The J. Paul Getty Museum

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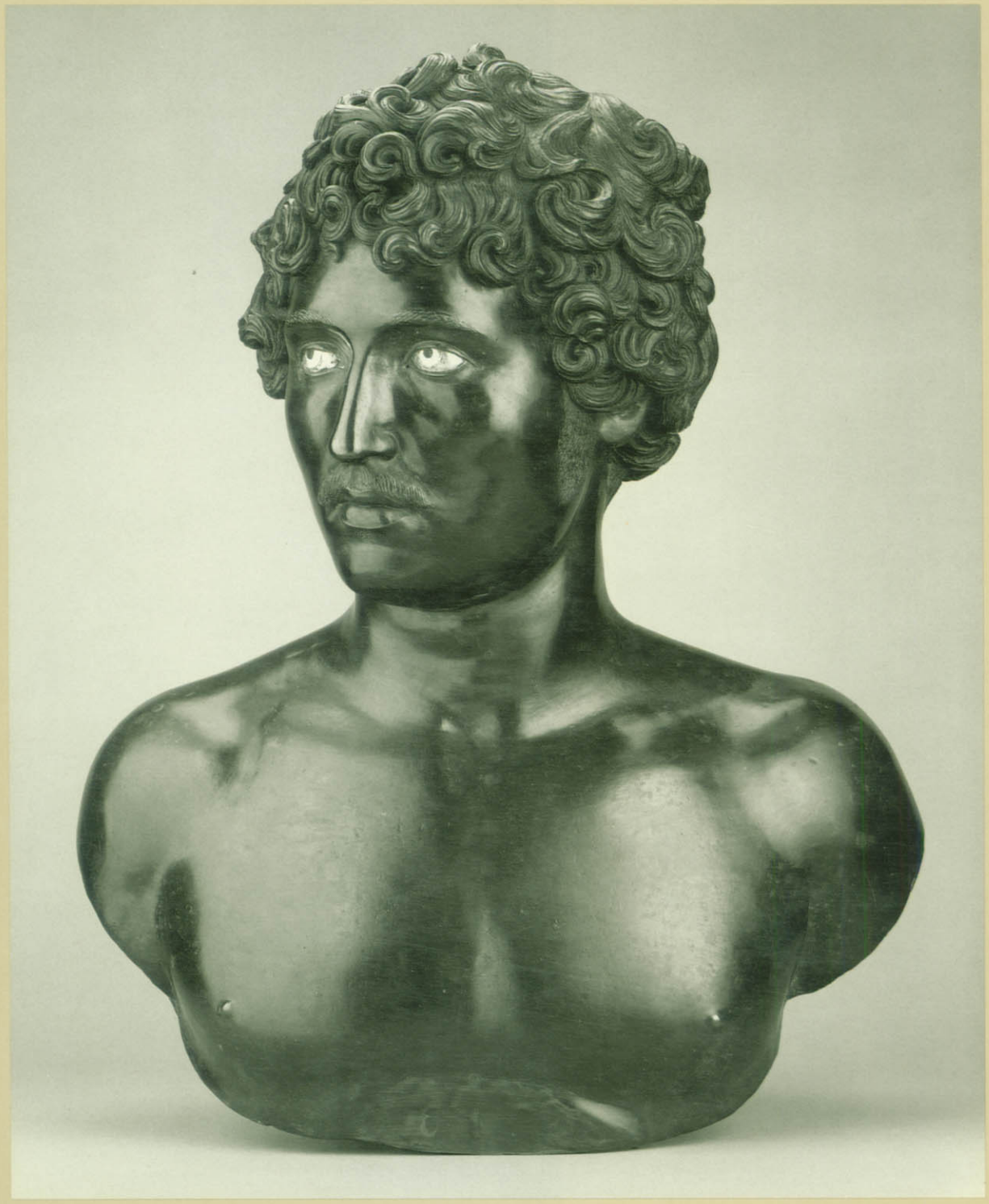

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Contents

SCULPTURE AND WORKS OF ART

ACQUISITIONS/1986

A Byzantine Pendant in the J. Paul Getty Museum

Jeffrey Spier

A collection of Greek and Etruscan gems acquired by the J. Paul Getty Museum in 1981 includes an engraved Graeco-Persian gem set in a gold pendant. The entire collection was published by John Boardman in 1975,[1] and the gem in the pendant was described, no doubt correctly, as belonging to Boardman's "Bern group" of the late fourth century B.C.[2] Based upon the engraved design on its back, the pendant was classed as Greek and judged to be of early Hellenistic date contemporary with the gem.[3] However, more pendants of this type, as well as other gold objects of similar style, are known, and their early Byzantine origin can be firmly established. The nucleus of the group was originally identified by Marvin Ross in his discussion of the examples in Dumbarton Oaks,[4] and others can be added here, including roughly datable examples with reliable provenience. They are as follows:

1. Gold pendant set with a Graeco-Persian gem (figs. 1a–c). H: 2.9 cm (1 1/8″). Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 81.AN.76.101. J. Boardman, *Intaglios and Rings* (London, 1975), no. 101, p. 99, ill. p. 31 (color).
2. Gold pendant on gold loop-in-loop chain with openwork terminals (figs. 2a–b). H (pendant): 3.2 cm (1 1/4″). New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art 17.190.1659. Ex-coll. J. Pierpont Morgan, purchased from Amadeo Canessa, Paris, 1911. Unpublished.
3. Gold pendant, inscribed φῶς/ζωή, on gold chain made of six short chains joined by hooks—some ornamented with gemstones (fig. 3). H: 2.6 cm (1″). New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art 17.190.1660. Ex-coll. J. Pierpont Morgan, purchased from Amadeo Canessa, Paris, 1911. Unpublished.
4. Gold pendant set with agate cameo of Apollo and Daphne (figs. 4a–b). H: 2.5 cm (1″). Washington, D.C., Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection 69.15. Said to have been found in Sicily with two gold buckles. Ross, *D.O. Cat.*, vol. 2, no. 5c, pp. 2, 8–9.
5. Gold chain with three gold pendants set with banded agates (figs. 5a–b). Leningrad, State Hermitage 2134/1. Found in Kuban, 1892. A. Bank, *Byzantine Art in the Collections of Soviet Museums* (Leningrad, 1985), nos. 93–94, with further literature.
6. Gold pendant set with clear glass, under which is an enamel with a seated Virgin holding a Child (figs. 6a–b). H: 4 cm (1 9/16″). Switzerland, private collection. Said to be from Asia Minor. Unpublished.
7. Gold pendant from the Lesbos treasure, found with jewelry and coins of Phocas and Heraclius (figs. 7a–b). H: 2 cm (3/4″). Athens, Byzantine Museum 3039. *BCH* 79 (1955), pp. 284–286, figs. 5–8; M. Chatzidakis in *The Greek Museums* (Athens, 1975), no. 17; Department of Antiquities and Archaeological Restoration, Office of the Minister to the Prime Minister, Greece, *Catalogue of the Ninth Exhibition of the Council of Europe: Byzantine Art, An European Art* (Athens, 1964), no. 388, pp. 365–366, no illustration.

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Abbreviations

Dalton, *Early Christian*: O. Dalton, *Catalogue of Early Christian Antiquities and Objects from the Christian East* (London, 1901).

Ross, *D.O. Cat.*, vol. 1: M. Ross, *Metalwork, Ceramics, Glass, Glyptics and Painting*, vol. 1 of *Catalogue of the Byzantine and Early Mediaeval Antiquities in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection* (Washington, D.C., 1962).

Ross, *D.O. Cat.*, vol. 2: M. Ross, *Jewelry, Enamels and Art of the Migration Period*, vol. 2 of *Catalogue of the Byzantine and Early Mediaeval Antiquities in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection* (Washington, D.C., 1965).

1. J. Boardman, *Intaglios and Rings* (London, 1975).
2. Ibid., no. 101, p. 99.
3. Ibid., pp. 34–35.
4. Cf. Ross, *D.O. Cat.*, vol. 2, no. 5c, pp. 8–9; no. 31, p. 31; no. 35, p. 33.

Figures 1a–c. Left, Pendant set with Graeco-Persian gem. Byzantine, circa sixth century. Gold set with earlier chalcedony scaraboid. *Center*, back. *Right*, back. Drawing by Martha Breen Bredemeyer. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 81.AN.76.101.

8. Gold pendant found with jewelry and gold coins of Constans II, Constantine IV, and Tiberius III (fig. 8). H: 2.6 cm (1″). Found in Pantalica, Sicily; present location unknown. P. Orsi, *Sicilia bizantina* (Rome, 1942), vol. 1, no. 7, p. 138, pl. 9.
9. Gold disc with engraved cross, perhaps from a pendant (fig. 9). H: 2.1 cm (7/8″). Washington, D.C., Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection 53.12.51. Said to have been found in Constantinople. Ross, *D.O. Cat.*, vol. 2, no. 35, p. 33.
10. Silver reliquary pendant with glass cover, relics inside, found with a hoard of gold jewelry. H: 3 cm (13/16″). Milan, Civico Museo Archeologico. Found in the excavations at Caesarea Maritima, Israel, 1962. Antonio Frova, *Scavi di Caesarea Maritima* (Milan, 1965), pp. 236–238, figs. 295–297.

The Getty pendant (figs. 1a–c) is composed of a circular piece of sheet gold, slightly convex on the back, with the edges folded over the gem on the front side. The back is decorated with an engraved circle; within this is a pattern of four acanthus leaves arranged so that the central unengraved space forms the shape of a cross. Outside the engraved circle is a border of punched dots. A thin, beaded wire is attached along the entire circumference of the pendant, and a ridged strip of gold is folded to form a loop for suspension. The gem is a chalcedony scaraboid engraved with a running horse, and as noted above, it belongs to a Graeco-Persian workshop of the late fourth century B.C. Few Byzantine intaglios appear to have been made, and the reuse of earlier gems in the Byzantine period was not an unusual practice. Large Graeco-Persian gems were probably found frequently, as they are today, and may have been thought to have magical properties.[5]

Closest in style to the Getty pendant is a fine example in New York (No. 2, figs. 2a–b) on a gold loop-in-loop chain with round openwork terminals typical of sixth-century Byzantine work. The engraving and patterning are very similar to the Getty example, although somewhat more careful, and the border of punched dots is the same. A beaded wire is also added to the edge, but it is somewhat thicker than that on the Getty pendant. Whatever was set in the pendant is now missing.

Another pendant in New York (No. 3; fig. 3) is smaller than No. 2 but is similarly constructed. The shape of the engraved cross is slightly different, however, and the common Byzantine cruciform inscription φῶς/ζωή (light/life) is added on the cross; this is the only example among the pendants presently under consideration to have an inscription. The other side of No. 3 is undecorated. The chain is composed of six short loop-in-loop chains joined together with hooks on which gems were set; only three of these—an emerald and two amethysts—survive. The gold terminals are heart shaped with filigree openwork. A very similar chain with identical terminals was found with a sixth-century Byzantine treasure now in Dumbarton Oaks.[6]

A pendant (No. 4; figs. 4a–b), which was supposedly found in Sicily with two gold belt buckles and is now in

5. An unpublished Graeco-Persian chalcedony scaraboid in Malibu (85.AN.444.1) was reengraved with magical inscriptions in the third or fourth century A.D., and another Graeco-Persian scaraboid in Oxford bears Koranic texts in Kufic script, which were added in the seventh or eighth century A.D.: See J. Boardman and M.–L. Vollenweider, *Catalogue of the Engraved Gems and Finger Rings in the Ashmolean Museum* (Oxford, 1978), vol. 1, no. 178, and a photo of the back in P. Zazoff, *Die antiken Gemmen* (Munich, 1983), p. 4, pl. 41.

Figure 2a. Pendant on loop-in-loop chain with openwork terminals. Byzantine, circa sixth century. Gold. H (pendant): 3.2 cm (1¼″). New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 17.190.1659. Photo: Courtesy The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

Dumbarton Oaks, is very similar to the others. It is, however, more oval shaped than the previous circular examples. This pendant again has the border of punched dots, and the added beaded wire is thin, like that of the Getty example. It is set with a cameo depicting Apollo and Daphne. This may be a rare example of contemporary Byzantine glyptic, since it has little in common with Roman cameos and its iconography is not out of place in this period.[7]

A gold necklace found at Kuban on the north coast of the Black Sea in 1892 and now in Leningrad (No. 5; figs. 5a–b) has three pendants as well as a clasp set with a

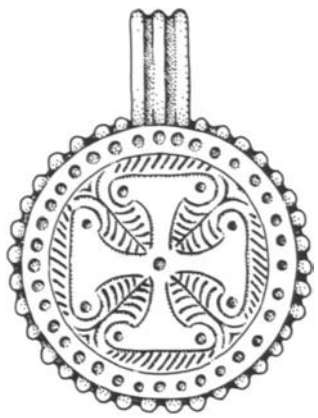


Figure 2b. Detail of figure 2a. Drawing by Martha Breen Bredemeyer.

6. Ross, *D.O. Cat.*, vol. 2, no. 179 C, p. 136.

7. Cf. Ross, *D.O. Cat.*, vol. 2, p. 9, and the fifth-century Ravenna ivory he cites. There is also an unpublished Byzantine belt buckle with the scene in a Swiss private collection.

Figure 3. Pendant on a chain composed of six short loop-in-loop segments. Byzantine, circa sixth century. Gold ornamented with gemstones. H (pendant): 2.6 cm (1″). New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 17.190.1660. Photo: Courtesy The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

gold solidus struck at Constantinople during the brief joint reign of Justin I and Justinian in A.D. 527. The pendants are again oval shaped but are of slightly different manufacture from the previous examples. They are flatter, and the front sides are set with banded-agate gems surrounded by two rows of beaded wire with a plaited-wire band between them. They do not have the border of punched dots. All three pendants have a loop at the bottom for a small pendant, only one of which survives—pear shaped with a beaded-wire rim set with a gem. Two of the pendants have patterns similar to those seen on No. 4, while the larger central pendant has a modified pattern so that an IX Christogram is formed, again outlined by the stylized acanthus leaves.

The engraved pattern of a pendant in a Swiss private collection (No. 6; figs. 6a–b) is highly stylized, but the workmanship is very fine. The engraving is bold, and the leaves are accentuated by rows of punched dots down the spines. The added beaded wire is thick and carefully molded, and the pendant itself is one of the largest of the group. It is set with a remarkable construction consisting of a glass cover over an enamel that

8. Ross, *D.O. Cat.*, vol. 2, no. 145, pp. 100–101. See K. Wessel, *Byzantine Enamels* (Shannon, Ireland, 1969), no. 16, pp. 66–67, who dates the Dumbarton Oaks example circa A.D. 900.

9. The enamel is both stylistically and technically very unusual and needs further examination. The goldwork appears certainly genuine.

10. P. Orsi, *Sicilia bizantina* (Rome, 1942), vol. 1, pp. 135–141. That the pendant belongs to the group here under discussion was already

depicts a seated Virgin and Child; all of this is mounted in a gold frame. The enamel is unlike the main series of the Middle Byzantine period but seems stylistically close to one relatively early example in Dumbarton Oaks showing a standing Virgin and Child, most likely dating from the late ninth or early tenth century A.D.[8] In both examples the unusual colors, notably the white skin, and the large, round eyes are similar. A tenth-century date is therefore best for the enamelwork of No. 6, but the pendant itself clearly belongs with the others in the sixth or seventh century. The pendant, which probably originally held a gemstone or relic, must have been reused several hundred years after its manufacture.[9]

The Lesbos treasure—now in Athens—of Byzantine gold jewelry with coins of Phocas (A.D. 602–610) and Heraclius (A.D. 610–641) included another example (No. 7; figs. 7a–b). It is very small, and the work is crude. The stylized leaves are barely distinguishable, and additional hatch marks are added in the field. There is no border of punched dots.

Another pendant (No. 8; fig. 8) was found early in this century in a hoard of gold jewelry and coins at Pantalica, Sicily. The illicit find was quickly dispersed, but P. Orsi was able to reconstruct much of it using photos of the jewelry and descriptions of the coins.[10] The photograph published by Orsi shows the pendant viewed through the opening where the gemstone or other object, now missing, was set. The engraving appears to be somewhat better than that of the Lesbos treasure example (No. 7; figs. 7a–b) but is still simple and stylized. No border of punched dots is visible, nor is there an added beaded wire. In addition to a suspension loop on top, there are two on the sides and one below, perhaps for suspension of smaller pendants in the manner of the Leningrad examples (No. 5; figs. 5a–b). The coins said to have been found at Pantalica include solidi of Constans II (A.D. 641–668), Constantine IV (A.D. 668–685), and Tiberius III (A.D. 698–705). Most of the other jewelry from the Sicilian hoard is of unusual style and not easily paralleled by other Byzantine work; a late seventh-century date is most likely. This additional jewelry may have been manufactured in a local workshop.[11]

Ross has plausibly suggested that a gold disc in Dumbarton Oaks (No. 9; fig. 9) may be a fragmentary pendant; in which case, it would be another crude example.

Figure 4a. Pendant set with agate cameo of Apollo and Daphne. Supposedly found in Sicily, circa sixth century. Gold. H: 2.5 cm (1″). Washington, D.C., Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection 69.15. Photo: Courtesy Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, Washington, D.C.

Figure 4b. Back of figure 4a. Photo: Courtesy Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, Washington, D.C.

The acanthus leaf pattern is abandoned in this instance for simple hatch marks that appear between the arms of the cross.

Finally, a hoard of Byzantine jewelry found in the excavations at Caesarea Maritima in Israel includes a comparable example in silver with a glass cover (No. 10). It is very corroded, and pieces of the back are miss-

noted by Ross, *D.O. Cat.*, vol. 2, p. 9.

11. A fine ring set with an aquamarine intaglio depicting Nemesis was also said to be from the find, Orsi (supra, note 10), no. 1, p. 137, fig. 60, pl. 9. It appears to be of first-century date and must have been an antique heirloom at the time of its burial.

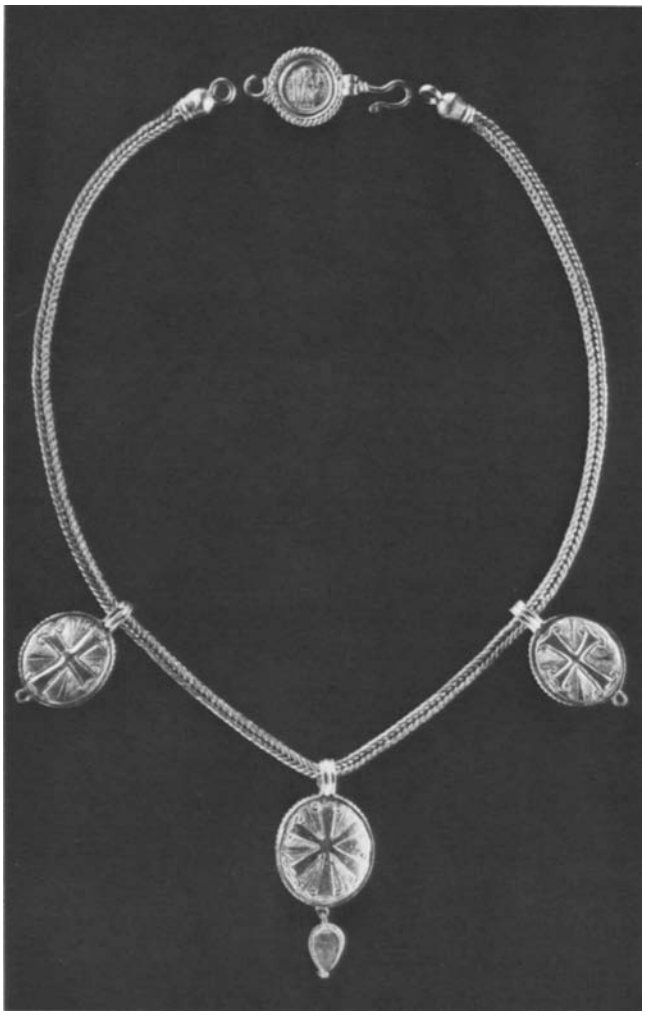


Figure 5a. Chain with three pendants set with banded agates. Found Kuban, Russia, circa sixth century. Gold. Leningrad, State Hermitage 2134/1. Photo: Courtesy State Hermitage, Leningrad.

Figure 5b. Detail of figure 5a. Drawing by Martha Breen Bredemeyer.

ing, making it difficult to see the engraved pattern. It appears to be a facing, nimbate bust rather than the cross and acanthus leaf design. Other details, such as the circular shape, the border of punched dots, and the added beaded wire, however, all correspond to the main series of pendants under consideration. This particular example served as a reliquary.

With the exception of the last (No. 10), the pendants all share a basic decorative pattern: a central cross surrounded by engraved acanthus leaves placed between the arms and sometimes additional hatched lines in the field. The form of the cross varies, as does the quality of the engraving and the care given to the pattern. The cross may have arms of equal length with flaring ends (Nos. 1–3); it may have longer vertical than horizontal branches (No. 4; two of the pendants in No. 5; and Nos. 7, 8); or it may approach the form of a Maltese cross (Nos. 6, 9). In one example (No. 5) the cross is modified to become an IX monogram.

Originally the intention was to make a simple, undecorated cross subtly stand out from the complex background of floral decoration that outlines it. The most successful examples are in Malibu and New York (Nos. 1, 2), where the carefully engraved acanthus patterns are bolder than the cross. The crosses on the subsequent pendants are more easily visible, and the acanthus leaves hence become more stylized; they no longer appear rounded in shape with curving veins but as simple oval or triangular areas with a central spine and straighter veins. They fill the fields in a more haphazard manner and may degenerate to a state where the leaves are almost indistinguishable among the lines (No. 7) or are replaced entirely by simple hatch marks (No. 9).

Although the pattern of acanthus leaves outlining a cross does not appear elsewhere in Byzantine art, the use of the acanthus leaf as a subsidiary decorative device on metalwork was very popular. It is frequently seen engraved on silver plate in the fourth century A.D. and continues into the sixth and seventh centuries, as Ross has observed.[12] Elaborate patterns based on acanthus leaves are also typically found engraved below the bowls of sixth- and seventh-century, silver liturgical spoons.[13]

A related pattern of acanthus leaves and cross is seen on the gold box-pendant reliquary of Saint Zacharias said to be from Constantinople and now in Dumbarton Oaks (figs. 10a–c).[14] The back, carefully executed in

12. Ross, *D.O. Cat.*, vol. 1, no. 7, p. 9, and cf. E. Dodd, *Byzantine Silver Treasures* (Bern, 1973), pp. 12–13. In addition, the cross and acanthus leaf pattern of the pendants is seen as a decorative motif in the borders of a pair of unpublished sixth- or seventh-century, silver

Figures 6a–b. *Left,* Pendant set with a glass-covered enamel of the Virgin and Child. Supposedly found in Asia Minor, circa sixth or seventh century. Gold with enamel of later date. H: 4 cm (1 9/16″). *Right,* back. Switzerland, private collection.

Figures 7a–b. *Left,* Pendant. Found in Lesbos, circa sixth century. Gold. H: 2 cm (3/4″). *Right,* back. Athens, Byzantine Museum 3039. Photos: Courtesy Byzantine Museum, Athens.

repoussé, shows a cross within a wreath surrounded by four acanthus leaves, all within a square linear border; around this central composition is a cable border. The sides are decorated with acanthus patterns, also worked in repoussé. The front is set with an engraved gem (perhaps not the original setting, as Ross notes) surrounded by vegetal and lozenge patterns in fine *opus interrasile* and a beaded-wire border.

The reliquary of Saint Zacharias is of exceptional quality and stands apart technically from other sixth-century goldwork. The differences are most notable in the execution of the fine *opus interrasile* and repoussé work. The *opus interrasile* is similar to the best fourth-century Constantinian work from the Eastern Empire (probably from Constantinople),[15] and it is unlike the less skillful openwork frequently seen in sixth- and seventh-century Byzantine jewelry; the careful repoussé work also has little in common with the known goldwork of the sixth century. The similarities to fourth-century work and the differences from typical sixth-

book covers now in a Swiss private collection.

13. Cf. the examples in Dalton, *Early Christian,* p. 35.
14. Ross, *D.O. Cat.,* vol. 2, no. 31, pp. 30–31.
15. Cf. most recently D. Buckton, "The Beauty of Holiness: *Opus Interrasile* from a Late Antique Workshop," *Jewellery Studies* 1 (1983–1984), pp. 15–19, see p. 17 for attribution to Constantinople.

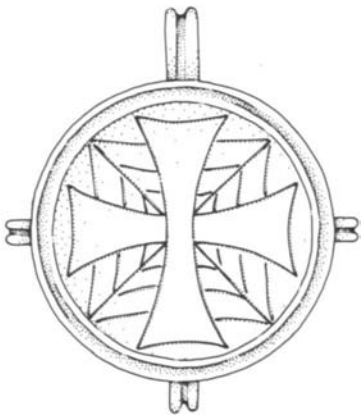


Figure 8. Pendant. Found in Pantalica, Sicily, circa sixth century. Gold. H: 2.6 cm (1″). Present location unknown. Drawing by Martha Breen Bredemeyer after P. Orsi, *Sicilia bizantina* (Rome, 1942), vol. 1, no. 7, p. 138, pl. 9.

Figure 9. Engraved disc, perhaps from a pendant. Supposedly found in Constantinople, circa sixth century. Gold. H: 2.1 cm (7/8″). Washington, D.C., Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection 53.12.51. Photo: Courtesy Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, Washington, D.C.

and seventh-century Byzantine goldwork suggest a slightly earlier date for the reliquary than that proposed by Ross, perhaps in the fifth century, although no close parallels are known.

The well-known gold reliquary box found in the old basilica at Pola (present-day Pula, Yugoslavia) and now in Vienna[16] forms a link between the Dumbarton Oaks reliquary and the group of pendants (figs. 11a–c). Its lid appears to have been inspired by the design of the Dumbarton Oaks reliquary, but this has become highly stylized. The repoussé cross within a wreath is replaced by a cross with glass paste inlay surrounded by a wreath of plaited gold wire. Four pyramidal clusters of gold beads appear in the corners instead of the four acanthus leaves. The short sides have crosses bordered with cables as in the Dumbarton Oaks example, but here, unlike the Saint Zacharias reliquary, the stylized acanthus leaves fill the areas between the arms of the cross in the manner of the pendants.

Perhaps from the same workshop is a gold cross in Dumbarton Oaks, which shares with the Vienna reliquary box the addition of plaited gold wire, clusters of gold beads, and central glass paste inlay on one side. In a variation of the pendants' motif, the other side of the cross has engraved acanthus leaves in each arm (fig. 12).[17] Other similar crosses are noted by Ross, as are rings decorated with similar plaited wire, including an example in Oxford set with a coin of Zeno (A.D. 474–491).[18]

The similarities in the decoration of the Dumbarton Oaks cross, the Vienna reliquary box, and the group of pendants indicate that all are products of the same *koine* style. A Byzantine *koine* style of jewelry, attested by a large number of finds from all parts of the Byzantine Empire, developed by the early sixth century, flourished in the reign of Justinian, and continued well into the seventh century. There can be little doubt that much of the material was manufactured in Constantinople and that workshops located elsewhere, whether in the east or the west, closely followed the fashions set in the capital. The style encompasses a large body of material (including personal jewelry, such as belt buckles, earrings, finger rings, necklaces, and pendants, as well as crosses and reliquaries), and the sharing of decorative

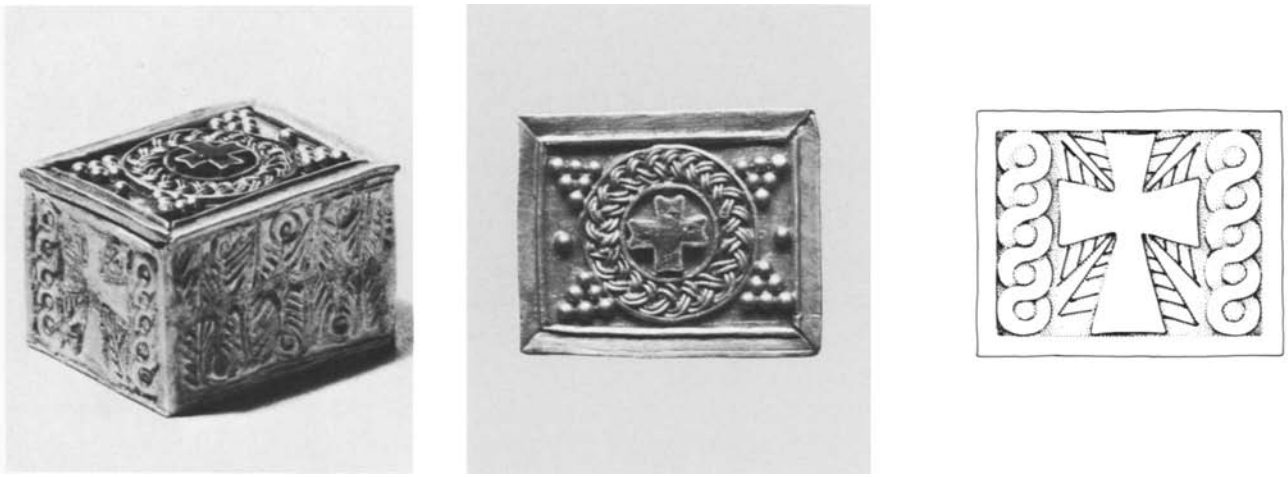
16. H. Buschhausen, *Die spaetroemischen Metallscrinia und fruehchristlichen Reliquiare* (Vienna, 1971), no. B 20, pp. 249–252, pl. 57, and K. Weitzmann, ed., *The Age of Spirituality* (New York, 1979), no. 568, pp. 630–631.

17. Ross, *D.O. Cat.*, vol. 2, no. 10, p. 15.

18. Ibid., no. 10, p. 15; E. T. Leeds, *Antiquaries Journal* 20 (1944), no. 4, p. 334, pl. 51.

19. Other gold objects that display similarities in manufacture and decorative detail can also be identified. For example, a small gold cross (H: 2.83 cm [1 3/16″]) engraved with the same pattern as the larger example at Dumbarton Oaks (fig. 12) is now in a Swiss private collection; it is unpublished. Another similar example was on the London market a few years ago and was exhibited by Jack Ogden Ltd. (*In the Wake of Alexander,* November 17–December 1, 1982, no. 27). The use of punched-dot borders is seen, for example, on an openwork ring from Smyrna (British Museum M&LA AF 308; Dalton, *Early Chris-*

Figures 10a–c. Left, Box-pendant reliquary of Saint Zacharias. Supposedly found in Constantinople, circa fifth century. Gold set with an engraved gem, possibly of later date. H: 3 cm (1 3/16″); W: 2.5 cm (15/16″). *Center,* back. *Right,* side. Washington, D.C., Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection 57.53. Photos: Courtesy Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, Washington, D.C.



Figures 11a–c. Left, Reliquary Box. Found in Pula, Yugoslavia, circa sixth century. Gold with glass paste inlay. H: 1.6 cm (5/8″); W: 2.3 cm (7/8″); D: 1.9 cm (3/4″). *Center,* top. *Right,* side. Drawing by Martha Breen Bredemeyer. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum VII 761. Photos: Courtesy Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.

patterns and technical details among different types of objects is typical.[19]

The circumstances of discovery of the pendants examined here firmly place them in the sixth and seventh centuries and associate them with other jewelry of the *koine* style. The silver example from Caesarea Maritima was found in the excavations with a hoard of jewelry that, although not precisely datable, is of typically sixth- or early seventh-century style. More helpful is the Leningrad necklace (No. 5), which has a clasp set with a coin precisely datable to the joint reign of Justin I and Justinian in A.D. 527. The Lesbos treasure contained

tian, no. 212, p. 33) and on the ubiquitous pear-shaped and lunate openwork earrings, which usually show two confronted peacocks (cf. the recent summary of the literature, T. Ergil, *Earrings* [Istanbul, 1983], no. 157, p. 62, to which others could be added). The tails of the peacocks often resemble the stylized acanthus leaves of our No. 6, with a row of punched dots down the spine from which engraved veins branch off (cf. A. Pierides, *Jewellery in the Cyprus Museum* [Nicosia, 1971], no. 10, p. 56, pl. 38).

Also apparently related to the style and technique of the goldwork under consideration is the Olbia treasure of Gothic jewelry from south Russia, now in Dumbarton Oaks (Ross, *D.O. Cat.,* vol. 2, no. 166, pp. 117–118). The date is controversial, but the similarity of the engraved decoration and pattern to Byzantine goldwork, as well as other details, suggests a dependence on Byzantine prototypes. A sixth- rather than early fifth-century date may be preferable.

Figure 12. Cross. Circa sixth century. Gold with glass paste inlay. H: 2.7 cm ($1^{1}/_{16}$″). Washington, D.C., Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection 50.20. Photo: Courtesy Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, Washington, D.C.

a quantity of jewelry of typical type, as well as coins of Phocas and Heraclius datable to the mid-seventh century. The pendant in this hoard shows a further divergence from the original pattern and may be indicative of the later examples of the group. The pendant from the Pantalica hoard, which contained coins spanning the second half of the seventh century, is also rather crude but fits well into the main group, although the accompanying jewelry is not typical of the seventh-century Byzantine style. The wide distribution of the pendants includes Asia Minor, south Russia, Palestine, Lesbos, and Sicily, and a similar range is seen for the comparable jewelry. This again suggests a central origin for the style, if not for the actual manufacture—surely Constantinople itself.

Merton College
Oxford

Kopie oder Nachschöpfung. Eine Bronzekanne im J. Paul Getty Museum

Michael Pfrommer

Die über dreißig Zentimeter hohe Kanne muß zu den qualitätvollsten erhaltenen Bronzegefäßen mit ornamentalem Dekor gerechnet werden (Abb. 1–3, 5).[1]

Die reiche Dekoration der Kanne ist von außergewöhnlicher Qualität, sowohl im Entwurf wie auch in der Ausführung. Den Gefäßkörper schmückt ein zweireihiger, ägyptischer Nymphaea Nelumbo-Kelch, zwischen dessen Blattspitzen italische Stockwerkblüten geschaltet sind (Abb. 10–12). Ein plastisch gegebenes lesbisches Kymation akzentuiert den Halsansatz. Den Hals selbst schmückt eine aus Silberblech geschnittene und eingelegte Weinranke. Figürlich verziert ist allein der Henkel, bei dem ein Panskopf die untere Attasche bildet (Abb. 6), während ein kleiner Silenskopf als oberer Henkelabschluß in das Gefäßinnere blickt (Abb. 7).

Das Gefäß wurde möglicherweise vor der ägyptischen Küste in der Nähe von Alexandria im Meer gefunden. Muscheln und andere Ablagerungen bestätigen eine marine Herkunft, ohne daß eine exaktere Eingrenzung des Fundortes auf diesem Wege möglich wäre.[2] Wie zu zeigen sein wird, vermag die Ornamentanalyse die Zuweisung an eine ägyptische Werkstatt zu stützen.

TECHNIK

Wie das Fehlen jeglicher Spuren von Treibarbeit im Inneren bezeugt, wurde die Kanne trotz der extrem dünnen Wandung gegossen.[3] Dies gilt auch für den in Kaltarbeit übergangenen Blattkelch. Im Gegensatz zu der vollständig mit Silber eingelegten Weinranke auf dem Hals, zeigen auf dem Gefäßkörper nur einige wenige Blütendetails silberne Einlagen, die in Abb. 12 schwarz gekennzeichnet sind. Das gleiche gilt auch für das lesbische Kymation. Der Henkel ist separat gegossen und angelötet bzw. mit Nieten befestigt.

GEFÄSSFORM

Typologisch folgt die Kanne in etwa der von J. D. Beazley als 5a bezeichneten Gruppe.[4] Bronzekannen dieses Typs sind meines Wissens kaum erhalten, doch zeigt eine große Bronzekanne aus dem thrakischen Tumulus von Mal Tepe, daß der Typus im 3. Jahrhundert geläufig war (Abb. 4).[5]

Das in der Ausführung ungleich bescheidenere Mal Tepe-Exemplar läßt sich in einigen formalen Datails mit der Malibu-Kanne vergleichen. Dies gilt etwa für die mit einem Eierstab verzierte Lippe, den mit einem Profil von der Schulter abgesetzten Hals und ebenso für die spulenförmige Fingerstütze auf der oberen Henkelbiegung. Die Entwicklung der Fingerstütze läßt sich im makedonischen und italischen Raum seit dem ausgehenden 4. Jahrhundert beobachten, doch besitzen diese Gefäße in der Regel gedrungenere Proportionen und keine von der Schulter abgesetzte Halspartie.[6]

Für die Publikationserlaubnis bin ich M. True zu herzlichem Dank verpflichtet. Für Hilfe und Hinweise verschiedener Art danke ich ebenfalls K. Manchester und J. Podany. Verbunden bin ich weiterhin im besonderen Maße M. Breen-Bredemeyer für die Erstellung der Zeichnungen.

Abkürzungen

Außer den im *AJA* üblichen Abkürzungen wird im folgenden verwendet:

Pfrommer, "Studien": "Studien zu alexandrinischer und großgriechischer Toreutik frühhellenistischer Zeit," *Archäologische Forschungen* 16 (Berlin, 1987).

1. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 85.AB.78. Höhe: 32 cm; Durchmesser: 20.3 cm.

2. Nach Auskunft des ozeanographischen Instituts in Los Angeles zeigen die Ablagerungen, daß die Kanne aus dem Meer und nicht aus Süßwasser geborgen wurde.

3. Für diese technische Auskunft bin ich J. Podany und seinem Stab verbunden. Die Technik des Gusses derartig dünnwandiger Gefäße, einschließlich eines reliefierten Dekors, hat in der ägyptischen Toreutik lange Tradition: Pfrommer, "Studien," 77f., 84 KBk 1, 7–15, Taf. 6–9; 11; 12; 48c, d.

4. Als Beispiel klassischer Zeit vgl. man etwa eine Kanne des Mannheimer Malers in Oxford, Inv. 298, Ashmolean Museum: *CVA* Oxford I (III 1), Taf. 43, 14.

5. Sofia, Archäol. Mus.: B. Filow, *BIABulg* 11 (1937), 56, Nr. 18, Abb. 55, 56. Als sicher römisches Beispiel mit einem lesbischen Kymation am Übergang von Hals und Schulter vgl. eine Kanne in Belgrad br. 2835/III: Lj. B. Popovič, D. Mano-Zisi, M. Veličkovič, B. Jeličič, *Antička Bronza u Jugoslaviji,* Narodni Muzej Beograd (Belgrad, 1969), 124, Nr. 217, Abb. 217.

6. Kannen aus dem "Philippgrab" von Vergina in Thessaloniki Mus.: M. Pfrommer, *JdI* 98 (1983), 239. M. Andronicos, *Vergina. The*

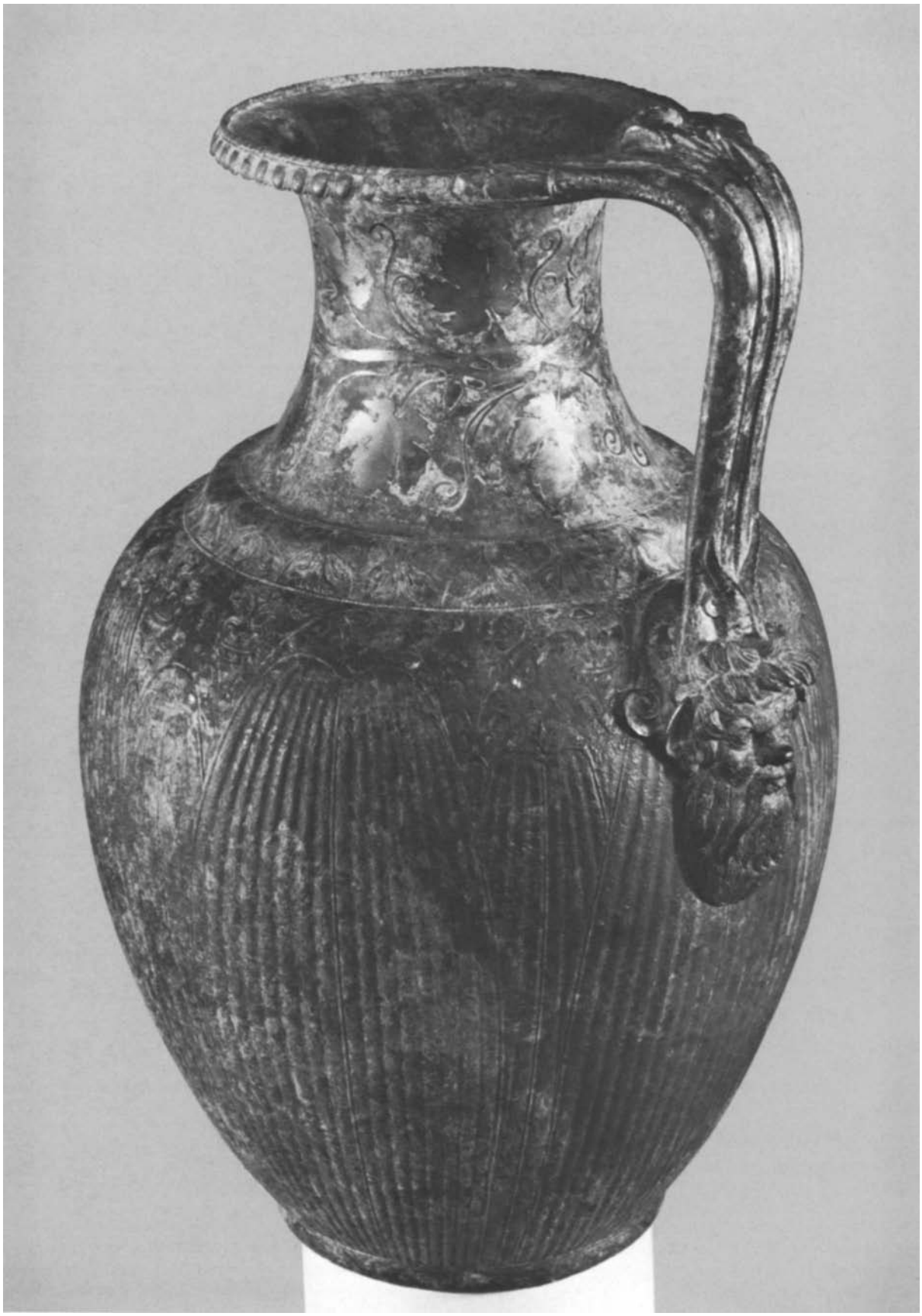


Abb. 1. Bronzekanne. H: 32 cm (12⅝″); D: 20.3 cm (8″). Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 85.AB.78.

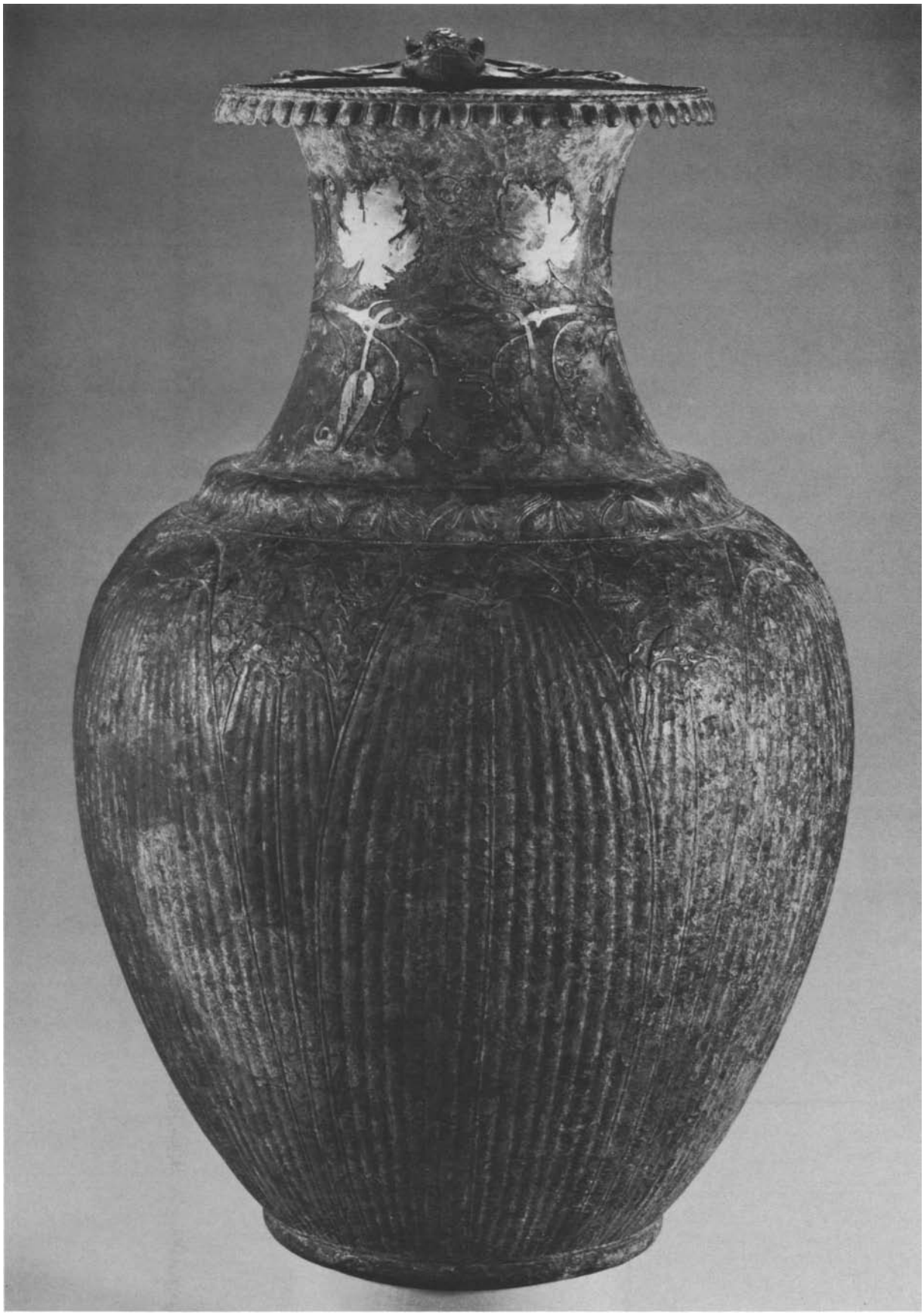


Abb. 2. Bronzekanne. H: 32 cm (12⅝″); D: 20.3 cm (8″). Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 85.AB.78.

Abb. 3. Profilzeichnung der Bronzekanne in Abb. 1. Zeichnung von Martha Breen Bredemeyer.

In frühhellenistischer Zeit findet sich auch der Eierstabdekor der Mündung[7] und das lesbische Kymation an der Nahtstelle von Körper und Hals.[8] Die formalen Details der Malibu-Kanne könnten somit für eine Datierung im 3. Jahrhundert v. Chr. sprechen.

DER HENKEL UND DER FIGÜRLICHE DEKOR

Die Henkelform mit der großen Pansattasche und der spulenförmigen Fingerstütze (Abb. 3, 5, 6) läßt sich, wie gesagt, bereits in frühhellenistischer Zeit belegen.[9] Dies gilt auch für Details wie den ins Gefäßinnere schauenden Silenskopf (Abb. 7),[10] oder die Voluten zu beiden Seiten des Panskopfes.[11]

Die Mittelrippe des Henkels gestaltete der Toreut als silbern eingelegte Schlange, ein Detail, für das mir keine frühe Parallele geläufig ist.

Während man dem Schlangendekor schwerlich chronologische Signifikanz zubilligen wird, liegt der Fall bei den in Form von Schwanenköpfen gebildeten oberen Enden des Henkels gänzlich anders. Schwanenkopfattaschen dieser Art sind ganz allgemein typisch für kaiserzeitliche Toreutik, wie etwa ein silberner Skyphoshenkel des frühen 1. nachchristlichen Jahrhunderts aus Vize in Ostthrakien bezeugt (Abb. 8).[12] Neben pompejanischen Funden[13] ist vor allem auch auf Gußformen derartiger Henkel aus dem römischen Ägypten zu verweisen.[14] Trotz der zahlreichen frühhellenistischen Detailformen ist die Kanne somit schwerlich vor der augusteischen Zeit gefertigt worden.

Auch der große Panskopf zeigt unübersehbar späte, eklektische Züge. Die Gesichtszüge mit den ornamentalen Überaugenbögen und der wulstigen Nase erinnern noch durchaus an frühhellenistische Beispiele, doch wird unschwer ein Mangel an plastischer Durchbildung deutlich, der einen beinahe maskenartigen Eindruck hervorruft, ein Eindruck, der durch die kleine, gebleckte Zunge noch verstärkt wird.

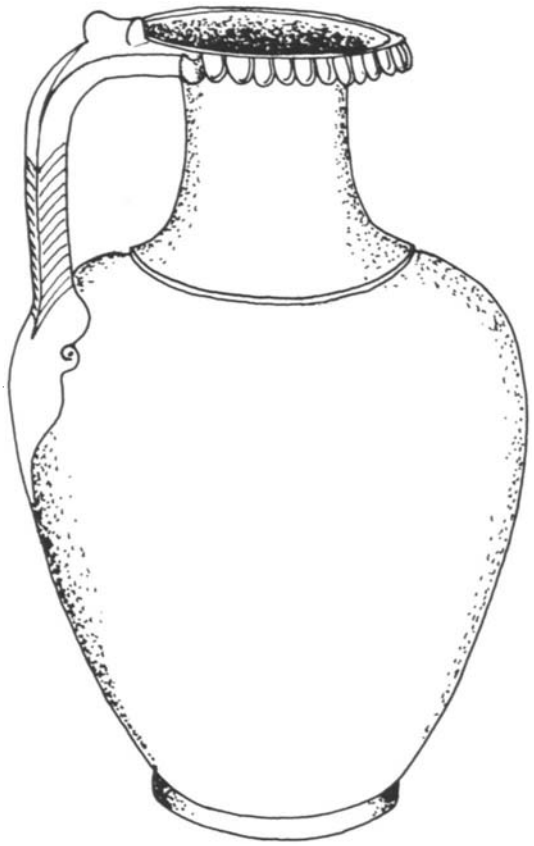


Abb. 4. Bronzekanne aus dem Mal Tepe. Sofia, Archäologisches Museum. Zeichnung von Martha Breen Bredemeyer.

Eine Reminiszenz an frühhellenistische Formen fassen wir weiterhin in den steil aufgerichteten Panshörnern.[15]

Weit entfernt von der differenzierten, teilweise naturalistischen Bartbehandlung frühhellenistischer Beispiele[16] ist schließlich die schematische, unplastische Wiedergabe des Bartes, der von dem Toreuten nur

Royal Tombs and the Ancient City (Athens, 1984), 152f., Abb. 115, 116, 158, Abb. 124. Zu weiteren Beispielen dieses Kannentyps vgl. Pfrommer, op. cit., 239–240, Abb. 1, 2.

7. S.o. Anm. 6.

8. Als Beispiel des ausgehenden 4. Jhs. vgl. man eine Silberkanne thrakischen Typus aus Varbitza in Sofia, Archäol. Mus. 51: *Gold der Thraker,* Ausstellung Köln, München, Hildesheim (Köln, 1979), 161, Nr. 318, Abb. 318. Für das 3. Jh. vgl. man kleine Silberkännchen in New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 1972.118.156; 1982.11.13: D. v. Bothmer, *BMMA* 42 (1984), 49, Nr. 84, Abb.; 57, Nr. 96, Abb.

9. S.o. Anm. 6.

10. Dieses Motiv findet sich in klassischer Zeit etwa bei Kannen des Typs 2: T. Weber, *Bronzekannen* (Frankfurt am Main, 1983), 91ff., Taf. 13. Vgl. weiterhin Ptolemäerkannen: D. B. Thompson, *Ptolemaic Oinochoai and Portraits in Faience* (Oxford, 1973), Taf. 49, 60, Nr. 218, 220.

11. Vgl. die Kannen o. Anm. 6.

12. Istanbul, Archäol. Mus.: L. Byvanck-Quarles van Ufford, *Mélanges Mansel* I (Ankara, 1974), 335–343, Taf. 113–116.

13. Aus Boscoreale, Paris, Louvre: A. Héron de Villefosse, *MonPiot* 5 (1899), Taf. 20; 23, 3; 24, 2.

14. Turin, Museo Egizio: T. Schreiber, *Die Alexandrinische Toreutik* (Leipzig, 1894), Taf. 1, in London, Brit. Mus.: op. cit, Taf. 3b.

15. Man vgl. eine Bronzekanne in Boston (Mus. of Fine Arts 99.485), bei der die Hörner zweier antithetischer Bocksköpfe in analoger Weise auf dem Henkel angeordnet sind. M. Pfrommer, *JdI* 98 (1983), 240, Abb. 2 (mit Parallelen). Zu dem Kannentypus s. o. Anm. 6.

16. Pan-Attasche eines Holzkohlen-Behälters (?) oder einer Lampe aus dem "Philippgrab" von Vergina in Thessaloniki: M. Pfrommer, *JdI* 98 (1983), 255–256, Abb. 15. M. Andronicos, *Vergina. The Royal Tombs and the Ancient City* (Athens, 1984), 162f., Abb. 130, 131. Der Kopf wurde von mir versehentlich als Silen mit einem Blätterkranz angesprochen. Es handelt sich jedoch fraglos um einen für Pan verwendeten Silenskopftypus. Die Attasche der Kanne ist allerdings auch nicht mit dem tierischen Pansbild einer Eimerattasche in Toronto zu

Abb. 5. Bronzekanne. H: 32 cm (12⅝″); D: 20.3 cm (8″). Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 85.AB.78.

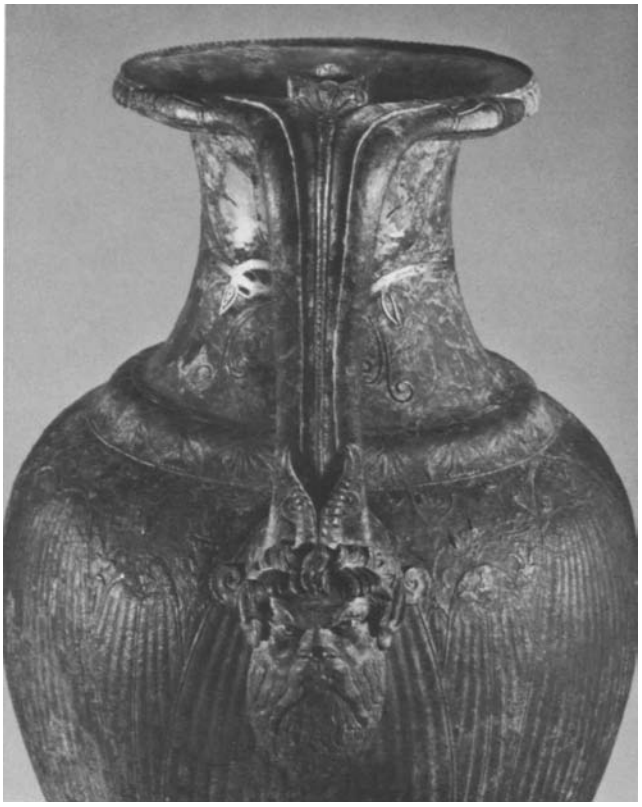


Abb. 6. Henkel der Kanne in Abb. 1 mit einem Panskopf als Attasche.

durch parallele, straffe Strähnen gegliedert wurde. Vergleiche wären hier eher in frühklassischer Zeit zu suchen.[17]

Demgegenüber entspricht das plastisch aber kompakt gegebene Haupthaar späthellenistischen Bildungen (Abb. 9). Die erste und die zweite Reihe der zapfenartigen, symmetrisch geordneten Locken sind streng voneinander abgesetzt und die hintere Reihe steil aufgerichtet (Abb. 3, 6).

Verwandt, wenn auch nicht identisch, ist die Haaranlage bei den Silenskopf-Attaschen späthellenistischer und frühkaiserzeitlicher Marmorkratere. Zu nennen ist hier der bereits in dem gegen 100 v. Chr. gesunkenen Mahdiaschiff vertretene Typus Mahdia-Borghese,[18] sowie der jüngst von H. Froning dem mittleren 1. vorchristlichen Jahrhundert zugewiesene Medicikrater.[19] Das Ende der Reihe bildet ein frühkaiserzeitlicher Krater mit Rankendekor im Kapitolinischen Museum (Abb. 9).[20] Wir fassen hier somit einen über längere Zeit beliebten Attaschentypus, der sich insbesondere aufgrund der Haaranlage von frühhellenistischen Bildungen absetzt.[21]

Das späthellenistische Motiv der protuberanzähnlich hochfliegenden Haare ist bei unserer Bronzekanne zitiert, jedoch eklektisch mit einer Bartbildung des 5. Jahrhunderts kombiniert.

Der vor die spulenförmige Fingerstütze gesetzte kleine Silenskopf (Abb. 7) zeigt eine ähnlich eklektische Mischung hellenistischer und klassischer Charakteristika. Die etwas schematische Wiedergabe des Bartes erinnert durchaus an den Panskopf (Abb. 6). Details, wie der Efeukranz mit den großen Korymben, folgen dagegen Vorbildern des späten 4. und 3. Jahrhunderts.[22] Auffällig sind jedoch die nach späthellenistischer Manier eingezogenen Konturen einiger Efeublätter.[23]

Der figürliche Dekor steht somit einem bereits von

vergleichen (Toronto 910.205.3): J. W. Hayes, *Greek, Roman, and Related Metalware in the Royal Ontario Museum* (Toronto, 1984), 26ff., Nr. 31, Abb. 31.

17. Silenskopf an einem Kantharos des 5. Jhs. aus Goljamata Mogila in Plovdiv, Archäol. Mus. 1634: I. Venedikov, T. Gerassimov, *Thrakische Kunst* (Wien, 1973), 344, Taf. 168.

18. Kratertypus Mahdia-Borghese: H. Froning, *Marmor-Schmuckreliefs mit griechischen Mythen im 1. Jh. v. Chr.* (Mainz, 1981), 141–142, Taf. 56, 1; 57, 1 (mit Lit.). Zu einem antiquarischen Detail vgl. Pfrommer, "Studien," Anm. 73, 77. KP 117 (3. Jh.).

19. Froning, op. cit. 140–153, Taf. 57, 2.

20. Rom, Kapitolinisches Museum 275: Froning, op. cit. 141f., Anm. 9.

21. Man vgl. etwa die Attasche eines Bronzeeimers aus Derveni. Thessaloniki Mus.: M. Pfrommer, *JdI* 98 (1983), 254, Abb. 12 (mit Parallelen). Pfrommer, *GettyMusJ* 11 (1983), 142, Abb. 16.

22. S. o. Anm. 21.

23. Zu Vorstufen: Pfrommer, "Studien," 114. Die Einziehung ist

Abb. 7. Obere Henkelattasche der Bronzekanne in Abb. 1 mit dem Kopf eines Silens.

Abb. 8. Henkel eines silbernen Skyphos aus Vize. Istanbul, Archäologisches Museum. Photo: mit freundlicher Genehmigung, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Istanbul; W. Schiele.

den Schwanenattaschen der Henkel nahegelegten frühkaiserzeitlichen Ansatz nicht im Weg.

DER BLATTKELCH

Wie die Gefäßform läßt sich auch der große, den Gefäßkörper umhüllende Blattkelch auf Vorbilder frühhellenistischer Zeit zurückführen. Die dreireihige, in flachem Relief ausgeführte Dekoration gehört zu den Nymphaea Nelumbo-Kelchen mit überfallenden Traufspitzen ägyptisch-frühhellenistischen Typs.[24] Die Traufspitzen sind nach ptolemäischer Tradition ornamental verziert.[25] Wie bei einer Reihe frühhellenistischer Dekorationen wurden zwischen die Blattspitzen Blüten eingeschaltet.[26]

Wie zu zeigen sein wird, erweist sich, ungeachtet einiger späterer Details, der gesamte Dekor als Aufgriff einer Dekoration des mittleren 3. Jahrhunderts.

Abb. 9. Henkelattasche eines Marmorkraters. Rom, Kapitolinisches Museum 275.

jedoch bei weitem nicht so stark wie an anderen frühkaiserzeitlichen Denkmälern. Man vgl. etwa Efeu am Bel-Tempel von Palmyra: H. Seyrig, R. Amy, E. Will, *Le temple de Bel à Palmyre* (Paris, 1975), Taf. 45, oben links.

24. Zum vorhellenistischen Typus, Pfrommer, "Studien," 86–91. Zu frühen Beispielen mit eingeschalteten Blüten, Pfrommer, "Studien," 87, KBk 58, 61, Taf. 60. Aus frühhellenistischer Zeit sind bis heute nur mit Akanthus gemischte Kelche bekannt, Pfrommer, "Studien," 95ff., doch dürfte dies dem Zufall der Überlieferung zuzuschreiben sein. Für einen reinen Nymphaea-Kelch mit ägyptischen Kronen anstelle der Blüten, vgl. Pfrommer, "Studien," 100, 116, 120f., KBk 60, Taf. 61. Pfrommer, *GettyMusJ* 13 (1985), 15, Abb. 9. Zu einem reinen Nymphaea-Kelch vgl. auch ein Bronzebecken im J. Paul Getty Mus. 80.AC.84:. Pfrommer, *GettyMusJ* 13 (1985), 9–18, Abb. 1.

25. Pfrommer, "Studien," 111, 120f. Pfrommer, *GettyMusJ* 13 (1985), 14–17.

26. Pfrommer, "Studien," 95–116, Taf. 52; 53a, b.

Abb. 10. Blütenschmuck des Blattkelchs auf dem Körper der Bronzekanne in Abb. 1 (Blütengruppe A).

Abb. 11. Blütenschmuck des Blattkelchs auf dem Körper der Bronzekanne in Abb. 1 (Blütengruppe B).

Der Blütenschmuck der überfallenden Traufspitzen der ersten und zweiten Kelchreihe schließt eine Datierung der mutmaßlichen Vorbilder vor dem mittleren 3. Jahrhundert aus.[27] Die Detaildurchformung des Nymphaeablattwerks selbst ist unmittelbar mit dem Dekor einer Bronzevase vorgeblich iranischer Provenienz zu verbinden, die nicht früher als das 1. vorchristliche Jahrhundert angesetzt werden kann.[28] Zu vergleichen sind vor allem Details wie die feine Doppelkontur der Blattränder und Mittelrippen. Abweichend von klassischen und frühhellenistischen Beispielen mit Nymphaea Nelumbo-Dekoration wurden die Blattadern nicht konvex herausgearbeitet,[29] sondern wie bei der Bronzevase und bei einem Becken gleichen Materials im J. Paul Getty Museum eingetieft.[30] Frühhellenistische und späthellenistisch-frühkaiserzeitliche Blattprofilierungen verhalten sich somit bei diesen Beispielen wie Positiv zu Negativ.

Im Gegensatz zu der normalerweise üblichen Kelchanordnung reduzierte der Toreut bei der Malibu-Kanne die Höhe der zweiten und dritten Kelchreihe, um Raum für die großen Blütenkompositionen zu schaffen. Bemerkenswert ist weiterhin der alternierende Wechsel der Blattformen in dem hintersten Kelchregister. Neben winzigen Nymphaea Nelumbo-Blättchen findet sich hier miniaturisierter Akanthus,[31] sowie einfach gezahntes Blattwerk. Im Grundaufbau ist der Blattkelch jedoch nicht von frühhellenistischen Beispielen zu trennen. Dies gilt auch für die Verwendung ornamental gefüllter Traufspitzen bei den Nymphaeablättern.

DIE BLÜTENFORMEN

Die zwischen den Blattspitzen stehenden Blütenkompositionen folgen dem italisierenden, makedonischen Blütenrepertoire.[32] Sowohl der Blütengruppe A (Abb. 10, 12) wie auch B (Abb. 11, 12) liegen Stockwerkblüten italischen Typs zugrunde (Abb. 13).[33]

Beim Typus A wächst aus einer großen Kelchblüte mit aufwendigem Basiskelch eine große Knospe, die ihrerseits aus einem großen Kelch mit zur Seite geschlagenen Blättchen entwickelt ist. Die Komposition ist in der italisch-makedonischen Ornamentik bereits im ausgehenden 4. Jahrhundert angelegt, wie etwa die Blütenkomposition auf Textilien des "Philippgrabes" in Vergina zeigt (Abb. 13).[34] Verwandte Kompositionen finden sich auch im frühptolemäischen Repertoire.[35] Auch die aus dieser großen Blüte wachsenden kleinen Blütchen unterschiedlichen Typs kehren in nahezu identischer Form auf den zitierten Textilien wieder—wie etwa die kleinen, im Profil gegebenen Kelchblüten mit

27. Als eines der frühesten Beispiele vgl. einen Becher in New York, Brooklyn Mus., 55.183: Pfrommer, "Studien," 119 KBk 66, KaB A 48, Taf. 61. Pfrommer, *GettyMusJ* 13 (1985), 15, Abb. 8. Bei diesem, aus einer ägyptischen Werkstatt stammenden Gefäß, ist das Füllmotiv rein abstrakt und nicht pflanzlich.

28. New York, Metropolitan Mus. of Art 66.235: Pfrommer, *GettyMusJ* 13 (1985), 12, Abb. 5a. Pfrommer, "Studien," Anm. 518. Vgl. auch das o. Anm. 24 zitierte Becken.

29. Vgl. Pfrommer, "Studien," 86–91 und die dort zitierten Beispiele.

30. S.o. Anm. 24.

31. Möglicherweise bezog der Toreut seine Anregung von den Miniaturakanthusblättchen in ptolemäischen Blattkelchdekorationen des 3. Jhs.: Pfrommer, "Studien," 116.

32. Zu diesem Repertoire Pfrommer, *JdI* 97 (1982), 119–190, bes. 140–147.

33. Zur Definition: Pfrommer, *JdI* 97 (1982), 126, Abb. 1.

34. Pfrommer, *JdI* 97 (1982), 145, Abb. 8. M. Andronicos, *Vergina. The Royal Tombs and the Ancient City* (Athens, 1984), 195, Abb. 156, 157. Pfrommer, *GettyMusJ* 13 (1985), 17, Abb. 11.

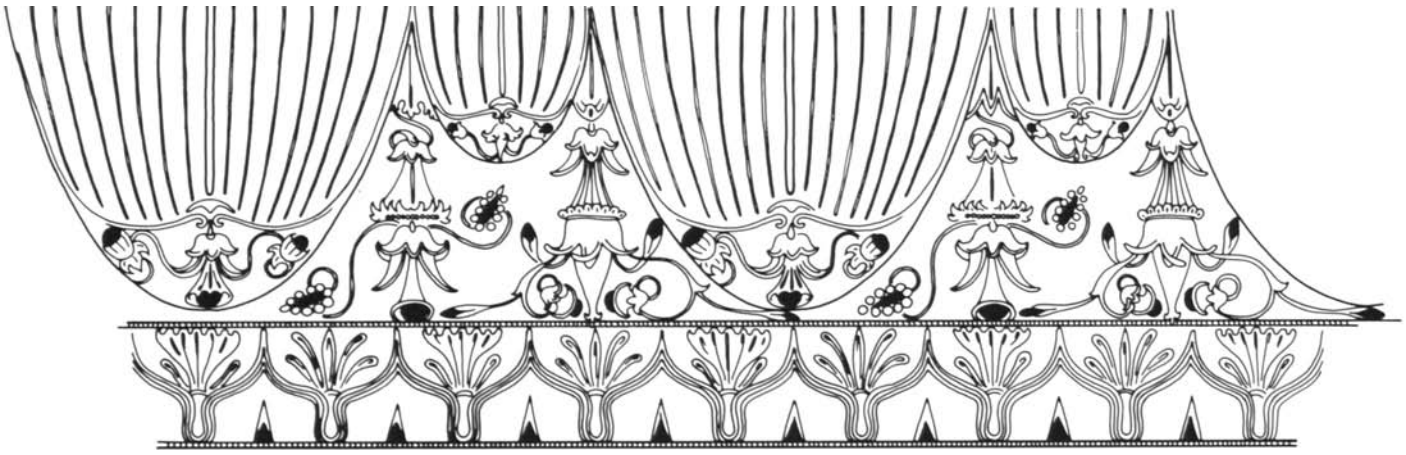


Abb. 12. Zeichnung des Blattkelchs und des lesbischen Kymations am Halsansatz der Kanne in Abb. 1. Zeichnung von Martha Breen Bredemeyer.

den silbern eingelegten Fruchtknoten. Späte Beispiele dieses Typs begegnen noch im mittleren 3. Jahrhundert.[36]

Einige Eigentümlichkeiten unterscheiden die Blütengruppe A (Abb. 10, 12) von spätklassisch-frühhellenistischen Beispielen. Zu nennen ist etwa die Lotosblüten angenäherte Ausgestaltung der eigentlichen Kelchblüte. Diese Variante des spätklassischen Motivs begegnet als bekrönende Blüte auch bei der Blütenkomposition B (Abb. 11, 12) und ist, wie das zitierte Bronzebecken in Malibu zeigt, in dieser Ausgestaltung wahrscheinlich dem 1. Jahrhundert v. Chr. zuzuweisen.[37] Auch hier liegen jedoch die Wurzeln im frühhellenistischen Repertoire, wie ein Gipsabguß einer ptolemäischen Phiale des früheren oder mittleren 3. Jahrhunderts bestätigt.[38]

Bei der Komposition A ist weiterhin die überaus feste Verbindung von Kelchblüte und bekrönender Knospe bemerkenswert. Die beiden Blüten stecken förmlich ineinander, wie wir es spätestens seit augusteischer Zeit an Blütenkandelabern kennen.[39] Auch dieses Detail spricht für eine Entstehung der Vase nicht vor dem ausgehenden 1. Jahrhundert v. Chr.

Beachtung verdient weiterhin die Ausgestaltung des oberen Blütenrandes der Kelchblüten. Auf den überfallenden Blütenrand setzte der Toreut eine Perlreihe.

Abb. 13. Blütenkomposition eines Stoffes aus dem "Philippgrab" von Vergina. Thessaloniki, Archäologisches Museum.

Diese Detailform ist meines Wissens im Repertoire des späten 4. und früheren 3. Jahrhunderts nicht geläufig, sie findet sich jedoch in der zweiten Hälfte des 3. Jahrhunderts auf dem Giebel des Sirenensarkophags aus Memphis,[40] eine Parallele, die angesichts des ägyptischen Nymphaea Nelumbo-Kelches der Kanne und ihres mutmaßlichen Fundortes sicherlich nicht zufällig ist.

Die Blütengruppe B (Abb. 11, 12) ist ähnlich aufgebaut wie A, doch kommt hier das frühhellenistische

35. Man vgl. etwa Blüten auf den Reliefs des Petosirisgrabes von Hermupolis: Pfrommer, *JdI* 97 (1982), 180, Abb. 20b, sowie einen Gipsabguß aus Mit Rahine in Hildesheim, Pelizaeus Mus. 1161: C. Reinsberg, *Studien zur hellenistischen Toreutik* (Hildesheim, 1980), 66f., 303, Nr. 19, Abb. 32. Pfrommer, *JdI* 97 (1982), 186, Abb. 23, 34.

36. An den Antenkapitellen des Naiskos von Didyma: Th. Wiegand, H. Knackfuß, *Didyma. Die Baubeschreibung* (Berlin, 1941), F 530, Taf. 190. Zur Datierung vgl. Pfrommer, *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 37 (1987), im Druck.

37. Pfrommer, *GettyMusJ* 13 (1985), 17.

38. Hildesheim, Pelizaeus Mus. 1141: Reinsberg, op. cit., 55f., 299, Abb. 21. Pfrommer, "Studien," 153, Anm. 375, 990.

39. Man vgl. etwa die Ara Pacis: G. Moretti, *Ara Pacis Augustae* (Rom, 1948), Taf. 1 (Rankenpfeiler).

40. Kairo, Ägyptisches Mus. CG 33102: C. C. Edgar, *Graeco-Egyptian Coffins, Masks and Portraits, Catalogue Générale des Antiquités Égyptiennes* (Kairo, 1905), 2f. Taf. 2. Pfrommer, *JdI* 97 (1982), 179f, Abb. 19 (Blüte). Pfrommer, "Studien," 135, Anm. 884, 1079 (mit Lit.).

Formengut noch unverkennbarer zum Tragen. Die beiden Blüten der Stockwerkkomposition sind noch regelrecht mit einem Stiel verbunden und stecken nicht so fest ineinander. Der dreiblättrige Basiskelch der großen Kelchblüte erinnert allerdings an spätesthellenistische Bildungen wie an dem Bronzebecken in Malibu,[41] jedoch lassen sich für den Blütentypus mit gezacktem Kelchrand unschwer spätklassische und frühhellenistische Analogien anführen.[42] Dasselbe gilt für die Differenzierung zwischen dem dreidimensional gegebenen unteren Blattwerk der Lotosblüte und den in Profilansicht ausgeführten oberen Blättern.[43]

Chronologisch von großer Bedeutung sind schließlich die länglichen Arazeen, die sich formal an Beispiele am Laodikebau in Milet anschließen, ein Gebäude, das wahrscheinlich in das mittlere 3. Jahrhundert datiert.[44] Auch diese Blütenform deutet somit auf ein frühhellenistisches Vorbild der Dekoration.

Im Gegensatz zu diesen frühen Formen steht der erst im ausgehenden Hellenismus aufkommende Typus der bekrönenden Lotosblüte mit überdimensionierter Zentralblüte, auf den bereits verwiesen wurde.[45]

DIE BLÜTEN IN DEN BLATTSPITZEN DER NYMPHAEA-BLÄTTER

Eine Lotosblüte wie die bekrönende Blüte der Gruppe B dient auch als Füllmotiv der überhängenden Traufspitzen der ersten Kelchreihe (Abb. 12). Als Füllblüte des Lotos ist diesmal eine Kelchblüte mit gewelltem, jedoch nicht überfallendem Rand gewählt.[46] Die beiden rahmenden, aus der großen Lotosblüte entwickelten Blüten mit dreiblättrigem Basiskelch finden engste Analogien auf einem frühhellenistischen Kieselmosaik aus Pella VI.[47] Auf der Kanne sind bei diesen Blüten die Fruchtknoten bzw. das Blüteninnere mit Silber eingelegt. Die ganze Blütengruppe wächst aus zwei winzigen, gegenständigen Voluten, die in ganz unnaturalistischer Weise aus den Rändern der großen Nymphaeablätter entwickelt wurden.

Im Aufbau verwandte Blütenkompositionen schmücken schließlich die überfallenden Blattspitzen der zweiten großen Kelchreihe (Abb. 12). Die aus einem Akanthuskelch bzw. aus glattem Blattwerk wachsende Knospe im Zentrum findet sowohl spätklassische wie auch frühhellenistische Parallelen.[48] Dasselbe gilt für die kleinen rahmenden Blütchen mit silbernen Fruchtknoten.[49]

Entgegen der hängenden Orientierung der Palmetten in den Traufspitzen auf dem erwähnten Bronzebecken in Malibu[50] sind die Blütengruppen in den Blattspitzen der Oinochoe nach oben orientiert. Da es sich ja um nach vorne überhängende Traufspitzen handeln soll, wäre eine hängende Anordnung der Dekoration an und für sich konsequenter, doch finden wir seit frühhellenistischer Zeit in der Regel stehende Blütenkompositionen.

BLATTKELCH UND BLÜTEN. ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

Sowohl im Blattkelch wie auch in den Blütenformen spiegeln sich zwei unterschiedliche Phasen der Ornamententwicklung. Der Entwurf wie auch die überwiegende Zahl der Einzelformen sind dem Repertoire des ausgehenden 4. und der ersten Hälfte des 3. Jahrhunderts verpflichtet, wobei die entwicklungsgeschichtlich spätesten Detailformen in die Mitte des 3. Jahrhunderts datieren. Dies gilt insbesondere für die in dieser Zeit im ptolemäischen Bereich aufkommenden "gefüllten" Blattspitzen.

Auf der anderen Seite sprechen einige Eigentümlichkeiten der Blüten wie auch die Gestaltung der Ränder der Nymphaea Nelumbo-Blätter für eine Entstehung der Vase nicht vor dem späten 1. Jahrhundert v. Chr.

Angesichts dieses Befundes bieten sich zwei Deutungsmöglichkeiten an. Entweder haben wir es bei der Dekoration mit einer Nachschöpfung im Stil des 3. Jahrhunderts zu tun, oder es handelt sich um eine geringfügig im Stil der frühen Kaiserzeit modifizierte Kopie eines frühptolemäischen Ornaments. Dies ist ornamentgeschichtlich von großem Interesse, da bisher unter den erhaltenen frühptolemäischen Dekorationen die auf der Kanne vertretene Entwicklungsstufe alexandrinischer Blattkelchornamentik nicht überliefert ist.

DIE WEINRANKE

Die Weinreben sind zeitlich weitaus schwerer einzugrenzen. Vergleichbar, wenn auch ohne die komplizierten Verschlingungen, ist der Dekor des Kratertypus

41. Pfrommer, *GettyMusJ* 13 (1985), 17, Abb. 1d (A–C). Weiterhin 17, Abb. 5b.

42. Etwa ein Kieselmosaik aus Athen: Pfrommer, *JdI* 97 (1982), 168, Abb. 14, oder eine apulische Schale in Ruvo: op. cit., 125, Abb. 27.

43. Vgl. etwa Blüten an der Goldlarnax des "Philippgrabes." Thessaloniki Mus.: Pfrommer, *JdI* 98 (1983), 249, Abb. 7.

44. M. Pfrommer, *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 36 (1986), 84, Taf. 27.1.

45. S.o. Anm. 24.

46. Als Beispiel für viele: Krater in Neapel, Privatbesitz: A. D. Trendall, A. Cambitoglou, *The Red-Figured Vases of Apulia* II (Oxford, 1982), 923, Taf. 358 (unten Mitte, hinter dem linken Eros). Vergleichbar ist hier nur die perspektivische Ansicht und nicht der Blütentypus an sich.

47. D. Salzmann, "Untersuchungen zu den antiken Kieselmosaiken," *Archäologische Forschungen* 10 (Berlin, 1982), 29f., Nr. 105, Taf. 38, 5 (links). Pfrommer, "Studien," 128f., 131, 138.

48. Als Beispiel für viele etwa ein Kieselmosaik aus Pella: Salzmann, op. cit., 105f., Nr. 98, Taf. 31, 4.

Abb. 14. Zeichnung der Weinranke auf dem Hals der Bronzekanne in Abb. 1. Zeichnung von Martha Breen Bredemeyer.

Borghese-Mahdia,[51] doch läßt sich der gestreckte Rankenverlauf der Zweige bereits in spätklassischer Zeit belegen.[52]

Die Weinblätter der Oinochoe entsprechen nicht mehr den vierösigen Beispielen des späteren 4. und 3. Jahrhunderts, doch ist zu beachten, daß bei Weinblattwerk in der Regel ohnehin mehrere Varianten nebeneinander stehen.[53]

Die komplizierte Verschlingung der Zweige an den Kreuzungspunkten läßt sich bereits an einer ptolemäischen Dekoration des 3. Jahrhunderts belegen (Abb. 15),[54] so daß auch hier ein frühhellenistisches Vorbild, unter Umständen sogar ein ptolemäisches, angenommen werden kann.

DAS LESBISCHE KYMATION

Das lesbische Kymation läßt sich ebenfalls auf eine Anregung des früheren 3. Jahrhunderts zurückführen. Beispiele mit geschwungener Kontur und relativ hoher Blattspitze erscheinen bereits gegen 300 v. Chr.[55] Der Verzicht auf eine breite Blattspitze deutet eher auf einen Ansatz im frühen als im mittleren 3. Jahrhundert. Etwas befremdlich wirkt die in der Traufspitze der Blätter mit einem Knick weitergeführte, dreifach konturierte Blattrahmung des Kymations. Möglicherweise zeigt sich hier die Handschrift des frühkaiserzeitlichen Toreuten. Wahrscheinlich ist dies indes bei der kurzen, keilförmigen Spaltung der Kymatienblätter, eine Eigentümlichkeit, die sich auch an anderen toreutischen Kymatien

Abb. 15. Gipsabguß aus Memphis. Hildesheim, Pelizaeus Museum 1135.

49. Man vgl. etwa das Gnosismosaik aus Pella: Salzmann, op. cit., 107f., Nr. 103, Taf. 29 (neben dem Petasos des rechten Jägers).

50. Pfrommer, *GettyMusJ* 13 (1985), 15, Abb. 1d: H.

51. H. Froning, *Marmor-Schmuckreliefs mit griechischen Mythen im 1. Jh. v. Chr.* (Mainz, 1981), 146, Taf. 58, 1.

52. Golddekorierte Schwarzfirniskeramik. Krater aus Capua in London, Brit. Mus. 71.7-22.3: G. Kopcke, *AM* 79 (1964), 32, Nr. 42, Beil. 19, 1 (oben rechts).

53. Zum vierösigen Typus vgl. man etwa den Alexandersarkophag: V. v. Graeve, "Der Alexandersarkophag und seine Werkstatt," *Ist-Forsch* 28 (Berlin, 1970), Taf. 5–7. Als Gegenbeispiel vgl. man zwei der Begleittheken: op. cit., Taf. 3.

54. Abguß, wahrscheinlich eines Schwertknaufs aus Mit Rahine in Hildesheim, Pelizaeus Mus. 1135: Reinsberg, op. cit., 64f., 302, Nr. 17, Abb. 25. Pfrommer, "Studien," 94, Anm. 65, 1324 KBk 95.

55. vgl. etwa Pfrommer, *GettyMusJ* 13 (1985), 12, Abb. 4.

des ausgehenden Hellenismus nachweisen läßt.[56]

Die anstelle der Zwischenspitzen in dem Kymation verwendeten Palmetten und Blüten entsprechen dem Repertoire spätklassischer und frühhellenistischer Toreutik, so daß man auch das Kymation auf ein frühhellenistisches Vorbild zurückführen darf.[57]

ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

Obwohl bei der Kanne in Form und Dekor in beträchtlichem Umfang frühhellenistische Formen zitiert sind, ist sie schwerlich vor der augusteischen Zeit gearbeitet worden. Diese späte Entstehungszeit schlägt sich unter anderem in der eklektischen Bildung der Panskopf-Attasche nieder. Im ornamentalen Bereich findet sie ihren besten Ausdruck in den Schwanenattaschen des Henkels.

