lower right corner.
85.PB.225

The earliest known signed and dated Saenredam church interior combines views in Saint Bavo's, Haarlem, from a spot in the north transept looking east toward the choir and down the south transept. The panel differs from the preliminary drawing (Royal Museum of Fine Arts, Brussels) and the construction drawing (Rijksmuseum Kröller-Müller, Otterlo) in several details—the addition of a painted altarpiece at the end of the south transept, an image of the Immaculate Conception in a clerestory window, and rounded aisle arches, which may have iconographic significance. Figures that had been added to the foreground in the nineteenth century were removed during cleaning in 1952.

PROVENANCE: Adolphe Schloss, Paris (sale, Galerie Charpentier [Maurice Rheims and Denis-H. Baudoin, commissaires-priseurs], Paris, December 5, 1951, lot 51); D. A. Hoogendijk, Amsterdam; J. C. H. Heldring, Oosterbeek, by 1953 (sale, Sotheby's, London, March 27, 1963, lot 17 [bought by Speelman]); [Edward Speelman, London]; private collection; [Edward Speelman, London].

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. E. Houtzager, *Catalogue of the Works of Pieter Jansz. Saenredam Published on the Occasion of the Exhibition Pieter Jansz. Saenredam* (Utrecht, 1961), pp. 98–99, no. 55; F. W. Heckmanns, *Pieter Janszoon Saenredam: Das Problem seiner Raumform*, Münstersche Studien zur Kunstgeschichte, vol. 3 (Recklinghausen, 1965), pp. 17–20, 55, 64; E. J. Connell, "The Romanization of the Gothic Arch in Some Paintings by Pieter Saenredam: Catholic and Protestant Implications," *Rutgers Art Review* 1 (January 1980), pp. 22–25.

123. PHILIPS KONINCK
Dutch, 1619–1688
Panoramic Landscape, 1665
Oil on canvas, 138 x 167 cm
(54¹/₄" x 65¹/₂"). Signed: *P. Koninck*
1665 in the lower right corner.
85.PA.32

This painting, one of Koninck's largest panoramas, is typical in that the composition is evenly divided between sky and landscape; moreover, its arbitrarily juxtaposed buildings, fields, dunes, and bodies of water succeed in creating a convincing sense of the Dutch landscape without portraying an actual site. X-radiographs reveal that the sky was once filled with narrow bands of clouds on the left side; the present sky seems to reflect the influence of the Dutch Italianate landscapists. The figures, awkwardly out of scale with the architecture and terrain, are probably by Koninck himself.

PROVENANCE: Lord Hillingdon, London, in 1887; Charles Mills, London; [Edward Speelman, London, in 1955]; Emil G. Bührle, Zurich; [Edward Speelman, in 1984].

BIBLIOGRAPHY: H. Gerson, *Philips Koninck* (Berlin, 1936), p. 113, no. 97. Kunsthaus, Zurich, *Sammlung Emil G. Bührle*, ex. cat. (Zurich, 1958), pp. 68, 192, no. 75; Art Institute of Chicago, *Rembrandt after Three Hundred Years*, ex. cat. (Chicago, 1969), no. 74.



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124. WILLEM VAN AELST
Dutch, 1626 – after 1683
Still Life with Dead Birds and Game Bag, 1674
Oil on canvas, 45 x 37 cm
(17³/₄" x 14¹/₂"). Signed: *Guill^{mo}
van Aelst 1674* in the upper right
corner.
85.PA.236

This still life in its original frame was owned by the artist's descendants until

1984. Although he painted it in Amsterdam in 1674, van Aelst signed the picture using an abbreviated, Italianized form of his first name, a reminder of his sojourn in Italy (1649 – 1656).

The intimate composition, characteristic of van Aelst's late works, consists of three finches and a kingfisher arranged on a purple velvet drapery covering a stone slab. Behind them is a green velvet game bag and a leather ammunition bag. With meticulous technique, van Aelst refined the Dutch game piece through subtle effects of color, light, and texture.

PROVENANCE: Van Aelst family, Hoevekalen, 1674 – 1984 (sale, Sotheby's, Mak Van Waay, Amsterdam, November 26, 1984, lot 84); [Johnny van Haeften, London, 1984].

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Centraal Museum, Utrecht, *Catalogus der Schilderijen* (Utrecht, 1933), p. 113, no. 244 (on loan from Dr. C. J. K. van Aalst, 1931 – 1944).

BRITISH



125

125. JOSEPH WRIGHT of Derby
British, 1734 – 1797
John Whetham of Kirklington, circa
1777 – 1779
Oil on canvas, 127 x 101.6 cm
(50" x 40")
85.PA.221

John Whetham (1731 – 1781) of Kirklington wears the "hussar dress" he is thought to have worn to a masquerade at Clumber. Whetham, his friend Robert Holden, and his brother-in-law Lord

Middleton all sat for portraits circa 1779 – 1780, each intending to order replicas for his two friends. Wright's replica of the *Whetham* (without the dog) and the prime version of *Holden* are recorded in his account book (B. Nicolson, vol. 1, pp. 204, 224) and are still with the Holden family, Nuthall Temple, Nottinghamshire. Romney painted two portraits of Middleton in the period from 1779 to 1781; a replica of one is also at Nuthall (B. Nicolson, vol. 1, p. 204). The deaths of both Whetham and Middleton in 1781 may have prevented completion of the project.

PROVENANCE: Commissioned by the sitter, circa 1777 – 1779; by descent in the Whetham family to Daphne M. Smith, Hamilton, Ontario (sale, Christie's, London, July 18, 1985, lot 98).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: H. Ward and W. Roberts, *Romney: A Biographical and Critical Essay with a Catalogue Raisonné of His Works* (New York, 1904), vol. 2, p. 103; B. Nicolson, *Joseph Wright of Derby, Painter of Light* (London and New Haven, Conn., 1968), vol. 1, pp. 17, 34, 71 – 72, 205, 225, no. 139.

FRENCH



126

126. ANTOINE CARON
French, circa 1520 – 1598/99
Astronomers Studying an Eclipse,
circa 1570s
Oil on panel, 93 x 73 cm
(36¹/₂" x 28³/₄")
85.PB.117

The artist has used Raphael's *School of*

Athens for the group of foreground figures of astronomers and astrologers discussing an eclipse in a bright red sky. This activity corresponds to a major interest at the court of Catherine de' Medici, and the architecture is typical of French designs of the period, both for buildings and for the theater.

The compositions of Caron are often closely linked to events at the Valois court or constitute allegories about royal issues. In this case there has been much discussion about the significance of the eclipse, and several eclipses, notably those of 1571 and 1574, were interpreted at the time as having a bearing on the current political and religious turmoil. Even so, no convincing interpretation of the composition has been achieved; it is still disputed, for example, whether or not the foreground figures represent famous astronomers of antiquity or of the Renaissance.

PROVENANCE: Sale, Christie's, London, January 17, 1947, lot 121; Anthony Blunt, London, 1947–1962; John Gaskin, London, 1962–1984.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. Ehrmann, *Antoine Caron: Peintre à la cour des Valois, 1521–1599* (Geneva and Lille, 1955), pp. 22–24, 44; G. Reaves and M. Kerr-Reaves, "Antoine Caron's Painting *Astronomers Studying an Eclipse*," *Publications of the Astronomical Society of the Pacific* 77 (1965), pp. 153–157; S. Béguin, *L'École de Fontainebleau*, ex. cat. (Paris, Grand Palais, 1972), pp. 32–33, no. 33.



127

127. ELISABETH VIGÉE LE BRUN
French, 1755–1842
The Vicomtesse de Vaudreuil, 1785

Oil on panel, 83 x 65 cm
(32⁵/₈" x 25¹/₂") oval
85.PB.443

Victoire-Pauline de Riquet de Caraman (1764–1834) married Jean-Louis, vicomte de Vaudreuil, in 1781. Her husband was the first cousin of the comte de Vaudreuil, Vigée Le Brun's leading patron in the 1780s, whose 1784 portrait by Vigée is now in the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond.

Like many of Vigée's finest portraits, this is painted on panel with a technique reminiscent of Rubens, in particular his *Chapeau de Paille (Portrait of Susanna Fournet)*, National Gallery, London), which she had seen in Antwerp in 1782. Vigée painted a second portrait of the vicomtesse (location unknown) during the Bourbon restoration; it may be a replica of the Getty painting. A rectangular copy on canvas is in the Ilse Bischoff collection, Vermont.

PROVENANCE: By descent to Baron Edouard Alphonse James de Rothschild, Paris (d. 1949); Baronne Edouard de Rothschild, Paris, until 1975; by inheritance to a private collector, Los Angeles (sale, Sotheby Parke Bernet, New York, January 9, 1980, lot 95 [bought by Wildenstein]; [Wildenstein, New York, 1980–1985].

BIBLIOGRAPHY: E.-L. Vigée Le Brun, *Souvenirs de Madame Louise-Elisabeth Vigée le Brun . . .*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1835 or 1837), p. 333; J. Baillio, *Elisabeth Louise Vigée Le Brun, 1755–1842*, ex. cat. (Fort Worth, Kimbell Art Museum, 1982), pp. 56–58, no. 16; idem, catalogue raisonné of Vigée Le Brun (in preparation).



128

128. THEODORE GERICAULT
French, 1791–1824
The Race of the Riderless Horses, 1817
Oil on impregnated paper laid on
canvas, 20 x 29 cm (7⁷/₈" x 11³/₈")
85.PC.406

During his sojourn in Rome in 1817, Géricault observed the race of the Bar-

beri horses, a frenzied stampede of riderless animals held each year at the end of Carnival. Much of his remaining time in Rome was devoted to preparation of a monumental treatment of the event, destined for the Paris Salon but never completed. Whereas Charles Clément identified this sketch as a *première pensée* for *The Race*, it is now agreed that it falls late in Géricault's sequence of drawings and oil studies. The drawing in the de la Porte collection, Paris (black chalk, wash, and gouache), preceded the oil sketch, but the chalk drawing in the Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge, Massachusetts, may have been executed nearly simultaneously. The painting in the Musée du Louvre, Paris, in which Géricault returned to his initial treatment of the race as a contemporary event rather than as an idealized scene, is the latest surviving for the project.

PROVENANCE: M. de Dartin, Paris, circa 1879; (?) F. Febvre, Paris (sale, Hôtel Drouot [Henri Lechat and Paul Chevallier, commissaires-priseurs], Paris, April 17–20, 1882, lot 190); Mme Tordeux; Mme Demange; [Alfred Daber, Paris (bought by Nathan)]; [Dr. Fritz Nathan, Zurich (bought by Bühler)]; Hans E. Bühler, Berg-am-Irchel, Switzerland, by 1955 (sale, Christie's, London, November 15, 1985, lot 21).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: C. Clément, *Géricault: Étude biographique et critique avec le catalogue raisonné de l'oeuvre de l'artiste*, 1879; reprint, intro. and supp. by L. Eitner (Paris, 1973), pp. 427, 472, no. 83 bis; L. Eitner, *Géricault: His Life and Work* (London, 1983), pp. 127–128, 338, n. 94; P. Grunchev, *Master Drawings by Géricault*, ex. cat. (New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, Fine Arts Gallery of San Diego, and Houston Museum of Fine Arts, 1985–1986), p. 83.



129

129. THEODORE GERICAULT
French, 1791 – 1824
Portrait of a Black Man,
circa 1818 – 1819
Oil on canvas, 46.5 x 38 cm
(18 1/4" x 15")
85.PA.407

The sitter is dressed in the blue and red uniform worn by some of the figures in Géricault's *Raft of the Medusa* (1818 – 1819, Musée du Louvre, Paris). Tradition identifies him as the artist's model Joseph, who is known to have sat for the figure waving the cloth in *The Raft*. This identification has been disputed by F.-H. Lem and is dropped by L. Eitner in his recent monograph. Eitner proposed that the man may have been a different model or was perhaps an actual survivor of the wreck whom Géricault wished

to portray for documentary reasons. X-radiographs reveal another portrait beneath this study. Hans Lüthy has suggested that it may be a self-portrait.

PROVENANCE: Georges Duplessis, Paris, in 1879; Hans E. Bühler, Berg-am-Irchel, Switzerland; sale, Christie's, London, November 15, 1985, lot 25 [bought by Thaw]; [Eugene Thaw, New York].

BIBLIOGRAPHY: C. Clément, *Géricault: Étude biographique et critique avec le catalogue raisonné de l'oeuvre de l'artiste*, 1879; reprint, intro. and supp. by L. Eitner (Paris, 1973), pp. 427, 471, no. 104 bis; F.-H. Lem, "Le thème du nègre dans l'art de Géricault," *L'Arte*, year 61, vol. 27 (January – June 1962), pp. 24 – 25; J. Thuillier and P. Grunchev, *Tout l'oeuvre peint de Géricault* (Paris, 1978), pp. 112 – 113, no. 166; L. Eitner, *Géricault: His Life and Work* (London, 1983), pp. 185, 334.



130

130. JEAN-LEON GEROME
French, 1824 – 1904
Study for *The Age of Augustus*,
the Birth of Christ, circa 1852 – 1855
Oil on canvas, 37.2 x 55.2 cm
(14 5/8" x 21 3/4"). Signed: *a m^r Borie / J. L. Gerome* at the lower left.
85.PA.226

This is a preliminary study for the monumental *Age of Augustus* (Musée de Picardie, Amiens), commissioned by the state in 1852 and exhibited at the Salon of 1855. The subject is taken from Bossuet's *Discourse on Universal History* (1681), which reads in part: "Rome extends her arms to Caesar who, bearing the name of Augustus and title of emperor, endures as the sole master of all. . . . Victorious on land and sea, he closes the Temple of Janus. All the universe lives in peace under his power and Jesus Christ comes into the world." Preliminary drawings for the figures of Augustus and the Angel of the Nativity are in the Musée Rolin, Autun, and two drawings for single figures in the crowd on the right belong to a private collection, London (courtesy of Adrian Eeles). Infrared photography of this study reveals an earlier scheme for the Temple of Janus which may have been based on the Ianus Quadrifons in the Forum Boarium, Rome.

PROVENANCE: Victor Borie, Paris (acquired from the artist) (sale, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, February 14 – 16, 1881, lot 11); [M.M. Haro (sale, Galerie Sedelmeyer, Paris, May 30 – 31, 1892, lot 95)]; [M. Haro père (sale, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, April 2 – 3, 1897, lot 152)]; [Henri Haro (sale, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, February 9, 1912, lot 13)]; Sotheby's, Monte Carlo, March 5, 1984, lot 1111 [bought by Whitney]; [Wheelock Whitney, New York].

BIBLIOGRAPHY: C. Moreau-Vauthier, *Gérôme: Peintre et sculpteur, l'homme et l'artiste* (Paris, 1906), p. 99; Musée de Vesoul, *Jean-Léon Gérôme, 1824 – 1904: Peintre, sculpteur, et graveur: Ses oeuvres conservées dans les collections*



131

françaises publiques et privées, ex. cat. (Vesoul, 1981), p. 51; G. Ackerman, *The Life and Works of Jean-Léon Gérôme* (forthcoming).

131. JEAN-FRANÇOIS MILLET
French, 1814 – 1875
Man with a Hoe, 1860 – 1862
Oil on canvas, 80 x 99 cm
(31½ x 39"). Signed: *J. F. Millet*
in the lower right corner.
85.PA.114

This painting has been famous ever since it provoked a critical storm at the Salon of 1863, and the interpretation of Millet's imposing image of an exhausted peasant is still debated. Edwin Markham popularized the painting in the United States with his poem "The Man with the Hoe," published in San Francisco in 1899.

In addition to the preliminary drawings in the Musée du Louvre, Paris, listed by Robert L. Herbert, two studies for the legs of the peasant have come to light; one has appeared in Boston (sale, Louis Joseph Auction Gallery, December 9, 1975), and a second, which included a study of upraised arms (as if Millet at one time planned to show the peasant working rather than resting), belonged to Claude Aubry, Paris, in 1975

(Salle des Fêtes de Barbizon, *Barbizon au temps de J.-F. Millet [1849 – 1875]*, ex. cat. [Barbizon, 1975], no. 243). Millet's charcoal drawing of the composition, which may postdate the painting, was also acquired by the Museum this year (see Drawings, no. 157).

PROVENANCE: [E. Blanc, Paris, in January 1863]; [Alfred Stevens, Paris, in 1863]; Gustave Robert, Paris, in 1863; Prosper Crabbe, Brussels, in 1881; E. Secrétan, Paris; Defoer, Paris, by 1883 (sale, Galerie Georges Petit [Paul Chevallier, commissaire-priseur], Paris, May 22, 1886, lot 27 [bought by Brame]); "Mr. L.," in 1887; C. van den Eynde, in 1889; William Crocker, California, by 1893; thence by descent.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: R. L. Herbert, *Jean-François Millet*, ex. cat. (Paris, Grand Palais, 1975 – 1976), pp. 199 – 201, no. 161.



132

132. GUSTAVE COURBET
French, 1819 – 1877
Vase of Flowers, 1862
Oil on canvas, 100.5 x 73 cm (39½ x 28¾"). Signed: '62 *Gustave Courbet* in the lower right corner.
85.PA.168

This is one of the largest of over twenty flower still lifes Courbet painted while staying with his friend Etienne Baudry at the Château de Rochemont near Saintes in the spring and summer of 1862. Rapidly executed with brush and palette knife, the bouquet consists of a luxurious variety of wild and cultivated flowers jammed into an undistinguished brown pot. Courbet's friend, the banker and future Republican senator Frédéric Mestreau, bought the painting soon after it was completed for the well-publicized price of 500 francs; thereafter it seems to have remained in the Sain-tonge area, unknown until published by Roger Bonniot.

PROVENANCE: Frédéric Mestreau, Saintes, in 1863; private collection, Saintes, until circa 1968; [Wildenstein & Co., New York]; Florence J. Gould, Cannes (sale, Sotheby's, New York, April 24, 1985, lot 11).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: R. Bonniot, "Un tableau de fleurs inédit de Gustave Courbet," *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de l'Art Français*, 1957, pp. 77 – 87; R. Fernier, *La vie et l'oeuvre de Gustave Courbet*, vol. 1, 1819 – 1865: *Peintures* (Lausanne and Paris, 1977), p. 172, no. 302.



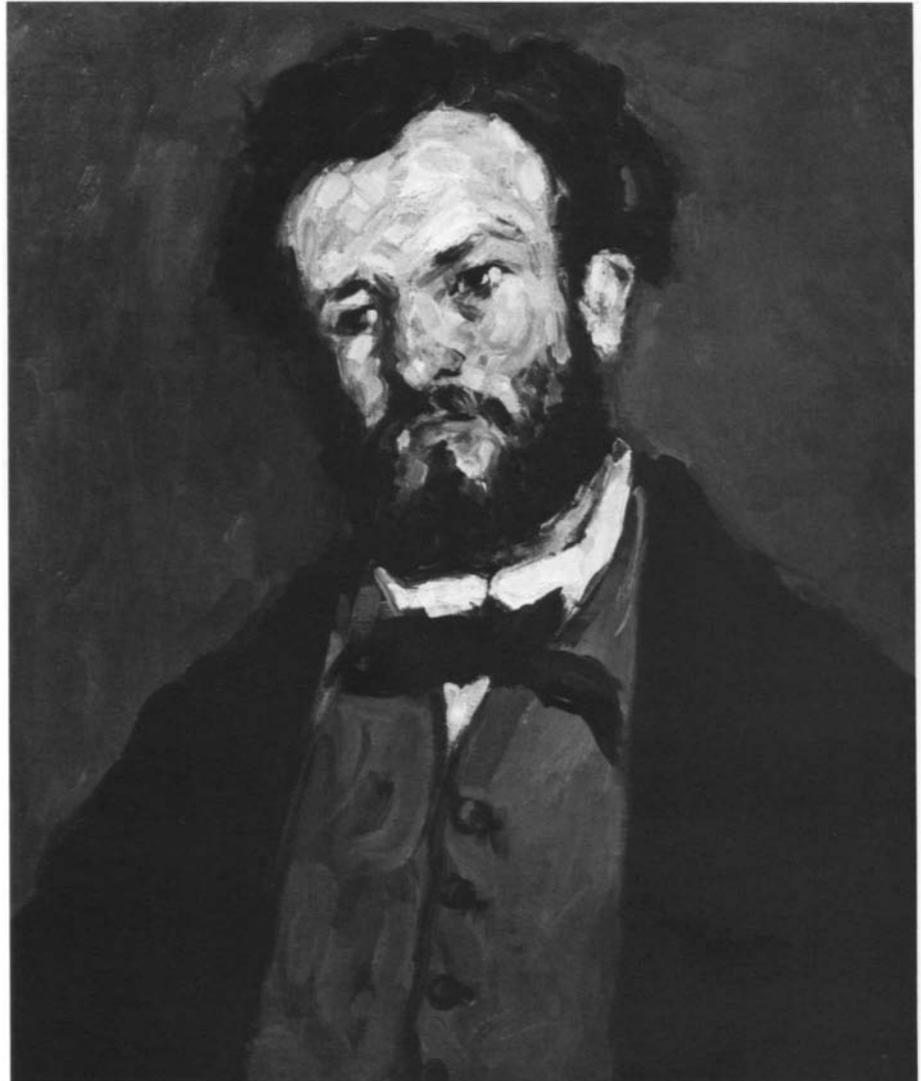
133

133. HONORE DAUMIER
 French, 1808 – 1879
The Studio, circa 1870
 Oil on canvas, 31 x 25 cm
 (12 1/4" x 9 7/8")
 85.PA.514

The rapidly painted young model depicted here was inspired by Fragonard's *The Study* (1769), which Daumier saw during a visit to the Musée du Louvre, Paris, in 1869. This representation of the most personal of all of Daumier's subjects is unique, inasmuch as the seated painter working quietly before his easel is of secondary importance; attention is focused instead on the voluptuous model who gazes at the young man standing above her.

PROVENANCE: Dr. Georges De Bellio, Paris, until 1894; by descent to Victorine Donop de Monchy (née De Bellio), 1894; Caron, Neuilly-sur-Seine; [Wildenstein & Co., New York, by 1951]; Mr. and Mrs. Norton Simon, Fullerton, California, by 1958; Lucille Simon, Los Angeles, until 1985.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. Adhémar, *Honoré Daumier* (Paris, 1954), pp. 66, 130, pl. 173; K. E. Maison, *Honoré Daumier: Catalogue Raisonné of the Paintings, Watercolours, and Drawings*, vol. 1, *The Paintings* (Greenwich, 1968), p. 175, no. I-225; R. Passeron, *Daumier, témoin de son temps* (Fribourg, 1979), pp. 224, 242–243.



134

134. PAUL CEZANNE
 French, 1839 – 1906
Portrait of Anthony Valabrègue,
 1870 – 1871
 Oil on canvas, 60 x 50 cm
 (23 1/2" x 19 3/4")
 85.PA.45

Anthony Valabrègue (1844 – 1900), poet and critic, whose friendship with Cézanne began in their native Aix-en-Provence, joined the circle of artists and writers around Emile Zola in the 1860s. Cézanne painted Valabrègue three times between 1866 and circa 1871 (National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., Venturi 126; private collection, on loan to the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Venturi 128), and portrayed him in one drawing (Kunstmuseum, Basel) and two composition studies, *Les Promeneurs*

(circa 1866, Venturi 96) and *La Conversation* (circa 1870 – 1871, Venturi 116). Unlike the Washington portrait of circa 1866, which is painted with a palette knife, the Getty portrait is built up with thick brushstrokes, a technique reflecting Cézanne's response to Manet and other painters in the Zola circle.

PROVENANCE: Comte Doria, Château d'Orrouy; Auguste Pellerin, Paris; J.-V. Pellerin, Paris, in 1936; [Wildenstein & Co., New York, by 1939]; André Meyer, New York, by 1962 (sale, Sotheby's, New York, October 22, 1980, lot 21 [bought by Beyeler]); [Ernst Beyeler, Basel, 1980 – 1985].

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M.-P. Boyé, "Cézanne et Anthony Valabrègue," *Beaux-Arts: Chronique des arts et de la curiosité*, n.s., no. 191 (August 28, 1936), p. 1; L. Venturi, *Cézanne, son art, et son oeuvre* (Paris, 1936), vol. 1, p. 95, no. 127; J. Rewald, catalogue raisonné of Cézanne's paintings (forthcoming).