Insbesondere der Blattkelch läßt sich auf das frühalexandrinische Repertoire zurückführen und auch bei anderen Formen ließen sich Verbindungen zu ptolemäischen Formen ziehen, wobei die im ptolemäischen Ägypten vorauszusetzende italisierende, makedonische Ornamenttradition immer wieder bei dem Blütenrepertoire zum Tragen kam. Die Dekoration imitiert oder kopiert eine Stilstufe ptolemäischer Ornamententwicklung, die uns bisher an Beispielen dieser Qualität nicht erhalten ist.

Das Original oder die Vorbilder der Dekoration wird man im ptolemäischen Bereich zu suchen haben. Verbindet man dies mit dem mutmaßlichen Fundort im Meer vor Alexandria, so wird man auf ein alexandrinisches Atelier etwa der augusteischen Zeit schließen dürfen, das gezielt auf das überkommene eigene Formengut zurückgriff. Trotz ihrer späten Entstehung steht die Kanne somit in der Tradition hellenistischer Gefäßkopien.[58] Nicht mehr zu klären ist, ob die Kanne in Form und Dekor auf ein einziges Vorbild zurückgeht, oder ob der alexandrinische Toreut seine Anregung von verschiedenen Gefäßen und Dekorationen bezog.

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56. Pfrommer, *GettyMusJ* 13 (1985), 12, Abb. 1, e: A. Diese Eigentümlichkeit findet sich auch gelegentlich auf älteren Kymatien. Situla aus Pastrovo in Plovdiv, Archäologisches Museum 1847: I. Venedikov, T. Gerassimov, *Thrakische Kunst* (Wien, 1973), 339, Taf. 107.

57. Zu diesem Motiv: Pfrommer, *GettyMusJ* 13 (1985), 11, Abb. 1, c; e.A.

58. Vgl. M. Pfrommer, *GettyMusJ* 11 (1983), 135–146.

The God Apollo, a Ceremonial Table with Griffins, and a Votive Basin

Cornelius C. Vermeule

Three very different works of Greek art have come to Malibu together (figs. 1–3). The most reliable information seems to indicate that they were found as a group in ruins in a mound, probably in western Greek lands. The statue of Apollo has been carved from marble which certainly comes from Attica, and the two elegant objects of furniture—a ceremonial table and a votive basin—have been fashioned out of marble from the Aegean Islands of Greece, not Thasos in the north but the area of Paros or Naxos in the Cyclades.

The purpose of this study is to argue that all three sculptures were fashioned about the same time, near the end of the fourth century B.C. or at the beginning of the third, and that they were made or assembled as a cohesive group in antiquity.[1] Furthermore, when considered together, the subjects and iconographic details of the three objects suggest connections between the Macedonian kingdoms after the death of Alexander the Great and Megale Hellas, the Greek world in southern Italy. The powerful personality who linked these regions together at this time was Pyrrhus, King of Epirus (319–272 B.C.), who for a period before 283 B.C. controlled half of Macedonia and Thessaly. Shortly thereafter, he came to the southernmost part of Italy to help Tarentum in the struggle against the Romans.

At Locri Epizephyrii, located on the ball of the foot of the Italian "boot," in ancient Bruttium (Reggio Calabria), King Pyrrhus struck a silver didrachm that is, to my mind, one small piece of evidence connecting the lekanis, or louter (basin), with the trapezophoros (table support); after a few mythological and geographical speculations, this link can be made to extend to the statue of Apollo. These connections suggest that an important person in touch with both Macedonian and Italian-Greek affairs, perhaps King Pyrrhus himself, dedicated this ensemble in a sacred area somewhere along the western coast of the Adriatic Sea.

APOLLO

The youthful god stands with his weight on the left leg, the left hip thrown slightly outward (fig. 1). The right leg and right foot were slightly advanced. There are remains of a griffin seated at the left foot, its right wing curling up between the god's left hip and the cloak wrapped around his left arm. This cloak is drawn around, and covers most of, the back; it hangs over the right shoulder with an extra fold. In his hair the god wears a fillet, flanked by braids. This fillet is tied with a knot at the back; the two ends lie over the carefully arranged hair. At the brow, the hair is tucked under the fillet in such a way as to allow two curls to spiral down in front of the ears.[2]

Apollo's lowered left hand, perhaps holding an arrow, rested above the wings of the griffin, and the right hand, perhaps holding a bow, was raised and extended. Alternatively, the extended right hand may have held a

At the Getty Museum thanks are due to John Walsh, Director, Marion True, Curator, and Arthur Houghton, former Associate Curator, for permission to publish these sculptures. Sandra Knudsen Morgan, former Editor, was, as she has been for well over a decade, a constant source of help and inspiration. Jiří Frel was extremely helpful with scholarly ideas and general information at the time these sculptures first came to notice. At the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Jan Fontein, Director, and colleagues in the Department of Classical Art—Mary Comstock, John Herrmann, Florence Wolsky, Emily Vermeule, and Michael Padgett—have been most supportive.

1. These sculptures were catalogued by the present writer as nos. 8, 9, and 10 in *Catalogue of a Collection of Greek, Etruscan and Roman Antiquities* (Cambridge, Mass., 1984), when they were in private hands in New York and London. Thanks also are offered to the former owners for help in studying the three sculptures, and other works of art, over the past years.

2. Accession number 85.AA.108. H (max.): 148 cm (58 1/4"); W (max. at the rib cage): 46 cm (18 1/8"), (max. at plinth): 57.5 cm (22 5/8"); D (max. at the left side of the plinth between the griffin's forepaws): 24.8 cm (9 3/4"). H (max. of plinth): 3 cm (1 3/16").

Greek marble with fine but evident crystals, in my opinion, probably Pentelic and surely from Attica. Remains of an iron dowel are found in the rectangular hole below the cloak, against the right shoulder. The mark of a modern plow runs from below the right shoulder to the middle of the right thigh. The breaks are visible in the photographs. There are no restorations. The surfaces of the flesh were well finished but were not highly polished. The same is true of the drapery or cloak, both front and back. Hair and diadem are less finely finished, save for the diadem in front which matches the flesh surfaces. There are root marks and encrustation at various places over the god, the griffin, and the plinth. See "Acquisitions/1985," *The J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 14 (1986), no. 6, p. 181.

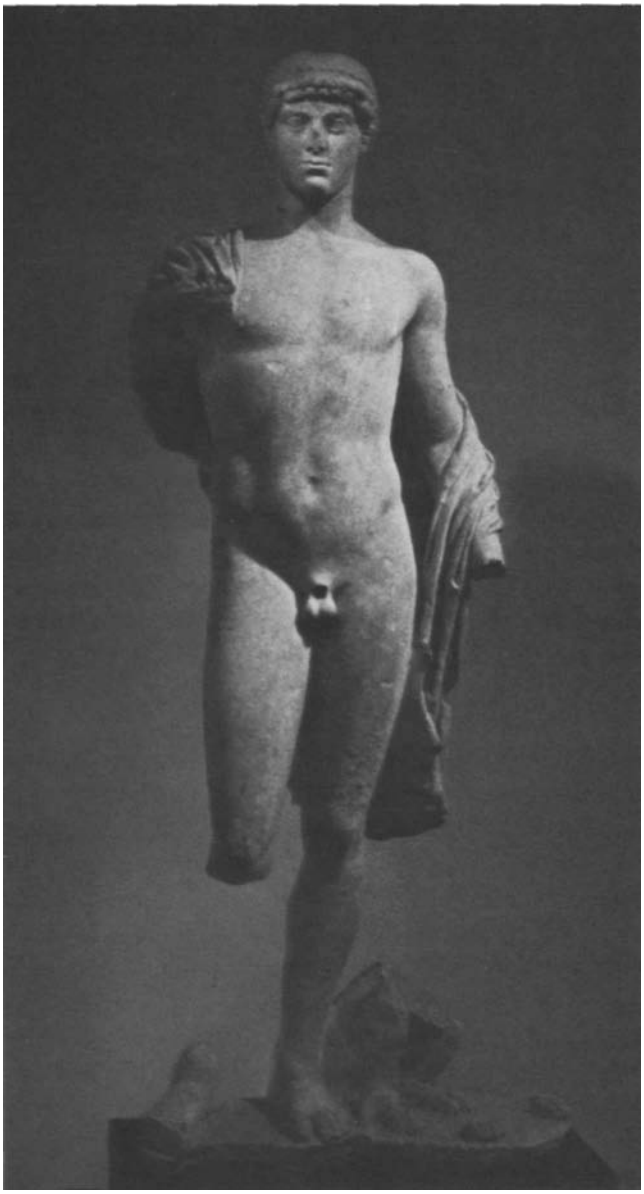


Figure 1. Statue of the god Apollo. Greek, circa 320–280 B.C. Marble. H (max.): 148 cm (58¼″); W (max. at the rib cage): 46 cm (18⅛″); D (max. at the left side of the plinth): 24.8 cm (9¾″). Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 85.AA.108.

libation dish (phiale) and the lowered left, the bow, or even both a bow and an arrow.[3]

This impressive statue is neither a work of the period between late Archaic and early Transitional Greek sculpture nor a sleek eclectic creation of the Pasitelean period in Naples and Rome of circa 85 B.C. and later in the first century.[4] While incorporating memories of Attic and South Italian Greek sculpture at the time of the Persian Wars, the stance and the softened forms of the body mark this carving as a work of the late fourth century B.C. or a generation later, influenced by the so-called Praxitelean traditions of Greek sculpture. The techniques of carving—the finishing in the hair, flesh, diadem, and drapery and the details of animal and plinth—as well as the simplified piecing with dowels, conform to practices of around 300 B.C. This Apollo belongs among the rare examples of so-called "Archaizing" Greek art of the period before the late Hellenistic age.

Research over the past century, particularly since the First and Second World Wars, makes it evident that "Archaistic" Greek art began in the fifth or fourth century, rather than in the period of copyism in the first century B.C. Modern terminologies ("Archaizing," "Archaistic," and "Lingering Archaic") are explained by B. S. Ridgway in *The Archaic Style in Greek Sculpture.*[5]

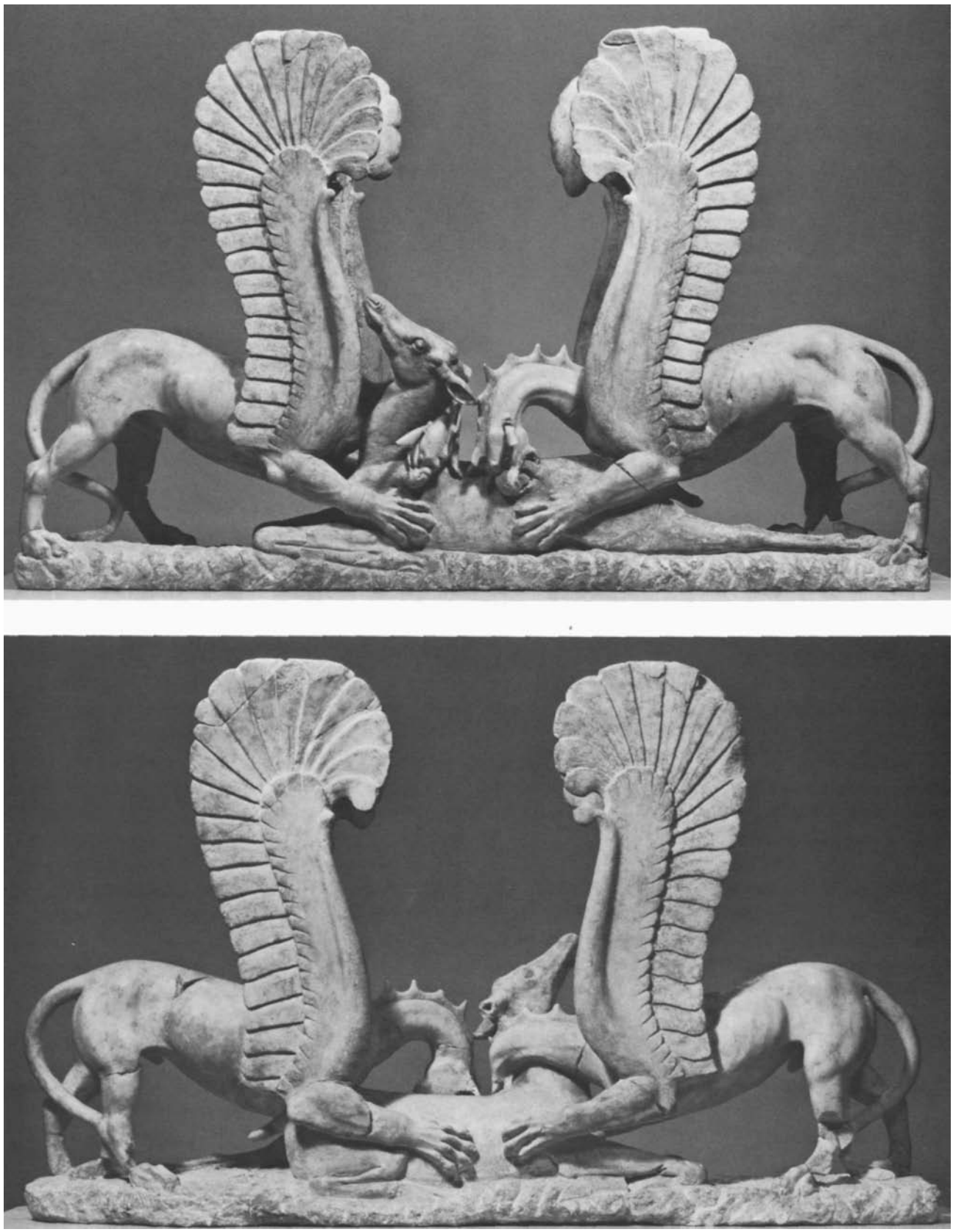
The Getty Apollo, by Ridgway's criteria, can be classed as "Archaizing." It is "a work of sculpture which belongs clearly and unequivocally to a period later than 480 and which, for all its differences in plastic treatment of drapery and tridimensionality of poses, retains a few formal traits of Archaic style, such as coiffure, pattern of folds, gestures or the like."[6] Unlike the Apollo from the House of Menander at Pompeii with its cold, polished

3. A precedent for the griffin as attribute and support placed close to one leg is found in a statue of Dionysos with his panther positioned at the bottom of the drapery that falls from his right wrist; the sculpture was found in a house at Priene. See Theodor Wiegand and H. Schrader, *Priene* (Berlin, 1904), pp. 368–369, fig. 463.

4. The truly Roman version of such a statue is the youthful Apollo in the Archaic style in the Museo Nazionale, Naples, from the House of Menander at Pompeii. See J. B. Ward-Perkins, A. Claridge, and J. Herrmann, *Pompeii, A.D. 79* (Boston, 1978), vol. 2, no. 83, p. 148. The archetype of the Apollo studied here was copied in Julio-Claudian times in the small marble statue in the Palazzo della Banca d'Italia, Via Nazionale, Rome, showing that the original belonged to the first years after, or, in Sicily, the last moments of, the Persian-Carthaginian wars. See E. Paribeni, "Di un nuovo tipo di Apollo di stile severo," *Antike Plastik* 17, Teil 6 (1978), pp. 101–105, pls. 50–52.

5. See Christine Mitchell Havelock, "Archaistic Reliefs of the Hellenistic Period," *AJA* 68 (1964), pp. 42, 44, pl. 17, fig. 1, a relief of Hermes and the nymphs belonging to the fourth century B.C., circa 320. See B. S. Ridgway, *The Archaic Style in Greek Sculpture* (Princeton, 1977), pp. 303–319, and bibliography, pp. 320–322.

6. Ridgway (supra, note 5), p. 303.



Figures 2a–b. Top, Ceremonial table with griffins. Greek, circa 320–280 B.C. Marble. H (max. at top of wings): 95 cm (37 7/16″); W (max. at plinth): 20 cm (7 7/8″), (at top of wings): 22 cm (8 5/8″); L (max.): 148 cm (58 1/2″). *Bottom,* back. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 85.AA.106.

Figure 3a. Votive basin. Greek, circa 320–280 B.C. Marble. H (max.): 30.8 cm (12 1/8″); Diam (max. including handles): 60 cm (23 5/8″), (max. at rim): 56 cm (22″). Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 85.AA.107.

body and its silly griffin looking like a puppy begging for a biscuit, this Apollo shows its originality by incorporating only those "Archaizing" elements, notably the coiffure, necessary to identify the statue as a modern (fourth century B.C.) restyling of a venerable image with no attempts at academic imitation.

TABLE SUPPORT: TWO GRIFFINS ATTACKING A FALLEN DEER

The two griffins crouch over their fallen prey, a deer, on a rough base similar to those used for Attic funerary animals in the fourth century B.C. (figs. 2a–b). The curling "Ionic," or traditionally East Greek, wings are solid between, each having a large, rectangular and horizontal slot and a vertical groove on the facing, inner surface. This arrangement was probably designed for a metal or wooden support for the table top, which rested on the curling upper surfaces of these wings.[7]

The high quality of the carving and the stylistic details of the animals, notably the eye treated as a raised circle or half a ball, all indicate a date of execution within the period of the last Athenian funerary beasts, which extended from around the time of Alexander the Great's death to the second decade of the third century B.C. For the functional use of these griffins and the deer as part of a piece of furniture, however, we have to seek parallels in the best decorative carving of the period around 80 B.C. and later, when so many more monumental marble tables and their components survive.[8] Evidence from Pompeii and Herculaneum confirms that elaborate tables in marble or metal had their places in the homes of the wealthy, but they were also definitely

7. Accession number 85.AA.106. H (max. at top of wings): 95 cm (37 7/16″); W (max. at plinth): 20 cm (7 7/8″), (at top of wings): 22 cm (8 5/8″); L (max.): 148 cm (58 1/2″).

Crystalline Greek island marble. There are numerous breaks carefully mended with small pieces attached but with no restorations. Many traces of the red, blue, and golden brown colors survive—to wit, the blue for the griffins' wings, bright red for the griffins' combs, brown or fawn color for the fallen quadruped, red also for the blood around the mouths of the griffins and the areas where their claws have dug into the unfortunate beast. The eyes of the griffins and especially their eyeballs had brown underpainting, and the fallen animal's eyes were red. The plinth is roughly finished; the griffins' bodies are the smoothest parts of the sculpture. See "Acquisitions/1985," *The J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 14 (1986), no. 4, p. 180.

8. This ensemble has also been published, without illustration, by the writer in "Bench and Table Supports: Roman Egypt and Beyond," *Studies in Ancient Egypt, the Aegean, and the Sudan: Essays in Honor of Dows Dunham on the Occasion of His 90th Birthday, June 1, 1980,* ed. W.

Figure 3b. Interior of figure 3a.

part of the furnishings of temples and had their places in elaborate tombs. This was probably even more the case in the period around 300 B.C.

Griffins were mythological creatures associated with Apollo in the east, and by Classical times the motif of these beasts attacking a weaker quadruped symbolized the forces of civilization over barbarism, the power of the sun rising from the east, or the divine determination of death (sometimes sudden and quixotic) to mortals.[9] As a piece of furniture, the subject as treated here was no mere decoration for a Greek garden but was a powerful statement to be installed in a major votive context.[10]

K. Simpson and W. Davis, Jr. (Boston, 1981), p. 183.

9. The ensemble has its painterly parallel on the front side of the neck of the red-figured volute krater by the Aurora Painter, from Falerii of about 325 B.C. See M. Sprenger, G. Bartolini, and M. Hirmer, *Die Etrusker, Kunst und Geschichte* (Munich, 1977), p. 149, pl. 228.

Dietrich von Bothmer has adduced and discussed parallels for the griffins attacking a fallen deer in Etruscan painting and sculpture of about 300 B.C. in the publication of an Etruscan red-figured kantharos in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (51.11.10): *BMMA* 10, no. 5 (1952), pp. 145–149, with illustrations of the subject on both sides of the kantharos, on the wall of the François Tomb, and on the end of the older of the two Prince of Canino sarcophagi from Vulci in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (86.145). For the sarcophagi, see also M. B. Comstock and C. C. Vermeule, *Sculpture in Stone* (Boston, 1976), no. 383, pp. 244–246.

10. The same school of Attic or South Italian Greek sculptors who carved the magnificent table support also modeled the two large ter-

BASIN WITH SCULPTED DETAILS AND A PAINTED SCENE IN THE INTERIOR

The painting in the bowl's interior comprises a whirligig of three nereids, one on a hippocamp and two on ketoi; Thetis is shown holding the shield of Achilles (figs. 3a–b). One other nereid holds a cuirass and the third a helmet. The bowl has ovolo, or egg-and-dart, molding around the lip; fluted handles with floral bases, which join the body as if cast in metal and riveted or soldered on; a circular foot enriched with waterleaf design; and, finally, below the fillet of this foot, three animal-foot supports rising to the circular foot with Ionic fluting.[11] These animal feet are set on a thin, slightly irregular base, and there is a heavy, columnar support for the entire ensemble underneath.[12] Much of the paint remains, and the colors used are: gold for the shield; purple for the nereids' garments; reds and blues for the marine creatures as well as the foot of the bowl, the animal feet, the support, and the plinth.

The fragile nature of the painting in the interior of this bowl, a traditional Greek footbath, indicates that the object was not made for practical use but for ceremonial purposes. Such a basin would have made a perfect dedication in a temple or shrine; it could also have been made as an offering to the gods and shades in a tomb, although this particular painting within an object carved circa 300 B.C. would have conveyed a pointed mythological, dynastic, and political message. The scene of Thetis with the shield of Achilles as focal point of a whirligig of nereids and sea creatures is watery indeed, as befits a footbath, but its symbolism is deliberately associated with the Epirote ancestry of the ruling Macedonians (Alexander the Great through his mother Olympias) and their cousins and renewed connections in Epirus.[13] The most memorable of these at this time was King Pyrrhus.

CONCLUSION

Between about 320 and 280 B.C., probably closer to the latter date, an Apollo standing with his griffin at his side was carved in a style that blended late Archaic features with the softened forms of Praxitelean youthfulness. To this splendidly accomplished statue was added a table supported by an ensemble consisting of two griffins slaying a deer. The leg of this table was large and strong enough to support a light top of stone, metal, or wood on its own; there has been some speculation that there may have been a pendant trapezophoros, which would be in keeping with the construction of such tables in the Greek world from early Hellenistic to Julio-Claudian and Flavian (Pompeiian) times. Finally, there is a basin with a low, rounded foot, handles, and careful enrichment imitating Greek metalwork of the fourth century B.C. The interior of the basin was painted with a marine mythological whirligig, featuring Thetis riding on a sea beast and carrying the shield of Achilles.

The table support and the basin were also probably carved during the years when Alexander the Great's successors were consolidating their power, 320 to 280 B.C. The griffins killing the deer were carried out as a masterful elaboration in painted marble of motifs and compositions familiar in South Italy from the gilded terracotta reliefs of Tarentum.[14] The basin represented the best imitation in marble of metalwork from the Peloponnesus or Tarentum, embellished with a painted design popular in the *koine* of the fourth and third centuries B.C. from Olynthos in Macedonia to Tarentum and beyond to Etruria.

To my mind, the chain that links these three works of art together is the silver didrachm struck by Pyrrhus of Epirus, Macedonia, and Thessaly at Locri sometime before 280 B.C. (figs. 4a–b).[15] The reverse of Thetis on a sea beast with the shield of Achilles symbolizes the descent of both Alexander the Great and Pyrrhus from that hero; it is also the main device painted in the interior of the Getty's marble basin. Griffins appear on the sides of the helmet of Achilles on the coin's obverse, and these fantastic creatures who conquer in the east, as did Alexander and Achilles, are identified with Apollo,

racotta heads of stags or deer in Würzburg. See E. Simon et al., *Führer durch die Antikenabteilung des Martin von Wagner Museums der Universität Würzburg* (Mainz, 1975), p. 226, pl. 56. There are Roman decorative carvings of comparable quality, but they are rare, e.g., the head of a panther from a table support. See Jacques Chamay in J. Dörig et al., *Art antique: Collections privées de Suisse Romande* (Geneva, 1975), no. 375.

11. The famous nereid on a sea beast (*ketos*) depicted in relief on the lid of a pyxis (jar) in gold and silver from Canosa di Puglia that is now in the Museo Nazionale, Taranto, is a contemporary parallel. See E. Langlotz and M. Hirmer, *Ancient Greek Sculpture of South Italy and Sicily* (New York, 1965), pp. 69–70, pl. XX. For other, varied views of the subject, see H. Sichtermann, "Nereo e nereide," in *Enciclopedia dell'arte antica, classica e orientale* (Rome, 1963), vol. 5, pp. 421–423, and S. Reinach, *Répertoire de peintures grecques et romaines* (Paris, 1922), p. 40.

12. Accession number 85.AA.107. H (max.): 30.8 cm (12 1/8"); Diam (max. including handles): 60 cm (23 5/8"), (max. at rim): 56 cm (22"). Crystalline Greek island marble. A curved section is missing at the bowl's rim, and there are chips around the molding of the rim. The handles have been broken, repaired, and rejoined. See "Acquisitions/1985," *The J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 14 (1986), no. 5, p. 180.

13. Gold medallions from Aboukir with the bust of Olympias on the obverse and Thetis in a nereid and triton composition on the reverse are work of the late Severan period (A.D. 230) in the tradition of early Hellenistic Macedonia. See *The Search for Alexander: An Exhibition* (Boston, 1980), nos. 10, 11, pp. 103–104. A full bibliography on

Figures 4a–b. *Left,* Didrachm (obverse). Struck at Locri by King Pyrrhus of Epirus, before 280 B.C. Silver. Diam: 23.5 mm (15/16″). *Right,* reverse. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, Theodora Wilbour Fund in Memory of Zoë Wilbour, 1985.235. Photos: Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

Figure 5. Roundel with bust of Apollo. Early Hellenistic period. Gilded silver. Diam: 7 cm (2¾″). Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, Theodora Wilbour Fund in Memory of Zoë Wilbour, 1985.333. Photo: Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

a fact made clear by the presence of the beast beside the god in the Getty's marble statue.

Zeus, Demeter, and Kore, rather than Apollo, were the major divinities of Locri.[16] Apollo was present in a secondary way at Rhegium, around the toe of the Italian "boot" from Locri Epizephyrii, but at Caulonia just to the northeast, across the Sagras River, he was the major patron divinity. Caulonia, however, was destroyed by Dionysius I of Syracuse about 388 B.C., and its territory was presented to the Locrians.[17] Rhegium was treated in similar fashion in 387, but this city was restored by Dionysius II before 350 B.C. It was at this time (350–300 B.C.) that Rhegium's bronze coinage featured a youthful Apollo with long hair similar to the image on a silver-gilt plaque of the fourth century B.C. (fig. 5).[18]

Thus, in a shrine to Apollo early in the third century B.C., it would seem suitable that a statue of the god be "Archaistic" to recall Caulonia's famous image on silver staters of 550 to 480 B.C., albeit in an updated sculptural form. Apollo Katharsios had cured the Sagras coast of plagues. Could this ensemble, the statue, the table, and the basin have been the dedication of a prominent Epirote Macedonian, like King Pyrrhus, intended to keep the armies in Megale Hellas free of illness as well as from the surging power of Rome? Such is a possible explanation for three such unusual masterpieces of Greek sculpture and painting in a single context.

Given the theme of Thetis with the shield of Achilles on the inside of the marble basin (fig. 3b) and on the reverse of the didrachm of Pyrrhus (fig. 4b), there should have been arms and armor found with this dedication. Such armor ought to have been of the highest artistic level and finest quality produced in the Greek world in the age of Alexander the Great or the two generations of his successors and relatives. Figural de-

nereids with the arms of Achilles is given by Stella G. Miller, "Eros and the Arms of Achilles," *AJA* 90 (1986), p. 159, n. 2.

14. See Lidia Forti and Attilio Stazio, "Vita quotidiana dei Greci d'Italia," in *Megale Hellas: Storia e civiltà della Magna Grecia* (Milan, 1983), p. 699, fig. 720, an example of a griffin and a stag, a heavily gilded relief in just the schema of this table support. H. Hoffmann, *Ten Centuries That Shaped the West: Greek and Roman Art in Texas Collections* (Houston, 1970), no. 135, p. 280, on the general meaning of these plaques. H. Herdejürgen, *Die tarentinischen Terrakotten des 6. bis 4. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. im Antikenmuseum Basel*, Veröffentlichungen des Antikenmuseums Basel, Band 2 (Basel, 1971), nos. 71, 72, pp. 68–69, pl. 21, a stag facing a griffin as pendant plaques.

15. This specimen is from the J. Vinchon sale, Monte Carlo, April 13, 1985, lot 269. E. S. G. Robinson, *Lloyd Collection,* vol. 2 of *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum* (London, 1933), no. 657, pl. XXI.

16. See E. Langlotz and M. Hirmer (supra, note 11), p. 271, pls. 71–75, terracotta reliefs from Locri, dating about 450 B.C. These reliefs feature stylistic details of up to half a century earlier, perhaps setting the taste that produced the "Archaistic" marble Apollo of the late fourth century B.C.

17. B. V. Head, *Historia Numorum* (Oxford, 1911), pp. 92–94. Attilio Stazio, "Moneta e scambi," in *Megale Hellas: Storia e civiltà della Magna Grecia* (Milan, 1983), pp. 122–123, 136, figs. 94–99.

18. See Sale 6, Bank Leu A. G., Zurich, May 8, 1973, lots 43, 44.

Figure 6. Queen Penthesilea on the left shoulder-plate of a cuirass. Early Hellenistic period. Bronze. H: 16 cm (6⁵/₁₆″). Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, Frank B. Bemis Fund, 1986.242. Photo: Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

tails certainly would have been included, and the subjects, again, ought to have been linked with the myths of Achilles, the greatest Greek hero and an ancestor of Alexander and Pyrrhus.

There is a scrap of evidence that meets all these criteria, including the possibilities of provenance. The left shoulder-plate of a bronze cuirass features a female head in an Amazonian cap, the side flaps of which turn into decorative volutes at the curving edges of the background (fig. 6). She wears earrings of Lydian or Ionian form and a slender torque with a flower suspended from it. This sad-faced Amazon can only be Queen Penthesilea, and her slight inward turn of the head affirms the deduction that another head rose out of the opposite shoulder-plate.[19] The head on the wearer's right, the place of honor, could only have been Achilles. The body of the cuirass was probably undecorated, beyond suggesting the ideal anatomy common to such objects at the time, but the complete ensemble would have been fully worthy of a princely dedication in the Italic aftermath of Alexander the Great.[20]

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19. H (max.): 16 cm (6⁵/₁₆″); W (max.): 12 cm (4¹¹/₁₆″). The patina is the rich, deep green of the finest Greek metalwork from 350 to 275 B.C.

20. The comparable right shoulder-plates (covering the straps) of Greek bronze cuirasses of the fourth century B.C. are collected on pp. 51–54 of Arnold Hagemann, *Der Metallharnisch,* vol. 1 of *Griechische Panzerung: Ein entwicklungsgeschichte Studie zur antiken Bewaffnung* (Leipzig and Berlin, 1919). The famous Siris Bronzes in the British Museum (pp. 51–52, fig. 62) are basically the left and right shoulder-plates and back of the neck and shoulders of such a piece of armor. Also, H. B. Walters, *Catalogue of the Greek, Roman, and Etruscan Bronzes in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities* (London, 1899), no. 285, pp. 39–40, pl. VIII. In reasonably high relief, mirrored pairs of Greeks attack fallen Amazons, similarly balanced. They are possibly Achilles slaying Penthesilea on the left, and Ajax Oïleus dispatching Derinoë on the right. The southeast coast of Italy as well as western Mainland Greece, the Peloponnesus, and, lately, Macedonia or Thrace are the sources for a number of these plates or coverings for cuirass fastenings.

Two Pieces of Porcelain Decorated by Ignaz Preissler in the J. Paul Getty Museum

Maureen Cassidy-Geiger

The Breslau physician and chronicler, Johann Christian Kundmann (1684–1751), writing in 1726 on the notable collections of art, books, instruments, and curiosities to be found in his city, reported that a man named "Preussler" had worked for seven years decorating over one hundred pieces of porcelain in grisaille and with gilding for the prominent collector Herr Ernst Benjamin von Löwenstädt und Ronneburg (d. 1729). In the middle of the lengthy descriptions of von Löwenstädt's *Kunst- und Raritäten-Kammer*—which follow an enumeration of the paintings, bronzes, and carved sculpture and a summary of the artists represented in prints and drawings and which precede a comprehensive listing of the numerous and varied curiosities in the collection—Kundmann states that "Gantz was sonderbares hat Er in Ost-Indischen *Porcellain* gesammlet von allerhand Farben; insonderheit besitzet Er über 100. Stück grosse Schalen, Teller und andere Gefässe von *Preusslern* in grau und grau gemahlet; Ja Er hat selbsten es so weit gebracht, dass Er unterschiedliche Porcellaine Becher vergolden und doch noch darauf mahlen lassen: Worzu er gantzer VII. Jahr gedachten *Preussler* gehalten."[1]

In 1737, Kundmann reported that after von Löwenstädt's death his entire "cabinet" of porcelain decorated by "Preussler," including many vessels, plates, bowls, teabowls, and saucers, was acquired by Franz, Count von Hatzfeld, Imperial Councilor and Frey Standes-Herr in Silesia.[2] A fire at the Hatzfeld estate in the eighteenth century is presumed to have destroyed most of the family treasures, including the porcelain collection.[3] It therefore becomes obvious from the large body of remaining work by Preissler (the correct spelling of the artist's name) that he had other clients during the seven years he was working on von Löwenstädt's commission.

Breslau (present-day Wrocław, Poland) was the capital of Silesia, a province under Hapsburg rule. From the Renaissance, it was an important center for the arts, notably metalworking, and in the eighteenth century it developed into an important intellectual and religious center. Contemporary travel guides praised the city for its many fine libraries and museums. The nobility with estates in Silesia and palaces in Prague and Vienna built new palaces in Breslau, thereby attracting leading artists and craftsmen to the city. The glassmaking industry was long established in the region, and the heavily wooded estates were cleared by the glassworks, which were permitted to operate on their lands. Given these developments, Breslau in the 1720s became a center of *Hausmaler* activity (a *Hausmaler* being a craftsman who decorated glass and ceramic wares on a free-lance basis, either independently or in a workshop not affiliated with any factory operation). It is therefore not surprising that the work of the *Hausmaler* referred to as "Preussler" (also the name of a prominent family of glassmakers in Bohemia) was described in detail in contemporary chronicles and was valued as a collector's item.

Various porcelains with *Schwarzlot* decoration (literally *Schwarzlot* means "black lead," but it is actually a transparent black enamel painted onto the surface and scratched through with a needle before firing) that can be attributed to Preissler were already in the collection of Augustus the Strong in 1721, and others were added in 1722. These pieces are described in the *Inventarium über das Palais zu Alt-Dresden Anno 1721* under the chapter heading "Weiss Sächsische Porcelain" as follows:

> N.7. 3. Stk. extra feine runde am Rand vergoldete Chocolate Tassen u. Schaalen, darauff mit einer rothen Couleur sauber en Crotesqué gemahlet ist; Diese Arbeit is in Pöhmen gefertiget worden, und jede Tasse und Schaale ist von differenter

1. Johann Christian Kundmann, *Promtuarium rerum Naturalium et Artificialium Vratislaviensae* (Vratislaviae, 1726), p. 62. I wish to thank the Archdiocese of Wrocław for permitting me the use of their library where I consulted this and other volumes by the same author.

2. Johann Christian Kundmann, *Rariora naturae & artis oder Seltenheiten der Natur und Kunst des Kundmannischen Naturalien-Cabinets* (Breslau and Leipzig, 1737), pp. 640–641.

3. Gustav E. Pazaurek, *Deutsche Fayence- und Porzellan-Hausmaler* (Leipzig, 1925), vol. 1, p. 209, n. 6.

> Zeichnung. Zwey Tassen darvon sind schadhafft, jede aber 3. Z. tieff und 2½. in diam. eine Schaale aber ¾. Z. tieff 5. Z. in diam.

(The above entry correctly assigns the decoration to a Bohemian painter.)

> N.8. 3. Stk. dergl. Chocolate Tassen u. Schaalen, so mit schwarzer Farbe en Crotesqué gemahlet sind, es sind alle von differenter Zeichnung und jede Tasse 3. Z. tieff. 2½. Z. in diam. eine Schale aber ¾. Z. tieff. 5. Z. in diam. Hierzu gehöret ein auswendig brauner Spiel Napff darauff Neptunus mit allerhandt Nayaden und Tritonen, sehr sauber schwarz und goldt Gemahlet ist, inwendig ist fein schwarz Crotesque Arbeit. 3. Z. tieff. 6½. Z. in diam.[4]
>
> Anno 1722 im Monath Juny haben Ihro Königl. Mayt. von dem Herrn Grafen Lagnasco bekommen u. in das Palais gegeben, wie folget:
>
> N.64. 2. stk. Krugelgen darauf Holl. Paysagen mit roth und schwartzer Couleur amaliret sind, mit Henckeln so vergoldet sind. 4. Z. tieff u. 3½ Z. in diam.
>
> N.65. 2. stk. dergl. darauff Wasser Jadgen mit schwartzer Couleur amaliret sind. von obiger Höhe.[5]

A beaker, saucer, and bowl corresponding to those numbered "N.7." and "N.8." are still in the Porzellansammlung of the Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden (PO 3130 and 3132).[6] All three are not, however, of Meissen porcelain but are of Chinese porcelain decorated in underglaze blue or iron-red. Two small tankards corresponding to those numbered "N.64." and "N.65." were illustrated in 1925 but are no longer in the collection.[7]

Kundmann's accounts and the 1721 inventory of Augustus the Strong's collection demonstrate that Preissler obviously worked for patrons of wealth and rank and that his work was widely admired and collected in his own lifetime by members of the aristocracy. It was not until the twentieth century, however, that authors returned to the subject of Ignaz Preissler and brought to light church and archival records that provided his given name, the correct spelling of his surname, and some details of his life. In the intervening centuries, his works retained their appeal for collectors, but because none are signed and few are dated, their histories were lost.

Information published in the 1920s and 1930s introduced Ignaz Preissler as a porcelain and glass painter working in Kronstadt (present-day Kunštát), Bohemia, circa 1729–1732, for Franz Karl, Count Liebsteinsky von Kolowrat (d. 1753).[8] That the "Preussler" working in Breslau in the 1720s is the same Ignaz Preissler working in Kronstadt circa 1729 was originally debated but is no longer in doubt. He was born in Friedrichswalde (present-day Bedřichovka), on the border of Bohemia and Silesia, in 1676, the son of a porcelain painter named Daniel Josef Norbert Preissler (circa 1636–1733) and his wife, Dorota (née Keller, d. 1723). He moved with his family to Kronstadt, his mother's village, in 1680/81 and returned there later in his life to work and care for his elderly father, whose second wife had died in 1730. Ignaz Preissler's own first wife, Anna Steiner, also died in 1730, and the following year, he married Zuzana Uhrban of the neighboring village of Kerndorf. He died in 1741 at the age of sixty-five. A son, also named Ignaz, was apprenticed to a tailor in Reichenau (present-day Rychnov), the Kolowrat family seat, located about thirty-five kilometers from Kronstadt.

The work of the Kronstadt period can be determined using documents from 1729–1732, which consist of invoices and letters exchanged between Preissler and his patron, Count von Kolowrat, or his patron's servant Tobias Hannusch, a close friend of Preissler's and himself a porcelain and glass decorator at Reichenau.[9] The documents reveal, among other things, that Preissler painted chiefly chinoiseries, but also "difficult poetic subjects," on porcelain (primarily oriental) and glass provided by the count. He worked primarily in *Schwarzlot* and iron-red with gold but began to use purple monochrome and polychrome colors at the end of this period.

The work belonging to the Breslau period was brought into focus in 1983 in an article by Annedore Müller-Hofstede, which was published in *Keramos*.[10] This year will see the publication in the *Journal of Glass Studies* of an article by Rudolf Strasser in which he attributes a group of glasses to the Breslau period and another group to an even earlier period, circa 1695–1715, when the painter was in his twenties and thirties. The

4. Parts of the inventory are transcribed in *Böttgersteinzeug Böttgerporzellan aus der dresdener Porzellansammlung* (Dresden, 1969). This section appears on p. 36.

5. Ibid., p. 40.

6. I would like to express my thanks to Dr. Ingelore Menzhausen and Dr. Friedrich Reichel for their generous assistance during my visit to the collection. The bowl is illustrated in Dr. Menzhausen's article "Das erste Inventar der dresdener Porzellansammlung," *Keramos* 12 (1961), p. 27, fig. 1.

7. Illustrated by Pazaurek (supra, note 3), p. 219, figs. 183, 184.

8. See the following: F[rantisek] X[aver] Jiřík, "K dejinám porculánu v Cechách. Domácký malír skla a porculánu v Kunstátu Ignatius Preissler (1728–1732)," in *Zpráva Kuratoria za Správní Rok 1923* (Prague, 1924), pp. 24–41, pls. III, IV; Pazaurek (supra, note 3), pp. 209–249; Frantisek Xaver Jiřík, *Ceské Sklo . . .* (Prague, 1934), pp. 51–52; Annedore Müller-Hofstede, "Der schlesisch-böhmische

Figure 1a. Ignaz Preissler (Bohemian, 1676–1741). Bowl decorated with allegories of spring (interior) and summer (exterior), circa 1715–1720. Chinese porcelain with underglaze-blue decoration and overglaze decoration in *Schwarzlot* and gold. H: 7.3 cm (2⅞″); Diam: 14.9 cm (5⅞″). Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 86.DE.738.

decoration of these groups of glasses, in particular, suggests that Preissler may have trained in Nuremberg before arriving in Breslau and therefore would have been one of the last of the followers of Johann Schaper (1621–1670), the glass painter credited with the transfer of the *Schwarzlot* technique from flat glass to hollow glass and faience.

In the wake of this recent interest in Ignaz Preissler's early years in Breslau, the Department of Decorative Arts of the J. Paul Getty Museum has acquired two important examples of his work from this period. One is a bowl of Chinese porcelain decorated in *Schwarzlot* with mythological scenes. The other is a leaf-shaped dish of Meissen porcelain with decoration in iron-red and gold.

The bowl (figs. 1a–h) is a type of porcelain produced between circa 1710 and 1740.[11] It has incised floral-scroll decoration beneath the glaze on the outside, framed by diaper-patterned borders in underglaze blue; on the inside, the same borders are painted around the rim and in the center, forming a wreath. This was the type of oriental porcelain used most frequently by Preissler, and it was also used by *Hausmaler* working in Augsburg, circa 1725–1730.[12] It is obviously that described in the invoices from the Kolowrat commissions as "Weijss mit Blawen Randt." The lack of boldly decorated sur-

Hausmaler Ignaz Preissler," *Keramos* 100 (1983), pp. 3–50. I wish to acknowledge the generous assistance of the late Dr. Zdenka Munzer in the translation of the works published in Czechoslovakian.

9. These documents were first published by Jiřík (supra, note 8) in 1923 and were reprinted by Müller-Hofstede (supra, note 8), pp. 44–50. The surname of the painter referred to as "Tobias" in the documents was provided to me in 1984. The significance of his relationship to Ignaz Preissler will be brought to light in Rudolf Strasser's forthcoming article in the *Journal of Glass Studies.*

10. Müller-Hofstede (supra, note 8).

11. Regina Krahl et al., *Chinese Ceramics in the Topkapi Saray Museum Istanbul . . .* (London, 1986), vol. 3, p. 952.

12. Rainer Rückert, *Meissener Porzellan 1710–1810*, ex. cat. (Munich, 1966), nos. 53–55, pp. 60–61, pls. 17, 18.

Figure 1b. Detail of the exterior of figure 1a.

Figure 1c. Detail of the exterior of figure 1a.

Figure 1d. Detail of the exterior of figure 1a.

faces probably made this type of blue-and-white ware less attractive as a cabinet piece and more suitable for use as a sort of "blank" ware to be painted by the *Hausmaler* and refired in their muffle-kilns.

Preissler added the mythological scenes painted in *Schwarzlot* with touches of gold that decorate the inside and outside of the bowl. He often decorated the inside or underside of dishes, bowls, and vases, though generally not with such full pictorial scenes but with a form of auxiliary decoration. The latter was often comprised of ornamental work, in some cases enclosing isolated figural elements. Traces of gold over the underglaze-blue borders on the Getty bowl suggest that they were originally highlighted with gilding, a feature of other wares of this type decorated by Preissler.

The scenes depicted can be traced to a series of engravings after a cycle of the four seasons by Pierre I. Mignard (1612–1695), which was painted in 1677 for the Galerie d'Apollon in the Château de Saint-Cloud. The scene on the interior of the bowl, which shows the marriage of Flora and Zephyr (fig. 1g), represents spring, and the sacrifice of Ceres on the exterior (fig. 1d) represents summer.

Louis XIV's brother, Monsieur (Philippe I, duc d'Orléans), acquired the château in 1655 and commissioned Mignard, LeBrun's rival and later his successor, to decorate the *galerie.* The completed program was widely acclaimed, according to Mignard's biographer, the Abbé de Monville, and even the king is reported to have said, "Je souhaite fort que les peintures de ma gallerie de Versailles répondent à la beauté de celles-ci."[13] The paintings, which were destroyed in the 1870 fire

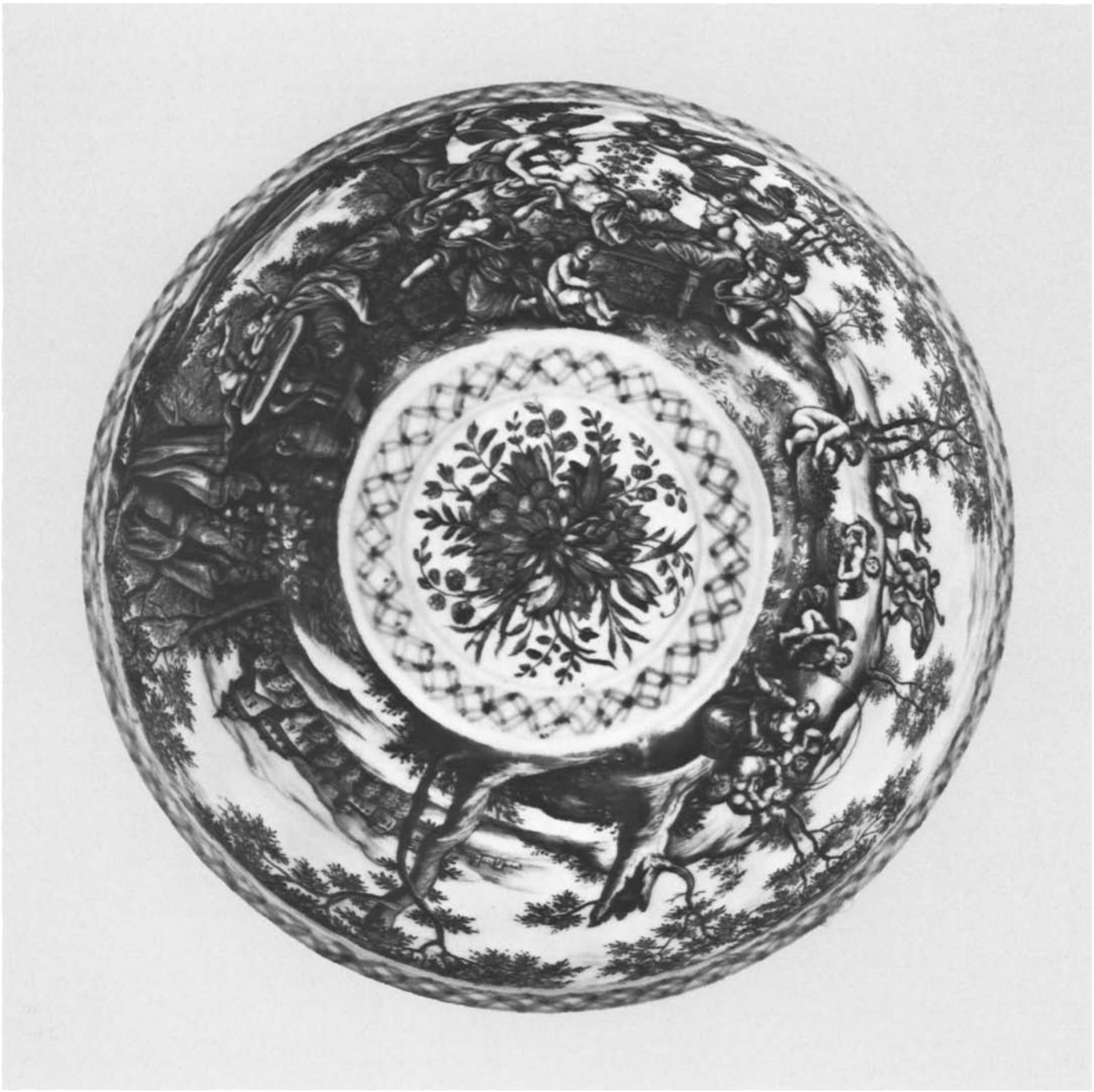

Figure 1e. Interior of figure 1a.

at the château, are evoked in Monville's eloquent descriptions of them:

> La Terre sous le symbole de Cybele, élevant vers le ciel ses tristes regards, implore le retour de Soleil, qu'on apperçoit dans l'éloignement, sans éclat, presque sans lumiere. C'est à une image si vraie tout ensemble & si poëtique, que le spectateur reconnoît l'hyver, dont les fâcheux effets sont excellemment exprimez. Ici le Dieu d'un fleuve appuïé sur son urne, n'en voit sortir que des glaçons: là des vaisseaux sur une mer agitée paroissent le jouet des vents & de la tempête; Borée & les fougueux Aquilons soufflent par tout la neige, le gresil & les frimats: les Hyades inondent les campagnes de pluyes; Vulcain présente à Cybele un brasier, auquel se chauffe un enfant qui est derriére la Déesse; ses lions sont à ses pieds, ils semblent avoir perdu une partie de leur ferocité, & partager l'abattement de tout le reste de la nature.

Figure 1f. Detail of the interior of figure 1a.

Figure 1g. Detail of the interior of figure 1a.

Figure 1h. Detail of the interior of figure 1a.

> Le Printems désigné par l'Hymen de Zephire & de Flore, offre aux yeux une belle campagne, où la nature rajeunie, prodigue les fleurs les plus précieuses: Flore en reçoit l'hommage des mains de Zephire; les Amours, les Ris & les jeux mêlez avec les Nymphes, paroissent occupez à choisir les fleurs les plus belles, & à en composer des des [*sic*] guirlandes: un élegant badinage prête encore des graces nouvelles à l'agrément infini de tableau: les personnages épisodiques qu'on y a introduit sont enjoüez.
>
> Le Peintre a representé l'Eté par un sacrifice en l'honneur de Cerès. Au milieu d'un champ fertile, des moissonneurs dont on lit la joye sur le visage, rendent à genoux, graces à cette Déesse: tous ont des flambeaux à la main, à la reserve d'un petit nombre de laboureurs chargez des prémices de leurs gerbes, qu'ils offrent à la Divinité qui préside à l'Agriculture: son image est portée par quatre de ses Prêtresses d'une beauté & d'une modestie admirable. Un Sacrificateur amene un agneau orné de fleurs, prêt à être immolé. Dans l'enfoncement on apperçoit le Temple de Cerès, l'architecture en est simple, mais noble; il en fort de jeunes Prêtresses dansant au son de leurs tambours. L'on a ressemblé avec soin tout ce qui peut servir à caracteriser la saison; Mignard a soû peindre, pour ainsi dire, la chaleur de l'Eté. On ne pouvoit rien choisir de plus convenable pour faire de l'Automne le sujet d'un tableau, que le triomphe de Bacchus & d'Ariane: ils descendent d'un char, d'où les Amours détellent les pantherres qui l'ont traîné: une troupe d'hommes couronnez de pampre, & qui embouchent la trompettte [*sic*] les entourent; une Bacchante les précede en dansant: pleins du Dieu qui les possede, ils semblent tous crier *euoë, euoë.* Le pere Silene porté par des Sylvains, & suivi de son cortege ordinaire, est vû dans l'éloignement un sep de vigne chargé de raisins à la main. Le Amours qui se confondent dans cette troupe bachique, montrent qu'ils ont part à la fête.[14]

In the "Catalogue Des oeuvres graves d'après les Tableaux de Pierre Mignard premier Peintre du Roy," which Monville included in his biography of the painter, two of the engraved series are mentioned:

> Les quatre Saisons de l'année, representées par des sujets de la Fable, en quatre tableaux, peints dans la gallerie de S. Cloud, gravez par Jean-Baptiste de Poilly [1669–1728].
>
> D'autres estampes en petit des mêmes tableaux, gravées d'après les précendens, sous la conduite de Jean-Baptiste de Poilly.
>
> Le Printems: l'hymen de Zephyre & de Flore. L'Esté: un

13. Simon Philipe Mazière de Monville, *La vie de Pierre Mignard* . . . (Amsterdam, 1731), p. 102. The first edition was published in Paris in 1730.

Figure 2a. Jean Baptiste de Poilly (French, 1669–1728), after Pierre I. Mignard. *Le Printems,* circa 1710. Engraving. H: 51.7 cm (20$^{3}/_{8}$″); W: 69.4 cm (27$^{5}/_{16}$″). London, British Museum 1951-10-6-21.

Figure 2b. Jean Baptiste de Poilly (French, 1669–1728), after Pierre I. Mignard. *L'Esté,* circa 1710. Engraving. H: 51.8 cm (20$^{3}/_{8}$″); W: 69.5 cm (27$^{3}/_{8}$″). London, British Museum 1951-10-6-22.

Figure 2c. Jean Baptiste de Poilly (French, 1669–1728), after Pierre I. Mignard. *L'Automne,* circa 1710. Engraving. H: 51.2 cm (20$^{3}/_{16}$″); W: 69.1 cm (27$^{3}/_{16}$″). London, British Museum 1951-10-6-23.

Figure 2d. Jean Baptiste de Poilly (French, 1669–1728), after Pierre I. Mignard. *L'Hyver,* circa 1710. Engraving. H: 51.5 cm (20$^{5}/_{16}$″); W: 69.2 cm (27$^{1}/_{4}$″). London, British Museum 1951-10-6-24.

> Sacrifice en l'honneur de Cerès. L'Automne: le Triomhe [*sic*] de Bacchus & Ariadne. L'Hyver: Cybelle implorant le retour du Soleil.[15]

De Poilly's engravings (figs. 2a–d) are the reverse of Mignard's studies for the paintings and therefore were either engraved directly from the paintings or from the studies.[16] The scenes on the Getty bowl are in the reverse of de Poilly's engravings for spring and summer, and therefore, they must derive from a reengraving of de Poilly's series, perhaps the second series described by Monville. The prints from this second series are smaller in scale. Since they were produced under de Poilly's direction, they are probably accurate copies but would read in the reverse of his original series. Prints from the

14. Ibid., pp. 94–97.
15. Ibid., pp. liv–lv.
16. Jean Guiffrey et al., *Inventaire général des dessins du Musée du Louvre et du Musée de Versailles* (Paris, 1928), vol. 10, nos. 9949–9952, pp. 52–55.

Figures 3a–b. Left, Ignaz Preissler (Bohemian, 1676–1741). Top of a dish decorated with allegories of fall (top) and winter (bottom), circa 1715–1720. Chinese porcelain with underglaze-blue decoration and overglaze decoration in *Schwarzlot* and gold. Diam: 22 cm (8 11/16″). *Right*, bottom. Sèvres, Musée National de Céramique MNC 9703. Photos: Courtesy Musée National de Céramique, Sèvres.

second series are not known.

The prints representing fall and winter are the sources for the scenes on a dish in the Musée National de Céramique at Sèvres (MNC 9703). The dish (figs. 3a–b) was illustrated by Müller-Hofstede who attributed it to Preissler working in Breslau "before 1720."[17] It is of the same Chinese porcelain as the Getty bowl with incised and underglaze-blue decoration and is decorated on both sides in *Schwarzlot* with touches of gold. The rim is edged in silver-gilt. The triumph of Bacchus and Ariadne is painted on the top (fig. 3a), a conventional allegory for fall. The scene on the underside (fig. 3b) was interpreted by Müller-Hofstede as the Ovidian flood with the survivors, Deucalion and Pyrrha, in the foreground. In the context of the print series and Mignard's cycle, however, the scene is intended as an allegory for winter and depicts Mignard's unusual and highly original rendering of the subject. Cybele, the "earth mother," wearing her turreted crown and reclining on the lions usually shown pulling her chariot, implores the sun to return while Boreas, the cold north wind and personification of winter, releases his snow-filled breath over the earth. Vulcan tries to warm the recumbent Cybele with a pot of coals from his forge. The inclusion of a river god relates to the story of Claudia, the vestal virgin who pulled a ship loaded with a sacred image of Cybele from the mud at the mouth of the Tiber. Since the images on the two pieces belong to the same series, there is no question that the Getty bowl and the dish at Sèvres were commissioned together and form a set.

The dish was acquired by the Musée National de Céramique from the 1894 sale of the collection of Octave Du Sartel.[18] Du Sartel had assigned the origins of this type of decoration to Venice in his book *La porcelaine de Chine . . .*, published in 1881, and called it "extremely rare."[19] The dish appeared in lot 150 in the catalogue of the sale as the pair to another dish of the same so-called Japanese porcelain, which was also painted on both sides in *Schwarzlot* touched with gold and edged in silver-gilt. The subject of the scene on the top of the other dish in the lot (fig. 4a) was identified in the catalogue as Diana and Endymion, but the dish is almost certainly that formerly in the von Dallwitz collection, which de-

17. Müller-Hofstede (supra, note 8), pp. 23–26, figs. 34–37.

18. This information courtesy of Elisabeth Fontan, formerly conservateur, Musée National de Céramique, who with Mme Antoinette Halle graciously permitted me access to this and other pieces in the museum.

19. O[ctave] Du Sartel, *La porcelaine de Chine . . .* (Paris, 1881), p. 219.

Figures 4a–b. *Left*, Ignaz Preissler (Bohemian, 1676–1741). Top of a dish decorated with Venus and Adonis with cupids (top) and nymphs disarming sleeping cupids on the order of Diana (bottom), circa 1715–1720. Chinese porcelain with underglaze-blue decoration and overglaze decoration in *Schwarzlot* and gold. Formerly Berlin, von Dallwitz collection; present location unknown. Illustrated in *Kunst and Kunsthandwerk* 8 (1905), p. 29. *Right*, bottom. Photo: Courtesy Verlag Anton Hiersemann, Stuttgart.

Figure 5a. Benoit I. Audran (French, 1661–1721), after Francesco Albani. Venus and Adonis with cupids. Engraving. H: 29.4 cm (11 9/16″); W: 34 cm (13 3/8″). New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1953 (53.600.4138). Photo: Courtesy The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

Figure 5b. Benoit I. Audran (French, 1661–1721), after Francesco Albani. Nymphs disarming sleeping cupids on the order of Diana. Engraving. H: 29.7 cm (11 11/16″); W: 34 cm (13 3/8″). New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1953 (53.600.4137). Photo: Courtesy The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

picts Venus and Adonis with cupids after the rendering of the subject by Francesco Albani (1578–1660).[20] The scene on the underside (fig. 4b) shows nymphs disarming sleeping cupids on the order of Diana. Engravings after Albani by Benoit I. Audran (1661–1721) were identified as the source for the scenes on both sides of the dish by A. Brüning in 1905 (figs. 5a–b).[21] Albani's paintings, like Mignard's cycle, were popularized in sets of tapestries as well.[22]

That the mythological scenes were not recognized as allegorical subjects as well is made clear by the fact that the bowls that should have been paired with the dishes in the Du Sartel sale were instead paired together in lot 151: "Paire de bols de même porcelaine et de même décor primitif, bordures bleues et gravures dans la pâte avant la mise en couverte; ils on été également surdécorés de sujets mythologiques en noir rehaussé d'or. Ils sonts garnis de montures à pied en bois sculpté et doré les transformant en sortes de coupes."[23]

One of the Du Sartel bowls is probably that which was later in the List collection and was described by Pazaurek as mounted on an old wooden base and decorated on both sides with mythological scenes showing Jupiter, Juno, and Amoretti.[24] In the same paragraph Pazaurek also mentions the dish in the museum at Sèvres as well as a bowl from the von Parpart collection, which was acquired by the Nordböhmische Gewerbemuseum in Reichenberg (present-day Liberec) and was also decorated on both sides with "dichten Landschaftsfriesen von weiter Perspektive nebst figurenreicher Staffage (antikes Opferfest und Bacchanalien) in goldgehöhter Schwarzlotmalerei."[25] The bowl is illustrated and described in the 1912 von Parpart sale catalogue,[26] and the same description is repeated almost word for word in the new acquisitions listing published in the *Zeitschrift des Nordböhmischen Gewerbemuseums* for 1912:

> 3. Runde Kumme mit unterglasblauen Borduren, aufs reichste überdekoriert in Schwarzlot, mit Gold gehöht. Landschaftsfries mit weiter Perspektive, Ortschaften, zwischen Bäumen versteckt, Feldern, Tempeln und Burgen. Auf der Aussenseite als Staffage ein antikes Opferfest, auf der Innenseite Bacchanalien mit vielen Figuren. Das Porzellan China XVII. Jahrh. die Malerei von einem deutschen Überdekorateur. Meissen, Anfang XVIII. Jahrh. Ohne Marke. Höhe 7.5 cm., Durchm. 15 cm. Erworben auf der Auktion Parpart in Berlin.[27]

The bowl illustrated in the von Parpart sale catalogue appears to be the one now owned by the J. Paul Getty Museum and was undoubtedly one of the pair of bowls sold from the Du Sartel collection. By the time of the von Parpart sale, it had lost its wooden stand and exhibited a crack. It is possible, however, that a second bowl exists, for another example of a dish like that in the Sèvres museum was illustrated by Hofmann in 1932.[28]

The decoration of the Getty bowl can be dated to circa 1715–1720. As noted above, the type of porcelain used by Preissler would not have been available in Europe until after circa 1710 when it was first produced in China. The initial engraved series by de Poilly has been dated to circa 1710,[29] and the second series, presumably the source for the Getty bowl and the Sèvres dish, was already in use in Augsburg circa 1710–1712 when Elias Adam executed a beaker enameled with the triumph of Bacchus after Mignard.[30] Müller-Hofstede has pointed out the strong stylistic and thematic ties between the Sèvres dish and a large covered goblet in the Uměleckopřáumyslové Muzeum in Prague (UPM 10017/1906).[31] The goblet is completely painted in *Schwarzlot* and gold with foliate strapwork and two mythological scenes from the ceiling of the Palazzo Farnese, painted by Annibale Carracci (d. 1609). The triumph of Bacchus and Ariadne, a version different from that by Mignard, is depicted as a frieze running around the cup, and the procession of nereids, tritons, and cupids accompanying Peleus and Thetis advances around the cover. The scenes were copied from one of the sets of engravings that illustrate the painted ceiling, probably that by Pietro Aquila (1650–1692). This seems to be the only set from the period in which the scenes of Bacchus and Ariadne and Peleus and Thetis are not

20. The sale took place at the Hôtel Drouot, Paris, June 4–9, 1894; see the catalogue: *Catalogue des porcelaines et faiences européennes et de l'extreme-orient . . . formant la collection de feu M. O. Du Sartel . . .* , p. 30, lot 150. The width of the dishes is given as 21 cm. The only illustration of the top of the other dish is in an article published in 1905, see infra, note 22.

In the story of Diana and Endymion, Endymion endures eternal sleep in return for perpetual youth and so is generally depicted asleep when visited by Diana, his lover. For this reason, it is likely that the subject of the decoration was misinterpreted at the time of the 1894 sale. The figure standing with a spear and a dog does not represent Diana, but rather Adonis, and the sleeping figure is intended to be Venus.

21. A. Brüning, "Kupferstiche als Vorbilder für Porzellan," *Kunst und Kunsthandwerk* 8 (1905), pp. 28–29.

22. See Maurice Fenaille, *Etat général des tapisseries de la manufacture des Gobelins . . .* (Paris, 1903), vol. 2, pp. 399–417, and H. C. Marillier, "The Venus and Adonis Tapestries after Albani," *Burlington Magazine* 54 (1929), pp. 314–320, pls. I–III.

23. Du Sartel sale catalogue (supra, note 20), pp. 30–31. The heights of the bowls are given as 13 cm, a measurement which obviously includes the wooden mounts; the diameter of the bowls is given as 16 cm.

24. Pazaurek (supra, note 3), p. 214.

Figure 6. *Left*, Ignaz Preissler (Bohemian, 1676–1741). Vase decorated with still lifes of flowers in vases, first quarter of the eighteenth century. Chinese porcelain *(blanc-de-chine)* with overglaze decoration in *Schwarzlot* and gold. H: 15.9 cm (6¼″). Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum Ke 2261. Photo: Courtesy Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg.

Figure 7. *Top*, Ignaz Preissler (Bohemian, 1676–1741). Saucer decorated with figures representing the months, circa 1715–1720. Chinese porcelain with underglaze-blue decoration and overglaze decoration in *Schwarzlot* and gold. Diam: 13.3 cm (5¼″). London, British Museum Franks Coll. 124.

in the reverse of those on the goblet or on the ceiling itself.[32] The goblet was certainly intended to be a cabinet or display piece, as were the Sèvres dish and the Getty bowl. It has been published as dating to circa 1725–1730, but some believe it could be dated earlier.

A comparison of the scenes on the Getty bowl with those in de Poilly's engravings illustrates well Preissler's confidence and skill in adapting a printed design of rectangular format to a surface of an entirely different configuration. The engraved scenes have been stretched and their components woven into the landscape. Stands of trees, saplings, and stumps, as well as views of build-

25. Pazaurek (supra, note 3), p. 214.

26. Kunstsammlungen F[amilie] von Parpart, sale catalogue: Berlin, Lepke, March 18–22, 1912, lot 488, p. 76, pl. 39 (view of inside).

27. *Zeitschrift des Nordböhmischen Gewerbemuseums,* neue Folge: VII Jahrgang, Nr. 3 u. 4 (1912), no. 3, p. 95.

28. Friedrich H. Hofmann, *Das Porzellan: Der europäischen Manufakturen im XVIII. Jahrhundert* (Berlin, 1932), p. 229, fig. 220. Inquiries have determined that the dish is no longer in Berlin and may have been lost during the war. Slight variations in the decoration indicate this is not the dish now in the museum at Sèvres.

29. Dagmar Srnenská, *Französische Rokokographik* (Hanau, n.d.), nos. 26–29, pp. 66–73.

30. Helmut Seling, *Die Kunst der augsburger Goldschmiede 1529–1868* (Munich, 1980), vol. 2, fig. 1053.

31. Müller-Hofstede (supra, note 8), p. 24. The goblet is illustrated in The Corning Museum of Glass and Uměleckoprůmyslové Muzeum, Prague, *Czechoslovakian Glass 1350–1980*, ex. cat. (Corning, N.Y., 1981), no. 28, p. 149, ill. p. 63 (color).

32. For the engravings of the Palazzo Farnese ceiling by Pietro Aquila, see Ecole Française de Rome, *Annibale Carracci e i suoi incisori*, ex. cat. (Rome, 1986), no. XLIID, pp. 169–183. The scenes depicted on the goblet are nos. 10 and 17.

Figure 8. Ignaz Preissler (Bohemian, 1676–1741). Saucer decorated with allegory of November, circa 1720. *Schwarzlot* decoration. Present location unknown. Photo: Courtesy Verlag Anton Hiersemann, Stuttgart.

Figure 9. Martin Engelbrecht (German, 1684–1756), after Paul Decker. *November.* Engraving. H: 27 cm (10⅝″); W: 18.9 cm (7 7/16″). Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum HB 23789[b]. Photo: Courtesy Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg.

ings and distant villages, have been composed to bridge the ends of the print source, creating a continuous image. Müller-Hofstede particularly noted Preissler's use of entwined trees at the ends of a scene taken from an engraving. The inserted landscapes recall the prints of Paul Bril (1554–1626), Johann Teyler (1648–after 1697), and Gabriel Perelle (circa 1603–1667), which were widely collected from the late seventeenth century and are recognized sources for some of Preissler's compositions. Occasionally, the buildings in these imagined landscapes, like the towered complex on the inside of the Getty bowl, seem specific enough to have been taken from a real setting, perhaps the estate of the patron.

The scenes on the bowl and on the Sèvres dish incorporate many elements and motifs that are considered signatures of Preissler's work, such as the billowing clouds and cresting waves, the sailing ships at sea, and the distant hills, which seem at times to lean to the right. Preissler's masterful use of the *Schwarzlot* technique is evident in every aspect of the decoration, where it was used to give volume to the painted forms and define edges and small details. Preissler was very careful in his use of gold, applying it in hair-thin lines to highlight edges and folds or in patterns of small dots sprinkled across draperies.

The bouquet in the center of the Getty bowl (fig. 1f), at once a reference and a tribute to Flora, is a rare example of Preissler's flower painting. The only comparable example by Preissler is that on a *blanc-de-chine* lion-mask jar in the Germanisches Nationalmuseum in Nuremberg (Ke 2261), which consists of two still lifes of flowers in globular glass vases (fig. 6).[33] However, on two saucers of Chinese porcelain with underglaze-blue borders that Preissler painted in *Schwarzlot* and

33. I wish to particularly thank Dr. Klaus Pechstein for the opportunity to examine this piece and others in the collection.

Figures 10a–c. *Top*, Ignaz Preissler (Bohemian, 1676–1741). Leaf-shaped dish decorated with putto and sea dragon (interior) and strapwork and foliate scrolls with amoretti, fountains, birds and baskets of fruit (exterior), circa 1715–1725. Meissen porcelain decorated with iron-red and gold. H: 4 cm (1 9/16″); W: 8.3 cm (3 1/4″); D: 11.1 cm (4 3/8″). *Left*, interior. *Right*, bottom. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 86.DE.541.

Figures 10d–e. Details of exterior of figure 10a.

Figure 11. Ignaz Preissler (Bohemian, 1676–1741). Bowl decorated with sea gods and dolphins, circa 1715–1725. Japanese porcelain with decoration in polychrome enamels and in *Schwarzlot* and gold. Diam: 17.3 cm ($6^{13}/_{16}$″). Formerly Dr. Joseph Kler collection; present location unknown. Photo: Courtesy Christie's, New York.

Figure 12a. Barthel Beham (German, 1502–1540). Battling sea god, 1525. Engraving. H: 4.7 cm ($1^{7}/_{8}$″); W: 2.7 cm ($1^{1}/_{16}$″). London, British Museum 1870-10-8-2394.

Figure 12b. Barthel Beham (German, 1502–1540). Battling sea god, 1525. Engraving. H: 4.3 cm ($1^{11}/_{16}$″); W: 2.7 cm ($1^{1}/_{16}$″). London, British Museum 1870-10-8-2395.

Figure 13. Ignaz Preissler (Bohemian, 1676–1741). Plate decorated with a putto in the guise of a river god, circa 1725. *Schwarzlot* and gold decoration. Formerly Berlin, von Dallwitz collection; present location unknown. Photo: Courtesy Verlag Anton Hiersemann, Stuttgart.

Figure 14. Municipal diploma issued to Michael Steinmetz on February 26, 1678. Augsburg, 1678. Sepia ink on parchment, heightened with gray wash and gold leaf. H (fully opened): 64.5 cm (25 3/8"); W: 68 cm (26 3/4"). Cologne, Bundeszahnärztekammer. Photo: Courtesy Bundeszahnärztekammer, Cologne.

gold with figures representing the months after Hans-Sebald Beham (1500–1550), the inner circular border encloses a wreath of fruit or flowers (fig. 7).[34] These saucers are presently in the Uměleckoprůmyslové Muzeum in Prague (18.959) and in the British Museum (Franks Coll. 124).

Preissler's oeuvre includes other allegorical themes and cycles as well, such as the elements, the continents, and the months. A saucer obviously from a service illustrating the latter is decorated with a hunting allegory representing November (fig. 8).[35] The image derives from a Paul Decker design engraved by Martin Engelbrecht and published in Augsburg by Jeremias Wolff (fig. 9). Comparison of the scene on the saucer to the image in the engraving illustrates again how Preissler adds his own elements to the scene to make it better accommodate the circular surface. In this case, a zodiac sign has been employed to identify the subject; a tree is used to anchor the figure in the foreground; and background details enhance the recession of space. Many of these allegorical works date from the Breslau period, but the "difficult poetic subjects" described in the Kronstadt invoices indicate that allegorical subjects were still requested by the artist's patrons later in his life.

The Getty's leaf-shaped dish of Meissen porcelain adapted from a *blanc-de-chine* model and painted in iron-red with gold highlights represents another popular theme from Preissler's Breslau period (figs. 10a–e). The dish is decorated on the inside with a winged putto holding a marsh reed and seated backwards on a dolphinlike sea dragon with a spiraling tail. The inside rim shows Preissler's characteristic form of *Laub- und Bandwerk.* On the outside, strapwork and foliate scrolls course around the sides sprouting leaves and tendrils. Amoretti, fountains, baskets of fruit, and birds are perched among the scrollwork. The leafwork in relief on the underside is outlined in iron-red and gold.

Some of the many similarly decorated leaf-shaped dishes in various museums are painted like this one in iron-red with gold, and others are painted in a com-

34. Dr. Dagmar Hejdová and Dr. Olga Drahotová deserve special mention here for their generous assistance, support, and hospitality during the many days that I was permitted to study the collection in Prague. I wish also to thank Aileen Dawson of the British Museum for allowing me to see this piece and others in storage.

35. Pazaurek (supra, note 3), p. 219, fig. 181.

Figure 15. Ignaz Preissler (Bohemian, 1676–1741). Plate decorated with Fortune riding a dolphin, circa 1725. Decorated in *Schwarzlot* and gold. Formerly Wrocław, Muzeum Narodowe we Wrocławiu; present location unknown. Photo: Courtesy Verlag Anton Hiersemann, Stuttgart.

Figure 16. Johann Friedrich Probst, after Hieronymus Sperling (German, 1695–1771). Fortune riding a dolphin from *Trojano regio Principi Paridi*. . . . Engraving. H: 34.3 cm (13½″); W: 22.9 cm (9″). New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1951 (51.540.6). Photo: Courtesy The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

bination of *Schwarzlot* and iron-red with gold.[36] It is not clear if the dishes were produced individually, as small decorative tokens of friendship or esteem, or as sets, perhaps belonging to a larger table service. All have a form of Preissler's *Laub- und Bandwerk* around the inside rim and scrollwork on the outside, which contains a standard repertoire of elements, including running stags and covered urns in addition to those listed above. This seemingly incongruous auxiliary decoration derives ultimately from French and German ornamental engravings and constitutes the primary decoration of other Preissler pieces. The way it has been fitted to an object of such irregular form typifies Preissler's creativity and skill as an ornamentalist, and it is this that makes such works so interesting and engaging.

The execution of the figure on the inside of the dish (fig. 10b), however, lacks the same kind of energy and assurance. Preissler probably received no formal training as an artist, and as a result, his rendering of the human figure and other three-dimensional forms often makes them appear stiff and awkwardly posed, while the aggressive modeling gives them a sort of impressive weight and substance. This may partly result from the use of print sources or other models that feature the bold chiaroscuro effects favored by Baroque artists.

By the eighteenth century, parades of sea creatures and putti on dolphins had become a generic sort of "classical" decoration, comparable to the Bacchanalian triumphs and celebrations that were similarly portrayed by Renaissance and Baroque artists, often without specific connotations or deeper individual meaning for either the artist or his patron. This was certainly the case with Preissler's frequent treatment of these themes. In addition to the leaf-shaped dishes, he decorated other dish types, bowls, plates, and glassware with such figures.

The exact sources for some of Preissler's sea gods and putti suggest that those on the leaf-shaped dishes probably derive from engraved and other models as well. A bowl of Japanese porcelain sold at Christie's, New York,

36. Other examples known to the author are in the Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg (inv. nr. Ke 765), the Uměleckoprůmyslové Muzeum, Prague (inv. nr. 5291), and the National Museum of American History, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. (Syz Coll. 355).

in 1985 (fig. 11) is painted on the outside with sea gods wielding swords and seated astride sea creatures with horny snouts and spiraling tails.[37] These figures were taken directly from a pair of engravings by Barthel Beham (1502–1540) dated 1525 (figs. 12a–b). Preissler inserted them in a seascape of his own invention influenced by seventeenth-century engraved sources. The Christie's bowl was probably painted circa 1715–1725. As with the British Museum saucer (fig. 7), the identification of the print source demonstrates the persistence of certain engraved images and themes through two centuries of Baroque art.

A plate formerly in the von Dallwitz collection is painted in the center with a putto in the guise of a river god with his trident resting against an overturned vase from which water flows (fig. 13). A vignette with the same figure on the riverbank and one of the birds in the background occurs on a diploma issued in Augsburg in 1678 (fig 14). The diploma is bordered at the bottom by a series of related images of winged putti on sea animals. Another plate formerly in the Muzeum Narodowe we Wrocławiu (fig. 15) shows the female figure of Fortune with a billowing sail seated on a dolphin in a storm-tossed sea; this image appears in a frame bordered by figures representing the winds and the seas. The entire scene was taken from an engraving after Hieronymus Sperling (1695–1771), which was published in Augsburg, circa 1724 (fig. 16). The von Dallwitz and Wrocław museum plates were probably painted circa 1725 or later, after Sperling's design was published.

Preissler's talents and his reputation as a *Schwarzlot* painter were well established early in the eighteenth century when his works entered the collections of many prominent citizens and members of the nobility in eastern and central Europe. In technique as much as subject matter, they reflect the persistence of seventeenth-century tastes and traditions through the first quarter of the eighteenth century. In 1731, at the age of fifty-five, Preissler continued to defend the *Schwarzlot* tradition in his reply to an apparent request from his patron for decoration in polychrome enamels. He stated in a letter that, like his father, he considered *Schwarzlot* painting in red and black to be the finest and most subtle form of decoration ("Mein Vatter, auch ich allzeit schwarz und roht bemohlet, disses, undter aller Parcellan Mahlerey dass feinste undt Suptieleste ist").[38] Yet by January of 1732, Preissler had completed an order that included several pieces with polychrome decoration,[39] a sign that the tradition established almost one hundred years earlier in Nuremberg was at its close.

The Metropolitan Museum of Art
New York

37. *Important European Porcelain and Pottery,* sale catalogue: Christie's, New York, April 27, 1985, lot 96. This view is not shown in the catalogue.

38. Müller-Hofstede (supra, note 8), p. 47; originally transcribed and published by Jiřík in 1923 (supra, note 8), p. 31.

39. Müller-Hofstede (supra, note 8), p. 49; originally transcribed and published by Jiřík in 1923 (supra, note 8), p. 34.

Theoktistos and Associates in Twelfth-Century Constantinople: An Illustrated New Testament of A.D. 1133

Robert S. Nelson

> This book was finished by the grace of Christ in the year 6641 [A.D. 1133], the eleventh indiction, the thirtieth of April, the third hour of the day, the fifteenth year of the emperor John Comnenus, the Porphyrogennetos, and the most pious augusta Irene, by the hand of the sinner Theoktistos.[1]

With these words the humble scribe Theoktistos ended the New Testament section of a handsome Greek manuscript, formerly in the Dionysiou monastery on Mount Athos (cod. 8) and presently at the J. Paul Getty Museum (Ms. Ludwig II 4).[2] Now decorated with twelve pages of canon tables (figs. 6–12), six ornamental headpieces (figs. 2–5), and four evangelist portraits (figs. 22–25), the manuscript once contained other illuminations as well. A full-page miniature of the twelve apostles (fig. 21), formerly folio 134v, served as a frontispiece to the Acts of the Apostles and is now in the Paul Canellopoulos collection in Athens.[3] Two more pages of canon tables were removed between folios 1 and 2 and were recently discovered by Hugo Buchthal in the library of the Zographou monastery on Mount Athos.[4] Finally, as discussed below, an offset of color

I began this paper as a Guest Scholar of the J. Paul Getty Museum and completed it while I was a Fellow at the National Humanities Center. For making my stay at the Museum so enjoyable and productive, I wish to thank Thomas Kren and Ranee Katzenstein of the Department of Manuscripts. Others who facilitated my research were Fran Terpak, who secured important photographs quickly, Frank Preusser and Michael Schilling, who provided technical advice concerning the Ludwig manuscript, and Andrew Dyck of UCLA, who discussed texts with me.

Abbreviations

Anderson, "Examination":	J. C. Anderson, "An Examination of Two Twelfth-Century Centers of Byzantine Manuscript Production" (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1975).
Buchthal, "Disiecta Membra":	H. Buchthal, "Disiecta Membra," *The Burlington Magazine* 124 (1982), p. 214, figs. 15–17.
Buchthal, "Escorial":	H. Buchthal, "A Greek New Testament Manuscript in the Escorial Library: Its Miniatures and Its Binding," *Byzanz und der Westen: Studien zur Kunst des europäischen Mittelalters,* ed. I. Hutter (Vienna, 1984), pp. 85–98.
Buchthal, "Melbourne":	H. Buchthal, "An Illuminated Byzantine Gospel Book of about 1100 A.D.," in *Art of the Mediterranean World A.D. 100 to 1400* (Washington, D.C., 1983), pp. 140–149, reprinted from the *Special Bulletin of the National Gallery of Victoria* (Melbourne, 1961).
Hutter, *Corpus:*	I. Hutter, *Corpus der byzantinischen Miniaturenhandschriften* (Stuttgart, 1977–1982), 3 vols.
JÖB:	*Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik*
Spatharakis, *Corpus:*	I. Spatharakis, *Corpus of Dated Illuminated Greek Manuscripts* (Leiden, 1981).
Spatharakis, "Grammar":	I. Spatharakis, "An Illuminated Greek Grammar Manuscript in Jerusalem: A Contribution to the Study of Comnenian Illuminated Ornament," *JÖB* 35 (1985), pp. 231–244.
Von Euw and Plotzek:	A. von Euw and J. M. Plotzek, *Die Handschriften der Sammlung Ludwig* (Cologne, 1979), vol. 1.

1. Fol. 268v: Ἐτελειώθ(η) ἡ παροῦ(σα) βίβλο(ς) χάριτι χ(ριστο)ῦ ἐν ἔτ(ει) τῶ σχμα΄ (ἰνδικτιῶνος) ια΄ μη(νὶ) ἀπριλλίω Κ ὥρα γ΄ τ(ῆς) ἡμέρας τῶ πεντεκαιδεκάτω ἔτ(ει) τῆς βασιλείας κ(υρο)ῦ ἰω(άννου) καὶ πορφυρογεννήτ(ου) τοῦ κομνηνοῦ καὶ εἰρήνης τῆς εὐσεβεστάτης αὐγούστ(ης) διὰ χειρὸς τοῦ ἁμαρτωλοῦ θεοκτίστου.

2. Description and bibliography follow in the appendix.

3. Council of Europe, *Byzantine Art: An European Art,* 2nd ed. (Athens, 1964), pp. 317–318. The leaf is now mounted on wood. The manuscript's opening, folios 134v–135r, showing the miniature before the beginning of Acts, is illustrated in F. Dölger, E. Weigand, and A. Deindl, *Mönchsland Athos* (Munich, 1942), fig. 116. The folio is also visible in the Library of Congress' microfilm of the manuscript made in 1953. See E. W. Saunders, *A Descriptive Checklist of Selected Manuscripts in the Monasteries of Mount Athos* (Washington, D.C., 1957), pp. xi, 3. Thus the leaf was removed sometime after 1953.

4. Buchthal, "Disiecta Membra," p. 214, figs. 15–16.

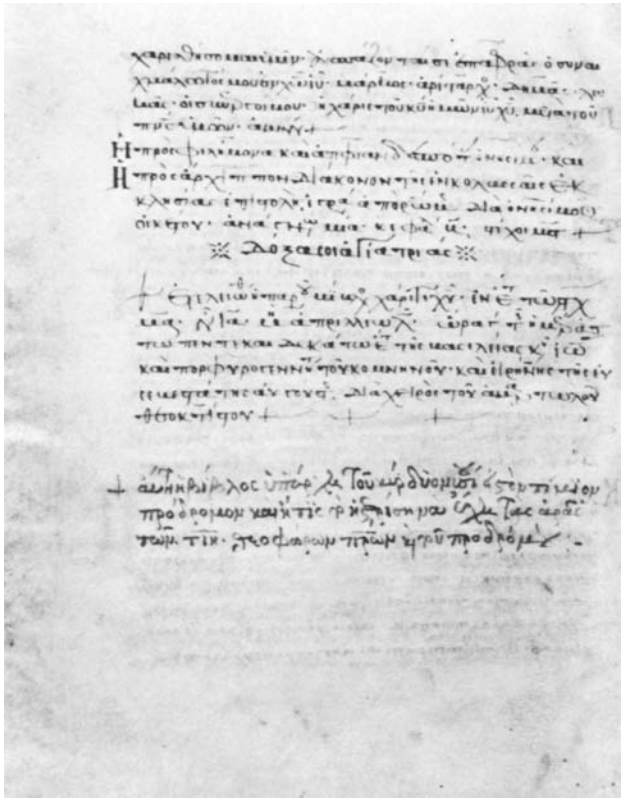

Figure 1. Colophon and later ex libris of the Dionysiou monastery. New Testament, fol. 268v. Constantinople, 1133. Pen and ink on vellum. H: 220 mm (8⅝″); W: 180 mm (7″). Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum Ms. Ludwig II 4; 83.MB.68.

on folio 1r is the only trace of yet another decorated page, which must have served as the frontispiece to the volume.

Deluxe illuminated Byzantine manuscripts with such precise indications of date and, as we shall see, provenance are not common, and doubtlessly for this reason the earliest students of the subject were attracted to the manuscript. In 1891 Heinrich Brockhaus first mentioned and illustrated the portrait of Matthew in a general book on art at Mount Athos.[5] Thereafter, the book was briefly noted in art historical studies by C. R. Morey (1914)[6] and by A. M. Friend, Jr. (1927),[7] who reproduced all four of the manuscript's evangelist portraits. It figured in various paleographical studies and catalogues and was presented in another general work on Mount Athos, published in 1942 by F. Dölger et al.[8] None of these authors, however, studied the manuscript in detail, and in more recent years few have had the opportunity to examine the book personally.

Since 1960,[9] the manuscript has passed through two relatively inaccessible private collections before the Museum acquired it in 1983 as part of the Ludwig collection and thereby made it available to a wider audience. Sequestered for over two decades, the Getty New Testament has not been fully incorporated into recent scholarship on twelfth-century Byzantine illumination. Thus, while its published miniatures have long been used as chronological guides to the dating of other manuscripts, the manuscript itself has not received the close scrutiny that its high quality illumination and its well-defined provenance warrant. The present attempt at such an inquiry will first explore the circumstances of the manuscript's creation and then consider its decoration in the larger context of twelfth-century Byzantine book illumination.

The colophon, written in the customary passive voice, documents the moment of the manuscript's completion in exhaustive fashion: the years elapsed since the creation of the world (i.e., 5,508 years before the birth of Christ); the indiction number, or year during a repeating fifteen-year cycle; the day of the month, but not in this case the day of the week; the hour of the day—the third, corresponding to midmorning; and the regnal year of the Byzantine emperor John II Comnenus (r. A.D. 1118–1143), Porphyrogennetos, or "born to the purple," and his consort, Irene.[10] At the end comes the name of the scribe, who as usual professes his humility, fortunately not to the extent of omitting his name. Theoktistos tells us nothing else about himself, but his name, not a common one for scribes, appears in several other manuscripts, which C. R. Morey in 1914[11] and J. Bick in 1920[12] attributed to the same hand. Recently, however, H. Hunger and O. Kresten have split apart this group, assigning three manuscripts in Vienna to a second Theoktistos, who worked in the fourteenth cen-

5. H. Brockhaus, *Die Kunst in den Athos-Klöstern* (Leipzig, 1891), pp. 183, 211, 231–233, pl. 21.

6. C. R. Morey, *East Christian Paintings in the Freer Collection* (Washington, D.C., 1914), pp. 28, 30.

7. A. M. Friend, Jr., "The Portraits of the Evangelists in Greek and Latin Manuscripts," *Art Studies* 5 (1927), pp. 125, 133, figs. 9–12.

8. Dölger et al. (supra, note 3), pp. 194–197.

9. Date noted by Buchthal, "Disiecta Membra," p. 214.

10. The basic source for these chronological details is V. Grumel, *Traité d'études byzantines: I. La chronologie* (Paris, 1958).

11. Morey (supra, note 6), pp. 27–29.

12. J. Bick, *Die Schreiber der wiener griechischen Handschriften* (Vienna, 1920), pp. 65–66.

13. H. Hunger and O. Kresten, "Archaisierende Minuskel und Hodegonstil im 14. Jahrhundert: Der Schreiber Theoktistos und die κράλαινα τῶν Τριβαλῶν," *JÖB* 29 (1980), pp. 187–236.

14. Illustrated in Morey (supra, note 6), pl. II. This scribe uses an entirely different zeta from the characteristic type of the copyist of Ms. Ludwig II 4.

15. On the manuscript see Hunger and Kresten (supra, note 13), pp. 210–212 with further bibliography.

16. Texts in ibid., p. 211.

tury.[13] The script of a fourth manuscript, represented only by two folios in the Freer Gallery of Art in Washington, D.C., should also be divorced from the group, for it is by neither Theoktistos I nor II.[14] Thus at present the only other manuscript by the scribe of the Getty New Testament is a copy of saints' lives for the month of November in Paris (Bibliothèque Nationale gr. 1570).[15]

According to notes on folio 213r, Paris gr. 1570 was completed on June 9, 1127, and was written by Theoktistos for the Abbot Maximos. A further entry on folio 214v records the book's ownership by the monastery of Saint John the Baptist in Petra, located in the northwestern corner of the city of Constantinople, not far from the imperial Blachernae palace.[16] The scripts of all three notices in the Paris volume agree with each other and with the main text of the manuscript and closely resemble the Getty New Testament.[17] Because the two books, written in 1127 and 1133, are near contemporaries, there can be no doubt that the same Theoktistos wrote both. Whether the scribe was actually a monk at this establishment, also known as the Prodromos-Petra monastery, is unclear; in neither the Paris nor the Getty manuscript does he call himself a monk. In this respect Theoktistos' manuscript for the Prodromos-Petra monastery contrasts with one copied by his contemporary Arsenios. The latter inscribed the monastery's ex libris in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale gr. 891, stating in the colophon that the book was completed in 1136 by "the monk Arsenios" for "the abbot of the same monastery, the monk Maximos."[18] This Arsenios then was definitely a member of the Prodromos-Petra community, whose abbot, Maximos, commissioned manuscripts from the two scribes. Even if Theoktistos did not belong to the monastery, the Paris manuscript of 1127 at the very least locates him in Constantinople six years before he wrote the Getty New Testament and associates him with a major monastery in the capital.

Little known before the twelfth century, the monastery of Saint John the Baptist in Petra became prominent at the end of the eleventh and the beginning of the twelfth centuries, in part as a result of imperial support.[19] In 1200 a Russian visitor to Constantinople reported that the monastery had two hundred monks.[20] Its prosperity is attested by an event that took place during the reign of John Comnenus' son Manuel. Wishing to have an imperial banquet on very short notice, the emperor succeeded in obtaining the necessary provisions from the monastery, including white bread, vegetables, olives, cheese, several kinds of fish, and black and red caviar.[21] Following the Latin occupation of Constantinople during the thirteenth century, the monastery was again prominent, and in the early fifteenth century a Spanish visitor to the city extolled the monastery's rich mosaics, marbles, pavements, metal and glass lamps, and gilded doors.[22] It also possessed a considerable library, which can be reconstructed through a characteristic ex libris, the same one that Theoktistos and Arsenios copied in their manuscripts. Among its holdings were two art historically important volumes, the famous sixth-century Dioscurides manuscript in Vienna and a fine eleventh-century Gospel book in Athens (National Library cod. 57).[23]

Did Theoktistos write the Getty New Testament for the Prodromos-Petra monastery, as von Euw and Plotzek have assumed?[24] The book's relatively large size (220 × 180 mm), its liturgical rubrics, and the presence of the New Testament, not just the four Gospels, might suggest an institutional patron. Certainly it is larger than a class of diminutive Gospel books, measuring 120 × 90 mm or less, that were made in the later eleventh and twelfth centuries for the personal use of priests and monks.[25] Yet in Byzantium, unlike the Latin West, sharp distinctions cannot be made between private and public religious texts, and nothing prevents the Getty New Testament from being the commission of an individual, either lay or religious. The only evidence in this regard is of a negative nature. Unlike Paris gr. 1570, Theoktistos did not add to the Getty New Testament the traditional ex libris of the Prodromos-Petra monastery, verses that were considered important enough to be inscribed in over twenty surviving manuscripts. Such an omission *might* indicate a patron other than the monastery. Thus, while the Getty New Testament reveals much more about the circumstances of its creation

17. Cf., ibid., figs. 3–6, 8.

18. The manuscripts of Arsenios are surveyed in E. D. Kakoulidi, "Ἡ βιβλιοθήκη τῆς μονῆς Προδρόμου—Πέτρας στὴν Κωνσταντινούπολη," *Hellenika* 21 (1968), pp. 21–24. The Paris manuscript (Bibliothèque Nationale gr. 891) has a decorated headpiece. See Spatharakis, *Corpus,* p. 42, fig. 262.

19. The basic sources on the monastery are collected in R. Janin, *La géographie ecclésiastique de l'empire byzantin,* 2nd ed. (Paris, 1969), part 1, vol. 3, pp. 421–429; and G. P. Majeska, *Russian Travelers to Constantinople in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries* (Washington, D.C., 1984), pp. 339–345.

20. Majeska (supra, note 19), p. 341.

21. Janin (supra, note 19), p. 422.

22. Ibid., pp. 425–426; S. Cirac, "Tres monasterios de Constantinopla visitados por españoles en el año 1403," *Revue des études byzantines* 19 (1961), pp. 366–373; G. Le Strange, *Clavijo Embassy to Tamerlane* (New York, 1928), pp. 62–63.

23. Manuscripts associated with the monastery are surveyed in Kakoulidi (supra, note 18), pp. 3–39.

24. Von Euw and Plotzek, p. 162.

25. A. Weyl Carr, "Diminutive Byzantine Manuscripts," *Codices Manuscripti* 6 (1980), pp. 133–136.

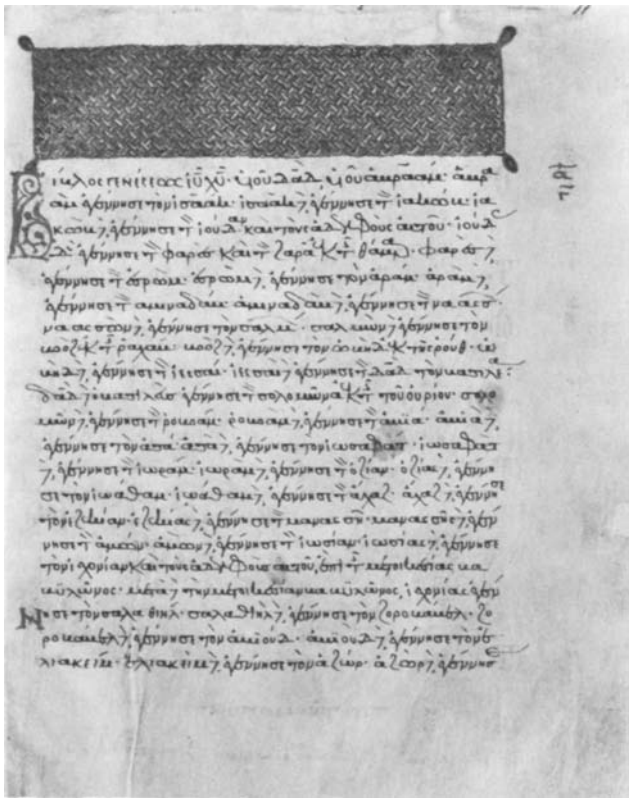

Figure 2. First page of the Gospel of Matthew. New Testament, fol. 11r. Constantinople, 1133. Tempera and gold on vellum. H: 220 mm (8⅝″); W: 180 mm (7″). Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum Ms. Ludwig II 4; 83.MB.68.

Figure 3. First page of the Gospel of Mark. New Testament, fol. 46v. Constantinople, 1133. Tempera and gold on vellum. H: 220 mm (8⅝″); W: 180 mm (7″). Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum Ms. Ludwig II 4; 83.MB.68.

than the great majority of illuminated Byzantine manuscripts without colophons, the trail of easily available evidence ends all too soon. At that point one must resort to codicological, paleographical, and art historical analysis of the manuscript in the context of Constantinopolitan book production of the second quarter of the twelfth century, a fertile period in the history of Byzantine illumination.

The codicology and paleography of the Getty New Testament provide the first set of clues to its process of creation. Two scribes worked on the manuscript. Theoktistos, the principal scribe, wrote the entire New Testament (fols. 11r–268v; figs. 1–5). A second scribe did the preliminary letter of Eusebius (fol. 1r–v; fig. 13) and the concluding liturgical tables (fols. 269r–280r) and added the numbers to the canon tables (fols. 2r–7v; figs. 6–12). The colophon appears not in the usual position at the end of the manuscript on folio 280r, but many pages earlier on folio 268v (fig. 1), because Theoktistos completed his work at that point.[26] The two writing styles, while related, are nonetheless rather different in overall effect and specific letters. Theoktistos achieves a rapid rhythm from narrow, thin letters, especially the nu, and frequent slashing abbreviation marks (figs. 1–5). His collaborator (fig. 13) writes a more conventional hand with fluid transitions and curvilinear letters, for example, the lambda, which contrasts with the more angular ductus of Theoktistos. To the latter's text, the second scribe added marginal liturgical rubrics. The manuscript is thus a joint effort of two contemporary scribes.

The decoration is consistent throughout the manuscript, the same colors and designs being used in the full-page evangelist portraits (figs. 22–25), the ornamental headpieces at the beginning of each Gospel (figs. 2–5), and the canon tables (figs. 6–12), as noted below. However, this does not suggest that one or both scribes were responsible for the illuminating of the manuscript. Rather the two operations were separate and not es-

26. The contrasting scripts of folios 268v and 269r are well illustrated in K. Lake and S. Lake, *Dated Greek Manuscripts to the Year 1200* (Boston, 1935), fasc. 3, no. 116, pl. 198.

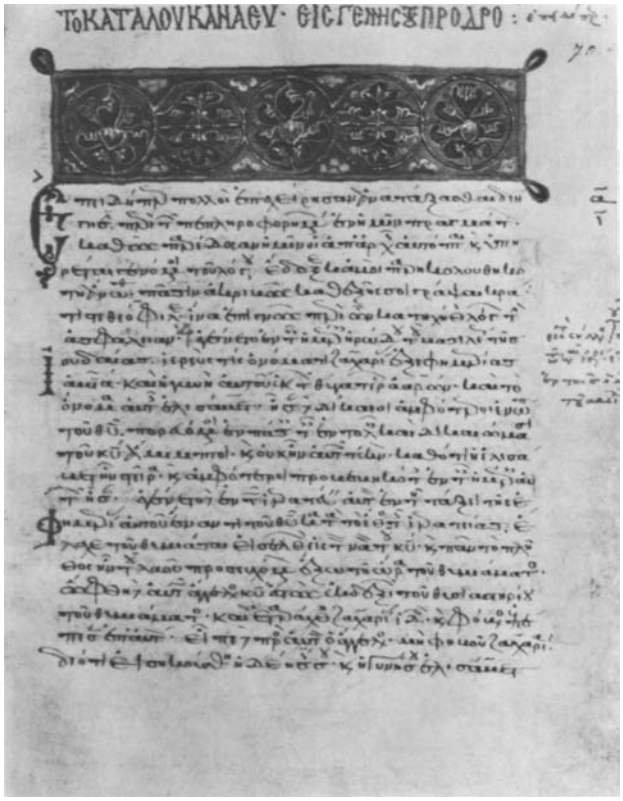

Figure 4. First page of the Gospel of Luke. New Testament, fol. 70r. Constantinople, 1133. Tempera and gold on vellum. H: 220 mm (8⅝″); W: 180 mm (7″). Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum Ms. Ludwig II 4; 83.MB.68.

Figure 5. First page of the Gospel of John. New Testament, fol. 107v. Constantinople, 1133. Tempera and gold on vellum. H: 220 mm (8⅝″); W: 180 mm (7″). Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum Ms. Ludwig II 4; 83.MB.68.

pecially well coordinated, and the five figural miniatures are painted on single folios tipped into regular text quires (see appendix).

Thus Matthew (fol. 10v; fig. 22) is attached to the preceding two folios (fols. 8–9), containing the list of chapters in Matthew. Before it was removed from the manuscript, the page with the twelve apostles constituted folio 134v (fig. 21) and must have been joined either to the preceding or the following quaternion. Mark (fol. 45v; fig. 23) is put between bifolios 3 and 4 in an otherwise regular quaternion (fols. 43–51), containing the end of the Gospel of Matthew, the list of chapters in Mark, and the beginning of the Gospel of Mark. Similarly Luke (fol. 69v; fig. 24) falls between bifolios 1 and 2 of a formally regular quaternion (fols. 68–76), comprising the list of chapters in Luke and the beginning of the Gospel of Luke. Finally John (fol. 106v; fig. 25) is found between bifolios 3 and 4 of an otherwise regular quaternion (fols. 101–109) with the end of the Gospel of Luke, the chapters in John, and the beginning of the Gospel of John.

In two cases the inserted miniatures actually interrupt texts. Mark (fol. 45v) comes in the middle of the list of chapters, which begins on folio 44v and continues on folio 46r. Worse still, John (fol. 106v), designed to be a frontispiece to his Gospel, appears before the end of Luke, so that Theoktistos' conclusion to Luke and his list of chapters in John follow on folio 107r.[27] The originally blank rectos of all five miniatures (fols. 10r, 45r, 69r, 106r, 134r) make these interruptions even more disconcerting. A later owner was sufficiently bothered by the portrait of John to write the conclusion of Luke's Gospel on the back (fol. 106r) of the miniature, thereby making redundant Theoktistos' original text on the following folio.

The manner in which the parchment of the full-page miniatures is ruled further distinguishes them from the basic text of the manuscript (see the appendix). Double vertical lines define the lateral borders of the frame, and single horizontal lines mark the upper and lower limits of the miniature. The pattern thus aids the illuminator.

27. This opening in the manuscript, folios 106v–107r, is illustrated by Dölger et al. (supra, note 3), fig. 115.

Other special rulings are found elsewhere in the manuscript. A distinctive pattern sets up some of the liturgical tables at the end of the book (fols. 275r–280r). In the initial quire with the canon tables (fols. 1–7), three sets of double vertical lines define the widths of the three painted columns of the tables (figs. 6–12). Only folio 1 with Eusebius' letter about the canon tables has horizontal lines for the text (fig. 13).

Taken together, these and other details permit a partial reconstruction of how the Getty New Testament was made. Theoktistos wrote the main text, sometimes indenting one or more lines at the beginning of major textual divisions for gilded initials (see figs. 2–5). These initials are all by the same hand and resemble the minor decoration and the gold titles, both surely by the scribe. Theoktistos must have added the initials after he finished writing his text; when a scribe makes the initials before he writes the text, the indented lines of text often follow the particular profile of the individual letter, an effect that can be especially noticeable with the beta for Matthew's Gospel. The second scribe may have written his sections of the manuscript after Theoktistos; certainly he added the liturgical marginalia after the latter had finished.

Next, the scribes turned their text over to an illuminator, who painted the headpieces at the start of the four Gospels (figs. 2–5), the Acts of the Apostles, and Paul's Epistle to the Romans. That the ornament came after the initials is shown by the first pages of Mark, Luke, and John. For Mark (fig. 3), the lower left finial to the ornamented rectangle is abbreviated so as to avoid the tall gold initial alpha. For the same reason the corresponding finial of John's headpiece (fig. 5) is pushed to the side of the large initial epsilon, while the one in Luke's headpiece (fig. 4) is shrunken to a small golden teardrop, better to blend with the color of the initial below.

The illuminator of the headpieces also painted the figural miniatures and the canon tables. The same array of colors is used throughout the manuscript, and the same scalloped design in the borders of the frames of the evangelists (figs. 22–25) and the apostles (fig. 21) appears in the headpiece for Mark (fig. 3) and in certain canon tables (figs. 7, 9, 11, 12). For the full-page miniatures, the painter worked with separate pages of parchment, guided by the ruling lines that he incised to insure uniform proportions for the frames. He did not, however, rule all four evangelist portraits simultaneously, because the miniatures' measurements vary slightly.[28]

The production stages of the canon tables are more difficult to reconstruct, but the illuminator probably took the lead here. Three sets of double vertical lines define the widths of the three painted columns on each page, so that it must have been the illuminator who started with the blank parchment. Again his apparent objective was uniformity in the manuscript, because the height of the canon tables approximately equals that of the evangelist portraits.[29] He ruled four bifolios of parchment, or sixteen pages, and painted tables on fourteen of these pages. The same ruling pattern appears on the first folio with the letter of Eusebius, except that horizontal lines were added for the text (fig. 13). The second scribe used gold ink for the letter on folios 1r–v and the numbers of the canon tables.

It appears therefore that while there was some interchange between scribes and illuminator, they preferred to work separately. Thus, even though there was room for the portrait of Matthew on the originally blank folio 9v, following the conclusion of the chapter lists for Matthew on folio 9r, the illuminator painted his miniature on a separate leaf of parchment to be attached to the small quire with the chapter lists. The manuscript that resulted does not conform to the usual layout of deluxe books. Neither the evangelist portraits nor the first pages of each Gospel follow the predictable norm. As a rule, the evangelist portrait occupies a verso, so as to face the beginning of a Gospel on a recto. For this reason the evangelist normally is shown turning inward toward the binding. Moreover, each Gospel traditionally began a new quire, a centuries-old convention that went back to the earliest Christian manuscripts.[30]

28. Matthew (fig. 22) 160 × 108 mm; Mark (fig. 23) 165 × 105 mm; Luke (fig. 24) 163 × 108 mm; John (fig. 25) 163 × 108 mm. Because the last two have the same measurements and all but Mark share the same width, the evangelists were clearly made in the same campaign.

29. For example, the canon table on folio 5v (fig. 10) measures 160 × 140 mm.

30. P. McGurk, *Latin Gospel Books from A.D. 400 to A.D. 800* (Paris, 1961), pp. 8–9.

31. I made some comments on the relative independence of scribes and illuminators in regard to tenth-century illumination in "Byzantine Miniatures at Oxford: CBM 1 and 2," forthcoming in *Byzantine Studies/Etudes byzantines.* Others have reached similar conclusions for later manuscripts. For the period of the present essay, see Buchthal, "Escorial," p. 93, and J. C. Anderson, "The Seraglio Octateuch and the Kokkinobaphos Master," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 36 (1982), pp. 103–104. For the Palaeologan period, see H. Buchthal, "Toward a History of Palaeologan Illuminations," *Art of the Mediterranean World A.D. 100 to 1400* (Washington, D.C., 1983), pp. 162–163; A. Weyl Carr, "Two Manuscripts by Joasaph in the United States," *The Art Bulletin* 63 (1981), pp. 188–190; and H. Belting, *Das illuminierte Buch in der spätbyzantinischen Gesellschaft* (Heidelberg, 1970), pp. 3–17.

32. Buchthal, "Disiecta Membra"; von Euw and Plotzek, p. 159.

33. The contents of these pages are as follows (Zog refers to the Zographou leaf):

Page 1 (Zog) I, I	8 (4v) V, V

The observed lack of coordination between scribes and painter does not mean that they were not contemporaries or that the miniatures were inserted into the manuscript at a later date. As discussed below, the decoration is too firmly embedded in the context of Constantinopolitan illumination of the second quarter of the twelfth century to be attributed to a later period. What the codicological analysis of the manuscript suggests instead is a physical, not a temporal, distance between the writing and the decorating of the manuscript. The illuminator probably did not share the same worktable or scriptorium with the scribes and may even have had a separate shop to which the master Theoktistos brought his book for decoration. A similar modus operandi best describes the production of certain twelfth-century manuscripts, to be discussed shortly, and may be deduced, as well, for other periods of Byzantine illumination.[31]

Having thus examined how the Getty New Testament was made, it is appropriate to evaluate the illumination that resulted by looking first at the beginning of the manuscript. Beginnings of books are always important, but perhaps more so than usual in the case of Ms. Ludwig II 4. One of its more distinctive aspects is its preliminary canon tables (figs. 6–12), which have heretofore been ignored. Thanks to Hugo Buchthal's discovery, their full extent can now be studied. The single leaf that he identified must be the folio that the authors of the Ludwig catalogue recorded as missing between folios 1 and 2 of the manuscript.[32] The leaf's measurements agree with those of the Getty volume, and its contents complete the missing section at the beginning of the tables. The series of decorated pages may therefore be reconstructed as beginning on the recto of the Zographou leaf and extending through the verso of folio 7, making fourteen pages in all.[33]

The canon tables consist of three handsome marbleized columns that frame two sections for the lists of numbers and support an ornamental superstructure. The columns, painted either blue or green, rest on round or tripartite bases. The rectangular sections above are variously filled with gables, arches, or ornamental patterns, so that each opening of the manuscript has the same design. Thus the fact that folio 2r matches exactly the design of the verso of the Zographou leaf is conclusive proof that the latter belonged to the manuscript.[34] These canon tables would seem to appeal less to modern sensibilities than the manuscript's figural miniatures to judge from the fact that the latter have been reproduced several times since 1891, whereas the canon tables were first illustrated only in the Ludwig catalogue of 1979.[35] Yet these ornate arches must have been important to the manuscript's medieval patron. They are carefully executed in the same array of colors as the evangelists and apostles, and it may well have required more of the artist's time to paint fourteen canon tables than five figural miniatures.[36]

Canon tables play a major role in the decorative programs of other Middle Byzantine Gospel books. Some consist of large illusionistic architectural designs derived from early prototypes, while others set intricate genre scenes atop the structures or introduce personifications as caryatids. To understand better the context of the Getty canon tables, it is necessary to locate them in the history of this aspect of the post-Iconoclastic Gospel book/New Testament, a formidable task since that history has yet to be written. The premier authority on the subject, Carl Nordenfalk, did consider the Greek versions but principally in regard to their potential for reconstructing Eusebius' original design. The latter, he showed, was reflected in the seven-page series of some tenth-century Greek manuscripts, his "kleinere griechische Kanonfolge." He also isolated the "grössere griechische Kanonfolge," consisting of ten pages and represented by the masterpiece in the Stavronikita monastery on Mount Athos (cod. 43). According to Nordenfalk, this series was a new redaction by Constantinopolitan illuminators of the tenth century and consequently of lesser interest for his purposes.[37] Neither he nor anyone else has taken up the subsequent history of

2 (Zog)	I, II	9 (5r)	V, VI
3 (2r)	II, II	10 (5v)	VI, VII
4 (2v)	II, II	11 (6r)	VIII, IX
5 (3r)	II, III	12 (6v)	X (Mt), X (Mk)
6 (3v)	III, IV	13 (7r)	X (Lk), X (Lk)
7 (4r)	IV, V	14 (7v)	X (Jn), X (Jn)

34. Because of the vagueness of earlier accounts, it is unclear when the Zographou leaf was removed from the manuscript. Unlike the missing apostles page, the leaf does not appear in the Library of Congress microfilm made in 1953 (see supra, note 3).

35. Von Euw and Plotzek, figs. 56–59.

36. In a forthcoming study on Armenian illumination, Thomas Mathews also underscores the importance and the seriousness of canon tables. He is able to interpret their significance for Armenian manuscripts by reference to medieval Armenian commentaries on the Eusebian canons. I know of no similar texts for Greek manuscripts. I thank him for letting me read a portion of his study coauthored with Avedis K. Sanjian, *Armenian Gospel Iconography; The Tradition of the U.C.L.A. Gospel.*

37. C. Nordenfalk, *Die spätantiken Kanontafeln* (Göteborg, 1938), pp. 57–64. He also identifies an early eight-page series, as a variant on the smaller seven-page format: ibid, pp. 149–152, and idem, "The Apostolic Canon Tables," *Gazette des beaux-arts* ser. 6, 62 (1963), pp. 24–26.

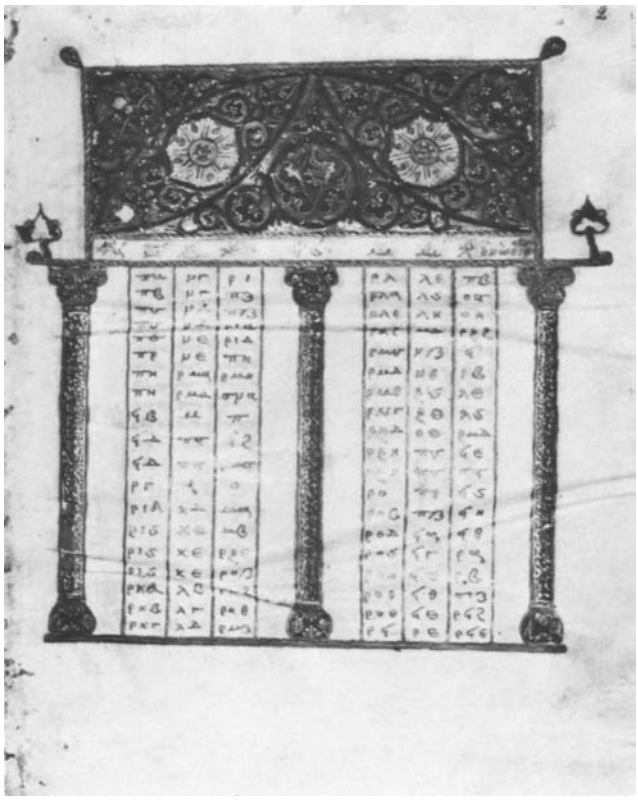

Figure 6. Canon table. New Testament, fol. 2r. Constantinople, 1133. Tempera and gold on vellum. H: 220 mm (8⅝″); W: 180 mm (7″). Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum Ms. Ludwig II 4; 83.MB.68.

Figure 7. Canon table. New Testament, fol. 2v. Constantinople, 1133. Tempera and gold on vellum. H: 220 mm (8⅝″); W: 180 mm (7″). Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum Ms. Ludwig II 4; 83.MB.68.

Byzantine canon tables, in spite of the fact that they constitute major components of deluxe manuscripts and may well offer clues to the origin and affiliation of such books.

The present study is not the place for such an investigation, but a few preliminary observations may aid in appreciating the series in the Getty manuscript. First, the latter's fourteen pages are exceptional. While Nordenfalk's seven-page series appears less frequently after the tenth century than eight- or ten-page sequences, very few series are as extended as that of Ms. Ludwig II 4. The contemporary Gospel book in the Vatican Library (Urb. gr. 2), with its portraits of John II Comnenus and his son Alexius, spreads the letter of Eusebius and the canon tables over sixteen pages (fols. 4r–11v), but the tables proper occupy only the traditional ten pages.[38] Like the earlier series studied by Nordenfalk, later canon tables may also be productively classified by number of pages.

Second, canon tables are more popular in some peri-

38. C. Stornajolo, *Codices Urbinates Graeci Bibliothecae Vaticanae* (Rome, 1895), p. 4; Spatharakis, *Corpus,* p. 41, fig. 251.

39. Spatharakis, *Corpus,* pp. 11–15: Rome, Vatican gr. 354; Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale gr. 70; Mount Athos, Lavra cod. A 19. I exclude Oxford, Bodleian Library Auct. D. 4. 1, said to have two canon tables (ibid., p. 12). These are canons for the Psalms: Hutter, *Corpus,* vol. 1, p. 27.

40. Nordenfalk (supra, note 37), p. 60.

41. Spatharakis, *Corpus,* pp. 19, 28, 33, 36. The other manuscripts are a Trebizond manuscript divided between Mount Sinai gr. 172 and Leningrad, Public Library gr. 291 dated 1067, and Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale gr. 81 dated 1092. The tables in the Dumbarton Oaks manuscript are comparatively simple, being rendered only in red ink.

42. Spatharakis, *Corpus,* pp. 41–42, 44–48: Mount Sinai gr. 193 dated 1124; Rome, Vatican Urb. gr. 2 of circa 1125; Mount Athos, Esphigmenou cod. 25 dated 1129; Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum Ms. Ludwig II 4 dated 1133; Princeton, University Library Garrett 3 dated 1136; Rome, Vatican Barb. gr. 449 dated 1153; Athens, Byzantine Museum ms. 205 dated 1154; London, British Library Add. 5107 dated 1159; Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale suppl. gr. 612 dated 1164; Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale gr. 83 dated 1167; London, British Library Add. 5111–5112, "shortly before 1189"; Rome, Vatican gr. 2290 dated 1197.

43. Spatharakis, *Corpus,* pp. 49, 54: Athens, Gennadeios Library ms. 1. 5 dated 1226; Athens, Byzantine Museum ms. 155 dated 1292. Spatharakis included Mount Sinai gr. 2123 as dated 1242, but its date has now been justly challenged by G. Prato and J. A. M. Sonderkamp, "Libro, testo, miniature: Il caso del Cod. Sinait. Gr. 2123," *Scrittura e*

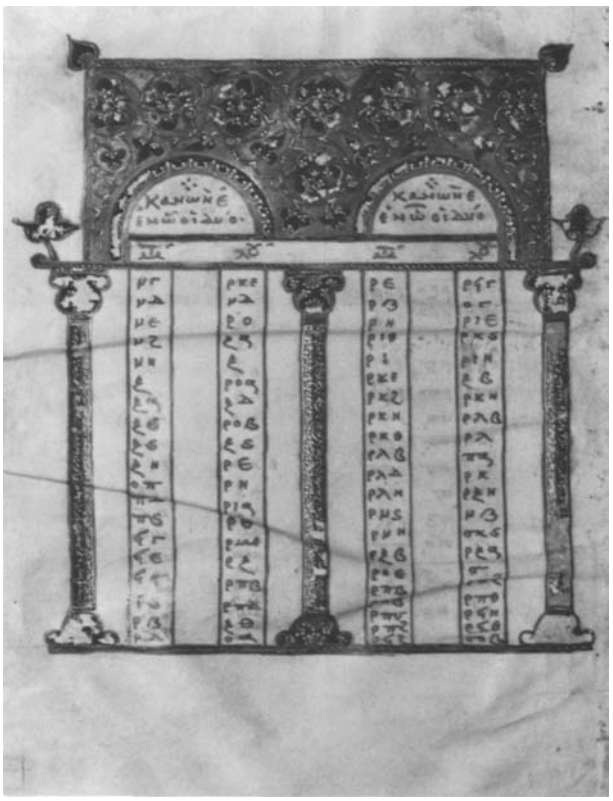

Figure 8. Canon table. New Testament, fol. 3v. Constantinople, 1133. Tempera and gold on vellum. H: 220 mm (8⅝″); W: 180 mm (7″). Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum Ms. Ludwig II 4; 83.MB.68.

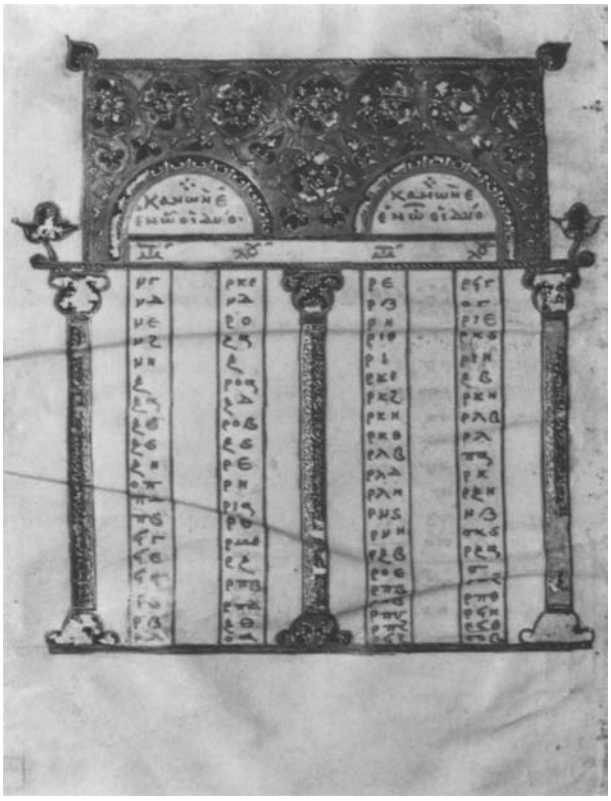

Figure 9. Canon table. New Testament, fol. 4v. Constantinople, 1133. Tempera and gold on vellum. H: 220 mm (8⅝″); W: 180 mm (7″). Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum Ms. Ludwig II 4; 83.MB.68.

ods than others, as shown by a perusal of the dated illuminated Greek manuscripts in the recent volume of I. Spatharakis. There the tenth century is represented by three manuscripts,[39] one of which (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale gr. 70) is a prime example of Nordenfalk's seven-page sequence.[40] Of the five eleventh-century manuscripts that Spatharakis catalogues, all but one (Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana Ms. B 56 sup., dated 1022) are from the second half of the century. Two (Washington, D.C., Dumbarton Oaks cod. 3 and Mount Athos, Lavra A 61) are of high or moderately high quality, and each has ten pages of canon tables.[41] The situation abruptly changes, however, in the twelfth century. Now twelve dated manuscripts have canon tables, including, of course, Ms. Ludwig II 4.[42] In contrast, tables are found in only three manuscripts from the thirteenth century,[43] two from the fourteenth century,[44] and none from the fifteenth century. In the Late Byzantine period canon tables decline in importance and are not included in many deluxe manuscripts.[45]

civiltà 9 (1985), pp. 309–323. Other dated manuscripts have canon tables but perhaps were not mentioned by Spatharakis because they are not of sufficient art historical interest, e.g., Rome, Vatican Ottob. gr. 381 dated 1281/82 and Williamstown, Williams College cod. De Ricci 1 dated 1294/95. Perhaps for the same reason Oxford, Christ Church gr. 20 dated 1291/92 is omitted entirely from the *Corpus*. Göttingen, Universitätsbibliothek cod. Theol. 28, an illuminated manuscript dated 1289/90 with canon tables, should be added to the *Corpus*. The Oxford and Göttingen manuscripts are discussed in my paper, "Theodore Hagiopetrites and Thessaloniki," *JÖB* 32/4 (1982), pp. 79–85, and the Göttingen manuscript alone in "The Manuscripts of Antonios Malakes and the Collecting and Appreciation of Illuminated Books in the Early Palaeologan Period," *JÖB* 36 (1986), pp. 235–238.

44. Spatharakis, *Corpus*, pp. 56–57: Mount Athos, Pantocrator cod. 47 dated 1301; Venice, Biblioteca Nationale gr. I. 20 dated 1302. Again, at least one other manuscript, Venice, Biblioteca Marciana gr. I. 19, has canon tables. The latter, however, are not richly decorated.

45. For example, Pistoia, Biblioteca Fabroniana ms. 307 dated 1330; Rome, Biblioteca Vallicelliana ms. F 17 (83) dated 1330; Mount Athos, Lavra cod. A 46 dated 1333; Patmos, Monastery of Saint John ms. 81 dated 1335; Mount Sinai gr. 152 dated 1346; London, British Library Burney 18 dated 1366; Athens, National Library ms. 2603 dated 1418; and Mount Athos, Iviron cod. 548 dated 1433. See Spatharakis, *Corpus*, pp. 60–70.

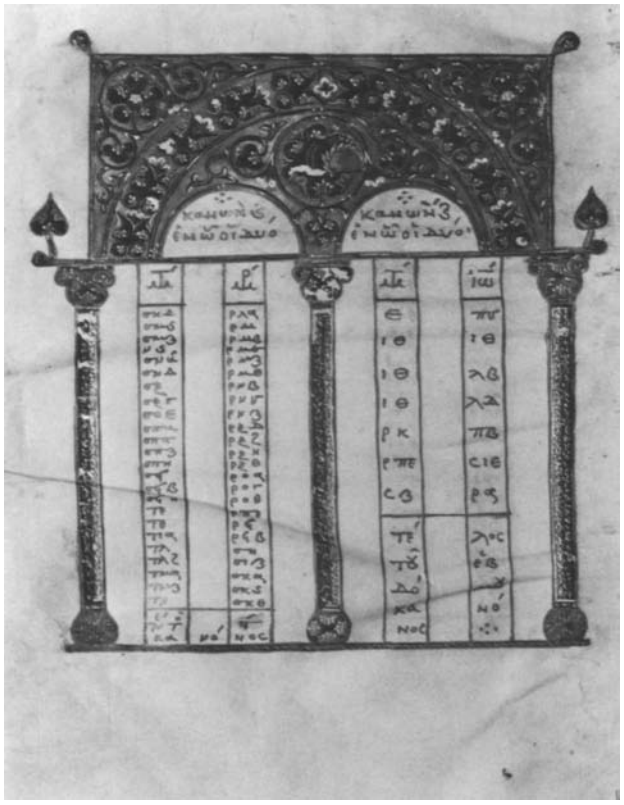

Figure 10. Canon table. New Testament, fol. 5v. Constantinople, 1133. Tempera and gold on vellum. H: 220 mm (8⅝″); W: 180 mm (7″). Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum Ms. Ludwig II 4; 83.MB.68.

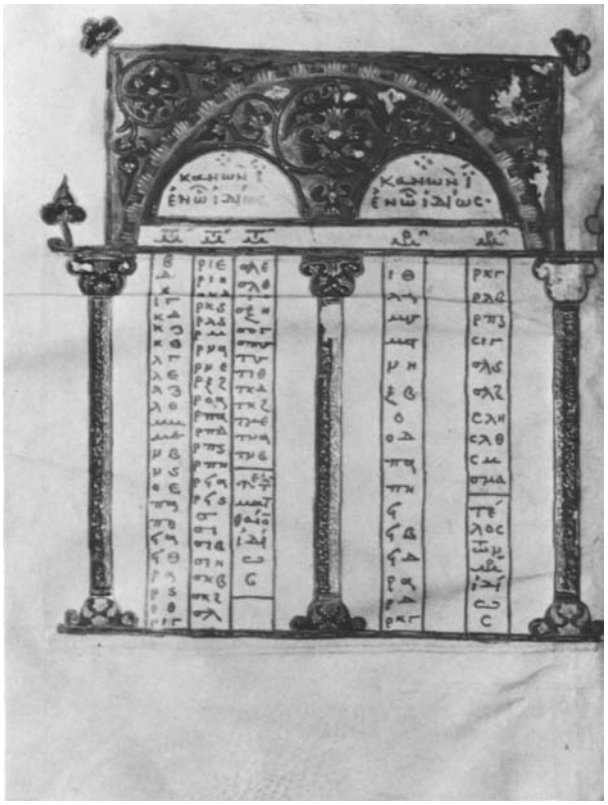

Figure 11. Canon table. New Testament, fol. 6v. Constantinople, 1133. Tempera and gold on vellum. H: 220 mm (8⅝″); W: 180 mm (7″). Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum Ms. Ludwig II 4; 83.MB.68.

Further research would be required to ascertain the degree to which the number of canon tables is dependent upon the number of illustrated Gospel books and New Testaments being produced at various times. However, in the absence of such a difficult inquiry, the evidence of surviving dated examples still reveals that at least the tables, if not the manuscripts in which they are found, enjoyed their greatest popularity in the later eleventh and twelfth centuries. Not coincidentally, this was also the time of their principal artistic success, a development that parallels the increased prominence of the decorated headpiece during the same period.[46] Tenth-century tables might be monumental and illusionistic (Mount Athos, Stavronikita cod. 43) or flat and decorative (Athens, National Library cod. 56) and could include a variety of small birds at the top (Rome, Vatican gr. 364),[47] but in the eleventh century, especially the latter half, canon tables reached new levels of embellishment. Atop the intricate arcades of one masterpiece of the period (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale gr. 64) cavort menageries of exotic animals. A cheetah and a hunter race after stags; one griffon stands proudly by while another licks its paws; pairs of long-necked waterfowl and peacocks drink from a fountain; or a youth goads a camel, as an elephant drinks with his trunk from a fountain.[48] More fanciful still are the mythological creatures playing cymbals and harp above a majestic table in the later eleventh-century Gospels in Parma (Biblioteca

46. On the headpiece see my forthcoming study, "Palaeologan Illuminated Ornament and the Arabesque," which will appear in the *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte.*

47. K. Weitzmann, *Die byzantinische Buchmalerei des 9. und 10. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, 1935), figs. 177–178, 148, 194–195.

48. J. Ebersolt, *La miniature byzantine* (Paris, 1926), pls. XLII–XLIII. A color reproduction of the page with the boy and camel is found in A. Grabar, *The Art of the Byzantine Empire* (New York, 1963), p. 39.

49. V. Lazarev, *Storia della pittura bizantina* (Turin, 1967), fig. 240.

50. Hutter, *Corpus,* vol. 1, figs. 209–213; vol. 3.1, p. 333; Nelson, "Byzantine Miniatures at Oxford" (supra, note 31).

51. Buchthal, "Melbourne," pp. 141–143, figs. 295–300. The Venice manuscript is discussed in I. Furlan, *Codici greci illustrati della Biblioteca Marciana* (Milan, 1979), vol. 2, pp. 13–18, without knowledge of the preceding, and most recently by Spatharakis, "Grammar," pp. 235–237. On the Melbourne manuscript there is now M. M. Manion and V. R. Vines, *Medieval and Renaissance Illuminated Manuscripts in Australian Collections* (Melbourne, 1984), pp. 23–26.

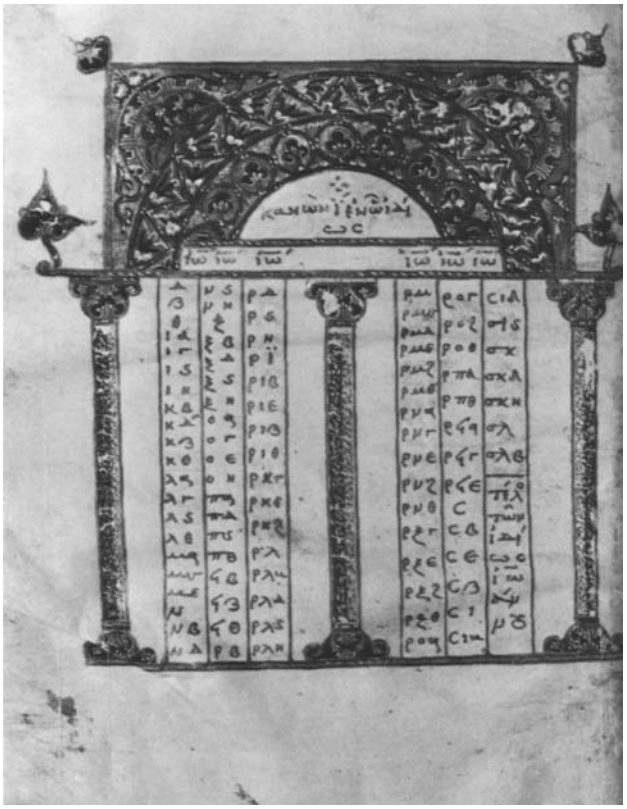

Figure 12. Canon table. New Testament, fol. 7v. Constantinople, 1133. Tempera and gold on vellum. H: 220 mm (8⅝″); W: 180 mm (7″). Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum Ms. Ludwig II 4; 83.MB.68.

Palatina ms. palat. 5),[49] a manuscript that is closely related to a smaller and simpler Gospels at Oxford (Bodleian Library E. D. Clarke 10).[50]

In the second quarter of the twelfth century, Gospel books belonging to the National Gallery of Victoria in Melbourne and the Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana in Venice (cod. gr. Z 540) insert personifications of the labors of the months and the virtues between the capitals and spandrels.[51] Both the caryatids and the genre scenes are combined at the end of the twelfth century or the beginning of the thirteenth century in the Vani Gospels, a manuscript written in Georgian but decorated by a Byzantine illuminator in Constantinople. Here motifs like the boy and the camel, the elephant, or the personifications are reproduced so faithfully that the illuminator must have consulted one or more earlier manuscripts.[52] Finally, at the end of the twelfth century, spectacular profusions of ornamental patterns envelop the canon tables of the appropriately named Decorative style, perhaps best exemplified by a manuscript in the Dionysiou monastery on Mount Athos (cod. 4).[53]

Compared to such elaborate creations, the tables in the Getty New Testament appear rather simple, lacking, as they do, the frolicking animals or the genre scenes of other Comnenian manuscripts. Yet their ornament is varied and well painted, and the series is significantly longer than the traditional formats to which all but a very few deluxe manuscripts conform. The ten-page sequence is favored by many of the foregoing: Athens, National Library cod. 56; Rome, Vatican gr. 364; Mount Athos, Stavronikita cod. 43; Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale gr. 64; Oxford, Bodleian Library E. D. Clarke 10; Rome, Vatican Urb. gr. 2. The Parma Gospels has only nine pages of tables, perhaps because it is larger than most Gospel books. Another prominent manuscript with a nine-page series is the Codex Ebnerianus at Oxford, a contemporary of the Getty New Testament and a member of a large school of Constantinopolitan illumination of the period, usually termed the Kokkinobaphos group after prominent manuscripts in Paris and Rome.[54] The scribe of the Codex Ebnerianus also wrote a New Testament in the Escorial with eight pages of tables.[55] A Paris Gospel book (Bibliothèque Nationale gr. 71), illuminated in the Kokkinobaphos style, contains handsome tables, which, however, are only seven in number.[56] Manuscripts of the later Decorative style, recently studied by A. Weyl Carr, have either seven or eight pages of tables.[57] Among the manuscripts surveyed, the Melbourne and Venice manuscripts with fourteen and fifteen pages, respectively, offer the closest parallels to the Getty New Testament.

Hugo Buchthal, who first noted the relationship between the Melbourne and Venice Gospels, concluded that they were produced in the same monastic scriptorium, because of the probable monastic origin of the virtues iconography and the presence of the portrait of the monk Theophanes at the beginning of the Melbourne manuscript (fig. 20).[58] The inscription ac-

52. On the manuscript see E. Takaïchvili, "Antiquités géorgiennes: I. L'évangile de Vani," *Byzantion* 10 (1935), pp. 655–663; Sh. Amiranashvili, *Gruzinskaja Miniatjura* (Moscow, 1966), pls. 30–33; H. Buchthal, "Studies in Byzantine Illumination of the Thirteenth Century," *Jahrbuch der berliner Museen* 25 (1983), pp. 36, 40, figs. 14–16.

53. Buchthal (supra, note 52), pp. 37–44.

54. Hutter, *Corpus,* vol. 1, pp. 59–62, figs. 227–235. J. C. Anderson is preparing a monograph on the Kokkinobaphos group. For his most recent paper on the subject see supra, note 31. Another manuscript possibly relevant to the group is the Lafskali Gospels, mentioned in Spatharakis, "Grammar," p. 241, and illustrated in J. Mourier, *L'art en Caucase,* 3rd ed. (Brussels, 1912), p. 239.

55. Buchthal, "Escorial," pp. 85–87.

56. Spatharakis, "Grammar," p. 235.

57. A. Weyl Carr, "A Group of Provincial Manuscripts from the Twelfth Century," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 36 (1982), pp. 67–81.

58. Buchthal, "Melbourne," pp. 145–146.

Figure 13. Eusebian letter. New Testament, fol. 1r. Constantinople, 1133. Pen and ink on vellum. H: 220 mm (8⅝″); W: 180 mm (7″). Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum Ms. Ludwig II 4; 83.MB.68.

Figure 14. Eusebian letter. Gospel book, fol. 2r. Constantinople, second quarter of the twelfth century. Tempera and gold on vellum. H: 242 mm (9½″); W: 174 mm (6⅞″). Melbourne, National Gallery of Victoria MS. Felton 710/5 (Felton Bequest 1959). Photo: Courtesy National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne.

companying the miniature identifies him as the donor, scribe, and illuminator of the manuscript. Certainly Theophanes must have been responsible for the book's creation, but whether he was the actual scribe and painter is not entirely clear.[59] Thus the miniature may either be a rare self-portrait of a scribe and illuminator or yet another representation of a patron presenting his book to the Virgin. In any event, the connection between the Melbourne and Venice Gospels may be drawn tighter, for they are not merely products of the same scriptorium. They are written by the same scribe, as the comparison of the same texts in the two will indicate. For example, the letters of Eusebius at the beginning of each volume (figs. 14, 15) not only have similar ornamental frames but also share the same letter forms and ligatures.[60] To judge from the beginnings of the Gospels, this scribe also wrote the main texts of both volumes.

Furthermore, the measurements of the two Gospel books are related. The Melbourne manuscript (242 × 174 mm) is twice the size of the Venice volume (175 × 123 mm); the width of the former equals the length of the latter, and twice the width of the latter approximates the length of the former. The books' scribe must have folded the unit of parchment used for the larger volume once more for the smaller volume. Other similar pairs of manuscripts are known, and one set is documented as having been produced at the same time.[61] Of the two manuscripts, the Melbourne Gospels would have been the more expensive, because even though it is

59. It was common for patrons of all sorts to claim in an inscription that they had made, built, etc., the object. To take one example close in date, Mount Sinai gr. 339 of the mid-twelfth century contains a note stating that the Abbot Joseph of the Pantocrator monastery "made the silver-white book dappled with wrought gold" and gave it to the monastery of the Theotokos Pantanassa. Joseph is neither the scribe nor the illuminator of the manuscript, but its patron. See J. C. Anderson, "The Illustration of Cod. Sinai. Gr. 339," *The Art Bulletin* 61 (1979), pp. 167–168.

60. Compare the word ἀλεξανδρεύς in line 3 of Melbourne (fig.

Figure 15. Eusebian letter. Gospel book, fol. 1r. Constantinople, second quarter of the twelfth century. Tempera and gold on vellum. H: 175 mm (6⅞″); W: 123 mm (4⅞″). Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana cod. gr. Z 540. Photo: Courtesy Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Venice.

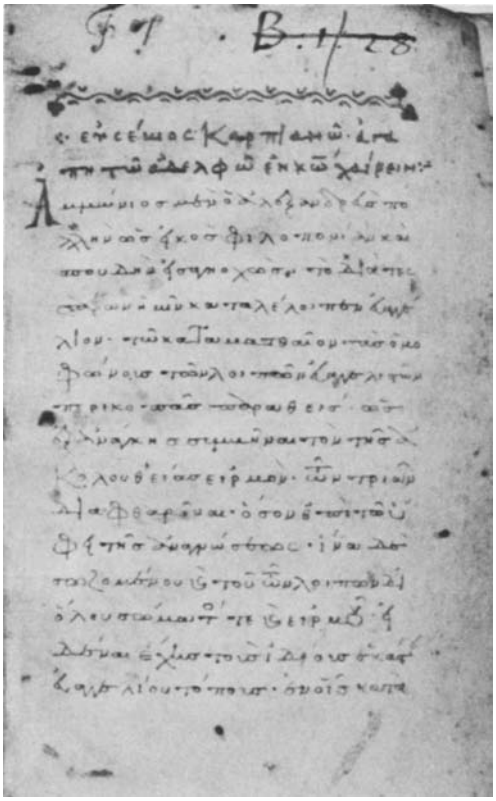

Figure 16. Eusebian letter. Gospel book, fol. 1r. Constantinople, second quarter of the twelfth century. Pen and ink on vellum. H: 117 mm (4⅝″); W: 84 mm (3⅝₁₆″). New York, H. P. Kraus collection. Photo: Courtesy H. P. Kraus, New York.

twice as large, it has nearly the same number of folios (254) as the Venice manuscript (275). Given that both contain the same text, one would expect the Melbourne manuscript to have half the number of folios of its twin, if their cost of materials had been the same.

Theoktistos, with his squarish letters and diagonal abbreviation signs, wrote rather differently than the scribe of the Venice and Melbourne Gospel books, but in the latter context, the anomalous style of Eusebius' letter in the Getty New Testament (fig. 13) suddenly becomes significant. A number of letters and ligatures here are so similar to the Gospel books (figs. 14, 15) that the same person probably penned the Eusebian letters of all three books.[62] It thus should not be surprising that the three sets of canon tables employ the same ornamental repertory. For example, the marbleized columns, painted alternately blue or green, and the many red bases and capitals are practically identical to those in the only color reproduction published from the Melbourne Gospels. Moreover, a peculiar flower-leaf with a hole at the side is the principal decorative motif of a canon table in the Getty volume (fig. 10) and a headpiece in the Melbourne manuscript.[63] The precise relationship between the illuminators of the three books is not clear, because, to take one example, the designs of the canon table spandrels and the headpieces are unrelated. At the very least, however, it may be concluded that all three books are the products of contemporary Constantinopolitan painters.

These artisans may be traced in yet one more manu-

14) and line 4 of Venice (fig. 15); the word διαφθαρῆναι in line 8 of Melbourne and line 10 of Venice; or the words εἰλη φῶς ἀφορμάς in line 14 of Melbourne and line 16 of Venice.

61. See R. S. Nelson and J. L. Bona, "Relative Size and Comparative Value in Byzantine Illuminated Manuscripts: Some Quantitative Perspectives," forthcoming in *Biblioteca di scrittura e civiltà.*

62. Compare the same words cited in note 60 and found in Getty on lines 2, 7, 13. Or compare the form of the word ἀδελφῷ in line 1 of Getty with that in line 3 of Venice.

63. Buchthal, "Melbourne," fig. 303.

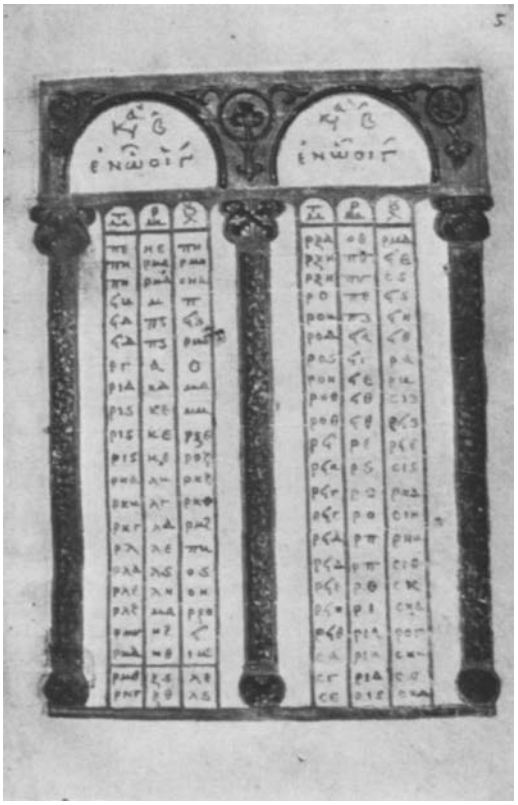

Figure 17. Canon table. Gospel book, fol. 5r. Constantinople, second quarter of the twelfth century. Tempera and gold on vellum. H: 117 mm (4⅝″); W: 84 mm (3⅝″). New York, H. P. Kraus collection. Photo: Courtesy H. P. Kraus, New York.

script, a diminutive Gospel book that has received little attention to date. Its canon tables (fig. 17) display the same combinations of columns and capitals in the identical shades of red, green, and blue as the preceding books. Formerly owned by the Marquess of Bute, the manuscript has been in the collection of Mr. H. P. Kraus since 1983.[64] Its small size (117 × 84 mm) distinguishes it from the average Gospel book and suggests a private function.[65] Decorated only with canon tables, the manuscript, nevertheless, is carefully written and is of high quality. Its tables are simpler than those of the Getty New Testament, because the need to accommodate the lists of numbers on a much smaller page necessitated the abridgment of the decorated spandrels. Nevertheless, like the Melbourne and Getty manuscripts, the Kraus Gospels has fourteen pages of canon tables. Its Eusebian letter (fig. 16) is written by the person who wrote the other three letters (figs. 13–15) and is introduced by a simple wavy band identical to that of the Getty manuscript (fig. 13).[66]

The general ornamental vocabulary of the tables in these manuscripts belongs to the larger context of twelfth-century Constantinopolitan illumination and leads quickly to the group of the aforementioned Kokkinobaphos manuscripts. The Codex Ebnerianus at Oxford also uses the green and blue columns and the red capitals in its canon tables.[67] Moreover the scalloped design used for some arches (figs. 7, 9) and borders (figs. 22–25) in the Getty manuscript frames the evangelists in another manuscript of the group (Patmos, Monastery of Saint John cod. 274).[68] Yet while certain ornamental motifs are generally characteristic of high quality illumination from the capital, the common format of the Getty, Kraus, and Melbourne manuscripts distinguishes them from those Kokkinobaphos-school manuscripts that still preserve their canon tables[69] and suggests a closer kinship for these portions of the three manuscripts.

Paleography, however, leads in different directions. To recapitulate, Theoktistos, the copyist of the main part of the Getty New Testament, collaborated with a second scribe, who did the Eusebian letter and the liturgical tables. The latter also wrote the Melbourne and Venice Gospels, as well as the Eusebian letter in the little book of H. P. Kraus (fig. 16). The main text of this last manuscript (fig. 18), however, is written in an entirely different style and should be assigned to another scribe, whose hand can be detected in yet another member of the Kokkinobaphos group, a Gospel book in Paris (Bibliothèque Nationale gr. 75).[70] A comparison of the first pages from Mark in the two books (figs. 18, 19) reveals a number of identical letter forms and ligatures[71] and a similar quiet, somber rhythm, so different from the corresponding pages in the Melbourne[72] and

64. I. C. Cunningham, *Greek Manuscripts in Scotland: Summary Catalogue* (Edinburgh, 1982), p. 18; Sotheby Parke Bernet & Co., *Catalogue of the Bute Collection of Forty-Two Illuminated Manuscripts and Miniatures* (London, 1983), pp. 6–9. Two tables are illustrated in color on p. 6. I thank Ms. Mary Ann Mitchell of the firm of H. P. Kraus for sending me information about the manuscript.

65. See the study of Weyl Carr (supra, note 25). The manuscript is cited on p. 156. It should be noted that the manuscript is one-half the size of the Venice Gospels and one-fourth that of the Melbourne Gospels, a further indication of the relationship of all three.

66. In the latter, the same band is repeated on folio 269r in gold (illustrated in Lake [supra, note 26], pl. 198) and on the following pages in red. The motif is a common one, admittedly, but the precise execution is consistent in both the Getty and Kraus manuscripts and is further evidence that these sections are by the same hand.

67. Described in Hutter, *Corpus,* vol. 1, pp. 61–62.

68. G. Jacopi, "Le miniature dei codici di Patmo," *Clara Rhodos* 6–7 (1932–1941), fig. 131.

69. For example, Rome, Vatican Urb. gr. 2 has ten pages; the Codex Ebnerianus, nine pages; and Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale gr. 71, seven pages.

70. Anderson, "Examination," pp. 36–40, where the manuscript

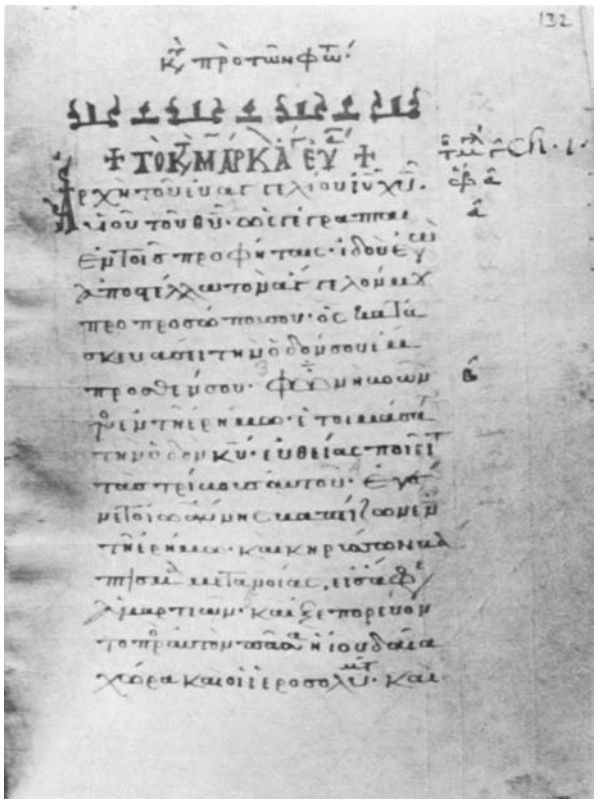

Figure 18. First page of the Gospel of Mark. Gospel book, fol. 132r. Constantinople, second quarter of the twelfth century. Tempera and gold on vellum. H: 117 mm (4⅝″); W: 84 mm (3⅝″). New York: H. P. Kraus collection. Photo: Courtesy H. P. Kraus, New York.

Figure 19. First page of the Gospel of Mark. Gospel book, fol. 95r. Constantinople, second quarter of the twelfth century. Tempera and gold on vellum. H: 179 mm (7″); W: 127 mm (5″). Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale gr. 75. Photo: Courtesy Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

Getty manuscripts (fig. 3). Moreover the same decorative flair seems to animate the initial alphas. The Kraus Gospels has only a simple band of pseudo-Kufic ornament as headpiece for Mark, whereas the Paris volume opens each Gospel with a framed miniature painted according to the style and iconography of such Kokkinobaphos-school manuscripts as Vatican Urb. gr. 2.[73] The latter's script in turn is to be distinguished from that of Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale gr. 75, which better resembles the Paris Kokkinobaphos manuscript (Bibliothèque Nationale, gr. 1208).[74]

To trace further the intricate affiliations of this large group is beyond the scope of the present essay, but some parts of the puzzle are becoming clearer. Buchthal has shown that the Codex Ebnerianus and the Escorial New Testament were written by the same scribe but painted by different artists.[75] Thus it is already possible to conclude that manuscript production in Constantinople during the second quarter of the twelfth century involved shifting associations of scribes and illuminators, and in this respect the Getty New Testament is a typical product of the period. Consequently, to make attributions based only on script or illumination is to ignore the larger reality of medieval craft practices.

is compared with Rome, Vatican Urb. gr. 2; and idem (supra, note 31), pp. 89, 95. It is unfortunate that someone erased two lines of text at the end of the Gospel of John and the beginning of the liturgical tables in the Kraus manuscript (fol. 429r). These may well have been the book's original colophon. They were not readable with ultraviolet light. In the Getty manuscript the colophon appears in the same position after the conclusion of the canonical texts and before the Synaxarium.

71. Cf. the words προφήταις in line 2 of both and φωνή in line 7 of the Kraus manuscript and line 6 of the Paris manuscript.

72. Buchthal, "Melbourne," fig. 302.

73. C. Stornajolo, *Miniature delle omilie di Giacomo Monaco (Cod. vatic. gr. 1162) e dell'evangeliario greco urbinate (Cod. vatic. urbin. gr. 2)* (Rome, 1910), pl. 86.

74. I follow Anderson ("Examination," pp. 143–146) on these relations. In the present context, I am not considering the intricate codicological details of these manuscripts, a matter not without interest. Paris gr. 75, for example, is practically identical in size (179 × 127 mm) to the Venice Gospels (175 × 123 mm).

75. Buchthal, "Escorial," pp. 85–87.

Figure 20. The monk Theophanes presenting a book to the Virgin and Child. Gospel book, fol. 1v. Constantinople, second quarter of the twelfth century. Tempera and gold on vellum. H: 242 mm (9½″); W: 174 mm (6⅞″). Melbourne, National Gallery of Victoria, MS. Felton 710/5 (Felton Bequest 1959). Photo: Courtesy National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne.

Figure 21. The twelve apostles. New Testament, fol. 134v (excised). Constantinople, 1133. Tempera and gold on vellum. H: 185 mm (7¼″); W: 135 mm (5⁵⁄₁₆″). Athens, Paul Canellopoulos collection.

The context thus established for the canon tables of the Ludwig manuscript provides a useful framework for interpreting the bits of color on folio 1r (fig. 13), the only traces of a miniature on the now lost verso folio. Several of these offsets may be seen at the upper left. In the inner margin, a light blue palmette grows from a stem that twists and projects to the right. Below are the dark blue remnants of a capital, and lower still, dots of light green trailing down the page between the double ruling lines. Extending above and slightly to the right of the capital are other patches of the dark blue, the largest of which overlays the word Εὐσέβιος and is joined to a spot of dark green, which obscures the word Ἀμμώνιος. Dots of red and orange adjoin this offset. Finally in the top left corner of the page, bits of dark blue have adhered to an area between the double rulings.

The key to interpreting these offsets is as close as folio 2r (fig. 6). The palmette corresponds to one here or on folio 6v (fig. 11), and the blue area below can only be from a dark blue capital like those of the canon tables. These portions of the missing leaf must have been coordinated with the tables, for the offset palmette is only a few millimeters higher on the page than its analogue on folio 2r. Like the capitals of the canon tables, the offset capital is bisected by the ruling lines of folio 1r. The specks of color below also fall between the rulings and must therefore be the remnants of a green column that corresponds to one of the outer ones elsewhere, for example, folio 2v (fig. 7). Above the capi-

76. The codicology of the manuscript is analyzed in Manion and Vines (supra, note 51). The frames of the missing evangelist portraits are visible on the first pages of the Gospels, as noted by Buchthal, "Melbourne," p. 145.

77. Hutter, *Corpus,* vol. 1, pp. 60–61, fig. 225.

78. Buchthal (supra, note 52), p. 36.

tal the dark blue and green patches with red and orange touches are from a leaf analogous to one in the same area of folio 5v (fig. 10), and the smear of color in the upper left corner probably came from a projecting finial. Presumably the overall design was symmetrical, so that one may reconstruct another column, capital, and palmette on the opposite side of the page, but there is no way to know if the lost illumination had a central column like the tables that follow. To achieve such precise agreement with the tables, the missing page was doubtlessly ruled in the pattern of folios 1–7.

Fortunately or unfortunately, no more of the missing page was damaged by rubbing, so that one is left with only these scattered clues; something, nevertheless, can be said about the whole page. It must have been part of the original program of decoration, because it was ruled like the first quire, and it must have been painted by the original illuminator, whose blues have also rubbed off in the same areas of the canon tables (figs. 6–12). While designed to match the tables, the page was probably not part of the book's initial quaternion, quinions being rare in Byzantine manuscripts, but may rather have been a singleton or a bifolio set before the first regular quire. It cannot, of course, have been a canon table, because these were complete, but the manuscript itself provides no further clues as to the content of the missing page, so one must look elsewhere.

Byzantine Gospel books or New Testaments might be introduced by a variety of themes, Christ and the four evangelists, the Deesis, a cross, etc., but the contemporaries of the Getty New Testament suggest more likely possibilities. Once again the closest analogue is the Melbourne Gospels. It too has lost various miniatures, whose traces have also been preserved on the opposite pages. Its first folio (fig. 20) is a singleton, which faces a regular quaternion containing, as in the Getty manuscript, the letter of Eusebius (fols. 2r–v; fig. 14) and originally seven folios, or fourteen pages, of canon tables.[76] Folio 1v depicts the scribe, illuminator, and/or patron, Theophanes, presenting his manuscript to the Virgin. The three handsome columns here complement the book's canon tables and suggest one way of reconstructing the lost Getty page. A second possibility is offered by the Codex Ebnerianus, where another large triple-arched structure frames the probable portraits of Eusebius and Carpianus.[77] The latter is the recipient of Eusebius' letter, which follows on the next page, as it would have in the Getty manuscript. Eusebius and Carpianus were popular subjects in the Comnenian period, appearing somewhat earlier in the previously mentioned Parma and Oxford manuscripts and later in the Vani Gospels, a book whose illumination follows Comnenian models rather closely.[78]

The general program of figural decoration in the Getty volume is also understandable within the context of Comnenian book production. In the subclass of illuminated manuscripts, one volume New Testaments are not common. By a wide margin illuminators and their patrons preferred the separate Gospel book over the less commonly illustrated Acts and Epistles, and in the eleventh and twelfth centuries they began to join the Gospels and/or New Testament to the Psalter to form a personal devotional text. However, in the period in which the Getty manuscript was created, two other illustrated New Testaments were also produced in Constantinople, the often noted Codex Ebnerianus and ms. X.IV.17 in the library of the Escorial, both well published and convincingly attributed to the second quarter of the twelfth century.[79] Perhaps because such manuscripts were both uncommon and highly luxurious, their illustration was not standardized. In addition to Eusebius and Carpianus, the famed Ebnerianus is replete with ten author portraits joined with narrative scenes in the lunettes above. The Escorialensis contains simpler seated evangelists without narrative accompaniment and standing portraits of the Acts and Epistles, arranged in pairs over three consecutive pages.

Neither decorative scheme is especially close to the Getty volume, so that to understand more fully the background of the latter's figural decoration, the iconography and style of its miniatures require separate scrutiny. Perhaps the most unusual is the grid of apostles that formerly prefaced the Acts and Epistles (fig. 21). As customary, the selection of apostles includes Paul and the four evangelists in a hierarchical arrangement, beginning with Peter and Paul at the top left. Traditionally the four evangelists follow thereafter and here fill the next four positions, but tradition is contravened by the placement of Luke. Mark and Luke, the junior evangelists, normally defer to their senior colleagues, John and Matthew, and consequently one would not expect to see Luke on the top row in the third position.[80] His elevated status must be a consequence of the miniature's position before the Book of Acts, of which Luke is the author. The miniature, then, is more a frontispiece to the Acts of the Apostles than

79. Buchthal, "Escorial," pp. 85–94. The Escorial manuscript is illustrated here and the Ebnerianus in Hutter, *Corpus,* vol. 1, figs. 225–255.

80. One might compare the Acts frontispiece in a late eleventh-century Psalter-New Testament in the Vatopedi monastery on Mount Athos (cod. 762). The miniature, now in the Walters Art Gallery,

Figure 22. Portrait of Matthew. New Testament, fol. 10v. Constantinople, 1133. Tempera and gold on vellum. H: 220 mm (8⅝″); W: 180 mm (7″). Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum Ms. Ludwig II 4; 83.MB.68.

Figure 23. Portrait of Mark. New Testament, fol. 45v. Constantinople, 1133. Tempera and gold on vellum. H: 220 mm (8⅝″); W: 180 mm (7″). Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum Ms. Ludwig II 4; 83.MB.68.

an introduction to the rest of the New Testament. The formal origins of the composition are to be sought in certain earlier group author portraits, and as Anderson noted,[81] the busts themselves with their rounded silhouettes are derived from medallion images.

The iconography of the four evangelist portraits is less complex, and long ago Friend correctly associated them with evangelists from the ninth and tenth centuries.[82] The standing, as opposed to the seated evangelist, enjoyed its greatest popularity at this time but appeared rarely in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Consequently it evolved so little that the Getty evangelists find close iconographic antecedents in manuscripts produced 150 years earlier. For example, a Gospel book in Vienna (Österreichische Nationalbibliothek cod. Theol. gr. 240) depicts Matthew standing (fig. 26), turning inward toward the binding, and holding a half-open book in his hand, the stance assumed by the first three evangelists in the Getty manuscript (figs. 22–24). Each man's right arm is enveloped in a sling of drapery, and bunches of fabric fall from either side of him.

Only John (fig. 25) deviates from the earlier model by turning back to the hand of God, which projects from a quadrant of heaven at the upper left. Friend took this to be a "contamination" from the common scene of John looking back to heaven for inspiration while dictating to his disciple Prochoros,[83] a composition that does appear in the Gospel books of the contemporary Kokkinobaphos group.[84] However, the word *contamination,* even if its context for Friend was probably philological, is pejorative, connoting a haphazard or even mistaken alteration. In a manuscript of the quality of the Getty New Testament, nothing is accidental, and other explanations for the portrait should be sought. Indeed a

shows six standing apostles in two registers. At the top from left to right are Paul, Peter, and John and on the bottom Luke, Matthew, and Mark. Here the central position is the primary, so that Paul and John turn toward Peter, while Matthew occupies the center post below. The miniature is illustrated in G. Vikan, ed., *Illuminated Greek Manuscripts from American Collections* (Princeton, 1973), fig. 37.

81. Anderson, "Examination," pp. 67–68.
82. Friend (supra, note 7), p. 125.
83. Ibid.
84. For example, Mount Athos, Panteleimon cod. 25: S. M.

Figure 24. Portrait of Luke. New Testament, fol. 69v. Constantinople, 1133. Tempera and gold on vellum. H: 220 mm (8⅝″); W: 180 mm (7″). Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum Ms. Ludwig II 4; 83.MB.68.

Figure 25. Portrait of John. New Testament, fol. 106v. Constantinople, 1133. Tempera and gold on vellum. H: 220 mm (8⅝″); W: 180 mm (7″). Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum Ms. Ludwig II 4; 83.MB.68.

better analogy is provided by a rare seated portrait of John in a later eleventh-century lectionary in the Vatican Library (gr. 1156). There all four authors turn inward toward their texts on the facing rectos, but only John twists his head back toward the hand of God in the upper left corner of the miniature. The type, as Buchthal has shown, derives from early sources common to later Byzantine and Carolingian illumination and is to be explained by the Early Christian notion that only John among the four evangelists was divinely inspired.[85] The Getty portrait may be interpreted as a possibly unique standing variation of the inspired evangelist painted by an illuminator, who doubtlessly was aware of the contemporary depictions of John and Prochoros.

Formally the manuscript's four evangelists are important witnesses to the stylistic concerns of this particular artist and to general trends in Byzantine painting of the period. Like the fourteen canon tables and the missing frontispiece at the beginning, the portraits are products of a singular desire for uniformity. As noted above, the illuminator ruled the parchment especially for the evangelists and the canon tables, so that all are approximately equal in height. With such an artist, it is not surprising, if a bit disappointing, that the same figure type was used for all four evangelists. Their dimensions are so similar that he may have mechanically reproduced his model in some manner. What he varied were the outer drapery, and hence the breadth of the figures; the head types; to some extent the position of the feet; and, of course, the coloring of the garments. Even John fits the pattern, except for his turned head, which again can hardly be a casual variation. Since the draperies range widely in basic color and highlighting

Pelekanidis et al., *The Treasures of Mount Athos* (Athens, 1975), vol. 2, fig. 326.

85. H. Buchthal, "A Byzantine Miniature of the Fourth Evangelist and Its Relatives," *Art of the Mediterranean World A.D. 100 to 1400* (Washington, D.C., 1983), pp. 131–133, fig. 283. The most recent study of the portraits in Vatican gr. 1156 is I. Spatharakis, "An Unusual Iconographic Type of the Seated Evangelist," Δελτίον Χριστιανικῆς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας ser. 4, 10 (1980–1981), pp. 137–146.

Figure 26. Portrait of Matthew. Gospel book, fol. 8v. Constantinople, tenth century. Tempera and gold on vellum. H: 215 mm (8 7/16"); W: 154 mm (6"). Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek cod. Theol. gr. 240. Photo: Courtesy Österreichische Nationalbibliothek.

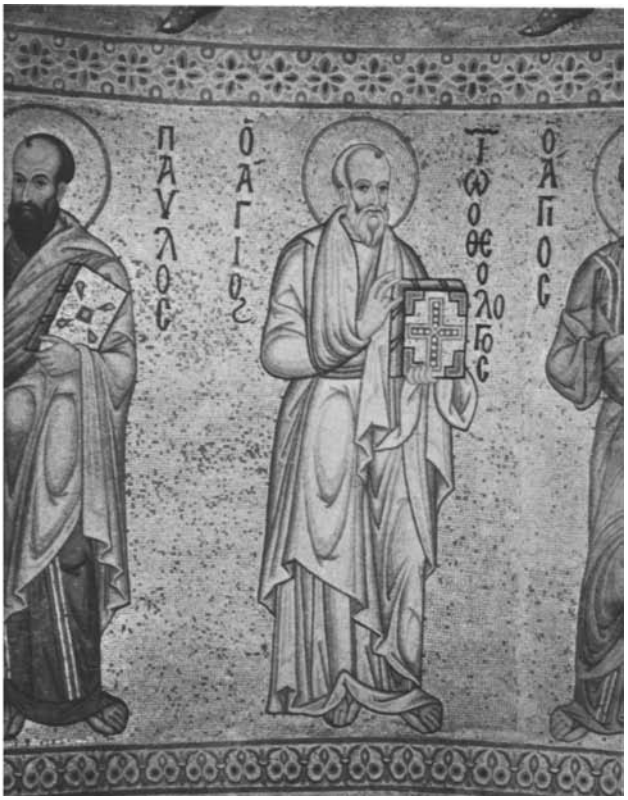

Figure 27. Portrait of John. Cathedral, Cefalu, Sicily, 1148. Mosaic. Photo: Courtesy Ernst Kitzinger.

and because each figure is separated by many pages in the manuscript, their common design is not readily perceived, nor is it particularly disconcerting in situ.