135

135. PAUL CEZANNE
 French, 1839 – 1906
Auvers, du côté du val Harmé, 1882
 Oil on canvas, 73 x 92 cm
 (28³/₄" x 36¹/₄")
 85.PA.513

Cézanne painted this spatially complex view in his new constructivist style while working side by side with his mentor, Pissarro, whose corresponding landscape remains fully Impressionist. Pissarro's signed and dated picture (L. Pissarro and L. Venturi, *Camille Pissarro: Son art – son oeuvre*, vol. 1 [Paris, 1939], p. 160, no. 560) provides the basis for the dating of Cézanne's. Cézanne defines topography and foliage with strips of vertical brushstrokes that frequently leave the grayish ground exposed. Pentimenti visible under infrared light

indicate that he altered rooflines and other details late in the execution.

PROVENANCE: [(?) Ambroise Vollard, Paris]; [Bernheim-Jeune, Paris]; [Paul Cassirer, Berlin, in 1904]; Adolf Rothermundt, Dresden, 1904 – 1914; [Georg Caspari, Munich, and Hugo Perls, Berlin, 1914]; Baron Kojiro Matsukata, Kobe and Paris; [Walter Feilchenfeldt, Zurich]; Alfred Hausamann, Zurich, by 1950 – 1985; [Walter Feilchenfeldt, Zurich].

BIBLIOGRAPHY: L. Venturi, *Cézanne, son art, et son oeuvre* (Paris, 1936), vol. 1, p. 134, no. 318; L. Reidemeister, *Auf den Spuren der Maler der Ile de France* (Berlin, 1963), p. 73; J. Rewald, catalogue raisonné of Cézanne paintings (forthcoming), no. 473.



136

SCANDINAVIAN

136. CHRISTEN SCHJELLERUP
KØBKE

Danish, 1810 – 1848

*The Forum, Pompeii, with Vesuvius in
the Distance, 1841*

Oil on canvas, 71 x 88 cm (27⁷/₈" x
34⁵/₈"). Signed: *C. Købke 1841* in
the lower right corner.

85.PA.43

PROVENANCE: Lottery, Kunstforeningen,
Copenhagen, 1842; Hr. Wright, Helsingør;
Deegen; K. Brandt (sale, Copenhagen,
Winkel & Magnussen, 1930, cat. 77, no. 76);
Svend Kragh-Jacobsen (sale, Rasmussen,
Copenhagen, October 1984, lot 6); [Artemis
Fine Arts Ltd., London].

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Krohn, *Maleren Christen
Købkes arbejder* (Copenhagen, 1915), pp. 74,
76 – 78, no. 115; *Tegninger af Christen Købke*,
intro. by K. Madsen (Copenhagen, 1929).

The view looks north across the ruined forum toward Mount Vesuvius. While in Italy, Købke made a drawing (Statens Museum for Kunst, Copenhagen) and an oil study (P. Købke collection in 1915) of this view (both dated July 10, 1840), both of which omit the architectural fragments seen in the left foreground here. Købke executed the final painting in Denmark over the fall and winter of 1841, finishing it in time for the lottery at the Kunstforeningen, Copenhagen, in 1842 (artist's correspondence with Constantin Hansen, October 19 and 24, 1841, quoted in sale cat., Arne Bruun Rasmussen, Copenhagen, October 1984, lot 6).

DRAWINGS

BRITISH



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137. JONATHAN RICHARDSON
THE ELDER
British, 1665 – 1745
Self-portrait Wearing a Cloth Hat,
circa 1730 – 1735
Black chalk with white heighten-
ing on blue prepared paper, 30.3 x
23.2 cm (11¹⁵/₁₆" x 9¹/₈")
85.GB.210

PROVENANCE: Sale, Sotheby's, London, March
16, 1978, lot 23; [John Morton Morris,
London].

DUTCH



138

138. JOACHIM ANTHONISZ.
WTEWAEEL
Dutch, circa 1566 – 1638

*Young Woman Assisted by a
Gentleman*, circa 1609 – 1611
Pen and black ink and gray wash
with white heightening, 19.2 x 25
cm (7⁵/₈" x 9¹³/₁₆"). Signed: *Jo
Wtewael* in gray ink in the lower left
corner and inscribed 9 in black ink
underneath the signature.

85.GA.230

PROVENANCE: Private collection, Stockholm;
[Robert M. Light, Santa Barbara, California].

BIBLIOGRAPHY: W. Bernt, *Die niederländischen
Zeichner des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Munich, 1958),
vol. 2, no. 699; E. McGrath, "A Netherland-
ish History by Joachim Wtewael," *Journal of
the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 39 (1975),
pp. 182, 184, 200 – 202, fig. 29a; K. G. Boon,
*Netherlandish Drawings of the Fifteenth and Six-
teenth Centuries in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam*
(Amsterdam, 1978), vol. 1, p. 186.



139

139. REMBRANDT VAN RIJN
Dutch, 1606 – 1669
*Two Thatched Cottages with Figures
at a Window*, circa 1640

Pen and ink with some white body
color, 13.3 x 20.2 cm (5¹/₄" x 7¹⁵/₁₆")
85.GA.93

PROVENANCE: N. A. Flinck, Rotterdam;
William, Second Duke of Devonshire,
Chatsworth; by descent to the current duke
(sale, Christie's, London, July 3, 1984, lot 6f);
[Richard Day, London].

BIBLIOGRAPHY: F. Lippman, *Original Drawings
by Rembrandt* (Berlin, 1888 – 1892), vol. 1, no.
65; C. Hofstede de Groot, *Die Handzeich-
nungen Rembrandts* (Haarlem, 1906), no. 852;
A. M. Hind, *The Vasari Society for the Repro-
duction of Drawings by Old Masters* (Oxford,
1907), 1st ser., vol. 3, no. 24; C. Neumann,
Rembrandt Handzeichnungen (Munich,
1919), p. 6; J. Kruse and C. Neumann, *Die
Zeichnungen Rembrandts und seiner Schule im
National-Museum zu Stockholm* (The Hague,
1920), p. 96; A. M. Hind, *Rembrandt*
(Cambridge, Mass., 1932), pp. 104 – 105;
J. Rosenberg, *Rembrandt* (Cambridge, Mass.,
1948), vol. 1, pp. 88 – 89, vol. 2, fig. 127;
H. E. van Gelder, *Rembrandt en het landschap*
(Amsterdam, 1948), pp. 10, 20; O. Benesch,
The Drawings of Rembrandt (London, 1955),
vol. 4, no. 796; J. Rosenberg, *Rembrandt: Life
and Work* (London, 1964), pp. 152, 353, n. 2a.;
S. Slive, *Drawings of Rembrandt* (New York,
1965), vol. 1, no. 65; O. Benesch, *The Draw-
ings of Rembrandt*, 2nd ed. (London, 1973),
vol. 4, no. 796.

140. REMBRANDT VAN RIJN
Dutch, 1606 – 1669
*A Sailing Boat on a Wide Expanse of
Water*, circa 1650
Pen and brown ink and brown
wash, 9 x 18.3 cm (3⁹/₁₆" x 7³/₁₆").



140

Collection mark of N. A. Flinck in the lower left corner.

85.GA.94

PROVENANCE: N. A. Flinck, Rotterdam; William, Second Duke of Devonshire, Chatsworth; by descent to the current duke (sale, Christie's, London, July 3, 1984, lot 60); [Shickman Gallery, New York].

BIBLIOGRAPHY: F. Lippmann, *Original Drawings by Rembrandt* (Berlin, 1888–1892), vol. 1, no. 60; E. Michel, *Rembrandt, sa vie, son oeuvre, et son temps* (Paris, 1893), p. 121; C. Hofstede de Groot, *Die Handzeichnungen Rembrandts* (Haarlem, 1906), no. 848; A. M. Hind, *The Vasari Society for the Reproduction of Drawings by Old Masters* (Oxford, 1907), 1st ser., vol. 3, no. 25; M. Eisler, *Rembrandt als Landschaftler* (Munich, 1918), vol. 13, p. 65; C. Neumann, *Rembrandt Handzeichnungen* (Munich, 1919), no. 27; F. Lugt, *Mit Rembrandt in Amsterdam* (Berlin, 1920), p. 155; O. Benesch, *Rembrandt: Werk und Forschung* (Vienna, 1935), p. 42; idem, *The Drawings of Rembrandt* (London, 1953), vol. 4, no. 847; S. Slive, *Drawings of Rembrandt* (New York, 1965), vol. 1, no. 60; B. Haak, *Rembrandt, His Life, His Work, His Time* (New York, 1969), p. 211; C. O. Baer, *Landscape Drawings* (New York, 1973), no. 90; O. Benesch, *The Drawings of Rembrandt*, 2nd ed. (London, 1973), vol. 4, no. 847; B. Haak, *Rembrandt Drawings* (London, 1976), no. 57; J. Byam Shaw, "Drawings from Chatsworth," *Apollo* 119 (1984), p. 456.



141

141. REMBRANDT VAN RIJN

Dutch, 1606–1669

A Wooded Road, circa 1650

Pen and ink and wash on tinted paper, intentionally abraded by the artist, 15.9 x 20.2 cm (6⁵/₁₆" x 7¹⁵/₁₆"). Collection mark of N. A. Flinck in the lower left corner.

85.GA.95

PROVENANCE: N. A. Flinck, Rotterdam; William, Second Duke of Devonshire, Chatsworth; by descent to the current duke



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(sale, Christie's, London, July 3, 1984, lot 67); [Shickman Gallery, New York].

BIBLIOGRAPHY: F. Lippmann, *Original Drawings by Rembrandt* (Berlin, 1888–1892), vol. 1, no. 55; E. Michel, *Rembrandt, sa vie, son oeuvre, et son temps* (Paris, 1893), p. 373; C. Hofstede de Groot, *Die Handzeichnungen Rembrandts* (Haarlem, 1906), no. 843; M. Eisler, *Rembrandt als Landschaftler* (Munich, 1918), fig. 36; O. Benesch, *Rembrandt: Werk und Forschung* (Vienna, 1935), p. 49; idem, *Rembrandt: Selected Drawings* (Oxford, 1947), no. 175; J. Rosenberg, *Rembrandt* (Cambridge, Mass., 1948), vol. 1, p. 90, vol. 2, fig. 131; O. Benesch, *The Drawings of Rembrandt* (London, 1957), vol. 6, no. 1253; J. Rosenberg, *Rembrandt: Life and Work* (London, 1964), p. 155; S. Slive, *Drawings of Rembrandt* (New York, 1965), vol. 1, no. 55; O. Benesch, *The Drawings of Rembrandt*, 2nd ed. (London, 1973), vol. 6, no. 1253.

142. REMBRANDT VAN RIJN

Dutch, 1606–1669

Shah Jahan and His Falconer in Conversation, circa 1654–1656

Pen and ink and wash with white heightening on Japanese paper, 21.2 x 17.9 cm (8³/₈" x 7¹/₁₆").

Collection marks of Jonathan Richardson, Sr., in the lower right corner and of Thomas Hudson in the lower left corner.

85.GA.44

PROVENANCE: Jonathan Richardson, Sr., London (sale, Cock, London, February 11, 1747, lot 70); Thomas Hudson, London; R. F. Symonds, London (sale, Sotheby's, London, May 10, 1961, lot 33); private collection, New York.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: O. Benesch, "Neuentdeckte Zeichnungen von Rembrandt," *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen* 5 (1963), pp. 135–136, 138; idem, *Collected Writings*, vol. 1: *Rembrandt*

(London, 1970), p. 262; idem, *The Drawings of Rembrandt*, 2nd ed. (London, 1973), vol. 5, no. 1194A; P. Lunsingh Scheurleer, "Mogolminiaturen door Rembrandt Nagetekend," *De kroniek van het Rembrandthuis* 32 (1980), pp. 34–36.



143

143. JAN VAN GOYEN

Dutch, 1596–1656

A Village Festival with Musicians Playing Outside a Tent, 1653

Black chalk and gray wash, 17 x 27.7 cm (6¹¹/₁₆" x 10⁷/₈"). Signed and dated: *VG 1653* in black chalk in the lower left corner.

85.GG.296

PROVENANCE: Defer-Dumesnil, Paris (sale, Paris, May 10, 1900, lot 71); Leonce C. Coblentz (sale, Paris, December 15, 1901, lot 49); Marius Paulme, Paris (sale, Paris, May 13, 1929, lot 94); sale, Sotheby's, Amsterdam, November 26, 1984, lot 107; [Richard Day, London].

BIBLIOGRAPHY: H.-U. Beck, *Jan van Goyen* (Amsterdam, 1972), vol. 1, no. 385.



144

144. JACOB VAN RUISDAEL

Dutch, 1628/29–1682

Dead Tree by a Stream at the Foot of a Hill, circa 1650–1660

Black chalk, point of brush, and light and dark gray washes, 14.5 x 18.9 cm (5¹¹/₁₆" x 7⁷/₁₆"). Signed



145

with monogram: *JVR* (interlaced) in brush and black ink in the lower left corner. Collection mark of H. C. ten Cate on the verso.

85.GG.410

PROVENANCE: Dr. H. C. ten Cate, Almelo, the Netherlands; [C. G. Boerner, Düsseldorf]; Adolph Schwarz, Amsterdam; [Robert M. Light, Santa Barbara, California].

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Dr. D. Hannema, *Catalogue of the H. E. ten Cate Collection* (Rotterdam, 1955), vol. 1, no. 283, vol. 2, pl. 116; J. Giltay, "De Tekeningen van Jacob van Ruisdael," *Oud-Holland* 94 (1980), p. 155, no. 13, pp. 190, 205.

145. ADRIAEN VAN OSTADE

Dutch, 1610–1685

Peasant Festival on a Town Street, 1674

Pen and ink, watercolor, and gouache, 20.2 x 31.5 cm (8" x 12³/₈"). Signed: *AV. ostade. 1674.* near the lower left corner.

85.GC.439

PROVENANCE: J. Witsen (sale, Amsterdam, August 16, 1790, Konstboek C., NR. 1); Sir Francis Cook, Richmond, England; Sir Frederick Cook, Richmond, England; Mr. and Mrs. F. A. Drey, London; Mr. and Mrs. R. E. A. Drey, London; Robert Smith, Washington, D.C.; [John and Paul Herring, New York].

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. O. Kronig, *Catalogue of the Paintings at Doughty House and Elsewhere in the Collection of Sir Frederick Cook* (1914), vol. 2, no. 306; B. Schnackenburg, *Adriaen van*

Ostade, Isack van Ostade: Zeichnungen und Aquarelle (Hamburg, 1981), vol. 1, no. 252, vol. 2, pl. 252.



146

146. GERRIT VAN BATTEM

Dutch, circa 1636–1684

Figures on a Frozen Canal, circa 1670–1680

Pen and ink, watercolor, and gouache, 27.6 x 44.2 cm (10¹³/₁₆" x 17⁷/₁₆"). Signed: *Battem* in the lower left corner.

85.GC.222

PROVENANCE: Witsen (sale, Muller, Amsterdam, June 11–14, 1912, lot 7); Meyer (sale, Boerner, Leipzig, March 19–20, 1914, lot 115); sale, Colnaghi, London, 1948; [John Morton Morris, London].

BIBLIOGRAPHY: W. Schulz, *Die holländische Landschaftszeichnung, 1600–1740*, ex. cat. (Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, 1974), p. 5, under no. 11.

FLEMISH



147

147. VINCENT VAN GOGH
Dutch, 1853 – 1890
Portrait of Joseph Roulin, 1888
Reed pen, quill pen, and brown ink
over black chalk, 32 x 24.4 cm
(12⁵/₈" x 9⁵/₈")
85.GA.299

PROVENANCE: John Peter Russell, Belle-Isle-en-Mer, France (sale, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, March 31, 1920, lot 70); A. Hahnloser, Winterthur; Mrs. H. Hahnloser-Bühler, Winterthur; private collection, Switzerland.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: O. Hagen, "Vincent van Gogh, 16 Faksimiles nach Zeichnungen und Aquarellen," *15. Druck der Mares-Gesellschaft*, 1919, pl. 4; H. Thannhauser, "Van Gogh and John Russell: Some Unknown Letters and Drawings," *Burlington Magazine*, 1938, pp. 94 – 104; G. F. Hartlaub, *Vincent van Gogh: Rohrfederzeichnungen, Meister der Graphik*,

vol. 9 (Hamburg, 1948), pp. 9 – 10, pl. 1; A. M. Hammacher, *Genius and Disaster: The Ten Creative Years of Vincent van Gogh* (New York, 1968), p. 62; J.-B. de la Faille, *The Works of Vincent van Gogh: His Paintings and Drawings*, 2nd ed. (Amsterdam, 1970), no. 1458; J. Hulsker, *The Complete van Gogh: Paintings, Drawings, Sketches* (New York, 1977), no. 1536.



148 (recto)



148 (verso)

148. ANTHONY VAN DYCK
Flemish, 1599 – 1641
The Entombment (recto) and *Partial Study of the Entombment* (verso),
circa 1620

Red and black chalk, pen and brown ink, and brown wash, with touches of oil paint (verso in black chalk and pen and brown ink and brown wash), 25.5 x 21.9 cm (10" x 8⁵/₈"). Collection mark of N. A. Flinck in the lower right corner.
85.GG.97

PROVENANCE: N. A. Flinck, Rotterdam; William, Second Duke of Devonshire, Chatsworth; by descent to the current duke (sale, Christie's, London, July 3, 1984, lot 57); [Shickman Gallery, New York].

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *The Vasari Society for the Reproduction of Drawings of Old Masters*, 1st ser., vol. 6 (London, 1910), no. 19; H. Leporini, *Die Künstlerzeichnung* (Berlin, 1928), pl. 118; J. G. van Gelder, "Van Dycks Kruisdraging in de Pauluskerk te Antwerpen," *Bulletin Koninklijke Musea voor Schone Kunsten* (Brussels, 1961), p. 7; H. Vey, *Die Zeichnungen Anton Van Dycks* (Brussels, 1962), vol. 1, no. 4, vol. 2, pls. 4, 5.



149

149. ANTHONY VAN DYCK
Flemish, 1599–1641
Landscape, circa 1640
Pen and brown ink and watercolor,
19 x 36.4 cm (7½" x 14½").
Collection mark of N. A. Flinck in
the lower left corner.
85.GG.96

PROVENANCE: N. A. Flinck, Rotterdam;
William, Second Duke of Devonshire,
Chatsworth; by descent to the current duke
(sale, Christie's, London, July 3, 1984, lot 58);
[Shickman Gallery, New York].

BIBLIOGRAPHY: H. Vey, *Die Zeichnungen Anton Van Dycks* (Brussels, 1962), vol. 1, no. 307,
vol. 2, pl. 359.



150

150. HENDRIK VAN STEENWIJK
THE YOUNGER
Flemish, 1580–1649
*The Crypt of a Church with Two Men
Sleeping*, 1625 (?)
Pen and ink and brown wash with
white heightening on blue-gray

paper, 12.3 x 16.5 cm (4⅓" x 6½").
Signed (?) and dated on the reverse:
Henri van Steinwijk/1625.
85.GG.42

PROVENANCE: Private collection, the
Netherlands (sale, Christie's, Amsterdam,
November 26, 1984, lot 64); [Richard Day,
London].



151

151. JACOB JORDAENS
Flemish, 1593–1678
Head of a Woman, circa 1635
Black and red chalk and brown
wash, with white heightening, 25.2
x 18.8 cm (9⅓" x 7⅜"). Collec-
tion mark of A. G. B. Russell in the
lower right corner.
85.GG.298

PROVENANCE: A. G. B. Russell, London (sale,
Sotheby's, London, June 9, 1955, lot 5); César
de Hauke, Paris; private collection, Switzer-
land (sale, Christie's, London, July 4, 1984, lot
128A); [Shickman Gallery, New York].

BIBLIOGRAPHY: T. Borenius, "Drawings in the
Collection of Mr. Archibald G. B. Russell,"
Connoisseur 66 (1923), pp. 2, 10; T. W.
Muchall-Viebrook, *Flemish Drawings of the
Seventeenth Century* (London, 1926), p. 20,
no. 55, p. 36, fig. 55; L. van Puyvelde, *Jordaens*
(Paris, 1953), p. 211; R.-A. d'Hulst, *De
tekeningen van Jacob Jordaens* (Brussels, 1956),
pp. 244, no. 119, pp. 370–371, pl. 159, p. 242;
idem, *Jordaens Drawings* (London, 1974),
vol. 1, no. A124, vol. 3, pl. 136; idem, *Jacob
Jordaens* (London, 1982), p. 164, fig. 133,
p. 312.

FRENCH



152

152. JACQUES CALLOT
French, 1592–1635
An Army Leaving a Castle,
circa 1632
Brush and brown wash over black
chalk, 10.1 x 21.8 cm (4" x 8⅞")
85.GG.295

PROVENANCE: Sale, Sotheby's, London, July 2,
1984, lot 94; [Artemis Fine Arts Ltd.,
London].



153

153. JACQUES CALLOT
French, 1592–1635
A View of Mountains Across a Lake,
circa 1632
Brush and brown wash over black
chalk, 9.9 x 22.1 cm (3⅓" x 8⅞")
85.GG.294

PROVENANCE: Sale, Sotheby's, London, July 2,
1984, lot 95; [Artemis Fine Arts Ltd.,
London].



154 (recto)



154 (verso)

154. JEAN-BAPTISTE-SIMEON
CHARDIN
French, 1699 – 1779
Study of a Seated Man (recto) and
Study of a Male Nude (verso), circa
1720 – 1725
Black and white chalk, 25.6 x 16.7
cm (10¹/₁₆" x 16⁹/₁₆")
85.GB.224

PROVENANCE: Private collection, Paris; [Bruno de Bayser, Paris].



155

155. MOREAU LE JEUNE (Jean-
Michel Moreau)
French, 1741 – 1814
N'ayez pas peur, ma bonne amie
(Have no fear, my good friend),
1775
Pen and brown ink and brown
wash, 26.7 x 21.6 cm (10¹/₂" x 8¹/₂").
Signed and dated: *J.M. moreau le
jeune. 1775* in the lower left corner.
85.GG.416

PROVENANCE: Ludwig II of Bavaria (sale,
Lepke, Berlin, May 1891); Baron Edmond de
Rothschild, Paris; Earl of Carnarvon, Lon-
don; Irwin Laughlin; Mrs. Hubert Chanler,

Washington, D.C. (sale, Sotheby's, London, June 10, 1959, lot 39); Mr. and Mrs. Deane Johnson, New York (sale, Christie's, London, April 10, 1985, lot 121); [Richard Day, London].

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *French Engravings of the Eighteenth Century in the Collection of Joseph Widner, Lynnewood Hall* (London, 1923), vol. 4, pp. 523–524; C. Dodgson, "Moreau le Jeune," *Old Master Drawings* 2 (1927), p. 24.



156

156. ANNE-LOUIS GIRODET DE ROUCY TRIOSON
 French, 1767–1824
Phaedra Rejecting the Embraces of Theseus, circa 1800
 Pencil, pen and brown ink, and wash with white heightening, 33.6 x 22.6 cm (13³/₁₆" x 8⁷/₈"). Signed: GIRODET INV. at the lower left, and inscribed below, the following lines from Racine: PHÈDRE—INDIGNE DE VOUS PLAIRE ET DE VOUS APPROCHER JE NE DOIS DESORMAIS SONGER QU'À ME CACHER / THÈSÉE—QUE EST L'ÉTRANGE ACCUEIL QU'ON FAIT À VOTRE PÈRE MON FILS? / HIPPOLYTE—PHÈDRE PEUT SEULE EXPLIQUER CE MYSTÈRE.
 85.GG.209

PROVENANCE: Pierre Didot, Paris (sale, Paris, 1810, no. 679); private collection, United States; [Colnaghi, New York].

BIBLIOGRAPHY: C. P. Landon, *Annales du Musée et de l'École Moderne des Beaux-arts*, première collection, tome complémentaire (Paris, 1809), p. 72, pl. 46.



157

157. JEAN-FRANÇOIS MILLET
 French, 1814–1875
Man with a Hoe, 1862
 Black chalk with white heightening on buff paper, 28 x 34.9 cm (11¹/₁₆" x 13³/₄"). Signed: J. F. Millet in the lower right corner.
 85.GB.115

PROVENANCE: Feral, Paris (sale, March 12, 1874); Verdier, Paris; Mrs. Wertheimer, Paris; Christian Humann, Switzerland; [Galerie Arnoldi-Livie, Munich]; Crocker family, San Francisco.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. Sensier and P. Mantz, *La vie et l'oeuvre de J.-F. Millet* (Paris, 1881), p. 237; L. Soullie, *Les grands peintres aux ventes publiques*, vol. 2: *Peintures, aquarelles, pastels, dessins de Jean-François Millet* (Paris, 1900), p. 133; R. Herbert, *Jean-François Millet*, ex. cat. (London, Hayward Gallery, 1976), p. 140.