The quality of execution equals the finest achievements of Constantinopolitan miniaturists in what is a major period in the history of Byzantine illumination. The dark, rich colors of figures, such as Mark, are hallmarks of the Kokkinobaphos style, and the lined foreheads and worried expressions of the evangelists and of the apostles on the missing leaf (fig. 21) find parallels in the Paris Kokkinobaphos volume and in the various Gospel books of the group.[86] Whether the painter of the Getty miniatures was a member of the inner circle of artists of the Kokkinobaphos group or, as is more likely, an independent talent is, of course, not easily resolved and certainly not within the context of the present study. The Getty illuminations, nevertheless, do help to define the achievements of Constantinopolitan illuminators during the second quarter of the twelfth century.

At first, the stylistic juxtaposition of the Getty Matthew (fig. 22) with the corresponding evangelist in the tenth-century Vienna codex (fig. 26) might seem to be to the detriment of the later miniature. The massive, statuesque figure of the Vienna Gospels is more convincingly and subtly modeled in light and shadow, so that it appears to occupy physical space, but the illusion is immediately dispelled by the surrounding gold ground onto which an architectural backdrop has been etched. Perhaps sensing these and other contradictions, later il-

86. Anderson ("Examination," p. 68) compared the faces of the apostles on the missing leaf (fig. 21) with some in the Paris manuscript (Bibliothèque Nationale gr. 1208, fol. 1v) illustrated in H. A. Omont, "Miniatures des homélies sur la vierge du moine Jacques (Ms. Grec. 1208 de Paris)," *Bulletin de la société française de reproductions de manuscrits à peintures* 11 (1927), p. 1. Some evangelists in the group have unfurrowed brows (Oxford, Christ Church gr. 32; Rome, Vatican Urb. gr. 2; Patmos cod. 274); others have even more troubled expressions than the Getty evangelists and apostles (London, British Library Burney 19; Mount Athos, Lavra A 44, two of whose evangelists are in the Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore).

87. D. Mouriki, "Stylistic Trends in Monumental Painting of

Figure 28. Portrait of Bartholomew. Church of the Martorana, Palermo, circa 1150. Mosaic. Photo: Courtesy Alinari/Art Resource, New York.

luminators discontinued the incised designs and abandoned, as well, the artificial classicism of the tenth century. Gradually line and surface pattern became the expressive tools of the illuminator, and by the end of the twelfth century, monumental and miniature painting achieve remarkably expressionistic and mannered effects through exaggerated facial lines and boldly patterned highlights.

The Getty evangelists stand midway between the flat, dematerialized, passive figures of the eleventh century and the turbulent excesses of the late twelfth century and are valuable witnesses to the stylistic preoccupations of Byzantine painters during the first half of the twelfth century, a time when little survives in fresco or mosaic.[87] A figure like the Getty John (fig. 25) helps explain the crucial transformation in Byzantine painting between the soft modeling and gentle demeanor of the standing prophets at the late eleventh-century church of Daphni[88] and the taut, charged linearism of the apostles of 1148 at Cefalu.[89] The large, expansive figure of John (fig. 27) in the Sicilian apse has his right arm in a drapery sling like his earlier counterpart in the Getty New Testament, but the formal differences between the two figures separated by fifteen years are revealing. Now the sling has become an autonomous form, and the folds on the right thigh have been organized into a long oval. The standing apostles at the church of the Martorana in Palermo, which are contemporary with those at Cefalu, represent a further stage of refinement.[90] Here in the analogous figure of Bartholomew (fig. 28), there is a greater disjunction between the sling and the folds on the adjacent upper arm. Below, the lines on the thigh have coalesced into a single, tightly coiled spiral that spills down the middle of the figure and unifies the lower body.

Compared to the softer highlighting in earlier works, such as the Daphni prophets, the garments of Luke in the Getty New Testament (fig. 24) are almost garishly adorned with stark white lines. These no longer model, so as to give the illusion of the third dimension, as in the tenth-century miniature in Vienna (fig. 26), but flit across the surface as randomly as the patterns of shattered glass and with such little regard for the body underneath that the figure is thereby flattened. The technique is used elsewhere in the period, as, for example, in the figure of Solomon in an approximately contemporary Psalter at the Dionysiou monastery on Mount Athos (cod. 65)[91] or the mosaics of the Martorana.[92] Through these and other abstractions, the drapery begins to divorce itself from the underlying anatomy in order to serve the expressive purposes of the artist. The stage is thus set for the rapid evolution of what has been termed the Dynamic style[93] of later twelfth-century painting. That phase of monumental painting is principally preserved in provincial monuments. Because so little of twelfth-century monumental painting survives in metropolitan centers, miniatures as well documented as those of the Getty New Testament constitute important evidence of the twelfth-century Constantinopolitan tradition.

Greece During the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 34–35 (1980–1981), pp. 102–103.

88. E. Diez and O. Demus, *Byzantine Mosaics in Greece: Hosios Lucas and Daphni* (Cambridge, Mass., 1931), figs. 54–63.

89. O. Demus, *The Mosaics of Norman Sicily* (New York, 1950), pls. 1, 4.

90. Ibid., pls. 51–52.

91. Pelekanidis (supra, note 84), vol. 1, fig. 124.

92. Demus (supra, note 89), pl. 50 B.

93. The term is that of E. Kitzinger, see, for example, "The Byzantine Contribution to Western Art of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 20 (1966), p. 30.

Through its explicit colophon and its script and illumination, Ms. Ludwig II 4 also serves to introduce the complex relationships that existed between the producers and patrons of deluxe books of the period; this is the last context in which the manuscript should be considered. As the foregoing has shown, ever changing combinations of scribes and illuminators collaborated to produce manuscripts, a working method that would have been facilitated by the large urban environment of medieval Constantinople, as it was in major western European centers of the later Middle Ages.[94] Only the scribes are documented by colophons, the usual state of affairs for all periods of Byzantine manuscript illumination. The existence of separate illuminators may be deduced, however, when one encounters different painting styles in manuscripts by the same scribe or, the opposite, different writing styles in manuscripts with the same illumination.

Yet, while it seems noncontroversial to attribute the decoration of the Codex Ebnerianus and the Escorial New Testament to different individuals, the narrower differences among members of the Kokkinobaphos group are more difficult to explain. Are these manuscripts the product of a single artist capable of varying his style, a single artist working with a number of younger assistants, an ongoing workshop of several painters, or a more amorphous "school" of illuminators? What is the relationship of the group to the similar, but not identical, style of the Getty New Testament? Moreover, what is the connection of the latter's decoration with the Gospels in Melbourne, Venice, and New York? All four share the same scribe, but there is a considerable difference in style between the large, vigorous Getty evangelists and the thinner, more desiccated figures in the Venice manuscript. One can only conclude tentatively that three scribes and one to three illuminators collaborated on the four books.

While Theoktistos regrettably does not state where and for whom he wrote his New Testament, more is becoming known about the patrons of similar manuscripts during the second quarter of the twelfth century. In concluding this investigation into how such manuscripts came into being, it is necessary to consider patronage. Scribes and painters form only the weft of the historical fabric; the warp is social context: the patrons, audience, and function of the books.[95] Because such issues have been insufficiently studied as they relate to Byzantine illumination, they are difficult to probe in depth. It is possible, however, to reconsider recent studies that have so far remained isolated and independent of each other, to include additional prosopographical details, and thereby to specify some of the possible patronage models prevailing in Constantinople during the second quarter of the twelfth century.

Monastic patronage is initially the most relevant to Theoktistos and the Getty New Testament for reasons that should now be clear. Theoktistos and Arsenios both copied manuscripts for the Abbot Maximos of the Prodromos-Petra monastery in Constantinople. The monk Theophanes was, at minimum, the patron of the Melbourne Gospels and may also have been its scribe and illuminator, if the inscription on the frontispiece (fig. 20) is to be taken literally.[96] Thus it may have been Theophanes who collaborated with Theoktistos and wrote all or part of the Venice and Kraus Gospels. In any event, the monastic context of the Melbourne Gospels is assured, and Buchthal has shown how its decoration and that of the Venice manuscript were intended for a monastic audience.[97] Although the Gospel book of H. P. Kraus is presently undocumented, A. Weyl Carr has noted that the ex libris of other such tiny manuscripts refer "almost exclusively to priests and monks," not to lay people or women.[98]

Two other manuscripts with monastic affiliations provide further evidence concerning monastic patrons and audiences in this period. The first is the aforementioned Psalter at the Dionysiou monastery (cod. 65), which has now been correctly assigned to the second quarter of the twelfth century.[99] It contains a fascinating series of preliminary miniatures illustrating the death and salvation of monks, followed by an image of a monk in proskynesis before Mary and the Christ child. At the end, a colophon states that the manuscript was written by the monk Sabas. On the next page, the five

94. For example, compare the situation in thirteenth-century Paris: R. Branner, *Manuscript Painting in Paris during the Reign of Saint Louis* (Berkeley, 1977), pp. 1–11; or that in fifteenth-century Bruges: J. D. Farquhar and S. Hindman, *Pen to Press* (College Park, 1977), pp. 27–29.

95. I have borrowed the metaphor of the loom from J. G. Williams, *The Art of Gupta India* (Princeton, 1982), pp. 5–6.

96. Supra, note 59.

97. Supra, note 58.

98. Weyl Carr (supra, note 25), p. 134. The Kraus manuscript probably once contained a colophon. See supra, note 70.

99. I. Spatharakis, "The Date of the Illustrations of the Psalter Dionysiu 65," Δελτίον Χριστιανικῆς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας ser. 4, 8 (1975–1976), pp. 173–177.

100. Ibid. The miniatures in question are illustrated in Pelekanidis (supra, note 84), vol. 1, figs. 121–123, with the exception of the cross page, and have been studied by R. Stichel, *Studien zum Verhältnis von Text und Bild spät- und nachbyzantinischer Vergänglichkeitsdarstellungen* (Vienna, 1971), pp. 70–73.

101. Anderson (supra, note 59), pp. 167–168, fig. 1

102. P. Gautier, "Le typicon du Christ Sauveur Pantocrator," *Revue des études byzantines* 32 (1974), pp. 22–23.

letters of Sabas' name, a palindrome, are inscribed in nine circles that fill a large full-page cross. According to I. Spatharakis, the uninscribed monk with the Virgin is this Sabas. Although Sabas states that he wrote the manuscript, Spatharakis argues that he collaborated with other scribes.[100] Like the Melbourne manuscript, then, the Dionysiou Psalter portrays its monastic patron and/or scribe before the Virgin and Child, but its decorative program is more explicitly addressed to monks.

With the second manuscript, documentation is more informative than decoration. Toward the middle of the twelfth century, the Abbot Joseph Hagioglykerites of the Pantocrator monastery in Constantinople commissioned a handsome illustrated manuscript of the *Homilies of Gregory Nazianzenus* at Mount Sinai (gr. 339). An impressive calligraphic inscription at the beginning announces that Joseph dedicated the book to the monastery of the Theotokos Pantanassa on the island of Hagia Glykeria near Constantinople.[101] This Joseph, who is elsewhere attested as abbot of the monastery in 1149, probably died about 1154/55.[102] The book's ornament connects it with the Kokkinobaphos style, but its figural miniatures point in other directions; exactly where is unclear.[103] The abbot might have commissioned the book from his own scriptorium, but unlike the Prodromos-Petra monastery, there is no other evidence about the writing or the decorating of manuscripts at this major Comnenian establishment.[104] Thus, in view of what has been learned about contemporary patterns of production, it would be unwise to associate those who wrote and decorated the manuscript too closely with the Pantocrator monastery.

Without a doubt, the patron and the intended audience for the book were monastic, but the extent to which these circumstances governed the manuscript's imagery has scarcely been examined. Indeed, it has only been noted in passing that Gregory is shown at the beginning as a monk, not a bishop, a change described as "unhistorical" and attributed to "the direct influence of monasticism, which became very marked in the thought of Byzantium in the eleventh century and later."[105] Rather than resorting to a zeitgeist, it is more reasonable to look to the donor and recipient of the manuscript. Pictorial genealogy, not motivation and intention, has been the central concern of previous scholarship. It has yet to be established to what elements of society the illustrated copies of this text were addressed and if, for example, it makes a difference whether the patron is a male aristocrat—as in the case of a manuscript on Mount Athos (Dionysiou cod. 61)—or the abbot of an imperial monastery.

Although art historians have tended to distinguish between monastic and aristocratic manuscripts, the distance from the Pantocrator or the Prodromos-Petra monasteries to the imperial court was not far geographically, culturally, or socially. The association of Emperor Manuel Comnenus with the Prodromos-Petra monastery was noted previously. Manuel's parents, John II and Irene, the reigning monarchs at the time when Theoktistos wrote the Getty New Testament, founded the Pantocrator monastery, and its charter, signed by John in 1136, regulated myriad details of daily life. A chapel at the monastery served as a dynastic burial place for the Comneni, and various aristocrats and intellectuals were associated with the institution in one way or another.[106] For example, to protect his throne during the 1140s, Manuel had sequestered at the Pantocrator monastery his sister-in-law, the Sebastokratorissa Irene, the wife of his deceased older brother, Andronicus.[107]

This Irene was a major patroness of arts and letters in twelfth-century Constantinople. Constantine Manasses dedicated to her his *Chronicle of the History of the World from Adam to 1081* and prepared an astrological treatise for her as well. John Tzetzes, who held a post at the Pantocrator monastery and corresponded with its abbot, Joseph, dedicated his *Theogony* to her. "Manganeios" Prodromos wrote a number of poems for her and members of her family from 1138 until her death in the early 1150s. Finally, Theodoros Prodromos dedicated to her an astrological poem and a grammatical treatise, the original version of which may still exist.[108]

The manuscript in question, now at the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate in Jerusalem (cod. Taphou 52), is decorated with rich ornament in the style of the Kok-

103. Anderson (supra, note 59), pp. 170–185.

104. Little is known about the monastery's library. See Janin (supra, note 19), p. 521.

105. G. Galavaris, *The Illustrations of the Liturgical Homilies of Gregory Nazianzenus* (Princeton, 1969), p. 25.

106. Most recently on the Pantocrator monastery there is R. Cormack, *Writing in Gold: Byzantine Society and Its Icons* (New York, 1985), pp. 200–214. The charter is published by Gautier (supra, note 102), pp. 1–145.

107. F. Chalandon, *Les Comnène, études sur l'empire byzantin au XIe et au XIIe siècles: II. 1 Jean II Comnène et Manuel I Comnène* (Paris, 1912), reprint (New York, 1960), p. 213.

108. That patronage is surveyed in ibid. and in C. Diehl, *Figures byzantines* ser. 2 (Paris, 1913), pp. 142–153, but has now received a more thorough treatment by E. M. Jeffreys: "The Comnenian Background to the 'Romans d'antiquité'," *Byzantion* 50 (1980), pp. 473–474, 478–481; "The Sevastokratorissa Eirene as Literary Patroness: The Monk Iakovos," *JÖB* 32/3 (1982), pp. 63–71; "Western Infiltration of the Byzantine Aristocracy: Some Suggestions," *The Byzantine Aristocracy IX to XII Centuries,* BAR International Series 221, ed. M. Angold (Oxford, 1984), pp. 204–207. The individual authors are

kinobaphos school.[109] The same ornament Anderson noted in a deluxe copy of letters written by a monk named Iakovos (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale gr. 3039).[110] According to E. Jeffreys, the addressee of these letters was the Sebastokratorissa Irene.[111] Both manuscripts may be reasonably credited to the patronage of Irene, who from other poems is known to have donated hangings and liturgical vessels to churches.[112] It is tempting, therefore, to take the next step and also to associate with Irene the illustrated copies of the homilies of the monk Iakovos Kokkinobaphos produced by the "workshop" responsible for her manuscripts that are now in Paris and Jerusalem and to equate the Iakovos of the letters with the Iakovos of the homilies. Jeffreys, once hesitant, is now more amenable to the idea.[113]

Irene, thus, provides an excellent model of aristocratic patronage of deluxe manuscripts, in part because her activities are so well documented. Among the few other individuals that emerge from the stark anonymity of most contemporary Byzantine illumination is the Sebastokrator Isaac Comnenus, the renovator of the monastery of the Chora in Constantinople, near the Blachernae palace and the Prodromos-Petra monastery, and the founder of the Kosmosoteira monastery in Thrace, whose frescoed church still survives. This Isaac, the uncle of Irene's husband, is the probable patron of the Seraglio Octateuch, a manuscript with extensive narrative illustration painted in several styles, including that of the Kokkinobaphos group, as Anderson has proposed.[114]

Finally, the name of yet another Isaac Comnenus appears at the back of a Gospel book of this group (Oxford, Christ Church gr. 32). Heretofore unnoticed entries record the births of children to the Pansebastos Sebastos Isaac in 1172 and 1174 and perhaps 1171. The owner is probably to be identified as the Isaac Comnenus who was the grandson and namesake of the preceding Isaac by his daughter Anna. The younger Isaac (circa 1140–circa 1190) received his title from his mother's first cousin, the emperor Manuel I Comnenus.[115] Although the manuscript itself was produced during the second quarter of the twelfth century, the added notes, nevertheless, attest to the aristocratic connections of the Kokkinobaphos group and suggest that the book functioned like a modern family Bible. Might the later Isaac Comnenus have chosen to commemorate his children's births in this particular manuscript because it had been passed down through two generations of his family?

Aristocratic associations may also be implied by the famous portraits of John II Comnenus and his son Alexius in the Vatican Gospel book (Urb. gr. 2).[116] Exactly who might have been the patron of the manuscript is nevertheless unclear, in spite of the frequent assumptions, explicit and implicit, that are made about the matter. An imperial portrait need not necessarily signal an imperial patron or owner, and indeed, Theodoros Prodromos wrote a poem about a painting of Emperor John II that his brother, the Sebastokrator Isaac, commissioned for himself.[117] Unfortunately, nothing is known about the patronage of yet another Gospel book of the Kokkinobaphos group, the aforementioned Paris gr. 75, whose scribe is indirectly linked with Theoktistos and the Getty New Testament.

The generalized illumination in the latter two manuscripts would have been suitable for a monastic or aristocratic audience in twelfth-century Constantinople, where complex associations among scribes, painters, and patrons were permitted and encouraged. In such a society, the distinction between monastic and aristocratic has limited utility. Deluxe manuscripts were expensive to produce. The materials used, gold, precious colors, and parchment, were costly, and the skills of artisans as talented as Theoktistos and his associates had to be honed over an extended period of time, necessitating a high level of sustained patronage. In general terms, that support was provided by the economic re-

surveyed in H. Hunger, *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner* (Munich, 1978), vol. 1, pp. 419–422; vol. 2, pp. 59, 113, 118, 243.

109. Spatharakis, "Grammar," pp. 231–243.

110. Anderson, "Examination," pp. 97–98.

111. Jeffreys, "Sevastokratorissa" (supra, note 108). She gives the Paris manuscript's signature as gr. 3909, a slip. Anderson ("Examination," p. 97) reports it as gr. 3039, as does H. Omont, *Inventaire sommaire des manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris, 1888), vol. 3, p. 97. The latest study on the letters is M. J. Jeffreys, "Iakovos Monachos, Letter 3," *Maistor, Classical, Byzantine and Renaissance Studies for Robert Browning* (Canberra, 1984), pp. 241–257.

112. Jeffreys, "Sevastokratorissa" (supra, note 108), p. 69. To my knowledge, none of the other texts dedicated to Irene are preserved in illuminated manuscripts that are contemporaneous with the patron. However, the Slavonic translation of the *Chronicle* of Manasses is illustrated in a mid-fourteenth-century Bulgarian manuscript, published by I. Dujčev, *Die Miniaturen der Manasses-Chronik* (Leipzig, 1965). Lazarev (supra, note 49, p. 395) thought that some of the miniatures were based on a "metropolitan prototype" of the twelfth century, while others were created in the fourteenth century. A Greek copy of the *Chronicle* from the Palaeologan period (Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Phil. gr. 149), contains a drawing of the author and patron at the beginning. See I. Spatharakis, *The Portrait in Byzantine Illuminated Manuscripts* (Leiden, 1976), pp. 158–159, fig. 100. In view of Irene's literary and artistic interests, it might be worthwhile to identify the Comnenian element in these manuscripts.

113. E. Jeffreys expressed her reservations in a *JÖB* article (supra, note 108), pp. 69–70. In a letter of January 1987, she was more willing to identify the Iakovos of the letters with the Iakovos of the homilies. A fuller treatment of the problem will have to await the important

surgence of the Comnenian period, but more specifically, it was the product of a complex social matrix.[118] One part comprised the Constantinopolitan elite, which at this time largely meant the extensive relations of the imperial family; and the other, the monasteries that they financed and in which they prayed, retired, and were buried. Theoktistos either resided in a monastery, such as that of Prodromos-Petra, or else worked for it. Some of the other scribes and illuminators with which he collaborated were monks, while others may have been independent craftsmen. But each might at one moment work for an aristocrat and at another for a monk or abbot of an aristocratic monastery.

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POSTSCRIPT

Since completing the foregoing, two relevant references have come to my attention. The first, not available to me, apparently bears on the fourteenth-century Theoktistos: G. A. Papademetriu, "'Η 'κράλαινα τῶν Τριβαλῶν' καὶ ὁ κωδικογράφος θεόκτιστος (±1340)," Μεσαιωνικὰ καὶ Νέα Ἑλληνικά 1 (1984), pp. 419–451. The article is cited in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 79 (1986), p. 104. The second paper concerns the Lafskali (or Lapskald) Gospels, mentioned supra, note 54. A. Saminski analyzes this and other Georgian manuscripts in his important study, "Masterskaja gruzinskoj i grečeskoj knigi v Konstantinopole XII–načala XIII v.," which is to appear in *Izvestija Akademii Nauk Gruzinskoj SSR* in December 1987. I wish to thank Dr. Saminski for sending me his paper and photographs of the manuscript.

APPENDIX

CODICOLOGY: Parchment. Folios 280. 220 × 180 mm (both length and width have been trimmed). 26 lines in 1 column (160 × 125 mm).

Ruling: Leroy 42C1.[119] The canon tables, the liturgical tables, and the evangelist portraits are ruled differently to suit their respective designs. All of quire I (fols. 1–7) shares the same ruling except that folio 1 has lines added for the Eusebian letter.

COLLATION: I^{8-1} (fols. 1–7); II^{3} (fols. 8–10); III–VI^{8} (fols. 11–42); VII^{9} (fols. 43–51); VIII–IX^{8} (fols. 52–67); X^{9} (fols. 68–76); XI–$XIII^{8}$ (fols. 77–100); XIV^{9} (fols. 101–109); XV–$XXXIII^{8}$ (fols. 110–262); $XXXIV^{6}$ (fols. 263–268); $XXXV^{8}$ (fols. 269–276); $XXXVI^{4}$ (fols. 277–280). A few quire signatures are visible (e.g., fols. 35r, 43r, 93r) in the lower inner corner of the first page of a quire; the others have been trimmed off. As traditional, the numbering began with the first page of Matthew's Gospel, thus excluding the preliminary matter. One folio of the canon tables between folios 1 and 2 has been removed; an offset on folio 1r indicates that at least one folio is missing from the beginning of the manuscript; and folio 134 has also been excised. The four evangelist portraits are tipped in on separate folios. The missing folio 134 with the miniature of the twelve apostles was also inserted into the regular quire structure and must have been attached either to $XVII^{8}$ (fols. 126–133) or to $XVIII^{8}$ (fols. 135–142).

SCRIPT: Medium brown ink for the principal text; carmine ink for the marginal notations and liturgical markings in the text; gold ink for the numbers of canon tables, the list of chapters in Matthew, and parts of other chapter lists. The basic script is a typical twelfth-century religious hand with mixtures of uncial and minuscule forms. Distinctive to the scribe Theoktistos are the gracefully curving zeta; the occasional alpha with a long diagonal stroke; frequent epsilon- or alpha-rho ligatures; the large phi; the occasional minuscule delta with sweeping tail at the top; and the long, prominent abbreviation marks above words. The letter of Eusebius (fols. 1r–v) and the liturgical tables (fols. 269r–280r) are written by a second scribe.

CONTENTS:[120] Folios 1r–v letter of Eusebius; 2r–7v canon tables; 8r–9r list of chapters for Matthew; 9v originally blank, now with text by a later hand; 10r blank; 10v portrait of Matthew; 11r–44v Gospel of Matthew; 44v subscription to Matthew; 44v list of chapters to Mark, incomplete; 45r blank; 45v portrait of Mark; 46r continuation of list of chapters to Mark; 46v–67v Gospel of Mark; 67v–68v list of chapters to Luke;

studies that she and her husband are preparing.

114. Anderson (supra, note 31), pp. 83–104. For Isaac and the two monasteries see P. A. Underwood, *The Kariye Djami* (New York, 1966), vol. 1, pp. 10–13; and Mouriki (supra, note 87), pp. 103–106, with further references.

115. See my paper, supra, note 31, and K. Barzos, Ἡ Γενεαλογία τῶν Κομνηνῶν (Thessaloniki, 1984), vol. 2, pp. 507–511. At the end of the Codex Ebnerianus, a sixteenth-century owner recorded the births of five children. See A. Turyn, *Dated Greek Manuscripts of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries in the Libraries of Great Britain* (Washington, D.C., 1980), p. 149.

116. Stornajolo (supra, note 73), pl. 83.

117. P. Magdalino and R. Nelson, "The Emperor in Byzantine Art of the Twelfth Century," *Byzantinische Forschungen* 8 (1982), pp. 130–131.

118. On the economic history of the twelfth century see M. Hendy, "Byzantium, 1081–1204: An Economic Reappraisal," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* ser. 5, 20 (1970), pp. 31–52. There are important papers on contemporary social history in M. Angold, ed., *The Byzantine Aristocracy IX to XII Centuries,* BAR International Series 221 (Oxford, 1984). There, R. Cormack ("Aristocratic Patronage of the Arts in 11th- and 12th-century Byzantium," pp. 158–172) also discusses "aristocratic" art.

119. The system used is that of J. Leroy, *Les types de réglure des manuscrits grecs* (Paris, 1976).

120. Those New Testament prefaces that are listed in H. F. von Soden, *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments,* I,1 (Berlin, 1902) are denoted by the numbers given there.

69r blank; 69v portrait of Luke; 70r–105v Gospel of Luke, but not complete on 105v; 106r originally blank, now the conclusion of Luke by a later hand; 106v portrait of John; 107r original conclusion of Luke and list of chapters to John; 107v–133v Gospel of John; 133v preface to Acts and, at the bottom of the page, a later list of the apostles that was continued on the missing folio 134r, now in the Paul Canellopoulos collection, Athens; 134v (missing) busts of the twelve apostles; 135r–171r Acts of the Apostles; 171r preface to Catholic Epistles; 171v–172r preface to James (Von Soden no. 134); 172r–175v James; 175v preface to I Peter (Von Soden no. 135); 175v–179r I Peter; 179r–v preface to II Peter (Von Soden no. 137); 179v–182r II Peter; 182r–v preface to I John (Von Soden no. 137); 182v–186r I John; 186r preface to II John (Von Soden no. 137); 186r–186v II John; 186v–187r preface to III John (Von Soden no. 138); 187r–v III John; 187v preface to Jude (Von Soden no. 139); 187v–188v Jude; 188v–189v preface to Romans (Von Soden no. 140); 190r–203r Romans; 203r–v preface to I Corinthians (Von Soden no. 140); 203v–216r I Corinthians; 216v–217r preface to II Corinthians (Von Soden no. 140); 217r–225v II Corinthians; 225v preface to Galatians (Von Soden no. 140); 226r–229v Galatians; 230r preface to Ephesians (Von Soden no. 140); 230r–234v Ephesians; 234v preface to Philippians (Von Soden no. 140); 234v–237v Philippians; 237v–238r preface to Colossians (Von Soden no. 140); 238r–241r Colossians; 241r–v preface to I Thessalonians (Von Soden no. 140); 241v–244r I Thessalonians; 244r–v preface to II Thessalonians (Von Soden no. 140); 244v–246r II Thessalonians; 246r–v preface to Hebrews (Von Soden no. 140); 246v–247r preface to Hebrews (Von Soden no. 141); 247r–257v Hebrews; 257v–258r preface to I Timothy (Von Soden no. 141); 258r–261v I Timothy; 262r–262v preface to II Timothy (Von Soden no. 141); 262v–265r II Timothy; 265v–266r preface to Titus (Von Soden no. 141); 266r–267v Titus; 267v preface to Philemon (Von Soden no. 141); 267v–268v Philemon; 268v colophon and later owner entry of the Dionysiou monastery; 269r–274v Synaxarium; 275r–280r Eklogadion.

DECORATION: Illuminated canon tables, folios 2r–7v; portraits of Matthew (fol. 10v), Mark (fol. 45v), Luke (fol. 69v), and John (fol. 106v); illuminated headpieces on folios 11r, 46v, 70r, 107v, 135r, 190r.

PROVENANCE: Dionysiou monastery, Mount Athos (cod. 8), perhaps from the sixteenth century (see von Euw and Plotzek, p. 160), removed from the monastery around 1960 (see Buchthal, "Disiecta Membra"); Oscar Meyer collection, Los Angeles; Ludwig collection; acquired by the J. Paul Getty Museum in 1983.

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A Celibate Marriage and Franciscan Poverty Reflected in a Neapolitan Trecento Diptych

Carl Brandon Strehlke

In 1986 the J. Paul Getty Museum acquired a fourteenth-century diptych (figs. 1a–c)[1] that came from the Sabran, a prominent Provençal aristocratic family. Represented in the left-hand panel of the diptych is Saint Francis receiving the stigmata; the right-hand panel portrays an angel suspended in flight who bestows floral crowns on a man and woman kneeling in a bedchamber. Though the picture's provenance cannot be documented before the twentieth century, in modern hagiographical writings the two kneeling figures have been identified as fourteenth-century members of the Sabran family: Saint Elzéar de Sabran (1286–1323) and his wife, the Blessed Delphine de Signe (1284–1360), courtiers to King Robert and Queen Sancha of Naples.[2]

The scene in the bedroom has been thought to represent an angel crowning the couple to honor their famous vow of chastity. Because they were probably members of the lay, or tertiary, order of the Franciscans, the stigmatization of Saint Francis represented in the left-hand panel also seemed to confirm the diptych's connection to the Sabrans. However, the episode of an angelic coronation does not appear in any extant fourteenth-century source concerning Elzéar and Delphine. In later biographies, which are perhaps based on now-lost documents, the only similar incident is one in which an angel visits the couple in their bedchamber and lays his hands on their heads. Notably, the couple is described as sleeping, and there is no mention of floral wreaths.[3] In addition, the identification does not stand on chronological grounds. Based upon its style and the costumes of the couple, which reflect fashions before the mid-fourteenth century (as will be discussed in detail later), the picture must date considerably before Delphine's death in 1360 and Elzéar's canonization, declared by his own godson, Urban V de Grimoard (r. 1362–1370), in 1369. Although Elzéar and Delphine cannot possibly be the subjects of the diptych, other convincing iconographic reasons exist for associating it with them, and there is historical and stylistic evidence for concluding that it was commissioned by Delphine or someone close

Abbreviations

Actus: Paul Sabatier, ed., *Actus beati Francisci et sociorum eius,* Collection d'études et de documents no. 4 (Paris, 1902).

Bologna: Ferdinando Bologna, *I pittori alla corte angioina di Napoli,* Saggi e studi di storia dell'arte no. 2 (Rome, 1969).

Enquête: Jacques Cambell, ed., *Enquête pour le procès de canonisation de Dauphine de Puimichel comtesse d'Ariano* (Turin, 1978).

"Trois sermons": Willibord Lampen, ed., "Trois sermons de François de Meyronnes sur la stigmatization de Saint François," *La France franciscaine* 10 (1927), pp. 371–397.

Vies occitanes: Jacques Cambell, ed., *Vies occitanes de Saint Auzias et de Sainte Dauphine,* Bibliotheca Pontificii Athenei Antoniani no. 12 (Rome, 1978).

1. 86.PB.490. Tempera and tooled gold on wood. Each panel—H: 31.2 cm (12 5/16"); W: 22.9 cm (9"). Exhibited in *Cent tableaux d'art religieux de XIV^e siècle à nos jours,* Galerie Charpentier, Paris, 1952–1953, no. 38.

2. The earliest published source for the provenance states that a copy of the diptych exists in the castle of Ansouis, ancestral seat of the Sabran. Pierre Girard, *Saint Elzéar de Sabran et la Bienheureuse Delphine de Signe* (Paris, 1912), p. 6. The copy is unknown to me.

The identification of the saints as Delphine and Elzéar is followed by Jacques Dupont, "Quelques exemples des rapports entre la France et l'Italie au XIV^e et au XV^e siècles," *Cahiers de l'Association internationale des études françaises* 8 (1956), p. 8, and Michel Laclotte and Dominique Thiébaut, *L'école d'Avignon* (Paris, 1983), pp. 194–195. The former attributes the diptych to the Sienese school, and the latter call it simply Italian, circa 1340–1350. Enrico Castelnuovo has identified the saints as Quiricus and Julietta and the artist as from the circle of Paolo Veneziano, circa 1340; see "Ecole d'Avignon," *Art de France* 1 (1961), p. 284.

3. Garsende Alphant, Elzéar's nurse and the couple's companion, is said to have witnessed this, as was supposedly reported at Elzéar's canonization hearings, which took place over forty years after Alphant's death. See Geneviève Duhamelet, *Saint Elzéar et la Bienheureuse Delphine* (Paris, 1944), p. 17. Alphant's testimony was entered in the record but was obviously not first hand. See Jacques Cambell, "Le sommaire de l'enquête pour la canonisation de S. Elzéar de Sabran," *Miscellanea Francescana* 73 (1973), p. 445. The first text that describes the couple's angelic coronation is J. Raphael, *L'ensuit la vie de monseigneur Saint Aulzias de Sabran comte darian glorieux confesseur et vierge* (Paris, circa 1523), first part, chap. 1, unpaginated: "et en regardant par alcune petite vuee dedans la chambre du dit sainct Garsende Alphant vit quilz les dormoient encores et aussi ladicte Benoiste Daulphine et vit une ange le quel tenoit chescune teste deux une main. Si en remercia icelle a dieu et luy en rendait graces car elle cogneut bien que lange avoit specialle cure deulx."

Figure 1a. Neapolitan school. *The Stigmatization of Saint Francis of Assisi* and *The Crowning of Saints Cecilia and Valerian of Rome,* 1330s. Tempera and tooled gold on wood. Each panel—H: 31.2 cm (12⁵/₁₆″); W: 22.9 cm (9″). Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 86.PB.490.

to her from an artist active in Naples in the 1330s.

From the minutes of the canonization trials of Elzéar and Delphine, held in 1351 and 1363 respectively, and from two early parallel biographies, the story of a remarkable marriage emerges.[4] The Sabran, lords of Ansouis (located southeast of Avignon), were loyal allies of the Angevins, a branch of the French royal family since the time of the conquest of southern Italy. The Angevins maintained their power base in Provence, an inheritance of the mother of Charles II of Anjou, King of Naples. Hence, Provençal families, like the Sabran, filled positions at the Neapolitan court, sat on the bench, and staffed the military. In reward for military service, Charles II created Elzéar's father, Hermengaud, Count of Ariano, a title Elzéar received in 1310, after his father's death, from King Robert, Charles' successor. Elzéar served the Angevins well. He successfully led their troops in defense of Rome, then under seige

4. Elzéar's proceedings survive in a *summarium,* compiled for the papal archives between 1362 and 1364. See Cambell, "Le sommaire" (supra, note 3), pp. 438–473, for its dating. The other sources, *Enquête* and *Vies occitanes,* are also edited by Cambell. The probable authors of the latter's Latin text are Aimar and Guillaume de La Voûtre, two brothers from Apt (the burial place of Elzéar and Delphine), who had distinguished and somewhat parallel church careers, both having served as bishops of Marseilles. Soon after its publication in Latin, *Vies occitanes* was translated into the Provençal langue d'oc.

The most reliable secondary sources are Luke Wadding, *Annales minorum seu trium ordinum a S. Francisco institutorum,* 2nd ed. (Rome, 1733), pp. 278–292, 378–382, and Constantin Suyskens in *Acta sanctorum* Septembris 7 (Antwerp, 1760), rev. ed. (Paris, 1867), pp. 494–555.

5. For additional information on the Angevins, see Emile G. Léonard, *Les Angevins de Naples (Paris, 1954); Romolo Caggese, Roberto d'Angiò e i suoi tempi* (Florence, 1922, 1930), 2 vols.; and the appropriate entires in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani* (Rome, 1960–), 1 vol. to date. For Sabran genealogy, see [François A. A.] de La Chesnaye-Desbois and [?] Badier, *Dictionnaire de la noblesse,* 3rd ed. (Paris, 1873), vol. 18, cols. 4–23.

6. André Vauchez, *La sainteté en occident aux derniers siècles du moyen age d'après les procès de canonisation et les documents hagiographiques,* Bibliothèque des écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome no. 241 (Rome, 1981), p. 419, no. 397.

by the German emperor, Henry VII; he acted as a minister to King Robert's heir, the Duke of Calabria; and he arranged the latter's betrothal to a French princess. While on this last mission in Paris, he died on September 27, 1323.[5]

The marriage of Elzéar and Delphine was arranged and mandated by Charles II. The king's concern for his vassal's family clearly lent dynastic implications to the union. Despite this, Delphine, a headstrong twelve-year-old orphan, objected to the proposed marriage because she had sworn a vow of virginity. Only after the Franciscan monk Guillaume de Saint-Martial—a companion of the recently deceased Louis of Toulouse, King Charles' son—convinced her of the propriety of obeying the king did Delphine concede. Following a three-year betrothal, she was married to Elzéar in February of 1300. She did not, however, at any time renounce her vow.

Elzéar was a deeply religious youth, known to be susceptible to mystic trances, but he was apparently not prepared for a chaste marriage.[6] During the first nights of their life together, Delphine, employing the guile of a Scheherazade, delayed consummation by regaling her husband with stories of virgin saints until he nodded off to sleep. According to biographical sources, she recounted the legends of Cecilia and Valerian, Alexis, Catherine of Alexandria, Agnes, Lucy, and Agatha.[7] Although all were virgins, only the first three listed preserved this state within a marriage. Elzéar and Delphine's own situation most closely paralleled that of Cecilia and Valerian. Cecilia, like Delphine, had converted her husband to chastity, and they remained together despite their vow. (By contrast, Alexis on his wedding night inspired his young wife with a "love of virginity," but after delivering a lecture on its virtues, he abandoned her.)[8] In view of what Elzéar and Delphine would suffer for their devotion to celibacy, it is understandable that the spiritual bond uniting Cecilia and Valerian would come to have a special symbolic import for them and serve as a model for their own marriage.

Lent, when abstension was an acceptable practice, occurred shortly after the Sabran wedding. Following this, Delphine suddenly fell ill and extracted a promise of two years continence from Elzéar. By the close of this period, the young groom had experienced divine enlightenment, and carnal temptations never again plagued him. Fearing family opposition, the couple kept their vow secret, but as time passed, the lack of issue exposed them to ridicule.

Thoughts of an heir had initially troubled Elzéar, but he nevertheless acceded to Delphine's wishes. His grandfather, however, demanded that a doctor examine them. Though the sources are scant, a separation may have been contemplated. Canonical law decreed that a divorce required proof of the impotence of one of the partners. In such situations, Pope Innocent III (r. 1198–1216) had legislated that matrons examine the woman to determine physical capability for intercourse.[9] A male doctor was, nonetheless, summoned to this case; the diagnosis was made public; and the process resembled a trial.

The Catalan Arnald of Villanova, physician to the king of Aragon, served as medical examiner, and he could not have been more understanding of the young couple's plight.[10] A radical Franciscan given to prophetism and close to the Spiritual Franciscan party—a separatist group that felt that the order had strayed from Saint Francis' ideals—Arnald escaped burning at the stake for unrecanted heretical writings only because of shrewd political maneuvering and the acknowledged value of his medical skills. His influence on Elzéar and Delphine was considerable and has been cited as an explanation for their subsequent religious leanings.[11] The biographers make clear that being secretly informed of their vow, Arnald faked the inquest into their marital habits.[12] Having prescribed a curative meat diet, he interrogated them publically on their sleeping habits but privately spoke to them only of religious matters.[13] After fifteen days of scrutiny, he presented the results to a physicians' gathering with such skill that no one contradicted him. He contended that the couple was physically underdeveloped and could not conceive chil-

7. *Vies occitanes,* pp. 147–149.

8. Baudoin de Geffier, " 'Intactam sponsam relinquens' à propos de la vie de S. Alexis," *Analecta Bollandiana* 65 (1947), pp. 157–197.

9. On the legal foundations, see Gabriel le Bras, "Le marriage dans la théologie et le droit de l'église du XI^{e} au XIII^{e} siècle," *Cahiers de civilisation medievale X^{e}–XII^{e} siècles* 9 (1968), pp. 191–202, and Vauchez (supra, note 6), p. 498, for bibliography and sources on virginal marriages. On impotence as grounds for divorce, see Bernard David, *L'impuissance est-elle un empêchement de droit naturel ou positif?*, Analecta Gregoriana no. 220 (Rome, 1981), and Pierre Darmion, *Le tribunal de l'impuissance virilité et defaillances conjugales dans l'ancienne France* (Paris, 1979), pp. 78–81, 89–93, 106–161.

10. Raoul Manselli, *Spirituali e beghini in Provenza,* Studi storici nos. 31–34 (Rome, 1959), pp. 55–80, with earlier bibliography cited.

11. See Carles Campos, "A perpaus de la perfection d'Alzeas et de Delfina," *Annales de l'institut d'études occitanes* 4, no. 1 (1965), pp. 88–105.

12. *Vies occitanes,* pp. 161–163.

13. He may also have recommended crayfish, pinecones, chestnuts, nasturtiums, truffles, and onions, all of which encourage coitus, and advised against lettuce and citrus-based wines, which discourage it, according to the *Taciunum sanitatis,* a health manual in circulation in the late Middle Ages. Luisa Cogliati Arano, *The Medieval Health Handbook* (New York, 1976).

Figure 1b. The Stigmatization of Saint Francis of Assisi (detail of fig. 1a).

Figure 1c. The Crowning of Saints Cecilia and Valerian of Rome (detail of fig. 1a).

dren until their twenty-fifth year. Having established that the condition was temporary (canonical law required that impotence be proven perpetual), Arnald cleverly avoided establishing grounds for divorce.

Disappointed, Elzéar's family resorted to other means, such as sending entertaining young girls into the couple's bedroom at night to encourage conjugal relations.[14] In 1307 Elzéar and Delphine finally liberated themselves from this pressure, retiring to a castle at Puy-Michel, a paternal inheritance of Delphine. They ran their household along the lines of a monastery. Elzéar, who functioned more like an abbot than a grand seigneur, wrote a rule, the first proviso of which enforced the strictest observance of chastity by all inhabitants of the castle; furthermore, with the exception of Delphine, all married women were excluded.[15] This life continued until Elzéar's father died in 1310, and Elzéar went to Naples to be knighted.

The vow of chastity did not decrease the couple's closeness and devotion to each other. They seem to have shared quarters and possibly a common bed.[16] According to all witnesses, Delphine went to bed dressed and Elzéar slept in a hair garment except when gravely ill; this was considered unusual, as sleeping naked was the norm at the time.[17]

Four years after Elzéar's death in 1323, a *Libellus supplex,* penned by the Provençal Franciscan monk François de Meyronnes, was presented to Pope John XXII d'Euse (r. 1316–1334) to promote the cause of his sanctity.[18] The *Libellus* attaches great importance to the celibate marriage; in it Elzéar is called another Joseph, Valerian, or Alexis.[19] The analogy of the Sabran marriage to that of Cecilia and Valerian apparently originated with the stories that Delphine told on her wedding night, but the tradition was kept well enough alive during her long widowhood to be repeated in the proposed articles for her own unsuccessful canonization, which were prepared in 1363.[20] Delphine and Elzéar must therefore have closely associated their early days together with the story of the ancient Roman newlyweds who had similarly cherished their virginity and were persecuted for their Christian beliefs.

Significantly in this context, although the right-hand panel of the Getty diptych does not relate to any specific incident in the lives of Elzéar and Delphine and is chronologically impossible to associate with them, it clearly follows the traditional representation of an episode from the lives of Saints Cecilia and Valerian. This is related in *The Golden Legend,* a late thirteenth-century text by Jacopo da Voragine.[21] On her wedding day Cecilia wore a hair shirt concealed by a splendid gold garment. Before the ceremony, she had entrusted her maidenhood to God and that night informed her startled groom that an angel, who guarded her body with "exceeding zeal," was her lover. The pagan Valerian was also told that he could meet this rival if he agreed to baptism. As his bride instructed, he immediately sought out the persecuted bishop of Rome, Urban I (r. 222–230), who was then hiding from the imperial authorities, and he received baptism. Returning to the marriage chamber, he witnessed Cecilia and the angel in discourse, and "the angel held two crowns fashioned of roses and lilies, of which he gave one to Cecilia and the other to Valerian, saying: Guard these crowns with spotless hearts and pure bodies, because I have brought them from God's Paradise to you, nor will they ever fade; and none can see them, save those who love chastity!"[22]

The origins of the composition of Cecilia and Valerian in the Getty picture—as well as most other fourteenth- and fifteenth-century representations of this rare subject—can be traced at least to the late eleventh century.[23] Images predating the Getty diptych tend to be more iconic and show the angel standing between the couple who may be represented either standing or sitting. The scene was frequently conflated with a subsequent episode, the crowning of Valerian's brother, Tiburius, also a convert. These images probably originated with the design of a lost cloth altar frontal commissioned by Paschal I (r. 817–821) for the church of Santa Cecilia in Trastevere, where the saint's relics were transferred in 821. Versions of the scene occur at least twice in thirteenth-century seals of the church's titular cardinals, where Valerian and his brother are shown flanking Cecilia while an angel swoops down crowning the brothers.[24] The diving angel was adopted by Arnolfo di Cambio in his ciborium for San Paolo fuori le mura and reappears transformed in the Getty diptych.[25]

14. *Vies occitanes,* p. 163.

15. Ibid., p. 77.

16. The evidence is conflicting. Article eleven of Delphine's hearing says that they shared (*cohabitant*) quarters and bed. Article fourteen says that they lived together but did not sleep in the same bed. See *Enquête,* pp. 37–38, 40, and *Vies occitanes,* p. 159.

17. *Vies occitanes,* p. 83. Only a nightcap was customarily worn. For example, see the sculpture of the father of Saint Catherine of Alexandria dictating his will by Giovanni and Pacio da Firenze in Santa Chiara, Naples, illustrated in John Pope-Hennessy, *Italian Gothic Sculpture* (London, 1972), pl. 37.

18. It was prepared by Meyronnes and presented to the pope by Raymond Bot, Bishop of Apt. See text in *Acta sanctorum* (supra, note 4), pp. 521–525.

19. Ibid., p. 522.

20. *Enquête,* p. 36.

Figure 2. School of Jean Pucelle. *The Crowning of Saints Cecilia and Valerian of Rome* (detail) from the Breviary of Jeanne d'Evreux, circa 1340. Illumination on vellum. Chantilly, Musée Condé ms. 51, fol. 491v. Photo: Courtesy Conway Library, Courtauld Institute of Art, negative 299/39 (30A).

Figure 3. Master of the Pesaro Crucifix (Italian, active late fourteenth and early fifteenth century). *The Crowning of Saints Cecilia and Valerian of Rome,* circa 1425–1430. Tempera on wood. H: 55.3 cm (21¾″); W: 36.5 cm (14⅜″). Philadelphia, Philadelphia Museum of Art, The McIlhenny Collection: Bequest of John D. McIlhenny, 43-40-51. Photo: Courtesy Philadelphia Museum of Art.

Similar treatments of the angelic coronation of Cecilia and Valerian occur in fourteenth-century French devotional manuscripts from the circle of Jean Pucelle and in others that are associated with the royal family, specifically the Breviary of Jeanne d'Evreux, queen of Charles IV (fig. 2), and the Hours of Blanche of Savoy.[26] The presence of this subject in such books demonstrates an interest in the domestic aspects of the legend of the Roman couple, as opposed to the more dramatic and frequently depicted scenes of martyrdom. Elzéar and Delphine may well have influenced French aristocratic taste for this episode. The similarities to early fifteenth-

21. Granger Ryan and Helmut Ripperger, trans., *The Golden Legend of Jacobus da Voragine* (New York, 1941), pp. 690–691.

22. Ibid., p. 691.

23. On the iconography, see Wolfgang Braunfels, ed., *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie* (Freiburg, 1973), vol. 5, cols. 445–463.

24. Julian Gardner, "Some Cardinals' Seals of the Thirteenth Century," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 38 (1975), pp. 85–86, pl. 11 g–h.

25. Ibid.; illustrated in Adolfo Venturi, *Storia dell'arte italiana* (Milan, 1906), vol. 4, fig. 62.

26. Breviary of Jeanne d'Evreux: Chantilly, Musée Condé ms. 51, fol. 491v. See Jacques Meugey, *Les principaux manuscrits à peinture du Musée Condé à Chantilly* (Paris, 1930), pp. 40–42; photo: Courtauld negative 299/39 (30A). Hours of Blanche of Savoy: New Haven, Yale University Libraries ms. 390, fol. 18v. See P. Blanchard, *Les heures de Savoie* (London, 1910), pl. 36.

century representations—a fresco in the Carmine in Florence and a panel by the Master of the Pesaro Crucifix in the Philadelphia Museum of Art (fig. 3)—attest to the durability of the iconographic formula over time and geography as well as to the paucity of possible ways of painting the scene as it is narrated in *The Golden Legend.*[27] Only rarely did an artist approach the theme with the originality of the Master of Santa Cecilia. In his altarpiece dating before 1307, now in the Uffizi, the angel crowns Valerian as he crosses the threshold of the bedroom to receive Cecilia's joyous embrace.[28]

The strong parallel that was perceived between the marriage of Cecilia and Valerian and that of Elzéar and Delphine is not the sole link uniting the celibate Provençal couple with the Getty diptych. The stigmatization of Saint Francis on the left-hand panel and its manner of depiction also support such an association. Though the earliest extant sources are silent, it is often stated that Elzéar and Delphine were members of the Third Order of Saint Francis, as was King Robert of Naples, who wears its habit in funeral effigy.[29] On July 13, 1317, Elzéar wrote his will and specifically stated that he was to be buried in the Franciscan habit.[30] Moreover, Franciscans were the couple's confessors and companions, as well as the champions of their canonization. The order soon claimed Elzéar as its own; in the church of San Francesco in Lodi there is a late fourteenth-century fresco of him in the tunic of the Third Order.[31]

Being intimate members of the Neapolitan court, the Sabrans undoubtedly shared the king and queen's sympathy for the Spiritual Franciscans. This group, which flourished in Provence and Naples, espoused the doctrine of evangelical poverty, or adherence to what they perceived as the unmediated ideals of Francis and Christ.[32] Fractious and uncompromising, the Spirituals alienated the church hierarchy and the rest of the order, which they accused of laxity. Playing on the age's prophetic mode of thinking, they heightened their sense of mission in a world awaiting the Second Coming. By forcing the issue of Franciscan poverty, however, they invited violent reactions aimed at their own destruction.

The Angevins' support of the Spirituals originated with Robert's brother Louis.[33] While incarcerated in Aragon as hostages for their father's freedom, the two brothers solicited consolation from the radical Spiritual Peter Olivi, whose writings had been condemned as heretical. It was during his stay in prison that Louis decided to renounce his right to the throne and join the Franciscans. Though he was later named bishop of Toulouse, he only begrudgingly accepted official honors, and his devotion to the ideal of evangelical poverty was no secret. His canonization was celebrated on April 7, 1317, by John XXII, but this occurred only after the pope had suppressed any mention of Louis' sympathy for poverty and, therefore, for the Spirituals in the bull. To underscore this point, a few months later, John promulgated three bulls condemning the Spirituals of Provence and launched an inquisition that in 1318 culminated in the burning of four monks at the stake in Marseilles. The condemned had refused to abjure *paupertas evangelica.*

Burnings and papal posturing did not deter King Robert. He succored Spiritual refugees and even wrote a tract in support of their views on poverty. After the issue of the bull *Cum inter nonnullos* (1323), which declared it heretical to assert that Christ and his apostles owned no property, Robert repudiated the pope and suppressed publication of papal edicts against the Spirituals. Queen Sancha and her brother Philip of Majorca also contributed to the Angevin court's inflammatory stance. Although the queen burdened the treasury with the financing of Spiritual Franciscan communities, she was admonished by John XXII for theologizing about holy poverty.[34] Her brother, meanwhile, attempted to establish his own order and publically preached against the pope in Naples.[35] After John's death, Pope Benedict XII (r. 1334–1342) also tried to bring the Angevins back in line.

In 1316 at the start of the controversies, Robert granted Elzéar and Delphine permission to leave Naples for Ansouis in order to avow their celibacy publically (apparently this was also an unfulfilled desire of Queen Sancha).[36] With great rejoicing, the Sabrans celebrated their chastity on the feast day of Mary Magdalene, patron saint of Provence. Between that time and July 1317,

27. For the attribution of the Philadelphia panel, see the oral communication of Miklòs Boskovits in Michel Laclotte and Elisabeth Mognetti, *Avignon—Musée du Petit Palais: Peinture italienne* (Paris, 1976), no. 132. For the Carmine fresco, see George Kaftal, *Iconography of the Saints in Tuscan Painting* (Florence, 1952), fig. 287.

28. For the Master of Santa Cecilia, see Bernard Berenson, *Italian Pictures of the Renaissance: Florentine School* (London, 1963), vol. 1, fig. 88.

29. For Robert's effigy, see Pope-Hennessy (supra, note 17), fig. 32. On the Sabran as tertiaries, see Girard (supra, note 2), pp. 61–64.

30. See *Vies occitanes,* p. 33, and Forbin d'Oppède, *La Bse Delphine de Sabran et les saints de Provence au XIV^e siècle* (Paris, 1883), pp. 412–425. On entry into the order, tertiaries were required to write their final will.

31. George Kaftal and Fabio Bisogni, *Iconography of the Saints in the Painting of North West Italy* (Florence, 1985), fig. 354.

32. Literature on the Spirituals is vast. A clear summary of the issues is found in Michael Bihl, "Fraticelli," *The Catholic Encyclopedia* (New York), vol. 6, pp. 244–249. Also useful are: Decima L. Douie, *The Nature and Effect of the Heresy of the Fraticelli* (Manchester, 1932); Malcolm D. Lambert, *Franciscan Poverty: The Doctrine of the Absolute*

when Elzéar notarized his will at Toulon before again embarking for Naples, the couple probably entered the Third Order. If he was not already a tertiary, it is unlikely that Elzéar would have requested burial in Franciscan habit. Their membership therefore coincided with their public avowal of virginity. It is certainly significant that the two themes are also linked in the diptych.

Delphine and Elzéar joined the order during its most troubled period. The decision could not have been unaffected by Louis' canonization in 1317; their own public vow; and the intensified persecution of the Spirituals in Provence. In the papal condemnation called *Sancta romana,* much of the Third Order of Provence was indicted.[37] Many members, some loosely organized in groups called Beguines, were suspected of heresy and collusion with the Spirituals. Trials abounded and many perished at the stake. The couple were intimates of the secular authorities who supported the Spiritual cause, and their associates in the religious world were all fierce Spirituals—Arnald of Villanova, Guillaume de Saint-Martial, and François de Meyronnes. It is, in fact, highly probable that John XXII put off Elzéar's canonization because he was so closely associated with the Spiritual movement.

If there is any doubt where their sympathies lay during Elzéar's lifetime, there can be none that Delphine became a radical Beguine in widowhood.[38] She is even called such in her first biographies. To the family's consternation she obtained permission from King Robert to divest herself of all property rightfully hers. And in 1333 at the Angevin castle of Castellemare, she took another public vow, this time of poverty.[39] In 1340 she liquidated her estates in Provence. She passed most of her long widowhood in Provence, except for a brief period after Robert's death in 1343, when she joined Sancha in the convent of Santa Croce in Naples, a Spiritual house founded by the queen.

The stigmatization of Saint Francis in the Getty diptych corresponds to a type favored in Neapolitan Spiritual Franciscan circles and includes several iconographic innovations that originated in that milieu. It is closely related to the most radical of all Neapolitan paintings of

Figure 4. Master of the Franciscan Temperas (Italian, active circa 1330–1355). *The Stigmatization of Saint Francis of Assisi,* before 1336. Tempera on canvas. Private collection. Photo: Courtesy Ugo Bozzi Editore s.a.s., Rome.

the stigmatization, part of a cycle of canvases likely made for the Franciscan monastery of Santa Chiara before 1336 as a royal commission from an artist who is called the Master of the Franciscan Temperas (fig. 4).[40]

The Spiritual Franciscan imprint in the Master of the Franciscan Temperas' painting is apparent in Francis' beard, his poor patched habit, and the detailed representation of nature. Bellosi has argued that the saint rarely appears bearded in Italian art after 1296 except in Spiritual-infested Naples or in commissions that are associated with the Angevins, such as Simone Martini's chapel at Assisi.[41] His observations are less valid for the 1330s when the bearded Francis returns elsewhere (as beards themselves come back in style) and is not limited to Spiritual contexts. Nonetheless, in Neapolitan painting, the beard remained a symbol of the Spirituals, who zealously conserved their identity by means of their appearance, especially their dress. Controversies about the

don, 1961); Manselli (supra, note 10); John R. H. Moorhead, *A History of the Franciscan Order from Its Origins to the Year 1517* (Oxford, 1968), pp. 188–204, 307–338.

33. Edith Pásztor, *Per la storia di San Luodovico d'Angiò (1274–1297),* Studi storici no. 10 (Rome, 1955); Ferdinando Bologna, "Povertà e umilità: Il San Ludovico di Simone Martini," *Studi storici* 10, no. 2 (1969), pp. 231–259, and Bologna, pp. 157–170.

34. Caggese (supra, note 5), pp. 641–642, 651–652.

35. On Philip, see J. M. Vidal, "Un ascète du sang royal: Philippe de Majorque," *Revue des questions historiques* n.s. 44 (1910), pp. 361–403.

36. *Vies occitanes,* pp. 171–173, and *Enquête,* p. 40. On Sancha's celibacy, see Caggese (supra, note 5).

37. Moorhead (supra, note 32), pp. 417–428, and Manselli (supra, note 10), pp. 113–254.

38. *Vies occitanes,* p. 197; *Enquête,* pp. 327, 395.

39. *Vies occitanes,* pp. 97–99; *Enquête,* pp. 45–46.

40. Bologna, pp. 235–245, pl. XVIII (color).

41. Luciano Bellosi, "La barba di San Francesco—nuove proposte per il 'problema di Assisi'," *Prospettiva* 22 (1980), pp. 11–34, and idem,

Spirituals' ragged habits raged throughout this period. As Bologna has noted in the context of the Master of the Franciscan Temperas, in 1336 Benedict XII ordered Robert to evict errant Franciscans from Santa Chiara who still wore "short habits without form or precise color."[42] The Master of the Franciscan Temperas is the only artist I know of who painted Francis in truly heretical dress. In other Neapolitan depictions inspired by the Spirituals, including the same artist's altarpiece in Ottana (Sardinia), Francis' habit conforms to the regulations of the order and the long-established visual tradition.[43]

Francis is bearded in the Getty picture, but his dress does not part from the norm except in two particulars, the undergarment that appears beneath his habit and his sandals. The former is clearly visible at the sleeves and in the tear on the saint's right side. Though not in art, in Franciscan literature the saint's undergarments figure prominently. In Francis' *Testamentum,* a document suppressed by the church but cherished by the Spirituals as the saint's manifesto of poverty, the first friars are described as wearing habits consisting of a single patched tunic with a cord and a trouserlike undergarment, or *bracis.*[44] The undergarment is mentioned several times in accounts of the stigmatization and the events leading up to it. According to the *Actus beati Francisci et sociorum eius* (hereafter, *Actus*), an early fourteenth-century Spiritual text, while fasting and meditating on Mount Alverna, Francis in ecstasy saw God, who spoke to him as he had to Moses. Francis replied "I am all yours. . . . You know that I possess nothing but the habit, the cord, and the undergarment and even these three things are yours."[45] In the *Legenda maior,* the saint's official biography, Bonaventure describes a change in Francis' underwear after the stigmatization. In order to conceal the painful wound in his side Francis wore undergarments that reached up to his armpits; these garments were called *femoralia* by Bonaventure.[46] Though this undergarment was put on after the miracle, in the diptych the artist anticipates the change from the simple *bracis* to the *femoralia* that was necessitated by the stigmata. All sources mention that blood continually stained Francis' habit and *femoralia,* and though he never showed his wounds, the friars who washed his bloodied clothes suspected what had transpired.[47] The underwear then is literally a proof of the stigmatization.

The sandals can also be explained in terms of what happened after the stigmatization. When Francis first converted, he cast off his shoes and went barefoot.[48] Therefore, it would initially seem a gross misunderstanding of Franciscan iconography to show the lover of poverty in the central point of his mission wearing sandals. But they also bear witness to the miracle. After receiving the wounds, Francis never uncovered his hands and feet, and the intense pain prevented him from setting his feet directly on the ground. The first biographer, Celano, describes the covering as woolen socks with a piece of skin placed directly over the wounds to ease the wool's roughness.[49] Bonaventure simply says his feet were *calceatis,* or covered.[50] A reliquary in Assisi conserves this gear. The sandals are therefore also meant to remind the viewer of the suffering Francis endured for the gift of the stigmata.

The attention to odd details such as underwear and sandals implies that the picture's iconography depended on a close rereading of the available sources. In the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century the Spirituals were actively reevaluating texts of Francis' life. After Bonaventure's official biography was finished in 1266, all earlier versions were supposed to have been destroyed; many, however, still circulated, and these earlier, often eyewitness, accounts, including the works of Celano, were cherished and reused in several new anthologies, all of which displayed overtly Spiritualist

La pecora di Giotto (Turin, 1985), pp. 3–14, 32–33, n. 17, for an answer to his critics. See Bologna's and Stubblebine's reservations about Bellosi's theories: Ferdinando Bologna, "The Crowning Disc of a Duecento 'Crucifixion' and Other Points Relevant to Duccio's Relationship to Cimabue," *Burlington Magazine* 125 (1983), pp. 330–340, and James H. Stubblebine, *Assisi and the Rise of Vernacular Art* (New York, 1985), pp. 69–70. Francis is bearded in Taddeo Gaddi's work of the late 1320s and 1330s; Andrew Landis, *Taddeo Gaddi Critical Reappraisal and Catalogue Raisonné* (Columbus, Oh., and London, 1972), figs. 3–l, 4j–l, 6c/3–13.

42. Bologna, p. 237.

43. Ibid., pls. V/10–2, VI/18, VI/68–70.

44. "Tunica una, intus et foris repeciata, cum cingulo et bracis." See Kajetan Esser, ed., *Die Opuscula des Hl. Franzikus von Assisi: Neue textkritische Edition* (Grottaferrata, 1976), pp. 439–440.

45. "Domine, ego sum totus tuus, et nihil habeo nisi tunicam et cordam et femoralia, et ista tua similer sunt." *Actus,* chap. 9, pp. 57–58.

46. "Proinde portabat ex tunc femoralia ita factam usque ad ascellae pertingerent ad vulnus lateris contegendum." Bonaventure, *Legenda maior S. Francisci assisiensis et eiusdem legenda minor* (Quaracchi, 1941), chap. 8, p. 8. On the word *femoralia,* see Octavianus a Rieden, "De Sancti Francisci Assisiensis stigmatum susceptione: Disquistio historico-critica luce testimoniorum saeculi XIII," *Collectana Franciscana* 34 (1964), pp. 259–260, n. 68.

47. "Fratres quoque, qui illa lavabant vel tunicam excutiebant pro tempore, quia inveniebant ea sanguine rubricata indubitanter per evidens signum incognitionem sacri vulneris pervenerunt." Bonaventure, *Legenda maior* (supra, note 46), chap. 8, p. 8; and for other testimony, see Octavianus a Rieden (supra, note 46), pp. 259–262.

48. "Solvit protinus calceamenta de pedibus [*Actus,* chap. 7, p. 33] baculum deponit e manibus et, tunica una contentus, pro corrigia funiculum immutavit." Thomas de Celano, *Vita prima S. Francisci Assisiensis et eiusdem legenda ad usum chori* (Quaracchi, 1926), chap. 9, p. 22.

The stigmatization in Giuliano da Rimini's altarpiece, dated 1307, in

leanings.[51] They fulfilled a need for a narrative and anecdotal rendering of his life in contrast to Bonaventure's majestic but sparsely detailed vision; thus, they functioned much in the same way that the Apocrypha and *The Golden Legend* did for the lives of Christ and Mary. The most important of these anthologies was the *Actus.* Compiled from several sources at different times, it was definitively put together circa 1327–1340, probably by the Marchigian Spiritual Franciscan Ugolino di Montegiorgio, who is known to have been in Naples in 1331.[52] The text was a popular success, and toward the end of the century it was rearranged and translated into Italian as *I fioretti* and *Le considerazioni delle sacre stimmate.* The *Actus* gives a detailed description of Francis' forty-day fast on Alverna. It adds episodes, such as God speaking to Francis from a burning bush as he had done to Moses, and conflates incidents that were separated in earlier works.

The *Actus* pays particular attention to Francis' affinity with nature, and though hardly an original concept, it is a vision of the saint that the Spirituals wished to appropriate for themselves. For instance, the wolf of Gubbio first appears in the *Actus,* and the curious beast in the Getty painting's foreground, most likely a wolf, could well refer to this incident or one of the other wolf stories recounted by earlier biographers. While symbolizing Francis' great rapport with the creatures of the earth, the presence of a wolf also testifies to the savage, isolated spot on the wild mountainside of Alverna where the stigmatization took place. The mountain was donated to Francis and his followers by a local nobleman as a spot for a hermitage. In the *Actus* it is related that before going there himself, Francis sent some friars to scout the territory, and they had to be accompanied by fifty soldiers who cleared it of wild beasts.[53] Similarly, in a much earlier representation by Guido da Siena, the untamed nature of the mountainside is conveyed by the presence of a bear's den and two bears climbing about on the rocks.[54]

Like the wolf, birds also frequent Franciscan stories. The sermon to the birds in Bevagna is perhaps the most famous episode, but two other incidents recounted both by Bonaventure and in the *Actus* link birds to Alverna. When Francis first arrived on the mountain, birds greeted him in great numbers, and a female falcon, who built a nest near his cell, woke the saint for matins with her singing.[55] The falcon's diligence is praised, and in the diptych she is pictured nurturing her young, whereas the other birds gaze on Francis and the falcon's nest near the cavernous hermitage. Bonaventure allegorized the bird as a presage of the seraphic vision to come. The Master of the Franciscan Temperas treated the subject similar to the handling of it in the diptych, though with a greater interest in the naturalistic depiction of species.[56] The depiction of such a large number of birds is unique to the Getty picture and the Master of the Franciscan Temperas' stigmatization; it represents a departure from previous iconography.

The Getty stigmatization departs from several other points of traditional Franciscan iconography. In the Giottesque tradition—the fresco in Assisi, the related altarpiece in the Louvre, and the fresco in the Bardi chapel—as in most earlier representations, the craggy mountainside is only sparsely vegetated and few signs of animal life appear.[57] Francis communes alone with the seraph. Even in the earliest representation of the scene by Berlinghieri, two buildings dominate the landscape, Francis' own cabin and the friary in the vale below where Brother Leo and other companions sojourned. An element distinguishing the Getty stigmatization is the dark grotto opening behind the saint, which silhouettes his form and lends it great relief. The grotto takes the place of Francis' cabin in Giotto's Bardi chapel fresco of the mid to late 1320s, and is located

the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston, also shows Saint Francis wearing sandals in a departure from the Giottesque fresco in the upper church of Assisi on which Giuliano's depiction depends. See Philip Hendy, *European and American Paintings in the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum* (Boston, 1974), pp. 110–112, ill.

49. "Pedes laneis peduciis vestit, ne videri possint, pelle supra vulneribus posita, quae asperitatem laneam mitigaret." Thomas de Celano, *Vita secunda S. Francisci Assisiensis* (Quaracchi, 1927), chap. 98, p. 136.

50. "Et pedibus ex tunc inuderet calceatis." Bonaventure, *Legenda maior* (supra, note 46), chap. 8, p. 8. Also on the footwear, see Octavianus a Rieden (supra, note 46), pp. 225–226.

51. On the sources, see John R. H. Moorhead, *The sources for the Life of S. Francis of Assisi* (Manchester, 1940), and John V. Fleming, *An Introduction to the Franciscan Literature of the Middle Ages* (Chicago, 1977).

52. For the bibliography on the *Fioretti/Actus,* see Marion A. Habig, ed., *St. Francis of Assisi Writings and Early Biographies: English Omnibus of the Sources for the Life of St. Francis* (Chicago, 1983), pp. 1691–1693. Stubblebine ([supra, note 41], pp. 80–87) claims that the text was not available until the 1330s. According to some Franciscan scholars, parts of it were circulating in the late dugento, and the pieces were integrated in either the early 1320s or 1330s. Moorhead (supra, note 51), pp. 165–169; Fleming (supra, note 51), pp. 58–59; and Giorgio Petrocchi, "Dagli 'Actus beati Francisci' al volgarizzamento dei Fioretti," *Convivium* 22 (1954), pp. 534–555, 666–667.

53. *Actus,* chap. 9, p. 19.

54. James H. Stubblebine, *Guido da Siena* (Princeton, N.J., 1964), figs. 4, 101, as well as 35, 61, 100.

55. Bonaventure, *Legenda maior* (supra, note 46), chap. 8, p. 10; *Actus,* chap. 9, pp. 24–26.

56. On monastic bird symbolism, see John V. Fleming, *From Bonaventure to Bellini: An Essay in Franciscan Exegesis* (Princeton, N.J., 1982), pp. 41–44, and Gregorio Penco, "Il simbolismo animalesco nella letteratura monastica," *Studia Monastica* 6 (1964), pp. 7–38.

57. Giancarlo Vigorelli and Edi Bacceschi, eds., *L'opera completa di*

above the saint. It also appears in a few earlier, isolated examples that probably neither Giotto nor the Getty artist knew.[58] After almost a century of stigmatization images, the inclusion of a grotto on Mount Alverna can only be explained in terms of a new way of envisioning the narrative and its locale.

In Celano's biography, rediscovered by the Spirituals, the saint's ability to meditate undisturbed is described in the language of the Canticle of Canticles: "He nests himself in the clefts of the rock, and inhabits the hollow places of the walls."[59] Alverna itself is a rocky and precipitous place with many natural grottos perfect for solitude and, according to the *Actus,* was chosen for that reason. Stubblebine recently observed that in several pre-*Actus,* early fourteenth-century Spiritual texts, the locus of the stigmatization is not directly outside of Francis' cell but in a more solitary and wild location. In the *Speculum perfectionis* of circa 1318 Francis is described as not willing to have a well-built cell or house but wishing to be sheltered beneath the rocks.[60] Giotto's rendition in the Bardi chapel is a good example of this new vision of the event. The prominent dark and empty cave above Francis adds to the emotional and dramatic impact. The Getty artist is considerably less histrionic. Despite the changes based on a new reading of the texts, he clings to older pictorial conventions; thus, even though Francis prays in front of a barren cave, the older tradition of including two hermitages is not abandoned.

The manner of depicting the saint emerging from the cave onto a narrow promontory, as if to greet the seraph, is unique to the Getty diptych. Although Francis' posture with his arms raised above his head had been previously employed by the Master of Figline,[61] the combination of the cave and pose can be traced to a specific literary source that would have been known to Elzéar and Delphine, a series of sermons on the stigmatization by the Provençal Spiritual François de Meyronnes. Meyronnes was responsible for the *Libellus supplex* written in Elzéar's honor and, according to biographers, was a long-time intimate; he also served as Elzéar's last confessor and admired Delphine's understanding of theology.[62] The relevant passage is from his second sermon and concerns the four virtues imprinted on Francis by the seraph:

> Fourthly, he possessed the virtue of inflammatory inspiration; "wholly therefore" as in the *Legenda,* "as one might say a coal is ignited by divine love" he to whom the sign appeared was inflamed and set on fire. When thus it [the seraph] inflamed the abbot [Francis] as he had prayed for, it set over him and coaxed that man with upraised hand out of the cavern. And the blessed Francis was not acting out of his own accord, but by divine disposition; because his spirit was exalted to seraphic perfection; therefore, it is fitting the saying of the prophet (Aggeus 2:4): "I shall raise thee up, my servant, and I will make thee as a signet for I have chosen thee, saith the Lord of Hosts."[63]

The Getty Francis closely reproduces François de Meyronnes' image of Francis drawn from the cave with raised arms and suggests a dependence on the text itself. Since François was an intimate of the Angevin court and a Spiritual, his ideas most probably circulated in Naples.

Meyronnes also linked the stigmatization to the theme of triumph. Thus, as kings have their victories painted, he maintains the victory of Christ was sculpted on Francis during the stigmatization, and he compares the experience of Alverna to the establishment of the celestial city of the militant church placed on a solid rock foundation. The saint is further likened to the lion that symbolizes Christ's triumph over the cross.[64] The cave then might be associated with a lion's den in the figurative and the literal sense.

In the sermons, Meyronnes also develops the theme of *alter Christus,* or Francis' parallelism to Christ.[65] The fissure in the rock is part of this allegory. The mountain's crags are attributed to eruptions that occurred at the time of Christ's Crucifixion, and Alverna is compared to Tabur where Christ, like Francis, experienced a transfiguration.[66] The story of Alverna's peculiar landscape being formed at the time of the Crucifixion became a theme of Franciscan literature. It was later incor-

Giotto (Milan, 1977), figs. 38, 46, 138.

58. Examples dating from the dugento are found in Pistoia, Museo Civico, and Orte, Cathedral: Pietro Scarpellini, "Iconografia francescana nei secoli XIII e XIV," in *San Francesco d'Assisi storia e arte* (Milan, 1982), pp. 97, 104. See also the examples of Guido da Siena and his school (supra, note 54).

59. "In formainibus petrae nidificabat, et in caverna maceriae habitatio eius." Celano (supra, note 48), chap. 27, p. 71.

60. Stubblebine, (supra, note 41), p. 83; Habig (supra, note 52), p. 1134.

61. Luciano Bellosi, *Un pittore del trecento il Maestro di Figline,* ex. cat. (Florence, Comune di Figline Valdarno, 1980), pl. 2.

62. See "Trois sermons." On his relationship to Elzéar and Delphine: *Enquête,* pp. 54–55, 155, 159, 403, 540; *Vies occitanes,* pp. 15, 20, 22, 29, 112, 120. On Meyronnes himself, see Bartholomaeus Roth, *Franz von Meyronna, sein Leben, seine Werke, seine Lehre* (Werl, 1936).

63. "Quarto habuit virtutem inflammativam; 'totus enim,' ut habetur in Legenda, 'sicut quidam carbo ignitus divini amoris' erat inflammatus et succensus, cuius signum apparuit, quando sic inflammavit abbatem pro quo oravit, ut supra semtipsum poneret eum et quando manu protensa illum hominem palpavit in antro, quia talia beatus Franciscus non habuit a natura propria, sed a dispensatione divina; quia spiritus eius fuit ad perfectionem seraphicam sublimatus, ideo convenit et illud prophetae Agg. 2, 24: 'Assumam te, serve meus,

porated in the *Fioretti* (though it is absent from the *Actus*) and Barthelmy of Pisa's *De conformitate vitae beati Francisci ad vitam Domini Iesu.*[67]

Francis' similarity to Moses was another theme developed by Franciscan theologians. François de Meyronnes emphasizes that Alverna is like Sinai, but instead of stone tablets of the law, Francis received the law of love from the hand of the living God.[68] In the *Actus* it is recounted that God spoke to Francis in his days of contemplation before the stigmatization, just as he had spoken to Moses. The analogy to Moses' burning bush might by symbolized in the curious solitary bowed tree in the lower right-hand corner of the Getty picture. Fleming in his analysis of Bellini's *Saint Francis in the Wilderness* interpreted the prominent swaying laurel tree in the same terms. He cited a medieval Jewish illumination of Moses and the "burning" bush in which no flames appear as an early precedent.[69] A stigmatization by a Duccio follower in Christ Church, Oxford, includes a similar emphatically bent tree.[70] These arcane analogies were part and parcel of late medieval theology and undoubtedly affected visual symbolism, as they may have in these instances.

The investigation of iconography has demonstrated that the diptych can be related to Elzéar and Delphine, but how specific this connection may be depends on the dating and attribution. Fortunately, Cecilia and Valerian's costumes provide a valuable guide for dating. They record luxurious dress of the period before the middle of the century when fashion changed. In the forties the long, almost unisex, tunics the couple wear went out of fashion. Men started sporting close-fitting hose, and women's wear became decidedly more revealing.[71] This is illustrated in the manuscript of the *Statuti dell'Ordine del Nodo,* illuminated in 1354–1355 by Cristoforo Orminia, in which Robert's successor, Joanna I, and her consort are depicted, as are many scenes of courtly life (fig. 5).[72] Two features distinguish the cut of later trecento fashions: the *manicotti*, or the train on the sleeves, are long and attenuated, in some cases trailing to the ground, and the collars, particularly of female dress, are wider and lower cut. Cecilia and Valerian's costumes reflect earlier styles. In another Angevin manuscript, also illuminated by Cristoforo Orminia, the Bible of Niccolò d'Alife, which can be dated before January 20, 1343—because Robert is present and Joanna is shown as the hereditary princess not the queen—the dress is closer to the type pictured in the diptych (fig. 6).[73] Both men and women wear loose tunics, the *manicotti* are shorter and wider, and the necklines restrained. If anything, Cecilia and Valerian are more conservatively dressed; their collars are not as open or their sleeves as elegantly cut. Though it would be foolish to date a picture precisely on costume alone, and, in particular, this picture, where perceptions of the clothing are distorted by the figural poses, it is reasonable to suggest that the style of the costumes is that of the thirties. It closely parallels, for example, the contemporary dress depicted in triptychs by Bernardo Daddi and Taddeo Gaddi dating 1333 and 1334 respectively.[74]

Assigning the diptych a date in the mid-thirties means, of course, that Elzéar and Delphine are not represented in it, not even in the guise of Cecilia and Valerian, because the painting predates by about thirty years Delphine's death in 1360 and also predates Elzéar's canonization in 1369. However, it may mean that Delphine was personally involved in its creation and may have even commissioned it. It is, therefore, significant that the diptych can be related stylistically to works of art produced in Naples from the late twenties to the early forties for the Angevin circle to which Delphine belonged.

The attribution of the Getty diptych has long puzzled art historians. Previously, Castelnuovo published it as Venetian circa 1340 and close to Paolo Veneziano; Laclotte and Thiébaut associated it with the Provençal Avignon school with the designation to an Italian artist circa 1340–1350.[75]

The first attribution took into account the archaic elements of the composition, such as the gold striations on the angel's costume and the schematic rendering of

et ponam sicut signaculum, quia te elegi, dicit Dominus exercituum'." See "Trois sermons," p. 383.

64. Ibid., pp. 386–387, 395.

65. On the theme of *alter Christus,* see Stansilao da Campagnola, *L'angelo del sesto sigillo et l' "Alter Christus": Genesi e sviluppo di due temi francescani nei secoli XIII–XIV* (Rome, 1971), and Henk van Os, "St. Francis of Assisi as a Second Christ in Early Italian Painting," *Simiolus* 7 (1974), pp. 115–132.

66. "Trois sermons," p. 394.

67. For the *Fioretti* reference, see Habig (supra, note 52), p. 1438. *De conformitate vitae beati Francisci ad vitam Domini Iesu* appears in *Analecta Francescana* 5 (1912), p. 387.

68. "Trois sermons," p. 385.

69. Fleming (supra, note 56), pp. 51–57, fig. 11.

70. James H. Stubblebine, *Duccio di Buoninsegna and His School* (Princeton, N.J., 1979), vol. 2, fig. 295.

71. Luciano Bellosi, *Buffalmacco e il trionfo della morte* (Turin, 1974), pp. 41–54.

72. Bologna, pp. 305–311, pls. VII/41–7.

73. Ibid., pp. 276–278, pls. VI/62–7.

74. Landis (supra, note 41), figs. 20, 1–7.

75. See supra, note 2.

the foliage and mountainside, which recall the byzantinizing character of early trecento Venetian art. These characteristics as they appear in the diptych, and specifically in the stigmatization panel, are, however, more in keeping with what seems to be an intentionally conservative throwback to dugento Tuscan images of the stigmatization by Berlinghiero Berlinghieri and Guido da Siena and his school. The choice of an older formula dating to the beginning of Franciscan imagery was probably motivated by the Spiritual Franciscans' obsession with the order's primitive, simple beginnings.

Given its provenance from the Sabran family, the diptych was probably in Provence from its earliest history. Whether it was actually executed there is another question; although few works survive for comparison, no other painting from the Avignon school can be identified as by the same hand. This fact in itself does not totally discount a Provençal manufacture. Many, if not all, of the principal artists active in Provence, and largely at Avignon for the papal court, came from outside the region. Their patronage was almost exclusively ecclesiastical. Stylistically, before 1350 the school was entirely Italian, and nearly totally Sienese, in orientation. Simone Martini, active in Avignon from 1340/41, was, of course, from Siena, and artists like Matteo Giovanetti worked in a recognizably Sienese style.

The Getty diptych is somewhat dependent on Sienese prototypes. Cecilia and Valerian, with their long, attenuated noses, pursed lips, and oversize hands, reflect Simone Martini's types. They echo several figures from his early period: the Saint Martin being invested as a knight in Assisi, the youthful kneeling patron saints of Siena in the frescoed *Maestà,* as well as some of the figures in the altarpiece dedicated to Saint Louis of Toulouse, then in San Lorenzo Maggiore, Naples. Even an archaic detail like the gold striations on the angel's robe can be found in the panel of the angel Gabriel from Simone's *Orsini* polyptych in the museum at Antwerp.[76] The Simonesque elements of the diptych are derivative, however, and do not constitute a total assimilation of the artist's style.