GERMAN



158

158. HANS SCHÄUFELEIN
 German, circa 1480–1485 to 1539
Christ Taking Leave of His Mother, 1510
 Pen and dark brown ink and traces of black chalk, 27.6 x 21.1 cm (10¹³/₁₆" x 8⁵/₁₆"). Signed and dated: HS 1510, with the shovel emblem.
 85.GA.438

PROVENANCE: (?) Count Hubert Pourtales, Paris; Cassirer, Berlin; Dr. Tobias Christ, Basel (sale, Sotheby's, London, April 9, 1981, lot 7); [David Tunick, New York]; Robert Smith, Washington, D.C.; [John and Paul Herring, New York].

BIBLIOGRAPHY: K. T. Parker, "Hans Leonard Schäufolein," *Old Master Drawings* 10 (1935), p. 50, pl. 48; F. Winkler, *Die Zeichnungen Hans Süß von Kulmbach und Hans Leonard Schäufolein* (Berlin, 1942), no. 44, pl. 44.



160. HERMANN WEYER
 German, 1596 – after 1621
The Judgment of Midas, 1616
 Pen and black ink and black, ocher,
 and gray washes on beige paper,
 22.1 x 27 cm (8¹¹/₁₆" x 10⁵/₈").
 Signed: H—V—Inventor/HEW
fecit 1616 in the lower left corner.
 85.GG.293

PROVENANCE: Sale, Sotheby's, Amsterdam,
 March 21, 1977, lot 11; private collection,
 England; [Kate Ganz, London].

BIBLIOGRAPHY: H. Geissler, *Zeichnung in
 Deutschland, 1540–1640*, ex. cat. (Stuttgart,
 Staatsgalerie, 1979), vol. 1, p. 230; T. DaCosta
 Kaufmann, *Drawings from the Holy Roman
 Empire, 1540–1680*, ex. cat. (Princeton, N.J.,
 The Art Museum, Princeton University,
 1982), p. 80.

ITALIAN

161. FRA BARTOLOMMEO (Baccio
 della Porta)
 Italian, 1472 – 1517
Madonna and Child with Saints,
 circa 1510 – 1513
 Black chalk with traces of white
 chalk, 37.4 x 28.2 cm (14³/₄" x 11¹/₈")
 85.GB.288

PROVENANCE: Skene; J. P. Heseltine, London;
 H. Oppenheimer, London (sale, Christie's,
 London, July 10, 1936, lot 26); private collec-
 tion, Switzerland; [Artemis Fine Arts Ltd.,
 London].

BIBLIOGRAPHY: B. Berenson, *The Drawings of
 the Florentine Painters* (London, 1903), vol. 2,
 no. 434 (also as no. 428A in the 1938 and 1961
 eds.); C. Gamba, "Un disegno di Fra Bar-
 tolommeo nella raccolta Heseltine," *Rivista
 d'Arte* 8 (1912), pp. 15 – 18; *Original Drawings
 by Old Masters of the Italian School Forming Part
 of the Collection of J. P. H.* (London, 1913), no.
 11; H. von der Gabelentz, *Fra Bartolommeo und
 die florentiner Renaissance* (Leipzig, 1922), vol.
 1, pp. 159 – 161, vol. 2, no. 310, pp. 133 – 134.

159

159. WOLF HUBER
 German, circa 1480 – 1485 to 1553
The Conversion of Saul, 1531
 Pen and black ink, 18.3 x 12.9 cm
 (7³/₁₆" x 5¹/₁₆"). Dated: 1531 in black
 ink in the upper left corner, and
 initialed: AD in brown ink by a
 later hand.
 85.GA.415

PROVENANCE: De Mestral de Saint-Saphorin
 and by descent (sale, Christie's, London,
 April 10, 1985, lot 144); [Richard Day,
 London].



160



161



163

163. INNOCENZO DA IMOLA
 Italian, 1485 – 1548
Studies of an Angel and of Drapery,
 circa 1520
 Black chalk and brown wash with
 white heightening on prepared
 paper, 25.7 x 19.5 cm (10¹/₈" x
 7¹¹/₁₆"). Collection mark of Richard
 Cosway in the lower right corner.
 85.GG.289

PROVENANCE: Jonathan Richardson, Sr.,
 London; Richard Cosway, London; E. A.
 Wrangham, London (sale, Sotheby's,
 London, July 1, 1965, lot 9);
 [Same Art Ltd., Zurich].

BIBLIOGRAPHY: P. Pouncey, "Drawings by In-
 nocenzo da Imola," *Master Drawings* 7 (1969),
 pp. 287 – 292; M. Cazort and C. Johnston,
*Bolognese Drawings in North American Collec-
 tions, 1500 – 1800*, ex. cat. (Ottawa, National
 Gallery of Canada, 1982), p. 45.



162 (recto)

162. JACOPO DA PONTORMO
 (Jacopo Carrucci)
 Italian, 1494 – 1557
A Standing Male Nude (the same
 subject on the verso), circa
 1514 – 1519
 Black and white chalks, squared
 (recto), red chalk (verso),
 35.1 x 19.7 cm (13¹³/₁₆" x 7³/₄")
 85.GB.440

PROVENANCE: Sale, Sotheby's, New York,
 January 16, 1985, lot 22; [John Morton
 Morris, London].



164

164. BALDASSARE PERUZZI
 Italian, 1481 – 1536
*Odysseus and the Daughters of
 Lycomedes*, circa 1520
 Pen and ink and black chalk with
 white heightening

white heightening, squared, 17.6 x 24.3 cm (6¹⁵/₁₆" x 9⁹/₁₆"). Collection marks of Sir Peter Lely in the lower right and of William, Second Duke of Devonshire, in the lower left.
85.GG.39

PROVENANCE: Sir Peter Lely, London; William, Second Duke of Devonshire, Chatsworth (sale, Christie's, London, July 3, 1984, lot 35); [Ars Libri, Boston].

BIBLIOGRAPHY: C. L. Frommel, *Baldassare Peruzzi als Maler und Zeichner* (Vienna, 1967/68), vol. 2, no. 58C, pl. 58a; R. Bacou, *Autour de Raphael*, ex. cat. (Paris, Musée du Louvre, 1984), p. 22, under no. 17.



165

165. BACCIO BANDINELLI
Italian, 1493 – 1560
Study of Two Men, circa 1523 – 1530
Pen and ink, 34 x 22.5 cm
(13³/₈" x 8¹³/₁₆")
85.GB.227

PROVENANCE: Anne-Louis Girodet de Roucy Trioson, Paris; private collection, Paris; [Same Art Ltd., Zurich].



166

166. LUCA PENNI
Italian, circa 1500 – 1504 to 1556
The Entombment, circa 1550
Black chalk, pen and ink and wash with white heightening, 43 x 60 cm
(16¹⁵/₁₆" x 23⁵/₈")
85.GG.235

PROVENANCE: V. Blacker, London (sale, Sotheby's, London, July 4, 1985, lot 52).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S. Beguin, *L'ecole de Fontainebleau*, ex. cat. (Paris, Grand Palais, 1972), p. 65, under no. 64.



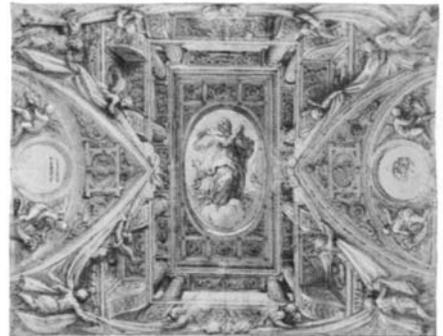
167

167. TITIAN (Tiziano Vecellio)
Italian, circa 1480 – 1485 to 1576
Pastoral Scene, circa 1565
Pen and black chalk with white heightening, 19.5 x 30 cm (7¹¹/₁₆" x 11¹³/₁₆"). Inscribed: *Titiano* by a later hand.
85.GG.98

PROVENANCE: Duke of Devonshire, Chatsworth (sale, Christie's, London, July 3, 1984, lot 44); [Artemis Fine Arts Ltd., London].

BIBLIOGRAPHY: V. Le Febvre, *Opera selectoria quae Titianus Vecellius Cadubriensis et Paulus Calliari Veronensis* (Venice, 1682); S. A. Strong, *Reproductions of Drawings of Old Masters in the Collection of the Duke of Devonshire at Chatsworth* (London, 1902), no. 59; K. Oberhuber, *Disegni di Tiziano e della sua cerchia*, ex. cat. (Venice, Fondazione Giorgio Cini, 1976), pp. 39, 101, 103 – 104; W. R. Rearick, in *Tiziano e il disegno veneziano del*

suo tempo, ex. cat. (Florence, Gabinetto dei Disegni e delle Stampe degli Uffizi, 1976), p. 45; T. Pignatti, "Disegni di Tiziano: Tre mostre a Firenze e a Venezia," *Arte Veneta* 30 (1976), p. 269; idem, "Fondazione Giorgio Cini, Esposizioni: Disegni di Tiziano e della sua cerchia; Tiziano e la silografia veneziano del Cinquecento," *Pantheon* 35 (1977), p. 169; M. Muraro, "Grafica Tizianesca," in *Tiziano e il manierismo europeo* (Florence, 1978), p. 140, fig. 113; T. Pignatti, *Tiziano: Disegni* (Florence, 1979), p. 11; J. Byam Shaw, "Titian's Drawings: A Summing-up," *Apollo* 112 (1980), p. 387; T. Pignatti, *Master Drawings from Cave Art to Picasso* (New York, 1982), p. 137; J. Byam Shaw, "Drawings from Chatsworth," *Apollo* 119 (1984), pp. 456 – 457, 459.



168

168. LATTANZIO GAMBARA
Italian, circa 1530 – 1574
Study for a Ceiling, circa 1568 – 1570
Pen and ink and brown wash with white heightening, gray wash, and traces of black chalk, 30.7 x 39.3 cm
(12¹/₁₆" x 15⁷/₁₆"). Inscribed: *Lattanzio Gambara*. near bottom margin, and *162* in the lower right corner. Unidentified collection mark near the middle upper margin; collection mark of J. P. Heseltine on the verso of the mount.
85.GG.292

PROVENANCE: J. P. Heseltine, London (sale, Sotheby's, London, May 28, 1935, lot 112); sale, Christie's, London, December 9, 1982, lot 13; [Same Art Ltd., Zurich].



169

169. AURELIO LUINI
 Italian, circa 1530 – 1593
Sheet of Studies of Various Figures,
 circa 1578
 Pen and wash with white heighten-
 ing on blue paper, 26.7 x 18 cm
 (10¹/₂" x 7¹/₁₆"). Inscribed: *Luini*
 in the lower right corner and 1.32.
 in the upper left corner. Unidentified
 collection mark in the lower right
 margin.
 85.GG.229

PROVENANCE: Charles Gasc, Paris; [Same Art
 Ltd., Zurich].

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. di Giampaolo, "Review
 of G. Bora, *I disegni lombardi e genovesi del
 Cinquecento*," *Prospettiva* 37 (1984), pp. 76, 78.



170

170. FEDERICO BAROCCI
 Italian, 1535 – 1612
The Entombment, circa 1579 – 1582
 Black chalk, oil paint, and wash,
 with touches of pink and white
 heightening on oiled paper, 47.7 x
 35.6 cm (18³/₄" x 14"). Collection
 mark of William, Second Duke of
 Devonshire, in the lower left
 corner.
 85.GG.26

PROVENANCE: William, Second Duke of
 Devonshire, Chatsworth; by descent to the
 current duke (sale, Christie's, London, July 3,
 1984, lot 2); [Galerie Arnoldi-Livie, Munich,
 and John Morton Morris, London].

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S. A. Strong, *Reproductions of
 Drawings by Old Masters in the Collection of the
 Duke of Devonshire at Chatsworth* (London,
 1902), no. 63; A. Schmarsow, "Federigo
 Barocci's Zeichnungen: Eine kritische
 Studie," part 3B, *Abhandlungen der
 philologisch-historischen Klasse der Königl.
 Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*, vol.
 30, no. 1 (Leipzig, 1914), p. 41; J. Q. van Reg-
 teren Altena and R. van Marle, *Italiaansche
 kunst in nederlandsch bezit*, ex. cat. (Amster-
 dam, Stedelijk Museum, 1934), p. 133, under
 no. 470; T. P. Baird, "Two Drawings Related
 to Barocci's *Entombment*," *Record of the Art
 Museum, Princeton University* 9 (1950), p. 14;
 H. Olsen, *Federico Barocci: A Critical Study in
 Italian Cinquecento Painting* (Uppsala, 1955),
 p. 133; idem, *Federico Barocci* (Copenhagen,
 1962), p. 171; G. G. Bertela, in *Disegni di
 Federico Barocci*, ex. cat. (Florence, Gabinetto
 dei Disegni e delle Stampe degli Uffizi,
 1975), p. 50, under no. 42; E. Pillsbury,
 "Barocci at Bologna and Florence," *Master
 Drawings* 14 (1976), p. 62; A. Emiliani,
Federico Barocci (Bologna, 1985), vol. 1, p. 159,
 vol. 2, p. 444; D. DeGrazia, "Refinement and
 Progression of Barocci's *Entombment*: The
 Chicago Modello," *Museum Studies* 12, no. 1
 (1985), pp. 35 – 36, 38.



171 (recto)



171 (verso)

171. ANNIBALE CARRACCI
 Italian, 1560 – 1609
Studies of Men (recto) and *Sheet
 of Studies* (verso), circa 1585
 Black chalk (recto), black and red
 chalks (verso), 27.7 x 20.7 cm
 (10⁷/₈" x 8¹/₈"). Collection marks of
 Thomas Lawrence in the lower left
 corner and of Jonathan Richardson,
 Sr., Francis Egerton, First Earl of
 Ellesmere, and Alain Delon in the
 lower right corner.
 85.GB.218

PROVENANCE: Uvedal Price, Foxley, England;
 Thomas Dimsdale, London; Sir Thomas
 Lawrence, London; Francis Egerton, First
 Earl of Ellesmere, London; by descent to the
 Sixth Duke of Sutherland, London (sale,
 Sotheby's, London, July 11, 1972, lot 44);
 private collection, Geneva.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Catalogue of the Ellesmere
 Collection of Drawings at Bridgewater House*

(London, 1898), no. 71; P. A. Tomory, *The Ellesmere Collection of Old Master Drawings* (Leicester, 1954), no. 56; D. Posner, *Annibale Carracci* (London, 1971), vol. 1, pp. 21, 64, 156, n. 54, p. 164, n. 84, fig. 24.



172 (recto)



172 (verso)

172. FEDERICO ZUCCARO
Italian, 1540/41 – 1609
View of Saint Peter's (recto) and
Study of A Young Man (verso),
circa 1590
Red chalk (recto), red and black
chalks (verso), 27.4 x 41.3 cm
(10¹³/₁₆" x 16¹/₄"). In brown ink at
the bottom, inscribed: *Vue de St.
Pierre de Rome . . . Tire du Cabinet de
Monsieur le Marquis de Gouvernet,*
followed by the number 2 and some
indecipherable letters.
85.GB.228

PROVENANCE: Marquis de Gouvernet, Paris;
private collection, Paris; [Same Art Ltd.,
Zurich].



173

173. BERNARDINO POCCETTI
(Barbatelli)
Italian, 1548 – 1612
A Seated Man, circa 1600 – 1610
Red chalk, 39.4 x 24.7 cm (15¹/₂" x
9³/₄"). Inscribed: 59 in the upper
margin.
85.GB.291

PROVENANCE: Sale, Sotheby's, London, July 2,
1984, lot 74; [John Morton Morris, London].

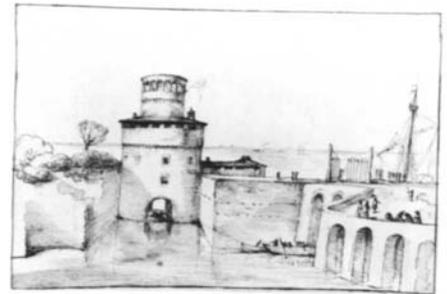


174

174. BERNARDINO POCCETTI
(Barbatelli)
Italian, 1548 – 1612
*The Deaths of the Blessed Ugocione
and Sostegno* (recto), circa
1604 – 1612
Black chalk, point of brush, brown
ink, and brown and gray washes
with white heightening, squared in
red chalk, 27.6 x 41.7 cm (10⁷/₈" x
16⁷/₁₆"). Inscribed: *Pocetti* near
the upper left margin and again
near the lower center by a later
hand.
85.GG.223

PROVENANCE: Baron Horace de Landau, Paris
and Florence; Mme Hugo Finaly, Florence;
Tor Engestrom, Stockholm (sale, Christie's,
London, July 5, 1983, lot 54); [John Morton
Morris, London].

BIBLIOGRAPHY: W. Vitzthum, *Die
Handzeichnungen des Bernardino Poccetti*
(Berlin, 1972), p. 75; P. Hamilton, *Disegni
di Bernardino Poccetti*, ex. cat. (Florence,
Gabinetto dei Disegni e delle Stampe degli
Uffizi, 1980), pp. 81, 83.



175

175. IL GUERCINO (Giovanni
Francesco Barbieri)
Italian, 1591 – 1666
A Fortified Port, 1650
Pen and ink, 29 x 43.2 cm
(11⁷/₁₆" x 17")
85.GA.408

PROVENANCE: Bernhard Houthakker, Amster-
dam (sale, Sotheby's, London, March 23,
1972, lot 121); [Shickman Gallery, New York].



176

176. CARLO MARATTA
Italian, 1625 – 1713
Faith and Justice Enthroned,
circa 1676



177

Red chalk, pen and ink, and wash with white heightening on prepared paper, 48.4 x 28.7 cm (19" x 11 1/4"). Collection mark of William, Second Duke of Devonshire, in the lower left corner. On the mount, inscribed: *Carlo Maratti*; shelf mark Q.Q.1 of Jonathan Richardson, Sr., on the verso of the mount.
85.GG.41

PROVENANCE: Jonathan Richardson, Sr., London; William, Second Duke of Devonshire, Chatsworth; by descent to the current duke (sale, Christie's, London, July 3, 1984, lot 27); [Richard Day, London].

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. Byam Shaw, *Old Master Drawings from Chatsworth*, ex. cat. (Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art and other institutions, 1969–1970), no. 42, pl. 42.

177. GIOVANNI BATTISTA TIEPOLO
Italian, 1696–1770
The Flight into Egypt, circa
1725–1735
Pen and brown ink and wash over
black chalk, 30.4 x 45.3 cm
(12" x 17 13/16")
85.GG.409

PROVENANCE: Prince Alexis Orloff, Paris (sale, Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, April 29–30, 1920, lot 88); sale, Sotheby's, London, July 13, 1972, lot 35; [Shickman Gallery, New York].

BIBLIOGRAPHY: G. Knox, "The Orloff Album of Tiepolo Drawings," *Burlington Magazine* 103 (1961), no. 27, p. 275.



178

178. GIOVANNI BATTISTA TIEPOLO
Italian, 1696–1770
View of a Villa, circa 1757–1759
Pen and ink and wash, 15.3 x 26.1
cm (6" x 10 1/4")
85.GA.297

PROVENANCE: Richard Owen, Paris; Tomás Harris, London; private collection, United States (sale, Sotheby's, London, July 2, 1984, lot 108); [Shickman Gallery, New York].

BIBLIOGRAPHY: G. Knox, *Un quaderno di vedute di Giambattista Tiepolo* (Milan, 1974), p. 83.



179

SPANISH

179. FRANCISCO JOSE DE GOYA Y LUCIENTES
 Spanish, 1746 – 1828
Pygmalion, circa 1815 – 1820
 Sepia wash, 20.5 x 14.1 cm (8¹/₁₆" x 5⁹/₁₆"). Numbered 90 by Francisco Goya and 40 by Javier Goya in the upper right corner.
 85.GA.217

PROVENANCE: Paul Lebas, Paris (sale, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, April 3, 1877, lot 54); De Beur-

nonville, Paris (sale, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, February 16 – 19, 1885, lot 49); sale, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, March 22, 1985, lot 52; [Ars Libri, Boston].

BIBLIOGRAPHY: P. Gassier, *Francisco Goya: The Complete Albums* (New York, 1973), no. F.i., p. 497.

SWISS



180

180. DANIEL LINDTMAYER
 Swiss, 1552 – 1606/07
Job on the Dung Hill, 1581
 Pen and black ink and gray wash, 39.8 x 31.5 cm (15⁵/₈" x 12³/₈"). Inscribed in brown ink above the design: *Hoffnung is der tugentt Zier / Hoffnung spricht hapt gutten Mut / Hoffnung mitt gedult ist noc[h?] ein Zier. / Durch hoffnug werden bhallten wirr / Verzagt nicht gar er wirdt noch gutt.*; in the cartouche above, inscribed in black ink: *IOb.1.XLII*; dated 1581 in black ink at the bottom.
 85.GA.290

PROVENANCE: Private collection, France (sale, Hôtel Drouot, November 16, 1984, lot 145); [John Morton Morris, London].

DECORATIVE ARTS

AUSTRIAN



181

181. CUP AND SAUCER

Austrian (Vienna), circa 1735 – 1740
Hard paste porcelain with black enameled and gilding, Cup: 7.1 x 9.2 x 6.2 cm (2³/₄" x 3⁵/₈" x 2⁷/₁₆"); saucer: 3.5 x 17.0 x 12.2 cm (1³/₈" x 6¹¹/₁₆" x 4³/₄"); H (overall): 7.4 cm (2⁷/₈")
85.DE.375

This *trembleuse* cup and saucer were made in the Viennese porcelain manufactory of Claudius Innocentius du Paquier. They are a late product of the short-lived porcelain works started in 1718 and taken over by the state in 1744. The *schwarzlot* decoration of scenes in lobed frames is typical of the style of the last years of the factory. Four artists—Karl Wendelin Anreiter, Joseph Phillip Danhoffer, Jacob Helchis, and Anton Schultz—are known to have worked in this technique, but because of the absence of documentation, it is not possible to identify precisely the artist responsible for this work.

PROVENANCE: Sale, Christie's, London, December 5, 1983, lot 112; [Winifred Williams, London].

CHINESE



182

182. VASE

Chinese (Kangxi), circa 1662 – 1722
Hard paste porcelain with underglaze blue decoration, H: 55 cm (1' 9⁷/₈"); Diam: 21.6 cm (8¹/₂").
Marked underneath with a leaf in underglaze blue.
85.DE.46



183

183. VASE

Chinese (Kangxi),
circa 1662 – 1722
Hard paste porcelain with under-

glaze blue decoration, 30.2 x 11.4 cm (11⁷/₈" x 4¹/₂"). Marked underneath with a mark of the Ming dynasty (Jia Jing, 1522 – 1566) in underglaze blue.

85.DE.414

Vases such as these were introduced to European markets through auctions held in Amsterdam at the beginning of the seventeenth century. For the first time, these auctions made porcelain available to the general public in appreciable quantities. Porcelain proved to be highly profitable and was traded in large quantities by the Dutch East India Company and the Compagnie des Indes Orientales. Blue-and-white porcelain, used entirely for decoration, was massed on the tops of cabinets, tables, mantelpieces, cornices, or any other suitable flat surface. Chinese blue-and-white vases were found in profusion in *Porzellan-kammern* and in the equivalent cabinets in France and England. It is not uncommon for such vases to bear a four- or six-character mark of an earlier reign.
PROVENANCE: [Spink and Son Ltd., London].



184

184. WINE BOTTLE (KENDI)

Chinese (Kangxi), circa 1662 – 1722
Stoneware, 20.3 x 16.5 x 12.7 cm (8" x 6¹/₂" x 5")
85.DE.232

A wine bottle of this form served as the model from which press molds were taken at the Meissen Porcelain Manufactory for the production of copics (cf. No. 201 below).

PROVENANCE: [Kate Foster Ltd., London].

ENGLISH



185

185. PAIR OF LIDDED BOWLS
Mounts: English (London), late seventeenth century
Porcelain: Japanese (Arita), late seventeenth century
Underglaze blue porcelain set with gilt-metal mounts, 35 x 38 x 25.5 cm (1'1 3/4" x 1'3" x 10")
85.DI.1781-2

The gilt-metal mounts on the lidded bowls are attributed to the Zurich goldsmith Wolfgang Howzer. On the handles crouch greyhounds, their tails wrapped around their bodies. Silver-gilt dogs of precisely the same form appear on the handles of a mounted Chinese porcelain vase in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Those mounts bear the mark *WH* above a cherub, a mark usually given to Howzer. By the middle of the seventeenth century, he had settled in London, and he became a master of the goldsmith's guild in 1664; he is last mentioned in 1688.

The Paris passion for mounted oriental porcelain was not taken up in the fashionable circles of post-Restoration London. It is possible that these rare objects were made for an aristocrat in the court of Charles II who may have been

in exile with him and had picked up the taste for such luxuries in Europe.

PROVENANCE: Joseph Downs, Winterthur, Delaware; William Heer, New York (sale, Christie's, New York, October 29, 1983, lot 32); [Aveline, Paris].



186

186. ARMCHAIR
English (London), circa 1750-1760
Carved walnut, pine, and oak, gessoed and gilded, and remnants of contemporary upholstery, 99 x 64.7 x 63.5 cm (3'3" x 2'1 1/2" x 2'1")
85.DA.120

The name of the chairmaker is not known, and no attribution has as yet been suggested. This armchair belongs to a suite of armchairs that do not fall into any known series of workshop variations. It appears to be from the same suite of chairs as an armchair in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London (W.99-1978); that chair belonged to the actor David Garrick and was sold by his widow to the theater manager Barry Sullivan. Another armchair of similar design was sold at Christie's, London, in 1984. The only other similar armchair was sold from the collection of David Style at Watlington Place by Christie's in 1978. This armchair differs from the previous three in its carved seat rail detail with fret motif. These chairs are certainly the work of an outstanding chairmaker of London's West End, who would have worked with a specialist carver.

PROVENANCE: (?) David Garrick, London; [upholsterer, outside Philadelphia]; [Glenn Randall, New York, 1984].

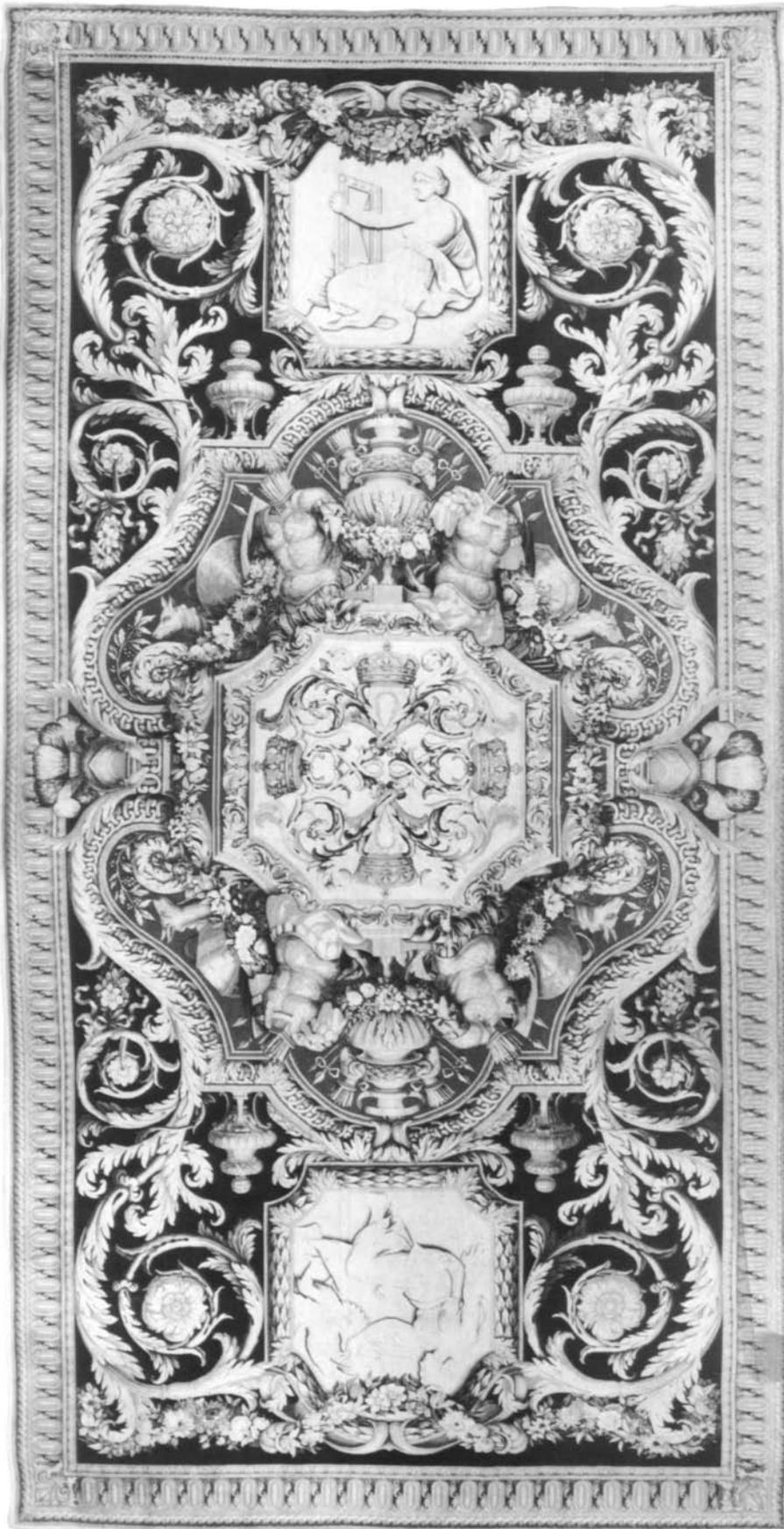
FRENCH

187. CARPET
French (Savonnerie), before May 3, 1680
Wool, 908.6 x 315 cm (29'9 3/4" x 10'4")
85.DC.515

This carpet, one of ninety-two, was part of a grand scheme to decorate the Long Gallery of the Louvre. Under the command of Louis XIV, the Savonnerie Manufactory produced the carpets, almost certainly after the designs by Charles Le Brun. The project lasted from 1670 to 1689, occupying the carpet looms of both the Dupont and the Lourdet families at the Savonnerie workshops. Forty-eight complete carpets of the original commission survive, together with numerous fragments.

PROVENANCE: Delivered to the Garde-Meuble, May 3, 1680; on loan to the marquis d'Ossun, Spain, circa 1780; Cathedral of Santiago del Compostela, Spain; [Jacques Seligmann, Paris, 1926]; Mme Jorge Ortiz-Linares (née Grazia Patino), Paris; Georges Ortiz, Geneva.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: P. Verlet, *The James A. Rothschild Collection at Waddesdon Manor: The Savonnerie* (London, 1982), p. 491, and included as a line drawing in a folding plan of the Long Gallery of the Louvre.



188

188. PAIR OF GIRANDOLES
 French (Paris), circa 1680 – 1690
 Gilt bronze with beads and drops
 of rock crystal, coral, jasper,
 amethyst, carnelian, agate, and
 garnet, 38 x 25.5 cm (1'3" x 10")
 85.DF.382.1 – 2

This pair of girandoles, of six lights each, exemplifies the type of *objets de luxe* made for the Parisian market. Such lighting fixtures would have been displayed in a *chambre à coucher*. They are extremely rare; other known girandoles that are similar are set with drops of rock crystal only.

PROVENANCE: [Bernard Steinitz, Paris].



189

189. PAIR OF EMBROIDERED BED HANGINGS

French (Paris), circa 1690
Linen embroidered with silk and wool, 330.7 x 91.4 cm (11' x 3')
85.DD.266.1 – 2

This pair of panels formed part of a set of bed hangings of which another pair of panels survives in a private collection in France. The hangings are embroidered with a vertical pattern of *rinceaux*, arabesques, and grottesques in a manner after Jean Bérain (1637 – 1711), with

some elements taken from Daniel Marot (1663 – 1752). It is not possible to identify the precise workshop that produced these panels, yet a master embroiderer's hand is discernible. Venus and Cupid are stitched into the central reserves of these panels, while Jupiter with an eagle is represented on the other known pair.

PROVENANCE: Lt. Col. A. Heywood-Lonsdale, Shavington Hall, Salop; [Partridge (Fine Arts) Ltd., London].



190

190. WALL LIGHT

French (Lorraine), circa 1690 – 1700
Bois de Sainte-Lucie, 43.2 x 29.4 x 12.6 cm (1'5" x 11⁵/₈" x 5")
85.DH.284

The name of the *tabletier* (wood sculptor) of this wall light is not known. It belongs to a school of wood-carvers working in Lorraine at the turn of the century who were known as the "sculpteurs en bois de Sainte-Lucie." *Sainte-Lucie* refers to a small forest, composed almost entirely of a variety of cherry tree, which was situated near the convent of Sainte-Lucie. The backplate of this wall light relates closely to the typical Lorraine style of carving characterized by the work of César Bagard (1620 – 1709). The surrounding frame of richly carved *rinceaux* and flowers may be compared with mirror frames and *bénitiers* (holy water fountains) in *bois de Sainte-Lucie* from the same period.

PROVENANCE: [Neidhardt Antiquitäten GmbH, Munich].



191 (one of a pair)

191. PAIR OF WALL LIGHTS

French (Paris), circa 1700
Gilt bronze, 54.6 x 30.5 x 22.9 cm (1'9¹/₂" x 1' x 9")
85.DF.383.1 – 2

The bodies of these wall lights are composed of Zephyr, god of the west wind, and Flora, the goddess of flowers. Another pair of wall lights of the same model is in the Musée Jacquemart-André, Paris.

PROVENANCE: [François Léage, Paris].

192. TAPESTRY *LE CHATEAU DE MONCEAUX, LE MOIS DE DECEMBRE*, FROM THE SERIES *LES MAISONS ROYALES*

French (Gobelins), before 1712
Wool and silk, 316 x 328 cm (10'4¹/₄" x 10'9")
The tapestry bears the woven signature *I. D. L. CROX* for Jean de la Croix in the lower right corner of the *galon*.
85.DD.309

This tapestry is one of a series of twelve woven at the Gobelins manufactory after the designs of Charles Le Brun (1619 – 1690). The series represents the twelve months of the year, the tapestry for each month portraying one of the royal residences, the king, Louis XIV, and treasures from his collections of luxurious objects and exotic animals. Seven complete sets, woven with gold thread, were produced for the Crown between 1668 and 1711. This example, however, is one of a number of private commissions; it was woven before 1712 under the



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193

direction of Jean de la Croix (active at the Gobelins Manufactory 1662 – 1712).

PROVENANCE: Comte de Camondo, Paris (sale, Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, February 1 – 3, 1893, lot 291); Gaston Menier, Paris (sale, Galerie Charpentier, November 22, 1936, lot 111); Baron Gendebien-Salvay, Belgium; [Vincent Laloux, Brussels, 1985].

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Journal des Arts* (Paris), January 28, 1893; M. Fenaille, *Etat général de la manufacture des Gobelins, 1600 – 1900* (Paris, 1903), vol. 2, pp. 161 – 162; C. Bremer-David, *GettyMusJ* 14 (1986), pp. 105 – 112.

193. BUREAU PLAT (Writing Desk)
French (Paris), circa 1700 – 1715
Oak veneered with tortoiseshell,
brass, and ebony, set with gilt-
bronze mounts; the top is lined
with leather, 80.5 x 195.4 x 98.5 cm
(2'7¹/₂" x 6'4³/₄" x 3'2³/₄"
85.DA.23

The table is attributed to André-Charles Boulle (1642 – 1732). A drawing of a table of similar form and attributed to his hand is in the Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Paris. A number of tables of the same model exist, veneered with *première* and *contre partie* marquetry; in the British Royal Collection; the Frick Collection, New York; the Budapest Museum of Fine Arts; the Musée du Louvre, Paris; the Wallace Collection, London; and the collection of the Duke of Devonshire, Chatsworth House.

PROVENANCE: (?) Charles, comte de Flahault de la Billarderie (1785 – 1870), Paris; Emily Flahault, Baroness Nairne and Keith (married 1843, d. 1895), Paris and London; Lady Emily Fitzmaurice (married 1886, d. 1939); A. E. H. Digby (sale, Sotheby's, London, June 22, 1951, lot 70); [Michel Meyer, Paris].

BIBLIOGRAPHY: "Le meuble Boulle," *Connaissance des Arts*, April 1952, p. 20; S. Faniel, *Le dix-septième siècle français* (Paris, 1956), p. 60, fig. 6.



194

194. CONSOLE TABLE

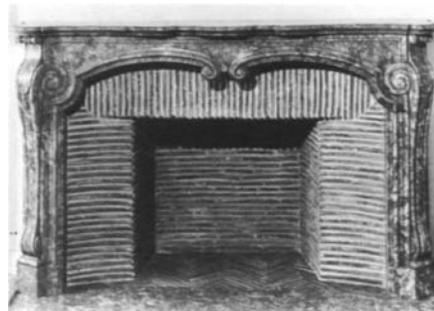
French (Paris), circa 1725 – 1730
Gessoed and gilded oak, with marble top, 87.5 x 68.5 x 40 cm
(2'10⁷/₈" x 2'3" x 1'3³/₄")
85.DA.125

The name of the carver responsible for this early piece of *menuiserie* is not known. The robustness of the form relates to the work of such ornamentalists as Gilles-Marie Oppenord (1672 – 1742) and Nicolas Pineau (1684 – 1754). The satyr's mask and the chimera are commonly found on carved pieces of this period and were part of any sophisticated designer's repertoire. Although basically Régence in style, the large asymmetrical cartouches at either side of the console herald the coming Rococo.

PROVENANCE: [Gerald Kerin, London]; sale, Christie's, London, July 1, 1982, lot 42; [Didier Aaron, Paris]; [Rosenberg and Stiebel, New York].



196



195

195. MANTLEPIECE

French (Paris), circa 1730 – 1735
Marble (*sarrancolin des Pyrénées*),
110.5 x 175.3 x 29.2 cm
(3'7¹/₂" x 5'9" x 11¹/₂")
85.DH.92

The name of the *marbrier* is not known. The mantelpiece dates from the second quarter of the eighteenth century and is in a restrained and solid Régence style. The forms are bold, and the baldachin at each corner is reminiscent of an earlier stylistic idiom.

PROVENANCE: Private residence, Paris; [François Léage, Paris].

196. TAPESTRY, *PORTIERE AUX ARMES DE FRANCE*
French (Gobelins), circa 1730–1743
Wool and silk, 355 x 262.5 cm
(11' 10" x 8' 9"). Woven in the *galon*
of the lower right corner is a fleur-
de-lys followed by the letter G and
part of an L (for Le Blond [?]).
85.DD.100

Portières were used extensively during the seventeenth and the first half of the eighteenth centuries in French royal residences, being hung over every door in the grand *appartements*. They were traditionally decorated with symbols of royal power. This example, though designed for Louis XV by Pierre-Josse Perrot (active at the Gobelins Manufactory 1724–1735), incorporated symbols—such as the head of Apollo—associated with the Sun King, Louis XIV. Twenty-eight *portières* of this model were woven, this one under the direction of Etienne-Claude Le Blond (active at the Gobelins Manufactory 1727–1751).

PROVENANCE: Richard, Fourth Marquess of Hertford, Paris, before 1870; Sir Richard Wallace, Paris, before 1890; Lady Wallace, Paris, 1890; Sir John Murray Scott, Paris, 1897; Victoria, Lady Sackville, Paris, 1912; M. and Mme Jacques Seligmann, Paris (sold in the late 1940s); [François-Gérard Seligmann, Paris, 1953]; private collection; [François-Gérard Seligmann, Paris, 1985].

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Musée rétrospectif*, ex. cat. (Paris, Union Centrale des Beaux-Arts Appliqués à l'Industrie, 1865), no. 5734; M. Fenaille, *Etat général de la manufacture des Gobelins, 1600–1900* (Paris, 1903), vol. 3, pp. 310–314; M. L. Roger-Miles, *Exposition d'art français du XVIIIe siècle*, ex. cat. (Paris, 1916), p. 87; H. Göbel, *Die Wandteppiche* (Leipzig, 1928), vol. 2, part 1, p. 156.



197 (one of a pair)

197. PAIR OF *MAGOT* FIGURES
French (Chantilly), circa 1740
Soft paste porcelain set with gilt-
bronze mounts, 18 x 18 x 18 cm
(7" x 7" x 7")
85.DE.3801–2

These figures, produced at the Chantilly Porcelain Manufactory, were inspired from oriental prototypes portraying the Buddhist god of good fortune or contentment, *Put'ai* or *Ho-tei*. The French term *magot* means a "grotesque figure of China." The figures are decorated with a white tin glaze and enameled colors from the Kakiemon palette.

PROVENANCE: Miss A. Phillips, London (sale, Sotheby's, London, February 28, 1961, lot 56); [Winifred Williams, London]; [Partridge (Fine Arts) Ltd., London].



198

198. POTPOURRI VASE
French (Sceaux), circa 1755
Faience with *petit feu* enamel painting, 33.0 x 24.1 x 15.2 cm
(1'1" x 9 1/2" x 6")
85.DE.347

The artist responsible for this piece is not known. It is attributed to the hand of Jacques Chapelle (1721, active at Sceaux 1750–1763). Chapelle entered the factory of Sceaux around 1748 as manager and chemist and became sole proprietor in 1759. Works produced during the period of Jacques Chapelle are characterized by their exuberant and flamboyant expressions of the Rococo style in ceramics. This piece has *petit feu* enamel painting in bright blue, green, deep purple, and *pourpre de Cassius*. Two examples of this model, one of unpainted faience and the other painted in the same palette as the Museum's vase, have appeared on the auction market within recent years. There is a pair of *coupes* (basins or bowls) of very similar form and decoration in the Musée de la Renaissance, Château d'Ecouen. The only other comparable piece is the *vasque* (basin of a fountain) in the Musée de l'Île de France, Sceaux. These pieces share the same bizarre characteristics of the potpourri vase.

PROVENANCE: Florence J. Gould (sale, Sotheby Parke Bernet, Monaco, June 27, 1984, lot 1588); [Antique Porcelain Co., London].



199

199. VASE

French (Sèvres), circa 1765
Soft paste porcelain painted with polychrome enamels and gilded, H (without gilt-bronze base): 47.5 cm (1'6³/₄""); W: 26.0 cm (10¹/₄""); D: 20.5 cm (8¹/₁₆""). The vase has an incised 2 on the inside of the lip.
85.DE.219

This model of vase, known as a *vase à panneaux*, first appeared at Sèvres in the mid-1760s, although the exact date of the model's creation remains unknown. It was made in three sizes, of which this is the largest. There is a plaster model of this shape in the archives of the Sèvres Manufactory. Although the artists involved are unknown, the etching that served as the source for the front reserve is also preserved in the archives. Both reserves are painted in polychrome, while the ground color is *bleu nouveau*.

PROVENANCE: Alfred de Rothschild, Halton, Buckinghamshire, and Lionel de Rothschild, Exbury, Buckinghamshire (sale, Christie's, London, July 4, 1946, lot 87); [Partridge (Fine Arts) Ltd., London]; sale, Christie's, New York, January 30, 1985, lot 137; [Antique Porcelain Co., New York].

BIBLIOGRAPHY: C. G. Nieda, *GettyMusJ* 14 (1986), pp. 127 – 134.

200. SECRÉTAIRE

French (Paris), circa 1766 – 1770
Oak and pine, veneered with tortoiseshell, pewter, brass, and ebony, set with gilt-bronze mounts, 141.5 x 84.5 x 40.3 cm



200

(4'7¹/₂" x 2'9" x 3³/₄"). The *secrétaire* is stamped *MONTIGNY JME* on its back, for Philippe-Claude Montigny (b. 1734, master 1766, d. 1800).
85.DA.378

The *secrétaire* is veneered with large panels of late seventeenth-century boule marquetry. One, probably taken from the top of a large *bureau plat*, is set on the front of the piece, while a second, cut in half along its length, has been ap-

plied to the sides. Centered on the side panels is a circular motif of the same design (though greater in scale) as that found in the center of the top of a late seventeenth-century table in the Museum's collection (71.DA.100). The frieze panel, set with fleur-de-lys, is the *contre partie* version of that found in the same position on a large *boulle* cabinet also in the Museum (77.DA.1).

Such a *secrétaire*, designed in the *goût grec* style and bearing a type of decoration now known as "boulle revival," would have been at the forefront of fashion. It was owned by two Parisian aristocrats attached to the court at Versailles: Monsieur de Billy (*écuyer du Roi, commissaire des guerres, premier valet de garde-robe du Roi*) and Joseph-François de Paule, marquis de Vaudreuil (*grand fauconnier de France, pair du France, gouverneur du Louvre*).

PROVENANCE: Monsieur de Billy (sale, Paris, November 15, 1784, no. 171); Joseph-François de Paule, marquis de Vaudreuil (sale, Paris, November 22, 1787, no. 368); Ortiz Patino, Paris (sale, Sotheby's, Monaco, June 14, 1982, lot 423); [B. Fabre et Fils].

BIBLIOGRAPHY: G. Wilson, *GettyMusJ* 14 (1986), pp. 121–126.

GERMAN



201

201. WINE BOTTLE

German (Meissen), circa 1710–1715
Stoneware, 16.5 x 11.1 x 9.5 cm (6 1/2" x 4 3/8" x 3 3/4"). Painted with

the black *Johanneum* mark 232R and impressed with the mark of the modeler, Johann Donner.
85.DE.231

This bottle is attributed to Johann Friedrich Böttger (1682–1719), who worked for Augustus the Strong at his porcelain manufactory in Meissen, near Dresden. It is of stoneware and press-molded in three pieces after a Chinese wine bottle (cf. No. 184 above). It bears the mark of the modeler, Johann Donner (recorded at Meissen as working in August 1710); it also bears the mark of an inventory, begun in 1721, of the collection of Augustus the Strong. This model was one of the first produced in stoneware.

PROVENANCE: Augustus the Strong, Dresden; sale, Lepke, Berlin, October 12–14, 1920, lot 59 or 60; [Kate Foster Ltd., London].



202

202. STANDING CUP AND COVER

German (Meissen), circa 1710–1715
Stoneware set with gilt-brass mounts, H (with lid): 25 cm (9 7/8");
Diam: 11 cm (4 5/16")
85.DE.286

This standing cup and cover dates from the earliest years of the Meissen Porcelain Manufactory and was probably inspired by metal and hardstone vessels in the collection of Augustus the Strong. The cup is attributed to Johann Friedrich Böttger (1682–1719), who invented this type of stoneware.

PROVENANCE: [Bent Peter Bronée, Copenhagen].



203

203. TEAPOT

German (Meissen), circa 1715–1720
Stoneware set with gilt-metal mounts and a chain, 13.8 x 15 x 12.2 cm (5 15/16" x 5 13/16" x 4 3/4")
85.DE.287

This red stoneware teapot produced at the Meissen Porcelain Manufactory is attributed to Johann Friedrich Böttger (1682–1719). It dates from a second phase of stoneware production, during which designs were provided by Johann Jakob Irminger (1682–1721), silversmith to the court of Augustus the Strong. At a later date, the same model was also made in white porcelain.

PROVENANCE: [Bent Peter Bronée, Copenhagen].



204

204. WINE POT

German (Meissen), circa 1725
Hard paste porcelain painted with

polychrome enamels and gilded, 14 x 17 x 8.9 cm (5½" x 6⅞" x 3½")
85.DE.381

This wine pot is modeled after a Chinese prototype such as would have been in the collection of Augustus the Strong. In the early decades of the Meissen Porcelain Manufactory, it was not uncommon that forms were modeled after Chinese originals. This wine pot is really a "trick" pot, as the wine is poured in from below yet does not emerge when the vessel is righted, because the interior of the pot is fitted with a long funnel. Greek kylikes containing similar trick devices have been recorded as early as 450 B.C. Only four other wine pots of this model are known to exist: two are in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (one was formerly in the Von Pannwitz collection, 1905); one is in the George R. Gardiner Museum of Ceramic Art, Toronto; and one is in the Porzellansammlung, Dresden.

PROVENANCE: Private collection, Torquay, England (sale, Bearne's, Torquay, May 2, 1984, lot 224); [Winifred Williams, London].



205

205. TABLE BELL

German (Meissen), circa
1725 – 1730
Hard paste porcelain, enameled
and gilded, H: 8.6 cm (3⅜");
Diam: 6.5 cm (2⅞")
85.DE.203

This bell, made at the Meissen Porcelain Manufactory, is enameled with a pale

green ground color. The painted reserves of chinoiserie scenes are attributed to the studio of Johann Gregor Höroldt (b. 1696, active at Meissen from 1720, d. 1775). The bell would have originally been part of a writing set, decorated en suite, consisting of a tray, ink, and sand containers.

PROVENANCE: E. Goldschmidt-Rothschild, Frankfurt; Christoph Hoffman-Frey, Zurich; [Lovice Reviczky AG, Zurich].



206

206. CONSOLE TABLE

German (Berlin[?]), circa
1735 – 1745
Gilded limewood with a top of
brèche d'Alep, 91.4 x 108.6 x 53.3 cm
(3' x 3'6¾" x 1'9")
85.DA.319

This console table is of unique design and exemplifies the exuberant heights and fantastic forms achieved by German craftsmen working during the Rococo period. It may be compared to console tables carved by Johan August Nahl (1710 – 1785) for the Golden Gallery at Schloss Charlottenburg, Berlin.