The history of early trecento art in Naples is similar to that of Avignon, and indeed, as has been previously discussed, the two cities enjoyed close ties, Avignon being, in fact, a feudal dependency of the Angevins. In Naples as in Avignon, artistic and cultural life was organized around the court. The former's school of

Figure 5. Cristoforo Orminia (Italian, active mid-fourteenth century). *Knights Paying Homage to Lodovico di Taranto* from *Statuti dell'Ordine del Nodo,* 1354–1355. Illumination on vellum. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale ms. 4274.

painting and sculpture owed much to the enlightened policy of King Robert, who commissioned outside artists, such as Cavallini, Giotto, Simone Martini, and Tino di Camaino, for important projects.

From this period only a few names of purely local painters are known, and even fewer artistic personalities can be constructed from the surviving works of art. All the local painters bear the stylistic imprint of the various regional influences that abounded in the city: Roman, Florentine, and Sienese. The Neapolitan school did not produce a consistent and recognizable style in the same way that, for example, Sienese art is undoubtedly Sienese. Stylistically, Neapolitan painting was incohesive and eclectic. What the artists shared was their involvement in an Angevin-inspired cultural policy.

76. Gianfranco Contini and Maria Cristina Gozzoli, eds., *L'opera completa di Simone Martini* (Milan, 1970), figs. I–III, V–VI, XXXII, LVI.

77. For example, *Saint Louis of Toulouse with King Robert and Queen Sancha* by the Neapolitan painter the Master of Giovanni Barrile was most likely sent to the convent of Sainte Claire in Aix as a gift from the queen between 1331 and 1332. See Bologna, pp. 211–212, fig. V–25. Other Neapolitan artists like the Master of the Franciscan Temperas worked for patrons from Sardinia and Prague. A tabernacle by this artist, probably produced for Robert of Anjou, now in the Moravian Gallery in Brno may have been in Czechoslovakia from its ear-

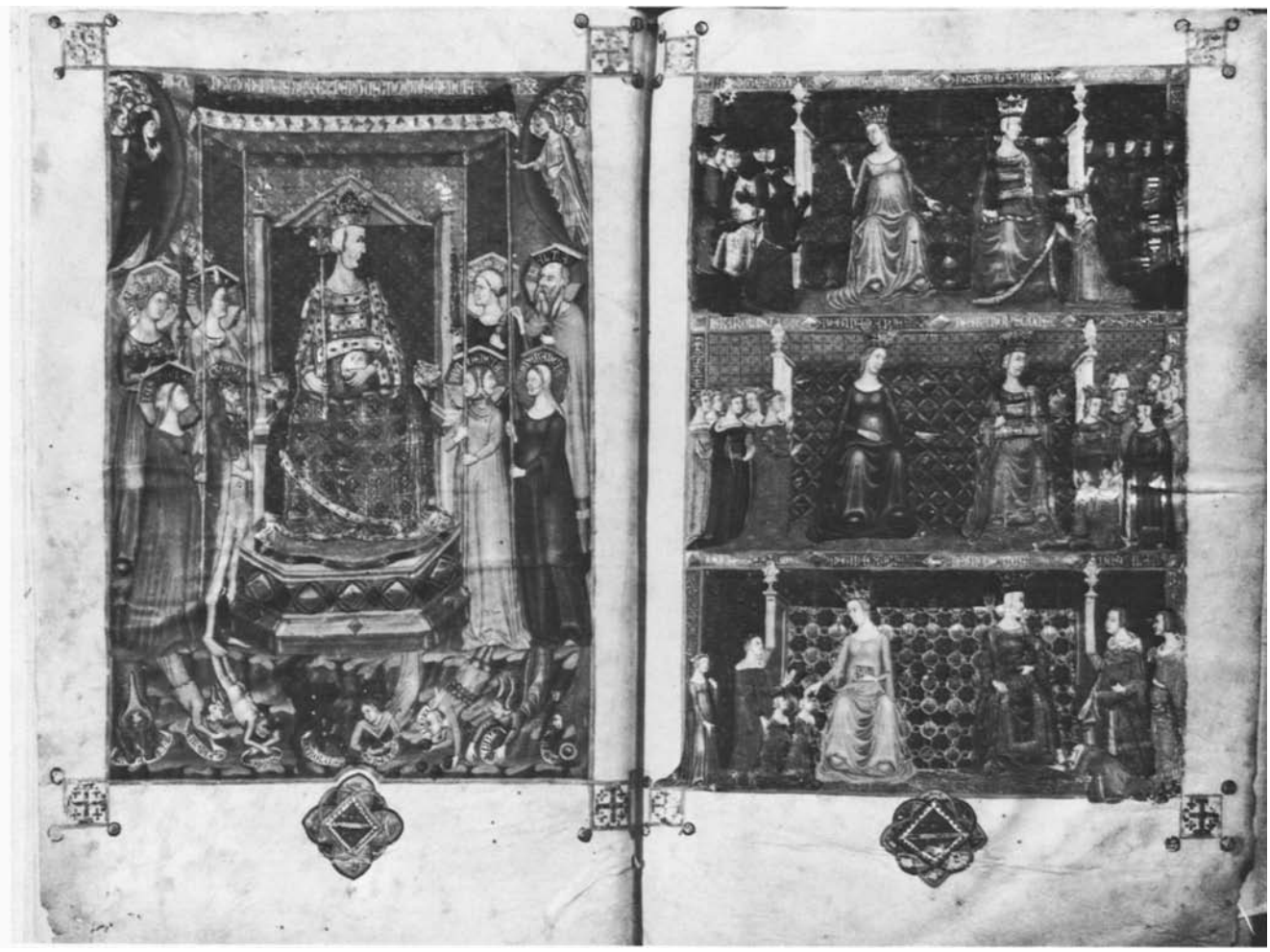

Figure 6. Cristoforo Orminia (Italian, active mid-fourteenth century). *Glorification of Robert of Anjou* and *The Angevin Genealogy* from the Bible of Niccolò d'Alife, before 1343. Illumination on vellum. Mechelen, Belgium, Grootseminaire.

Such conditions make attribution of any undocumented work of art to an eclectic school of painting like that of Naples or Avignon problematic; this situation is further complicated with an object as unique as the Getty diptych. Few private paintings, especially examples with such an identifiably personal iconography, survive. Although it might be argued that given the Sabran connection, the diptych could have been produced in either Naples or Avignon, the closest visual similarities are to be found in Naples. It is important to bear in mind the fact that Neapolitan artists did work outside of Naples, and there is also evidence that paintings manufactured in Naples were sent to Provence.[77]

A comparison with the cycle of canvases probably executed before 1336 for the convent of Santa Chiara by the Master of the Franciscan Temperas proves illustrative. The two painters are stylistically, as well as iconographically, closely approximate.[78] In addition to obvious points of comparison, such as their interest in depicting nature, the physiognomy of the representations of Saint Francis and the similarities of Cecilia and Valerian in the diptych to Robert and Sancha, who appear as donors in the Crucifixion from the Master of the Franciscan Temperas' series (fig. 7), attest to the two artists' common approach to conceiving the human figure. The Getty painter, however, affects a gentle courtly manner that differentiates his work from the sharp expressive quality of the oeuvre of the Master of the Franciscan Temperas.

The architectural setting of the Cecilia and Valerian

liest history. See Olga Pujmanová in *Italské Gotické a Renesanční obrazy v československých Sbírkách*, ex. cat (Prague, 1987), no. 53, pp. 116–118, pl. IV, fig. 53. Sienese, Florentine, and Ligurian masters active in Naples also worked in Provence making the artistic connections between the two regions even closer.

78. In a book that came out in late 1986, after the present article was prepared, Pierluigi Leone de Castris published the Getty diptych as by the Master of the Franciscan Temperas in an addendum, acknowledging the advice of Enrico Castelnuovo to whom I had already in the summer of 1986 personally suggested the attribution. Leone

Figure 7. Master of the Franciscan Temperas (Italian, active circa 1330–1355). *The Crucifixion with King Robert and Queen Sancha of Naples as Donors,* before 1336. Tempera on canvas. Private collection. Photo: Courtesy Ugo Bozzo Editore s.a.s., Rome.

Figure 8. Pietro Cavallini (Italian, active 1273–1308). *Noli me tangere* (detail), circa 1308. Fresco. Naples, San Domenico. Photo: Courtesy Ugo Bozzi Editore s.a.s., Rome.

scene and the landscape of the stigmatization recall other Neapolitan paintings. The landscape—archaizing elements of which have been noted—can be compared to earlier examples created by Cavallini and documented in Naples in 1308; these appear in the frescoes of the *Noli me tangere* and *Mary Magdalene Receiving Communion* in San Domenico (fig. 8). The Getty artist has adapted the jagged rock formations of these frescoes, although he makes them much more undulating, as with the ridge that rises behind the grotto. He also imitates Cavallini's style of depicting foliage in which broad areas of dark vegetation are highlighted with light-colored leaves.[79] Like the Getty artist and the Master of the Franciscan Temperas, Cavallini delighted in the painting of naturalistic details such as foliage and birds in his San Domenico frescoes.

Architecturally, the small boxlike environment of the Getty Cecilia scene recalls the simple settings of the altarpiece of circa 1340 by the Master of the Franciscan Temperas in Ottana.[80] The secondary structures on the roof and the attempt at depicting perspective seen from below, which works so well in accommodating the angel's descent, are closer, however, to the work of another unknown Neapolitan artist, the Master of the Saint Elizabeth Stories (figs. 9a–b). This painter, a close, though slightly later, follower of Cavallini, experimented with architectural arrangements and narrative settings in a fresco cycle in Santa Maria Donnaregina, which depicts the legends of saints Agnes and Elisabeth of Hungary and is dated variously to the late twenties or mid-thirties.[81] An illumination depicting the marriage of Maurizio and Constanza (fig. 10) from the second volume of the *Speculum historiale* of Vincent de Beauvais (commissioned in 1320 by Filippo de Haye, abbot of the abbey of Cava de Tirreni) is very close in

de Castris, *Arte di corte nella Napoli angioina* (Florence, 1986), p. 459, fig. 10 on p. 428.

79. On Cavallini, see Bologna, pp. 115–146, pl. XII (color), figs. III/20–9.

80. Bologna, pls. VI/18–35, pls. XXI–III (color).

81. Ibid., pp. 135–138, pls. III/48–52, 54–55, and George Kaftal, *Iconography of the Saints in Central and Southern Italy* (Florence, 1965), figs. 22–26, 430–445. Recognizing its Cavallinesque characteristics, Leone de Castris dates this cycle in the twenties and proposes several groups of artists for the scenes' design, which I believe to be

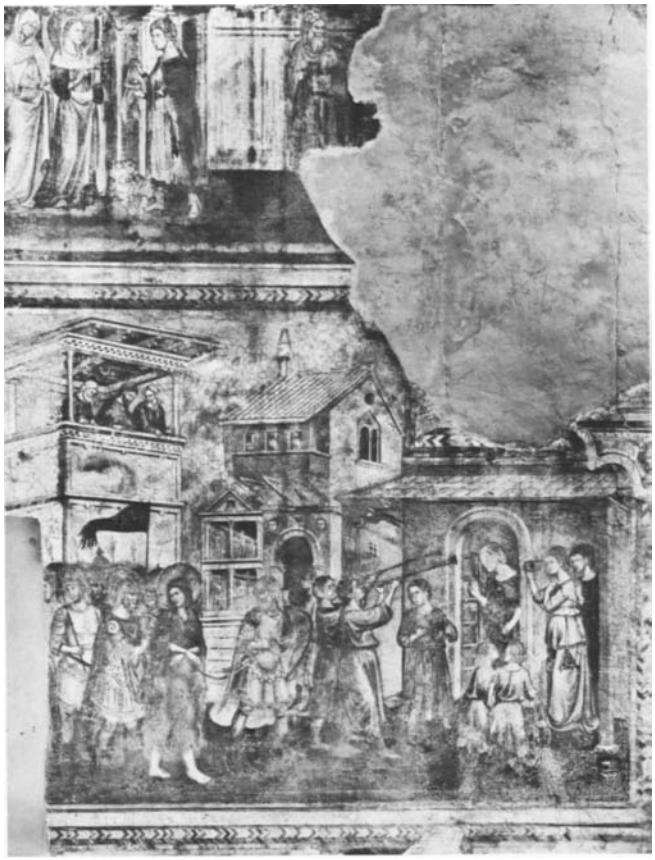

Figure 9a. Master of the Saint Elisabeth Stories (Italian, active second quarter of the fourteenth century). *Saint Agnes Led to a House of Prostitution,* 1320s. Fresco. Naples, Santa Maria Donnaregina. Photo: Courtesy Alinari/Art Resource, New York.

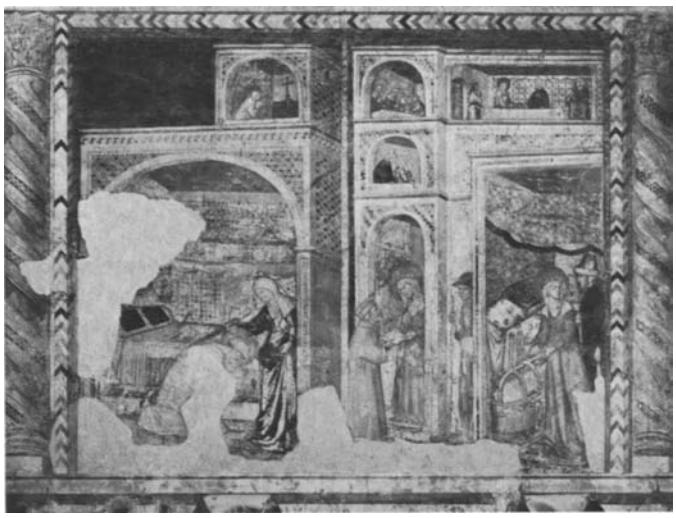

Figure 9b. Master of the Saint Elizabeth Stories (Italian, active second quarter of the fourteenth century). *Scenes from the Life of Saint Elisabeth of Hungary,* 1320s. Fresco. Naples, Santa Maria Donnaregina.

Figure 10. Cavallinesque Miniature Painter. *Marriage of Maurizio and Constanza* from Vincent de Beauvais, *Speculum historiale,* circa 1320. Illumination on vellum. Cava dei Tirreni, Abbazia ms. 26, fol. 123r. Photo: Courtesy Biblioteca del Monumento Nazionale, Badia di Cava.

style to the frescoes and may well be by the same artist or one who worked in Cavallini's Neapolitan *cantiere.*[82] The same contained structure seen in the frescoes and Getty diptych, in which the side walls recede at incongruent angles, is also found here.

Though the architecture of the frescoes far surpasses that of the diptych in spatial complexity and decoration, there are definite similarities. Details like the construction of the tiles on the roofs of the buildings in the stigmatization and in the frescoes are the same; the architectural detailing of the diptych is, however, much simpler and lacks Cosmati work or complicated moldings. Also, the varied, colored stone framing of the chapel door and rose window in the stigmatization is reminiscent of more north Italian, than Neapolitan, ar-

stylistically coherent and unified. Leone de Castris (supra, note 78), pp. 386–393.

82. Mario Rotili, *La miniatura nella badia di Cava. I: Lo scrittorio i corali miniati per l'abbazia* (Cava dei Tirreni, 1976), pp. 57–68, pl. LXVIIa.

Figure 11. Master of the Saint Elisabeth Stories (Italian, active second quarter of the fourteenth century). *The Apparition of Saint Agnes to Constance* (detail), 1320s. Fresco. Naples, Santa Maria Donnaregina. Photo: Courtesy Alinari/Art Resource, New York.

chitecture and attests to the many influences acting upon Neapolitan painters. The figure style in the frescoes and the diptych is also close. Despite differences in scale and the frescoes' damaged state, the hint of deep-shadowed modeling along the jawline of figures, the rounded facial type, and the tiny eyeballs are treated so alike in the *Speculum historiale,* the Santa Maria Donnaregina frescoes, and the diptych that they may be presumed to have evolved from the same artistic milieu. A comparison of the flying figure of the Saint Agnes in the scene of her apparition to Constance from the fresco cycle with the Getty's crowning angel is particularly telling (fig. 11).

Incidentally, the subject matter of the Santa Maria Donnaregina frescoes would have had great appeal at the Angevin court. The saints were both aristocratic, and Elisabeth was an Angevin ancestor. The scenes celebrate their devotion to poverty and virginity, themes obviously in vogue in Naples, not only with extraordinary courtiers like Elzéar and Delphine, but also with Queen Sancha and her circle.

Investigation of the diptych therefore leads to the conclusion that it was made by a Neapolitan artist, close to an artist like the Master of the Saint Elizabeth Stories, in the 1330s. It is also a highly personal work of art. A new and careful reading of Franciscan texts inspired the depiction of the stigmatization, which in part depends on a sermon by François de Meyronnes, the first scholar to study and write about Elzéar and one close to the Neapolitan court and Spiritual circles. As it reflects Delphine and Elzéar's ideals of virginity and Franciscan poverty, and in the Cecilia and Valerian scene is identified with their own married life, Delphine may have commissioned it herself. It is difficult, however, to reconcile her vow of poverty, sale of family property, and the description of her dress as "crude, dirty, uncared for rags" with the commissioning of such a luxury item.[83] Though slightly fanatical and certainly sincere in her renunciation of worldly wealth, Delphine was closely associated with the court and an intimate of Sancha. The queen shared Delphine's views but also assiduously patronized the arts for the cause of holy poverty. Delphine may therefore have been able to justify owning such a portable work of art. Since it can be so closely connected to Delphine's life, if it was not ordered by her, it had to have been created at the behest of someone close to her and to Elzéar, possibly his brother and heir, Guillaume.[84] Certainly, it is rare in the trecento that a small private work of art can be appreciated both for itself and for the remarkable couple who inspired its manufacture.

Philadelphia Museum of Art

83. "Pannis grossis, vilibus et neglectis." *Enquête,* p. 45.
84. De La Chesnaye-Desbois and Badier (supra, note 5), cols. 13–14.

The Noblest of Livestock

Peter Sutton

Gerard ter Borch is best remembered as a portraitist in miniature and the preeminent high-life painter of his age. His genre scenes depict a society at once elegant and exquisite—the confidences of highborn women, sidelong glances shared in courtship à la mode, or the gallantries of officers. Occasionally, ter Borch also represented the noisier recreations of the conscripted. Many too will recall his domestic scenes—still images of women absorbed in the preparation of a meal or the care of children. Less well known are the artist's images of the working classes and rural life or his animal paintings. Two splendid examples of the latter are *The Horse Stall* (fig. 1) and *The Cow Shed* (fig. 18), both recently acquired by the Getty Museum.

In *The Horse Stall,*[1] a dappled gray horse feeds at a manger in a stable with a hayrack overhead. Behind the horse a man rubs the animal down, while at the right a woman appears at a door. The tack and horse blanket hang from a post in the right foreground; a pitchfork, broom, pail, and other barnyard utensils complete the scene. With the horse arranged parallel to the picture plane, the composition has an almost relieflike quality. Gentle daylight illumination and subtle effects of atmosphere complement the scene's quiet mood. The palette of warm browns and grays is enlivened by color accents—the red of the woman's skirt, the man's cap, and sections of brick on the left-hand wall. The author of the most recent monograph on ter Borch, S. J. Gudlaugsson, has correctly observed the resemblance in technique to the artist's so-called *"Paternal Admonition,"* datable not later than 1655 (fig. 2), a work which employs the same male model in a different narrative context.[2] Thus the painting would seem to have been executed at the very beginning of ter Borch's mature career, a period from which he was to emerge as the most influential genre painter of the latter half of the seventeenth century.

Ter Borch was primarily a figure painter but had depicted horses in his earliest works. Born in Zwolle to a well-to-do family, he first studied with his father, who encouraged him to draw even as a child. A painting of a rider viewed from the rear (fig. 3) employs a theme and composition that ter Borch first addressed as an extraordinarily precocious seven-year-old in a drawing dated 1625 (Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet). Although treated by earlier artists, the motif of a figure in lost profile, or seen from behind, was to become a virtual trademark of ter Borch's art; *"The Paternal Admonition"* (fig. 2) is only the most famous of his several images employing this tantalizing device.

In 1634 ter Borch left his native Zwolle to move to Haarlem, a far more important artistic center, where he

Ir Hil Bos, Anthony Dent, Walter Liedtke, Otto Naumann, Jan de Vries, Franklin Loew, Clifford S. Ackley, and Myron Laskin are gratefully acknowledged for advising in the preparation of this article.

Abbreviations

Bartsch:	Adam von Bartsch, *The Illustrated Bartsch,* ed. Walter L. Strauss (New York, 1978–).
Gudlaugsson:	S. J. Gudlaugsson, *Gerard ter Borch* (The Hague, 1959–1960), 2 vols.
Hague/Münster:	Mauritshuis, The Hague, and Landesmuseum, Münster, *Gerard ter Borch,* ex. cat. (The Hague and Münster, 1974).
Hofstede de Groot:	C. Hofstede de Groot, *A Catalogue Raisonné of the Works of the Most Eminent Dutch Painters of the Seventeenth Century: Based on the Work of John Smith* (London, 1913), vol. 5, no. 464.

1. Oil on panel. H: 45.3 cm (17 13/16"); W: 53.5 cm (21 1/16"). Signed on the reverse of the panel with the monogram *GTB,* ligated in the artist's usual fashion. Accession number 86.PB.631. The literature is as follows: François Basan, *Tableaux du cabinet de M. Poullain* (Paris, 1780), no. 103. John Smith, *A Catalogue Raisonné of the Works of the Most Eminent Dutch, Flemish, and French Painters* (London, 1833), vol. 4, no. 21; G. Göthe, *Wånas Collection* (1895), no. 69; Charles Blanc, *Histoire des peintres de toutes les écoles: Ecole hollandaise* (Paris, 1863), vol. 1, p. 16; W. Martin, "Aanwinsten van het Mauritshuis," *Bulletin van den Nederlandschen Oudheidkundigen Bond* 1, ser. 2 (1909), p. 239; Olaf Granberg, *Inventaire général des trésors d'art en Suède* (Stockholm, 1912), no. 2, ill.; Hofstede de Groot, vol. 5, no. 464; Eduard Plietzsch, *Gerard ter Borch* (Vienna, 1944), no. 33, ill.; Gudlaugsson, vol. 1, p. 96, ill. p. 266, vol. 2, no. 109, pp. 115–116; Hague/Münster, no. 31, ill.; Horst Gerson "Gerard ter Borch," *Kunstchronik* 27 (1974), p. 375; B. Haak, *The Golden Age* (New York, 1984), p. 398, pl. 859; Philadelphia Museum of Art, Gemäldegalerie, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, West Berlin, and Royal Academy, London, *Masters of Seventeenth-Century Dutch Genre Painting,* ex. cat. (Philadelphia, 1984), p. 143, n. 1; Eric Young, "Old Master Paintings in the Collection of the Fellowship of Friends at Renaissance, California," *Apollo* 121, no. 280 (June 1985), pp. 375–376, pl. XI (color).

Exhibition: *Gerard Ter Borch,* Mauritshuis, The Hague, and Landesmuseum, Münster, 1974, no. 31.

2. Gudlaugsson, vol. 2, no. 110.

Figure 1. Gerard ter Borch (Dutch, 1617–1681). *The Horse Stall,* circa 1652–1654. Oil on panel. H: 45.3 cm (17 13/16″); W: 53.5 cm (21 1/16″). Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 86.PB.631.

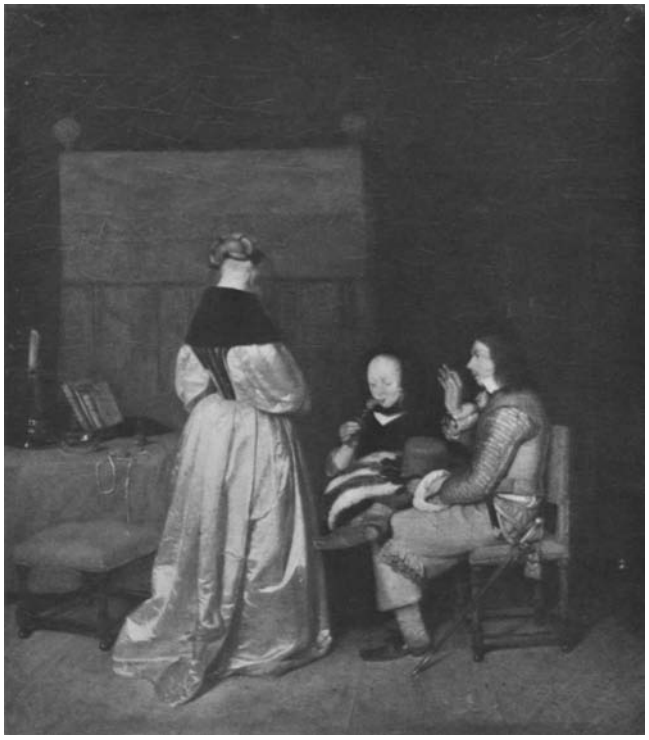

Figure 2. Gerard ter Borch (Dutch, 1617–1681). "*The Paternal Admonition,*" circa 1654–1655. Oil on canvas. H: 70 cm (27$^{9}/_{16}$"); W: 60 cm (23$^{5}/_{8}$"). West Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz no. 791.

Figure 3. Gerard ter Borch (Dutch, 1617–1681). *Rider Viewed from the Rear,* circa 1634. Oil on panel. H: 54.8 cm (21$^{9}/_{16}$"); W: 41.1 cm (16$^{3}/_{16}$"). Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, Juliana Cheney Edwards Collection, acc. no. 61.660. Photo: Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

studied with one of the city's leading landscapists, Pieter de Molyn (1595–1661). The influence of de Molyn and other Haarlem circle artists, especially Isack van Ostade (1621–1649), is detected in *The Peasant Horse Cart* (fig. 4), datable to the mid 1640s. While this work is still conceived entirely within the convention of the local peasant painting tradition, *The Horse Stall* incorporates aspects of the new and elegantly simplified high-genre style that ter Borch developed after circa 1650.

Ter Borch's career prospered during the latter half of the 1640s, and he was commissioned to paint equestrian portraits. His paintings of *Duke Henri de Longueville* of circa 1646/47 (fig. 5; formerly in the collection of the New-York Historical Society) and of *Archduke Karl Ludwig von der Pfalz* of 1649 (formerly in the Thyssen-Bornemisza collection, Lugano) closely conform to the international Baroque tradition of equestrian portraiture.[3] In both cases the noble subject is viewed on horseback with the steed turned in profile and rising on its hind legs in the *levade.* One of the most difficult positions in the art of equitation, this pose was not only a test of the rider's skill in controlling his mount but was also considered to be an attribute of certain command and leadership. Both paintings are notable for depicting foreign nobility. Although the tradition of the *ruiterportret* was a long and venerable one in the Netherlands,[4] the modest court in The Hague, unlike its grander counterparts elsewhere in absolutist Europe,

3. See respectively Gudlaugsson, vol. 2, nos. 50, 65. On the Baroque equestrian portrait, see D. J. Kok, *Wahrheit und Dichtung in den Reiter-und Pferdegemälden und Zeichnungen berühmter holländischer Maler* (Ph.D. diss., Universität Würzburg, 1923); H. Lützeler, "Auf Ikonologie des Pferdes in der barocken Kunst," in *Festschrift für Karl Lohmeyer* (Saarbrücken, 1954), pp. 118–124; U. Keller, *Reitermonumente absolutischer Fürsten* (Munich and Zurich, 1971); Museum of Fine Arts, Springfield, Mass., and J. B. Speed Art Museum, Louisville, Ky., *Glorious Horsemen: Equestrian Art in Europe 1500–1800,* (Springfield, Mass., 1981).

4. For a good introduction to equestrian portraiture in the Netherlands, see Fries Museum, Leeuwarden, Noordbrabants Museum, 's-Hertogenbosch, and Provinciaal Museum van Drenthe, Assen, *In het zadel: Het Nederlands ruiterportret van 1550 tot 1900* ('s-Hertogenbosch, 1980), with bibliography.

Figure 4. Gerard ter Borch (Dutch, 1617–1681). *The Peasant Horse Cart,* circa 1645. Oil on panel. H: 28 cm (11″); W: 38 cm (14 15/16″). Formerly Amsterdam, with the dealer W. Paech.

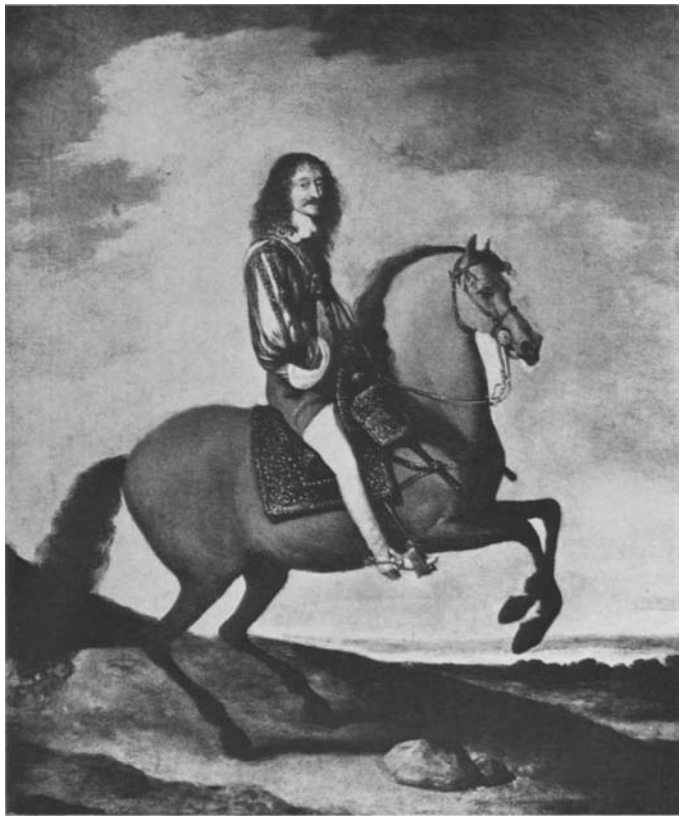

Figure 5. Gerard ter Borch (Dutch, 1617–1681). *Portrait of Duke Henri de Longueville,* circa 1646/47. Oil on canvas. H: 49 cm (19 5/16″); W: 41 cm (16 1/8″). Formerly New York, New-York Historical Society no. B-104 (cat. 1915).

included no elaborate riding school or extensive stables. While Chrispijn van de Passe might produce the engraved illustrations for Antoine de Pluvinel's *Le maneige royal* (Paris, 1623)—the most famous book on horsemanship of its day—virtually all the early literature on equitation and dressage was by Italian, French, or English authors.[5]

When ter Borch's *Horse Stall* (fig. 1) was sold in Amsterdam in 1771, it was said to portray the artist and his wife but was wrongly attributed to the painter Gabriel Metsu.[6] Gudlaugsson noted the resemblance of the woman in the doorway to the sitter in an unidentified portrait of circa 1654 by ter Borch in the J. Hage Foundation (Nivaa, Denmark); the same model was also evidently used in several of the artist's genre scenes from this period.[7] While Gudlaugsson left the possibility open that the woman could be ter Borch's wife, Geertruid Matthyss (1612–1672 or before), *The Horse Stall* is clearly a genre scene, with the implicit anonymity of that painting type. Obviously, the painting is also to be distinguished from other genres of painting involving horses, such as depictions of equitation, battle scenes, and anatomy studies.

Before turning to the work's precedents in the genre painting tradition, however, we should note its relationship to two other discrete equestrian pictorial types, namely the depiction of special breeds and types of horses and individual horse portraits. The forty engravings executed circa 1576–1579 by Adriaen Collaert, Hendrick Goltzius, Philips Galle, and Hieronymus Wiericx after the Flemish artist Jan van der Straet (Johannes Stradanus; 1523–1605) for the *Equile Ioannis Austriaci Caroli V. Imp. F.* (The royal stables of Don Juan of Austria) (fig. 6) depict horses of many types and regions—Spanish, Turkish, Danish, Tuscan, Campanian, and so forth (see fig. 7).[8] Later printmakers perpetuated this tradition but in the seventeenth century's more naturalistic idiom. A series of eight prints of common draft horses by Pieter van Laer (1599 or later–1642) attests to the seventeenth century's spirit of inquiry and

5. In addition to the writings of the classical author Xenophon, which were published in Italian (*Il modo del cavalcare,* 1580), see Leon Battista Alberti, *De equo animanto* (Basel, 1556); Federigo Grisone, *Gli ordini di cavalcare* (Naples, 1550); Cesare Fiaschi, *Trattato dell'imbrigliare, manggiare et ferrare cavalli* (Bologna, 1556); Alessandro Massari, *Compendio dell'heroica arte di cavallieria* (1600); Solomon La Broue, *Preceptes principaux que les bons cavalerises doivent exactement observer en leurs écoles* (1593); J. Tacquet, *Philippica, ou haras de chevaux* (Antwerp, 1614); G. de La Bistrate, *Le parfait cavalier* (Paris, 1616); Delcampe, *L'art de monter à cheval,* 2nd ed. (Paris 1633/34); T. Blundeville, *A New Booke Containing the Art of Rydinge and Breakinge Greate Horses* (London, 1560); and W. Cavendish, Duke of Newcastle, *La méthode nouvelle et invention extraordinaire de dresser les chevaux* (Antwerp, 1658).

Figure 6. Adriaen Collaert (Dutch, circa 1560–1618). Title page for *Equile Ioannis Austriaci Caroli V. Imp. F,* circa 1576–1579. Engraving. H: 20 cm (7 7/8"); W: 25.7 cm (10 1/8").

Figure 7. Philips Galle (Dutch, 1537–1612), after Johannes Stradanus (Jan van der Straet). *Turcus,* circa 1578. Engraving. H: 20.4 cm (8 1/16"); W: 26.2 cm (10 5/16").

factual observation; of no special breed or distinction, these animals are simply depicted in all their natural aspects and activities—standing, drinking, grazing, running, pissing, even dying (fig. 8).[9] However, still another series of five etchings of breeds of horses dated 1652 by the famous animal painter Paulus Potter (1625–1654) suggests that even the most factually exact of these works might carry an allegorical dimension.[10] A recent interpretation of the series has proposed that they embody the five progressive "Ages" of life.[11]

A painting dated 1603 in the Rijksmuseum (fig. 9) by Jacques de Gheyn II portrays a specific Spanish stallion captured from Mendoza by Lodewijk Gunther of Nassau and offered to Prins Maurits after the Battle of Flanders.[12] Led by a groom into a stable, the horse is depicted nearly life size. Paulus Potter's *Dappled Gray Horse* dated 1653 (fig. 10) is also depicted on a very large scale and is probably a horse portrait. Both of these paintings are vastly larger than the ter Borch, yet all

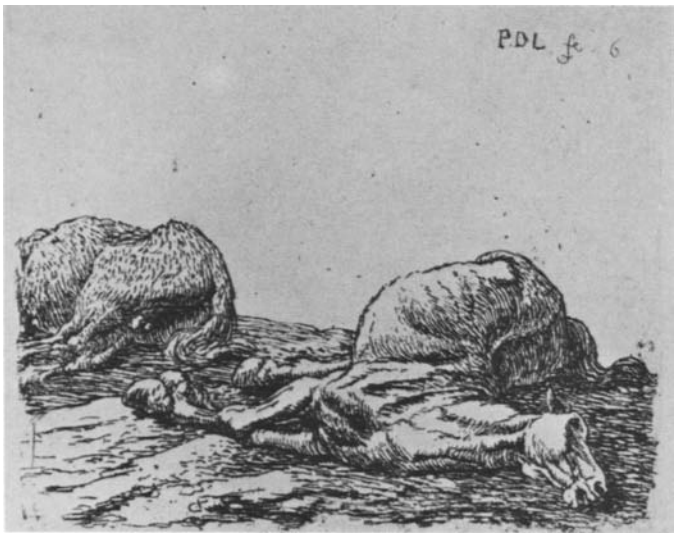

Figure 8. Pieter van Laer (Dutch, 1599 or later–1642). *Dead Horses,* before 1642. Etching. H: 8.4 cm (3 5/16"); W: 9.9 cm (3 7/8").

6. Sale (as Metsu), Amsterdam, August 14, 1771, lot 3, to Nyman, for Fl 300; Prince de Conti, Paris (sale, Paris, April 8–June 6, 1777, lot 832, to Lannoy, for Fr 400; M. Poullain, Receveur général des domaines du roi, Paris (sale, Paris, March 15–21, 1780, lot 41 (with an engraved reproduction by Mme Marguerite Ponce), to [Langlier], for Fr 2,400; Count G. A. Sparre, Sweden; by descent to Count G. Wachtmeister, Wånas, Sweden, 1980; [Edward Speelman, London, 1981]; Fellowship of Friends, Renaissance, California, 1981–1986.

7. Gudlaugsson, vol. 2, no. 108; cf. also the *Reading Lesson,* Paris, Louvre no. M.I. 1006; *Galant Conversation,* Schwerin, Gemäldegalerie, Staatliches Museum no. 242; *Lady at Her Toilette,* Dresden, Gemäldegalerie, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen no. 1830 (respectively, Gudlaugsson, vol. 2, nos. 98, 112, 113).

8. See Bartsch, vol. 3, nos. 290–293, pp. 312–325.

9. Bartsch, vol. 1, nos. 9–14, pp. 9–11.

10. Bartsch, vol 1, pp. 42–46.

11. J. Verbeek, "Paulus Potter (1625–1654), paarden: Ets," *Openbaar kunstbezit* 6 (1962), pp. 8a–b. However, Clifford S. Ackley (*Printmaking in the Age of Rembrandt,* ex. cat. [Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 1980], p. 211) rightly questions Verbeek's further assertion that the landscapes in these prints allude to the cycle of the seasons. Amy L. Walsh, "Imagery and Style in the Paintings of Paulus Potter," (Ph.D. Diss., Columbia University, 1985), p. 168, n. 34, also doubts Verbeek's theory.

12. I. Q. van Regteren Altena, *Jacques de Gheyn: Three Generations* (The Hague, 1983), no. 15, pl. 2.

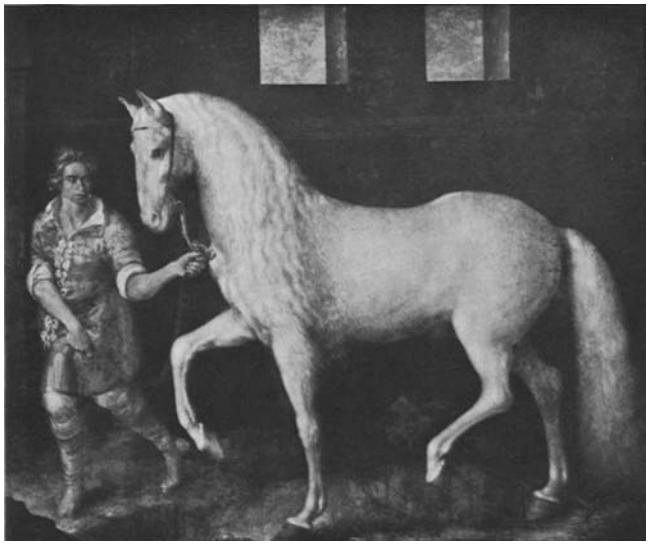

Figure 9. Jacques de Gheyn II (Dutch, 1565–1629). *Spanish Stallion,* 1603. Oil on canvas. H: 228 cm (89³/₄″); W: 269 cm (105¹⁵/₁₆″). Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum no. A4255. Photo: Courtesy Rijksmuseum, Asterdam.

Figure 10. Paulus Potter (Dutch, 1625–1654). *Dappled Gray Horse,* 1653. Oil on canvas. H: 155 cm (61″); W: 199 cm (78³/₈″). Hamburger Kunsthalle no. 331. Photo: Courtesy Hamburger Kunsthalle.

three works, as well as the majority of prints illustrating horse types, share the practice of depicting the horse in profile. This ancient convention enabled the artist to give the fullest possible pictorial account of the animal in a single image.[13] Thus it was favored not only for horse portraits and generic illustrations of horses but also for genre scenes, such as Hendrick Avercamp's early seventeenth-century pen drawing of a simple peasant standing behind his draft animal (fig. 11) or a painting, probably from the 1640s, by Pieter Cornelisz. Verbeeck (circa 1610–1654) depicting a more elegant riding horse (fig. 12). Unburdened of its saddle, which appears lying on the ground at the right, the latter horse is tethered before a darkened wall that enhances its light-colored coat. The Verbeeck is preserved in the Butôt collection, which owns an analogous, though somewhat later, painting by Dirck Stoop (circa 1610–1686) of another gray horse standing silhouetted in a dark grotto (fig. 13).[14] Aelbert Cuyp, his close follower Abraham van Calraet (see fig. 14), and Adriaen van de Velde (see *The Shoeing-Forge,* 1658; oil on panel; H: 28 cm [11″], W: 38 cm [14¹⁵/₁₆″]; Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen no. 1889) also painted stable scenes with dappled grays in these and following years.

In depicting an iron-gray, dappled horse, known as a *schimmel* or *appelschimmel* in Dutch, ter Borch stood within a popular tradition. Although Dutch hippology is still a limited field,[15] the native Gelderland breed today often appears with this color coat and traditionally has been used both for riding and light farm work. The modern Friesian breed, on the other hand, is always black, but it too appeared in lighter colors in former times. In the shape of its croup and head, ter Borch's horse also shares features with horses of oriental blood.[16] Systematic breeding of horses was not yet an established practice when this work was painted. The *Statens* of Friesland, for example, only defined by law the minimum height of a stud in 1663.[17] It seems likely, therefore, that ter Borch's horse is of mixed blood. Its stature is difficult to ascertain since the man behind it bends over slightly, but its withers are perhaps 1.5 meters high; thus, it is closer in size to a pony—what at this time the English, for riding purposes, called a *pad*—than a full-size horse. The height of the rack and

13. The profile motif, which also appears in sixteenth-century German model books for animals (see infra, note 44), had appeared in prints at least as early as Albrecht Dürer's *The Small Horse* engraving of 1505 (Hollstein, vol. 7, no. 93, p. 85). However, the suggestion under no. 35a in the Hague/Münster exhibition catalogue that Dürer's print was a direct source for the ter Borch ignores many intermediary images.

14. See Laurens K. Bol and George S. Keyes, *Netherlandish Paintings and Drawings from the Collection of F. C. Butôt* (London, 1983), nos. 14 and 13, respectively.

15. See W. G. A. van Leeuwen, *Geschiedenis van de Nederlandse paardenfokkerij* (Ph.D. diss., University of Utrecht, 1922).

16. I am grateful to Ir Hil Bos of the Zootechnical Department of the University of Utrecht for these observations.

17. See Jan de Vries, *The Dutch Rural Economy in the Golden Age* (New Haven and London, 1974), p. 143.

Figure 11. Hendrick Avercamp (Dutch, 1585–1634). *Peasant beside a Horse,* circa 1605–1610. Pen and wash drawing. H: 8.1 cm (3 3/16″); W: 10 cm (4″). Munich, Staatliche Graphische Sammlung inv. no. 1359.

Figure 13. Dirck Stoop (Dutch, circa 1610–1686). *A Gray Horse in a Grotto,* circa 1650–1660. Oil on panel. H: 52.5 cm (20 11/16″); W: 44 cm (17 5/16″). F. C. Butôt collection no. 13. Photo: Courtesy F. C. Butôt.

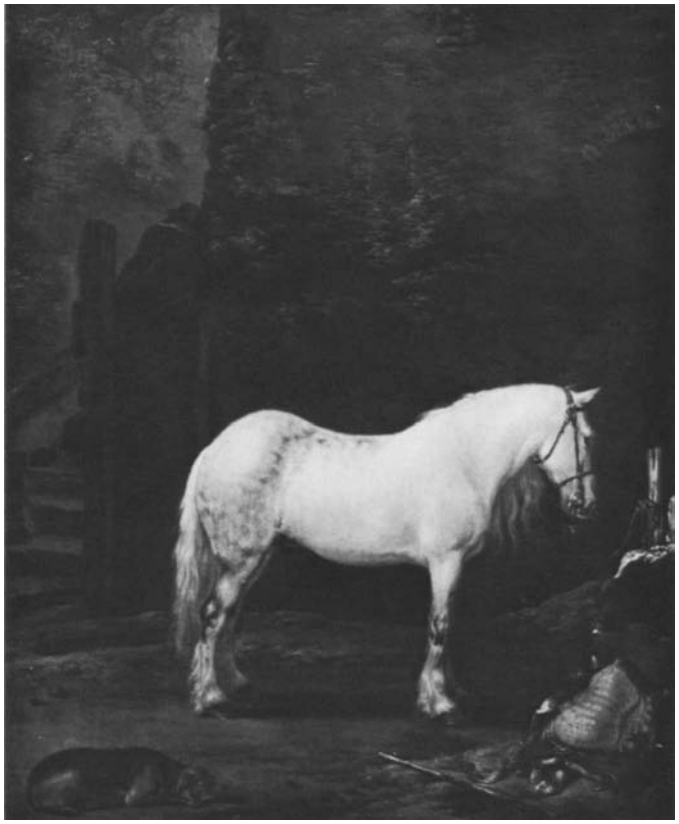

Figure 12. Pieter Cornelisz. Verbeeck (Dutch, circa 1610–1654). *A Gray Horse,* circa 1640s. Oil on panel. H: 38.5 cm (15 3/16″); W: 31 cm (12 3/16″). F. C. Butôt collection no. 14. Photo: Courtesy F. C. Butôt.

Figure 14. Abraham van Calraet (Dutch, 1642–1722). *Stable Interior with Two Dapple Grays,* circa 1675–1700. Oil on panel. H: 31.4 cm (12 3/8″); W: 40 cm (15 3/4″). Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen inv. no. 1395. Photo: Courtesy Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, Rotterdam.

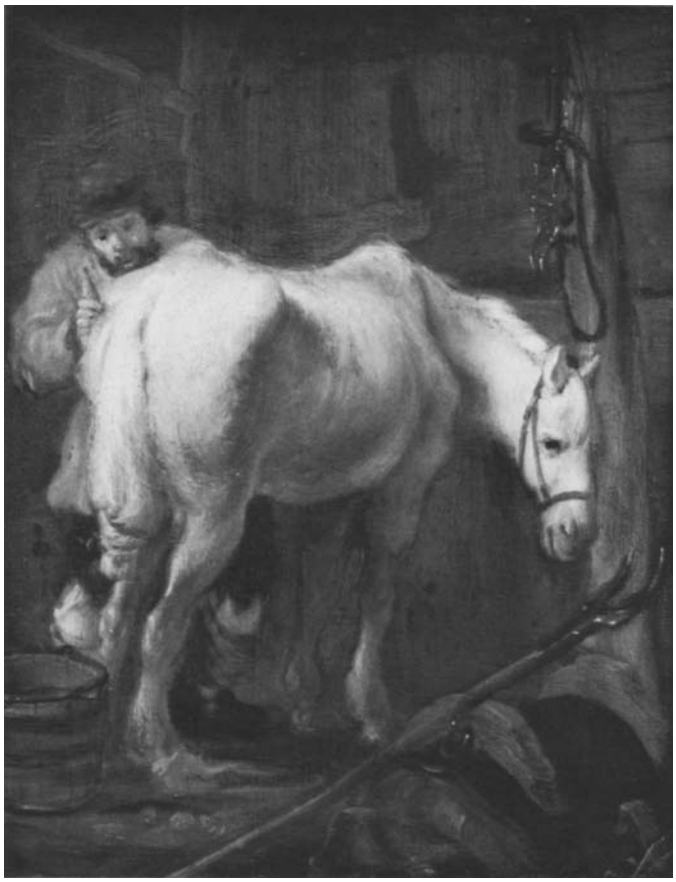

Figure 15. Attributed to Lambert Doomer (Dutch, 1624–1700). *Horse Stall,* circa 1645–1650. Oil on panel. H: 27 cm (10⅝″); W: 21.5 cm (8½″). The Hague, Museum Bredius inv. no. 212–1946.

manger also suggest that the stable might have been built for heavier, larger horses. Although in apparent good health, ter Borch's horse is smaller and slighter in build than the big troop horses encountered in battle scenes depicted by Philips Wouwermans. At this time the size of an army's chargers was still a crucial logistical factor in warfare. Big horses were bred, imported, and reserved for the cavalry, while smaller animals were turned over for civil use in transportation or in draft and pack on the farm. Obviously, ter Borch's little horse is well cared for—its mane and tail have been pulled (i.e., the hairs have been pulled out to a desired length), its coat brushed, and its hooves well trimmed and shod.

The man who curries the horse in ter Borch's painting has been assumed to be a groom or ostler. He has been called a *palfrenier* in the Poullain sale (1780), a groom by Smith (1833) and by Hofstede de Groot (1913), and a *Stallknecht* by Gudlaugsson (1960). While the livery worn by servants in ter Borch's genre scenes is often, at least in part, imaginary,[18] no professional equerry would wear footgear as unsuitable as backless slippers in a stable. To judge from other genre paintings of the period, the short-brimmed red cap and three-quarter-length trousers that the man wears could in fact be worn by middle-class gentlemen or even scholars.[19] The woman's pearl earring and gold chain also point to a higher social station than the servant class. The well-built stall and the fact that the stable apparently opens directly onto the house (note the woman's entrance) suggest a moderately well-to-do household, possibly similar to the enlarged farmhouse that appears in the background of the Potter (fig. 10). For those burghers who, though prosperous, could not afford the fashionable indulgence of a full-scale villa on the Vecht or Amstel, a converted farmhouse might serve as a very comfortable country home.

The ownership of a horse in the Dutch maritime provinces in the mid-seventeenth century was something of a privilege. Many farms had only one horse, and in the cities, coach ownership, which was taxed, was less common than elsewhere in Europe. The relatively minor role that arable agriculture requiring draft animals played in the Netherlands, coupled with the extensive use of canals for transportation, made the horse a less than central player in the workaday world of Holland. Moreover, keeping even a common horse was expensive. Estimates for the eighteenth century suggest, for example, that the feeding and maintenance of a horse of the type used to pull barges (*trekschuiten*) cost nearly 300 guilders per year, an amount roughly equal to the annual earnings of a skilled worker.[20] The abundant hayrack and tidy stable enjoyed by ter Borch's well-fed steed clearly contrast with the surroundings of Lambert Doomer's working-class nag (fig. 15).

18. See, for example, the page's attire in *Lady at Her Toilet,* Detroit Institute of Arts no. 65.10; Gudlauggson, vol. 2, no. 165.

19. Compare, for example, the costumes in Cornelis de Man's *Geographers* (Hamburg, Kunsthalle no. 239) and *The Goldweigher* (Montreal, private collection; see *Masters of Seventeenth-Century Dutch Genre Painting* [supra, note 1], no. 69).

20. Private communication from Professor Jan de Vries, University of California, Berkeley.

21. See Hofstede de Groot, no. 464.

22. Hague/Münster, no. 31, p. 124.

23. See Nicolaus Taurellus, *Emblemata/Physico-/Ethica* (Nuremberg, 1602), no. 6, "UT LENIS CICURAT MANUS"; and Diego de Soavedra Fajardo, *Idea/de un Principe Politico/Christiano* (Munich, 1640), no. 38, "CON HALAGO I CON RIGOR"; see A. Henkel and A. Schöne, *Emblemata* (Stuttgart, 1967), cols. 503–504.

24. See R. Hindringer, "Der Schimmel als Heiligenattribuut," *Oberdeutsches Zeitschrift für Volkskunde* 5 (1931), pp. 9ff.

25. Oil on panel. H: 47.7 cm (18¾″); W: 50.2 cm (19¾″). Signed with a monogram. Accession number 83.PB.232. The literature is as follows: W. Martin, "Aanwinsten van het Mauritshuis," *Bulletin van*

Figure 16. Philips Wouwermans (Dutch, 1619–1668). *Horse Stable,* circa 1645–1650. Oil on panel. H: 37 cm (14 9/16″); W: 49.5 cm (19 1/2″). Frankfurt am Main, Städelsches Kunstinstitut no. 313.

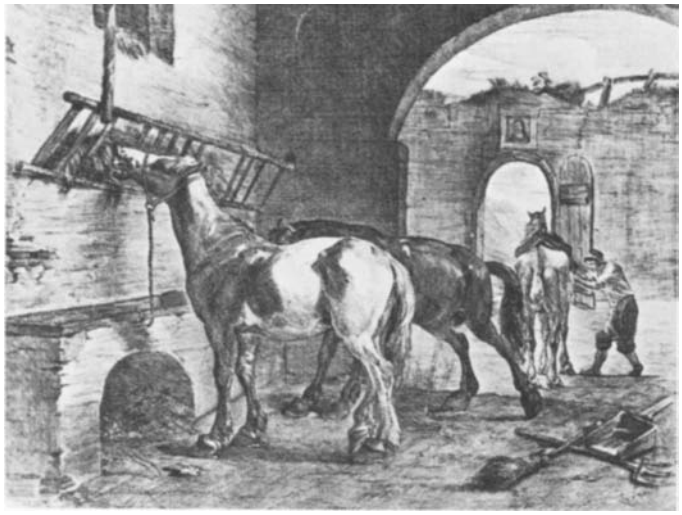

Figure 17. Cornelis Visscher (Dutch, 1619–1662), after Pieter van Laer. *Horse Stable,* circa 1640. Engraving. H: 29.5 cm (11 5/8″); W: 39 cm (15 3/8″).

Thus, while Hofstede de Groot might distinguish ter Borch's painting and his approximately contemporary depiction of a modest *Stonegrinder's Family in a Courtyard* (West Berlin, Gemäldegalerie, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz no. 793)[21] from the master's more socially elevated, high-life subjects, *The Horse Stall* also differs from the guardroom and peasant painting traditions of depicting stables and barns. Earlier practitioners of the peasant painting type—Herman and Cornelis Saftleven, the Ostades, Govert Camphuysen, Pieter de Bloot, and Egbert van der Poel—all placed more emphasis on interior space and underscored the figures' connections with the rural peasantry. Gudlaugsson rightly noted more compositional analogies with the contemporaneous stable scenes of Philips Wouwermans (fig. 16). Cornelis Visscher's earlier prints after van Laer's stable scenes also reveal formal parallels and similar motifs (fig. 17).

In interpreting *The Horse Stall,* the authors of the catalogue of the 1974 ter Borch exhibition cited Heinrich Hövel's bestiary, *Neuwer wunderbarlicher Thiergarten* (Frankfurt, 1601), p. 134, which quotes Seneca: "Non faciunt meliorem equum aurei freni." This phrase expresses the notion that a golden harness cannot make a horse nobler than he is by nature. The catalogue thus concluded that ter Borch's horse, whose natural sheen is enhanced by brushing, is "a sign of nobility and beauty, [and] an exhortation to modesty."[22] This interpretation ignores obvious discrepancies between the image and the symbol; to name but one, the harness hanging from the post is steel not gold. Some emblems from this period liken the stroking or grooming of a horse to the mitigated control required in the exercise of power.[23] It seems unlikely, however, that ter Borch's lovely scene of equine domesticity encodes a hectoring moral lesson or some recondite allegory of good government. We also probably need not delve into the *schimmel*'s historic role in hagiography to discover ter Borch's purpose.[24]

The Horse Stall is more profitably considered in the larger context of ter Borch's art and specifically in relation to *The Cow Shed* (fig. 18), also recently acquired by the J. Paul Getty Museum.[25] Eduard Plietzsch was the first to hypothesize that these two paintings were companion pieces. His theory won Gudlaugsson's support

den Nederlandschen Oudheidkundigen Bond 1, ser. 2 (1909), p. 239; Hofstede de Groot, vol. 5, no. 463; Plietzsch (supra, note 1), no. 32, pp. 13–14, 52, fig. 32; Gudlaugsson, vol. 1, pp. 75–76, vol. 2, no. 74, p. 94; The J. Paul Getty Museum, "Acquisitions/1983," *The J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 12 (1984), p. 311; Burton B. Fredericksen, "Recent Acquisitions of Paintings: The J. Paul Getty Museum," *Burlington Magazine* 127, no. 985 (1985), p. 265.

Provenance: Samuel van Huls, The Hague (sale, The Hague, September 3, 1737, lot 87, to W. Lormier, The Hague); W. Lormier (sale, The Hague, November 10, 1756, lot 298, to Prince "Galensin" [Galitzin], Saint Petersburg); Dr. Paul van Delaroff, Saint Petersburg, 1908; [Dr. A. K. K. W. Erasmus, Aerdenhout]; Frau Bertha Krupp von Bohlen und Halbach, Essen, by 1953; Dr. A. Krupp von Bohlen und Halbach, Essen; Waldtraut Thomas (né von Bohlen und Halbach); sale, Christie's, London, December 11, 1981, lot 119 (property of two sisters), withdrawn; [Edward Speelman, Ltd., London, 1983].

Exhibitions: Mauritshuis, The Hague, 1908–1912 (on loan); Villa Hügel, Essen, 1953, no. 14; *Aus der Gemäldesammlung der Familie Krupp,* Villa Hügel, Essen, 1965, no. 7; *Gerard Ter Borch,* Mauritshuis, The Hague, and Landesmuseum Münster, 1974, no. 18.

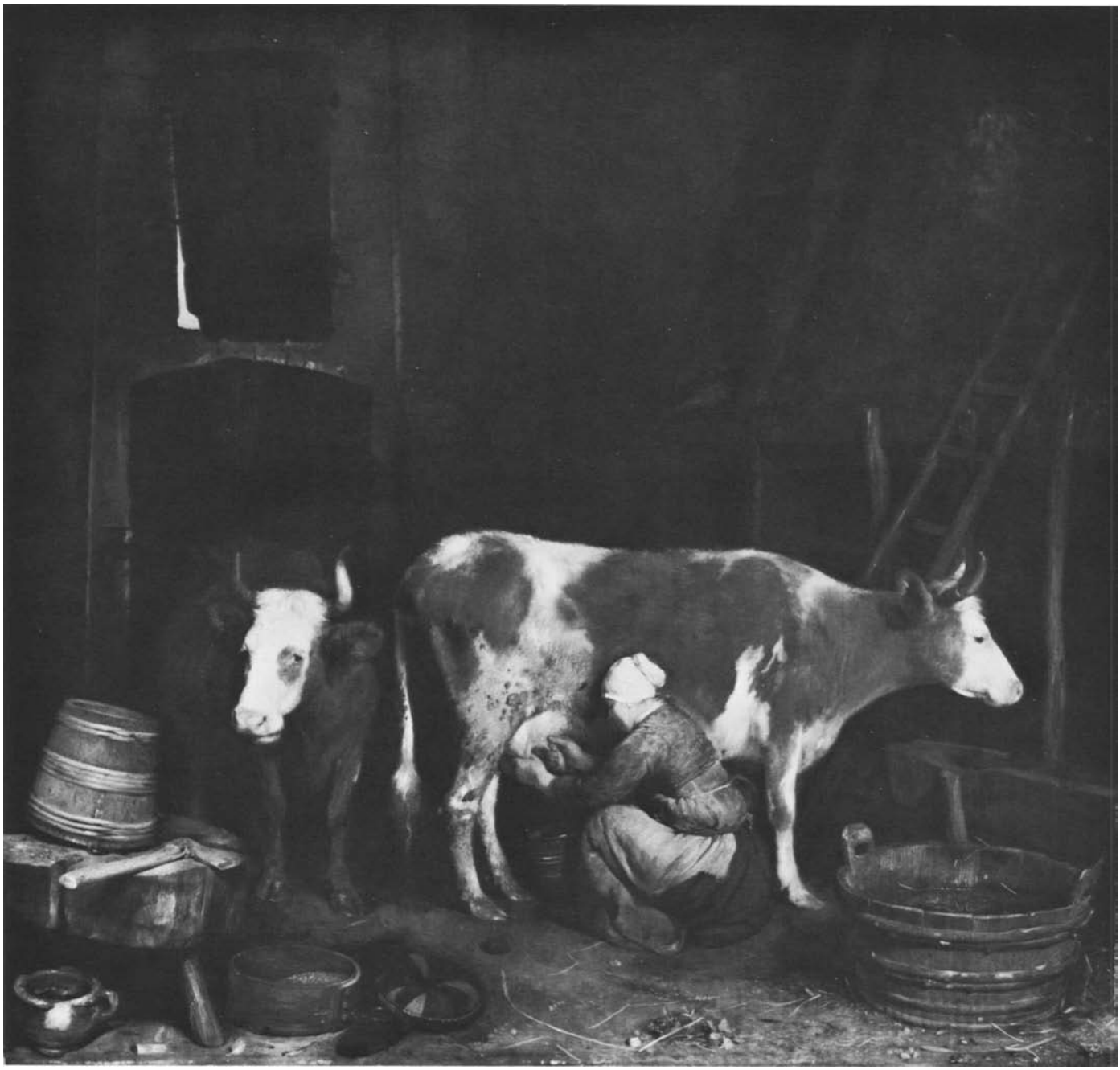

Figure 18. Gerard ter Borch (Dutch, 1617–1681). *The Cow Shed,* circa 1652–1654. Oil on panel. H: 47.7 cm (18¾″); W: 50.2 cm (19¾″). Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 83.PB.232.

despite the fact that the works have different provenances and seem to have been painted at different times; Gudlaugsson believed that *The Cow Shed,* on stylistic grounds, should predate *The Horse Stall* by several years, dating "shortly after 1650." The fact, however, that the two panel supports are complete (the original beveling on the reverse is intact) but differ in their dimensions by approximately three centimeters, as well as in make up (the grain runs vertically in *The Cow Shed,* horizontally in *The Horse Stall*), virtually eliminates the possibility that they were designed as pendants. Though not properly speaking companion pieces, they nonetheless complement one another in theme and design. In both paintings an animal in profile is tended by a figure in a shadowed interior. In *The Cow Shed* the milkmaid squats to milk one cow as a second stands stolidly to one side. Barnyard utensils again complete the scene—a trough, watering tub, milking cushion, fodder sieve, chamber pot, wooden bucket, ax, and chopping block. *The Horse Stall* might evoke a more socially elevated setting, but its tone is the same. A still and subdued mood prevails in *The Cow Shed,* "no other sound than the spattering of the milk and the heavy breathing of the beasts."[26]

Ter Borch's healthy cows remind us of the advances that were made in animal husbandry at this time in the Netherlands. The Dutch control of the Baltic grain trade freed the country's farmers from the burden of feeding their cities' burgeoning populations, enabling them to turn to more profitable pursuits, such as industrial and horticultural crops, cattle breeding, and dairy farming. Improved drainage and systematic fertilization of pasturage, as well as better fodder, such as oil cakes (pressed pulp of rape and cole seed), contributed to the increased weight and size of Dutch cattle. The milk production of cows in the provinces of Holland and Friesland was renowned, easily exceeding the yield of English and German cows.[27] Like many foreigners before him, Czar Peter the Great purchased Dutch cattle for breeding purposes in 1725. The Dutch themselves did not hesitate to boast about the commercial value of their cattle.[28]

Quite naturally, they associated cows with prosperity. In the visual arts as well as in literature, this lowly animal became a symbol of fecundity, indeed of *Hol-*

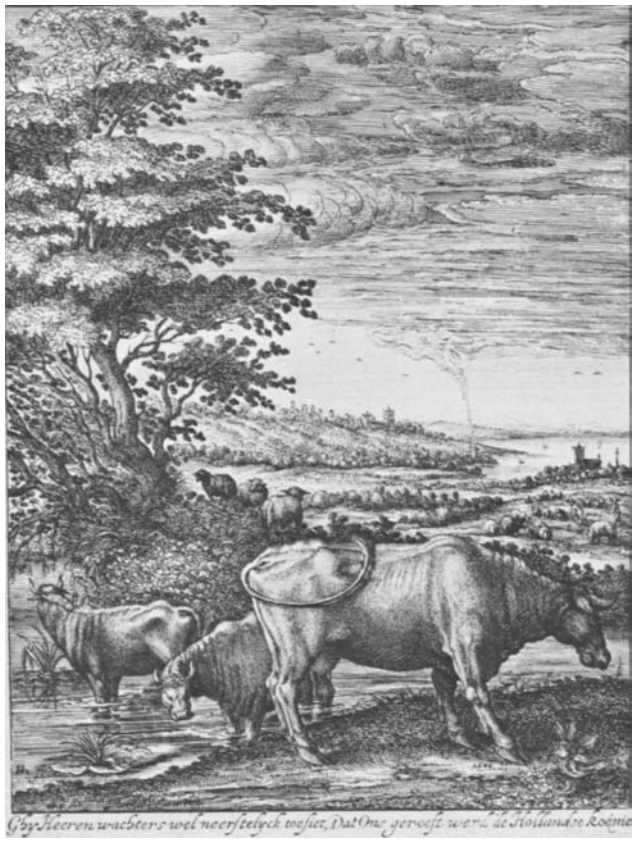

Figure 19. Hendrick Hondius (Dutch, 1573–1650). *Allegorical Print on Dutch Prosperity,* 1644. Etching. H: 20.6 cm (8 1/8″); W: 15.7 cm (6 3/16″). Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum A14229. Photo: Courtesy Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

Figure 20. English school. *The Milk Cow: Satire on the Exploitation of the Netherlands by the Prince of Orange,* circa 1585. Oil on panel. H: 52 cm (20 7/16″); W: 67 cm (26 3/8″). Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum no. A2684.

26. Gudlaugsson, vol. 1, p. 75.

27. On livestock husbandry and the milk production of Dutch cows, see G. J. Hengeveld, *Het rundvee* (Haarlem, 1865–1870), 2 vols., and de Vries (supra, note 17), pp. 143–144, with additional literature.

28. See, for example, Kaerle Stevens and Jan Libaut, *De veltbouw* (Amsterdam, 1622), and Wouter van Gouthoeven, *D'oude chronijcke end historien van Holland* (The Hague, 1636).

Figure 21. Jan van de Velde (Dutch, circa 1593–1641). *The White Cow*, 1622. Etching and engraving. H: 17.1 cm (6¾″); W: 22.7 cm (8¹⁵⁄₁₆″). Amsterdam Rijksmuseum FK409.

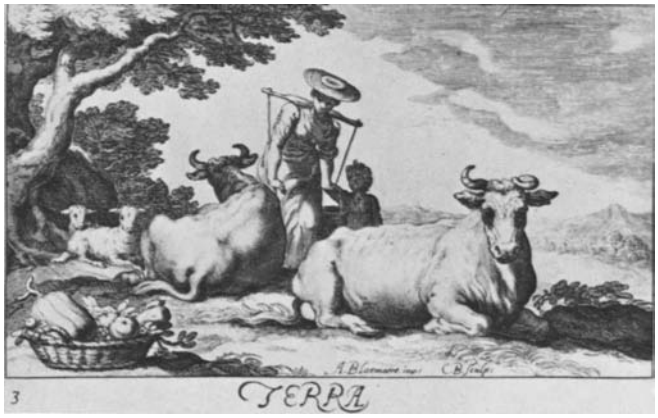

Figure 22. Cornelis Bloemaert (Dutch, 1603–1684), after Abraham Bloemaert. *Terra* (Earth). Etching. H: 9.5 cm (3¾″); W: 14.9 cm (5⅞″). Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum. Photo: Courtesy Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

lands welvaren, the well being of the Dutch nation itself.[29] So thoroughly had these associations entered the popular imagination that one of a series of five political prints of 1644 by Hendrick Hondius, which depicts a pair of large, sturdy cows grazing beside a river before a lush landscape (fig. 19), carries the inscription in Dutch: *Ghy Heeren wachters wel neerstelyck toesiet, Dat Ons gerooft werd' de Hollandse koe niet* (watchmen be vigilant that the Dutch cow is not stolen) as an admonition against a hasty and unprofitable peace treaty with Spain. When this treaty was finally concluded at Münster in 1648, the poet and playwright Samuel Coster presented a play on the peace treaty in which, as he described the action, the "Ruling States of Holland, like the hundred eyed Argus" watching over the cow Io, must sleep no more but forever play the watchful guardian of "the cow (that is her own agreeable Fatherland)."[30] Even outside the country, the political association of the cow with the Dutch nation's prosperity was codified as early as the late sixteenth century. An anonymous English painting of circa 1585 satirized the country's exploitation by the prince of Orange with a brutalized milk cow (fig. 20).[31]

29. The first to discuss the political symbolism of the Dutch cow was H. van de Waal, *Drie eeuwen vaderlandsche geschied-uitbeelding 1500–1800* (The Hague, 1952), vol. 1, pp. 21–22. For a whole range of different meanings and associations for the cow, see Alison Kettering "The Batavian Arcadia: Pastoral Themes in 17th Century Dutch Art" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1979); Joneath Spicer, " 'De koe voor d'aerde statt': The Origins of the Dutch Cattle Piece," in *Essays in Northern European Art Presented to Egbert Haverkamp-Begemann on His Sixtieth Birthday* (Doornspijk, 1983); A. Walsh (supra, note 11); and Alan Chong in Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, *Masters of Seventeenth Century Dutch Landscape Painting* (Amsterdam, 1987), no. 21.

30. See van de Waal (supra, note 29), vol. 1, p. 22, n. 2: "Samuel Coster, Verklaringh van de ses eerste vertoningen, gedaen binnen Amsterdam . . . 5 Junij 1648."

31. The Rijksmuseum's painting is inscribed "Not longe time since I sawe a cowe/ did Flaunders represente/ upon whose backe Kinge Phillip rode/ as being malecontnt./ The Queene of England giving hay/ whereon the cow did feede/ as one that was her greatest helpe/ in her distresse and neede./ The Prince of Orange milkt the cow and made his purse the payle./ The cow did shyt in monsieurs hand/ while hie did hold her tayle." See also Jan Tengnagel's, *Allegory of the Netherlands* (Delft, Stedelijk Museum "Het Prinsenhof"). For further discussion of the cow's political associations, see A. Walsh (supra, note 11), p. 343ff, and Chong (supra, note 29), no. 21, n. 9.

32. Van der Kellen, no. 409, dedicated to Jodocus (Joos) Vergraft. The Latin verses (as translated by Irene de Groot in *Landscape Etchings by the Dutch Masters of the Seventeenth Century* [Amsterdam, 1979], p. 69) read: "The night is hardly gone before this industrious countryman leaves for town with goats and a cow. . . . The heavy work is light for him as long as he comes home later loaded down with the money he has earned." The group of animals and peasant couple are based on a drawing by Willem Buytewech (Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum).

33. See Spicer (supra, note 29), pp. 251–256; and A. Walsh (supra, note 11), p. 249ff.

34. *Het schilder-boeck* (Haarlem, 1604), fig. 125.

35. A. Walsh (supra, note 11), p. 239. In her excellent study of Potter's art as it relates to Dutch attitudes toward country life, Walsh relates these notions to neo-stoicism and seventeenth-century Dutch literature, including arcadian poetry and the tradition of *hofdichten* (country house poems).

36. Bartsch, vol. 7, no. 158. This work has been interpreted erotically by Leo Wuyt ("Lucas van Leyden's *Melkmeid,* een proeve tot ikonologische interpretatie," *De gulden passer* 52–53 [1974–1975], pp. 441–453), and J. P. Filedt Kok (in *Lucas van Leyden [1489 of*

By virtue of its associations with fertility and in recognition of the cattle drives that were held in the spring, the cow was also a vernal symbol in a series of landscape etchings of the seasons by Jan van de Velde or Gillis van Scheyndel after Willem Buytewech (see *Ver:* Franken-van der Kellen, no. 518). As an emblem of rural bounty (see fig. 21),[32] the cow also embodied Earth in print series by among others Cornelis Bloemaert, after Abraham Bloemaert (fig. 22), on the Four Elements.[33] Affirming these ideas, van Mander stated in his *Wtbeeldinghen der figueren:* "De Koe voor d'aerde [statt]" (the cow represents the earth).[34] More general was the Dutchmen's sense of the contented cow as a metaphor of freedom, security, and the tranquility of living life in accord with nature.[35]

The ample history of bovine imagery can be traced at least as far back as Lucas van Leyden's engraving of 1510 called *The Milkmaid.*[36] Another milestone in this tradition is Rubens' *Dairy Farm at Laeken* (London, Buckingham Palace, H. M. The Queen's Collection) of circa 1620, which again alludes to the earth's fertility with a scene of cattle and milkmaids.[37] Immediately preceding ter Borch's painting in date and anticipating aspects of its composition is Aelbert Cuyp's early *Cow Shed* of circa 1645–1650 (fig. 23).[38] Still another predecessor is Paulus Potter's famous *Young Bull* of 1647 (The Hague, Mauritshuis inv. no. 136). Though very different in conception, Potter's huge canvas, the related "portraits" of prize steers and bulls,[39] and Cuyp's many landscapes with fat cows grazing placidly in the sun express the Dutchman's pride in his animal husbandry no less clearly than ter Borch's *Cow Shed.* By the same token, *The Horse Stall* offers a comforting image of Dutch

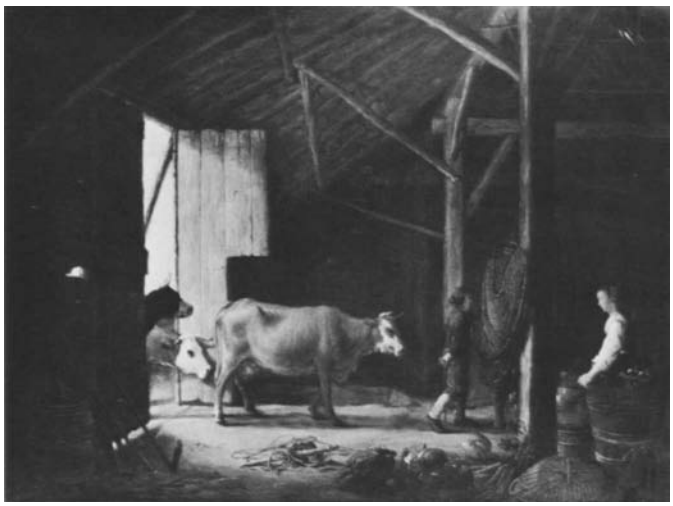

Figure 23. Aelbert Cuyp (Dutch, 1620–1692). *Cow Shed,* circa 1645–1650. Oil on panel. H: 77 cm (30 5/16"); W: 107 cm (42 1/8"). Stockholm, Nationalmuseum no. NM 4441.

livestock, no less positive in its fashion, than Salomon van Ruysdael's several paintings of the excited spectacle of the famous Valkenburg horse fair.[40]

The fact, however, that ter Borch selected these subjects for his two most exceptional and ambitious animal paintings is probably not fortuitous.[41] Beyond acknowledging the creatures' natural barnyard complementarity, the paintings may tell us something about ter Borch's concept of the artist. The ninth chapter of Karel van Mander's *Den grondt der edel vry schilder-const* (The foundation of the noble art of painting) in *Het schilder-boeck* (Haarlem, 1604) is titled "Van beesten/dieren/en voghels" (Of beasts/animals/and birds).[42] He begins this

1494–1533]—grafiek, ex. cat. [Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet, 1978], pp. 31–32, fig. 21). The basis of these erotic interpretations are the connotations of the verb *melken* (to milk) which in the sixteenth century could also mean "to lure" *(lokken).* In the absence, however, of Lucas' hulking farm boy or any other companion for ter Borch's earnest and purposeful milkmaid, there scarcely seems reason to assign sexual connotations to her work.

37. See Spicer's interpretation of the work as an "allegory of Earth's fecundity" (supra, note 29, p. 254).

38. See Stephen Reiss, *Aelbert Cuyp* (Boston, 1975), no. 65, p. 100, ill., and compare also no. 66. The stable scenes of Cornelis Beelt (circa 1630–1702) also resemble these works.

39. See the anonymous *Portrait of a Prize Steer,* 1564, Amsterdams Historisch Museum inv. no. A3016, and *Portrait of a White Bull,* by a follower of Paulus Potter, Dublin, National Gallery of Ireland (Homan Potterton, *Dutch Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century Paintings in the National Gallery of Ireland* [Dublin, 1986], no. 56, pp. 116–118, fig. 127). For a discussion of the tradition, see the entry on Potter's *Young Bull* by Ben Broos in the catalogue of an exhibition held at the Grand Palais, Paris, *De Rembrandt à Vermeer: Les peintres hollandais au Mauritshuis de La Haye,* ex. cat. (The Hague, 1986).

40. See Wolfgang Stechow, *Salomon van Ruysdael,* 2nd ed. (Berlin, 1975), nos. 136A (dated 1626), 137 (Leiden, Stedelijk Museum de Lakenhal no. 823, dated 1633), 138A (Prague, Národni Galeri no. 494, dated 1643), and 136 (dated 1643). See also Adriaen van de Venne's *Prince Maurits and Frederik Hendrik Visiting the Horse Fair at Valkenburg,* dated 1618, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum no. A674. On the horse market at Valkenburg, see E. Pelinck, "De paardenmaarkt te Valkenburg." *Leids jaarboekje* 50 (1958), p. 83ff; and Annette Hoogendoorn, in *Kunsthistorische mededelingen* (1947), vol. 2, pp. 38–40. Pieter Wouwermans' depiction of the horse market in Delft, circa 1670, is in the Stedelijk Museum "Het Prinsenhof," Delft.

41. Analogous images of cows and horses often appear together in print series by, among others, Pieter van Laer and Paulus Potter, but pendant paintings are only known from sales references and are hence unverified. See, for example, sale, Gaillard de Gagney, Paris, May 29, 1762, lots 20 and 21 (Hofstede de Groot [Potter], nos. 29 and 317). Smith's claim ([supra, note 1], vol. 5 [Potter], under no. 87) that the *Horse Stable* of 1647 by Potter in the Philadelphia Museum of Art (no. E'24-3-17) is the pendant of the painting of *Cattle and Sheep in a Stormy Landscape,* London, National Gallery no. 2583, has no basis; the works differ in design and early history. A. Walsh concluded that Potter never painted pendants (supra, note 11), p. 276.

42. See, for a translation into modern Dutch and for commentary, Hessel Miedema, *Karel van Mander: Den grondt der edel vry schilder-const* (Utrecht, 1973) vol. 1, pp. 218–235; vol. 2, pp. 558–569.

section of his didactic poem for artists by assuring his readers that a great "all around" (*universael*) painter must master animal subjects, as well as (and here we infer from the larger context of the *leerdicht*) the painting of landscape, discussed in the previous chapter, and drapery, which is taken up in the following section. For van Mander, animal painting is a discrete painting type and discipline, albeit one at the service of the painting of the human figure, traditionally the artist's noblest calling. The two animals that he recommends for artistic study, and to which he devotes virtually his entire chapter, are not exotic or iconographically charged creatures, such as the lion or the elephant, but the preeminent *tamme beesten* (domestic animals), the horse and the cow.[43] With his customary appeal to classical precedents, van Mander refers to famous horses of antiquity to praise the animal's nobility, bravery, and loyalty (chap. 9, 4–5). He alludes to systems for drawing horses from a series of circles and to artists who make careful measurements of animals, but he has little sympathy for those who rely too much on the caliper and measuring stick (chap. 9, 8–9).[44] Rejecting any rules for ideal equestrian proportions, van Mander exhorts young artists to study the outward physical appearance of horses, their movements, types, coloration (including *schoon appelgrau*), and the way in which the light plays on their coats (chap. 9, 10–17). In stressing the need to observe even such details as a horse's lather and spit, van Mander digresses on the possibility of profiting from accidental effects in art (chap. 9, 17–23). To illustrate how effective classical painters were in achieving the goal of the illusion of reality, he recounts Pliny's tale of Apelles, the greatest painter of antiquity, turning the judgment of his painting of a horse and the work of a jealous rival over to the animals themselves (chap. 9, 24–25). When brought before actual horses, the rival's work elicited no response, but Apelles' painting made the live steeds snort and whinny. According to van Mander, the classical artist's success was based on exhaustive research, even to the point of using horse cadavers (chap. 9, 28).

Turning to cattle, the author again stresses the need for careful observation, enumerating physical attributes (bearing, expression, coloring, and details like the length of horns and shape of ears) that serve to distinguish a cow from a bull or ox. Once more, classical precedents are cited, including Pausias' ability to paint cattle not only in profile but also foreshortened (chap. 9, 37–38); the celebrated Farnese bull; and the case of the great Myron's masterpiece, a statue of a cow in the marketplace at Athens. Van Mander even offers his own translation of a dozen of the thirty-six epigrams famously devoted to this statue and preserved in the *Anthologia Graeca*. But his ultimate purpose in all this display of erudition is simply to confirm "datter niet beter en is, als alle dinghen nae t'leven te schilderen" (that there is nothing better than to paint all things from life [chap. 9, 47]).

Still the most important and influential art treatise in Dutch during ter Borch's lifetime, van Mander's *Schilder-boeck* could scarcely have escaped the painter's attention. Though not van Mander's ideal history painter, ter Borch was a devoted painter of the human figure. By painting a pair of domestic animals, he departed from his customary genre themes and portraits, but in so doing, he fulfilled van Mander's prescriptions for the "all around" artist by painting precisely those subjects in the very naturalistic style recommended by the theorist. However, the real triumph of ter Borch's paintings is the complete absence of any appearance of theoretical or methodological illustration. As in the greatest of the painter's domestic genre scenes, his animal companions are subjects at once common and monumental, momentary and timeless, conceived with a compelling simplicity and truth to life.

Museum of Fine Arts
Boston

43. Van Mander, *Grondt*, chapter 9, verse 3: "Aen tamme Beesten moghen wy aenveerden/ Onderwysich begin te desen Stonden/ Eerst aen t'edelste der Vee/ groot van weerden/ Dats aen de behulpsaem moedighe Peerden" (We begin this instruction with domestic animals. First, the noblest of livestock, highly valued [animals], the obliging, brave horses).

44. Miedema (supra, note 42), vol. 2, p. 561, suggests that the traditional formulae for designing the forms of horses from circles descends from German model books by Heinrich Lautensack (1564) and Sebald Beham (1582).

The Blessed Bernard Tolomei Interceding for the Cessation of the Plague in Siena: A Rediscovered Painting by Giuseppe Maria Crespi

John T. Spike

During the plague of 1348, known to history as the Black Death, the Blessed Bernard Tolomei, who had founded a congregation of Benedictine monks at Monte Oliveto, forsook the sanctuary of his monastery and returned to his native Siena to offer whatever relief he could. At first it seemed that the courageous Olivetans in their white habits would be miraculously spared from the pestilence that raged all about them. Soon enough, however, this hope of immunity was proved to be vain; one of the first monks to give up his life was their venerated abbot, Bernard Tolomei, who was later beatified.[1]

The heroic, if tragic, last days in Bernard Tolomei's lifetime of good works are the subject of a painting recently acquired by the J. Paul Getty Museum, *The Blessed Bernard Tolomei Interceding for the Cessation of the Plague in Siena* by Giuseppe Maria Crespi (fig. 1).[2] Nicknamed *Il Spagnuolo* because of his sober "Spanish" style of dress, the Bolognese Crespi (1665–1747) was one of the most independent and creative personalities in eighteenth-century Italian painting.[3] Alone among his contemporaries, Crespi could interpret the pathos in a story such as that of Bernard Tolomei with a depth and gravity of expression unequaled in eighteenth-century art prior to Goya.

The Getty Museum's recent acquisition exemplifies the drama, immediacy, and technical bravura of Crespi's art. The work is a major rediscovery for his oeuvre as well. I propose to identify this *Blessed Bernard Tolomei* with a painting that, notwithstanding its small dimensions, was repeatedly singled out for praise by Crespi's eighteenth-century biographers but remained untraced for two centuries.

The combined testimonies of Crespi's contemporaries inform us that in about 1735 the artist executed a commission for an Olivetan abbot in Florence. The assignment was for a pair of Olivetan subjects: *The Blessed Bernard Tolomei Interceding for the Cessation of the Plague in Siena* and a pendant of *Saint Francesca Romana Placing the Infant Christ in the Arms of Her Confessor.* Prior to the reappearance of the Getty Museum's *Blessed Bernard Tolomei* on copper, its composition had already been known through the existence of several workshop canvases, none of which could claim to be autograph works from Crespi's own brush (fig. 2).[4] The most interesting of these workshop variants is a canvas in the

1. Born Giovanni di Mino Tolomei in Siena in 1272, Bernard Tolomei (his monastic name) and two other Sienese nobles, Patrizio Patrizi and Ambrogio Piccolomini (one of whom may be indicated as Tolomei's companion in Crespi's painting), founded a monastery at Monte Oliveto under the rule of Saint Benedict. As the Benedictine rule does not prescribe the color of the monastic dress, the Olivetans and the Camaldolesi wear white habits; the all-black habits of the Vallombrosiani Benedictines are perhaps the most familiar. The best available biography of Bernard Tolomei is in the *Bibliotheca sanctorum* (Rome, 1969), vol. 12, s.v.

Bernard is frequently styled as *Saint* Bernard Tolomei, which is inaccurate as he has not been canonized by the Roman Catholic church. His recognition as *beato,* or blessed, was already well established by tradition when in 1644 his cult was formally recognized by papal decree. In 1680 Rome established his feast day as August 21 and approved the texts for the Office and Mass for this observance.

2. Oil on copper. H: 42.7 cm ($16^{13}/_{16}$"); W: 66.6 cm ($26^{1}/_{4}$"). 86.PC.463.

PROVENANCE: Abbot Corsi, Florence (original commission), circa 1735; Marchese Gino Capponi, Florence, 1767; sale, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, February 7, 1945, lot 383; private collection, Switzerland; [Piero Corsini, New York, 1985–1986].

EXHIBITIONS: *Esposizione de' quadri,* cloister of the SS. Annunziata, July 1767, no. 5; *Giuseppe Maria Crespi and the Emergence of Genre Painting in Italy,* Kimbell Art Museum, Fort Worth, September–December, 1986.

3. The two principal works on Crespi are: Mira Pajes Merriman, *Giuseppe Maria Crespi* (Milan, 1980), a catalogue raisonné of the paintings, and John T. Spike, *Giuseppe Maria Crespi and the Emergence of Genre Painting in Italy,* ex. cat. (Fort Worth, Kimbell Art Museum, 1986). The present picture was exhibited at Forth Worth *hors catalogue,* but was first published and illustrated in this catalogue (p. 37, n. 89, p. 162, fig. 26.2).

4. For these workshop canvases see Merriman (supra, note 3), nos. 138–141. Merriman leaves open the possibility of Crespi's participation in some or all of these works, contrary to my own view. Pierre Rosenberg ("La Femme à la puce de G. M. Crespi," *La revue du Louvre,* 1971, p. 14, n. 3) has written that the version in the Musée des

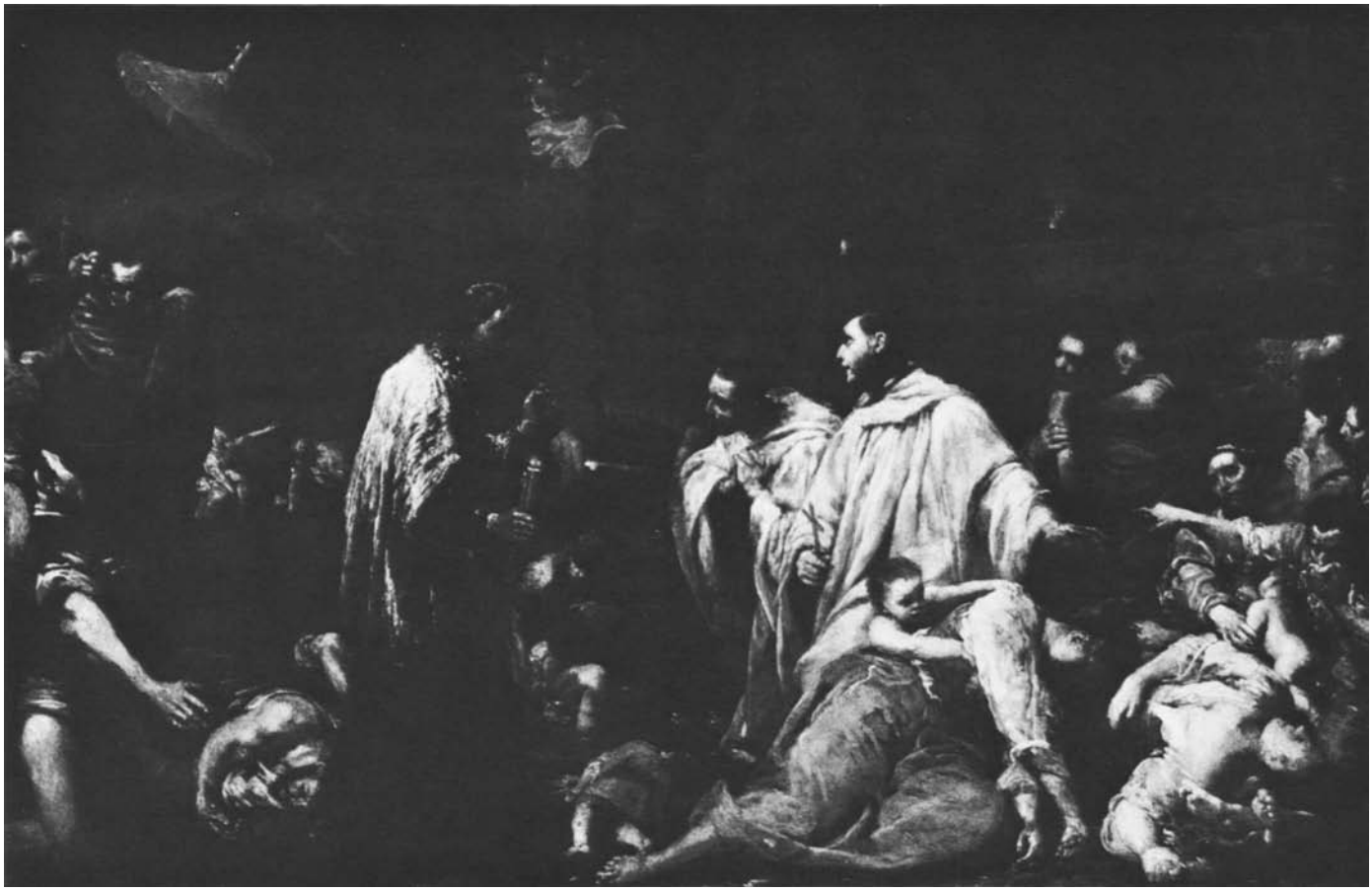

Figure 1. Giuseppe Maria Crespi (Italian, 1665–1747). *The Blessed Bernard Tolomei Interceding for the Cessation of the Plague in Siena,* circa 1735. Oil on copper. H: 42.7 cm (16 13/16″); W: 66.6 cm (26 1/4″). Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 86.PC.463.

Akademie der bildenden Künste, Vienna (about which I shall have more to say) (fig. 3). Similarly, studio versions of his composition of *Saint Francesca Romana* are known (fig. 4), and one hopes that the missing original—separated from its pendant at an unknown date—will come to light some day.[5]

Four references, dating between 1739 and 1775, make mention of Crespi's painting of *The Blessed Bernard Tolomei.* (The *Saint Francesca Romana* is cited in only the two Bolognese publications, the 1739 and 1769 biographies of Crespi written by Giampietro Zanotti and Luigi Crespi, respectively.) From these contemporary accounts, there emerges a detailed description of the subject, size, and copper support of *The Blessed Bernard Tolomei* that Crespi painted for the Olivetan abbot in Florence. The Getty Museum's picture accords in every respect with these particulars and, no less important for this identification, exhibits the master's hand in full measure. In reviewing the literary evidence, however, an interesting point arises apart from the issue of identification. The sources tend to give subtly different readings of Crespi's picture while underscoring both the rarity of the subject and the originality with which Crespi has interpreted it.

Beaux-Arts, Nîmes, is only workshop quality. Merriman in discussing the Nîmes painting (no. 138) notes the references by Zanotti and Luigi Crespi to a work commissioned by "the Olivetan fathers in Florence." Regarding its subject, she comments, "What probably is represented is the bringing of the Eucharist to both the plague victims and St. Bernard Tolomei, who is prominently placed at their side in a kneeling position." A different view is proposed in the present article.

5. Merriman (supra, note 3), no. 115, publishes the photograph of an untraced painting, reportedly on copper, which in her opinion is the *Saint Francesca Romana* pendant cited by Zanotti. To judge from the photograph, this identification merits some consideration, although the painting is apparently handled with considerably smoother touch than that evinced in the Getty Museum *Blessed Bernard Tolomei.* A studio version of the *Saint Francesca Romana,* attributed by Merriman to Luigi Crespi, appeared at Christie's, London, February 20, 1986, lot 62.

For the life of Saint Francesca Romana, see the article in the *Bibliotheca Sanctorum* (Rome, 1964), vol. 5, s.v. This source cites Donato Creti's altarpiece, now in the Santuario del Crocefisso dei Bianchi in Lucca but painted circa 1732 for the Olivetan church of S. Ponziano in

Figure 2. Attributed to the Workshop of Giuseppe Maria Crespi. *Bernard Tolomei Visiting Victims of the Plague,* circa 1735. Oil on canvas. H: 44.2 cm (17$^{3}/_{8}$″); W: 67.7 cm (26$^{5}/_{8}$″). Nîmes, Musée des Beaux-Arts. Photo: Courtesy Musées d'Art et d'Histoire de Nîmes.

Figure 3. Attributed to the Workshop of Giuseppe Maria Crespi. *Bernard Tolomei Visiting Victims of the Plague,* circa 1735. Oil on canvas. H: 77.5 cm (30$^{1}/_{2}$″); W: 96.5 cm (37$^{15}/_{16}$″). Vienna, Gemäldegalerie der Akademie der bildenden Künste. Inv. Nr. 1375. Photo: Courtesy Akademie der bildenden künste, Vienna.

The most authoritative account of Crespi's life and career is that published in 1739 by Giampietro Zanotti, a painter and the perennial secretary of the Accademia Clementina in Bologna. A lifelong friend of Crespi, Zanotti was able to draw upon the artist's active assistance in compiling his biography. Zanotti was the first writer to refer to a small painting of the Blessed Bernard Tolomei, which he specifies as a recent work. The date of the picture can be fixed between 1732 and 1736 since it is similarly cited as a recent work in a late draft of Zanotti's manuscript, which was completed sometime between those years.[6] Zanotti provides careful descriptions of the unusual subjects of *The Blessed Bernard Tolomei* and of *Saint Francesca Romana.*

> He recently painted a small picture with many figures: it is the liberation of Siena from the plague through the intercession of the Blessed Bernard Tolomei; then [he made] another work as a companion to this one, in which there is Saint Francesca Romana who at

Figure 4. Attributed to Giuseppe Maria Crespi (Italian, 1665–1747). *Saint Francesca Romana Placing the Infant Christ in the Arms of Her Confessor,* circa 1735. Oil on copper. Present location unknown. Photo: Courtesy Mira Pajes Merriman.

the same city, as the only known representation of *Saint Francesca Romana Placing the Infant Christ in the Arms of Her Confessor.* Crespi's subsequent treatment of this rare subject is not formally indebted to Creti's, but Crespi undoubtedly knew his colleague's painting, since he himself contributed two altarpieces to the same Lucchese church at this very time (see Merriman [supra, note 3], no. 66). As a pair, Crespi's *Saint Francesca Romana* and *Blessed Bernard Tolomei* represent iconographic solutions that were essentially unprecedented, and the choice presumably reflected the interests of his patron, the Abbot Corsi.

6. This information was kindly provided me by Professor Merriman. About Zanotti's late draft for his *Storia dell'Accademia Clementina* (Bologna, Biblioteca Comunale MS. B 285), Merriman (supra, note 3), p. 255, has written, "[It] is dated after 1732 and is probably closer to 1735." Zanotti (*Storia dell'Accademia Clementina* [Bologna, 1739], vol. 2, pp. 61, 64) is quite clear on the point that Crespi's commissions for the Olivetans in Florence postdate his works for the Olivetan church in Lucca, which can be dated from 1732 or shortly thereafter.

> nighttime places the infant Jesus in the arms of her confessor. These two pictures were commissioned by the Olivetan fathers in Florence, to whom they were greatly pleasing.[7]

Thirty years later, Crespi's son and pupil Luigi undertook to expand upon Zanotti's biography. Although Luigi Crespi (1708–1779) was less informed on his father's early career, it is worth bearing in mind that he and his brothers, Ferdinando (b. 1709) and Antonio (b. 1712), were his father's principal assistants during the 1730s, the time that this commission was executed. Presumably some of the studio versions of these two Olivetan subjects were painted by one or other of Crespi's three sons. Luigi Crespi had no dispute with Zanotti's descriptions of these two paintings, saying only: "The Padre Abate Corsi, Olivetan in Florence, owned two small pictures [*quadretti*] by him."[8] As scant as this notice seems, it helps to clarify the circumstances of the commission and its subsequent history. Luigi Crespi informs us that the assignment for these paintings of the Blessed Bernard Tolomei and of Saint Francesca Romana was not received from an Olivetan church or monastery, as one might have construed from Zanotti, but rather from an Olivetan abbot of the noble Corsi family of Florence. Indeed, the intimate scale of these pictures, their horizontal format, and their execution on copper suggest that these works were intended for private contemplation and not for public display. Luigi Crespi was evidently aware, moreover, that by 1769 the works were no longer in the possession of the Abate Corsi.

Luigi Crespi's accuracy on these points can be verified from two Florentine sources. In 1767, two years before the publication of Crespi's biography, a *quadretto* by Crespi ("lo Spagnolo di Bologna") representing *The Blessed Bernard Tolomei Assisting the Victims of the Plague* was one of fifty-nine paintings and sculptures that the Marchese Gino Capponi lent from his private collection to a public exhibition organized in the cloister of SS. Annunziata in Florence.[9] That the Crespi lent by the Marchese Capponi was the same as that executed some thirty years before for the Abbot Corsi is confirmed in the last known reference to this *Blessed Bernard Tolomei.* This is a helpful footnote inserted in the otherwise secondhand biography of Crespi included in a Florentine dictionary of painters, *Serie degli uomini i più illustri nella pittura, scultura, e architettura...,* completed in 1775. This reference supplies all the missing connectives in the provenance and is the only early source that specifies the copper support of the painting and its size (a *braccio,* or arm length, roughly two feet long). It also provides still a third suggestion for the painting's subject matter.

> Not of less excellence than every one of his perfect works was a painting on copper of about a *braccio* in breadth, that he made for a Padre Olivetan Abbot, representing the Blessed Bernard Tolomei administering the Eucharist to the plague stricken. This beautiful work of his can be seen at present in Florence in the palace of Marchese Capponi on the via Larga.[10]

Three of the four early sources give a title for Crespi's picture describing Bernard Tolomei among the victims of the plague but cannot quite agree as to the event that is actually depicted. The primary source, of course, is the painting itself. The central action is the confrontation between a procession that enters from the left of the picture and, at right, two monks in white Olivetan habits who are seen in the midst of a crowd of grieving, dying people. At center, in the distance, an angel is seen ascending to Heaven. The procession is led by an acolyte who carries a bell and a long candle. He is followed by a man who has wrapped his cloak around himself, covering his arms. Behind this figure, a round canopy is held aloft. This canopy has the appearance of a baldachin, which might have been used to cover the Host or perhaps a sacred relic in an open-air procession. It is notable, though, that Crespi has not included in his picture any image of a monstrance containing the Host, but the question remains open as to whether such is carried by the man whose hands are hidden by his cloak.

One of the two Olivetans kneels in prayer before this solemn procession; the more prominent monk is Bernard Tolomei, who holds one of his attributes, a crucifix,[11] in his right hand, and gestures toward the populace with his left. Contrary to the report of 1775, the painting clearly does not represent the Olivetan abbot administering Communion to the plague stricken. That Bernard Tolomei is "assisting" the people of Siena (as described in the 1767 Capponi exhibition catalogue) is undeniable, but this is too general a description for the event represented in Crespi's painting.

The remaining possibility, which was originally sug-

7. Zanotti (supra, note 6), vol. 2, p. 64.

8. Luigi Crespi, *Vite de' pittori bolognesi non descritte nella <<Felsina pittrice>>* (Rome, 1769), p. 216.

9. F. Borroni Salvadori, "Le esposizioni d'arte a Firenze dal 1674 al 1767," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 18 (1974), pp. 78, 141.

10. "Non di minor eccellenza riescì di qualunque più perfetta sua un quadro in rame di larghezza circa un braccio, che egli fece per un P. Abate Olivetano, rappresentante il Beato Bernardo Tolomei, che comunica gli appestati. Questo suo bel lavoro vedesi al presente in Firenze nel palazzo del Marchese Capponi di via Larga." This passage is quoted from the *Serie degli uomini i più illustri nella pittura, scultura, e*

Figure 5. Domenico Maria Canuti (1626–1684). *Bernard Tolomei Assisting the Plague Stricken,* circa 1660s. Oil on canvas. H: 266 cm (104¾″); W: 174 cm (68½″). Padua, Museo Civico. Photo: Courtesy Museo Civico, Padua.

Figure 6. Carlo Cignani (Italian, 1628–1719). *Pope Saint Gregory the Great Interceding for the Cessation of the Plague in Rome,* circa 1660s. Fresco. Bologna, monastery of S. Michele in Bosco. Photo: Courtesy Ministero per i Beni Culturali e Ambientali di Bologna.

gested by Zanotti, is that Crespi has portrayed the Blessed Bernard Tolomei in the act of interceding for the cessation of the plague. A preliminary search, by no means exhaustive, has failed to uncover any other paintings of this subject. One should note at this juncture that the iconography of Bernard Tolomei is not extensive, appearing almost exclusively in altarpieces and decorations executed for Olivetan churches and institutions. It is of course consistent with this pattern of patronage that the Getty Museum painting was commissioned by an Olivetan abbot, and it is not surprising that early commentators were unsure of Crespi's exact subject. In the 1660s Domenico Maria Canuti (1626–1684), who was Crespi's master twenty years later, painted a large altarpiece of Bernard Tolomei bringing some supplies to the plague stricken (in other words, "assisting" them) for an Olivetan church in Padua, but Canuti's interpretation was entirely different from that in Crespi's little picture (fig. 5).[12]

I believe that Zanotti's interpretation of Crespi's picture was correct, and that I have located the source for Crespi's imagery in a work well known to him and, indeed, very close to home. I refer to one of the celebrated medallions that Carlo Cignani painted in fresco during the 1660s in the Olivetan monastery of S. Michele in Bosco, Bologna.[13] The leading painter in

architettura... (Florence, 1775), vol. 12, p. 143, n. 1.

11. Domenico Maria Canuti portrayed him with a crucifix in an altarpiece, *The Blessed Bernard Tolomei in Prayer,* of the 1670s for the Roman church of S. Francesca Romana. In Crespi's picture, the ladder seen against the city wall in the distance is another attribute of Bernard Tolomei, alluding to the abbot's famous vision of Olivetan monks ascending a ladder to heaven.

12. See R. Roli, *Pittura bolognese 1650–1800: Dal Cignani ai Gandolfi* (Bologna, 1977), s.v. "Canuti."

13. For photographs of all four frescoes, see C. C. Malvasia, *Le pitture di Bologna* (1686), reprint, ed. A. Emiliani (Bologna, 1969), figs. 327/11. For Cignani, see Roli (supra, note 12), s.v.

Bologna during the latter half of the century, Cignani (1628–1719) was called upon to paint four apparitions of the Archangel Michael in circular compositions surrounded by elaborate cartouches. One of these frescoes depicts Bernard Tolomei's famous vision of the Archangel Michael, but this subject was not pertinent to Crespi's plague scene. Directly to the point, however, was Cignani's fresco of *Pope Saint Gregory the Great Interceding for the Cessation of the Plague in Rome* (fig. 6). This composition contains, in mirror image, the essential elements of Crespi's picture. The foreground is filled with plague victims; at left, Pope Gregory (circa 540–604) addresses a taper-bearing procession of penitents, which enters from the right-hand side. In the center, the Archangel Michael, the object of Gregory's intercession, replaces his retributive sword of pestilence and ascends to Heaven, his deadly work completed. Since it is known that Gregory the Great tirelessly organized penitential processions as part of his efforts to relieve a sixth-century plague in Rome,[14] we can assume that this is the kind of procession that Cignani and Crespi, following the former's example seventy years later, have represented. In the studio version of Crespi's composition in Vienna (fig. 3), the bell-tolling acolyte is replaced by a fearsome skeleton—an emblem of death that could not seemingly be substituted in a procession if its purpose were to bring the Eucharist to the plague stricken.

A correlation to the iconography of Saint Charles Borromeo is perhaps illustrative here. Following his canonization in 1610, the role of Saint Charles Borromeo as intercessor for the relief of the plague of 1575–1576 very soon came to the fore of his devotional iconography. In an altarpiece of circa 1615 (Verona, S. Carlo), Pietro Bernardi represented the saint directing his prayers to an angel who holds out a skull, emblem of the plague's devastation.

Crespi's painting of the Blessed Bernard Tolomei thus introduced a novel theme into the iconography of the Blessed Bernard Tolomei, that of divine intercessor. At the center of Crespi's composition, the Archangel departs, signaling that through Bernard Tolomei's intervention, the plague will now recede. Thus, Crespi (and presumably the Abbot Corsi, his patron) has deliberately drawn a parallel to one of the most saintly actions of Saint Charles Borromeo, who exposed himself to terrible dangers during the plague of 1575–1576. Crespi's interpretation thereby constitutes an emphatic claim for the sanctity of the Olivetan founder, whose candidacy for canonization was debated at various times during the mid-eighteenth century.

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14. J. N. D. Kelly, *The Oxford Dictionary of Popes* (Oxford, 1986), p. 66.

A Roman Masterpiece by Hubert Robert: *A Hermit Praying in the Ruins of a Roman Temple*

Victor Carlson

The J. Paul Getty Museum has recently acquired a masterful painting by Hubert Robert (1733–1808), which constitutes a significant addition to the Museum's growing collection of works of art from the latter half of the eighteenth century (fig. 1). The canvas is a fully characteristic example of Robert's fascination with the ruins of ancient Rome—a subject matter that has always been synonymous with the artist's reputation. The Museum's oil shows a hermit at prayer in the ruins of a Roman temple, kneeling at the foot of a stone altar upon which are placed a crucifix, books, an open Bible, an hourglass, a skull, and a rosary. Absorbed in his devotions, he is oblivious to three young girls entering the temple at the far right. One of them is about to make off with some flowers from a vase that is placed on a fragment of antique sculpture used as an altar. Above this improvised altar hangs a picture of the Madonna and Child. In the midground a fourth girl on a ladder leans over a low wall and, using a long reed, attempts to distract the hermit from his prayers and alert him to the trio stealing the floral offering. The lofty barrel vault of the abandoned temple wherein these actions occur spans a very deep space. Double rows of columns with Corinthian capitals support the vault, but the monument's neglected condition belies its original grandeur and importance.[1]

Robert disposed his lighting effects with unaccustomed thoughtfulness to enhance the impact of this scene. A shaft of sunlight penetrates the dim interior of the temple, streaming through the columns and the open door at the right to illuminate the figure of the kneeling hermit; at the same time, a small oil lamp burning in front of the image of the Virgin directs attention to the impending theft. Behind the fragment of stone wall in the midground, a faint illumination suggests light coming through the far end of the temple, reinforcing the impression of the monument's vast and lofty dimensions. To convey these lighting effects in a convincing manner, Robert worked with a fluid, rapid application of paint, creating a rich and lively pictorial surface executed with consummate assurance. A variety of brushstrokes and densities of paint define the gamut of atmospheric effects, from the dusky recesses of the temple to the brightly lit sky outside. Highlights were added with flicks or tiny dabs of the brush producing the scintillating play of light over forms, which is one of the work's most attractive features.

On one level Robert painted a charming, if somewhat frivolous, drama in which the intensity of the hermit's religious absorption is contrasted with the violation of his sanctuary by the young girls attempting to steal the Virgin's floral tribute. To the eighteenth-century viewer, however, the dilapidated condition of the temple surely would have conveyed a moralizing lesson as well, recalling the transience of the power and vanity that originally caused such an imposing structure to be built. This interpretation is reinforced by the hourglass and skull on the altar, conventional allusions to the temporality of man and his endeavors. To understand more fully the significance of Robert's work, the painting must be placed in the larger context of his art and his contribution to the development of French painting during the latter half of the eighteenth century.

Because the figures in Robert's canvas act out a dra-

1. Oil on canvas. H: 58 cm (22 13/16"); W: 70.5 cm (27 3/4"). Signed: *ROBERT/FECIT/FIO...NT/PORT...176–*. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 86.PA.605.

PROVENANCE: Louis François de Bourbon, prince de Conti, 1777 (sale, Paris, April 8–June 6, 1777, lot 752); Desmarets; Prince Pyotr Ivanovitch Tufialkin, Paris, 1845 (sale, Paris, May 2–3, 1845, lot 65); private collection, Paris, 1892 (sale, Galerie Sedelmeyer, Paris, March 25, 1892, lot 53); Georges Berger, Paris; Georges Wildenstein, Paris, by 1933.

EXHIBITIONS: *Exposition Hubert Robert,* Musée de l'Orangerie, Paris, 1933, no. 2 (catalogue by C. Sterling).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Pierre de Nolhac, *Hubert Robert 1733–1808* (Paris, 1910), p. 98; G. Isarlo, "Hubert Robert," *Connaissance des arts*, no. 18 (August 15, 1953), p. 28; H. Burda, *Die Ruine in den Bildern Hubert Roberts* (Munich, 1967), p. 80, n. 359, fig. 94; M. Beau, *La collection des dessins d'Hubert Robert au Musée de Valence* (Lyons, 1968), no. 76, n.p.; André Corboz, *Peinture militante et architecture révolutionnaire: A propos du thème du tunnel chez Hubert Robert* (Basel and Stuttgart, 1978), p. 16, fig. 13; J. de Cayeux [Cailleux], *Les Hubert Robert de la collection Veyrenc au Musée de Valence* (Valence, 1985), no. 44, p. 186.

Figure 1. Hubert Robert (French, 1733–1808). *A Hermit Praying in the Ruins of a Roman Temple,* circa 1760. Oil on canvas. H: 58 cm (22¾″); W: 70.5 cm (27¾″). Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 86.PA.605.

matic situation, it is tempting to look for a literary source to explain their actions. Although it has not been possible to determine that the artist intended to illustrate the work of a specific author, the situation represented recalls in a general way the *Contes et nouvelles en vers* (1664–1674) of Jean de La Fontaine, whose stories often involved the clergy in ridiculous or salacious situations. The *Contes et nouvelles en vers* were still frequently read at this time, as evidenced by the numerous re-editions that appeared during the middle of the eighteenth century. On occasion these stories did provide subject matter for paintings by artists such as François Boucher.[2]

Whether or not Robert based the Getty painting on a specific literary work, he arranged the figures to create an allegory contrasting virtue with vice or duty with pleasure, a moral theme that recurs in each of the artist's variants of this composition. Robert's lighthearted treatment of the scene is not necessarily a reflection of his lack of religious faith; our knowledge of the painter's

2. See the artist's *Frère Luce,* 1742 (Moscow, Pushkin Museum 2765); The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, The Detroit Institute of Arts, and Réunion des Musées Nationaux, Paris, *François Boucher, 1703–1770,* ex. cat. (New York, 1986), no. 45, ill.

3. The figures of the Getty painting occur in other canvases or drawings by or attributed to Robert; all works cited are vertical in format. The five personages are found in a pen and watercolor drawing, done over a highly finished chalk drawing, recently on the Paris art market. The watercolor is probably a later addition, just as the very mechanical, uninflected chalk study suggests that the entire work is likely a copy by another hand (H: 41 cm [16³/₁₆″]; W: 30 cm [11¹³/₁₆″]; sale, Nouveau Drouot, Paris, June 18, 1986, lot 221, ill.). Closely related to this drawing is another watercolor of identical composition, but in reverse and of larger dimensions, dated 1786 (H: 53 cm [20⅞″];

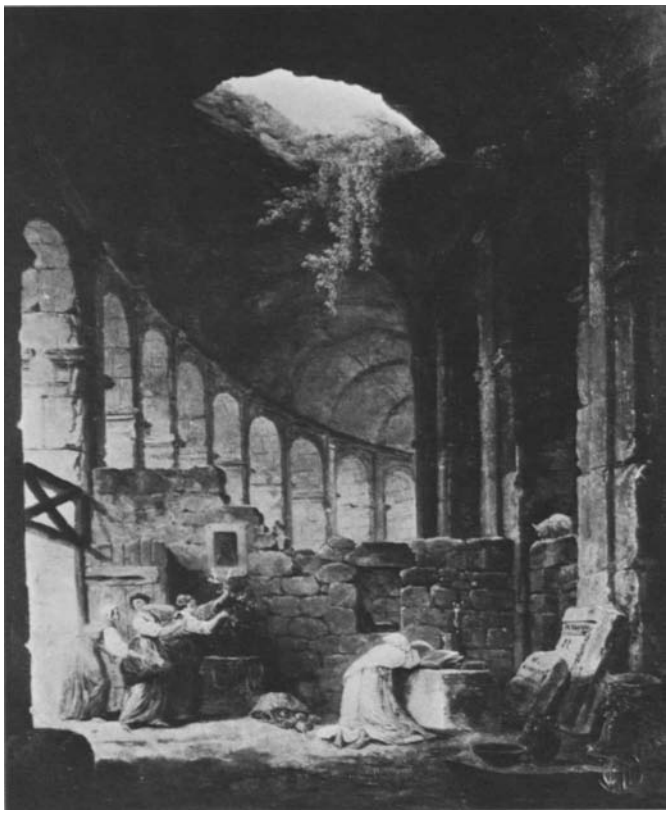

Figure 2. Hubert Robert (French, 1733–1808). *The Hermit in the Colosseum,* 1790. Oil on canvas. H: 57 cm (22 7/16"); W: 49 cm (19 1/4"). Formerly Lucerne, Galerie Fischer; present location unknown.

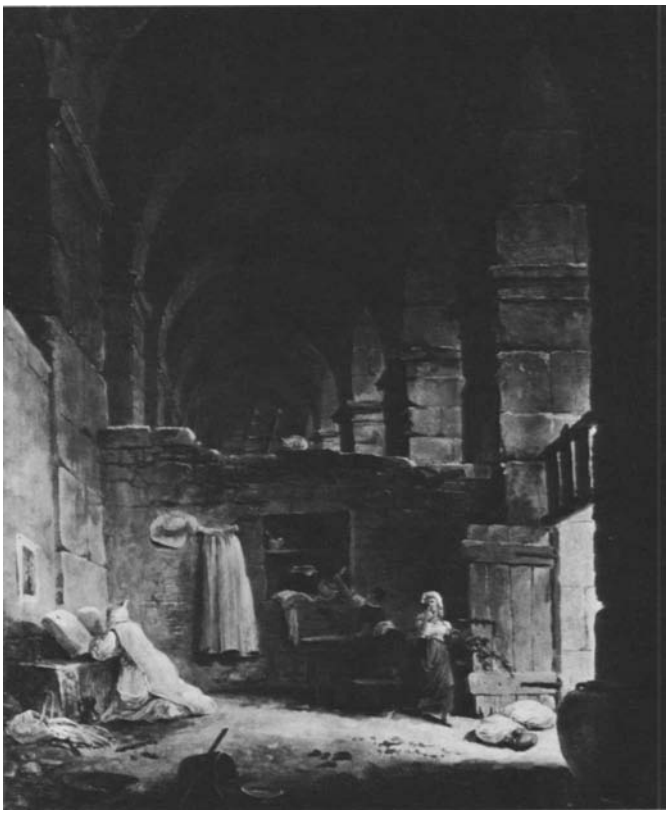

Figure 3. Hubert Robert (French, 1733–1808). *The Temptation of the Hermit,* circa 1787. Oil on canvas. H: 59.7 cm (23 1/2"); W: 50.2 cm (19 3/4"). Present location unknown. Photo: Courtesy Fondation Wildenstein, Paris.

private thoughts is too slight to support such an assumption. In this connection, it may be noted, however, that the glowing reports to Paris of Robert's progress as a student in Rome—where the Getty canvas was painted—would surely have been modified had he been derelict in observing religious obligations. Such infractions were considered serious matters, which could compromise a student's standing at the academy; on the other hand, the mere observance of such forms cannot be considered evidence of personal beliefs.

There are no preparatory drawings known for the Getty painting. It is very probable, however, that the artist had studies for the figures at hand, as they are painted with an uncharacteristic attention to detail and gesture. Robert was never a confident figure draughtsman, consequently he must have studied in advance the most effective disposition of the figures to relate the dramatic incident. Technical examination by the Museum's conservation staff has lent further credence to this assumption by establishing that no significant changes were made during the execution of the work. These figures occur in several other drawings and paintings by or attributed to Robert and an aquatint by J. B. Morret (figs. 2–4). Each of the related works, however, differs substantially from the present canvas either in the setting or the number of figures employed. Chronologically the Getty painting is the earliest use of this subject matter, which Robert referred to occasionally until 1790, the date of the last known representation.[3]

The present canvas is signed and dated, although the

W: 37 cm [14 9/16"]; sale Galerie Charpentier, Paris, December 2, 1958, lot 114, illus.). This watercolor is very similar to an oil signed and dated 1790, the major difference being that the background of the painting is loosely based on the interior of the Colosseum (H: 57 cm [22 7/16"]; W: 49 cm [19 1/4"]; sale, Galerie Fischer, Lucerne, August 18–20, 1931, lot 295, ill.). Another painting is known, the composition in reverse to the 1790 version, with only three figures and many changes in the background details, which are also derived from the interior of the Colosseum (Collection of Count Leonardo Vitetti; see Marguerite Beau, *La collection des dessins d'Hubert Robert au Musée de Valence* [Lyon, 1968], no. 12, fig. 12b).

Also related in a general way to the subject of the Getty work is an undated color aquatint by J. B. Morret (active circa 1790–1820), inscribed *Tandis que cet Hermite est en prière, deux jeunes filles viennent lui*

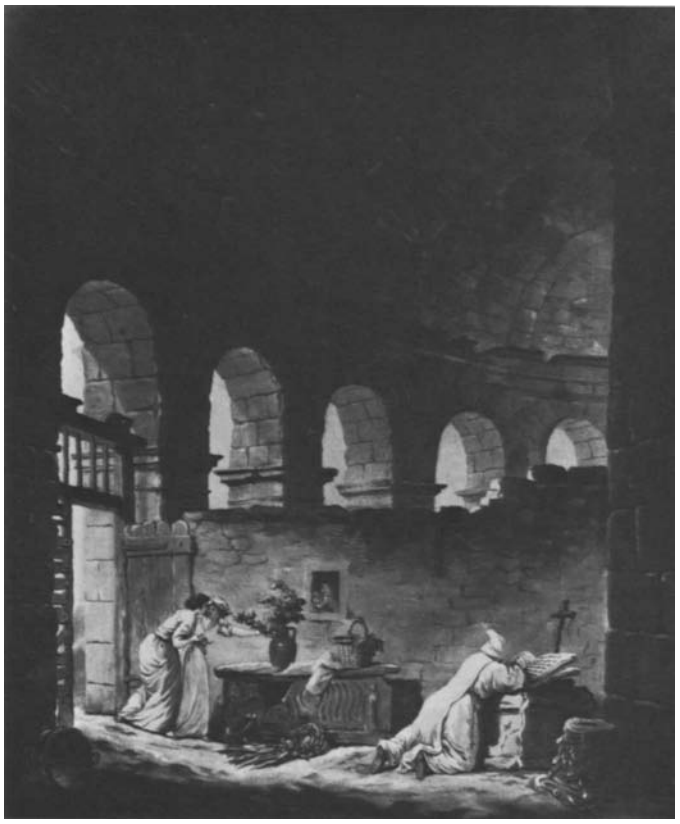

Figure 4. J. B. Morret (French, active circa 1790–1820). *Tandis que cet Hermite est en prière deux jeunes filles viennent lui dérober les fleurs qui sont devant sa Madone,* circa 1790. Aquatint. H: 36.7 cm (14 7/16"); W: 29.8 cm (11 3/4"). New York, Paul McCarron. Photo: Courtesy Paul McCarron.

last digit of the date, 176–, is now illegible. Nonetheless, it can be proposed that this work was executed in Rome about 1760, by comparison to a drawing in the Louvre signed and dated from that year (fig. 5).[4] The Paris red chalk drawing shows a group of laundresses at work amid the ruins of an antique Roman temple. The general arrangement of the architectural setting is strikingly similar to the Getty canvas. Both compositions are dominated by a steeply raked barrel vault, supported on either side by a long range of columns. A device placed in the center of the midground—the crumbling stone wall behind the hermit in the Getty painting, some laundry stretched out to dry in the drawing—arrests the movement of the viewer's eye, directing attention to the figure groups. At the left in both works, a column runs nearly the full height of the composition. This device seems to suggest that Robert was not entirely comfortable with the horizontal format and needed some element to compress the space and thereby emphasize the importance of the figure group. Despite this, the figures remain dominated by the dramatic architectural setting with its exaggeratedly deep, tunnel-like space. These parallels are so essential to the organization of the painting and the drawing that they cannot be explained satisfactorily as simply unrelated coincidences.

There is no precise source for the ruined Roman temple seen in the Getty painting. Such examples of imperial Roman architecture as were known in the mid-eighteenth century could not in themselves account for the structure shown here. At this time even the most assiduous student of Rome's past would have had only a fragmentary sense of ancient architectural styles and construction practices. Excavations on a sufficient scale to reveal fully this accomplishment were yet to be undertaken, although monuments such as the Colosseum and the Pantheon were then, as they still are, imposing examples of Rome's architectural heritage. Robert's contemporaries often created their own evocations of Rome's lost grandeur, at times based more on imagination than archaeology. For example, it is entirely possible that Robert knew Piranesi's 1743 engraving *Vestibolo d'antico tempio,* a fanciful evocation of an immense and impressive barrel-vaulted structure with an exaggerated perspective leading the eye far back into space (fig. 6).[5] Consequently, Robert's vision of imperial Rome as seen in works such as the Getty painting is perhaps best explained as an amalgam of such archaeological data as was then available, filtered through the impression

dérober les fleurs qui sont devant sa Madone (H: 36.7 cm [14 7/16"]; W: 29.8 cm [11 3/4"]; Roger Portalis and Henri Béraldi, *Les Graveurs du dix-huitième siècle* [Paris, 1881], vol. 1, s.v. "Descourtis," no. 7, p. 747). The print is based on a painting at one time with Cailleux, Paris (H: 46 cm [18 1/8"]; W: 49 cm [19 1/4"]; Galerie Cailleux, Paris, *Autour de néo-classicisme,* ex. cat. [Paris, 1973], no. 44, p. 45). The same gallery also had a Robert red chalk drawing with only three figures, showing two girls making off with something taken from a cupboard (H: 27.3 cm [10 3/4"]; W: 19.2 cm [7 9/16"]; ibid., no. 44, p. 45, ill.). The figure group in the undated drawing occurs with only minor changes in a painting *The Temptation of the Hermit,* circa 1787 (H: 59.7 cm [23 1/2"]; W: 50.2 cm [19 3/4"]; present location unknown, formerly with Wildenstein, Paris). Three other paintings are mentioned in the literature, some of which may be identical to the works cited above: Pierre de Nolhac, *Hubert Robert, 1733–1808* (Paris, 1910), pp. 95–96, 121; Claude Gabillot, *Hubert Robert et son temps* (Paris, 1895), no. 243, p. 251.

4. Red chalk over black chalk. H: 52 cm (20 1/2"); W: 63.8 cm (25 1/8"). Signed: *H ROBERTI/1760/D. ROMAE.* Paris, Musée du Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins R.F. 14791; see Marie-Catherine Sahut, *Les dossiers du Département des Peintures: Le Louvre d'Hubert Robert,* ex. cat. (Musée du Louvre, Paris, 1979), p. 23, fig. 48.

5. Andrew Robison, *Piranesi, Early Architectural Fantasies: A Catalogue Raisonné of the Etchings* (Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art and Chicago and London, The University of Chicago Press, 1986), no. 11, ill.

Figure 5. Hubert Robert (French, 1733–1808). *Galerie,* 1760. Red chalk over black chalk. H: 52 cm (20 1/2″); W: 63.8 cm (25 1/8″). Paris, Musée du Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins R.F. 14791.

Figure 6. Giambattista Piranesi (Italian, 1720–1778). *Vestibolo d'antico tempio* from *Prima parte di architetture...,* 1743. Engraving. H: 25.7 cm (10 1/8″); W: 35.6 cm (14″). Santa Monica, The Getty Center for the History of Art and the Humanities, Library 401R MUZ.

made on the artist by the imposing monuments of Rome's more recent past.[6] Also influential were the wholly fanciful conceits of contemporary artists such as Piranesi or Robert's compatriots Clérisseau and Challe, each of whom used the vestiges of Rome's imperial heritage to evoke the magnificence of that vanished civilization, then known only through some scant but powerfully moving remains.

The decade of the 1760s was the crucial, formative phase of the artist's early career, a period divided between Rome and later Paris. Like many French artists, Robert received much of his training at the Académie de France à Rome, then housed in the Palazzo Mancini on the Corso rather than its present location in the Villa Medici. Normally admission to the Académie was limited to Prix de Rome winners, who before leaving for Rome first spent some time perfecting their skills at the Ecole Royale des Elèves Protégés. In their 1777 essay on the Académie, Denis Diderot and Jean d'Alembert discuss the importance of study in Rome for the young artist.

> Young Frenchmen who intended to study the fine arts had to go to Rome and remain there for a fairly long time. This is where the works of artists like Michelangelo, Vignola, Domenichino, Raphael, and those of the ancient Greeks give silent lessons much superior to those that could be given by our greatest modern masters. . . . For artists, Italy is truly a classical world. Everything there attracts the painter's eye, everything teaches him, everything arouses his attention. Aside from modern statues, what a great number of ancient ones are contained within the walls of magnificent Rome; these ancient statues by the exact proportion and the elegant variety of their forms served as models for the artists of recent periods and must serve as models for those of all centuries![7]

It is possible that before leaving for Italy in 1754 Robert had some knowledge of and enthusiasm for the classical past. In France at the time a reaction had begun to what some critics described as the overwrought ornamentation and fantasy of the *rocaille.* Two articles by Charles-Nicolas Cochin, written 1754–1755, together with his description of the Marquis de Marigny's voyage to Italy (1749–1751)—undertaken with the author in attendance—are often considered turning points for the introduction of Neoclassicism as an alternative to the Rococo style. They are not, however, the earliest expressions of dissatisfaction with current taste.[8] At Paris the designers of decorative arts, rather than the painters, led the vanguard of those inspired by classical sources. Although no works by Robert from his early years of study in the French capital have been identified, it is conceivable that he was aware of this opposition to the popularity of the Rococo; his first recorded teacher, René-Michel Slodtz, called Michel-Ange Slodtz, was a sculptor whose works at times evidence a knowledge of classical models.

Robert's entry into the Académie de France did not follow the usual course, as he never competed for the Prix de Rome. Instead, his place at the Académie was secured at the request of a collector and patron, Etienne-François de Choiseul, comte de Stainville and later the duc de Choiseul. Through adroitly applied pressure, in 1754 Robert was allowed to live at the Académie as an independent student whose expenses were paid initially by Choiseul. Such circumventions of normal procedure were most exceptional, and Charles Natoire, then director of the school, was insistent that the artist conform to the same regulations and courses of study as the other students. Choiseul's confidence in his protégé was confirmed by Robert's studious behavior, his rapid progress, and the impressive quality of his work. Thus when a place became vacant as a regular member, or *pensionnaire,* at the Académie, it was awarded to him on Natoire's strong recommendation.

The French student remained at the Palazzo Mancini until the end of October 1763, when his term expired. However, other means of support enabled Robert to stay in Rome until July 24, 1765, when he left to return to France.[9] During these years two Italian artists played dominant roles in the formation of Robert's style. Among fellow artists, the single most decisive contact Robert made in Rome was his friendship with Giovanni Paolo Panini, who gave lessons in perspective at the Académie. The Italian's decoratively arranged compositions of antique and modern Roman monuments provided a model that Robert adopted and modified as his own, using it for the rest of his life. Perhaps the most telling evidence of Robert's admiration for his teacher is the collection of more than twenty-five Panini

6. The Getty's painting is reproduced by André Corboz in *Peinture militante et architecture révolutionnaire: A propos du thème du tunnel chez Hubert Robert* (Basel and Stuttgart, 1978), p. 16, fig. 13. This important study traces many parallels between the architectural backgrounds of Robert's paintings and current advanced architectural theory and practice in France, which advocated a severe columnar architecture based on antique prototypes for use in public buildings. Corboz's arguments are certainly illuminating for Robert's work from the 1770s onward; however, there is no clear evidence that as a student in Rome the artist was aware of such trends. I am indebted to Christopher Riopelle, Assistant Curator of Paintings, The J. Paul Getty Museum, for bringing the Corboz article to my attention.

7. Denis Diderot and Jean d'Alembert, *Encyclopédie* (Paris, 1777), pp. 238–239 (my translation).

oils that were part of the French artist's estate. Robert also knew Piranesi, whose printmaking workshop on the Corso was directly across from the Académie. The imprint made on Robert by Piranesi's grandiloquent and megalomanic visions of Rome is more difficult to assess because Robert never worked in an overtly Piranesian manner, although certain drawings may well owe something to the Italian artist's wonderfully evocative and rapidly executed ink studies. To be sure, Robert's contacts at Rome extended beyond these two artists, but their example was pervasive and inescapable.

The archaeological climate at Rome during the 1750s and 1760s was particularly stimulating, not least because excavations undertaken at Pompeii in 1738 and Herculaneum in 1748 brought to light startling traces of an unsuspected civilization of great accomplishment. As knowledge of these discoveries spread across Europe, Rome became more than ever an antiquarian's mecca. Among the notable archaeological publications issued during Robert's student years in Rome was Piranesi's *Della magnificenza ed architettura de' Romani* (1762), a diatribe championing the superiority of Etruscan and Roman architecture over that of Greece. Robert must have been aware of this treatise since he is known to have been in contact with its author at this time. The German philosopher and archaeologist Johann Joachim Winckelmann was also in Rome writing his *Anmerkungen über die Baukunst der Alten* (1762) with its description of the temples at Paestum and his more famous account of Greek art *Geschichte der Kunst des Altertums* (1764). Even though there is no evidence that Robert ever read the German treatises, their publication signals the climate of inquiry and speculation that was occurring throughout Rome.

It remains unclear to what extent the students at the Académie de France knew the flood of international visitors to the city, although it is hard to believe that the sociable Frenchman would have remained aloof from them. Certainly Robert saw at first hand the recovery of Rome's classical past, not only the monuments in the city and the surrounding countryside, but remains as far afield as Naples (with side trips to Pompeii, Herculaneum, and Pozzuoli) and Florence; the latter voyage was made quite likely in the company of Piranesi.[10] These brief remarks do not fully describe the artist's known activities and contacts among the antiquarians at Rome, but they do serve to indicate some of the attractions that impelled him to remain there after his term at the Académie expired.

Within a year after his arrival in Paris, Robert was received as a member of the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture on July 26, 1766. His reception piece, an imaginary view of the Porto di Ripetta at Rome, was warmly praised by Diderot when it was exhibited at the Paris salon the following year (although not without some reservations, particularly concerning the artist's figures). Notwithstanding these minor cavils, Robert's painting inspired Diderot's often cited analysis of his own fascination with ruins, an enthusiastic outpouring that vividly captures the period's delight in this subject matter.

> The ideas aroused within me by ruins are lofty. Everything vanishes, everything perishes, everything passes away, the world alone remains, time alone continues. How old this world is! I walk between two eternities. Wherever I turn my eyes, the objects that surround me foretell an end and help me resign myself to the one that awaits me. What is my ephemeral existence compared to that of this rock eroding away, of this vale growing deeper, of this forest staggering with age, of these masses hanging above my head and shaking? I see the marble of tombs crumbling into dust, and I do not want to die! And I am reluctant to give a mere tissue of fibres and flesh to a general law that affects even bronze! A torrent sweeps nations pell-mell down into the same abyss, and I, I alone claim to be able to stop on the edge and to withstand the current gushing by me![11]

The generally favorable support of this most influential critic effectively set the stage for Robert's succeeding decades of success and favorable acclaim, even if from time to time Diderot was sharply critical of the artist's tendency to be overly facile and careless in the execution of his paintings.

When Robert left Rome in 1765, he was in full command of a subject matter and style that he would use without radical modification for the remainder of his career. The attraction of his views of Rome's past was never dryly archaeological; Diderot noted this in his review of the Paris Salon of 1767, praising the verve and spirit with which the artist painted or drew his scenes

8. For a discussion of this subject, see Svend Eriksen, *Early Neo-Classicism in France* (London, 1974), pp. 29–51. See pp. 34–36 for a discussion of Cochin's texts.

9. For a summary of Robert's years in Rome, see Gabillot (supra, note 3), pp. 70–91, and Victor Carlson, *Hubert Robert: Drawings and Watercolors,* ex. cat. (Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art, 1978), pp. 20–21.

10. Villa Medici Rome, Palais des Etats de Bourgogne Dijon, and Hôtel de Sully Paris, *Piranèse et les Français* (Rome, 1976), p. 305.

11. Denis Diderot, "Le Salon de 1767," in *Diderot: Salons,* ed. Jean Seznec and Jean Adhémar (Oxford, 1975), vol. 3, pp. 228–229 (my translation).

of Roman ruins, qualities that the critic admired because they left room for the play of the viewer's imagination. The grandeur and magnificence of the artist's conception of ruins (to borrow Diderot's adjectives), expressed through a vivid and assured technique, were for the critic particularly appealing facets of the artist's genius. These are precisely the outstanding characteristics of the Getty painting, which Diderot surely would have described as one of Robert's most attractive canvases.

Los Angeles County Museum of Art

What the Greeks were, was a reality, not a promise.
—Shelley

True Illusions: Early Photographs of Athens

Andrew Szegedy-Maszak

One of the most important features of the intellectual life of the mid-nineteenth century was an upsurge of interest in ancient Greece. Although there have recently been two very good books on the influence of Greek culture on Victorian life,[1] neither of them so much as mentions photography, and this omission inspired the present essay. The title originates in a review by William Hazlitt of some watercolors by Hugh William "Grecian" Williams: "Some splenetic travellers have pretended that Attica was dry, flat and barren. But it is not so in Mr. Williams's authentic draughts . . . and we thank him for restoring to us our old, and as it appears, true illusions."[2] The phrase "true illusions" could serve as a capsule description of the whole of photography, and it is particularly apt when we come to consider early photographs of Greek antiquities. Athens provides an excellent case study; it has a relatively small number of important monuments, with the Acropolis obviously prime among them, yet the photographers who worked there brought to their views diverse themes, approaches, and interpretations.

Extensive traditions, both pictorial and literary, underlay the nineteenth-century photographs of classical sites. This essay will first examine the cultural context for the photographic enterprise: what did the people of the time want to see in their images of the ancient world? The last part of the essay will concentrate on two artists who are particularly well represented in the Getty's rich assortment of nineteenth-century views of Greek antiquities: the French-born commercial photographer Félix Bonfils[3] and the American diplomat, author, and photographer William James Stillman.[4] Both men were photographing in Athens in the late 1860s and early 1870s, yet even a cursory glance at their respective treatments of the same subject (e.g., the Parthenon, figs. 4, 13) reveals how different their approaches could be. In brief, Bonfils was an accomplished commercial photographer, who made beautiful, if conventional, images to satisfy a broad audience. Stillman was an inspired amateur with a complex private vision of the Greeks and their relationship to his own times. The work of these two men illustrates the extraordinary range of true illusions made available by the photographers to their audience.

Despite the precision of renderings made by artists like Jacques Carrey in 1674[5] and James "Athenian" Stuart and Nicholas Revett (whose first volume of drawings was published in 1762),[6] most of the pre-Victorian drawings and paintings of Athenian sites were distorted by literary concerns. As Fani-Maria Tsigakou has noted, "Characteristically, written descriptions often seem to have been more accurate than pictorial representations . . . it was the formalized, literary past, not the present, that was the attraction of Greece."[7]

This article was begun in the summer of 1985 during my tenure as guest scholar in the Department of Photographs of the J. Paul Getty Museum. I owe a great debt of gratitude to Weston J. Naef and the other members of the department, as well as to the staff of the Getty's Department of Education and Academic Affairs, Photo Archive, Archives of the History of Art, and Library. My thanks also to Marguerite Waller and Ben Lifson for invaluable editorial advice.

1. Richard Jenkyns, *The Victorians and Ancient Greece* (Cambridge, Mass., 1980); Frank Turner, *The Greek Heritage in Victorian Britain* (New Haven, 1981).

2. *W. Hazlitt, Essays on the Fine Arts* (London, 1873), p. 144.

3. Félix Bonfils published two albums, five years apart, that included views of Athens. *Architecture Antique* (Paris, 1872) contains eight photographs of Athens, and *Souvenirs d'Orient—Album pittoresque des Sites, Villes et Ruines les plus remarquables de la Terre Sainte* (Alais, 1877) has ten. Each set also includes pictures made in the Near East and Turkey. *Souvenirs d'Orient* was republished in 1878 in a smaller—hence presumably cheaper—edition; in this latter version, oddly enough, Bonfils adds two pictures of Constantinople and labels them as belonging to "Grèce."

4. William James Stillman, *The Acropolis of Athens: Illustrated Picturesquely and Architecturally in Photography* (London, 1870), with one small photograph on the title page and twenty-five full-size plates.

5. Carrey traveled to Athens with the French ambassador to the Turkish court and produced a set of drawings, now in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. They are the best documentation of the Parthenon before 1687, when it was being used as a powder magazine and suffered a direct hit from a Venetian shell.

6. Stuart and Revett's travels and the publication of their *Antiquities of Athens, Measured and Delineated* were sponsored by the Society of Dilettanti, a group of British artistocrats dedicated to the study of classical culture. See Jenkyns (supra, note 1), pp. 1–12, also James Osborn, "Travel Literature and the Rise of Neo-Hellenism in England," *Bulletin of the New York Public Library* 67 (1963), pp. 279–300.

7. Fani-Maria Tsigakou, *The Rediscovery of Greece* (New Rochelle, N.Y., 1981), pp. 26, 28–29.

Painters also loved to exploit whatever exotica they could find or confect. James Stuart produced a portrait of himself, clad in turban and robes, sketching the Erechtheion, in front of which passes a small procession consisting of a Turkish pasha, his son-in-law, the son-in-law's small daughter, and the girl's black slave.[8] Other painters and draughtsmen often enlivened their depictions with similar imaginative additions. With the invention of photography, however, the visual record acquired a new primacy, and a new set of standards developed for documentary precision.

Where we have evidence for a photographer's intention, we generally find that he claimed accuracy as his chief contribution. Indeed, on January 7, 1839, when François Arago announced the invention of photography in the Académie des Sciences in Paris, he said that one of its most promising applications was the precise copying of antiquities, specifically the hieroglyphics of Egypt.[9] It was thought that photography could remain unaffected by the prejudices and preferences of the artist. William Henry Fox Talbot, the inventor of the paper negative process, wrote of the camera that "the instrument chronicles whatever it sees, and certainly would delineate a chimney-pot or a chimney-sweeper with the same impartiality as it would the Apollo of Belvedere."[10] Thirty years later, when William James Stillman composed the introductory note to his album, little had changed. Stillman states that his views "have been left . . . untouched . . . so that nothing should diminish their accuracy."[11]

Only relatively recently have we come to admit that photography is controlled by pictorial conventions like any other visual medium;[12] for most nineteenth-century viewers the photograph was conceived of as a transparent window onto an objective reality. Although the camera, to use Talbot's word, was impartial, the photographers were not, and to appreciate their work fully, it is necessary to sort out the influences that shaped their picture making. We must first, therefore, understand the location of Greece in the mid-nineteenth-century imagination.

The rediscovery of Greece was already well under way in 1839 when photography was invented. Within the same year an entrepreneur named N.-M. P. Lerebours sent daguerreotypists to Athens. He then had draughtsmen convert their pictures into aquatints and in 1842 published the latter in a collection whose title, *Excursions daguerriennes: Vues des monuments les plus remarquables du globe,* promised "views of the most remarkable monuments on earth."[13] Thirty-five years later, the photographic representation of the "most remarkable" was still a major concern, as is shown by the title of one of Bonfils' great collections, *Souvenirs d'Orient—Album pittoresque des Sites, Villes et Ruines les plus remarquables de la Terre Sainte.* From the age of Odysseus on, the prospect of seeing the world's wonders has been one of the most powerful stimuli for travelers, and the early photographers and their audience were not immune to its appeal. The lure of the marvelous, leavened with religious and cultural piety, was an original and enduring motive for the photographic exploration of ancient lands.

Set apart by its location, language, customs, and political circumstances, Greece seemed to belong both to Europe and to the Near East.[14] We have already noted the Orientalism in Stuart's painting, but to repeat, the "Orientals" are Turks, not Greeks.[15] It was this ambiguity that allowed for the inclusion of Greece in photographic documentation of the Holy Land. For the British travel photographer Francis Frith the fact that

8. Ibid., p. 32, fig. II.

9. See Aaron Scharf, *Art and Photography* (New York, 1974), pp. 25–26; see also Louis Vaczek and Gail Buckland, *Travelers in Ancient Lands: A Portrait of the Middle East 1839–1919* (Boston, 1981), p. 34, and more generally on photography and archaeology in the Middle East, pp. 76–77. The French calotypist Eugène Piot is credited with being the first actually to use photography to provide precise documentation of antiquities; he worked in Italy in the late 1840s (publishing a selection entitled *L'Italie Monumentale* in 1851) and then in Greece a few years later. On Piot, see André Jammes and Eugenia Parry Janis, *The Art of French Calotype* (Princeton, 1983), pp. 46–48, 234–235.

10. The remark is made in Talbot's introduction to his *Pencil of Nature* (London, 1844–1846), a collection of twenty-four calotypes (salt prints from paper negatives).

11. In the case of Stillman's album, as with many nineteenth-century albums, lack of pagination makes an exact reference impossible. Unless otherwise indicated, this is also the case with excerpts from additional photographic albums quoted throughout the present article.

12. On this subject in general, the indispensable discussion is by Ernst Gombrich, *Art and Illusion,* 3rd ed. (London, 1968).

13. N.–M. P. Lerebours, ed., *Excursions daguerriennes: Vues des monuments les plus remarquables du globe* (Paris, 1840–1842). In addition to Athens, Lerebours dispatched his artists to Egypt, Nubia, the Holy Land, and most countries in Europe.

14. As Jenkyns observes, Greece "was near enough to be accessible, remote enough to be exotic, with a soupçon of danger to add spice to the adventure" (supra, note 1), p. 4.

15. A similar phenomenon appears a century later in the Shaw album, which was compiled in the late 1860s or early 1870s by a wealthy and knowledgeable traveler, whose name is all that is known of him. It includes photos taken in Greece and the Near East. It contains many ethnographic portraits of Turks—warriors, dervishes, members of the royal harem—but *none* of Greeks, who presumably were not sufficiently "exotic" to warrant that kind of attention on the part of a collector. Moreover, the Shaw album is not unique in this regard. The Getty owns an anonymous travel album (see infra, note 39) that has exactly the same balance, or rather imbalance, between

Paul preached on the Areopagus (Acts 17:22) was reason enough to put views of Athens into a collection entitled *Photo-Pictures from the Lands of the Bible.*[16] In the same way, as noted above, Greece forms part of Félix Bonfils' *Terre Sainte.* The paradox is that Greece is neither assimilated into Christian Europe nor portrayed in its Orthodox reality. Instead it is liminal, identified as a hybrid that combines the best of paganism with early Christianity.

Greece was unusual in other ways as well. Dr. Johnson had declared "a man who has not been in Italy is always conscious of an inferiority, from his not having seen what it is expected a man should see."[17] Unlike Italy, however, Greece had never become a requisite stop on the Grand Tour. A small but telling sign of the initial dominance of Rome over Greece in the Western European perception of the ancient world is the fact that, at least for the British and the French, the names of the Olympian gods were always Latinized: Athena's Parthenon is the temple of Minerva, Zeus Olympios is Jupiter, Ares is Mars, Demeter is Ceres, and so on.

More importantly, much of Western Europe's contact with classical antiquity had sprung from the use of classical canons in buildings like Palladian villas or the great public edifices in major cities. Students of architecture, such as the winners of the Prix de Rome, went to Italy for their classical models. Greece was too far away and too wild.[18] It is true enough that in the early part of the nineteenth century, travel in the Aegean was more hazardous than in other parts of Europe. In 1812, William Gell, a member of the Society of Dilettanti, wrote to the secretary of the society that he and his companion wished to make the voyage from Athens to Turkey but were forced to postpone their trip because of the threat from pirates and privateers.[19] Even after such dangers had abated, some uncertainty lingered on. Although the Prix de Rome had been in existence since before the French Revolution, it was not until 1845 that a winner was permitted to go to Greece. The Ecole Française d'Athènes was founded in 1846, yet it was almost thirty years before its students were allowed to investigate any sites outside the city itself. Gradually, though, from the 1820s on Greece did overtake Rome, and its attraction was made manifest by the large number of painters, architects, and photographers who chose to work there.[20]

Henry Cook, a painter and writer, traveled through Greece in 1849/50 recording his impressions in a series of short articles.[21] He reports that seeing the monuments inspired two feelings of almost equal power, "the first, an overwhelming impression of beauty and grandeur, the other (succeeding immediately), a sense of utter and irrepressible sadness."[22] The monuments thus became part of the sublime, inspiring philosophical or sentimental reflection on the depredations of time. Here, in the direct tradition of Romantic philhellenism, we find the sense of the ruins as evocative survivals of the "classical." Byron had expressed the same feelings in "The Giaour" (1813): "Such is the aspect of this shore;/ 'Tis Greece, but living Greece no more!.../ Shrine of the mighty! can it be,/ That this is all remains of thee?"[23]

Most of the photographs from Athens are general views rather than fragments, whole buildings rather than architectural or sculptural details, possibly because they were meant for the armchair traveler rather than the specialist.[24] While photographers could emphasize either the archaeological or the picturesque, all those who made architectural views in Greece were aware that they were dealing with the scantiest remnants of what had actually existed. The comparison was drawn be-

ethnographic studies from Turkey and unpopulated views of the Greek monuments. This is not to say that there were no genre scenes made in Greece—many are reproduced in a recent catalogue from the Benaki Museum, *Athens 1839–1900—A Photographic Record* (Athens, 1985)—but they do not seem to have interested the typical western traveler. The Shaw album is in the collection of Daniel Wolf, and I am grateful to him for having given me the opportunity to examine it.

16. This is a portfolio of views selected from the larger series called *Frith's Europe and the East: Photo Pictures* (Reigate, n.d.); in the portfolio each picture is captioned with a biblical verse.

17. James Boswell, *Life of Samuel Johnson LL.D,* ed. C. Shorter (New York, 1922), vol. 5, pp. 63–64.

18. It was thought of as "an exotic Oriental country, which presented physical danger and sensual seduction better avoided by the serious student"; see The Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, Ecole Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts, Paris, et al., *Paris-Rome-Athens: Travels in Greece by French Architects in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries,* ex. cat. (Houston, 1982), p. xviii. I owe to this publication all my information about the French studies in Greece. See also the review by Bernard Knox, "Visions of the Grand Prize," *New York Review of Books* 31, no. 14 (1984), pp. 21–28.

19. The letter is in the Archives of the History of Art of the Getty Center for the History of Art and the Humanities (#840199).

20. Turner (supra, note 1) discusses the reasons behind the shift in interest from Rome to Greece and ascribes it to the combination of a search for new cultural patterns, the influence of the new German philology—which revolutionized the understanding of the ancient world—and "the stirring of liberal democracy that began with the American Revolution" (p. 3).

21. "The Present State of the Monuments of Greece," *The Art Journal* 13 (1851), pp. 130–132, 187–188, 228–229.

22. Ibid., p. 131.

23. "The Giaour: A Fragment of a Turkish Tale," *The Works of Lord Byron,* ed. E. H. Coleridge (New York, 1904), vol. 3, pp. 90–91, lines 90–91, 106–107. Tsigakou (supra, note 7), p. 41, reproduces a watercolor of 1822 by Turner, which uses Byron's lines as an epigraph.

24. A very different approach is exemplified by the work of Auguste Salzmann, who photographed in Jerusalem in the early 1850s

Figure 1. The Parthenon in Athens, 1842. Aquatint by Frédéric Martens from a daguerreotype. H: 15 cm (5⅞″); W: 20.3 cm (7¹⁵⁄₁₆″). Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 84.XB.1187.24.

Figure 2. The Acropolis in Athens, 1842. Aquatint by A. Appert from a daguerreotype. H: 14.1 cm (5⁹⁄₁₆″); W: 19.2 cm (7⁹⁄₁₆″). Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 84.XB.1187.23.

tween the physical ruins and the fact that we have only a fraction of ancient literary production.[25] The pictures, therefore, serve both to preserve the treasures that survive and to elegize vanished glories. In the note accompanying the view of the Parthenon in *Excursions daguerriennes* (fig. 1), Joly de Lotbinière gives voice to the pride and excitement aroused by the new invention: "This view was made in the autumn of 1839; I mention this fact because it was the first time the image of the Parthenon was fixed on a plate by Daguerre's brilliant invention, and because each year can bring new changes in the appearance of these famous ruins." De Lotbinière mentions the damages the building had sustained, modern efforts to restore it, and then significantly links the archaeologists (and by implication, the photographers) to the ancient Greeks: "What glory, what pleasure, for the one who can bring back this work, the masterpiece of Pheidias, of Pericles; his name would thus be joined to theirs." From this perspective, even overall views of, for example, the Acropolis, can themselves be seen as synecdochic fragments of some larger entity, the "Antique."[26] Like their literary counterparts, both the ruins and the photographs reflect the entire social and artistic complex within which they were created.

Another powerful impetus behind this kind of photography was the medium's struggle to establish itself as a legitimate expression of high culture. It had to escape the stigma of being, in Peter Galassi's memorable phrase, "a bastard left by science on the doorstep of art."[27] By photographing the acknowledged masterpieces of the western tradition, photographers staked a claim for themselves within that tradition and confirmed the seriousness of their own activity.

In spite of, or perhaps because of, their ostensible superiority as literal documents, the photographs—like the drawings and paintings that preceded them—were made under the spell of the ancient texts. Photographs offered a new opportunity to gratify the desire for firsthand experience of the places that had been immortalized in the masterpieces of classical literature.[28] Like

and shortly afterward published two large selections of architectural studies. As noted in the study by Jammes and Janis, "Salzmann's photographs of details are selectively arranged like collages of masonry, architectural ornament and shadow which defy reference to a larger context" (supra, note 9), pp. 246–248. See also Richard Bretell et al., *Paper and Light: The Calotype in France and Great Britain 1839–1870* (Boston, 1984), pp. 168–172.

25. Commenting on the views of antiquities made by Eugène Piot, the critic Philippe Burty wrote that they were "Comme ces lambeaux de manuscrit dont nous retrouvons par hasard une scène, un monologue, un choeur interrompu au vers le plus pathétique." (Like those scraps of manuscript in which we chance to find a scene, a monologue, a chorus, cut off at the most touching verse.) "Exposition de la Société française de photographie," *Gazette des beaux arts* 1, no. 2 (1859), p. 217.

26. Peter Galassi has commented that "the sense of a picture as a detail, carved from a greater, more complex whole, is a characteristic, original feature of nineteenth-century art. Perhaps most symptomatic is the phenomenon of close variant views of the same site." See Peter Galassi, *Before Photography: Painting and the Invention of Photography* (New York, 1981), p. 26.

27. Ibid., p. 12.

28. Tsigakou comments, "European artists and their clients shared the belief that certain places which had been dignified by past glory possessed such powers of suggestion that their successful depiction could stimulate the imagination and make more vivid the impression of what had happened there" (supra, note 7), p. 27. See also Timothy Webb, *English Romantic Hellenism 1720–1824* (Manchester, 1982), es-

de Lotbinière, Paul de La Garenne wrote an essay for *Excursions daguerriennes,* in conjunction with the long view of the Acropolis (fig. 2): "When I open the history of Athens in the time of Pericles, the most brilliant spectacle unfolds before my eyes: the whole city is full or orators, artists, renowned warriors." Likewise, it was believed that one could not, for example, thoroughly understand Homer until one had stood on the plain outside Troy, for, in the words of Robert Wood, "the *Iliad* has new beauty on the banks of the Scamander."[29]

In their absorption in all things Greek, the photographers and their audience seem to have been little troubled by the difference between history and mythology. The locations made famous in epic and tragedy shared an appeal equal to those of ancient military campaigns or political debates as subjects of photographs. Delphi, Mycenae, Corinth, Argos, and, of course, Athens were all depicted by numerous photographers both foreign and domestic.[30] Indeed an allusion to the greatness of times past occasionally compensates for some mediocre imagery. In the world of Victorian photography, and even for us today, an undistinguished seascape takes on new resonance with the information that it is Salamis, and a dull picture of an empty field is transformed into a telling cultural and historical document with the simple caption "Marathon."[31]

Included in the Getty collection is a splendid copy of Lerebours' *Excursions daguerriennes.* The daguerreotypists' original plates have long since disappeared, yet one gets a sense of "photographic seeing," particularly in the view of the Parthenon, which includes a decidedly non-classical shed directly in front of the temple (fig. 1). In many of the other pictures in the book, Lerebours' craftsmen added figures when copying the daguerreotypes and translating them into engravings, yet there are no such additions in any of the pictures from Athens.

In fact, the whole issue of the inclusion of people in nineteenth-century landscape photographs deserves more attention. The standard explanations that they are meant to recall the conventions of painting or to indicate scale seem true but insufficient. A more expansive interpretation has to take into account the rhetoric of photography itself and its peculiar relation to the objects it depicts. Although paintings by an artist like Gérôme, for example, contain a stunning amount of detail, the viewer is always aware that the scene depicted is a product of the imagination and the hand of the artist. There did not have to be an actual event that corresponded to the painted image. In the presence of most photographs, on the other hand, the viewer believes in the literal veracity of the rendering, or at least in the existence "out there" of the objects recorded. Paintings and drawings, no matter how accurate, always have the character of illustration, but photographs serve both as illustration and as evidence. Although we have become less credulous about the factual status of the photographic image, the nineteenth-century viewer did not share such skepticism.[32]

All this has a particular point when photographs have been taken in a land as little known as Greece. When the figures in a photograph were identifiably western and middle class (hence able to afford the expense of the trip), their presence created a sense of identification on the part of would-be travelers and promoted the acquisition of first-hand acquaintance with classical culture. Figures in local costume were participating in another kind of historical romance, one that both emphasized cultural difference and privileged the mystique of continuity within change. In either case, the sites become stage sets, and the presence of actors is simultaneously provocative and reassuring. Without robbing the land of its unusual qualities, photographs nonetheless domesticated it and conveyed the message that it was a safe place to go.

In general the nineteenth-century photographs from Greece tend to have fewer figures in them than views from Rome, the Holy Land, or elsewhere in the Mediterranean. Part of the reason, as discussed above, is that contemporary Greeks were not thought to be as exotic

pecially pp. 1–6.

29. *The Ruins of Palmyra* (London, 1753), preface, unpaginated. The remark is quoted by Jenkyns (supra, note 1), p. 7. Jenkyns' silence on the topic of photography is all the more difficult to understand in view of his compelling account of the importance accorded by the Victorians to seeing the original sites connected with Greek literature.

30. Among the earliest photographers in Greece were the daguerreotypists included in Lerebours' *Excursions daguerriennes* (1840–1842) and Baron Gros (1850). Early calotypists included George Bridges (1850), Alfred Normand (1851), Eugène Piot (1851–1852), Jean Walther (1851), and Claudius Wheelhouse (1850–1851). See Gary Edwards, "Foreign Photographers in Greece," in the Benaki Museum catalogue (supra, note 15), pp. 16–24.

31. G. Charvet makes explicit this function of the photographs in his preface to Bonfils' *Souvenirs d'Orient:* "Le philosophe et le penseur voudront eux-mêmes se recueillir devant ces vieux témoins des âges écoulés qui racontent l'histoire mieux que l'histoire elle-même." (The philosopher and the intellectual will wish to stop and reflect before these old traces of vanished ages, which relate history better than history itself.) Photographs of Salamis and Marathon are included in the Shaw album (supra, note 15).

32. Again we may cite Charvet's remarks on Bonfils (cf. note 31): "Devant ces tableaux prestigieux, l'illusion est complète, et l'on croirait se trouver en présence de la nature elle-même, tellement l'artiste a su mettre d'intelligence et de goût au service de son art." (Before these illustrious pictures, the illusion is complete; one could believe that one was in the presence of nature herself, so well has the artist put intelligence and taste in the service of his art.)

as the inhabitants of the Near East. In addition, the cultural importance of the Greek monuments gave rise to a kind of deference, or even reverence. It is as if the photographers wished to present the classical ruins as relatively free from intrusion by the modern world.

To summarize, photography played two seemingly contradictory but actually complementary roles in making Greece more accessible to the world. It afforded vicarious gratification of the need to see extraordinary places and at the same time encouraged travel to those very places. Of course, photographs also came to serve as the most common trophies and souvenirs of the voyage. The medium that began by promising the remarkable eventually brought its subjects into the realm of the ordinary.

It is worth repeating that the early photographers of Greece were heirs to a long pictorial tradition. Jacob Spon, a French physician, and George Wheler, a British naturalist, made a tour through Italy, Greece, and the Levant in the mid-1670s. In 1678 Spon published an account of their journey illustrated with engravings made on the basis of his own drawings.[33] When the two men were in Athens in 1676, they saw the Acropolis with the Propylaea, Erechtheion, Parthenon, and temple of Athena Nike; the Theseion;[34] the choregic monument of Lysicrates; the Tower of the Winds; and the Arch of Hadrian. Marie-Christine Hellmann and Philippe Fraicse note: "Along with Philopappos's Monument, this group of buildings formed, at the time, 'the ruins of Athens,' without any clear distinction being made between the Greek and Roman periods."[35] The nineteenth-century audience identified ancient architecture solely with the public and monumental, and the Acropolis—with some allowance for the Olympeion, the Theseion, and one or two other sites—was believed to represent the pinnacle of the Greek accomplishment.[36] As noted above, most of the photographic images are "unitary" views, that is, of an entire building or at least an entire side. Moreover, there was a fairly restricted canon of buildings and even of views of these buildings.

The earliest photographic views of the "ruins of Athens" are the same as those of Spon and Wheler, and the set does not change appreciably for the next quarter century.[37] An excellent example is afforded by the temple of Zeus Olympios, almost always shot from the east so as to emphasize the enormous height of its columns and highlight the Acropolis hovering behind it. Such conventions were established as early as the *Excursions daguerriennes* (fig. 2). Some of them were "self-evident," while others were borrowed from painting.[38] We might compare this with the impulse of nineteenth-century landscape photography in the United States, where there was, for example, a universally accepted "best general view" of Yosemite.[39]

Félix Bonfils and William James Stillman were working largely in the two decades from 1860 to 1880, when photography had reached its maturity, and their pictures exhibit almost all the features that have been described earlier. Bonfils was born in France on March 6, 1831. In 1866 he moved to Beirut and established a photography studio, specializing in architectural and ethnographic views of the Middle East.[40] Later, he was joined by his son, Adrien, who continued the operation after his father's retirement in 1878. Their oeuvre represents commercial work of high quality and is thus a valuable indicator for popular taste of the time.

Félix Bonfils published two albums, five years apart, that included views of Athens: *Architecture Antique* (1872—eight photographs of Athens) and *Souvenirs d'Orient* (his last work, 1877—ten photographs of Athens).[41] Both sets are more or less standard collections of professionally made travel scenes, although presented in the form of lavish folio volumes with near-imperial size plates. Once again we see the power of the canon; both sets contain views of the Parthenon, the Erechtheion (two each, one a more general depiction

33. Jacob Spon, *Voyage d'Italie, de Dalmatie, de Grèce et du Levant* (Lyons, 1678). Tsigakou remarks that "Spon and Wheler were, in fact, the first travellers to write about Greece in a way that combined scholarship with accurate observation" (supra, note 7), p. 18, see also p. 192, and Osborn (supra, note 6), and David Constantine, *Early Greek Travellers and the Hellenic Ideal* (Cambridge, 1984), especially pp. 7–33.

34. This is the nineteenth-century name for the temple overlooking the west side of the Athenian Agora. Scholars now unanimously identify it as a temple of Hephaistos and call it the Hephaisteion. In this paper I will use the older appellation because that is how it appears in the photographers' captions. On the controversy, see R. E. Wycherley, *The Stones of Athens* (Princeton, 1978), pp. 68, 97.

35. *Paris-Rome-Athens* catalogue (supra, note 18), p. 25.

36. "The Athenian Acropolis and its different buildings [were] thought to contain the very essence of Greek architecture." Ibid., p. 34.

37. Among the pictures in the Getty collection there are three views attributed to P. Margaritis, a local Athenian photographer. There is a general view of the Acropolis from the south, a frontal study of the temple of Athena Nike, and the interior (east) side of the Propylaea with the Venetian tower beyond. Interestingly, there is nothing within the images themselves that would identify their maker as Greek. I began this study with the impression that there might be discernible variations in the "national character" of the views by photographers from different countries. Now, however, it seems to me that the canon was strong enough to override any such variations that might have existed.

38. Henry Cook (cf. note 21) painted Athens from the road to Eleusis and described this view as giving "perhaps the most beautiful

Figure 3. Félix Bonfils (French, 1831–1885). *The Parthenon As Seen from the Propylaea—Athens,* circa 1872. Albumen print. H: 22.5 cm (8⅞″); W: 29.2 cm (11½″). Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 84.XM.422.37.

Figure 4. Félix Bonfils (French, 1831–1885). *Greece: The Parthenon in Athens,* circa 1877. Albumen print. H: 23.1 cm (9⅛″); W: 28.4 cm (11³/₁₆″). Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 84.XO.1167.41.

and the other a close-up of the caryatids), the Theseion, the theater of Dionysus, and the choregic monument of Lysicrates. Bonfils, however, did not reuse his old negatives but made new pictures for each site, and so we are provided with a revealing glimpse into the development of his working methods.

Sometimes the differences are minor. For example, the views of the Theseion are taken from slightly different angles, with the later one including somewhat more of the surrounding landscape. The Parthenon is seen from almost exactly the same vantage point in both versions, but the foreground of the later picture is occupied by an assortment of architectural and sculptural fragments uncovered by recent excavations (figs. 3, 4). In the first study of the theater of Dionysus (fig. 5), Bonfils is at ground level, so that the picture becomes almost an abstract study of the curving rows of seats with a young boy placed in the front row as a sample spectator. In reworking this view (fig. 6), Bonfils moves his camera up into the seating area and makes the central element of the picture the shed erected in the middle of the orchestra to house the workmen's tools. The spectator is still included, but his presence is now much less important as a pictorial element.

Perhaps even more striking is Bonfils' reinterpretation of the Erechtheion. As noted above, both albums contain two views of this edifice, one more general and the other a close-up. In *Architecture Antique,* however, the general view contains only a bit of the south wall and the famous caryatid porch (fig. 7). In *Souvenirs d'Orient,* the general view is taken from the west, completely downplaying the caryatids and emphasizing the Erechtheion's blend of heterogeneous elements (fig. 8).[42] This later photograph makes more demands

as well as the most explanatory idea of the position of the Acropolis." Quoted in Tsigakou (supra, note 7), p. 120.

39. The Shaw album contains several Athenian views, possibly by the firm of Constantin, which are identified by numbers on the negative. The Getty Museum owns another travel album (84.XA.1499) that also has scenes from Athens of a much lower quality both artistically and technically (see supra, note 15). Curiously, several of the views from the Getty album are of the same sites, taken from the same angle, and marked with the same numbers as their counterparts in the Shaw album, although they are unmistakably from different negatives. I assume that, like Bonfils (supra, note 3), the photographer made both "deluxe" and "economy" versions of his images. It is also possible that a less-skilled photographer got hold of the Constantin catalogue and produced his own pictures, perhaps to sell at a lower price. No matter what the motive, this illustrates again that there was a limited scope for what was considered acceptable or desirable in scenes from Athens.

40. See Ritchie Thomas, "Bonfils and Son, Egypt, Greece and the Levant: 1867–1894," *History of Photography* 3, no. 1 (1979), pp. 33–46, with correspondence from Paul Chevedden, *History of Photography* 5, no. 1 (1981), p. 82. See also Carney E. S. Gavin, *The Image of the East: Nineteenth Century Near Eastern Photographs by Bonfils from the Collection of the Harvard Semitic Museum* (Chicago, 1982).

41. See supra, note 3.

42. The Erechtheion was home to a number of very old cults, and it incorporated several different structures from different periods. Its western end has been described by R. E. Wycherley as a "peculiar and ill-balanced conglomeration" (supra, note 34), p. 147.

Figure 5. Félix Bonfils (French, 1831–1885). *Interior of the Theater of Bacchus—Athens,* circa 1872. Albumen print. H: 22 cm (8⅝″); W: 28 cm (11 1/16″). Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 84.XM.422.42.