PROVENANCE: [Capricorn Art International S.A., Panama].

207. READING AND WRITING STAND

German (Neuwied), circa 1760
Pine and walnut, veneered with
rosewood, walnut, ivory, ebony,
and mother-of-pearl, 76.8 x 71.7 x
48.8 cm (2'6½" x 2'4¼" x 1'7¼").
The top is inlaid with the monogram *JPC*, for Johan Philipp Curfurst, beneath Count Walderdorff's official archiepiscopal coat of arms. The first and fourth quarters of the outer shield contain the emblem of Trier, and the second and third contain that of Prüm. The first and fourth quarters of the inner shield contain the emblem of Walderdorff, and the second and third contain that of Isenberg.
85.DA.216

The reading and writing stand was made for Johan Philipp von Walderdorff (1701 – 1768), Prince Archbishop and Elector of Trier, by Abraham Roentgen (1711 – 1793). The stand is fitted with numerous small drawers, most of which are concealed and can only be opened when buttons are pushed.

Walderdorff was Roentgen's most important patron in the 1750s and 1760s. Some twenty pieces of furniture were made by the famous cabinetmaker for the Elector's Palace, and they can be found in major museums in Germany and Holland. It is likely that Abraham Roentgen's son David had a hand in the commission, as he signed some of the bills to Walderdorff.

PROVENANCE: Johan Philipp von Walderdorff (1701 – 1768), Prince Archbishop and Elector of Trier.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: H. Kriesel, *Die Kunst des deutschen Möbels: Spätbarock und Rokoko* (Munich, 1970), vol. 2, pp. 294, 428, fig. 992; H. Huth, *Roentgen Furniture* (London, 1974), fig. 110; J. M. Greber, *Abraham und David Roentgen: Möbel für Europa* (Starnberg, 1980), vol. 2, pp. 32 – 33, pls. 57, 58; D. Fabian, "Entwicklung der Roentgen: Mehrzwecktische-Funktion, Konstruktion, Oberflächenschmuck, Einrichtung," *Alte und moderne Kunst 174/175* (1981), pp. 18 – 26, figs. 14, 14a; G. Himmelheber, "Abraham Roentgen and the Archbishop of Trier," *Antiques*, January 1985, pp. 245 – 259, fig. 12.



207



208

208. LONG-CASE MUSICAL CLOCK
 German (Neuwied), circa 1785
 Oak veneered with mahogany and
 set with gilt-bronze mounts, 187 x
 64 x 53 cm (6'1¹/₄" x 2'1¹/₂" x
 1'8¹/₂"). The movement is in-
 scribed: *Roentgen & Kinzing à*
Neuwied.
 85.DA.116

The clock contains an elaborate move-
 ment with an organ consisting of
 bellows, twenty valves, and forty pipes.
 It was made by Peter Kinsing, the
 Neuwied clockmaker (1745 – 1816). The
 case is by David Roentgen (1743 – 1807).
 Five other clocks of this model are
 known to exist: two are in the State
 Hermitage, Leningrad; another is in the
 nearby Palace of Pavlovsk; the fourth is
 at the Kreismuseum, Neuwied; and the
 fifth is in the Kunstgewerbemuseum,
 Berlin. Three of these other five clocks

are crowned with a large gilt-bronze
 figure of Apollo, and it is almost certain
 that the Museum's clock was once
 similarly decorated.

A clock of the same model was
 delivered to Catherine II in 1784.

PROVENANCE: (?) August Sichel, Paris (sale,
 Hôtel Drouot, Paris, March 1 – 5, 1886, no.
 6); Jean-Louis-Ernst Meissonier family
 (1815 – 1891); [Aveline, Paris].

SWEDISH



209

209. PAIR OF WALL LIGHTS
 (?) Swedish (Stockholm), circa 1710
 Silvered bronze set with mirror
 glass, 50 x 29.5 x 17.2 cm (1'7¹/₂" x
 11¹/₂" x 6³/₄"). The drip pans are
 stamped with the French tax stamp,
 the crowned C.
 85.DG.491 – 2

The wall lights closely follow a sheet of
 engraved designs for mirrors by Daniel
 Marot (circa 1663 – 1752) from his
Nouveaux livre d'orfèvrerie, published in
 Holland in 1703. They resemble other
 silvered and gilded wall lights now in
 Swedish collections (see those in the
 Röhsska Konstslöjdmuseet, Göteborg,
 and at Drottningholm), which are
 somewhat loosely attributed to the
 Precht family. The Museum's wall lights
 were acquired in recent years on the
 Swedish market, and it is likely that they
 are of Swedish make. The presence of
 crowned C's on the drip pans—a stamp
 for the tax levied in Paris between 1745



and 1749—shows that they were once in that city for an unknown period of time.

PROVENANCE: Swedish market, circa 1980; [Michel Meyer, Paris].

210. SECRETAIRE

(?)Swedish (Stockholm), circa 1780
Oak and poplar, veneered with
satinwood, tulipwood, fruitwoods,
and ebony, with incised mastics,
152 x 90 x 54.5 cm (5' x 2'11 1/2" x
1'9 1/2"). The *secrétaire* has a number
of red wax seals on its back, all
bearing the date 1830 and the word
CHARTÉ. They are official seals
referring to the Charter of 1830,
which was followed by the consti-
tutional monarchy of Louis-
Philippe (1830 – 1848).
85.DA.147

The *secrétaire* is tentatively attributed to the Swedish cabinetmaker Georg Haupt (1741 – 1784) or to his immediate circle. He was trained in Amsterdam, Paris, and London and returned to Stockholm in 1770 to become the court cabinetmaker to Gustav III.

As well as having a large fall front, the *secrétaire* is also provided with a fall front frieze drawer, which is fitted with a bookrest, an adjustable writing surface, and containers for ink and sand.

PROVENANCE: Unknown collection, Paris, by 1830; sale, Galerie Moderne, Brussels, circa 1974; [La Cour de Varenne, Paris]; [Dalva Brothers, New York].

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. Bedel, *Les antiquités et la brocante* (Paris, 1981), front and back covers.

SCULPTURE AND WORKS OF ART



211

CERAMICS: ITALIAN

211. "OAK-LEAF" DRUG JAR
(*orciuolo biansato*)
Italian (Florence), 1420–1440
Tin-glazed earthenware, H: 32 cm
(12⁵/₈"'). The mark of a P surrounded by dots appears under both handles.
85.DE.56

PROVENANCE: August Lederer, Vienna; Mr. and Mrs. Erich Lederer, Geneva.



212

212. TWO-HANDLED DRUG JAR
(*orciuolo biansato*)
Italian (Florence), circa 1440
Tin-glazed earthenware, H: 16.3 cm
(6³/₈"'). The area below the handle bears the starlike mark that is possibly of the Giunta di Tugio workshop.
85.DE.58

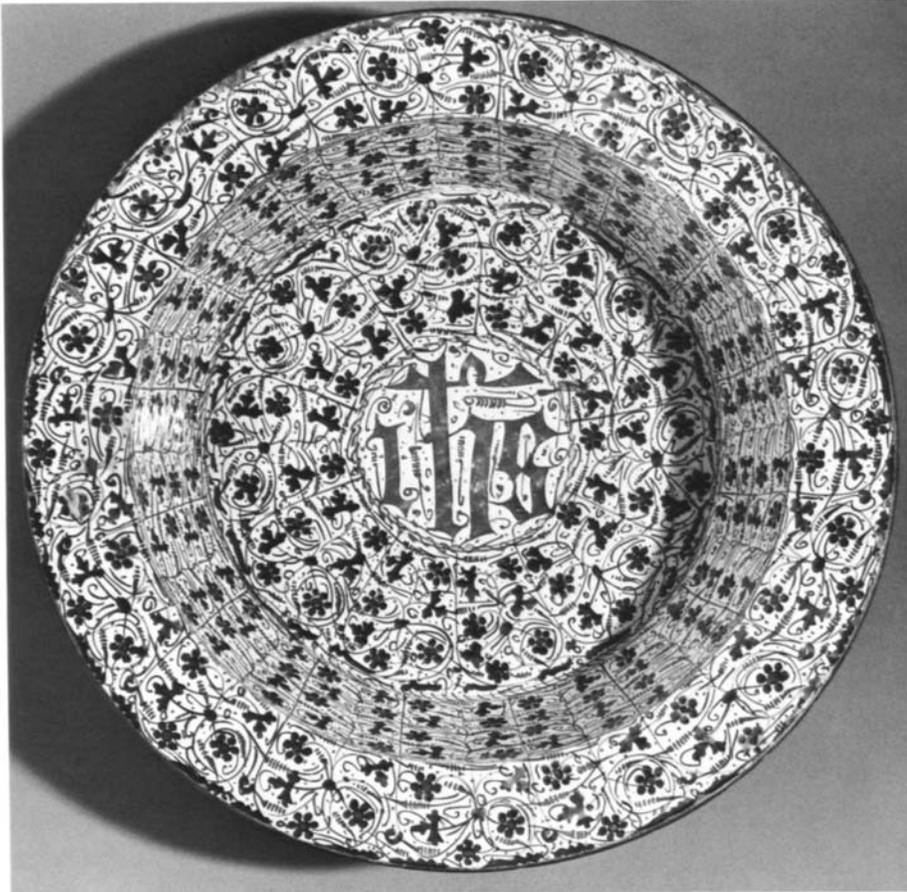
PROVENANCE: Stefano Bardini, Florence; Elie Volpi, Florence, 1910; August Lederer, Vienna; Mr. and Mrs. Erich Lederer, Geneva.



213

213. "OAK-LEAF" DRUG JAR
WITH FISH (*albarello*)
Italian (Florence), circa 1440
Tin-glazed earthenware, H: 18 cm
(7¹/₁₆"').
85.DE.57

PROVENANCE: Luigi Grassi, Florence; August Lederer, Vienna; Mr. and Mrs. Erich Lederer, Geneva.



214

CERAMICS: SPANISH

214. HISPANO-MORESQUE
DEEP DISH
Spanish (Valencia), mid-fifteenth century
Luster-glazed earthenware, Diam: 48 cm (18⁷/₈"). The center of the obverse is decorated with the sacred monogram of San Bernardino: *IHS*. 85.DE.441

PROVENANCE: Sale, Christie's, London, July 1, 1985, lot 270; [Rainer Zietz Ltd., London].

GLASS



215

215. PASSGLAS
German (Braunschweig or Thuringia [?]), 1590
Free-blown potash lime glass with enamel decoration, H: 29.3 cm (11⁹/₁₆"); Diam: 10.4 cm (4¹/₁₆"). In-

scribed on one side in banderoles: *ALLES • ALLES • MIT • GOTTES • HVLF / HANS • HIRT • V • WEISSENAV • FVRST • / BRAVNSCHWEIGISCHER • VND • LVNEBVRG / ISCHER • RATH • VND • AGENT • AM • KAY • / •HOFF •*, and flanking the coat of arms: *Patientia Durum Frango*; inscribed on the other side in banderoles: *HIE • ZEITLICHS • LEID • BRINGT • D • EWIGE • FREUD / MARIA • HIRTIN • VON • WEISSENAV / GEBORNE • MAIERIN • VON • SANT • / GILGEN • SEIN • HAVSFRAV*, and flanking the coat of arms: 1590. 85.DK.214, gift of Ruth Blumka

PROVENANCE: Viktor Schick, Prague.

METALWORK: FRENCH



216 (reverse)

216. HERCULES PENDANT
French, circa 1540
Close to the style of Benvenuto Cellini, 1500 – 1571
Gold, enamel (white, blue, and black), and a baroque pearl, 6 x 5.4 cm (2³/₈" x 2¹/₈")
85.SE.237

PROVENANCE: Baron Alphonse de Rothschild, Vienna; Baron Nathaniel de Rothschild, Vienna; C. Ruxton Love, New York; sale, Christie's, Geneva, November 13, 1984, lot 45; [David, Inc., Vaduz].



216 (obverse)



217

217. PRUDENCE COMMESSO HAT BADGE
 French, 1550–1560
 Gold, enamel (white, blue, red, and black), chalcedony, and a table cut diamond, 5.7 x 5.2 cm (2¹/₄" x 2¹/₁₆")
 85.SE.238

PROVENANCE: Mme la Baronne James de Rothschild, Paris, 1866; Thomas F. Flannery, Jr., Chicago (sale, Sotheby's, London, December 1, 1983, lot 288); [David, Inc., Vaduz].

METALWORK: GERMAN



218

218. CAROLINGIAN RELIQUARY
 Germany (upper Rhine), possibly eighth-century pieces reconstituted at a later date
 Gilt copper, silver, cabochon hardstones, and glass pastes, 13 x 12.2 x 4.6 cm (5¹/₈" x 4³/₄" x 1¹³/₁₆")
 85.SE.53

PROVENANCE: Richard von Kauffmann, Berlin; August Lederer, Vienna; Mr. and Mrs. Erich Lederer, Geneva.



219

219. ROMANESQUE AQUAMANILE
 German (Hildesheim or Magdeburg), circa 1220
 Bronze, H: 26 cm (10¹/₄")
 85.SB.55

PROVENANCE: A. Seligmann, Paris; Robert von Hirsch, Basel (sale, Sotheby's, London, June 22, 1978, lot 206); [David Carritt, London]; Mr. and Mrs. Erich Lederer, Geneva.



220

220. ABRAHAM PFLEGER I
 German (Augsburg), active from
 1558, d. 1605
Ewer and Basin, 1583
 Parcel gilt silver with enameled
 plaques and engraving, Ewer (1):
 H: 25 cm (9¹³/₁₆"); Basin (2):
 Diam: 50.5 cm (19⁷/₈"). The enameled
 coats of arms of the Palfy and Fug-
 ger families appear in the center of
 the basin and on the cover of the
 ewer; they are also engraved on the
 back of the basin.
 85.DG.331 – 2

PROVENANCE: Sale, Christie's, Geneva,
 November 15, 1984, lot 606; [David, Inc.,
 Vaduz].

221. JOHANN LUDWIG BILLER
 THE ELDER
 German (Augsburg), 1656 – 1732
Pair of Stags, circa 1680 – 1700
 Gilt silver, Stag 1 (left): 63.5 x 28.5
 x 21.5 cm (25" x 11¹/₄" x 8¹/₂"); Stag
 2 (right): 66.5 x 27 x 22 cm (26³/₁₆"
 x 10⁵/₈" x 8⁵/₈"). Signed: *ILB*,
 stamped on one antler of each
 model; *ILB* and Augsburg mark
 found five times on each base:
 (1) on top border of upper rim of
 spool, (2) on underside of same,
 (3) on top border of lower rim of
 spool, (4) on underside of same,
 (5) on top of border around foot
 of base.
 85.SE.442.1 – 2

PROVENANCE: Sale, Sotheby's, Geneva, May
 15, 1984; [Albrecht Neuhaus, Würzburg].



221

METALWORK: ITALIAN



222

222. MORTAR
 Italian, circa 1560
 Bronze, H: 48.9 cm (19¹/₄");
 Diam: 59.7 cm (23¹/₂")
 85.SB.179

PROVENANCE: Sale, Sotheby's, London, July
 14, 1977, lot 156; [Rainer Zietz Ltd., London];
 [Rosenberg & Stiebel, Inc., New York].



223

223. FRANCESCO NATALE JUVARA
 Italian (Messina), 1673 – 1759
Wall Plaque, 1730 – 1740
 Silver, gilt bronze, and lapis lazuli
 on wood backing, 70 x 52 cm
 (27⁷/₁₆" x 20¹/₂")
 85.SE.127

PROVENANCE: It seems likely that this object was done for the House of Savoy, since its pendant is last recorded as belonging to a member of that family; [Siran Holding Co., Geneva].



224

224. FILIPPO PELAGIO PELAGI
 Italian (Bologna), 1775 – 1860
Pair of Gilt-bronze Candlesticks,
 circa 1830 – 1840
 Gilt and chased bronze, H: 90 cm
 (35¹/₂")
 85.DF.221 – 2

PROVENANCE: [Colnaghi, London].

SCULPTURE: FLEMISH



225

225. MARS AND VENUS
 Flemish, circa 1575
 Attributed to Hans Mont,
 b. 1540 – 1545, active 1571 – 1584
 Bronze, H: 54 cm (21")
 85.SB.75

PROVENANCE: Dr. Alexander von Frey, Paris; August Lederer, Vienna; Mr. and Mrs. Erich Lederer, Geneva.



226 (relief 1)



226 (relief 2)



226 (relief 3)



226 (relief 4)



226 (relief 5)

226. GERARD VAN OPSTAL
Flemish (Brussels), 1605 (?) – 1668
Five Reliefs of Marine Scenes,
circa 1640
Alabaster, 1: 61.9 x 101.7 x 7.2 cm
(24³/₈" x 40¹/₁₆" x 2⁷/₈""); 2: 40 x 85.1
x 7 cm (15³/₄" x 33¹/₂" x 2³/₄""); 3: 40
x 84.8 x 7.6 cm (15³/₄" x 33³/₈" x 3");
4: 39.7 x 111.1 x 7.2 cm (15⁵/₈" x
43³/₄" x 2⁷/₈""); 5: 39.7 x 111.1 x 7 cm
(15⁵/₈" x 43³/₄" x 2³/₄""). Relief 1
depicts: fishermen and putti pull-
ing fish into a boat; relief 2: a triton
holding a female figure aloft and
away from a sea monster; relief 3: a
triton either abducting two nereids
or pulling them away from an at-
tacking fish; relief 4: two seahorses
pulling a female figure, perhaps
Galatea, riding a shell chariot,
with, on the right, a piping male
figure, perhaps Polypheme; relief 5:
a female figure, perhaps Europa,

carried off by a sea centaur with
trumpeting tritons at the left and
infants at the right.
85.SA.1671 – 5

PROVENANCE: Private collection, Brussels;
private collection, London; [Wojcieck
Sobczynski, London].

SCULPTURE: FRENCH



227

227. YOUNG BOAR
French, circa 1550
Bronze on marble base, L (ex-
cluding base): 3.8 cm (1⁷/₁₆"")
85.SB.71

PROVENANCE: Manthe, Brittany; Charles Rat-
ton, Paris; August Lederer, Vienna; Mr. and
Mrs. Erich Lederer, Geneva.



228

228. SATURN DEVOURING A CHILD
Flemish (French school), circa 1700
Attributed to Simon Hurtrelle,
1648 – 1724
Bronze, 65.4 x 26.7 x 25.1 cm
(25³/₄" x 10¹/₂" x 9⁷/₈"")
85.SB.126

PROVENANCE: [Heim Gallery, London].



229

229. JACQUES-FRANÇOIS-JOSEPH
SALY

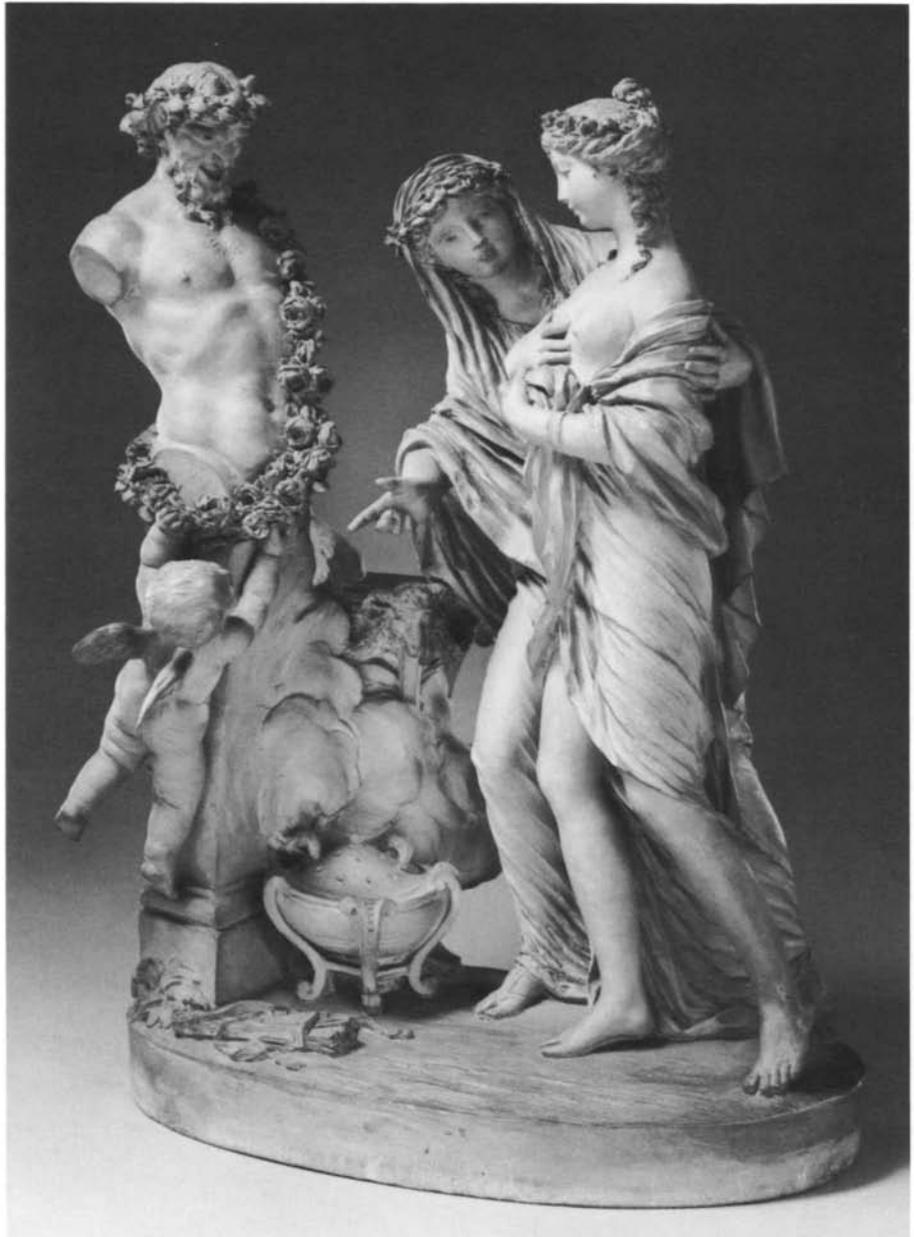
French, 1717 – 1776

Faun Holding a Goat, 1751

Marble, H: 84 cm (33¹/₁₆"). There is
a spurious signature on the base:
NL. COUSTOU.FECIT 1715.

85.SA.50

PROVENANCE: Collection of the Académie Royale de Peinture et Sculpture, from 1751; during the Revolution it became the property of the Musée du Louvre, Paris; given by the Louvre in exchange to Monsieur Maréchal, 1821; Emile Galichon, Paris, 1865; Col. Baron du Teil (sale, Galerie Jean Charpentier, Paris, November 20 – 21, 1933, lot 146); [Alain Moatti, Paris].



230

230. CLODION (Claude Michel)

French, 1738 – 1814

*Vestal Presenting a Young Woman at
the Altar of Pan*, circa 1770 – 1775

Terracotta, H (excluding base): 45
cm (17³/₄"). Signed on clouds in
back on the right: *CLODION*
(the *N* is reversed).

85.SC.166

PROVENANCE: W. Hope (sale, Paris, June 4 – 16, 1855, lot 745); A. L. Odier père (sale, Hôtel des Commissaires-Priseurs, Paris, January 16 – 19, 1860, N.P. unnumbered lot); sale, Galerie Jean Charpentier, Paris, December 19 – 20, 1949, lot 142; [Wildenstein and Co., New York].



231

231. JEAN-ANTOINE HOUDON
French, 1741 – 1828
Bust of Louise Brongniart, circa 1777
Marble, H: 46 cm (18¹/₈"). Signed
on back: *houdon f.*
85.SA.220

PROVENANCE: Monsieur G. Franck, Paris;
Baron Henri de Rothschild, Paris; sale,

Sotheby's, Monte Carlo, February 5 – 6, 1978,
lot 112; [Black-Nadeau Gallery, Monte Carlo,
until 1979]; [Bruton Gallery Ltd., London].



232

232. JOSEPH CHINARD
French, 1755 – 1813
The Family of General Duhesme,
circa 1808
Terracotta, 56 x 35 x 70 cm (22¹/₁₆"
x 13³/₄" x 27⁹/₁₆"). Signed on the
left front of the base: *chinard
statuaire a Lyon.*
85.SC.82

PROVENANCE: [Visual Arts Co., Mies,
Switzerland].