Figure 6. Félix Bonfils (French, 1831–1885). *Greece: Temple* [Theater] *of Bacchus in Athens,* circa 1877. Albumen print. H: 23.1 cm (9⅛″); W: 28.6 cm (11¼″). Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 84.XO.1167.45.

on the viewer's concentration, and although less immediately appealing than its predecessor, it is more informative about the actual structure. In fact, most of the pictures from the later series are both more complex visually and evince a more developed interest in the archaeological, as opposed to the picturesque, details of the buildings. It is as if the self-described souvenirs are now directed at a more sophisticated audience that can appreciate a more austere and scholarly approach to the sites. In the mid-1870s a major campaign of excavation on the Acropolis and its environs began under the sponsorship of the Greek Archaeological Society, and it is tempting to see Bonfils' re-vision as at least in part a response to the new discoveries.

Bonfils' work consistently shows visual intelligence and technical skill. As a commercial photographer, he had to be attuned to the requirements of his clients and adept at providing images that would satisfy them. We must also remember that he sold most of his pictures through catalogues, from which his clients would make their choice by number on the basis of a cursory description along the lines of "Parthenon, West Face." As a result, he had to limit his views to those that were most canonical and keep his approach determinedly neutral. He remains outside the buildings he is photographing, and he is almost always at a middle distance that gives some sense of the location and allows for correct perspective. His method seems to embody the disinterested impartiality that the early partisans of photography had proclaimed as its chief virtue. The apparent absence of interpretation, however, in itself indicates what he was trying to accomplish. His pictures are not intended to be personal revelations but documents accessible to a broad audience. His photographs are visual corollaries of the standard guidebooks of the time. The buyer of a Bonfils print could be confident of receiving the most widely accepted version of whatever view he had chosen. Those wealthy enough to afford an album got collections that would allow them to feel that they possessed a representative image of any subject that deserved their attention, whether the rubric was "Ancient Architecture" or "Memories of the Orient."

Bonfils' photography is a public art. In Athens, it is directed at the public face of the ancient Greeks and the timeless perfection of their architecture. Given all these constraints, it is all the more impressive that he strove to keep his images fresh. As pointed out above, he did not simply keep reprinting old negatives but returned to the sites to revise his view, sometimes radically. A skeptic

43. By contrast, Francis Frith (supra, note 16) regularly repackaged his pictures in different combinations and with different titles for the various collections.

44. By the end of the century, the Bonfils atelier received a laudatory note in the Baedeker guide to the region: "good photographs, a large stock." Their catalogue at the time offered, among other things, a choice of more than three hundred "costumes, scenes and types from Egypt, Palestine, and Syria." This information is from Thomas (supra, note 40), p. 41.

45. The details of Stillman's life are recounted in his *Autobiography*

Figure 7. Félix Bonfils (French, 1831–1885). *Caryatids from the Temple of the Erechtheion—Athens,* circa 1872. Albumen print. H: 22.4 cm (8 13/16"); W: 28.9 cm (11 3/8"). Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 84.XM.422.38.

Figure 8. Félix Bonfils (French, 1831–1885). *Greece: Temple of the Erechtheion in Athens,* circa 1877. Albumen print. H: 23.2 cm (9 1/8"); W: 28.5 cm (11 3/16"). Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 84.XO.1167.42.

might suggest that this is just a response to the public's demand for novelty, while a cynic could call it a photographer's version of planned obsolescence. Since Bonfils made his living from selling photographs, commercial considerations must have played some part in his decision to make new pictures of old sites, but they are not enough to justify all the expense and effort involved.[43] Rather, his revisions, like his self-effacement, are another sign of the conscientiousness that informs all his work. In their own time the pictures were highly regarded,[44] and taken on their own terms, they are still successful today.

William James Stillman was born in Schenectady in 1828 and educated there at Union College.[45] After graduation he went to study painting in England, where he became friendly with Ruskin. He returned to the United States and in 1855 he founded *The Crayon,* the first serious American journal of the arts, for which he served as editor during the first year of publication.[46] Shortly afterward, while recovering from an illness, he learned the basics of photography. Stillman then embarked on a career as a diplomat and in 1862 became American consul in Rome. Three years later, he was posted to Crete, again as American consul, but his support for the Cretan rebellion against Turkish rule made him persona non grata with the local authorities and finally led him to take a leave of absence—which proved to be permanent—and move to Athens in 1868. Once there, as he notes in his autobiography, he set about photographing the ruins of Athens; he had "everything necessary to correct architectural work," and moreover "the ruins . . . had never been treated intelligently by the local photographers."[47]

This was a grim time for Stillman. His wife, Laura, had been growing increasingly despondent, first because of the trials of living in war-torn Crete and then because of a debilitating illness that had struck their son, Russie. Shortly after their arrival in Athens, she committed suicide. The pain of her death, anxiety about the health of his son, and an increasingly desperate lack of money led Stillman to the edge of a breakdown: "I was myself nearly prostrated mentally and physically, and unfit for anything but my photography."[48]

Stillman's life is indissolubly linked to his art, and despite his own assertions of improved accuracy, the real importance of his views of the Acropolis lies in the vivid personal vision he imposed on his material. For him, photographing the antiquities of Athens was a process that encompassed the exorcism of his wife's suicide, the hope—not trivial—of alleviating his financial

of a Journalist (Boston, 1901). See also Richard Pare, *Photography and Architecture 1839–1939* (Montreal, 1982), pp. 241–242.

46. See Elizabeth Lindquist-Cock, "Stillman, Ruskin, and Rossetti: The Struggle between Nature and Art," *History of Photography* 3, no. 1 (1979), pp. 1–14.

47. Stillman (supra, note 45), p. 454.

48. Ibid., p. 457.

Figure 9. William James Stillman (American, 1828–1901). *Ancient Gate of the Acropolis* (detail of title page), 1869. Carbon print. H: 14.5 cm (5 11/16″); W: 14.4 cm (5 11/16″). Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 84.XO.766.4.1.

Figure 10. William James Stillman (American, 1828–1901). *View of the Acropolis from the Musaeum Hill,* 1869. Carbon print. H: 18.5 cm (7 5/16″); W: 23.5 cm (9 1/4″). Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 84.XO.766.4.2.

Figure 11. William James Stillman (American, 1828–1901). *The Acropolis with the Theatre of Bacchus,* 1869. Carbon print. H: 19 cm (7 1/2″); W: 23.7 cm (9 5/16″). Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 84.XO.766.4.3.

worries, and a celebration of Hellenic independence. While there is no way to gauge the therapeutic aspect of his activity, his life did eventually become more stable. He met and later married Marie Spartali, a woman of Greek ancestry, with whom he lived happily until his death in 1901.[49] As for the financial rewards, the album of twenty-five views,[50] dedicated to the family of his wife-to-be, yielded him a profit of about one thousand dollars, the equivalent of a year's consular salary.[51]

The album is called *The Acropolis of Athens: Illustrated Picturesquely and Architecturally in Photography;* both adverbs are significant as indicators of Stillman's intention. In a brief preface he strikes the note of documentary precision that has already been mentioned: "The negatives from which the following Autotypes have been printed have been, with one exception, left untouched . . . so that nothing should injure the outlines or diminish the Architectural accuracy of the views."[52] He also says that while photographing the buildings, he tried whenever possible to stand so that the views would be completely frontal and symmetrical. Such comments, combined with references to technical data,

49. Spartali modeled for several of the pre-Raphaelite painters, as well as for the photographer Julia-Margaret Cameron; see Lindquist-Cock (supra, note 46), pp. 12–14.

50. See supra, note 4.

51. Stillman (supra, note 45), p. 465.

52. The Getty's album is a presentation copy signed by Stillman, and this phrase has been emended in his hand to "with four exceptions."

such as his use of Dallmeyer's rectilinear lenses, create an atmosphere of scientific objectivity. We might be led, therefore, to expect a systematic, or even schematic, treatment of the site. Instead, we find ourselves in the hands of a brilliantly idiosyncratic tour guide, both expert and passionate about his material. Stillman's album does not conform to standard nineteenth-century practice, either architectural or archaeological.[53] His conception depends almost as much on the sequence of images as on their individual content, as the visual arrangement moves back and forth between far and near, inside and outside, high and low. To do full justice to his ideas, it is necessary to go through the album plate by plate. For the purposes of this essay it will suffice to concentrate on two of the most important subsets, the introduction and the studies of the Parthenon, and demonstrate how they fit into the larger pattern.

The first plate, located on the title page, shows the *Ancient Gate of the Acropolis,* through which we enter to begin our exploration of the site (fig. 9). Stillman takes care to show that, for all its venerability, the Acropolis is not a static diorama from a museum of cultural history. The first full-size picture establishes its presence as a dominant feature in a living landscape, even when its structures are almost invisible (fig. 10). The caption specifies that this long view is taken from the Hill of the Muses, and the subtle but unmistakable insistence on artistry is continued with the next image. We suddenly find ourselves in the theater of Dionysus, which is cut into the south slope of the Acropolis (fig. 11). The theatricality of the setting is highlighted by the statue in the extreme right foreground. This sculpture was doubtless put where it stands at Stillman's behest, and it functions as a substitute for the conventional figure in a landscape and for all spectators past and present.

After passing through the Propylaea, Stillman's first view of the Parthenon is completely frontal, recalling both the more conventional pictures of contemporaries like Bonfils and his own claims to greater accuracy (fig. 12). We might expect him to provide a matching view from the east end or possibly a tour around the other three sides, but he is not bound by such mechanical notions of symmetry. The next plate is a dramatic perspectival study of the western portico (fig. 13). Unlike

53. For example, in the early 1860s the gifted French photographer Edouard-Denis Baldus documented the rebuilding of the Louvre and the Tuilleries. He went seriatim from pavilion to pavilion. With unfailing regularity, each section of his monumental album begins with a general view, proceeds to a series of closer views from roof level to ground level, and ends with a systematic presentation of the decorative and sculptural programs.

Figure 12. William James Stillman (American, 1828–1901). *Western Facade of the Parthenon,* 1869. Carbon print. H: 17.9 cm (7 1/16"); W: 23.1 cm (9 1/16"). Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 84.XO.766.4.10.

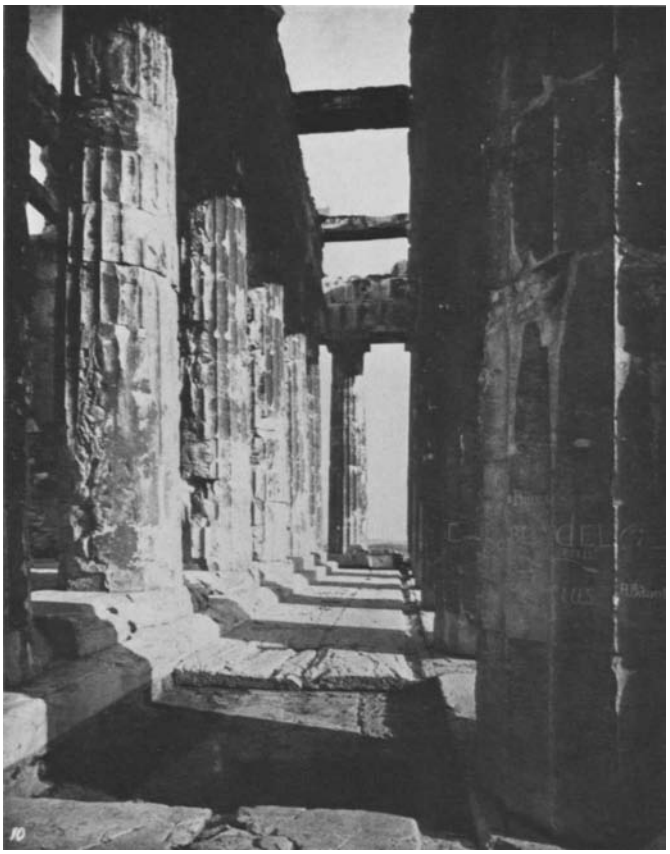

Figure 13. William James Stillman (American, 1828–1901). *Western Portico of the Parthenon,* 1869. Carbon print. H: 24.2 cm (9 9/16"); W: 19.1 cm (7 1/2"). Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 84. XO.766.4.11.

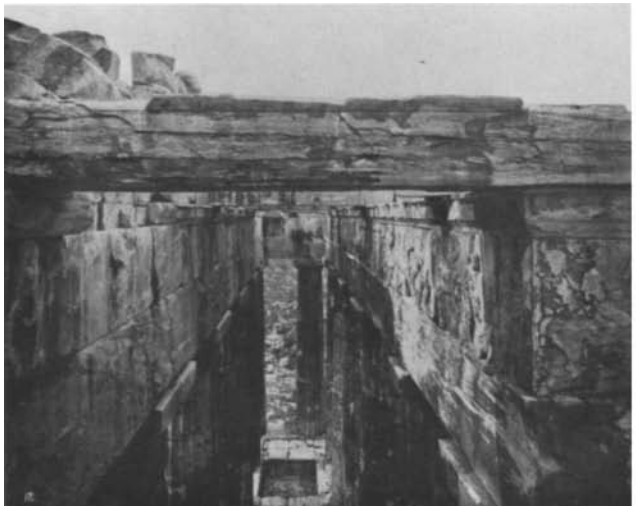

Figure 14. William James Stillman (American, 1828–1901). *Western Portico of the Parthenon, from Above, Showing the Frieze in Its Original Position,* 1869. Carbon print. H: 18.9 cm (7 7/16″); W: 23.4 cm (9 3/16″). Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 84.XO.766.4.13.

Figure 15. William James Stillman (American, 1828–1901). *View Taken from the Same Point as No. 12* [fig. 14] *and Looking Eastward over the Ruin of the Parthenon,* 1869. Carbon print. H: 17.7 cm (6 15/16″); W: 23.5 cm (9 1/4″). Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 84.XO.766.4.14.

Figure 16. William James Stillman (American, 1828–1901). *Eastern Portico of the Parthenon, View Looking Northward,* 1869. Carbon print. H: 24.2 cm (9 1/2″); W: 18.4 cm (7 1/4″). Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 84.XO.766.4.16.

Bonfils and most other photographers of the time, Stillman has gone inside the Parthenon, and this image makes explicit the album's political agenda: "The names scratched on the columns are those of Philhellenes, who fought here in the war of Greek independence."[54] Here Stillman's earlier support of the Cretan uprising against Ottoman rule finds a complex double reflection in the palimpsest created by the grafitti on the ancient marble. Despite the aforementioned stance of correctness and objectivity, his album is an allegory whose hero is the Greek spirit, specifically in its artistic and political manifestations. Stillman presents the buildings and their decorative elements iconographically to express what he saw as the Hellenic ideal. This would serve, at least in part, to explain the oscillation between long view and detail as well as the startling novelty of some of the visualizations.

Not content with the usual pedestrian point of view, Stillman took his camera up to the very top of the Parthenon to capture the last bits of the frieze in situ (fig. 14). This long sculpture in high relief depicted the great Panathenaic procession—in which all residents of the city took part—and thereby celebrated Athenian civic unity.[55] In the context of the album, it is another

54. This is Stillman's own caption. The abbreviation *Philh[elle]ne* is clearly visible inscribed under the signature of one Blondel. Given the difficulty of the exposure, Stillman might have retouched the negative to make the grafitti more vivid.

55. See Martin Robertson and Alison Frantz, *The Parthenon Frieze*

Figure 17. William James Stillman (American, 1828–1901). *Eastern Facade, or Front, of the Parthenon,* 1869. Carbon print. H: 18.5 cm (7 5/16"); W: 24 cm (9 7/16"). Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 84.XO.766.4.17.

Figure 18. William James Stillman (American, 1828–1901). *Profile of the Eastern Facade, Showing the Curvature of the Stylobate,* 1869. Carbon print. H: 18.4 cm (7 1/4"); W: 23.7 cm (9 3/8"). Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 84.XO.766.4.18.

example of the Greeks' ability to blend the aesthetic and the political. Having climbed to the top of the Parthenon, Stillman also took note of the practical problems involved in the production of the frieze, and the next plate is a dizzying view of the panorama the original craftsmen would have seen (fig. 15). When he returns to the ground, it is to find an unknown man—this might be a self-portrait[56]—within the eastern portico (fig. 16). In an unusual gesture, the man is turned away from the camera, and his posture is studiedly introspective under the column drum that seems so precariously balanced above him. Stillman seems to have placed special importance on this image, since it is the only picture in the album to include a figure in western dress, as well as the only one to be cropped with an arched top. Such features support the suggestion that it is a portrait of the artist.

There follows yet another example of oscillation; the next shot is the long-postponed, yet unexceptional, frontal view of the eastern facade (fig. 17). The penultimate view of the Parthenon is quite literally at ground level (fig. 18). It is accompanied by an erudite caption explaining the architectural refinements of the stone courses,[57] but the picture's visual components belie, or

Figure 19. William James Stillman (American, 1828–1901). *General View of the Summit of the Acropolis, from the Extreme Eastern Point, Showing the Erectheum* [Erechtheion] *at the Right,* 1869. Carbon print. H: 17.7 cm (6 15/16"); W: 24 cm (9 7/16"). Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 84.XO.766.4.19.

(Oxford, 1975). See also John Boardman and David Finn, *The Parthenon and Its Sculpture* (Austin, Tex., 1985).

56. The suggestion is made in Pare (supra, note 45), p. 242.

57. The following is excerpted from the caption: "Profile of the Eastern facade showing the curvature of the stylobate. This system of curvature of the Greek temples . . . seems, taken in conjunction with the diminution of the extreme intercolumniations of the facade . . . to indicate, as its purpose, the exaggeration of . . . the apparent size of the building. It is common to the Greek temples of the best epoch."

Figure 20. William James Stillman (American, 1828–1901). *Figure of Victory, from the Temple of Victory, High Relief,* 1869. Carbon print. H: 23.8 cm (9 3/8"); W: 18.3 cm (7 3/16"). Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 84.XO.766.4.25.

Figure 21. William James Stillman (American, 1828–1901). *Fragment of Frieze from the Parthenon,* 1869. Carbon print. H: 18.9 cm (7 7/16"); W: 23.9 cm (9 7/16"). Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 84.XO.766.4.26.

at least qualify, its ostensible scientific purpose. As in the earlier study of the theater of Dionysus, a piece of sculpture—here a small square votive relief showing a group of four men—has been placed in the scene to give it some narrative content. On a much reduced scale, it recalls the procession on the Parthenon frieze. Stillman ends his examination of Athena's temple by returning to the eastern facade but from a much greater distance than before (fig. 19). By using a second negative, the retouching he disclaimed in the preface, Stillman has filled the sky with lowering clouds that are more Ruskinian than Sophoclean. The dramatization of the site reaches its climax in this apotheosis of the Parthenon.

There follow several studies of the Erechtheion, and finally the last two images in the album depict details of the sculptural program: a winged victory from the parapet of Athena Nike, goddess of victory (fig. 20) and a panel from the Parthenon's Panathenaic frieze (fig. 21). With such an understated coda, Stillman returns to Greek art to summarize his themes of Hellenic triumph and democratic unity.

The Acropolis of Athens is unique in several respects. Stillman is aware of the traditional documentary approach and sometimes adopts its style, but he also uses the special properties of photography to convey his private vision of what has been called "the Greek miracle." In its combination of the personal, the epic, and the scientific, Stillman's work goes far beyond the conventional architectural photography of his time. It embodies both Romantic philhellenism and the nineteenth-century optimism that allied the moderns with the ancients in a bond of enlightened understanding.

In their different ways, the works of Stillman and Bonfils mark the end of the most creative period in the photography of classical sites in Athens.[58] Exploration and discovery were being transformed into something more routine. In photography, the field was left to the many small local studios that had sprung up to service the growing tourist industry. To the extent that they too were in the business of supplying true illusions, they were the descendants and beneficiaries of their predecessors.

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58. See Gary Edwards in the Benaki Museum catalogue (supra, note 15), pp. 23–24.

Die *Bathseba* des Giovanni Bologna

Herbert Keutner

Im Jahre 1970 hat Gunnar W. Lundberg die damals im Schloß Åkerö befindliche, selbst in Schweden nur lokal bekannte Marmorfigur einer *Bathseba* erstmals der kunsthistorischen Öffentlichkeit vorgestellt (Abb. 1). Älteren Inventaren folgend betrachtete er die heute im J. Paul Getty Museum (Abb. 2; Inv. 82.SA.37) aufbewahrte Statue als eine Schöpfung des Giovanni Bologna.[1]

Eine Diskussion über das Werk brachte Charles Avery in Gang, indem er im Jahre 1978 einen seit langem unbeachteten Wachsbozzetto einer *Frau, auf einem Baumstumpf sitzend,* ohne Kopf und Arme in die Giambologna–Ausstellung einbezog und die kleine Figur mit vorgeneigtem Oberkörper und hochgestelltem linken Bein im Katalogtext mit guten Gründen als eine Studie zu dem Marmorwerk in Schweden in Erwägung zog.[2] Zu der Statue selbst schrieb er, daß in ihr eine von zwei bisher verschollenen, von Raffaello Borghini im Jahre 1584 erwähnten Werken des Bildhauers erhalten sein könnte: entweder eine *Galathea,* die sein Mäzen Bernardo Vecchietti an einen ungenannten Empfänger in Deutschland gesandt hatte, oder eine *Sitzende, weibliche Figur* ohne Namen, die die Medici dem Herzog von Bayern geschenkt hatten.[3]

Fünf Jahre später hat Avery in einer reich illustrierten Abhandlung die überlieferte Attribution der Figur durch eine sorgfältige Beschreibung, durch Hinweise auf die besonderen Merkmale ihrer Komposition und Ausarbeitung in überzeugender Weise bestätigt.[4] Er hat die Besitzverhältnisse und Schicksale des Werkes in Schweden weitgehend klären und ihre Herkunft aus Deutschland glaubhaft darlegen können. Das im Ausstellungskatalog schon aufgeworfene Problem aber, welche der beiden nach Deutschland gelangten Figuren—die *Galathea* oder die namenlose *Sitzende*—mit der *Bathseba* für das Oeuvre des Meisters zurückgewonnen sei, ließ er nach der Erwägung beider Möglichkeiten nach wie vor offen. Da erst die Beantwortung dieser Frage erlaubt, dem neuen Werk seinen Platz innerhalb der künstlerischen Entwicklung des Bildhauers zuzuweisen, greife ich sie noch einmal auf und beginne mit einer erneuten Interpretation der beiden Textstellen bei Raffaello Borghini.

Die Lebensbeschreibung des Giovanni Bologna hatte Borghini mit einer kurzen Schilderung seiner Lehrzeit in Flandern, seiner römischen Studien und seiner ersten Auseinandersetzung mit der Florentiner Skulptur als Gast im Hause des Bernardo Vecchietti eingeleitet. Nachdem er die staunenswerte Fertigkeit des jungen Bildhauers im Entwurf von Ton-und Wachsmodellen hervorgehoben hatte, verzeichnete er als sein erstes, in Florenz geschaffenes Werk "una bellissima Venere," zu der ihm sein Gastgeber den Marmor beschafft habe.[5] Nach einem Hinweis auf seine Teilnahme an der Konkurrenz um den *Neptunbrunnen* auf der Piazza della Signoria beschrieb er als zweites Werk: "Lavorò una Galatea di marmo d'altezza di due braccia e mezo, che fu da M. Bernardo mandata nella Lamagna." Als dritte Figur, ausgeführt für Lattantio Cortesi, nannte er sodann "un Bacco di bronzo di braccia quattro." Zu den Entstehungszeiten dieser drei Werke besitzen wir keine dokumentarischen Belege, doch nimmt man mit Recht allgemein an, daß Giovanni Bologna diese Privataufträge in seinen ersten Florentiner Jahren zwischen 1553–55 und 1560–61 ausgeführt hat; vom Jahre 1560–61 an, in dem ihn der Prinz Francesco de' Medici in seinen persönlichen Dienst genommen hatte, konnte er dergleichen Aufträge bis auf weiteres nicht mehr annehmen.[6] Zeitlich nach der um 1555–57 gemeißelten

1. G. W. Lundberg, "Några bronser ur Carl Gustaf Tessins skulptursamling," *Konsthistorisk Tidskrift* 39 (1970), 113–115, Abb. 11. Lundberg zitierte die überlieferte Zuschreibung mit Vorbehalt, doch ohne seine Bedenken zu erläutern.

2. C. Avery, *Giambologna 1529–1608. Sculptor to the Medici,* 1. Aufl. (Edinburgh–London, 1978), 233, Nr. 248 mit Abb., oder *Giambologna 1529–1608. Ein Wendepunkt der europäischen Plastik,* 2. Aufl. (Edinburgh–London–Wien, 1978), 308–09,. Nr. 248 mit Abb.

3. R. Borghini, *Il Riposo* (Firenze, 1584), 286–87.

4. C. Avery, "Giambologna's 'Bathseba': An Early Marble Statue Rediscovered," *The Burlington Magazine* 125 (1983), 340–49.

5. Über diese nicht in Marmor sondern in Alabaster ausgeführte kauernde *Venus*, die sog. *Venus Vecchietti,* siehe: *Giambologna* (Anm. 2), 2. Aufl., 22 und 104, Nr. 23 mit Abb., sowie: H. Keutner, "Giambologna. Il Mercurio volante e altre opere giovanili," *Lo specchio del Bargello* 17 (Firenze, 1984), 5–14.

6. Spätestens seit dem Frühjahr 1560 stand Giovanni Bologna in Diensten des Prinzen Francesco, der ihm die Teilnahme an der 2.

Abb. 1 Giovanni Bologna (ital., 1529–1608). *Bathseba.* Alte Aufstellung im Treppenhaus in Schloß Åkerö, Schweden. Photo: mit freundlicher Genehmigung, Nordiska Museet, Stockholm.

Venus (Coll. Sir William Pennington Ramsden, Muncaster Castle) und vor dem um 1559–61 gegossenen *Bacchus* (Florenz, Borgo San Jacopo) entstanden, wird er die *Galathea* um 1557–59 geschaffen haben.[7]

Nach der Erwähnung weiterer, in den 60er Jahren vollendeter Werke, berichtete Borghini über die Marmorausführung der fünf Bracchien hohen Gruppe der "Firenze, che ha sotto un prigione" und fuhr in demselben Satz fort: "e nel medesimo tempo (lavorò) un' altra figura di marmo à sedere della grandezza d'una fanciulla di sedici anni, la quale statua fu mandata al Duca di Baviera;" anschließend schrieb er über die Ausarbeitung der vier großen Figuren für den *Okeanusbrunnen* im Boboligarten.[8] Dem Vitenverfasser folgend muß Giovanni Bologna die Figur der *Sitzenden* also etwa gleichzeitig mit der *Firenze* und vor der Fertigstellung des *Okeanusbrunnens* gemeißelt haben. Da wir aus Dokumenten wissen, daß er die Marmorgruppe der *Firenze als Siegerin über Pisa* in den Jahren 1570–72 und den *Okeanusbrunnen* in den Jahren 1572–76 ausgeführt

Konkurrenz um den Neptunbrunnen finanziell ermöglicht hatte; die entsprechenden Zahlungen sind publiziert: H. Keutner, "Un modello del Bandinelli per il Nettuno della fontana di Piazza della Signoria," in *Scritti di Storia dell'Arte in onore di Roberto Salvini* (Firenze, 1984), 422–23, Anm. 10. Ein festes, von Francesco gezahltes Gehalt an den Bildhauer ist seit 1561 beglaubigt, siehe: E. Dhanens, *Jean Boulogne. Giovanni Bologna Fiammingo. Douai 1529–Florence 1608* (Brüssel, 1956), 49.

7. M. Bury, "Bernardo Vecchietti, Patron of Giambologna," *I Tatti Studies. Essays in the Renaissance* 1 (1985), 26. Bury schlug für die Bronzestatue des *Bacchus* jüngst eine Entstehungszeit um die Mitte der 1550er Jahre vor; nach meiner Überzeugung ist jedoch die bisher übliche, zwischen 1558–59 und 1561–62 nur geringfügig schwankende Datierung einleuchtender zu begründen.

8. Borghini (Anm. 3), 586–87.

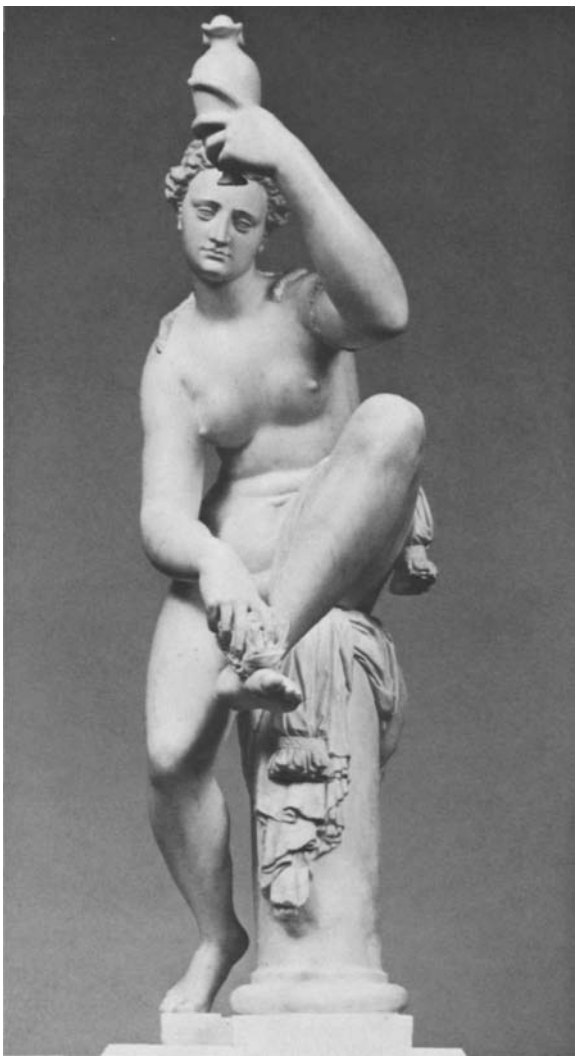


Abb. 2. Giovanni Bologna (ital., 1529–1608). *Bathseba.* Marmor. H: 115 cm (45¼"). Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 82.SA.37.

hat, dürfen wir als Entstehungszeit der namenlosen, nach Bayern gesandten *Sitzenden* etwa die Jahre 1571–73 ansetzen.[9]

Raffaello Borghini hat die Werke des befreundeten Bildhauers im großen und ganzen zuverlässig in ihrer zeitlichen Abfolge verzeichnet, so daß kein Grund besteht, die seinem Text zu entnehmenden, annähernden Datierungen der *Galathea* um 1557–59 und der *Sitzenden* um 1571–73 in Zweifel zu ziehen. Dies aber besagt, daß die beiden Figuren in einem Abstand von zehn bis fünfzehn Jahren entstanden sind, die erste noch als ein Frühwerk des 28 bis 30jährigen Meisters, die zweite als eine Schöpfung aus seinen besten Mannesjahren.

Nun ist die *Bathseba* nicht unversehrt erhalten; neben einigen kleineren Ergänzungen ist vor allem die linke, erhobene Hand mit dem Gefäß erneuert (Abb. 2). Da sie ursprünglich eine Muschel oder eine Koralle, die Attribute der *Galathea,* vorgewiesen haben könnte, schloß Avery nicht aus, daß in unserer Figur dieses frühe, von Borghini überlieferte Werk wiedergefunden sei.[10] Doch welchen Gegenstand auch immer sie einst in ihrer Linken getragen haben mag, die Möglichkeit, unsere Figur mit der um 1557–59 gemeißelten *Galathea* gleichzusetzen, sollte nicht weiterhin erörtert werden. Gegen eine solche Identifizierung spricht zunächst, daß Borghini sie als 2½ Bracchien, also als 146 cm hoch beschrieben hat, unsere *Bathseba* aber nur eine Höhe von 115 cm aufweist. Vor allem aber wird man sie aus stilistischen Gründen nicht als ein Frühwerk der 50er Jahre, der Zeit der Auseinandersetzung Giovanni Bolognas mit der Antike und der zeitgenössischen Florentiner Skulptur betrachten dürfen. Bei all seinem Bestreben in jenen ersten Jahren, auch die eigenen künstlerischen Vorstellungen schon zur Geltung zu bringen, lassen seine frühen Schöpfungen doch immer die Vorbilder deutlich erkennen, von denen er ausging oder mit denen er wetteiferte. So ist vor der um 1555–57 datierbaren *Venus* in Muncaster Castle die Abhängigkeit von der antiken, *kauernden Venus* des Doidalses ebenso offenkundig wie vor dem um 1559–61 entstandenen bronzenen *Bacchus* sein Bemühen, sich in Komposition und Modellierung dem *Perseus* des Cellini oder dem *Mars* des Ammannati ebenbürtig zu zeigen.[11] Vor unserer *Bathseba* aber kommen uns dergleichen Rück- oder Querbezüge auf Skulpturen älterer Meister nicht in den Sinn. Als ein Werk, das in Erfindung und Ausführung offenbar allein aus der Auseinandersetzung des Bildhauers mit sich selbst entstanden ist, muß es einer späteren Phase seiner Kunst angehören. So zögern wir nicht, in der *Bathseba* die zweite namenlose, aus Florenz nach Deutschland gelangte Figur wiederzuerkennen.

Daß Borghini in der einem Herzog von Bayern geschenkten Statue tatsächlich unsere *Bathseba* beschrieb,

9. Zur Marmorgruppe der *Firenze* siehe: E. Allegri und A. Cecchi, *Palazzo Vecchio e i Medici. Guida storica* (Firenze, 1980), 271–73. Zur Ausführung der Marmorfiguren des *Okeanusbrunnens* siehe: B. H. Wiles, *The Fountains of Florentine Sculptors and Their Followers from Donatello to Bernini* (Cambridge, Mass., 1933), 61–62 und 121–23, sowie E. Dhanens, Anm. 6, 167–68.

10. Avery (Anm. 4), 344–47.

11. Benvenuto Cellinis *Perseusgruppe* unter der Loggia dei Lanzi ist im April 1554 enthüllt worden; der *Mars* des Bartolomeo Ammannati im Treppenaufgang der Uffizien war spätestens im Juni 1559 vollendet, siehe: F. Kriegbaum, "Ein verschollenes Brunnenwerk des Bartolomeo Ammannati," *Mitt. d. Kunst. Inst. Florenz* 3 (1929–30), 86, Anm. 3.

Abb. 3 Giovanni Bologna (ital., 1529–1608). *La Fiorenza.* Bronze. H: 115 cm (45¼″). Florenz, Villa Petraia. Photo: mit freundlicher Genehmigung, Kunsthistorisches Institut Florenz; Luigi Artini.

Abb. 4. Giovanni Bologna (ital., 1529–1608). *Firenze als Siegerin über Pisa.* Marmor. H: 260 cm (102⅜″). Florenz, Museo Nazionale del Bargello. Photo: mit freundlicher Genehmigung, Kunsthistorisches Institut Florenz; Luigi Artini.

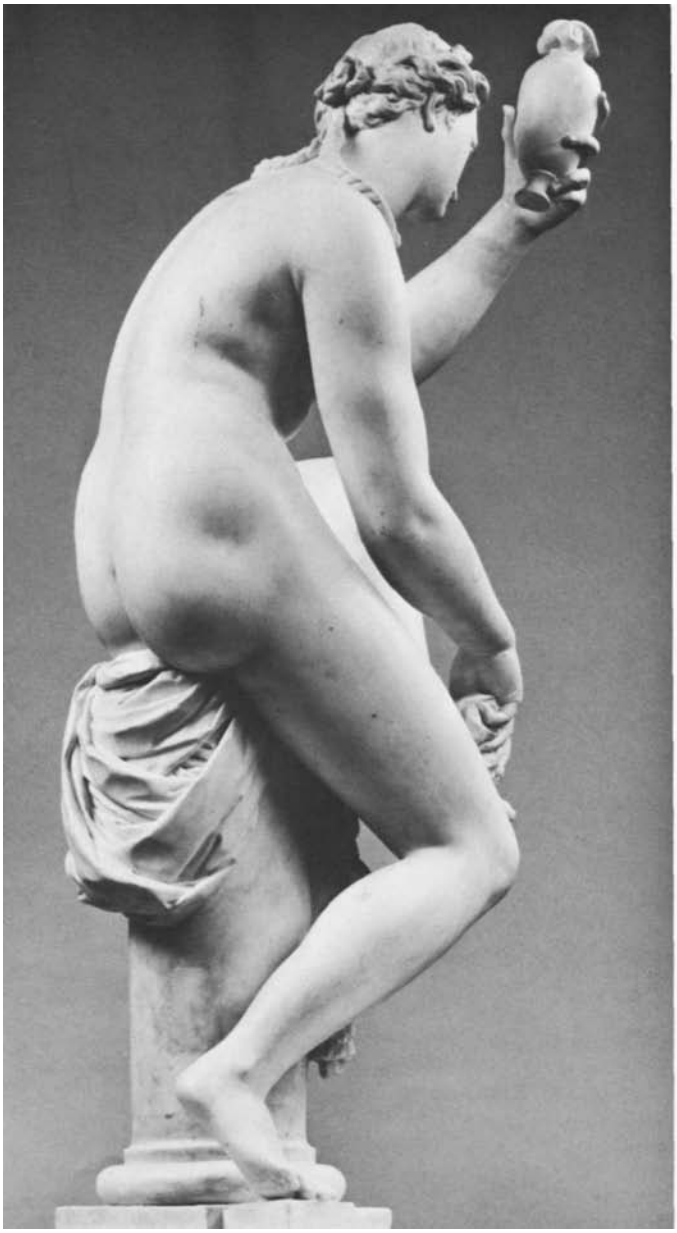


Abb. 5. Bathseba. Siehe Abb. 2.

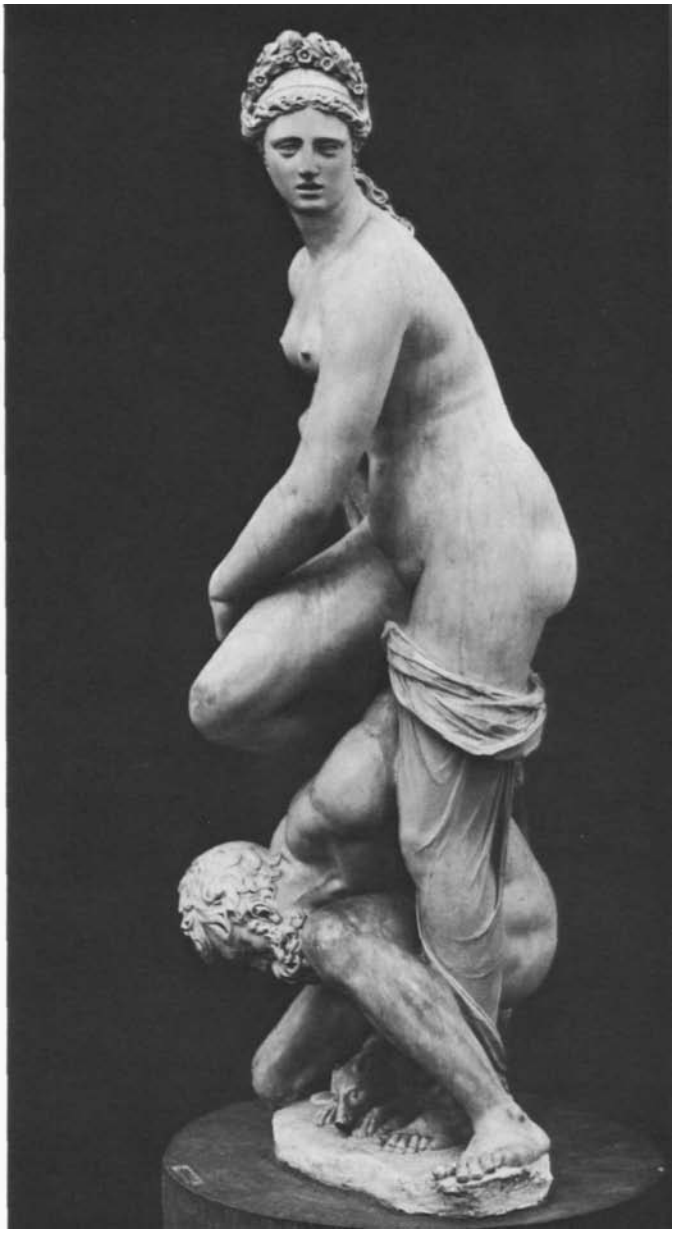


Abb. 6. Firenze als Siegerin über Pisa. Siehe Abb. 4. Photo: mit freundlicher Genehmigung, Kunsthistorisches Institut Florenz; Luigi Artini.

Abb. 7. Rechte Hand der *Bathseba.* Siehe Abb. 2.

Abb. 8. Linke Hand der *Firenze.* Siehe Abb. 4. Photo: mit freundlicher Genehmigung, Kunsthistorisches Institut Florenz; Luigi Artini.

geht im Grunde schon aus den wenigen Hinweisen auf ihre äußere Haltung und ihre Größe hervor: die junge Frau in voll entwickelten Körperformen ist als eine "figura di marmo à sedere" dargestellt und sie ist unterlebensgroß ausgeführt oder, wie Borghini es ausdrückte, "della grandezza d'una fanciulla di sedici anni," also in der Größe eines noch heranwachsenden Mädchens.[12] Darüber hinaus erscheint die Identität der um 1571–73 datierbaren *Sitzenden* mit der *Bathseba* vollends gesichert, wenn wir sehen, wie eng sie mit der nach Borghini gleichzeitig gemeißelten Marmorgruppe der *Firenze* oder auch mit anderen Werken aus denselben Jahren durch gemeinsame Stilmerkmale verbunden ist.

So ist die *Bathseba* als eine Gestalt von kräftiger Statur veranschaulicht (Abb. 2), von einer gesunden Körperfülle, wie sie Giovanni Bologna nur in diesen Jahren seinen weiblichen Figuren verliehen hat, etwa der um 1570–72 gegossenen Brunnenstatue der *Fiorenza* (Abb. 3), der um 1573–74 ausgeführten Statuette der *Astronomie* und natürlich der *Firenze als Siegerin über Pisa* (Abb. 4). Alle ihre Körper sind großformig entworfen, aus weit gewölbten Partien und fest gerundeten Gliedmaßen gleichsam zusammengesetzt. Und allen ist eine mehr straffe als nachgiebige Epidermis gemeinsam, die dem Betrachter die Übergänge des einen Körperteils in einen anderen, etwa im Schulterbereich, in der Hüftpartie oder in den Arm- und Kniebeugen verhehlt, die ihn Gelenke, Sehnen oder Muskeln nur erahnen läßt. Dennoch, die zarte, selbst dem sich nähernden Auge nicht unmittelbar wahrnehmbare Binnenmodellierung (Abb. 5, 6)—leichte Erhebungen und Einziehungen der Haut über Rumpf und Gliedern, eine mäßig vertiefte

12. In derselben Weise umschrieb Borghini (Anm. 3), 587, den unterlebensgroßen *Fliegenden Merkur* als "grande come un fanciullo di 15 anni."

13. Zur Charakterisierung dieser Stilphase siehe: H. Keutner, "Die künstlerische Entwicklung Giambolognas bis zur Aufrichtung der Gruppe des Sabinerinnenraubes," in *Giambologna* (Anm. 2), 2. Aufl., 25–28.

14. Die in den Jahren 1569 bis 1573 modellierten Stuckfiguren des *Cosimo* und des in manchen Teilen restaurierten *hl. Markus,* die David Summers in seinem Artikel "The Sculptural Program of the Cappella di San Luca in the Santissima Annunziata," *Mitt. d. Kunsth. Inst. Florenz* 14 (1969), 67–90, an je zwei Bildhauer, an Andrea Corsali—Giovanni Bologna und an Vincenzo Danti—Zanobi Lastricati, zugeschrieben hat, sind nach meinem Urteil Werke Giovanni Bolo-

Rückenlinie, wenige Bauchfalten und einzelne Grübchen in der Gesäßrundung oder im Ellbogen—artikuliert die Haltung der Körper zwar nur unmerklich, teilt insgesamt aber den Figuren dieser Jahre bei aller Typisierung ihres Aufbaus und aller Glätte ihres Außenbildes auch freie Beweglichkeit und innere Belebung mit.

Großzügig entworfene Grundformen und doch einfühlsame Modellierung, die diesen Frauengestalten ihre unpersönliche, aber nicht unnahbare Schönheit verleihen, sind natürlich auch in der Einzelausführung etwa ihrer Hände oder Köpfe zu beobachten (Abb. 7, 8). Ohne jede Ausarbeitung der Knöchel, Sehnen oder Adern gleiten aus den Handgelenken die Handrücken und aus ihnen die Finger fast zäsurlos hervor, und doch sind die Hände mit ihrer samtig weich modellierten Haut und den schmalen, feingliedrigen Fingern als äußerst empfindsam veranschaulicht. Auch die Köpfe, die Frisuren und Gesichter der *Astronomie,* der *Bathseba* und der *Firenze* sind ohne sonderliche Individualisierung belassen, Stirn und Augen, Mund and Kinn wirken in ihren einfachen Formen und in ihrem Verhältnis zueinander wie kanonisch vorgezeichnet (Abb. 9–11). Dennoch finden wir innerhalb der einheitlichen, modisch bedingten Frisuren die Zöpfe und Locken unterschiedlich kunstvoll geordnet, sehen bei aller Regungslosigkeit der Gesichtszüge doch die Wangen und Augen oder die Mund- und Kinnpartie durch die behutsamste Behandlung der Oberflächen von stillem Leben durchpulst.

Diese Vergleiche mögen genügen, um—von Borghinis Notizen ausgehend—die Jahre 1571–73 als die Entstehungszeit der *Bathseba* anzusetzen und sie als die von den Medici nach Bayern geschenkte Figur zu identifizieren. Innerhalb der Kunst des Giovanni Bologna entstand sie als ein Hauptwerk jener Entwicklungsphase, die man in weiten Grenzen mit den Jahren 1565 und 1575 abstecken kann.[13] Von den stilistischen, den Werken dieser Jahre eigentümlichen Merkmalen abgesehen, ist es im Gedanken an die Komposition unserer *Sitzenden* aufschlußreich festzustellen, daß sich der Bildhauer zu keiner anderen Zeit so anhaltend mit den Problemen der Sitzstatue beschäftigt hat wie in diesem Jahrzehnt, etwa in den beengt sitzenden Figuren des *Cosimo als Josua* oder des *hl. Markus* in der Akademiekapelle, in der aufrecht sitzenden *Architektur,* in den unbequem hockenden *Flußgöttern des Okeanusbrunnens,* sowie schließlich in unserer, in labilem Sitz sich vorneigenden *Bathseba.*[14]

Für die Beschaffung des Marmorblocks, für seine Bossierung oder die Fertigstellung unserer Figur sind bis heute keine Zahlungsdokumente bekannt oder aufgefunden worden. Auch die Suche nach anderen frühen Nachrichten, die Durchsicht der Korrespondenz der Medici mit den Wittelsbachern im Florentiner Staatsarchiv und Stichproben in den Münchener Archiven blieben ohne Erfolg.[15] Da anläßlich einer so ansehnlichen Schenkung zwischen den Partnern mit Sicherheit ein Briefwechsel geführt worden war, ist zu hoffen, daß er in Zukunft noch ans Licht kommt. Angesichts dieser negativen Ergebnisse—ohne Dokumente aus der Zeit des Auftrags, der Ausarbeitung und Überführung der Figur nach Bayern—können wir die frühe Geschichte der *Bathseba* nicht endgültig befriedigend aufklären, können vor allem über zwei, durch Borghinis Text aufgeworfene Fragen nur unsere Mutmaßungen anstellen: über die Frage nach der ursprünglichen Benennung und Bedeutung der lediglich als "figura di marmo à sedere" verzeichneten Statue, sowie über die Frage nach der nur allgemein als "Duca di Baviera" erwähnten Person des Empfängers und ersten Besitzers.

Ohne Wissen um die aus der schwedischen Überlieferung bekannte Deutung der Figur als *Bathseba,* würde wohl ein jeder die antikisch nackte Gestalt für eine *Venus* oder eine *Nymphe* halten. Eine *Bathseba* würde man in ihr umso weniger vermuten, als das Thema der verführerisch schönen Gemahlin des Urias allzeit nur in Malerei, Graphik und Reliefkunst und nur in erzählender Form dargestellt worden ist, meist als ein Bild der *Bathseba, von David beim Bade beobachtet,* seit dem 16. Jahrhundert vereinzelt auch als *Bathseba bei der Toilette von Mägden bedient.* Aus solchen szenischen Zusammenhängen aber herausgelöst und dem Betrachter in einem Gemälde oder gar in einer Skulptur als Einzelfigur präsentiert, ist sie in der Geschichte der Kunst und Ikonographie schlechterdings unbekannt.[16] So ist es, wenn auch nicht beweisbar, doch sehr wahrscheinlich, daß Giovanni Bologna unsere *Sitzende* als eine Gestalt

gnas. Die Komposition der *Architektur* wird allgemein um 1570–72 angesetzt; die originalgroßen Stuckmodelle der Flußgötter waren spätestens im Herbst 1572 vollendet, zu der Zeit, zu der sie probeweise am Brunnen versetzt worden waren.

15. Dorothea Diemer, Peter Diemer und Johannes Erichsen—als Kunsthistoriker heute die besten Kenner der Münchener Archive—teilten mir freundlicherweise mit, daß auch sie während ihrer langjährigen Studien unsere *Bathseba* in den 1570er Jahren nicht erwähnt gefunden haben.

16. E. Kunoth–Leifels, Stichwort *Bathseba, Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie,* 8 Bde. (Rom–Freiburg–Basel–Wien, 1968–76), Bd. 1, Sp. 254–58.

der Mythologie entworfen und ausgeführt hatte. Ihre Umdeutung von einem antiken Sinnbild weiblicher Schönheit in ein alttestamentarisches in der Person der Bathseba wurde, wie wir vermuten, in Bayern, dem deutschen Kernland gegenreformatorischen Geistes, vorgenommen: als *Bathseba*, die schöne Gemahlin des Königs David und Mutter Salomos, konnte ihr Marmorbild in der herzoglichen Residenz uneingeschränkter Betrachtung und Bewunderung dargeboten werden.

Ferner muß vorerst offen bleiben, an welchen "Duca di Baviera" Francesco de'Medici unsere Figur gesandt hatte, an den regierenden Herzog Albrecht V. (1528–79) oder an einen seiner Söhne, die Herzöge Wilhelm (1548–1626), Ferdinand (1550–1608) oder Ernst (1554–1612). Seit der Verschwägerung der Häuser Medici und Wittelsbach im Jahre 1565, seit der Hochzeit Francescos mit Johanna von Österreich, der jungen Schwester von Albrechts V. Gemahlin Anna, hatten sich die Verbindungen zwischen Florenz und München spürbar belebt. Doch es war nicht der für die zeitgenössische Kunst Italiens wenig aufgeschlossene Albrecht V., der die vermehrten Kontakte pflegte, sondern die jungen Herzöge. Unter ihnen wird man als Empfänger der Statue nicht so sehr an den jüngsten Herzog Ernst, den späteren Erzbischof und Kurfürsten von Köln,[17] als vielmehr an seine älteren Brüder denken. Den Thronfolger Wilhelm wird man in Erwägung ziehen, weil er nach seiner Hochzeit mit Renata von Lothringen im Jahre 1568 bis zu seinem Regierungsantritt im Jahre 1579 die Burg Trausnitz in Landshut als glanzvolle Residenz ausbauen und, ab 1573 unter der Leitung des Vasarischülers Friedrich Sustris (um 1540–99), mit allen Einrichtungen der Repräsentation eines Renaissancefürsten ausstatten ließ. Neben vielerlei anderen Dingen zur Auszierung von Schloß und Garten erbat und erhielt er von Francesco auch Entwürfe für einen Brunnen und eine Grottenanlage.[18] Man wird aber auch an Herzog Ferdinand denken, der als Abgesandter seines Vaters zur Hochzeit Francescos in Florenz weilte, während dieses Aufenthaltes die Kunst und den Kunstbetrieb in der Stadt kennenlernte und alle bedeutenderen Kirchen aufsuchte. In seinem Reisetagebuch hob er vor allem die Besichtigungen der Medicigräber Michelangelos und der Fresken Pontormos im Chor von San Lorenzo hervor, aber auch die Besuche der Gießerei bei S. Marco und des Gartens und der Brunnen der Villa Castello.[19] Ohne Ehrgeiz in den Staatsgeschäften, weltlich gesonnen, ein Freund und Sammler der Künste—und selbst in ihnen dilettierend—hat er, seiner Florentiner Eindrücke stets eingedenk, in den 70er Jahren in München eine Gießerei einrichten lassen. In den späten 80er Jahren hat er dann vor seinem Palast am Rindermarkt von Hubert Gerhard (um 1550–1622/23), den Schöpfungen Ammannatis und Giovanni Bolognas nacheifernd, einen vielfigurigen Brunnen ausführen lassen, den ersten "italienischen" Monumentalbrunnen nördlich der Alpen.[20] Diese wenigen Hinweise auf Verbindungen der Herzöge Wilhelm und Ferdinand zum Florentiner Hof mögen zur Genüge begründen, warum wir in einem von ihnen den ersten Besitzer der *Bathseba* vermuten.

Doch nicht nur aus den ersten Jahren, auch aus den nachfolgenden Jahrzehnten ließen sich keine Nachrichten über unsere Figur ermitteln; in keiner der bis heute bekannten Listen oder Inventare des fürstlichen Kunstbesitzes aus dem späten 16. oder frühen 17. Jahrhundert fand sich ihre Existenz oder Aufstellung in München oder an einem anderen Ort des Herzogtums vermerkt. Dennoch hatte sich Raffaello Borghini in seiner Mitteilung über die Versendung der "figura di marmo à sedere" an einen "Duca di Baviera" nicht geirrt. Daß sich die *Bathseba* tatsächlich im Besitz der bayerischen Herzöge befunden hat, ist uns freilich erst aus einer Zeit dokumentiert, zu der sie in München schon nicht mehr vorhanden war.

In einer auf breiten Archivstudien fußenden Abhandlung über "Entstehung und Ausbau der Kammergalerie Maximilians I. von Bayern" hat uns Peter Diemer im einzelnen auch über die Plünderung des fürstlichen Kunstbesitzes in München durch König Gustav Adolf im Mai 1632 und über die im Jahre 1635 aufgenommene Neueinrichtung der Sammlungen durch den seit 1598 regierenden Maximilian I. (1573–1651) unterrichtet.[21] Zu den teils erfolgreichen, teils erfolglosen Bemühungen um eine Wiederbeschaffung der entführten Be-

17. Als junger Bischof von Freising verbrachte Ernst in den Jahren 1574 und 1575 einen Bildungs- und Erziehungsaufenthalt in Rom. In seiner Korrespondenz aus dieser Zeit befindet sich vom 10. Februar 1575 ein Dankbrief an Francesco für die Übersendung einer *statua*, die jedoch weder nach Thema, noch nach Größe oder Material beschrieben ist (ASF, Mediceo 4281, lett. 102). Daß es sich in ihr um die *Bathseba* gehandelt haben könnte, halte ich für ausgeschlossen.

18. In dem über ein Jahrzehnt hin anhaltenden Geschenkeaustausch zwischen Francesco und Wilhelm war der letztere meist der empfangende Partner, siehe: B. Ph. Baader, *Der Bayerische Renaissancehof Herzog Wilhelms V.* (Leipzig–Straßburg), 1944, passim.

19. Das Tagebuch der Reise Ferdinands zur Hochzeit des Prinzen Francesco nach Florenz liegt im Geheimen Hausarchiv, München, Akt. 924. Ein zweites Exemplar befindet sich im Hauptstaatsarchiv, München, Fürstentom 26, 1–84.

20. Über Geschichte und Schicksale des seit dem frühen 17. Jahrhundert im Residenzhof aufgerichteten Brunnens siehe: D. Diemer, "Bronzeplastik um 1600 in München. Neue Quellen und Forschungen. Teil I und II,:" *Jahrbuch des Zentralinstituts für Kunstgeschichte* 2 (1986), 107–177 und 3 (1987) im Druck, dort der Abschnitt: "Hubert

stände veröffentlichte Diemer als Beispiel einer vergeblichen Recherche Maximilians I. den Auszug aus einem Brief, in dem der Amberger Rentmeister Sickhenhauer am 21. Juli 1635 eine Anfrage des Herzogs nach dem Verbleib der von den Schweden zunächst nach Nürnberg verbrachten Kunstwerke; der uns betreffende Abschnitt des Schreibens lautet ins Neuhochdeutsche übertragen: "Ich konnte aber nichts über das hinaus erfahren, was mir die Leute in Nürnberg schon gesagt haben und zwar, daß der vor Lützen gefallene König von Schweden, als er erstmals von München wieder nach Nürnberg kam, die lebensgroße Bathseba von weißem Marmor mit sich geführt und das Bildwerk sehr bald nach Stockholm in Schweden verschickt hat."[22]

Auch wenn in dem Schreiben der Name des Meisters der *Bathseba* nicht genannt ist, bedarf dessen Inhalt doch keines weiteren Kommentars. Das Dokument bestätigt ein weiteres Mal die Ergebnisse, die wir zunächst über eine Interpretation des Textes von Raffaello Borghini und sodann auf dem Weg der Stilkritik gewonnen haben, daß uns in unserer Figur tatsächlich jene von Giovanni Bologna gleichzeitig mit der Gruppe der *Firenze* gemeißelte, an den bayerischen Hof gesandte *Sitzende* erhalten ist. Darüber hinaus unterrichtet uns das Dokument, daß man die im Jahre 1632 nach Schweden verbrachte Statue schon in Bayern als *Bathseba* betrachtet hat.[23]

Abschließend noch einige Beobachtungen zur Erhaltung unserer Figur. Ihr gegenwärtiger, auf den ersten Blick makellos wirkender Zustand ist, wie wir wissen, das Ergebnis einer im Jahre 1981 durchgeführten Herrichtung, zu einen Zeit also, zu der sich die Figur noch im Kunsthandel befand. Aus dem Bericht des Restaurators erfahren wir,[24] daß er neben einer sorgfältigen Reinigung und geringen Ausbesserungen der Marmoroberfläche die verlorenen Zehen des linken Fußes und die Nasenspitze ergänzte, daß er die Sockelplatte und Plinthe veränderte und schließlich die als eine ältere Restaurierung vorgefundene linke Hand mit dem Gefäß entfernte und in anderer Weise erneuerte (Abb. 2). In der Abbildung der *Bathseba* auf ihrem früheren Aufstellungsplatz im Treppenhaus des Schlosses Åkerö ist ihr Zustand vor diesen Eingriffen deutlich zu erkennen (Abb. 1).

Von der Hinzufügung der Zehen abgesehen, sind die vorgenommenen Veränderungen wenig glücklich ausgefallen. Vergleichen wir die ergänzte Nase der *Bathseba* etwa mit den Nasen der *Firenze* oder der *Astronomie* (Abb. 9–11), so fällt auf, daß ihre Nasenspitze nicht gerundet ausgearbeitet ist wie diese, sondern zugespitzt, daß sich Nasenspitze und Nasenflügel also nicht gleichermaßen zu einem organischen Ganzen verbinden. Mit der geraden, in scharfem Winkel zurückspringenden Nase erscheint ihr Profil eckiger, ihr Gesichtsausdruck starrer, ihr Kopf insgesamt unweiblicher als die Köpfe der beiden anderen Figuren. Eine so wenig sensible Nase, wie sie die *Bathseba* heute trägt, gibt es im Oeuvre des Giovanni Bologna nicht.

Mit der Änderung der Basiszone sollte offenbar die Standfestigkeit des Bildwerks verstärkt werden (Abb. 1 und 5). So wurde die Plinthe unter der Säule und dem rechten Fuß um mehr als das Doppelte erhöht und die Figur sodann auf eine nach Seitenlänge und Höhe um ein Drittel vergrößerte Sockelplatte versetzt. Auch wenn der Betrachter es nicht abschätzen kann, ob die Basis nun tatsächlich tragfähiger geworden ist, so wird ihm doch dieser Eindruck vermittelt, ein Eindruck der äußeren Absicherung und Stabilisierung der Statue, den zu erwecken Giovanni Bologna in seinen Werken stets vermieden hat. Selbst bei gewagtesten Stellungen entwarf er seine Figuren immer als sich selbst tragend und veranschaulichte das durch eine für das Auge des Betrachters überprüfbare, sorgfältig kalkulierte Ponderation. Zur Vermittlung dieses Eindrucks, daß die Gestalten ihr Gleichgewicht selbst wahren, ihre Sicherheit selbst gewährleisten, war er nicht zuletzt darauf bedacht, alle äußeren, stützenden oder tragenden Elemente auf das unerläßlich Notwendige einzuschränken. Deshalb richtete er seine Bronzestatuetten oder Marmorfiguren stets auf unscheinbaren, flachen Plinthen auf und bemaß sie so knapp, daß Füße und Beiwerk soeben noch Platz finden. Für unsere *Bathseba* hatte er gar, um keine größere Plinthe für Säule und Fuß verwenden zu müssen, für die zurückgesetzte Fußspitze eine eigene kleine Platte ausgeschnitten. Daß er hier,

Gerhards Brunnen für Herzog Ferdinand von Bayern."

21. Siehe: *Quellen und Studien zur Kunstpolitik der Wittelsbacher vom 16. bis 18. Jahrhundert. Mitteilungen des Hauses der Bayer. Geschichte,* I (1980), 140–44 und Anm. 83.

22. Der bei P. Diemer, Anm. 21 publizierte Originaltext lautet: "Ich hab aber ein mehrers nit erfahren migen, als das mir die von Nörnberg selbsten gesagt, wie das der vor Lüzen Todtgebliebne Khönig in Schweden, die persebea von weisem marmor in lebens größe als derselben von München das erstemal wider auf Nörnberg khomen, mit sich gebracht, und solch bild als balden in Schweeden nacher Stockhholben verschickht." (Bayer. Hauptstaatsarchiv, Kasten schwarz 5233, 2b).

23. Auch wenn Giovanni Bologna die *Sitzende* nach meiner Überzeugung nicht als *Bathseba* ausgeführt hat, sollte man aus Gründen der Verständigung die letztere Bezeichnung bis auf weiteres beibehalten.

24. C. Avery (Anm. 4), 349, Appendix.

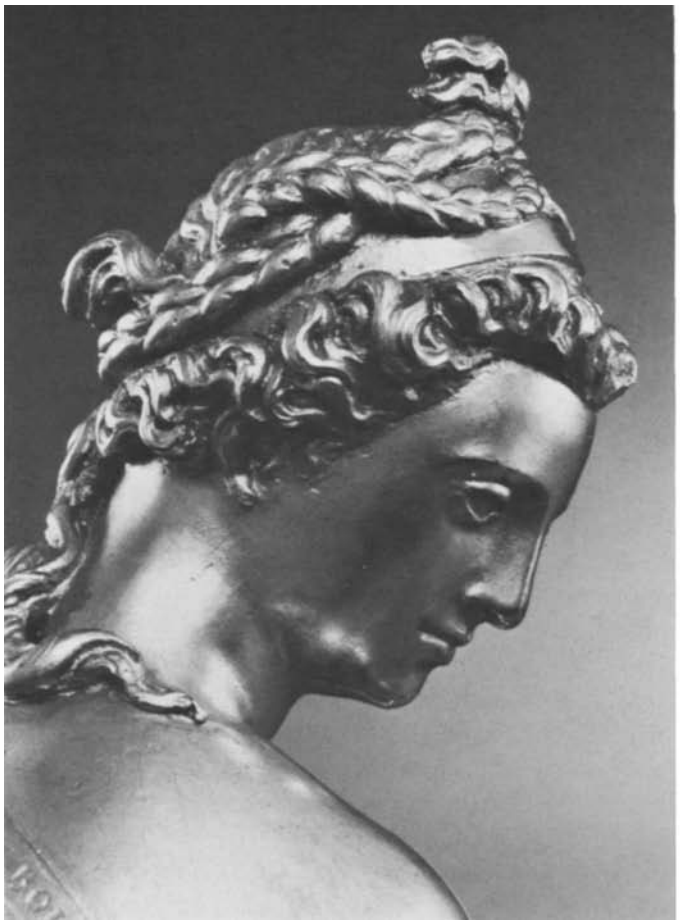


Abb. 9 Giovanni Bologna (ital., 1529–1608). Kopf der *Astronomie*. Bronze. H (der Figur): 38.8 cm (15¼"). Wien, Kunsthistorisches Museum Inv. 5893. Photo: mit freundlicher Genehmigung, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Wien.

Abb. 10. Kopf der *Bathseba*. Siehe Abb. 2.

aber auch in anderen Werken, so "umständlich" verfuhr, zeigt noch einmal, einen wie großen Wert er in der Darbietung seiner Figuren auf die äußerst reduzierten Standflächen legte. Mit der Verstärkung und Vergrößerung der zuvor noch weitgehend originalen Basiszone hat man also den künstlerischen Vorstellungen des Bildhauers entgegengearbeitet.

Schließlich wurde in der Londoner Werkstätte die linke erhobene Hand mit dem kleinen Gefäß, wohl als eine unpassend empfundene, ältere Ergänzung entfernt (Abb. 1) und durch eine andere mit ungleich größerer Vase ersetzt. Wie der glatte Schnitt unterhalb des Handgelenks anzeigt, war die bemängelte Hand in früherer Zeit nicht abgebrochen und wiederangesetzt, sondern gänzlich erneuert worden. Das muß nach 1770 geschehen sein, weil aus zwei Bestandsaufnahmen der Kunstwerke in Åkerö von 1757 und 1770 hervorgeht, daß unsere *Bathseba* damals "an Händen und Füßen ein wenig beschädigt" war.[25] Da kein Grund besteht anzunehmen, daß die Schäden in den beiden Listen beschönigt sind, wird die Hand tatsächlich nur geringfügig verletzt gewesen sein. Die Vermutung liegt also nahe, daß der nach 1770 tätige Restaurator sie nicht nach eigenem Geschmack sondern nach dem Vorbild der von ihm abgenommenen, nur beschädigten Hand erneuert hatte—eine Überlegung, die sich als zutreffend erweisen läßt. Als ein Beispiel für die hohe Einschätzung der *Bathseba* in Schweden machte Avery auf einige Gipsko-

25. Zuletzt publiziert von C. Avery (Anm. 4), 348, Anm. 34 und 35. Die Texte lauten im Inventar von 1757: "En sittiande Bathseba wacker statue af Giovanni di Bologna litet skadd på händer och fötter. 47 tumb hwit marmor. Träpiedestal." Und in der Liste von 1770 heißtes: "En sittande Bathseba, skön statue af Giovanni di Bologna, något skadad på händer och fötter, 47 tum hög, hvit Marbre de Carrare, piedestalen af träd. ...," 280.

26. C. Avery (Anm. 4), 347. Über Carlo Carove siehe: E. Andrén in *Svenskt Konstnärs Lexikon* (1952), Bd. 1, 288.

27. Frau Dr. Karin Rådström danke ich sehr herzlich für ihre

Abb. 11 Kopf der *Firenze*. Siehe Abb. 4. Photo: mit freundlicher Genehmigung, Kunsthistorisches Institut Florenz; Luigi Artini.

Abb. 12 Carlo Carove (ital., nachweisbar tätig seit 1666, gest. 1697). Gipsabguß der *Bathseba* des Giovanni Bologna. H: ungefähr 115 cm (45¼″). Katrineholm, Schloß Ericsberg. Photo: mit freundlicher Genehmigung, Schloß Ericsberg, Katrineholm, Schweden.

pien aufmerksam, die der italienische Stuckateur Carlo Carove (in Schweden tätig seit 1666–67, dort gest. 1697) vermutlich um 1670 für den prunkvollen Baderaum des Schlosses Ericsberg, Södermanland, angefertigt hatte.[26] Diese sorgfältig hergestellten und gut erhaltenen Kopien (Abb. 12)[27] lassen keinen Zweifel daran, daß der ältere Restaurator tatsächlich keine willkürliche Ergänzung vorgenommen, sondern die Hand mit dem Gefäß so nachgearbeitet hat, wie er sie vorgefunden hatte und wie sie zumindest seit 1670 vorhanden war.

Mit der Erneuerung dieser Hand hat man sehr wahrscheinlich ihren auf Giovanni Bologna zurückgehenden Zustand,[28] in jedem Falle aber eine erhaltenswerte historische Ergänzung ohne ersichtlichen Grund entfernt. In der älteren Fassung (Abb. 12) sieht man die junge Frau mit beiden Händen gleichermaßen zurückhaltend beschäftigt: mit der Linken hat sie ihr kleines Gefäß über den Haaransatz oberhalb der linken Stirnhälfte angehoben, während sie mit einem Tuch in der hinabgreifenden Rechten ihren Fuß trocknet. Es sind alltäglich

liebenswürdigen Bemühungen um die Beschaffung einer Photographie von einer der 5 Kopien. Mein aufrichtiger Dank gilt nicht minder dem Freiherrn Carl Jedward Boude, Schloß Ericsberg, für die freundliche Erlaubnis zur Herstellung der Photographie.

28. Ich schreibe "sehr wahrscheinlich," weil natürlich nicht gänzlich auszuschließen ist, daß die Hand auch vor 1670 schon einmal restauriert worden ist.

gewohnte, anspruchslose Verrichtungen, die sie innerlich unbeteiligt ausübt; vor sich hinsinnend hängt sie anderen Gedanken nach. So empfindet der Betrachter die maßvollen Regungen ihrer Arme and Hände in vollem Einklang mit der leichten Neigung ihres Kopfes, der geringen Biegung ihres Rumpfes, der einfachen Haltung der Beine und begreift alle ihre Gliedmaßen als gleichwertige Komponenten eines Gesamtbildes von stillem, beschaulichem Dasein.

Heute sieht man die Vase—sie ist eine Kopie der Büchse der Pandora aus der Bronzegruppe des Adrian de Vries[29]—sowohl durch ihre ungewöhnliche Größe als auch durch den besonderen Platz ausgezeichnet, den man ihr verschafft hat (Abb. 2): die mit breitem Handrücken unproportioniert große Linke ist, im Gelenk abgewinkelt, einwärts geführt und hält die vor die Stirnmitte versetzte Vase dem Betrachter wie eine Trophäe entgegen, zieht sein Augenmerk auf sich wie auf ein zentrales Objekt der Komposition des Bildwerks, wie ein Hauptattribut der dargestellten Person. Mit der Gewichtigkeit aber, die man der Hand mit dem großen Gefäß derart zugemessen hat, hob man den für die alte Fassung so bezeichnenden Gleichklang der beiden gemessen agierenden Hände ebenso auf, wie man die Ausgewogenheit im Gesamtaufbau der Figur durch einen eigenwillig nach oben verlegten Akzent gestört hat. Giovanni Bologna hatte gerade jegliche Betonung eines Einzelmotivs vermieden, um unsere Aufmerksamkeit in der Betrachtung der unaufdringlichen Mannigfaltigkeit seiner Schöpfung, in der Bewunderung der Schönheit der Gestalt unserer *Bathseba* nicht abzulenken.

Florenz

29. Die 250 cm hohe Gruppe *Merkur und Pandora* befindet sich in Paris, Louvre (Inv. M.R. 3270); dort wie auch in manchen Publikationen findet man sie irrtümlicherweise als *Merkur und Psyche* verzeichnet.

Acquisitions/1986

Introduction

The year 1986 was one of steady growth for the collections. The most important acquisitions were made from private sources, not at auctions, so our work went on largely out of the glare of publicity. The results of our intensive collecting during the last few years became more and more evident in the galleries, however, as renovations continued and lesser objects were regularly displaced by greater ones.

We continued to spend a good deal of time with our architect Richard Meier and with the Getty Trust staff in developing plans for a new museum. It is to be in the foothills of the Santa Monica Mountains, about twenty minutes' drive from the present Getty Museum. Belonging to a complex of buildings that in 1993 will house the various organizations of the Getty Trust, the museum will be the largest and the only public part. The collections from the Middle Ages to 1900 will be shown there, while the present building in Malibu will become a museum of Greek and Roman art.

We helped the Meier office analyze the program we had prepared over the past several years, which had been combined into an overall program for the new Getty buildings. Our needs were translated into square footages and functional relationships and then, during the summer, into schematic drawings. For the first time we could see Meier's ingenious solution for organizing the whole complex on the hill, a site that poses practical problems of every kind even as it provides an inspiring place for the buildings. We could finally begin to visualize the buildings themselves, atop the ridges, separate but nearby one another, their varied shape and scale reflecting their different purposes, their similar formal vocabulary making visual and symbolic links. Materials sympathetic to the landscape will be used, especially stone. The program calls for a museum of moderate size and of unusual shape. The collections will be housed in about sixty thousand square feet of galleries in six separate two-story buildings of differing form, linked by short covered or enclosed walks, so as to give as varied and pleasant an experience as possible. We want the visitor to be rewarded not only with beautifully exhibited works of art but also with gardens, distant views, and pauses for relaxation. As 1986 came to an end we had accepted the basic elements of the solution and were working on refinements of Meier's schematic design.

In Malibu, our ceaseless renovation of the buildings continued. A growing collection and staff, and the need for more public services, have squeezed the Villa building and our office annex, Mr. Getty's so-called Ranch House. Galleries for antiquities, paintings, manuscripts, and photographs got the most attention in 1986, so that a visitor who returns today after just a few years' absence will be struck by the changes in ambience as well as in the objects shown. The large basement studio formerly used by Paintings and Antiquities Conservation, which had been vacated for improved quarters at the Ranch House, was being rebuilt to serve as offices for four curatorial departments.

American museums always seem to look like construction sites, so all this activity does not set us apart; the rate of our acquisitions does. Building a distinguished collection remains our first priority and our biggest challenge. I should like to review some of the progress made last year by the various curatorial departments.

For the Department of Antiquities, most major acquisitions in 1986 were Greek. The smallest is among the most important we have ever made, a fifth-century bronze statuette representing a fallen or dying youth. No other Greek bronze of the period embodies the ideal of *kalos thanatos* (beauty in death) so eloquently. The complex arched and twisting pose embodies the most advanced ideas in sculpture, well ahead of any surviving contemporary figures in marble. We do not know yet how it was originally intended to be seen, since it has lost its companions or the landscape elements that would presumably have supported it. Nevertheless, the daring pose and refined modeling and finishing put it among the finest Greek bronzes that have come down to us.

Having acquired a large group of outstanding Greek vases from Walter and Molly Bareiss in 1984, we have been adding only the choicest examples. A cup attributed to Onesimos stands out among the vases that came on the market last year, and indeed among all red-figure vases, for its original treatment of a favorite beauty-and-the-beast theme, the encounter of a sleeping maenad with an amorous satyr who creeps precariously down a cliff toward her. This is Attic draughtsmanship at its most expressive.

Several terracottas from the Greek colonies in South Italy were acquired in 1986. Though terracottas are relatively abundant in older collections of antiquities, the Museum is still building its small but important group. The late archaic incense burner in the form of a Nike

figure is a startling rediscovery. It has no known parallel in Magna Grecia where it was made but has several Attic precedents; almost perfectly preserved, with many traces of color, the Nike has all the insouciant freshness of her sisters, the korai, at the dawn of Greek sculpture. A pair of terracotta altars of a century later are also unprecedented. The reliefs show Adonis and his attendants represented with the mobile poses and fluid clinging drapery that we associate with the latest fifth-century stone sculpture in Greece, here executed in a medium normally used for molded pieces.

The high point of the year, however, was the purchase of ten silver drinking vessels. Added to the Museum's earlier holdings, they help make ours the finest collection of Eastern Hellenistic silver in the world. In antiquity such silver was a token of wealth and imperial favor, as well as an artistic medium; but it was melted down by captors and thieves on such a scale that very little has survived. Thus each new discovery is precious. The group of rhyta (horn-shaped spouted vessels) is the most impressive. There are two rhyta with lynx protomai of familiar form, both bearing the makers' signatures in Aramaic and providing invaluable information for scholars. And there are two rhyta with unique protomai, a lion and a stag, the noblest quarry of hunters, that are among the most vigorous animal representations to survive in the art of antiquity.

It was a year of renovation and reinstallation for the Department of Antiquities under its newly appointed curator, Marion True. After two years of study and conservation work, the kouros acquired in 1985 was placed on a specially made base that would isolate it from seismic movement and exhibited in a refurbished gallery with the best of our archaic and fifth-century material, much of it acquired since 1983. The work of Jerry Podany, our conservator of antiquities, and his staff was essential to the project.

Greek vases were the center of attention most of the year. We created and put into service a new interactive videodisc to teach visitors about Greek vases. Installed in two booths adjacent to a small gallery with several of our best vases, the touch-screen monitors allow visitors to guide themselves through as much programmed instruction on various aspects of vases (subject matter, potting and painting, function, etc.) as they wish. For specialists, we sponsored an international symposium on vase-painting in Athens during the period of the great black-figure pioneer known as the Amasis Painter. The occasion was an exhibition devoted to the artist, of which we were cosponsors, held at the Los Angeles County Museum of Art at the time of the symposium.

For Manuscripts, of the eight acquisitions in 1986 nothing surpassed the astonishing Model Book of Calligraphy by Georg Bocskay with illuminations by Georg Hoefnagel. It was made in 1561–1562 in Prague to demonstrate a variety of scripts. A generation later, when it was in the possession of Emperor Rudolf II, it was taken up by the court painter Hoefnagel and given illuminations of fruit, flowers, insects, animals, and city views—a breathtaking survey of the natural world by this greatest of scientific illustrators. The manuscript, a celebration of both nature and human artifice, comes at the end of a long tradition that eventually perished with the rise of printing.

Several other purchases had special importance for the Getty collection, whose core remains the 144 manuscripts acquired in 1983 from Irene and Peter Ludwig. Because the Ludwig material, though fine and important, is a long way from comprising a comprehensive collection, we want to compensate for its weaknesses as well as to build its strengths. French manuscripts were not the Ludwigs' focus, but important examples are still available, especially from the later Middle Ages; so we have concentrated on them. Outstanding in this area is a book of hours from about 1415–1420 with seventeen large devotional miniatures by the Boucicaut Master and his workshop. It adds a splendid example of the Parisian International Gothic Style to the Museum's collections. A copy of a Passion narrative illuminated in Lyons by the Master of Guillaume Lambert and his workshop is not only a beautiful devotional book, but it also represents the art of the important years around 1480 particularly well. On the other hand, we already have a group of Flemish manuscripts that is unsurpassed in this country. We added a book of hours probably illuminated in Bruges around 1485–1495 by the Master of the Dresden Prayer Book, an anonymous painter who is among the leading figures in a fertile period in Flanders.

The Department of Manuscripts entirely remodeled the gallery in which we have been showing its collection. New exhibitions every few months are devoted to themes or periods or centers of production; to house them, handsome new display cases have replaced temporary ones, and the room has been refurbished.

Twenty-one Paintings were added to the collection in 1986. Supply continued to go down and prices up, inevitably slowing the rate of acquisition for a museum determined to hold a high standard. This was a year that ended with a series of startling prices paid at auction, far higher than optimistic estimates, by relatively new private collectors. The Getty Museum was nevertheless able to add some paintings that would be high points of any year.

An anonymous little Italian diptych of the mid-fourteenth century, the so-called Ansouis Diptych, is a great rarity: a beautiful and well-preserved devotional object. Unique in subject, it has the sumptuousness and storytelling verve of Sienese painting of the later Middle Ages, though it was made far from Tuscany, probably in Avignon or Naples.

A portrait by Francesco Salviati adds greatly to a collection that has so far been weak in Renaissance portraiture. Painted by the itinerant Florentine in Rome around 1550–1555, its resolute energy is tempered by the complexity, resonant color, and polished execution typical of Italian Mannerism at its apogee.

A well-known portrait by van Dyck was acquired in 1986. The sitter is Thomas Howard, Second Earl of Arundel, the greatest English connoisseur and collector of his day and a leading statesman under James I and Charles I. He was portrayed around 1620–1621 by the young Flemish painter, who established his reputation and made his fortune with just such commissions in England. The portrait shows why: it is a strong likeness softened by the warm, fluent manner of the great Venetians of the previous century and deepened by the suggestion of refinement in the face and hands.

Several Dutch paintings have joined the collection. One, *The Horse Stall,* may originally have been the estranged companion of *The Cow Shed* by ter Borch we acquired a few years ago. The new acquisition represents a stable with two figures and a fine dapple-gray riding horse, all painted with ter Borch's breathtaking virtuosity. In a Monte Carlo auction we were able to buy another genre painting, rarer still, the *Doctor's Visit* of 1667 by Frans van Mieris the Elder, the Leyden painter whose work was highly prized and eagerly collected in his own time and well into the nineteenth century. It treats a stock theme, the diagnosing of lovesickness or, more likely, pregnancy, with a broad humor that is closely related to contemporary theater. It has all of the refinement and originality of color that earned van Mieris his fame.

A pair of large views of Venice by the pioneer *vedute* painter Luca Carlevarijs, of 1710 and 1711, now hang in the Museum's Baroque gallery. Well known and often published, they represent the festivities put on for the visit of Frederick IV of Denmark. Carlevarijs portrayed the scenes with an eye for amusing anecdote as well as for the shimmer and glitter of this city of spectacle.

Step by step, we are building a group of eighteenth-century French paintings that we hope can one day rival the Museum's collections of French furniture and decorative arts. One step was the purchase last year of an especially beautiful Chardin still life, a relatively late composition of a silver goblet, fruit, and nuts. Chardin's artless simplicity is an illusion, for the arrangement is finely calibrated, and his translation of subtle variations of hue and texture into paint is the product of a lifetime of patient growth.

The biggest event of the year was the reappearance of a long-lost portrait of the daughters of Joseph Bonaparte by Jacques-Louis David that we were able to acquire privately. Painted in 1821 for the exiled Bonaparte by another exile, the seventy-three year-old David, it is one of his most acute portraits. The contrast between the sturdy, nubile older daughter and her pliant younger sister is striking yet complex; the modeling is strong and the color rich; and the presence of a letter from their absent father makes the picture a kind of icon of familial devotion.

As happy as we are to find paintings by van Dyck, Chardin, and David, of whom we naturally expect great things, it can be just as satisfying to acquire a masterpiece by an artist whom the public may not know at all—for example, the pictures by Leo von Klenze and Franz Xaver Winterhalter we bought last year. Winterhalter's subject is a twenty-seven year-old Russian princess, whose sultry beauty he celebrated in a highly unconventional life-size portrait; she is reclining, like the Venuses of the past, in a splendid gown before a moody Mediterranean, or perhaps Crimean, background. Her cool self-assurance is set off by the bold colors and rich textures that the artist painted with such ease.