233

233. ANTOINE-LOUIS BARYE
French, 1796 – 1875
Python Killing a Gnu, 1834/35
Red wax and plaster, 28 x 39 cm
(11" x 15³/₈"). Signed on the back
of the base in the center: *Barye.*
85.SE.48

PROVENANCE: Sale, Hôtel Drouot, Paris,
February 7 – 12, 1876, lot 447; sale, Galerie
Georges Petit, Paris, May 30, 1929, lot 68;
[Fabius Frères, Paris].

234. JEAN-BAPTISTE CARPEAUX
French, 1827 – 1875
Portrait of Mme Alexandre Dumas fils
(1827 – 1895), 1873 – 1874
Marble, H: 80 cm (31¹/₂")
85.SA.47



234



235

PROVENANCE: Alexandre Dumas fils, until 1895; Dumas family, until 1984; [Fabius Frères, Paris].

SCULPTURE: GERMAN

235. KASPAR GRAS
German, 1590 – 1674
Kicking Horse, circa 1630
Bronze with golden reddish lacquer patina, H: 34 cm (13³/₈"
85.SB.72

PROVENANCE: Graf Harrach, Freyung (near Vienna); August Lederer, Vienna; Mr. and Mrs. Erich Lederer, Geneva.

SCULPTURE: ITALIAN



236

236. HOHENSTAUFEN PENDANT
South Italian, 1210 – 1250
Bloodstone and gold mount,
9 x 7.3 cm (3⁹/₁₆" x 2⁷/₈"
85.SE.54

PROVENANCE: August Lederer, Vienna; Mr. and Mrs. Erich Lederer, Geneva.



237

237. FEMALE VIRTUE OR ALLEGORY
Italian (Venice), early sixteenth century
Circle of the Barbarigo Master,
active from the beginning of the sixteenth century
Bronze, H: 16.2 cm (6³/₈"
85.SB.68

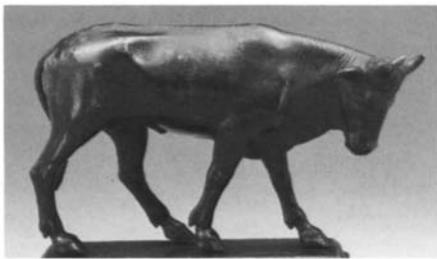
PROVENANCE: Count Schaffgotsch, Schloss Niederleis, Austria; Stadrat Zatska, Vienna; August Lederer, Vienna; Mr. and Mrs. Erich Lederer, Geneva.



238

238. SPHINX
Italian, sixteenth century
Workshop of Andrea Briosco,
called Riccio, 1470(?) – 1532
Bronze, H: 8.9 cm (3½")
85.SB.62

PROVENANCE: Count Spinola-Doria, Genoa; Eugen Müller von Aicholz, Vienna; Dr. Leo Planiscig, Vienna; David Weill, Paris; August Lederer, Vienna; Mr. and Mrs. Erich Lederer, Geneva.



239

239. BULL WITH HEAD LOWERED
Italian (Padua or Venice),
1500 – 1520
Bronze, H: 12.3 cm (4⅞")
85.SB.65

PROVENANCE: Dr. Franz Kieslinger, Vienna; August Lederer, Vienna; Mr. and Mrs. Erich Lederer, Geneva.



240

240. ELEPHANT WITH RAISED TRUNK
Italian (Padua or Venice),
1500 – 1520
Bronze, H: 12 cm (4¾")
85.SB.64

PROVENANCE: J. P. Heseltine, London; [Alfred Spero, London]; August Lederer, Vienna; Mr. and Mrs. Erich Lederer, Geneva.



241

241. BENVENUTO CELLINI
Italian (Florence), 1500 – 1571
Satyr, circa 1542
Bronze, H: 57 cm (22⅞")
85.SB.69

PROVENANCE: [Drey Gallery, Munich, 1918]; August Lederer, Vienna; Mr. and Mrs. Erich Lederer, Geneva.



242

242. TWO SPHINXES (accompanied by a pair of volute scrolls)
Italian (Florence or Venice),
circa 1570
Bronze, Sphinx 1: 64 x 28 x 57 cm (25⅜" x 11" x 22⅝"); Sphinx 2: 65 x 25 x 56 cm (25⅝" x 9⅓" x 22⅝"); Scroll 3: 23 x 33 x 58 cm (9⅓" x 13" x 22⅓"); Scroll 4: 22 x 30 x 57 cm (8⅝" x 11⅓" x 22⅝")
85.SB.418.1 – 4

PROVENANCE: Private collection, Geneva; [Workart, Geneva].



243

243. ALESSANDRO VITTORIA
Italian (Trent), 1525 – 1608
Mercury, 1570 – 1580

Bronze, H: 66.6 cm (26¹/₄").

Signed: *ALEXANDER.VICTOR.T.F.*
85.SB.184

PROVENANCE: Edward Steinkopff (sale, Christie's, London, May 22, 1935, lot 54, bought by Stoye [?]); Magdalen College, Oxford; [Cyril Humphris, London].



244

244. KNEELING SATYR SUPPORTING
A TREE TRUNK

Italian, late sixteenth century
Follower of Andrea Briosco, called
Riccio, 1470(?) – 1532

Bronze, H: 14 cm (5¹/₂"

85.SB.63

PROVENANCE: Duranton, Paris; August
Lederer, Vienna; Mr. and Mrs. Erich Lederer,
Geneva.



245

245. VENUS CHASTISING CUPID
Italian (Venice), late sixteenth
century

Traditionally attributed to Paolo
Savin, active 1497(?) – 1516(?)

Bronze, H: 24 cm (9⁷/₁₆"

85.SB.66

PROVENANCE: Schuster, Amsterdam; August
Lederer, Vienna; Mr. and Mrs. Erich Lederer,
Geneva.



247



247

247 FERDINANDO TACCA
Italian (Florence), 1619 – 1686

Pair of Putti Holding Shields,
1650 – 1655

Bronze, Putto 1 (with shield to his
left): 65 cm (25⁵/₈""); Putto 2 (with
shield to his right): 65 cm (25⁵/₈"")

85.SB.70.1 – 2

PROVENANCE: Commissioned by Giovanni
Battista, Andrea, and Girolamo Bartolommei
for the former high altar of S. Stefano al
Ponte, Florence, 1650; church of S. Stefano al
Ponte, Florence, 1655 (?); Bartolommei fam-
ily, Palazzo Bartolommei, Florence, by 1695;
sold by Bartolommei family, Milan, 1869;
Monsieur Beurdeley père, Paris (sale, Hôtel
Drouot, Paris, April 9 – 10, 1883, lot 252); Dr.
Alexander von Frey, Paris; August Lederer,
Vienna; Mr. and Mrs. Erich Lederer, Geneva.



246

246. GIROLAMO CAMPAGNA

Italian (Venice), 1549/50 – 1626

Bozzetto for the "Madonna Dolphin,"
circa 1600

Terracotta, H: 44 cm (17⁵/₁₆"

85.SC.59

PROVENANCE: Dr. Benno Geiger, Vienna;
August Lederer, Vienna; Mr. and Mrs. Erich
Lederer, Geneva.



248



248

248. FRANCESCO BERTOS
Italian, active 1696 – 1733
Pair of Allegorical Figure Groups
(*Stupidity and Fortune* and *Industry and Virtue*), early eighteenth century
Bronze on marble bases, Group 1 (*Stupidity and Fortune*): 65 x 22.9 x 16.5 cm (24⁷/₈" x 9" x 6¹/₂"); Group 2 (*Industry and Virtue*): 65 x 19 x 14.3 cm (24⁷/₈" x 7¹/₂" x 5⁵/₈"). The inscription on *Stupidity and Fortune* reads: *OPVS BERTOS* on top of the marble base and: *STVLTVS / VBIQVE.ET / FORTVNA / CONVENIVNET* on the sides of the base; the inscription on *Industry and Virtue* reads: *OPVS BERTOS* on top of the marble base and: *STVDIVM / FELICITER ET / VIRTVS / ELVCENT* on the sides of the base.
85.SB.731 – 2

PROVENANCE: Dr. James Simon, Berlin; August Lederer, Vienna; Mr. and Mrs. Erich Lederer, Geneva.



249

249. FRANCESCO BERTOS
Italian, active 1696 – 1733
Allegorical Group of Eleven Figures, early eighteenth century
Bronze, 79.5 x 44.1 x 36.8 cm (31⁵/₁₆" x 17³/₈" x 14¹/₂"). The inscription reads: *BERTOS / INVENTOR / ET SCVLTOR / SOLVS / DEI GRATIA / FVSIT / PERFECIT / FECIT*.
84.SB.74

PROVENANCE: August Lederer, Vienna, since 1927; Mr. and Mrs. Erich Lederer, Geneva.



250

250. LAOCOÖN
Italian (Florence), circa 1720
Attributed to Giovanni Battista Foggini, 1652 – 1725
Bronze, 56 x 44 x 22 cm (22¹/₁₆" x 17⁵/₁₆" x 8⁵/₈")
85.SB.413

PROVENANCE: Portales Gorgier family, about 1865; Lebeuf de Montgermont family, circa 1890; La Rochefoucauld family (sale, Ader Picard Tajan, Paris, November 26, 1974, lot 42); sold by Marie Picau, Cannes, 1985.



251

251. ANTONIO CANOVA
 Italian, 1757 – 1822
Bust of a Vestal, 1821
 Marble, 49.8 x 31.9 x 24.1 cm (19⁵/₈"
 x 12⁹/₁₆" x 9¹/₂"). Inscribed on the
 front: *VESTALIS*.
 85.SA.353

PROVENANCE: Probably the sculpture commis-
 sioned by Paolo Marulli di Ascoli, Naples, as
 a gift for his son-in-law's brother, the mar-
 quese di Berio, 1821; Marulli-Berio family,
 Naples, 1822 – 1937; private collection,
 Switzerland, since 1937; [Capricorn, Chiasso,
 Switzerland]. /



252

252. VENUS
 Italian, nineteenth-century forgery
 Manner of Francesco di Giorgio
 Martini, 1439 – 1502
 Bronze, H: 30 cm (11¹³/₁₆")
 85.SB.60

PROVENANCE: August Lederer, Vienna; Mr.
 and Mrs. Erich Lederer, Geneva.



253

253 PRANCING BULL
 Italian, nineteenth- or twentieth-
 century forgery
 Manner of early sixteenth century
 Bronze with silver eyes,
 H: 11.5 cm (4¹/₂")
 85.SB.61

PROVENANCE: August Lederer, Vienna; Mr.
 and Mrs. Erich Lederer, Geneva.



254

254. TRITON RIDING A TORTOISE
French, nineteenth century
Traditionally attributed to Leone
Leoni, 1509 – 1590
Bronze, H: 17 cm (6¹¹/₁₆")
85.SB.67

PROVENANCE: August Lederer, Vienna; Mr.
and Mrs. Erich Lederer, Geneva.

SCULPTURE: SPANISH



255

255. JOSE CARO
Spanish (Murcia), active late seven-
teenth century
San Gines de la Jara, 1690s (1699?)
Polychrome wood (pine and cedar)
with glass eyes, H: 176 cm (5' 9¹/₄").
Inscribed with partially legible
signature on the base: *CARO*
(FR?)AN(C?)ESC(?)L(D?) OBRA DE
CAMARA AÑO 169(9 or 7?);
and inscribed several times
around the sleeves and hem of the
garment: *S. GINES DE LAXARA*.
85.SD.161

PROVENANCE: Possibly from the monastery of
San Gines de la Jara, Murcia, Spain; [Heim
Gallery, London].

PHOTOGRAPHS

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(American, 1902 – 1984), 21
- ADCOCK, J.
(British, active circa 1903), 1
- AICHINGER, FRANZ J.
(German, active 1930s), 1
- ALBERS, JOSEF
(American, b. Germany,
1888 – 1976), 4
- ANDERSON, JAMES
(British, 1813 – 1877, active Italy), 1
- ARNDT, GERTRUDE
(German, active 1930s, Bauhaus), 1
- ATGET, JEAN-EUGENE-AUGUSTE
(French, 1857 – 1927), 1
- AUERBACH, ELLEN (Studio Ringl
and Pit)
(American, b. Germany 1906), 1
- BAHELFER, MOSES
(German, active 1930s, Bauhaus), 1
- BALLMER, THEO
(Swiss, 1902 – 1965), 5
- BALZER, GERD
(German, active 1930s, Bauhaus), 1
- BATZ, EUGEN
(German, b. 1905), 16
- BAYER, HERBERT
(American, b. Austria,
1900 – 1985), 5
- BAYER-HECHT, IRENE
(American, b. 1898), 6
- BEATO, FELICE A.
(British, 1825 – 1904), 1
- BEDFORD, SIR FRANCIS
(British, 1816 – 1894), 1
- BEESE, CHARLOTTE (Lotte)
(German, b. 1903), 4
- BELL, CURTIS
(American, active New York
1900 – 1920), 1
- BENNETT, JEANNE E.
(American, active Washington,
D.C., and Maryland circa 1904), 2
- BERGER, OTTI
(Hungarian, 1898 – 1942, active
Germany), 1
- BERGMANN, ELLA
(German, active 1920s, Bauhaus), 1
- BERTOLF, HANS
(German, active 1930s, Bauhaus), 1
- BING, ILSE
(American, b. Germany 1899), 1
- BLANQUART-EVRARD, LOUIS-DESIRE
(French, 1802 – 1872), 3
- BLUMENFELD, ERWIN
(American, b. Germany,
1897 – 1969), 14
- BOTT, KATT
(German, active 1930s, Bauhaus), 1
- BOURKE-WHITE, MARGARET
(American, 1904 – 1971), 1
- BOVIER, LEON
(Belgian, 1865 – 1923), 1
- BRADY, MATHEW B. (Brady Studio)
(American, 1823 – 1896), 1
- BRANCUSI, CONSTANTIN
(French, b. Romania,
1876 – 1957), 1
- BRANDT, BILL
(British, 1904 – 1983), 1
- BRANDT, MARIANNE
(German, 1893 – 1984), 3
- BRAUN, ADOLPHE
(French, 1811 – 1877), 12
- BRESLAUER, MARIANNE
(German, b. 1909, lives
Switzerland), 1
- BROWN, FEDORA E. D.
(American, active Grand Rapids,
Mich., circa 1904), 1
- BURCHARTZ, MAX
(German, 1887 – 1961), 1
- BUTTERFIELD, D. W.
(American, active New Hampshire
1880s), 1
- CALLAHAN, HARRY
(American, b. 1912), 2
- CAMERON, JULIA MARGARET
(British, 1815 – 1879), 2
- CANEVA, GIACOMO
(Italian, 1810 – 1890), 1
- CARTIER-BRESSON, HENRI
(French, b. 1908), 2
- CAYETTE
(Belgian, active 20th century), 1
- CLIFFORD, CHARLES
(British, 1800 – 1863, active
Spain), 4
- COLLEIN, EDMUND
(German, b. 1906), 6
- COMERINER, ERICH
(German, active 1920s, Bauhaus), 2
- CONNELL, WILL
(American, 1898 – 1961), 1
- CONSEMULLER, ERICH
(German, active 1920s, Bauhaus), 1
- COPPOLA, HORACIO
(Argentinian, b. 1906), 1
- CUNNINGHAM, IMOGEN
(American, 1883 – 1976), 1
- CURTIS, EDWARD SHERIFF
(American, 1868 – 1952), 6
- DAPPRICH, FRED
(American, active Southern
California 1920s), 1
- DAVANNE, LOUIS-ALPHONSE
(French, 1824 – 1912), 1
- DAVIS, DWIGHT A.
(American, active Worcester,
Mass., circa 1920), 1
- DIAMOND, DR. HUGH WELCH
(British, 1809 – 1886), 1
- DOHMEN, LEO
(Belgian, active 1940s – 1950s), 3
- DOOLITTLE, JAMES
(American, active Southern
California 1890s), 13
- DRTIKOL, FRANTISEK
(Czech, 1883 – 1961), 1
- DUNLOP, DAN
(British, active 1903 – 1928), 15
- DURAND-BRAGER, JEAN-BAPTISTE-
HENRI, AND LASSIMONNE
(French: Durand-Brager,
1814 – 1879), 1
- DURIEU, EUGENE
(French, 1800 – 1874), 9
- EAKINS, THOMAS
(American, 1844 – 1916), 1
- EHRHARDT, ALFRED
(German, b. 1901), 1
- EHRLICH, FRANZ
(German, active 1920s – 1930s), 2

- EHRLICH, FRANZ, and LOEW, HEINZ
(German, active 1920s, Bauhaus), 1
- EICKEMEYER, RUDOLPH
(American, 1862 – 1932), 1
- EMANUEL, CHARLES H. L.
(British, active 1895 – 1928), 18
- EVANS, FREDERICK HENRY
(British, 1853 – 1943), 1
- FEININGER, ANDREAS
(American, b. France 1906), 1
- FEININGER, T[hodore]. LUX (Lukas)
(American, b. Germany 1910), 13
- FEIST, WERNER DAVID
(German, active 1930s, Bauhaus), 1
- FENTON, ROGER
(British, 1819 – 1869), 77
- FERREZ, MARC
(Brazilian, b. France,
1843 – 1923), 8
- FLECKENSTEIN, LOUIS
(American, 1866 – 1943), 1669
- FRITH, FRANCIS
(British, 1822 – 1898), 1
- FUNKAT, WALTER
(German, active 1930s, Bauhaus), 1
- GALE, COL. JOSEPH
(British, d. 1906), 1
- GARDNER, ALEXANDER
(American, 1821 – 1882), 1
- GERSON, LOTTE
(German, b. 1905), 9
- GUTSCHOW, ARVID
(German, b. 1880), 1
- HELLMAN, ELMA
(American, active circa 1903), 1
- HENNIG, ALBERT
(German, b. 1907), 25
- HENRI, FLORENCE
(American, 1895 – 1983, lived
France and Germany), 2
- HERNCUNNAN
(European, active 19th century), 1
- HINE, LEWIS
(American, 1874 – 1940), 1
- HOCH, HANNA
(German, b. 1889), 2
- HOFFMANN, IRENE
(German, active 1920s), 2
- HOLMAN, G. P.
(American, active circa 1910), 1
- HUBBUCK, HILDE
(German, active 1920s), 3
- HUDSON, W. A.
(American, d. 1939) active circa
1915), 1
- HUGO, LEOPOLD
(American, active Northern
California 1900 – 1926), 1
- ITTING, GOTTHARDT
(German, active 1920s), 1
- JACKSON, WILLIAM HENRY
(American, 1843 – 1942), 4
- JACOBI, LOTTE
(American, b. Germany 1896), 1
- JOHNSTON, FRANCES BENJAMIN
(American, 1864 – 1952), 1
- JONES, REV. CALVERT
(British, 1804 – 1877), 1
- KALES, ARTHUR
(American, 1882 – 1936), 42
- KAMINSKY, WALTER
(German, active 1920s, Bauhaus), 1
- KEAN, KIRBY
(American, active Southern
California 1930s – 1940s), 10
- KENNEDY, CLARENCE
(American, 1892 – 1972), 58
- KERTESZ, ANDRE
(American, b. Hungary,
1894 – 1985), 32
- KIRA, HIROMU
(b. 1898, active Seattle and Los
Angeles 1920 – 1930s), 8
- KRAMPF, GUNTHER
(German, lived London, active
1907 – 1920s), 100
- KUHN, HEINRICH
(Austrian, b. Germany,
1866 – 1944), 1
- KUHR, FRITZ
(German, active 1920s – 1930s), 3
- LAVENSON, ALMA
(American, b. 1897), 5
- LEES, H. J.
(American, active circa 1903), 1
- LEFRANCQ, MARCEL G.
(Belgian, 1916 – 1974), 2
- LE GRAY, GUSTAVE
(French, 1820 – 1882), 2
- LOCKWOOD, FRANK
(American, active Southern
California 1940s), 13
- LOEW, W. M. HEINZ
(German, 1903 – 1981, lived
England), 5
- LUMEN, CHARLES
(French, active 1906 – 1913), 18
- McGRAW, R. I.
(American, active New Mexico
1920s), 1
- MAGRITTE, RENE
(Belgian, 1898 – 1966), 29
- MAN RAY (Emmanuel Rudnitsky)
(American, 1890 – 1976), 4
- MARIEN, MARCEL
(Belgian, b. 1920), 2
- MATHER, MARGARETHE
(American, 1885 – 1952), 2
- MEYER, HANNES
(German, 1889 – 1954), 1
- MODOTTI, TINA
(Italian, 1896 – 1942, lived U.S.,
Mexico, and Germany), 3
- MOHOLY, LUCIA
(German/Swiss, b. Bohemia
1894), 3
- MOHOLY-NAGY, LASZLO
(American, b. Hungary,
1895 – 1946), 1
- MOON, KARL
(American, 1878 – 1948), 8
- MORIATES
(Greek, active 19th century), 6
- MORTENSON, WILLIAM
(American, 1897 – 1965), 1
- MOULTON, HENRY DEWITT
(American, active Peru
1850s – 1860s), 1
- MUCHA, ALPHONSE-MARIE
(French, b. Moravia, 1860 – 1939), 1
- MUCHE, GEORG
(German, b. 1895), 1
- MUYBRIDGE, EADWEARD J.
(American, b. England,
1830 – 1904), 143
- NOUGE, PAUL
(Belgian, 1895 – 1967), 13
- OFFICER, ROBERT
(American, active Denver and
Los Angeles 1930s – 1940s), 14

- ORTIZ-ECHAGUE, JOSE
(Spanish, 1886 – 1980), 9
- OUTERBRIDGE, PAUL
(American, 1896 – 1958), 1
- PAP, GYULA
(Hungarian, b. 1899, lives Budapest), 3
- PEISSACHOWITZ, NELLY A.
(active late 1920s, Bauhaus), 4
- PETERHANS, WALTER
(American, b. Germany, 1897 – 1960), 3
- PETSCHOW, ROBERT
(German, 1888 – 1945), 2
- PETZOLD, ADOLF
(American, active Philadelphia circa 1902), 8
- POWERS, GEORGE T.
(American, active circa 1906), 1
- PRATT, ERNEST M.
(American, active Southern California 1920s), 9
- PUYO, EMILE-JOACHIM-CONSTANT
(French, 1857 – 1933), 9
- RAU, CARL
(American, active La Crosse, Wisc., circa 1900 – 1903), 2
- REID, CHARLES
(British, active 19th century), 9
- RENARD, F. A.
(French, active 1850s), 4
- RENGER-PATZSCH, ALBERT
(German, 1897 – 1966), 1
- REY, GUIDO
(Italian, b. before 1870, d. after 1920), 7
- RODCHENKO, ALEXANDER
(Russian, 1891 – 1956), 1
- ROH, FRANZ
(German, 1890 – 1965), 47
- ROSE, HANS-JOACHIM (Hajo)
(German, b. 1910), 2
- RUBINSTEIN, NATTALI
(German, d. 1977, lived Israel), 1
- RUDOLPHY, HUGO
(German, active Berlin 1890), 2
- SANDER, AUGUST
(German, 1876 – 1964), 457
- SCHMIDT, JOOST
(German, 1893 – 1948), 7
- SCHURMANN, HERBERT
(German, 1908 – 1981), 19
- SCHWARTZ
(German, active 19th century), 1
- SCHWITTERS, KURT
(German, 1887 – 1948), 2
- SILVY, CAMILLE
(French, d. after 1865, lived England), 1
- SOULIER, CHARLES
(French, b. before 1840, d. after 1876), 2
- STEICHEN, EDWARD
(American, b. Luxembourg, 1879 – 1973), 1
- STERN, GRETE (Studio Ringl and Pit)
(Argentinian, b. Germany 1904), 1
- STEVENSON, HILDE
(American, active circa 1903), 1
- STIEGLITZ, ALFRED
(American, 1864 – 1946), 8
- STILLMAN, WILLIAM
(American, 1828 – 1901), 1
- STODDARD, SENECA RAY
(American, 1870 – 1915), 11
- STOIBER, A. H.
(French, active circa 1900), 1
- STRAND, PAUL
(American, 1890 – 1976), 1
- STRAUB, KARL
(German, active 1930s, Bauhaus), 1
- STUCK, FRANZ VON
(German, 1863 – 1928), 4
- TALBOT, WILLIAM HENRY FOX
(British, 1800 – 1877), 79
- THIRY, GEORGES
(Belgian, active 20th century), 3
- TRIBE, CAPT. LINNEAUS
(British, 1822 – 1902), 1
- UBAC, RAOUL
(Belgian, b. 1910), 2
- UMBEHR, OTTO (Umbo)
(German, 1902 – 1980), 2
- VALENTINE, JAMES
(British, 1815 – 1880), 5
- VALLOU-DE-VILLENEUVE, JULIEN
(French, 1795 – 1866), 4
- VOLLHARDT, HANS
(German, active 1920s), 1
- VOUKURS, MAHOLY
(active late 1920s, Bauhaus), 2
- VROMAN, ADAM CLARK
(American, 1856 – 1916), 3
- WATKINS, CARLETON E.
(American, 1829 – 1916), 53
- WESTON, EDWARD
(American, 1886 – 1958), 27
- WHITE, CLARENCE
(American, 1871 – 1925), 3
- WOOD, S. FREDERICK
(British, active circa 1903), 1
- WORTLEY, COL. STUART
(British, 1832 – 1870), 3
- YVA (Else Simon)
(German, 1900 – 1942), 1
- ZERBE, WILLIAM
(American, active Long Island, N. Y., circa 1905 – 1928), 2
- ZIMMERMAN, WERNER
(German, active 1930s, Bauhaus), 1
- ZWART, PIET
(Dutch, 1885 – 1977), 70

DAGUERREOTYPES, AMBROTYPES, AND TINTYPES

The daguerreotypes, ambrotypes, and tintypes listed below were acquired in 1984 and were not yet inventoried at the time of the publication of *Getty Museum Journal* 13 (1984). They are enumerated here for the first time. This list represents items in the collection by known makers. In addition, the following schools are represented by daguerreotypes of unknown authorship: American (1038), British (55), French (100), and other (38). When no dates are given, it is assumed that the maker was active between 1839 and 1855, the golden age of the daguerreotype process.

- ABADIE
(Russian, active Moscow), 1
- AMADIO, JOSEPH
(active London circa 1855), 2
- ANSON, RUFUS
(American, active New York, 1851 – 1867), 7
- ARTARIA, FERDINANDO
(Italian, 1781 – 1843), 1

- BABBITT, PLATT D.
(American, active Niagara Falls,
N.Y., 1853 – 1870), 4
- BARNARD, GEORGE N.
(American, active Oswego, N.Y.,
1851 – 1854), 1
- BEARD & FOARD
(British, active Liverpool
circa 1853: Beard, Richard,
1802 – 1888; Foard, James F.), 1
- BEARD, RICHARD
(British, 1802 – 1888), 5
- BECKERS, ALEXANDER
(American, b. Germany, active
1842 – 1869), 2
- BELL, WILLIAM
(American, b. Britain,
1830 – 1910), 2
- BEMIS, SAMUEL
(American, 1789 – 1881), 4
- BETTS & CARLISLE
(American, active Wilmington,
Del., circa 1857: Betts, Charles J.;
Carlisle, Nelson), 1
- BIEWEND, DR. C. E. H.
(German), 1
- BISSON, LOUIS-AUGUSTE
(French, 1814 – 1876), 2
- BOGARDUS, ABRAHAM
(American, 1822 – 1908), 1
- BOWERS, W. T. (attributed to)
(American, 1860 – 1900), 1
- BRACHER (attributed to)
(Canadian, active Niagara Falls,
Ontario), 1
- BRADY, MATHEW B.
(American, circa 1823 – 1896), 3
- BRADY'S GALLERY (studio of Mathew
Brady)
(American, circa 1823 – 1896), 2
- BROADBENT, SAMUEL
(American, 1810 – 1880), 1
- BRUDEN, I.
(Swiss, active Geneva 1844), 1
- BYERLY, JACOB
(American, 1807 – 1883), 575
- CALVET, A.
(French, active Paris), 1
- CARLETON, SAMUEL L.
(American, 1822 – 1908), 1
- CARY, P. M.
(American, active Georgia
1847 – 1850, active New York
1850 – 1859), 1
- CERTES, FRANÇOIS A.
(French, active Paris), 2
- CHABROL
(French, active Lyons), 1
- CHASE & HAWES
(active Massachusetts), 1
- CHASE, LORENZO G.
(American, active Boston
1844 – 1856), 1
- CLARK & HOLMES
(American, active Troy, N.Y.), 1
- CLARK, DAVID
(American, active New Brunswick,
N.J., 1853 – 1854), 1
- CLAUDET, ANTOINE-FRANÇOIS-JEAN
(French, 1797 – 1867, active
Britain), 25
- CLAUSEL, ALEXANDRE-JEAN-PIERRE
(French, 1802 – 1884), 1
- COLLINS, T. P.
(American, active Philadelphia
1846 – 1851, active Springfield,
Mass., 1853), 3
- CONSTABLE, WILLIAM
(British, active Brighton
1841 – 1851), 1
- COSLO
(French), 1
- CRESPON
(French, active Nîmes circa 1850), 1
- CUTTING & BOWDOIN
(American, active Boston circa
1854: Cutting, James A.,
1814 – 1867), 1
- CUTTING & TURNER
(American, active Boston), 1
- DAVIS BROTHERS
(American: Ari; Asahel; Daniel, Jr.,
1813 – 1887), 1
- DELAMOTTE, PHILIP HENRY
(British, 1821 – 1889), 1
- DELANEY, W. J. A.
(American), 1
- DELANOY, G.
(French, active circa 1842), 1
- DE MOUXY, M. J.
(active London), 1
- DEVISUZANNE, F.
(French, active 1844 – 1846), 3
- DIXEY, C. W.
(British, active London 1856), 1
- DUBOIS
(French, active Paris), 1
- DURBACH, Z. E.
(German, active Cologne), 2
- DURHEIM, CARL
(Swiss, 1810 – 1890, active Berne), 1
- EASTERLY, THOMAS M.
(American, 1809 – 1882), 1
- EDLER, ANTON
(German, active Munich), 1
- ENNIS, T. J.
(American, 1815 – after 1856), 1
- EYNARD-LULLIN, JEAN-GABRIEL
(Swiss, 1775 – 1863), 91
- FEHRENBACH, E.
(active London), 2
- FIXON, E.
(French, active Paris), 1
- FIZEAU, HIPPOLYTE
(French, 1819 – 1896), 2
- FONTAYNE & PORTER
(American, active Cincinnati
1848 – 1853: Fontayne, Charles H.,
1814 – 1858: Porter, William
Southgate, 1822 – 1889), 1
- FORD, JAMES M.
(American, active San Francisco
and Sacramento 1854 – 1856), 1
- FRENKEL, J. & S.
(German, active Hamburg 1882), 1
- GALLE, A.
(French, active Paris), 1
- GAY, C. H.
(American, active New London,
Conn. 1850 – 1851), 1
- GERMON, WASHINGTON L.
(American, active Philadelphia
1847 – after 1860), 1
- GODDARD
(American, active 1860s), 1
- GROS, BARON JEAN-BAPTISTE
(French, 1793 – 1870, active France
and Switzerland), 1
- GURNEY, JEREMIAH
(American, 1812 – after 1886), 15
- HALE, LUTHER HOLMAN
(attributed to)
(American, active Boston
1846 – 1864), 2

- HARRISON & HILL
(American, active Brooklyn: Harrison, Gabriel, 1818 – 1902), 1
- HAY, G. & D.
(British, active Edinburgh), 3
- HEER, SAMUEL
(active Lausanne circa 1853), 3
- HESLER, ALEXANDER
(American, b. Canada, 1823 – 1895), 1
- HEWITT, JOHN M.
(American, active Louisville, Ky., 1848), 1
- HEYWOOD, JOHN D.
(American, active Boston 1850s – 1860s), 1
- HEYWOOD'S GALLERY (studio of John D. Heywood)
(American, active Boston 1850s – 1860s), 1
- HIGGINS, O. T.
(American, active Boston 1854 – 1864), 1
- HILLS
(British, active Oxford), 1
- HOGG, JABEZ
(British, 1817 – 1899), 1
- HOLLISTER
(Canadian, active Niagara Falls, Ontario), 1
- HUGHES, CORNELIUS JABEZ
(British, 1819 – 1884, active Glasgow), 2
- HUTCHINGS, GEORGE
(American, active New York circa 1846 – 1847), 1
- ISENRING, JOHANN BAPTISTE
(Swiss, 1796 – 1860), 4
- ITIER, JULES
(French, active circa 1841 – 1844), 4
- JACOBS, EDWARD
(American, active New Orleans 1845 – 1859), 1
- JAQUITH, NATHANIEL C.
(American, 1818 – 1858, active New York 1848 – 1858), 1
- JOHNSON, GEORGE H.
(American, b. 1823, active California 1849 – 1852, active New York circa 1879 – 1880), 1
- KEELY, R. N.
(American, active Philadelphia 1846 – 1856), 1
- KEENAN, J. A.
(American, active Philadelphia circa 1854 – 1856), 1
- KENT, WILLIAM H.
(British, active London), 2
- KERTSON
(American, active New York 1853 – 1855), 3
- KILBURN, WILLIAM EDWARD
(British, active 1846 – 1862), 7
- KING, HORATIO B.
(American, active Taunton, Mass., 1850 – 1855), 1
- KNICKERBOCKER
(American, active New York, 1844 – 1845), 1
- LANGENHEIM BROTHERS
(American, b. Germany: William, 1807 – 1874; Frederick, 1809 – 1874), 6
- LAWRENCE, D. T.
(American, active Newburgh, N.Y.), 1
- LEREBOURS, NOEL-MARIE PAYMAL
(French, 1807 – 1873), 1
- LONG, ENOCH
(American, 1823 – 1898), 1
- LONG, HORATIO H.
(American, active Saint Louis 1847 – 1851), 1
- LORENZEN, HERMAN
(German, active Hamburg), 1
- LOWE, R.
(British, active Cheltenham), 1
- McCARRIER'S SALOON
(American, active Baltimore 1860 – 1865), 1
- McCLEES, JAMES E.
(American, active Philadelphia 1847 – 1855, active Washington, D.C., 1857 – 1861), 1
- McCLEES & GERMON
(American, active Philadelphia 1847 – 1855, active Washington, D.C., 1857 – 1861; McClees, James E.; Germon, Washington L.), 3
- McELROY, JOHN
(American, active Locke, N.Y., 1859), 1
- McINTYRE, STERLING C.
(American, active Florida and South Carolina 1844 – 1849, active San Francisco 1850 – 1851), 1
- MAYALL, ANTOINE
(active London circa 1855), 1
- MAYALL, JOHN JABEZ EDWIN
(American, 1810 – 1901, active Britain), 4
- MAYER ET PIERSON
(French, active Britain: Mayer, Léopold-Ernest, 1817 – circa 1865; Mayer, Louis-Frédéric; Pierson, Pierre-Louis, 1822 – 1913), 1
- MEADE, CHARLES RICHARD
(American, 1827 – 1858), 1
- MEADE BROTHERS
(American: Charles Richard, 1827 – 1858; Henry W., b. Britain, 1823 – 1865), 1
- MEADE & HALE (attributed to)
(American, active New York), 1
- MEYERS, A. LINCOLN
(American), 3
- MIDDLEBROOK, C. S.
(American, active Bridgeport, Conn., 1850), 1
- MILLER, J. SIDNEY
(American, active Nashua, N.H.), 1
- MILLET, D.-F.
(French, active Paris), 3
- MOISSENET & LAW
(American, active New Orleans 1856 – 1858), 1
- MOORE, D. N.
(American), 2
- MOULIN, F.-JACQUES (attributed to)
(French, d. after 1869, active Paris 1840s – 1850s), 1
- MUCKER
(American), 1
- MULIUS, C. H.
(German, active Lahr), 1
- NAUMAN, W.
(German), 1
- NEGRETTI & ZAMBRA
(Italian, active England: Negretti, Henry, 1818 – after 1870; Zambra, Joseph, b. 1822), 1
- NICHOLS, SHELDON K.
(American, active Hartford, Conn., 1849 – 1854), 1

- NORTH, WILLIAM C.
(American, active Roundout, N. Y., 1848 – 1850, active Cleveland 1850 – 1859), 3
- NORWICH
(American, active circa 1855), 1
- OEHME, CARL GUSTAV
(German, 1817 – 1881, active Berlin), 1
- PHOTOGRAPHIC PORTRAIT GALLERY
(British, active Manchester), 1
- PLUMBE, JOHN, JR.
(American, b. Wales, 1809 – 1857), 10
- PLUMIER, VICTOR
(French, active 1840 – 1850), 1
- POITEVIN, ALPHONSE-LOUIS
(French, 1819 – 1882), 6
- PRICE, R. T.
(American, active Elizabethtown, N.J., circa 1850), 1
- REHN, ISAAC A.
(American, active Philadelphia circa 1848 – 1858), 1
- RICHARDSON, V. L.
(British), 1
- RITTEN, E. D.
(American, active Danbury, Conn., circa 1851 – 1854), 1
- ROOT, MARCUS A.
(American, 1808 – 1888), 1
- ROOT, SAMUEL
(American, 1819 – 1889), 1
- ROOT'S GALLERY (studio of Marcus Root)
(American, active Philadelphia 1846 – 1855), 1
- SABATIER-BLOT, JEAN-BAPTISTE
(French, 1801 – 1881), 2
- SAUGRIN
(French, active Paris circa 1855), 1
- SCHOONMAKER, C. C.
(American, active Troy, N. Y.), 1
- SCHUTZ, THOMAS
(German, active Bremen), 1
- SCHWEITZER
(Swiss), 1
- SCHWENDLEN, F. A.
(German, active Dresden), 1
- SHEW, WILLIAM
(American, 1820 – 1903, active Boston 1845 – 1851, active San Francisco, 1851 – 1903), 2
- SIMPSON, C. W.
(American, active Cleveland 1852 – 1853), 1
- SOUTHWORTH & HAWES
(American: Southworth, Josiah Johnson, 1811 – 1894; Hawes, Albert Sands, 1808 – 1901), 10
- STELZNER, CARL FERDINAND
(German, 1805 – 1894), 5
- STONE, J.
(American, active Boston circa 1851 – 1853), 1
- TALLET, G. R.
(American, active Thousand Islands, N. Y.), 1
- TANNENBERG (attributed to)
(German, active Schleswig), 1
- THOMAS, EUGENE
(French, active Bordeaux 1856 – 1858), 1
- THOMPSON, WARREN T.
(American, active Philadelphia 1840 – 1846, active Paris 1849 – 1860), 2
- THOMPSON & WAGSTAFF
(British, active London), 1
- TOMPKINS, J. H.
(American, active Buffalo circa 1852), 1
- VALENTINE, JAMES
(British, 1815 – 1880), 2
- VANCE, ROBERT H.
(American, d. 1876, active San Francisco 1850 – 1861), 8
- VON HERZOG
(German, active Bremen), 1
- VON SCHNEIDAU, JOHN FREDERICK POLYCARPUS
(American, b. Sweden, 1812 – 1859), 2
- WALKER, SAMUEL L.
(American, d. 1874, active Poughkeepsie and Albany, N. Y.), 1
- WEHNERT-BECKMANN, BERTHA
(German, active Leipzig), 1
- WELLS, J. D. & KNEELAND
(American, active Northampton, Mass., circa 1850), 1
- WERGE, JOHN
(British, active Glasgow), 1
- WESTON, JAMES P. (a.k.a. Guillermo Weston)
(active South America circa 1849, active New York 1851 – 1852, 1855 – 1857), 3
- WHIPPLE, JOHN ADAMS
(American, 1822 – 1891), 2
- WHITNEY, EDWARD TOMPKINS
(American, 1820 – 1893), 1
- WILLIAMS, JAMES W.
(American, active Philadelphia), 1
- WILLIAMS, T. R.
(British, 1825 – 1871), 10
- WILLIAMSON, CHARLES H.
(American: active Philadelphia 1849 – 1850, active Brooklyn circa 1851 – 1855), 3
- WILLIAMSON BROTHERS
(American, active Brooklyn circa 1856 – 1859: Charles H.; Edward M.), 1
- WINTER, CHARLES
(active France), 1
- WOOLEN, J. (attributed to)
(American, active Philadelphia 1852), 1
- WYMAN & CO.
(active Boston circa 1857 – 1861), 1
- YEAW, A.
(active Lawrence, Mass.), 1

NINETEENTH-CENTURY
PHOTOGRAPHS:
BRITISH



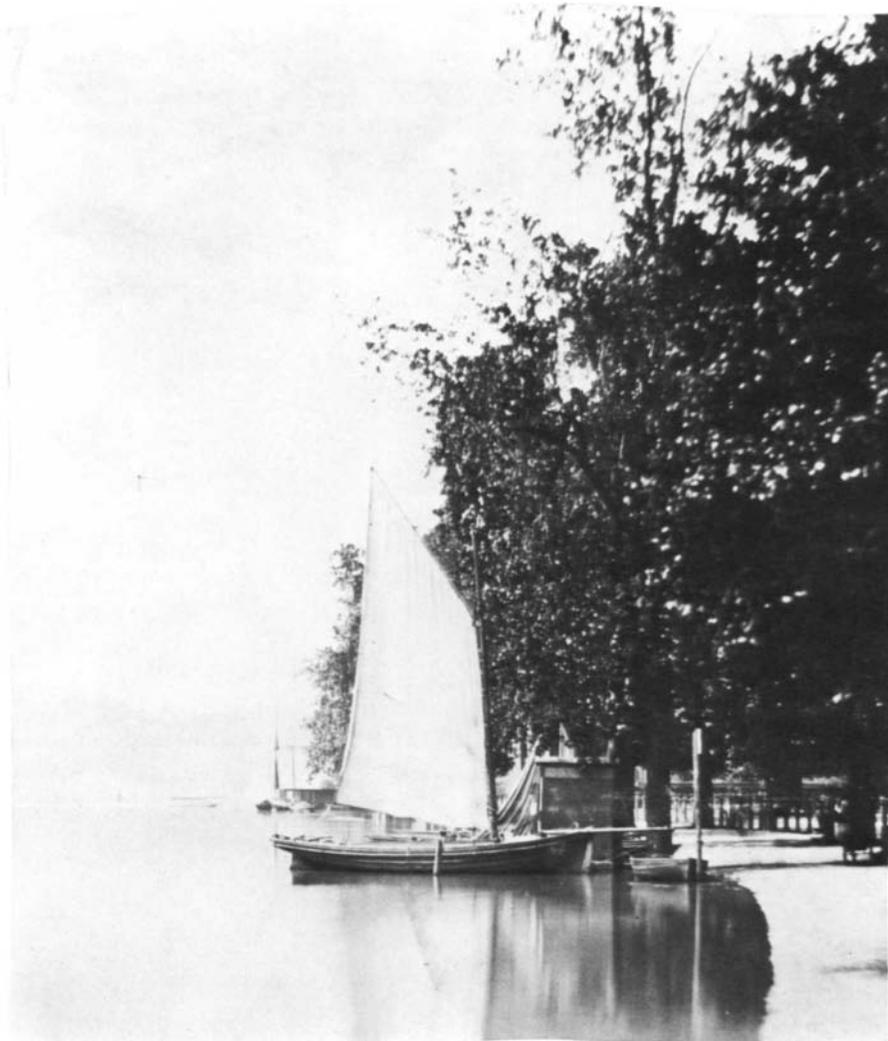
256

256. DAVID RODGERS
British, active 1840s
Mr. Talbot (from the Maitland
Codex), circa 1840
Calotype, 10 x 8 cm (3⁷/₈" x 3¹/₈").
Inscribed on album leaf recto:
Talbot—by Rodgers.
85.XZ.262.25

PROVENANCE: [Daniel Wolf, Inc., New York,
1985].

257. ROGER FENTON
British, 1819 – 1869
Serpentine, Hyde Park, circa 1856
Salt print, 31 x 27.1 cm (12¹/₄" x
10¹¹/₁₆"). Title inscribed verso in
unknown hand.
85.XM.354.1

PROVENANCE: [Robert Hershkowitz Ltd.,
London, 1985].



257



258

258. ROGER FENTON
British, 1819 – 1869
Heronpool on the Lledr, circa 1857
Albumen print, 34.9 x 42.6 cm
(11³/₄" x 16¹³/₁₆"). Title and signa-
ture on mount recto.
85.XM.398.1

PROVENANCE: [Daniel Wolf, Inc., New York,
1985].



259

259. ROGER FENTON
British, 1819 – 1869
Pont y Garth, near Capel Curig,
circa 1850s
Salt print, 34.2 x 43.5 cm (13¹/₂" x
17¹/₈"). Title and signature im-
printed on mount.
85.XM.169.9

PROVENANCE: Michael Wilson, London, 1985.



260

260. ROGER FENTON
British, 1819 – 1869
Still Life with Fruit and Decanter,
circa 1860
Albumen print, 35.3 x 43 cm
(13¹⁵/₁₆" x 16¹⁵/₁₆"). Imprint on
mount: *Photographed by R. Fenton*.
85.XM.3544

PROVENANCE: [Robert Herskowitz Ltd.,
London, 1985].

NINETEENTH-
CENTURY
PHOTOGRAPHS:
FRENCH



261

261. JULIEN VALLOU-DE-
VILLENEUVE
French, 1795 – 1866
Figure with Urn, 1853
Salt print, 15.8 x 11.7 cm (6¹/₄" x
4³/₈"). Signed in the negative.
85.XM.3791

PROVENANCE: [Janet Lehr, Inc., New York,
1985].



262

262. JULIEN VALLOU-DE-
VILLENEUVE
French, 1795 – 1866
Reclining Figure, circa 1853
Salt print, 11.5 x 15.6 cm
(4¹/₂" x 6¹/₈")
85.XM.3793

PROVENANCE: [Janet Lehr, Inc., New York,
1985].



263

263. EUGENE DURIEU
French, 1800 – 1874
Nu du dos, circa 1854
Albumen print, 18.6 x 13.1 cm
(7⁵/₁₆" x 5¹/₈")
85.XM.3519

PROVENANCE: [Daniel Wolf, Inc., New York,
1985].



264

264. CAMILLE SILVY
 French, lived England,
 d. after 1865
Pifferari, 1850s
 Albumen print, 27.7 x 22.2 cm (11"
 x 8³/₄"). Stamped recto: *C. Silvy*.
 85.XM.516.1

PROVENANCE: [Robert Hershkowitz Ltd.,
 London, 1985].



265

265. GUSTAVE LE GRAY
 French, 1820 – 1882
Breakwater at Sette, circa 1855
 Albumen print, 31 x 40.4 cm (12³/₁₆"
 x 15¹⁵/₁₆"). Signed recto.
 85.XM.153.1

PROVENANCE: [Daniel Wolf, Inc., New York,
 1985].

NINETEENTH-
 CENTURY
 PHOTOGRAPHS:
 AMERICAN

266. ALEXANDER GARDNER
 American, 1821 – 1882
*Abraham Lincoln and Son Thomas
 (Tad)*, 1865
 Albumen print, 43.3 x 33.2 cm
 (17¹/₁₆" x 13¹/₁₆"). Stamp on mount:
*A. Gardner, Photographer,
 Washington.*
 85.XM.285.1

PROVENANCE: [Robert Hershkowitz Ltd.,
 London, 1985].



266



267

267. CARLETON E. WATKINS
American, 1829 – 1916
Pacific Coast, Mendocino County,
1863
Albumen print, 41.1 x 51.8 cm
(16³/₁₆" x 20³/₈")
85.XM.361.38

PROVENANCE: National Academy of Design,
New York, 1985.



268

268. CARLETON E. WATKINS
American, 1829 – 1916
The Cliff House from the Beach,
circa 1868
Albumen print, 40 x 52.5 cm (15³/₄"
x 20¹¹/₁₆"). Title inscribed on
mount.
85.XM.242.2

PROVENANCE: [Fraenkel Gallery, San Fran-
cisco, 1985].



269

269. CARLETON E. WATKINS
American, 1829 – 1916
Cape Horn, Columbia River, Oregon,
circa 1868
Albumen print, 40.7 x 52.5 cm
(16" x 20¹¹/₁₆")
85.XM.11.2

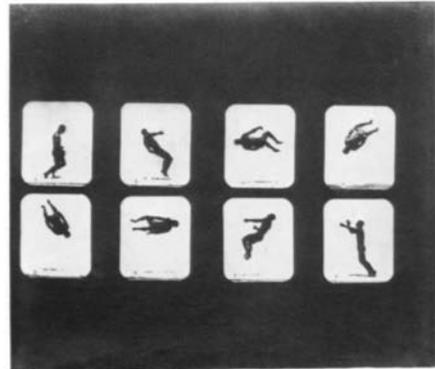
PROVENANCE: [Daniel Wolf, Inc., New York,
1985].



270

270. STUDIO OF MATHEW BRADY
 American, circa 1823 – 1896
Walt Whitman, circa 1875
 Albumen print, 14.6 x 10.4 cm
 (5³/₄" x 4¹/₁₆"). Signature of Walt
 Whitman and monogram of Brady
 Studio verso.
 85.XE.2401

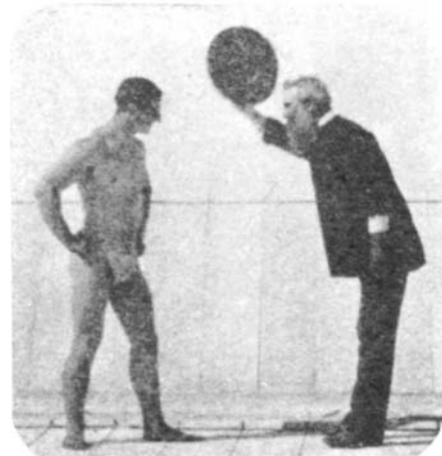
PROVENANCE: Douglas Price, Ann Arbor,
 Michigan, 1985.



271

271. EADWEARD J. MUYBRIDGE
 American (b. England), 1830 – 1904
*Twisting Somersault (The Attitudes of
 Animals in Locomotion*, leaf 113),
 1878 – 1879
 Salt print, 19 x 22.6 cm (7¹/₂" x 8⁷/₈").
 Title inscribed recto.
 85.XO.362.113

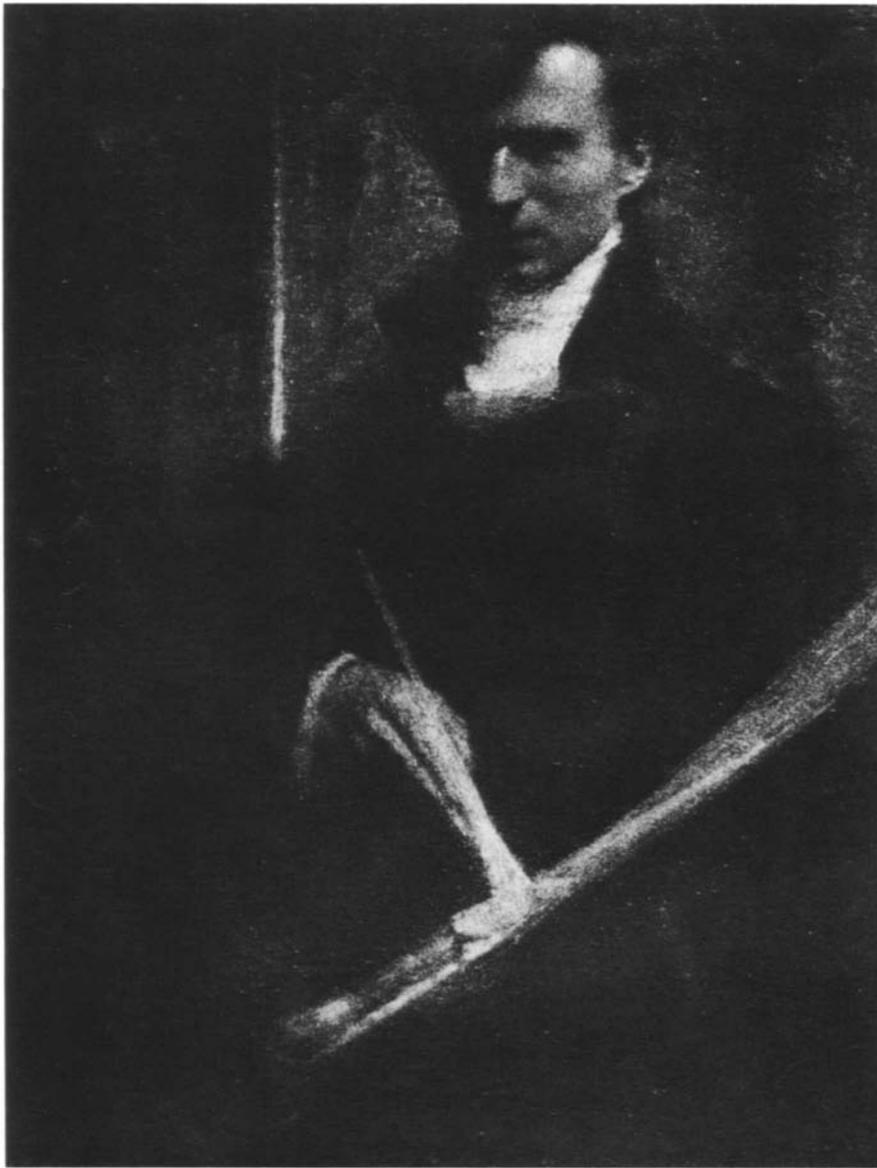
PROVENANCE: National Academy of Design,
 New York, 1985.



272

272. EADWEARD J. MUYBRIDGE
 American (b. England), 1830 – 1904
Self-portrait (detail from *The Atti-
 tudes of Animals in Locomotion*, leaf
 110), 1878 – 1879
 Salt print, 19 x 22.6 cm (7¹/₂" x
 8⁷/₈"). Title inscribed recto.
 85.XO.362.122

PROVENANCE: National Academy of Design,
 New York, 1985.



273

EARLY TWENTIETH-CENTURY PHOTOGRAPHS

273. EDWARD STEICHEN
American (b. Luxembourg),
1879–1973
*Self-portrait with Brush and
Palette*, 1901
Pigment print, 21 x 15.9 cm
(6¹/₄" x 8¹/₄"). Dated recto.
85.XM.2611

PROVENANCE: Mr. and Mrs. Eugene Schwarz,
New York; [Daniel Wolf, Inc., New York,
1985].



274

274. GUIDO REY
Italian, b. before 1870, d. after 1920
Tableau vivant, circa 1904
Platinum print, 22.2 x 17.4 cm (8³/₄"
x 6¹³/₁₆"). Signed on mount; paper
label verso of mount.
85.XM.314.7

PROVENANCE: Robert Hendrickson, Solana
Beach, California, 1985.



275

275. EMILE-JOACHIM-CONSTANT
PUYO
French, 1857 – 1933
Two Women with Veils, circa 1904
Toned silver print, 16.7 x 22.8 cm
(6⁹/₁₆" x 9")
85.XM.396.8

PROVENANCE: [Daniel Wolf, Inc., New York, 1985].



276

276. LOUIS FLECKENSTEIN
American, 1866 – 1943
A Pastoral, 1905
Gelatin silver print, 41.7 x 35 cm
(16¹¹/₁₆" x 14"). Title inscribed
verso.
85.XM.315.9

PROVENANCE: Robert Hendrickson, Solana Beach, California, 1985.



277

277. LOUIS FLECKENSTEIN
American, 1866 – 1943
The Weary Messenger, circa 1910
Toned silver print, 25.1 x 20.2 cm
(9⁷/₈" x 7¹⁵/₁₆"). Signature blind-
stamped in print.
85.XM.28.49

PROVENANCE: [Richard Rutowski, Los Angeles, 1985].



279

279. ALFRED STIEGLITZ
American, 1864 – 1946
Portrait of Katherine (Kitty) Stieglitz,
1907 – 1908
Autochrome, 17.7 x 12.7 cm
(6¹⁵/₁₆" x 5")
85.XH.151.8

PROVENANCE: [Daniel Wolf, Inc., New York, 1985].



278

278. EDWARD SHERIFF CURTIS
American, 1868 – 1952
Watching the Dancers—Variant,
circa 1905
Platinum print, 19.7 x 14.7 cm (7³/₄"
x 5³/₄"). Signed on mount recto.
85.XM.241.2

PROVENANCE: [Ledel Gallery, New York, 1985].



280

MONOGRAPHIC SUITES

During 1985 an effort was made to strengthen holdings of certain twentieth-century photographers by taking advantage of special opportunities that made the acquisition of groups of photographs possible. Following are selections of photographs by August Sander, Edward Weston, André Kertész, and the Bauhaus.

280. AUGUST SANDER
German, 1876 – 1964
Country Musicians, circa 1913
Gelatin silver print, 10.9 x 15.1 cm
(4¹/₄" x 5¹⁵/₁₆")
85.XM.258.160

PROVENANCE: Erwin Wortelkamp,
Hasselbach, West Germany, 1985.



281

281. AUGUST SANDER
Country Girl, circa 1920
Gelatin silver print, 13.7 x 8.9 cm
(5³/₈" x 3¹/₂")
85.XM.258.159

PROVENANCE: Erwin Wortelkamp,
Hasselbach, West Germany, 1985.



282

282. AUGUST SANDER
National Socialist Officer, circa 1935
Gelatin silver print, 13.9 x 9 cm
(5⁷/₁₆" x 3¹/₂")
85.XM.258.158

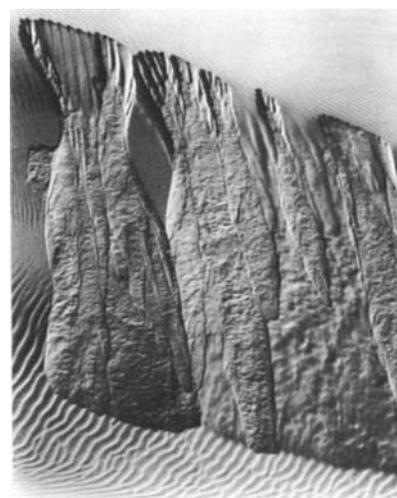
PROVENANCE: Erwin Wortelkamp,
Hasselbach, West Germany, 1985.

283. EDWARD WESTON
American, 1886 – 1958
Betty in Her Attic, 1920
Platinum print, 23.2 x 19.2 cm
(9¹/₈" x 7⁹/₁₆"). Signature, title, and
date recto.
85.XM.170.9

PROVENANCE: Betty Kopelanoff Brandner,
Los Angeles; Harold Lee, Laguna Hills, Cal-
ifornia, 1985.



283



285

285. EDWARD WESTON
Sand Dunes, Oceano, California, 1934
 Gelatin silver print, 23.7 x 19.1 cm
 (9⁵/₁₆" x 7¹/₂"). Signed, dated, and
 numbered on mount; title, date,
 and number verso.
 85.XM.215.1

PROVENANCE: [Paul Hertzmann, San Francisco, 1985].



286

286. ANDRE KERTESZ
 American (b. Hungary),
 1894 – 1985
The Dancing Faun (Eugenio Kertész), 1919
 Gelatin silver print, 5.6 x 8.5 cm
 (2³/₁₆" x 3⁵/₁₆"). Inscribed verso: A.
 Kertész; erroneously dated 1914.
 85.XM.259.18

PROVENANCE: [Daniel Wolf, Inc., New York, 1985].



284

284. EDWARD WESTON
Tina Modotti, 1921
 Platinum print, 24.2 x 18.9 cm
 (9¹/₂" x 7⁷/₁₆"). Inscribed recto:
Tina Modotti / Edward Weston,
1921, Glendale.
 85.XM.170.7

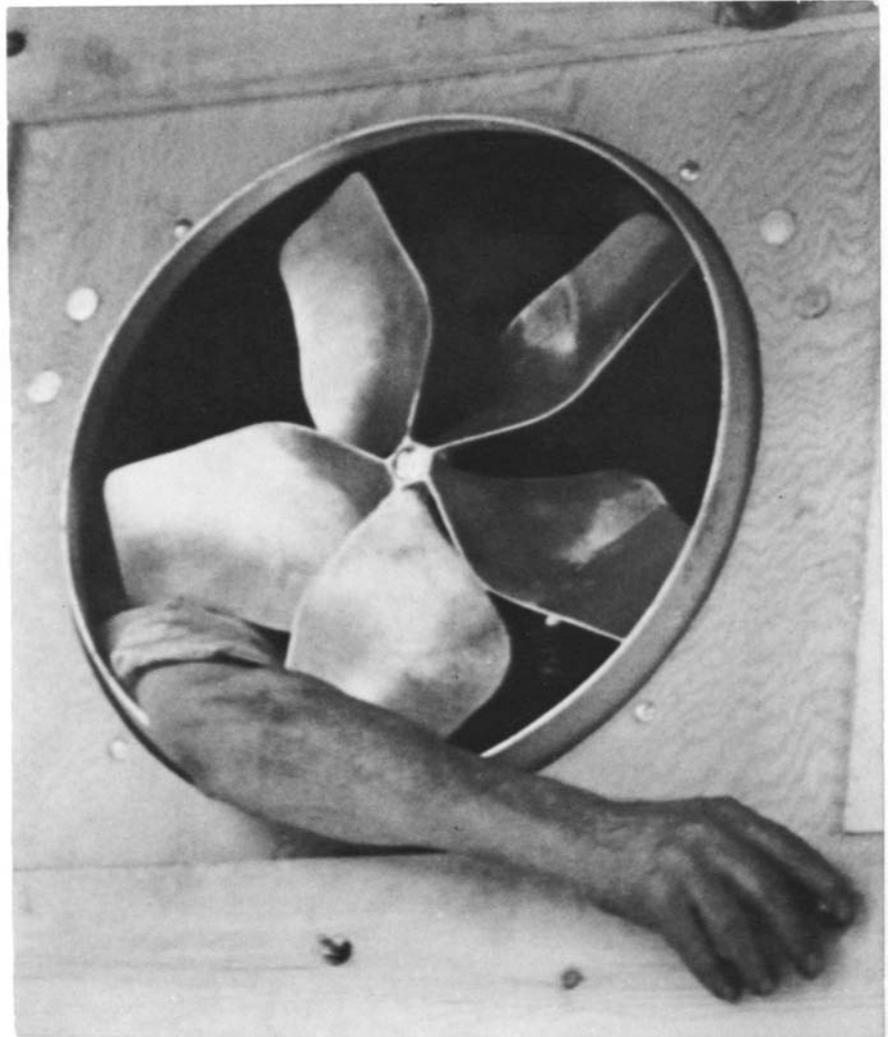
PROVENANCE: Betty Kopelanoff Brandner, Los Angeles; Harold Lee, Laguna Hills, California, 1985.



287

287. ANDRE KERTESZ
*Magda Forstner with Arms
Upraised*, 1926
Gelatin silver print, 13.4 x 6.2 cm
(5¹/₄" x 2⁷/₁₆"). Signed and dated
verso.
85.XM.371.1

PROVENANCE: [Edwynn Houk Gallery, Chi-
cago, 1985].



290

289. ANDRE KERTESZ
Jean Lurcat, 1929
Gelatin silver print, 22.3 x 14.4 cm
(8³/₄" x 5¹¹/₁₆"). Signed and dated on
mount recto. Verso: inscribed:
*Portrait Maler Jean Lurcat; Paris
wet stamp: 75 Boul^d Montparnasse,
Paris 6e.*
85.XM.259.12

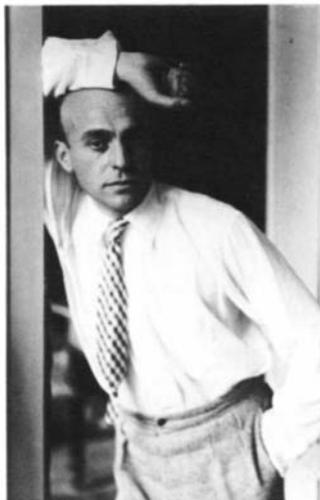
PROVENANCE: [Daniel Wolf, Inc., New York,
1985].



288

288. ANDRE KERTESZ
Eva Revai in Her Studio, 1927
Gelatin silver print, 12.4 x 5.7 cm
(4⁷/₈" x 2¹/₄"). Inscribed recto:
A. Kertész, Paris.
85.XM.259.6

PROVENANCE: [Daniel Wolf, Inc., New York,
1985].



289

290. ANDRE KERTESZ
Arm and Ventilator, 1937
Gelatin silver print, 13.5 x 11.4 cm
(5³/₁₆" x 4¹/₂"). Verso: inscribed in
ink: *1937 Rec. #29*; wet stamp:
307 E. 44th St. New York.
85.XM.259.15

PROVENANCE: [Daniel Wolf, Inc., New York,
1985].



291

291. CHARLOTTE (Lotte) BEESE
 German, b. 1903
Self-portrait, 1927
 Gelatin silver print, 8.4 x 5.9 cm
 (3⁵/₁₆" x 2¹⁵/₁₆")
 85.XP.384.79

PROVENANCE: [Christian Bouqueret, Paris, 1985].



292

292. W. M. HEINZ LOEW
 German, lived England,
 1903 – 1981
 Untitled, 1927 – 1928
 Gelatin silver print, 11.5 x 8.4 cm
 (4¹/₂" x 3⁵/₁₆")
 85.XP.384.38

PROVENANCE: [Christian Bouqueret, Paris, 1985].



293

293. HANS VOLLHARDT
 German, active 1920s
Distortion, 1929
 Gelatin silver print, 7.9 x 10.8 cm
 (3¹/₈" x 4¹/₄")
 85.XP.384.59

PROVENANCE: [Christian Bouqueret, Paris, 1985].



295

295. EDMUND COLLEIN
 German, b. 1906
Atelier Gropius, circa 1930
 Gelatin silver print, 7.4 x 10.6 cm
 (2⁷/₈" x 4¹/₈")
 85.XP.384.63

PROVENANCE: [Christian Bouqueret, Paris, 1985].



294

294. T[heodore]. LUX (Lukas)
 FEININGER
 American, b. Germany 1910
Xanti Schawinski, 1930
 Gelatin silver print, 12.5 x 12.2 cm
 (4¹⁵/₁₆" x 4¹³/₁₆")
 85.XP.384.92

PROVENANCE: [Christian Bouqueret, Paris, 1985].



296

PHOTOGRAPHS
1920s–1950s

296. JEAN-EUGENE-AUGUSTE ATGET
French, 1857–1927
Woman in Doorway, 1921
Aristotype, 21.8 x 17.4 cm (8⁹/₁₆" x 6¹³/₁₆"). Wet stamp verso: *Photo E. Atget, Collection Berenice Abbott*.
85.XM.350.1

PROVENANCE: Berenice Abbott, New York; Jean Levy, New York; sale, Sotheby Parke Bernet, New York, May 7, 1985, lot 22; [Daniel Wolf, Inc., New York].



297

297. PAUL OUTERBRIDGE
American, 1896–1958
Untitled, 1923
Platinum print, 20.7 x 15 cm (8¹/₈" x 5¹⁵/₁₆"). Wet stamp verso: *Estate of Paul Outerbridge, Jr., POC #388*.
85.XM.201.1

PROVENANCE: [G. Ray Hawkins Gallery, Los Angeles, 1985].



298

298. IMOGEN CUNNINGHAM
American, 1883–1976
Triangles, 1926
Gelatin silver print, 9.7 x 7.1 cm (3¹³/₁₆" x 2¹³/₁₆"). Signed recto.
85.XM.128.1

PROVENANCE: Benjamin Lehman, Berkeley, California; [Photography West Gallery, Carmel, California, 1985].



299

299. MAN RAY (Emmanuel Rudnitsky)
American, 1890 – 1976
Pebbles, circa 1926
Gelatin silver print, 20.2 x 22.9 cm
(7¹⁵/₁₆" x 9"). Signed recto. Verso:
wet stamp; title inscribed in
French.
85.XM.3891

PROVENANCE: Michael Wilson, London, 1985.



300

300. PAUL STRAND
American, 1890 – 1976
Woods, Georgetown, Maine, 1928
Gelatin silver print, 25.4 x 20 cm
(9¹⁵/₁₆" x 7⁷/₈"). Signed verso of
mount.
85.XM.2001

PROVENANCE: [G. Ray Hawkins Gallery, Los Angeles, 1985].



301

301. JOSE ORTIZ-ECHAGUE
Spanish, 1886 – 1980
Femmes de Véjer, circa 1920s – 1930s
Pigment print, 41.9 x 29.2 cm
(16¹/₂" x 11¹/₂"). Title and signature
inscribed recto.
85.XM.404.2

PROVENANCE: [Steven Lieber, San Francisco, 1985].



302

302. MARGARET BOURKE-WHITE
American, 1904 – 1971
24-Hour Worker, USSR, 1930
Gelatin silver print, 33.5 x 23.7 cm
(13¹/₈" x 9⁵/₁₆"). Title and date
inscribed verso.
85.XM.405.1

PROVENANCE: [Sander Gallery, New York, 1985].



303

303. FLORENCE HENRI
American, 1895 – 1983, lived
France and Germany
Leaves, 1931
Gelatin silver print, 21.9 x 28.9 cm
(8⁵/₈" x 11³/₈"). Signed and
dated recto.
85.XM.1491

PROVENANCE: [Prakapas Gallery, New York, 1985].



304

304. ILSE BING
American, b. Germany 1899
Rue Valois, Paris, 1932
Gelatin silver print, 34.1 x 26.5 cm
(13⁷/₁₆" x 10⁷/₁₆"). Signed and dated
on print; signature, title, and date
verso.
85.XP.2471

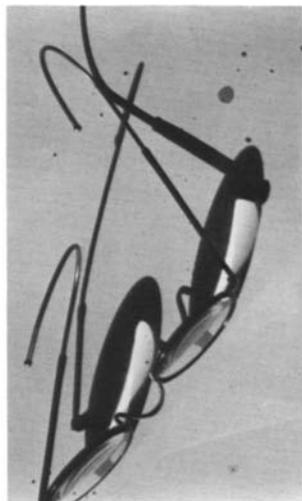
PROVENANCE: [Fraenkel Gallery, San Francisco, 1985].



305

305. ALMA LAVENSON
American, b. 1897
Self-portrait with Hands and Camera,
1932
Gelatin silver print, 20.3 x 25.2 cm
(8" x 9¹⁵/₁₆")
85.XP.283.5

PROVENANCE: Alma Lavenson, Oakland,
California; [Susan Ehrens, Oakland, Califor-
nia, 1985].



306

306. PIET ZWART
Dutch, 1885 – 1977
Spectacles, 1934
Gelatin silver print, 18.1 x 10.7 cm
(7¹/₈" x 4¹³/₁₆"). Verso: wet-
stamped; inscribed: *bril 1934*.
85.XM.152.10

PROVENANCE: [Daniel Wolf, Inc., New York,
1985].



307

307. PIET ZWART
Dutch, 1885 – 1977
Untitled, circa 1935
Gelatin silver print, 18 x 13 cm
(7¹/₁₆" x 5¹/₈"). Signed verso.
85.XM.152.11

PROVENANCE: [Daniel Wolf, Inc., New York,
1985].



308

308. ANSEL ADAMS
 American, 1902–1984
Detail—Juniper Wood, Sierra Nevada,
 1936
 Gelatin silver print, 22.1 x 15.7 cm
 (8¹¹/₁₆" x 6³/₁₆"). Signed on mount.
 85.XM.248.6

PROVENANCE: Anne Adams Helms, Redwood
 City, California; [Andrea Gray Stillman,
 New York, 1985].



309

309. KIRBY KEAN
 American, active Southern
 California 1930s–1940s
Night Scene near Victorville,
 circa 1937
 Gelatin silver print, 33.6 x 25.9 cm
 (13¹/₄" x 10¹/₄"). Exhibition labels
 verso.
 85.XP.291

PROVENANCE: [Richard Rutowski, Los
 Angeles, 1985].



310

310. HENRI CARTIER-BRESSON
 French, b. 1908
Coronation of George VI,
London, 1938
 Gelatin silver print, 36.4 x 24.4 cm
 (14³/₈" x 9⁵/₈"). Verso: title and date;
 wet stamp: 15 West 47th Street, New
 York 19, New York.
 85.XM.400.2

PROVENANCE: [Daniel Wolf, Inc., New York,
 1985].



311

311. ERWIN BLUMENFELD
American, b. Germany, 1897 – 1969
Female Portrait, Paris, circa 1939
Gelatin silver print, 29.9 x 24.1 cm
(11³/₄" x 9⁷/₁₆"). Wet stamp verso:
From the Estate of Erwin Blumenfeld.
85.XM.251.6

PROVENANCE: Yorick Blumenfeld; Michael
Wilson, London, 1985.



313

313. RENE MAGRITTE
Belgian, 1898 – 1966
Paul Colinet et Louis Scutinaire, 1950
Gelatin silver print, 8.7 x 6.2 cm
(3⁷/₁₆" x 2⁷/₁₆").
85.XM.517.3

PROVENANCE: Marcel Marien, Brussels;
[Prakapas Gallery, New York, 1985].



312

312. ANSEL ADAMS
American, 1902 – 1984
Moonrise, Hernandez, New Mexico,
1948 print from a 1941 negative
Gelatin silver print, 34.9 x 44 cm
(13³/₄" x 17⁵/₁₆"). Title and signature
on mount.
85.XM.198.1

PROVENANCE: Mr. and Mrs. George Waters,
Menlo Park, California; [Andrea Gray Still-
man, New York, 1985].



314

314. LEO DOHMEN
Belgian, active 1940s – 1950s
Marcel Marien, 1953
Gelatin silver print, 23 x 17 cm
(9¹/₁₆" x 6¹¹/₁₆"). Dohmen wet stamp
verso.
85.XM.522.1

PROVENANCE: Marcel Marien, Brussels;
[Prakapas Gallery, New York, 1985].

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