The paintings collection has changed dramatically during the past five years. The acquisition in that time of more than a hundred works has necessitated a thorough rearrangement of the pictures and given us the chance to refurbish, relight, and relabel throughout the second-floor paintings galleries. Unrecognized, but essential in all this activity of acquisitions and reinstallation, is the work of the paintings conservators under Andrea Rothe. We take their judgment of the condition of a picture before it is bought. And when it needs cleaning and restoration, as it frequently does, we depend on them to treat it sensitively, conservatively, and with the greatest respect for the artist's intention. Once in a while this work represents a particular triumph, as it did with the Dosso Dossi *Mythological Scene* acquired in 1983. It was so radically altered by the artist himself that it posed every kind of dilemma for the restorer. Last year we put it on exhibition after three years of research and successful treatment.

For Drawings, 1986 was the year of the much-publicized Gaines and Springell sales, at which we made six important acquisitions. There were many

other less conspicuous purchases as well.

The single greatest addition was the sheet of drawings by Leonardo da Vinci, which becomes part of the foundation of our collection. On it he progressively evolved the form of a child with a lamb, a key motif in several of his paintings, from a vague exploration in chalk to increasingly exact delineations in pen. He also used the sheet for drawings of machinery, for the head of an old man, and for notes in his distinctive mirror writing. This small piece of paper is a compendium of Leonardo's techniques and purposes as a draughtsman, which were so influential on the history of art.

In contrast to the Leonardo, a drawing of Christ carrying the Cross by the German Renaissance master Albrecht Altdorfer went unrecognized at auction and was identified, acquired, and later published by the curator, George Goldner, and his assistant curator, Lee Hendrix.

We bought Rembrandt's *An Artist in a Studio* at the auction of the Springell estate in London. This is an early pen drawing that shows a young artist looking intently at a painting on his easel. The wiry energy of line invigorates the subject itself, which embodies the ambition and intellectual power of the painter. Our tenth drawing by the artist, it strengthens a group of works by Rembrandt that now surpasses any in America.

The same can be said of the Getty's drawings by Poussin. To the two bought in previous years, a group of six were added in 1986: studies from the antique, figure compositions, and, finest of all, a rare red-chalk drawing of the Israelites crossing the Red Sea of about 1634. It reveals an ardent, impulsive character that Poussin would then discipline in executing the painting for which the drawing was a study.

Having only one relatively minor drawing by Watteau, we wondered if we would ever represent the artist at his peak. In 1986 we got the chance to buy two of the best Watteau drawings in existence. *The Remedy,* one of his few nudes, has the added interest of being a study for the painting in the Norton Simon Museum; the other, a sheet of drawings of three women in various poses, was used for his most famous picture, the *Pilgrimage to Cythera.* Both are beautiful examples of Watteau's delicate sensibility and expressive technique. Something of Watteau's spirit can be felt in the drawing by Gainsborough we bought at the Springell sale, a wonderful costume study on blue paper.

We were able to acquire a view of Warwick Castle by Canaletto, one of the luminous wash drawings made by the Venetian view painter during his ten-year stay in England, which began in 1745. Our first drawing by Canaletto, it is firm in construction, delightful in detail, and lovely in effects of light and shade.

Important drawings by the leading Romantic painters in France, Gericault and Delacroix, joined the collection in 1986. *The Giaour,* an impeccably preserved watercolor of about 1822 by Gericault, treats a swashbuckling subject from Byron; a gouache of *Sailboat on the Sea,* acquired from the same source, embodies the threatening power of the ocean that was a constant Romantic preoccupation. We were also able to buy *The Education of Achilles* by Delacroix, a pastel of the late 1850s in virtually perfect condition.

Exhibitions from the permanent collection of drawings, which change five times a year, give us a chance to put new acquisitions on view fairly promptly and, as the collection gets more diverse, to explore artistic periods, styles of drawing, and even themes.

The Decorative Arts Collection, built steadily over the past fifteen years in an increasingly competitive market, has become one of the half-dozen finest in the world. Really important acquisitions are therefore not easily found or made. We concentrate on the finest and rarest furniture and on objects that will not only enrich our installations but will also broaden the picture we give of the lives and interests of the original patrons.

The single most splendid acquisition was surely the very large *lit à la Turque* of the 1760s attributed to the *menuisier* Jean-Baptiste Tilliard II. Its graceful form and splendid carving and gilding in two colors put it among the best eighteenth-century beds to survive. Since the bedroom was always a focus of social life, a place where the mistress of a great house would receive guests, the bed has a special importance which we can eventually convey in our own installation.

Among the owners of the furniture and decorative arts collected by the Museum were many passionate amateur scholars and scientists. A Rococo gilt-bronze compound microscope of about 1751 by the well-known maker Alexis Magny survives with its leather case, extra lenses, implements, and prepared slides. It must have provided the sort of edifying entertainment for the owner and his guests that was a part of eighteenth-century social life. So did the pair of celestial and terrestrial globes on splendid lacquer stands that also joined the collection, complete with engraved maps that could be amended by pasting on new sheets when discoveries were made overseas.

We succeeded in buying a pair of porcelain lidded vases that became our most remarkable Sèvres pieces. The model is unique, the body is decorated in exquisite *bleu Fallot* with a constellation of gold dots, and the finials are little eggs on gilt straw—the sort of droll conceit that delighted aristocratic patrons who played at being farmers and shepherdesses.

SCULPTURE AND WORKS OF ART, a department in its second full year of existence, made purchases of fundamental importance. We acquired a bust portrait of the young Marcus Aurelius from about 1520 by Antico, the Mantuan who was famed for emulating Roman sculpture in small bronzes. Though it bears a general resemblance to Antonine portraits, it is alive with a new complexity of expression and is finely cast, chased, and patined.

Only some sixty pieces survive from the short-lived porcelain workshop of the Medici dukes at the Palazzo Pitti, where, in 1574, the first successful attempts were made to create the hard white wares that otherwise had to be imported from China. The beautiful blue-and-white pilgrim flask acquired last year is a great rarity and a fitting addition to a growing collection of later European porcelain.

The finest late Renaissance bronze to be sold in many years is the statuette of a rearing horse signed by Adriaen de Vries, a Dutch sculptor taught by Giambologna, who became court artist to Rudolf II in Prague (like the painter Hoefnagel, who illuminated the Model Book of Calligraphy already mentioned). Spirited horses were a preoccupation of Renaissance sculptors, not just for equestrian monuments but as independent subjects. Few bronzes so successfully combine convincing anatomy and motion with virtuoso casting and finishing.

Among a number of eighteenth-century French sculptures acquired recently, an allegorical group of *Hope Nourishing Love* of 1769 by J.-J. Caffiéri stands out. The figures act out the saying literally, bringing the abstractions to life and giving them a half-serious eroticism. The composition rewards many different vantage points and is carved with great virtuosity.

The new Getty Museum sculptures make their way steadily into the galleries, both as part of the revamped paintings installations and on their own. A large upstairs vestibule is now devoted to larger Renaissance sculptures, mostly in bronze.

THE DEPARTMENT OF PHOTOGRAPHS today holds upward of sixty thousand pictures, and, despite having been formed only three years ago, it may already be the best all-around collection anywhere. It is by no means complete, however. It has not been especially strong in the leading masters of twentieth-century photography, though some, such as Sander, Man Ray, Evans, and Moholy-Nagy, are represented better here than anywhere. So we have tried to fill the holes and had special success in 1986, when we were able to acquire groups of photographs by three of the greatest of all, Strand, Weston, and Kertész.

Paul Strand's contribution was to put a new hard-edged vision, much inspired by modernist painting, in place of the pictorial stylizations with which he had grown up. The group of 117 photographs we bought from his heirs not only shows this influential phase of his work around World War I but covers more than forty years of his productive career.

Edward Weston's work evolved parallel to Strand's, through pictorialism to a conversion in the 1920s to near-abstract images of figures, machines, and buildings. We bought fifty-nine separate Weston photographs and 762 photographs in albums from his son Cole, of which the strength is early work done in Los Angeles.

André Kertész moved to Paris in 1925, a moment of particular brilliance, and became one of the prime innovators of European photography. His vision has a surrealist element, usually the result of seeming accident and studied choices of viewpoint and cropping. Our new group of forty-one pictures has many of the most important images in Kertész's first or only prints.

Beyond these major additions of 1986 there were some fifty-one other acquisitions of the work of 101 photographers, mostly of groups of photographs, usually by purchase but a few by gift. Among other artists represented were Roger Fenton, Gustave Le Gray, William Henry Fox Talbot, Thomas Eakins, Edward Steichen, Alfred Stieglitz, and Man Ray. These broadened and deepened a collection that now ranges from photographic incunabula of the late 1830s through work by the major figures of our century.

The department's study room at 401 Wilshire Boulevard in Santa Monica has become a busy place. Since spring 1985 more than eight hundred visitors have used the collection—curators, scholars, dealers, photographers, collectors, students—whose work the department tries to further.

The year marked a debut for the department, the first exhibitions to be held at the Getty Museum. The inaugural show was devoted to the work of Julia Margaret Cameron, the Victorian photographer who brought a new seriousness and poetic invention to portraits and genrelike religious subjects. It was held in a newly renovated space next to the paintings galleries. A second exhibition was devoted to Edward Weston, the most important artist ever to mature in Los Angeles. There will be four or five such shows of photographs each year. Already we can see the Museum's audience changing as a result of these exhibitions, becoming younger and more diverse, a happy sign for the future.

John Walsh
Director

Notes to the Reader

Although variations occur reflecting both curatorial preference and the nature of the works of art described, the following information has been provided for each listed item where appropriate or available: name and dates of artist, title or name of work and date of execution, medium, dimensions with centimeters preceding inches, inscriptions, Museum accession number, commentary, provenance, and bibliography.

When possible in giving dimensions, the formula height precedes width precedes depth has been observed. In cases where this was not appropriate to the work of art in question, the following abbreviations have been consistently employed:

H: Height
W: Width
D: Depth
Diam: Diameter
L: Length

In the provenance sections brackets are used to indicate dealers.

ANTIQUITIES

STONE SCULPTURE

1. THREE FRAGMENTS OF A FUNERARY MONUMENT
Greek, circa 525–500 B.C.
Marble, 1) 51 x 21 x 12.2 cm (20″ x 8¼″ x 4¾″); 2) 7 x 3 x 3 cm (2¾″ x 1⅜″ x 1⅜″); 3) 7 x 5 x 3 cm (2¾″ x 2″ x 1⅜″)
86.AA.545.1–.3 (joining 85.AA.419)

The monument depicts a figure reclining on a kline. Two of the fragments are from the figure itself. The third may be part of a cushion. Red polychromy is preserved on two of the fragments.

PROVENANCE: European art market.

2

2. TOMB ALTAR WITH MALE PORTRAIT
Roman, circa 150 A.D.
Marble, H: 64 cm (25³/₁₆″); W: 49 cm (19¼″); D: 27 cm (10⅝″)
86.AA.572, presented by A. Rosen, New York

The back of the altar has been cut down in modern times. Within its rectangular field, the niche contains in relief the portrait of an unknown bearded male. His head and gaze are directed slightly to the right. The bust is undraped and truncated somewhat below the shoulders by the frame.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: G. Koch, *Roman Funerary Sculpture* (Malibu, 1987), no. 28.

3. FRONT PANEL OF A SARCOPHAGUS OF T. AELIUS EVANGELUS
Roman, circa 180 A.D.
Marble, H: 46.4 cm (18⁵/₁₆″); L: 173 cm (68⅛″)
Inscribed: FVERIT POST ME ET POST GAVDENIA NICENE VETO ALIVM QVISQVIS HVNC TITVLVM LEGERIT/MI ET ILLEI FECI/T AELIO EVANGELO/HOMINI PATIENTI/ MERVM PROFVNDAT
86.AA.701 (formerly 82.AA.148)

The panel represents the deceased, a wool-maker named Titus Evangelus, reclining on a kline as his wife offers him a wine cup. In the field around them are scenes depicting aspects of their daily lives. At the far left, two goats frolic; a seated man cards wool. The figures around the image of a horse in the upper right corner may be participants in the rites of the cult of Cybele and Attis. At the far right, a seated man rolls wool into a ball.

PROVENANCE: Los Angeles art market.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *The Summa Galleries, Inc.*, auction cat. (Beverly Hills, September 18, 1981), lot 75; G. Koch, *Roman Funerary Sculpture* (Malibu, 1987), no. 9.

BRONZE SCULPTURE

4

4. STATUETTE OF A FALLEN OR DYING YOUTH
Greek, circa 480–465 B.C.
Bronze with copper inlay, L: 13.5 cm (5⁵/₁₆″); W: 7.3 cm (2⅞″)
86.AB.530

The finely modeled body of the nude youth arches backward in an attitude of sleep or death. His legs are bent at the knee, and his upper torso falls back as if he were lying on a rock or being carried. His right arm falls backward above his head, and the closed fingers of his right hand touch the curls of hair over his forehead; the straightened left arm falls away from his side. Both loosely closed fists are empty but once held objects, and a hole in the right shoulder blade indicates a previous point of attachment to some other object. The statuette was solid cast, and copper was used for separate locks of hair and the nipples. The surface is slightly pitted around the chest and stomach and there are several small repair patches, applied after casting.

PROVENANCE: New York art market.

TERRACOTTA

5

5. THYMIATERION
South Italian, circa 500–480 B.C.
Terracotta, H: 44.6 cm (17⁹/₁₆″); Diam (incense cup): 6.9 cm (2¾″)
86.AD.681

The caryatid figure that supports an incense burner on her head is Nike, the winged goddess of victory. She holds her right hand forward in a gesture of salutation; with her left hand she lifts

the folds of her himation to the side. Perched on the knob of the openwork lid is a dove with its wings raised.

The piece has been restored from a number of fragments, with only the thumb of the Nike's right hand, the fingers of her left hand, and the left wing of the dove on the lid missing. Beneath the surface encrustation there are abundant remains of the original polychromy, especially on the headdress (blue and purple), the wings (red) and Nike's garments (the chiton is blue, the himation red).

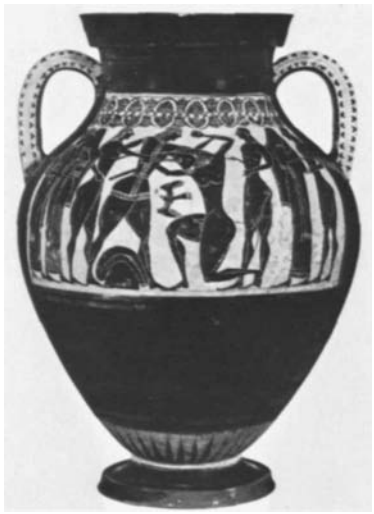
PROVENANCE: European art market.

6

6. PAIR OF ALTARS
South Italian (Tarentum?), circa 400–375 B.C.
Terracotta, 1) H: 41.8 cm (16 7/16"); W (of base): 34.2 cm (13 1/2"); W (of top): 31.6 cm (12 7/16"); D (of top): 27 cm (10 5/8"); 2) H: 41.8 cm (16 7/16"); W (of base): 33.2 cm (13 1/16"); W (of top): 31.5 cm (12 3/8"); D (of top): 27.8 cm (10 15/16")
86.AD.598

The altars have been broken and assembled from fragments, with some areas missing. Traces of the original polychromy remain. The fronts of both altars are decorated with low-relief figures. On altar 1, three women move rapidly to the right, looking toward the figures on the other altar. Two carry musical instruments, a xylophone and a tympanum. On altar 2, an effeminate young god sits facing left on an irregular rocky surface. He has his arm around the shoulders of a female seated beside him on his right, and he holds one hand up to the fillet around his head. Two other women are in attendance, and both appear in poses that suggest grief: one holds her left hand to her forehead; the other sits with her head downcast and her hands clasped about her right knee. The subject may be identified as the death of Adonis, the youthful god of vegetation and regeneration. The stylistic features and a tentative identification of the clay as Tarentine suggest that the altars were made in the area of Tarentum.

PROVENANCE: European art market.



7 (86.AE.60)

7 (86.AE.159)

7 (86.AE.279)

7 (86.AE.70)

VASES

7. COLLECTION OF 428 GREEK, SOUTH ITALIAN, AND ROMAN VASES AND VASE FRAGMENTS
Including Mycenaean, East Greek, Etruscan, Attic, Corinthian, Euboean, Chalcidian, Laconian, Daunian, Apulian, Campanian, Sicilian, Lucanian, and Arretine fabrics, circa 1300–50 B.C.
Artists represented include the Boread Painter, the Hunt Painter, the

7 (86.AE.286)

7 (86.AE.280)

7 (86.AE.290)

Painter of Vatican 73, the Phineus Painter, the Heidelberg Painter, the BMN Painter, the Swing Painter, the Rycroft Painter, the Affecter, members of the Leagros Group, Oltos, Psiax, Douris, the Briseis Painter, the Foundry Painter, the Brygos Painter, the Eucharides Painter, the Aegisthus Painter, the Black Fury Painter, the Darius Painter, the Lycurgus Painter, the Dolon Painter, the Hoppin Painter, and the Konnakis Painter.
Terracotta, various dimensions
86.AE.34–462

PROVENANCE: Walter and Molly Bareiss, Greenwich, Connecticut.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: One hundred of the vases appeared in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, *Greek Vases and Modern Drawings from the Collection of Mr. and Mrs. Walter Bareiss,* ex. checklist (New York, 1969); nine of the vases are discussed in Yale University Art Gallery, *Greek Vases at Yale,* ex. cat. (New Haven, 1975); two hundred fifty-seven of the vases are included in the J. Paul Getty Museum, *Greek Vases: Molly and Walter Bareiss Collection* (Malibu, 1983). Individual vases from the collection have appeared in numerous publications, including D. von Bothmer, "Walter Bareiss as Collector," *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 28, no. 4 (Dec. 1969), pp. 1–4, *ABV, ARV*^{2}, and *Paralipomena.* A complete catalogue of the collection is currently in preparation.

8. 810 FRAGMENTS OF GREEK AND SOUTH ITALIAN VASES
East Greek, Attic, and Gnathian fabrics, circa 550–300 B.C.
Artists represented include the potter Euphronios, the Wraith Painter, the Kyllenios Painter, Epiktetos, Onesimos, the Kleophrades Painter, the Brygos Painter, the Foundry Painter, the Berlin Painter, the Eucharides Painter, and the Penthesilea Painter.
Terracotta, various dimensions
86.AE.482–487; 86.AE.546–570; 86.AE.575–587 and 86.AE.707–709, presented by Dietrich von Bothmer; 86.AE.698 (formerly 82.AE.146); 86.AE.735–737

Many of these pieces belong to, and in some cases actually join, fragmentary vases presently in the Museum's collection.

PROVENANCE: European and Los Angeles art markets.

VASES: EAST GREEK

9

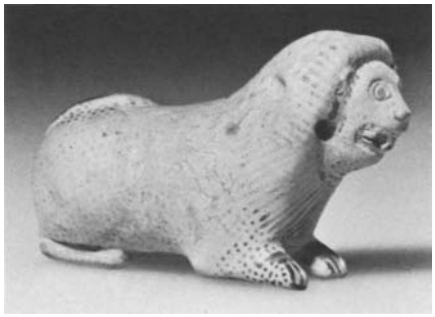
9. ARYBALLOS
Circa 640–625 B.C.
Terracotta, H: 9.1 cm (3 5/8"); L: 14 cm (5 1/2"); Diam (spout): 2 cm (3/4")
86.AE.696

This Proto-Corinthian aryballos is a combination wheel-thrown and mold-made vessel fashioned in the shape of a mature ram resting on legs tucked up under his body. Large horns curl behind his ears and frame a carefully detailed face, with stylized locks of fur falling between his eyes and curling around both corners of his mouth. Once

broken, the aryballos has been reconstructed from fragments, with areas of the body restored.

PROVENANCE: New York art market.

VASES: CORINTHIAN



10

10. ARYBALLOS
Early sixth century B.C.
Terracotta, H: 6.1 cm (2 3/8"); L: 10.1 cm (4"); W: 3.6 cm (1 7/16")
86.AE.697

Buff-colored clay was pressed into a two-part mold to create this small aryballos in the shape of a recumbent lion. The animal's mane is swept back, and his head is turned slightly to the right. On top of the head is a simple hole from which the contents of the vessel were poured. On either side of the face the lion's ruff is pierced by holes for suspension cords. The aryballos has never been broken.

PROVENANCE: New York art market.

11

VASES: ATTIC RED-FIGURE

11. KYLIX TYPE B
Circa 500–490 B.C.
Attributed to Onesimos
Terracotta, H (restored): 8.3 cm (3 1/4"); Diam: 23.5 cm (9 1/4"); W (with handles, one restored): 30.5 cm (12")
86.AE.607

The kylix has been restored from fragments; the foot and one handle are missing. Within the tondo, a satyr crawls on a large rocky outcropping toward the figure of a sleeping maenad whom he is about to kiss. The maenad reclines to the left on a large striped cushion; a wineskin hangs in the background above her head. On each side of the exterior, a satyr dances on a short groundline. The better preserved of the two satyrs is seen from the back. The head and shoulders of the other, who is drawn in profile to the left, are missing, and a giant keras (drinking horn) is at his feet.

PROVENANCE: European art market.

12

12. KYLIX TYPE C
Circa 450–440 B.C.
Attributed to the Euaion Painter
Terracotta, H: 13.2 cm (5 3/16"); Diam: 32.1 cm (12 5/8"); W (with handles): 39.5 cm (15 9/16")
86.AE.682

The cup has been restored from a number of fragments. There is an ancient bronze repair within the stem of the foot. On the interior, a youth holds out his kylix to be filled by the bearded man who stands before him holding an oinochoe. Behind him is the large volute-krater that would have held the mixture of wine and water. The front legs of a klismos (chair) are visible behind the bearded man. On both sides of the exterior, youths and men participate in the revelry, conversing, playing instruments, drinking, and dancing. The lip of the kylix is offset on the interior of the bowl. The profile of the foot is characteristic of H. Bloesch's so-called Euaion foot.

PROVENANCE: European art market.

13

13. RED-FIGURE STEMLESS CUP
Circa 450–425 B.C.
Attributed to the Marlay Painter
Terracotta, H: 6.4 cm (2 1/2″); Diam: 22.3 cm (8 13/16″); W (with handles): 29.5 cm (11 5/8″)
86.AE.479

Reconstructed from fragments, the cup has an ancient repair in the foot. Inside, on the left, a male holding a spear stands facing a female. The exterior is covered with a lozenge pattern. Palmettes in silhouette fill the areas under the handles.

PROVENANCE: New York art market.

14. FISH PLATE
Circa 400–350 B.C.
Terracotta, H: 3.7 cm (1 7/16″); Diam: 22.5 cm (8 7/8″)
86.AE.700 (formerly 82.AE.147)

Disposed around the central cavity are three fish, a scorpion fish and a sargus oriented in the same direction, and a mullet facing the opposite way. In the interstices are three small creatures—perhaps nematodes—with undulating bodies. Kymatia surround the outer edge of the plate and encircle the central depression. The vase is intact.

PROVENANCE: Los Angeles art market.

15. RATTLING BLACK KANTHAROS
Fourth century B.C.
Terracotta, H (to rim): 20.4 cm (8 1/16″); Diam (mouth): 17.5 cm (6 7/8″); Diam (foot): 9.6 cm (3 3/4″)
86.AE.702 (formerly 82.AE.152)

The kantharos has been restored from fragments. An inscription in gilt lettering dedicates the cup to Kastor and Polydeukes: ΚΑΣΤΩΡΓΟΛΥΔΕΥΙΚΗΣ. On both sides of the bowl, gilt garlands are suspended from bucrania; stars fill the spaces above the garlands, and a running-wave pattern marks the offset between bowl and calyx. Within the hollow lip are pellets that rattle whenever the cup is tilted.

PROVENANCE: Los Angeles art market.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *The Summa Galleries, Inc.*, auction cat. (Beverly Hills, September 18, 1981), lot 16.

VASES: APULIAN

16

16. PELIKE
End of the fifth century B.C.
Close to the Gravina Painter
Terracotta, H: 50.9 cm (20″); Diam (mouth): 28 cm (11″); Diam (foot): 23.2 cm (9 1/8″)
86.AE.611

The vase has been reconstructed from fragments. The entire body of the vessel is taken up by scenes of Nereids bringing arms to Achilles. At the top left of the obverse, Achilles sits at the mouth of a grotto framed by waves. Five Nereids riding sea creatures (three dolphins, a hippocamp, and a fish) approach bearing pieces of armor. On the reverse, four Nereids carrying armor ride three dolphins and a hippocamp, respectively.

PROVENANCE: European art market.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: B. Westcoat, ed., *Poets and Heroes: Scenes from the Trojan War,* ex. cat. (Emory University Museum, Atlanta, 1986), pp. 38–43, no. 9, ill.

17

17. LOUTROPHOROS
Late fourth century B.C.
Attributed to the Painter of Louvre MNB 1148
Terracotta, H: 90.1 cm (35 1/2″); Diam (body): 35.2 cm (13 7/8″); Diam (foot): 18.7 cm (7 3/8″); Diam (mouth): 26 cm (10 1/2″)
86.AE.680

The upper register of the obverse portrays Astrape holding torches, Zeus and Aphrodite with Eros within a palace, Eniautos, and Eleusis. Their names are inscribed: ΑΣΤΡΑΠΗ, ΖΕΥΣ, ΑΦΡΟΔΙΤΗ, ΕΝΙΑΥΤΟΣ, ΕΛΕΥΣΙΣ. At the center of the lower register Leda, identified by the

inscription ΑΗΔΑ, and the swan embrace while, to the right, Hypnos, inscribed ΥΠΝΟΣ, holds his wand over the couple, casting a sweet drowsiness on the scene. On either side are female companions. At the center of the reverse the statue of a woman stands within a funerary monument surrounded by female attendants.

PROVENANCE: European art market.

GLASS

18. FOUR ROD FRAGMENTS
Elamite (Persian), circa 1250–1200 B.C.
Glass, 1) L: 3.3 cm (1 5/16"); Diam: 1.6 cm (7/8"); 2) L: 4.9 cm (1 15/16"); Diam: 1.6 cm (7/8"); 3) L: 7.2 cm (2 13/16"); Diam: 1.6 cm (7/8"); 4) L: 8.3 cm (3 1/4"); Diam: 1.5 cm (9/16")
86.AF.522.1–.4, presented by N. Boas

The fragments are composed of alternating spirals of blue-and-white glass canes, twisted to form a thick rod with a hollow central core. They were used as decorative architectural molding around doors. All are broken at either end, and none joins. Their surfaces are slightly iridescent and pitted.

GOLD AND SILVER

19

19. AMPHORA-RHYTON
Achaemenid (Persian), fifth century B.C.
Gilt silver, H: 27 cm (10 5/8")
86.AM.751

The amphora is constructed with a spout at the base and thus also functioned as a rhyton. The body of the vessel is decorated with a calyx of water lily leaves in relief, and the bottom terminates in a rosette. The handles are rampant lion griffins, and the mouth and neck are articulated with kymatia. The body has been damaged with some small losses, which are now filled, and a horn is missing from one of the lion griffin handles.

PROVENANCE: Private collection, New York.

20. GROUP OF FIVE VESSELS
Greek, second–first century B.C.
Gilt silver with inlaid garnets and glass, 1) H: 35.5 cm (13 3/4");
2) Diam: 10.2 cm (4"); 3) Diam: 10.2 cm (4"); 4) Diam: 14 cm (5 1/2");
5) L: 21 cm (8 1/4")
86.AM.754.1–.5

The group is composed of a rhyton, a cup, and three bowls. The rhyton (86.AM.754.1) terminates in a lion protome with inlaid garnet eyes. The horn is decorated at the base with a calyx of acanthus leaves and attached blossoms and with a relief garland of ivy leaves around its upper part. The gilding is well preserved on the mane and floral decoration. Garnets are also inlaid in the centers of the blossoms among the acanthus fronds and in the clasps of the relief garland on the upper part of the horn. Two silver hemispherical bowls (86.AM.754.2–.3) belong together with the rhyton. Their exterior rims are decorated with gilded olive wreaths with inlaid garnet clasps, and five-petal relief gilded rosettes with garnet centers are found on the bottoms of the exteriors. Their interiors are undecorated. The fourth piece in the group is a gilt-silver drinking cup (86.AM.754.4), decorated on the exterior with acanthus patterns in high relief and inlays of glass and stone. This bowl was repaired in antiquity. The last vessel is a shallow bowl (86.AM.754.5), decorated on the inside with concentric bands of gilded incised floral patterns and a central inset garnet. Its original circular shape is now distorted, and the bowl is cracked.

PROVENANCE: European art market.

21. GROUP OF THREE VESSELS
Greek, first century B.C.
Gilt silver with inlaid garnet,

21

21

1) H: 41.9 cm (16½″); 2) H: 41.9 cm (16½″); 3) Diam: 20 cm (7⅞″)
86.AM.752.1–.3

This group is composed of two rhyta and a bowl. Both rhyta (86.AM.752.1–.2), which terminate in protomes of snarling lynxes, have Aramaic inscriptions incised on their rims; these identify the artist responsible for their manufacture and state their metal weights. The shallow bowl (86.AM.752.3) is decorated on the interior with an elaborate pentagonal-leaf pattern overset with smaller relief flowers inlaid with garnets. The exterior is undecorated. The bowl has a few small areas of copper corrosion and pitting, but it is otherwise in excellent condition.

PROVENANCE: Private collection, New York.

22

22. RHYTON
Greek, first century A.D.
Gilt silver with glass inlays,
H: 46 cm (18⅛″)
86.AM.753

The rhyton terminates in the protome of an antlered stag with inlaid glass eyes. Unique among all preserved rhyta, the horn is completely covered with elaborate floral ornaments in low relief. An Aramaic inscription on the belly of the stag dedicates the rhyton to a sanctuary. In spite of one small crack above the right leg of the stag and a few minor losses of gilding, the rhyton is in excellent condition.

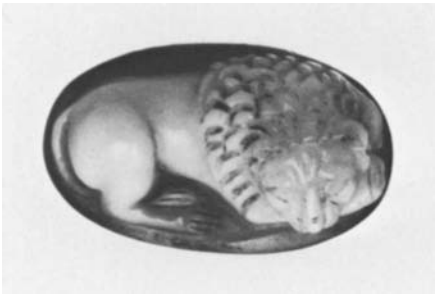
PROVENANCE: Private collection, New York.

23. FRAGMENT OF A LATE ANTIQUE BELT
Roman, fifth century A.D.
Gold with glass inlay, 2.5 x 2.5 cm (1″ x 1″)
86.AM.531 (joining 83.AM.224)

The obverse of the gold solidus, mounted in a hinged square of gold and inlaid glass, bears a portrait of the emperor Valentinian I (r. 364–375 A.D.) and the legend DN VALENTINIANUS PF AVG. Its reverse shows a standing figure of the emperor in military dress and the legend RESTITVTOR REI PVBLICAE. The segment is part of a belt presently in the Museum's collection.

PROVENANCE: New York art market.

GEMS



24

24

24. CAMEO
Roman, first–third century A.D.
Sardonyx, H: 1.4 cm (9/16″); W: 2.3 cm (7/8″)
86.AN.739

A lion reclines to the right, its head resting on its forelegs. The tassel of the tail, curled under the body, shows beside the visible hind leg. A mane of thick, shaggy locks distinguishes the carefully detailed face from the tautly muscled body. The cameo was carved for insertion into a separate setting, probably a finger ring.

PROVENANCE: New York art market.

VARIA

25. DIMIDIATED RHYTON
Modern imitation of a later fifth-century-B.C. Attic original
Terracotta, L: 18.4 cm (7 1/4″); W: 8.7 cm (3 7/16″); Diam: 7.5 cm (2 15/16″)
86.AK.699 (formerly 82.AE.146)

Half of this dimidiated rhyton is molded in the shape of a ram's head; the other side is that of a donkey. On the broken rim a maenad runs to the left, pursued by a satyr, of whom only one leg and the tail remain.

PROVENANCE: Los Angeles art market.

MANUSCRIPTS

26. MISSAL
Use of Mainz
Germany (Mainz?), early sixteenth century
Vellum, 250 leaves. Collation: 1^{6}(-5, before fol. 5), $2^{8}-15^{8}$, 16^{10}(+11, fol. 128), $17^{8}-18^{8}$, 19^{6}(+3, fol. 147), 20^{2}(+3, +4, +5, +6, fols. 154–157), 21^{10}, 22^{8}, 23^{8}, 24^{8} (+1, fol. 184; +10, fol. 193; +11, fol. 194), 25^{10}(+1, fol. 198; +12, fol. 206; +13, fol. 207; leaves 1–3, 9–11 appear to be reattached singles), 26^{8} (+7, fol. 214), 27^{4} (+2, fol. 218; +6, fol. 222), $28^{8}-29^{8}$, 30^{12}; 39.1 x 28 cm (15 1/8″ x 11″). Text area 28.4 x 17.9 cm (11 1/8″ x 7 1/16″), two columns, twenty-seven lines (nineteen in canon, thirty-two in calendar). Latin text in Gothic script. One full-page miniature, numerous decorated borders, numerous decorated initials. Original pigskin binding blind-tooled and stamped with foliate pattern over wooden boards, knotted leather fore-edge markers, two brass clasps; Germany, early sixteenth century.
Ms. 18; 86.MG.480

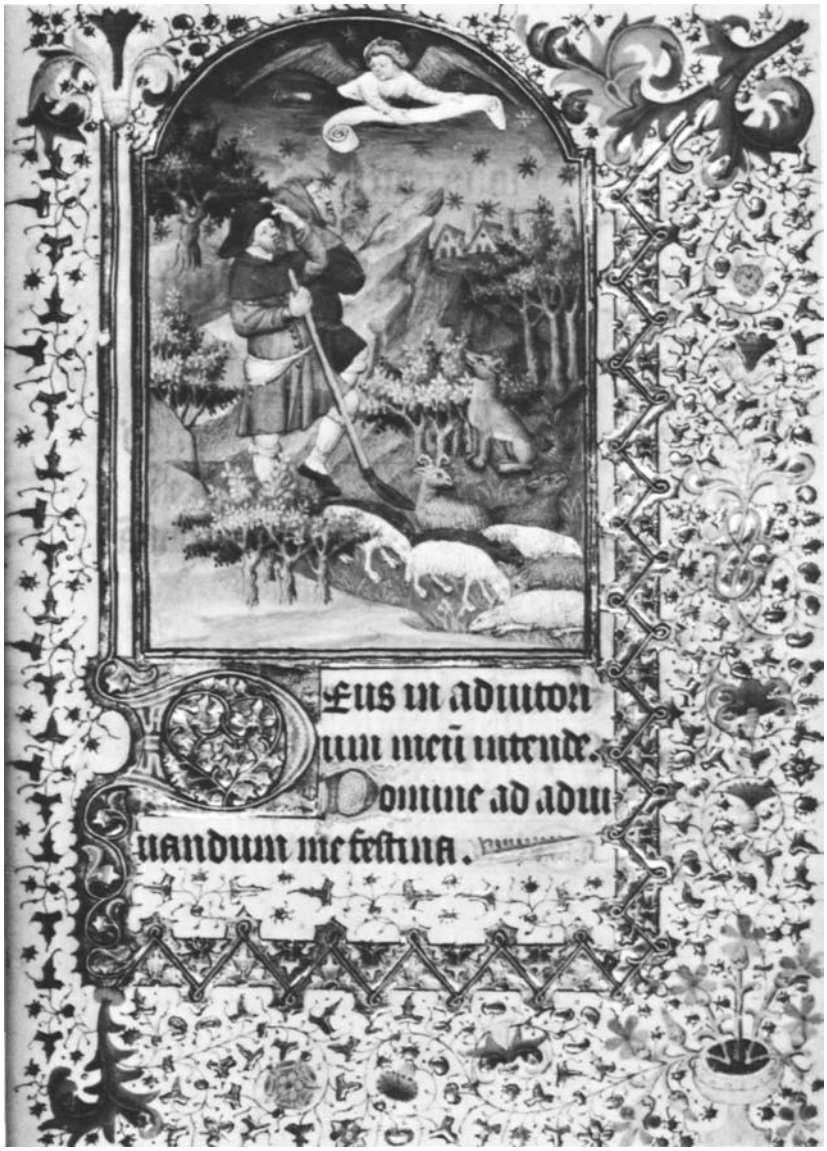
26 (fol. 157v)

CONTENTS: Calendar with numerous Rhenish saints, including Geminianus, Arbogast, Lubentius, Theonestus, and Severinus (fols. 1–3v, fols. 4–5v blank); Proper of Time through the vigil of Easter (fols. 6–127, fols. 127v–128 blank ruled); Ordinary (noted) and Canon of the Mass (fols. 129–166v, fols. 157 and 167 blank): *Crucifixion* (fol. 157v); Mass from the feast of Saint Bilhildis (fol. 167v); Proper of Saints from the feast of Saint Andrew (November 30) through the feast of Mary of Egypt (April 9) (fols. 168–196v); Common of Saints (fols. 197–242v, fols. 243–250v blank ruled).

Ms. 18 is the first (summer) part of a two-volume missal. The other volume (Münster, Bischöfliches Priesterseminar, K 1^{0} 16) also includes a calendar, the Ordinary, the Canon of the Mass, and the Common of Saints, but it has in the Proper of Time and the Proper of Saints only those feasts falling between Easter and Advent. The missal is for the liturgical use of the archbishopric of Mainz, as explicitly noted in a rubric in the Münster volume. The calendar contains many peculiarly Middle Rhenish saints (see Contents) as well as Bilhildis (November 27), whose cult was exclusive to Mainz. Bilhildis is further emphasized in Ms. 18 by the inclusion of a mass for her feast day (fol. 167v). Although the style and iconography of the Crucifixion miniature are strongly reminiscent of the work of Albrecht Dürer and his workshop, active in Nuremberg, the location of execution of the missal is unknown.

PROVENANCE: Count Galen, Münster, nineteenth century; sale, Christie's, Amsterdam, May 8, 1985, lot 403; [Bernard Breslauer, New York].

27 (fol. 38v)



27 (fol. 45)

27. BOOK OF HOURS
Use of Paris
Illuminated by the Master of the Harvard Hannibal and Workshop
Paris, circa 1420–1430
Vellum, 176 leaves. Collation: 1^2, 2^8–9^8, 10^6, 11^8–24^8, 25^8(–8, after fol. 191); catchwords at ends of most quires; quires 24 and 25 are sixteenth-century additions; 17.9 x 13 cm (7 1/16" x 5 1/8"). Text area 9.6 x 6.2 cm (3 3/4" x 2 7/16"), one column, fourteen lines. Latin and French text in Gothic script. Fourteen three-quarter-page miniatures, numerous decorated borders, numerous decorated initials. Blind-stamped brown leather binding over wooden boards, two clasps and catches lacking, gilt edges; French, fifteenth century.
Ms. 19; 86.ML.481

CONTENTS: Calendar, and possibly Gospel Sequences, *Obsecro te* and *O intemerata* lacking. Hours of the Virgin, use of Paris (fols. 1–72v): *Annunciation* (fol. 1), *Visitation* (fol. 26), *Nativity* (fol. 38v), *Annunciation to the Shepherds* (fol. 45), *Adoration of the Magi* (fol. 50), *Presentation* (fol. 54v), *Flight into Egypt* (fol. 59), *Coronation of the Virgin* (fol. 67); Seven Penitential Psalms (fols. 73–84): *King David in Prayer* (fol. 73); litany including saints Audoenus, Lubin, Tugdual, Corentine, Ivo of Brittany, and Geneviève (fols. 87–93); Short Hours of the Cross (fols. 93v–103v): *Crucifixion* (fol. 93v); Short Hours of the Holy Spirit (fols. 104–112v): *Pentecost* (fol. 104); Office of the Dead, use of Paris (fols. 113–162v): *Funeral Mass* (fol. 113); Fifteen Joys of Mary (fols. 163–168v): *Virgin and Child Enthroned with Angels* (fol. 163); Seven Requests of Our Lord (fols. 169–173v): *Last Judgment* (fol. 169); added prayers in French and Latin (fifteenth-sixteenth century); sixteenth-century notes concerning births and deaths of members of the Passin and Ducrocq families (fols. 173v–187, fols. 187v–191v blank).

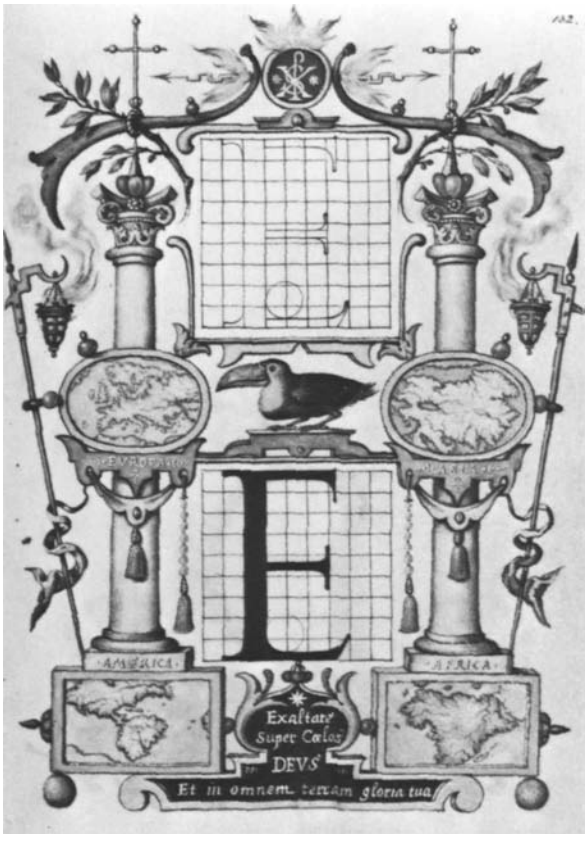
The Master of the Harvard Hannibal was one of the leading followers of the Boucicaut Master (active circa 1405–1420), the premier artist of the first quarter of the fifteenth century in Paris. Named for a miniature of the Coronation of Hannibal prefacing a manuscript of Livy's *Décades* (Cambridge, Mass., Harvard College Library, Ms. Richardson 32), this artist adopted some of the most distinctive features of the Boucicaut Master's work: sophisticated interior architecture, sinuous drapery contours, courtly figure types, and such details as wattled fences and trees with pointed boughs. These qualities are amply represented in the Museum's unpublished book of hours.

PROVENANCE: Ducrocq, sixteenth century; Thomas Libby (?); private collection, Cambridge, Massachusetts (sale, Oinonen Gallery, Northampton, Massachusetts, January 28, 1986, lot 89); [Heritage Book Shop, Los Angeles, and Laurence Witten Rare Books, Southport, Connecticut].

28 (fol. 37)

28 (fol. 74)

28 (fol. 106)



28 (fol. 132)

28. MODEL BOOK OF CALLIGRAPHY and GUIDE TO THE CONSTRUCTION OF LETTERS
Written by Georg Bocskay (Hungarian, d. 1575) and illuminated by Georg (Joris) Hoefnagel (Flemish, 1542–1600). Fols. 1–129 written in 1561–1562, illuminations on these folia added after 1590/91; fols. 130–151 completed in 1596.
Vellum and paper, vi + 150 leaves (fol. 8 lacking). Due to the tight binding and interleaving, the collation cannot be determined; 16.6 x 12.4 cm (6 9/16″ x 4 7/8″). Text area 13.7 (varies) x 8.6 cm (5 3/8″ [varies] x 3 3/8″), one column, number of lines varies. Latin, German, Italian, Greek, and Hebrew texts in various scripts (such as *fraktur, antiqua, cancellaresca,* and mirror writing). Model Book: 128 half-page miniatures (fols. 1–129); Guide: forty-four full-page miniatures (fols. 130–151). Red morocco binding with gold-tooled dentelle border, gilt edges; eighteenth century.
Ms. 20; 86.MV.527

CONTENTS: The texts of the writing samples are short excerpts from the Bible and various prayer books and from chancery documents.

The unusual history of the creation of this manuscript may be reconstructed largely from numerous references within its pages. Georg Bocskay, the court secretary of the Holy Roman Emperor Ferdinand I (r. 1556–1564), wrote the Model Book in 1561 and 1562; he signed and/or dated twenty-two folios. Although the page designs for his elegant script vary as much as their individual styles, Bocskay left substantial portions of most pages blank. About thirty years later, Emperor Rudolf II (r. 1576–1612) acquired the manuscript, presumably by descent from his grandfather Ferdinand. Rudolf's insignia appear repeatedly in the Guide to the Construction of Letters (for example, fols. 130v–138v, 151v). Georg Hoefnagel, who entered into the imperial service after 1590 or 1591, designed and illuminated the second section, for which a different vellum than that of the Model Book was used. He signed and dated the Guide 1596 (fol. 151v). He also provided the elaborate decoration of the main portion of the book. Although not signed, the illumination of the calligraphic pages ranks with Hoefnagel's finest representations of natural phenomena. Many of its motifs were engraved by Hoefnagel's son Jacob in the *Archetypa studiaque Georgii Hoefnagelii* of 1592.

Hoefnagel illuminated another Model Book of Calligraphy written by Bocskay for Ferdinand I (Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, inv. no. 975).

PROVENANCE: Emperor Ferdinand I (?); Emperor Rudolf II, Prague; Albert Milde, Vienna, by 1887; to Goldschmied, Frankfurt, 1907; Louis Koch, Frankfurt, by 1923; private collection, Switzerland, by 1942.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: F. Ritter, "Ein Wiener Schriftmusterbuch aus dem 16. Jahrhundert mit Miniaturmalereien," *Mitteilungen des k.k. österreich. Museums für Kunst und Industrie. Monatschrift für Kunstgewerbe,* N.F. 2, no. 17 (1887), pp. 336–342; S. Killermann, "Hoefnagel," *Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler,* U. Thieme and F. Becker, eds. (Leipzig, 1924), vol. 16, pp. 193–195; E. Kris, "Georg Hoefnagel und der wissenschaftliche Naturalismus," *Festschrift für Julius Schlosser,* A. Weixlgärtner and L. Planiscig, eds. (Vienna, 1927), p. 244; I. Bergström, *Dutch Still-Life Painting in the Seventeenth Century* (New York, 1956), p. 32, ill. fig. 29 (Ms. 20 is incorrectly identified there as being in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna); T. Szántó, "Ein grosser Schreibkünstler des XVI. Jahrhunderts," *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* (1963), p. 38; T. Wilberg Vignau-Schuurman, *Die emblematischen Elemente im Werke Joris Hoefnagels* (Leiden, 1969), vol. 1, p. 9, and vol. 2, p. 11, n. 3; T. Da Costa Kaufmann, *L'école de Prague* (Paris, 1985), pp. 248–249, no. 9-9; I. Bergström, "On Georg Hoefnagel's manner of working with notes; on the influence of the Archetypa series of 1592," *Netherlandish Mannerism: Papers given at a symposium in Nationalmuseum Stockholm, September 21–22, 1984,* Nationalmusei skriftserie, n.s. 4, G. Cavalli-Björkman, ed. (Stockholm, 1985), p. 177.

29. ASSUMPTION OF THE VIRGIN, single leaf from a book of hours
Illuminated by the Master of Morgan 366
Tours, early 1470s
Vellum, 17 x 11.6 cm (6 11/16″ x 4 9/16″). Text area 10.9 x 7.8 cm (4 5/16″ x 3 1/8″), one column, fifteen lines. Latin text in Gothic script. One three-quarter-page miniature, one full border.
Ms. 21; 86.ML.537

29 (detail)

The text below the miniature, "Converte nos deus . . .," is the beginning of the reading for compline in the Hours of the Virgin. Other leaves from the same book of hours represent *The Body of Christ Supported in the Tomb by Two Angels* (London, Victoria and Albert Museum, No. 3015) and *Job on the Dungheap* [Sam Fogg, London]; a leaf representing the Circumcision and one depicting the Flight into Egypt may also come from this manuscript [sale, Phillips, London, September 20, 1984, lots 621 and 622 (present whereabouts unknown)].

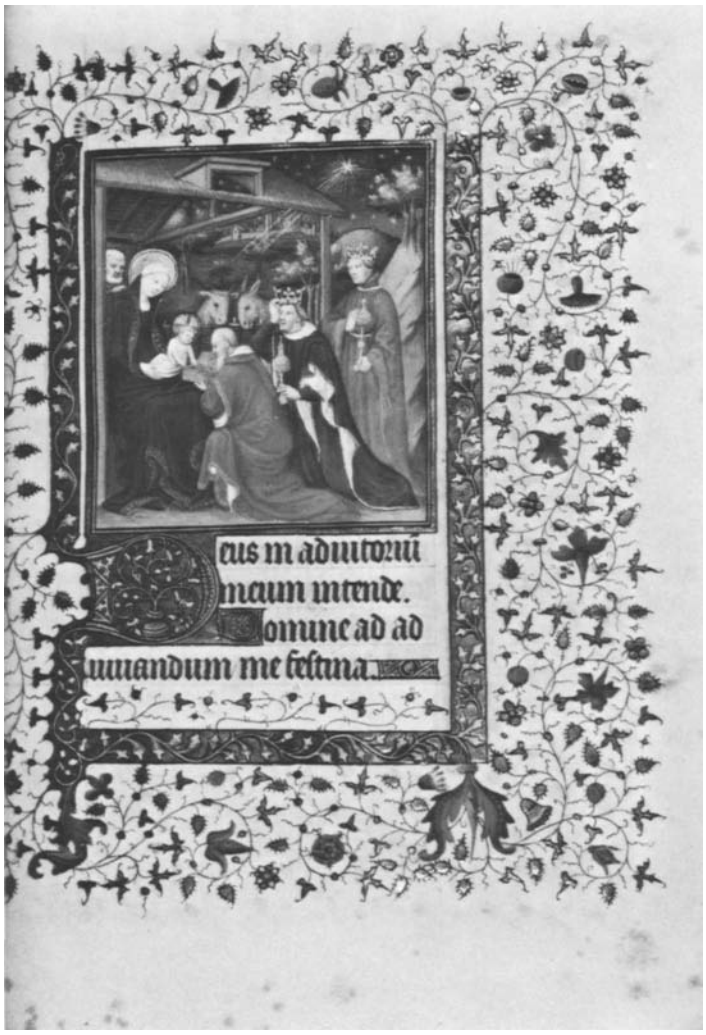
The Master of Morgan 366 was a follower of Jean Fouquet (circa 1420–circa 1481). His eponymous work is a book of hours, now in the Pierpont Morgan Library, which was written and illuminated in Tours, circa 1470, for a member of the Jouvenel des Ursins family. John Plummer has identified five other books of hours that were illuminated by this artist (*The Last Flowering*, ex. cat. [New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, 1982], no. 59, pp. 44–45).

PROVENANCE: Original coat of arms with the monogram *MP* supported by two ermines(?), unidentified; Evans, Great Britain, 1853; sale, Phillips, London, September 20, 1984, lot 620; [Sam Fogg, London].

30 (fol. 6, detail)

30. BOOK OF HOURS
Use of Paris
Illuminated by the Workshop of the Boucicaut Master (active circa 1405–1420) and the Workshop of the Rohan Master (active circa 1410–circa 1440)
Paris, circa 1415–1420
Vellum, iii + 281 + ii leaves. Collation: 1^{12}, 2^{8}–11^{8}, 12^{2}, 13^{8}–14^{8}, 15^{2}, 16^{8}–19^{8}, 20^{2}, 21^{8}–31^{8}, 32^{8} (–2, after fol. 235), 33^{8}–37^{8}; catchwords at the ends of most quires; alphabetical leaf signatures irregularly throughout; 20.4 x 14.3 cm (8″ x $5^{5}/_{8}$″). Text area 10.7 x 6.7–6.9 cm ($4^{3}/_{16}$″ x $2^{5}/_{8}$–$2^{11}/_{16}$″), one column, fourteen lines. Latin and French text in Gothic script. Seventeen three-quarter-page miniatures, twelve quarter-page calendar miniatures, decorated borders on every page, numerous decorated initials, gilt edges painted with floral designs. White blind-stamped pigskin binding over wooden boards; modern, signed by Sangorski & Sutcliffe, London.
Ms. 22; 86.ML.571

CONTENTS: Calendar including Saint Ivo of Brittany (May 19) in gold and Saint Magloire (October 24) with labors of the months and zodiacal signs (fols. 1–12v): *A Man Warming Himself by a Fire* (fol. 1), *A Man Warming Himself by a Fire* (fol. 2), *A Man Pruning Vines* (fol. 3), *A Falconer on Horseback* (fol. 4), *A Knight on Horseback* (fol. 5), *A Man*



30 (fol. 72)

30 (fol. 113, detail)

30 (fol. 254, detail)

Scything Hay (fol. 6), *A Man Scything and Baling Hay* (fol. 7v), *A Man Threshing Wheat* (fol. 8v), *A Man Sowing Seeds* (fol. 9v), *A Man Harvesting Grapes and Another Man Pressing Them* (fol. 10v), *A Man Harvesting Acorns* (fol. 11v), *A Man about to Kill a Wild Boar* (fol. 12v); Gospel Sequences (fols. 13–20v); Hours of the Virgin, use of Paris (fols. 21–94): *Annunciation* (fol. 21), *Visitation* (fol. 48), *Nativity* (fol. 60v), *Annunciation to the Shepherds* (fol. 67), *Adoration of the Magi* (fol. 72), *Presentation* (fol. 76v), *Flight into Egypt* (fol. 81), *Coronation of the Virgin* (fol. 88v); Hours of the Cross (fols. 95–104): *Crucifixion* (fol. 95); Hours of the Holy Ghost (fols. 104v–112): *Pentecost* (fol. 104v); Seven Penitential Psalms (fols. 113–127): *King David in Prayer* (fol. 113); litany including saints Magloire, Louis, and Ivo of Brittany (fols. 127–136); Fifteen Joys of Mary, in French (fols. 137–142v): *The Patron Presented to the Virgin and Child* (fol. 137); Seven Requests of Our Lord, in French (fols. 143–146v): *Christ in Glory* (Last Judgment?) (fol. 143); Office of the Dead (fols. 147–199v): *Funeral Service* (fol. 147); Mass of the Trinity (fols. 199v–204), of the Holy Spirit (fols. 204v–207v), of the Virgin Mary (fols. 207v–209v), and for the Dead (fols. 209v–212); prayers to the Trinity (fols. 212v–215v): *The Trinity* (fol. 212v); various prayers (fols. 216–233); Verses of Saint Bernard (fols. 233v–235); prayers for which Pope John offered 1100 days' indulgence (fols. 235–235v); prayers for which Pope Boniface offered twenty years' indulgence to King Philip (fol. 235v); prayers to the Virgin, most in rhymed French verse (fols. 236–256v), lacking beginning of first prayer and including *O intemerata* (fols. 244v–248v), the Five Joys of the Virgin, in French (fols. 251–252), and *Obsecro te* (fols. 252v–256v); memorials to saints including All Saints, Michael, John the Baptist, Peter and Paul, James, John the Evangelist, Bartholomew, George, Lawrence, Cosmas and Damian, Denis, Christopher, Sebastian, Nicholas, Anthony, Maurus, Maturin, the Five Saints, Mary Magdalene, Catherine, Anne, Apollonia, Geneviève, and Margaret (fols. 257–280): *All Saints* (fol. 257), *Saint Mary Magdalene* (fol. 274).

This book of hours is the product of a rare collaboration of the workshops of the Boucicaut and Rohan masters, the two leading Parisian illuminators of the fifteenth century. Only one other joint effort by them is known, a book of hours of circa 1420 (London, British Library, Harley Ms. 2940).

The Boucicaut Master takes his name from the book of hours made for Jean le Meingre, Maréchal de Boucicaut (Paris, Musée Jacquemart André, Ms. 2). In addition to his elegantly dressed, graceful figures and experiments with spatial illusion, the Boucicaut Master is distinguished by his inventive palette and startling color harmonies. The large miniatures in Ms. 22 represent the master's late style and are close to those in another of his late works, a book of hours in London (British Library, Add. Ms. 16997). Illumination by the hand of the Boucicaut Master, who had a large workshop, is rare; yet the high quality of the miniatures in this book indicates they are either by the master himself or by his most talented assistant.

The workshop of the Rohan Master, who is named for a book of hours once owned by the Rohan family (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. Lat. 9471), executed the calendar miniatures of the labors of the months. The Rohan Master painted gawky, expressive figures that are more realistic and true to life than the often idealized, courtly figures of the Boucicaut Master.

PROVENANCE: Maj. John Charles Balfour, Balbirnie, Markinch, Fife (sale, Sotheby's, London, December 18, 1946, lot 567); Heinrich Eisemann, London; D. and J. Zwemmer (sale, Sotheby's, London, June 24, 1986, lot 100).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: D. Flower, *A Thousand Years of French Books,* ex. cat. (London, National Book League, 1948), no. 7, pp. 12–13; M. Meiss, *French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry: The Boucicaut Master* (London, 1968), pp. 28, 96, 99–100, 144, n. 33 and 152, n. 9; figs. 120, 138, 239–244; idem, "La mort et l'office des morts a l'époque du Maître de Boucicaut et des Limbourg," *Revue de l'art,* 1–2 (1968), pp. 17–18; idem, *French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry: The Limbourgs and Their Contemporaries* (London, 1974), pp. 261, 402; figs. 839 and 841; E. König, *Französische Buchmalerei um 1450* (Berlin, 1982), pp. 60, 77.

31 (fol. 205v, detail)

31. BOOK OF HOURS
(Crohin-La Fontaine Hours)
Use of Rome
Illuminated by the Master of the Dresden Prayer Book (active circa 1470–circa 1515)
Probably Bruges, circa 1485–1495
Vellum, iii + 214 + i leaves. Collation: 1^6–2^6, 3^8(+1, fol. 13), 4^8 (+8, fol. 29; +10, −10, added leaf formerly before fol. 32), 5^8–6^8, 7^8(+4, fol. 50; −6, after fol. 52), 8^8–9^8, 10^8(+1, fol. 71), 11^8 (+5, fol. 84), 12^8(+2, fol. 90; +8, fol. 96), 13^8(+3, fol. 101; +8, fol. 106), 14^8 (−2, before fol. 109 [this leaf is now fol. 126]; +6, fol. 114), 15^8 (+5, fol. 121; +10, fol. 126), 16^8–17^8, 18^8(+4, fol. 146), 19^8–25^8, 26^4, 27^4 (−4, after fol. 214); 13.1–13.3 x 9.4–9.5 cm ($5^3/_{16}$–$5^1/_4$" x $3^{11}/_{16}$–$3^3/_4$"). Text area 6.8 x 4.1 cm ($2^{11}/_{16}$" x $1^5/_8$"), one column, seventeen lines. Latin text in *bâtarde* script. Two full-page miniatures, twelve half-page miniatures, thirty-three historiated borders, twenty-one historiated initials. Blind-tooled brown calf binding over pasteboard, sixteenth-century clasp engraved with La Fontaine arms and initials *LF* and adorned with a miniature portrait of Christ set under glass; J. Schavy, Brussels, first half of the nineteenth century.
Ms. 23; 86.ML.606

31 (fols. 121v–122)

CONTENTS: Calendar including saints Basil (June 14), Remigius and Bavo (October 1), and Donatianus (October 14) in red; Amalberga (July 13) and Lievin (Livinus) (November 12) in black (fols. 1–12v); *Arms of Marguerite Crohin* (fol. 13); Short Hours of the Cross (fols. 14–21): *Crucifixion* (fol. 13v); Short Hours of the Holy Spirit (22–28v); *Arms of Lois de la Fontaine* (fol. 29); Mass of the Virgin (fols. 29v–35): *Virgin and Child Enthroned* (fol. 29v); Gospel Sequences (fols. 35–41v): *Saint John on Patmos* (fol. 35), *Saint Luke* (fol. 36v), *Saint Matthew* (fol. 38v), *Saint Mark* (fol. 40v); prayers to the Virgin: *Obsecro te* and *O intemerata* (both in masculine form) (fols. 42–49v): *Virgin and Child Seated on the Ground* (fol. 42); Hours of the Virgin, use of Rome (fols. 51–120): *Annunciation* (fol. 50v), *Visitation* (fol. 71v), *Nativity* (fol. 84v), *Annunciation to the Shepherds* (fol. 90v), *Adoration of the Magi* (fol. 96v), *Presentation in the Temple* (fol. 101v), *Massacre of the Innocents* (fol. 106v), *Flight into Egypt* (fol. 114v); Seven Penitential Psalms (fols. 122–134v): *David and Goliath* (fol. 121v); litany including saints Quentin, Lievin (Livinus), Amandus, Vedast, Remigius, Eligius, Egidius, Audomar, Bertin, Winnoc, Bavo, Amalberga, and Dympna (fol. 134v–145v); Office of the Dead, use of Rome (fols. 146v–193v): *The Three Living and the Three Dead* (fol. 146v); memorials to saints (fols. 194–209v): *John the Baptist in the Wilderness* (fol. 194), *Saint Peter* and *Conversion of Paul* (fol. 194v), *Saint John the Evangelist* (fol. 195), *Saint James the Greater* (fol. 196), *Saint Christopher* (fol. 197), *Saint Sebastian* (fol. 198), *Saint Adrian* (fol. 199), *Saint George and the Dragon* (fol. 200), *Saint Anthony Abbot* (fol. 201), *Saint Nicholas* (fol. 202), *Saint Gregory* (fol. 202v), *Saint Francis Receiving the Stigmata* (fol. 203v), *Mary Magdalene* (fol. 204), *Saint Catherine* (fol. 205v), *Saint Barbara* (fol. 207), *Saint Margaret* (fol. 208v).

31 (fol. 146v, detail)

The Master of the Dresden Prayer Book is named for a book of hours in East Germany (Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek, Ms. A.311). He was the only major Flemish illuminator of the late fifteenth century to eschew the refined naturalism of his most famous contemporaries, the Master of Mary of Burgundy and the Master of the First Prayer Book of Maximilian. As the miniatures in this manuscript illustrate, he treated nature in a stylized manner; his human figures and animals have a doll-like quality. Nevertheless, at a fairly early moment in his career, probably no later than 1485, in such prayer books as the present one, he adopted the illusionistic borders which had been introduced a decade earlier by the aforementioned artists and had become a hallmark of Flemish illumination. These borders of flowers, gilt acanthus, and insects on brightly colored grounds gave the two-page openings of Flemish manuscripts a new sumptuousness and luminosity. The Crohin-La Fontaine Hours is remarkable for its color harmonies, which unify the page design of pictorially distinct, even contrasting, areas of border and miniature. One of the most engaging storytellers of his day, he conveyed benignly the humor and irony latent in various biblical and other devotional narratives. Four other miniatures illuminated by this artist, dating from the end of his career, appear in the Museum's Spinola Hours (Ms. Ludwig IX 18, fols. 109v, 110, 119v, and 120).

The two full-page coats of arms (fols. 13 and 29) in Ms. 23 are by other artists and were not added until the middle of the sixteenth century.

PROVENANCE: Marguerite Crohin (d. 1552); bequeathed to Nicolas, Abbot of Saint Jan en Vallen; Lois de la Fontaine, by 1575; William Loring Andrews; Cortlandt F. Bishop (sale, American Art Association, Anderson Galleries, New York, April 25–27, 1938, lot 1434); to Elizabeth P. Martin, Upper Montclair, New Jersey; bequeathed to Elizabeth King Robbins, Berkeley, California; bequeathed to her children, Deborah, Peter, and Daniel Robbins, 1978.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S. de Ricci and W. J. Wilson, *Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada* (New York, 1937), vol. 2, p. 1660, no. 37.

32 (Leaf II, detail)

32 (Leaf IV, detail)

32. FIVE LEAVES FROM A NOTED BENEDICTINE BREVIARY
Northern Italy (probably from the Veneto), circa 1420–1430
Vellum, five leaves. 46.5 x 34–34.6 cm ($18^{5}/_{16}$" x $13^{6}/_{16}$–$13^{5}/_{8}$". Text area 33.8 (varies from 33.3 to 34.4 cm) x 22.1 cm ($13^{5}/_{16}$" [varies from $13^{1}/_{8}$" to $13^{9}/_{16}$"] x $8^{11}/_{16}$"), one column, eighteen lines (sometimes including musical staves). Latin text in Gothic script. Five historiated initials, five decorated borders.
Ms. 24; 86.ML.674

CONTENTS: Leaf I (originally fol. 73): readings for matins of the second feria, including Ps. 38 with *Benedictine Monk with His Finger to His Lips Standing in a Rocky Landscape*; Leaf II (originally fol. 109): readings for matins of the fourth feria, including Ps. 68 with *Benedictine Monk Saved from Drowning*; Leaf III (originally fol. 151): readings for matins of the sixth feria, including Ps. 95 with *Benedictine Monks Singing at a Lectern*; Leaf IV (originally fol. 170): readings for matins on Saturday, including Ps. 105 with *A Novice Kneels before a Benedictine Monk*; Leaf V (originally fol. 253): readings for vespers on the first Saturday in Advent, including the hymn *Conditor alme syderum* with *God Creating the World.*

Other leaves from this breviary are in the John Frederick Lewis collection of European manuscript leaves at the Free Library of Philadelphia (M64:8–10); the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York (M.885); and ex. coll. H. P. Kraus (see *Fifty Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts,* sale cat., 88 [1958], item 17. Meta Harrsen (in *Central European Manuscripts in the Pierpont Morgan Library* [New York, 1958], no. 53, p. 65) attributed them to an artist whose Tyrolean nationality was revealed by the mixture of Austrian and Italian styles—manifested in the borders and figures, respectively—which she discerned in them. Although the vines in the borders are more abstract than the lush foliage which usually grows in the margins of Italian manuscripts, they are not so thin or so flat and geometric as those typically found in Austrian manuscripts; and the script, initials, and style of the figures are thoroughly Italian. The character of the borders probably reflects the impact of Austrian illumination on a north Italian artist. Southern Austria and northern Italy had enjoyed close commercial and cultural ties since at least the early Trecento, and Italian artists, who are known to have worked in the Tyrol throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, would certainly have been aware of Austrian stylistic conventions.

PROVENANCE: Sale, Sotheby's, London, June 24, 1986, lots 24 and 25; [H. P. Kraus, New York].

33 (fol. 32v, detail)

33 (fol. 16v, detail)

33 (fol. 8, detail)

33. ATTRIBUTED TO JEAN GERSON
La Passion [*de Nostre Seigneur Ihesus Crist*]; *La Vengence de la Mort et Passion de Nostre Vray Sauveur et Redempteur Ihesucrist*
Illuminated by the Master of Guillaume Lambert and Workshop
Lyons, circa 1480–1490
Vellum, ii + 86 + ii leaves. Collation: 1^8–7^8, 8^8 (1 and 6 reattached), 9^8–10^8, 11^2, 12^4; 30.4 x 21.6 cm ($11^{15}/_{16}$″ x $8^1/_2$″). Text area 19.6 x 13.1 cm ($7^{11}/_{16}$″ x $5^3/_8$″), one column, thirty-five lines. French text in *bâtarde* script. Sixteen three-quarter-page miniatures, numerous decorated initials.
Ms. 25; 86.MN.730

CONTENTS: Fol. 1: A la louange de Dieu et de la Vierge souveraine et de tous sains et sainctes de paradis. Et a la requeste de excellente et redoubtee dame et puissant princesse Dame Ysabel de Bavieres par la grace de dieu royne de France. J'ay tra[n]slate ceste passion de latin en francois sans y adiouster moralitez hystories, exemples ou figures. L'an mil deux [sic] cens quatre vings et dix-huit., *The Raising of Lazarus* (fol. 1); fol. 3: De la cene que Marie Magdalene et Marie Marthe sa soeur firent a Nostre Seigneur Ihesucrist. Et de l'onguement que Marie Magdalene respandy sur Ihesus., *Supper in the House of Mary and Martha, Mary Magdalene Anoints the Feet of the Lord* (fol. 3v); fol. 5v: Comment Nostre Seigneur Ihesus Crist acompaigne de ses disciples et appostres entra en la cite de Iherusalem assis sur une asnesse. Et comment les iuifz le receurent a grandes processions., *The Entry into Jerusalem* (fol. 5v); fol. 7v: Comme[n]t les Juifz admenerent devant N[ost]re Seigneur Ih[es]us Crist cuidant le surprendre et accuser par ses parolles une femme prinse et trouvee en adultere. La responce de Ih[es]us et co[m]ment il delivra la d[i]c[t]e femme., *Christ and the Adulteress* (fol. 8); fol. 9v: Comment Nostre Sauveur Ihesus Crist fut assailly ou temple des maistres de la loy herodyane saduciene et pharisiene. Comment il leur respondy et de pluisieurs paraboles qu'il leur proposa comme il s'ensuit., *Christ Disputing with the Pharisees in the Temple* (fol. 10); fol. 12v: Comment la Vierge Marie s'en ala au devant de son filz qui avoit bien tard demoure en la cite de Iherusalem. De l'assiette que Nostre Dame fist au soupper. Et comment elle mist et assey Iudas le trahittre a la table ou milieu d'elle et

de son filz., *Judas Seated at a Table between Christ and the Virgin* (fol. 13); fol. 14: Comment Nostre Dame fist a son filz entre les autres quatre requestes moult piteuses. Du conseil que les iuifz tindrent sur la mort de Ihesus Crist. Et commant [sic] le mauvais trahitre Iudas le ve[n]dy., *Judas Conspiring with the Jews, Christ Speaking to the Virgin* (fol. 14v); fol. 16: Comment N[ost]re Seigneur mengea l'aigniel de pasques avecques ses appostres et disciples. Comment il lava les piez et co[m]ment il leur administra son precieux corps., *Christ Washes the Feet of His Apostles, The Last Supper* (fol. 16v); fol. 20v: Comment Nostre Seigneur apres la cene s'en ala ou jardin d'olivet avecques ses disciples pour prier Dieu son pere. Et comment Iudas le trahittre acompaigne des serviteurs des maistres de la loy le v[i]nt prendre a main armee., *The Agony in the Garden* (fol. 21); fol. 24v: Comment N[ost]re Seigneur relenqui de ses disciples fut des iuifz mene en l'ostel de Annas l'evesque. Et comment le dit Annas le questionna, interroga et frappa., *Christ Brought before Annas* (fol. 25); fol. 27: Comment Cayphas questionna et interroga N[ost]re Seigneur et lui couppa ses vestemens. Comment il fut iniurie des faulx iuifz et comment les faulx tesmoing l'accuserent comme homme digne de mort., *Christ Brought before Caiaphas* (fol. 27); fol. 29: Comment Nostre Seigneur fut amene devant Pylate iuge lequel le questionna et la cuida par pluisieurs fois delivrer des mains aux iuifz. Et comment Iudas rendy aux iuifz les trente deniers, *Christ Brought before Pilate, Judas Returns the Thirty Pieces of Silver* (fol. 29); fol. 32: Comment Pylate envoya Nostre Seigneur au roy Herodes lequel lui fist pluisiers demandes. Et apres ce qu'il l'eust vestu de blancq comme ung fol. Le renvoya arriere a Pylate., *Christ Brought before Herod* (fol. 32v); fol. 33v: Comment Pylate fist batre Nostre Seigneur par deux fors hommes a une colompne et puis par mocquerie le fist vestir d'un viel manteau de pourpre en guise d'un roy. Et comment par pluisieurs fois et par plusieurs [sic] manieres le cuida delivrer des mains aux Juifz., *The Flagellation, Christ Crowned with Thorns, Mocking of Christ, Pilate Washing His Hands* (fol. 33v); fol. 37v: Comment N[ost]re S[ei]g[neu]r porta sa croix et de sa dure et merveilleuse mort., *Bearing of the Cross* (fol. 38); fol. 61: S'ensuit la vengence de la mort et passion de N[ost]re vray Sauveur et Redempteur Ih[es]ucrist laquelle quarante ans apres ce que Ih[es]ucrist morut en la croix fut faicte et demenee par les empereurs rommains Titus et Vaspasianus [sic] sur les Juifz par la maniere qui s'ensuit., *The Destruction of Jerusalem* (fol. 61).

La Passion [de Nostre Seigneur Iheusus Crist], a devotional narrative based on the *Meditationes vitae Christi,* was composed in 1398 for Isabel of Bavaria, possibly by Jean Gerson (1363–1429), who became chancellor of Notre-Dame and of the University of Paris in 1395 and who was, for most of his life, a close counselor to the Valois dukes Phillipe le Hardi and Jean de Berry. Only one other illuminated copy of this text has thus far been identified (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. Fr. 978), although twenty-two blank spaces in a second manuscript (Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, Ms. 949) were presumably intended for miniatures.

The artist takes his name from his work in a book of hours signed by its scribe, Guillaume Lambert of Lyons, and dated 1484 (*Catalogue,* Bernard Quaritch, Ltd. [London, 1931], no. 47, pp. 34–35; present whereabouts unknown). More than twenty manuscripts have been attributed to this artist and his circle, including a book of hours in the J. Paul Getty Museum (Ms. 10) and two copies of Jean de Courcy, *Chronique de la Bouquechardière* (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. Fr. 698, and Geneva, Bibliothèque Publique et Universitaire, Ms. Fr. 70), which are close in format to the present manuscript.

PROVENANCE: Guillaume Molé and his wife, Simone Le Boucherat, Troyes (married June 19, 1467; died September 25, 1507, and February 17, 1519, respectively); Antoine de Ferriol, comte de Pont-de-Vesle; Gaignat; de Soleinne, Paris, by 1843 (No. 523); [Bernard Breslauer, New York].

BIBLIOGRAPHY: C.-G. Le Clerc, *Catalogue des Livres imprimés et manuscrits de M. Le Comte de Pont-de-Vesle* (Paris, 1774), p. 13, no. 124; P. L. Jacob, *Bibliothèque dramatique de Monsieur de Soleinne* (Paris, 1843), vol. 1, p. 89, no. 523; Anon. (Techener?), "Histoire de la Passion de Notre Seigneur Jésus-Christ," *Bulletin du bibliophile* 6th ser., no. 5 (March 1844), pp. 843–846.

PAINTINGS

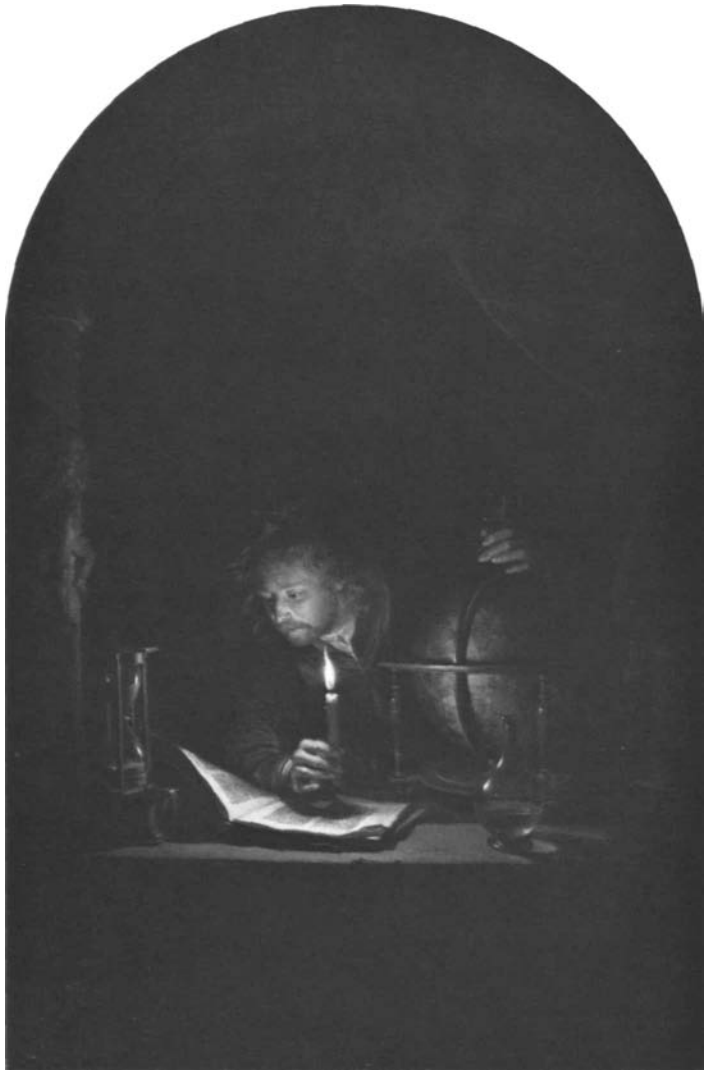
DUTCH

34. GERRIT DOU
Dutch, 1613–1675
Astronomer by Candlelight, late 1650s
Oil on panel, 32 x 21.3 cm (12⅝" x 8⅜"). Signed: *GDov* (GD in ligature) on the book at the lower left.
86.PB.732

Dou painted several different compositions depicting astronomers seated in windows or niches and surrounded by the attributes of their profession. Examples can be found in the Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, Brunswick, and the Statens Museum for Kunst, Copenhagen.

PROVENANCE: Possibly Adriaen van Hoek (sale, Amsterdam, April 7, 1706, lot 2); Wilhelm Six (sale, Amsterdam, May 12, 1734, lot 18); probably Wilhelm VII, Landgraf von Hessen-Cassel; Lapeyrière (sale, Paris, April 14, 1817); Joseph Barchard (sale, London, May 6, 1826); [John Smith, London]; William Beckford, London; Hume, London, by exchange; R. H. Fitzgibbon (later Third Earl of Clare), by 1839 (sale, London, June 17, 1864); William Delafield (sale, London, April 30, 1870); Albert Levy (sale, London, April 6, 1876, lot 329); Barkley Field, London, by 1888; Lord Astor of Hever, after 1907 (sale, Sotheby's, London, July 6, 1983, lot 80); [Johnny van Haeften, London]; Gerald Guterman, New York.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. Smith, *A Catalogue Raisonné of the Works of the Most Eminent Dutch, Flemish, and French Painters* (London, 1829), pt. 1, no. 96 and suppl. no. 15; W. Martin, *Het leven en der werken van Gerrit Dou beschouwd in verband met het schildersleven van zijn tijd* (Leiden, 1901), pp. 190, 234, nos. 52, 314; C. Hofstede de Groot, *Beschreibendes und kritisches Verzeichnis der Werke der hevorragensten holländischen Maler des XVII. Jahrhunderts* (Esslingen am Neckar and Paris, 1907), vol. 1, nos. 63c, 210; Philadelphia Museum of Art, *Masters of Seventeenth-Century Dutch Genre Painting,* ex. cat. (Philadelphia, 1984), no. 35.



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35. GERARD TER BORCH
Dutch, 1617–1681
The Horse Stall, circa 1652–1654
Oil on panel, 45.3 x 53.5 cm (17¹³/₁₆" x 21¹/₁₆"). Signed: *GTB* in ligature on the back of the panel.
86.PB.631

Since Hofstede de Groot (1913), this painting has been considered as a pendant to the Museum's *The Cow Shed* (83.PB.232; in *GettyMusJ* 12 [1984] entitled *A Maid Milking a Cow in a Barn* and dated circa 1650). However, neither panel can be traced before the late eighteenth century, when they were already separate; moreover, *The Horse Stall* is

more than one inch shorter than *The Cow Shed*. Copies of *The Horse Stall* that appeared in eighteenth-century auctions remain untraced in modern times.

For a full discussion, see the article by Peter Sutton in this *Journal*.

PROVENANCE: Sale, Amsterdam, August 14, 1771, lot 3, as by Metsu, bought by Nyman; Louis-François de Bourbon, prince de Conti (sale, Paris, April 8–June 6, 1777, lot 832, bought by [Lannoy]; M. Poullain (sale, Paris, March 15–21, 1780, lot 41, bought by [Langlier]; Count G. A. Sparre, Sweden; Count G. Wachtmeister, Wånas, Sweden, by descent to about 1980; [Edward Speelman, London, 1981]; Fellowship of Friends, Renaissance, California, through [Marco Grassi, New York].

BIBLIOGRAPHY: F. Basan, *Tableaux du cabinet de M. Poullain* (Paris, 1780), no. 103; J. Smith, *A Catalogue Raisonné of the Works of the Most Eminent Dutch, Flemish, and French Painters* (London, 1833), pt. 4, no. 21; C. Hofstede de Groot, *A Catalogue Raisonné of the Works of the Most Eminent Dutch Painters of the Seventeenth Century* (London, 1913), vol. 5, no. 464; E. Plietzsch, *Gerard ter Borch* (Vienna, 1944), no. 33; S. J. Gudlaugsson, *Gerard ter Borch* (The Hague, 1959–1960), vol. 1, pp. 96, 266, vol. 2, no. 109; Mauritshuis, The Hague, and Landesmuseum, Münster, *Gerard ter Borch,* ex. cat. (The Hague and Münster, 1974), no. 31; E. Young, "Old Master Paintings in the Collection of the Fellowship of Friends at Renaissance, California," *Apollo* 121, no. 280 (June 1985), pp. 375–376; P. Sutton, "The Noblest of Livestock," *GettyMusJ* 15 (1987) pp. 97–110.

36. NICOLAES BERCHEM
Dutch, 1620–1683
Landscape with Figures, circa 1653–1654
Oil on canvas, 139.7 x 174 cm (55" x 68½"). Signed: *Berchem F.* at the lower right.
86.PA.731

Renate Trnek dates the painting to circa 1653–1654 on the basis of a comparison with the Berchem *Landscape* in the Musée du Louvre, signed and dated 1653. A black-chalk study of the central female figure gathering wood is in the Kupferstichkabinet, Berlin (KdZ 8518).

PROVENANCE: H. Twent (sale, Leiden, August 11, 1789, lot 2); Fouquet; Pierre de Grand-Pré (sale, Paris, February 16, 1809); Alexis Delahante (sale, London, July 8, 1828); Edward Holland (sale, Christie's, London, May 22, 1830, lot 104, bought in); R. C. Gosling, by 1834 (sale, Christie's, London, January 26, 1920, lot 139); anonymous sale, Christie's, London, July 2, 1976, lot 61; [Norbert Pokutta, Munich]; Gerald Guterman, New York.

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BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. Smith, *A Catalogue Raisonné of the Works of the Most Eminent Dutch, Flemish, and French Painters* (London, 1834), pt. 5, no. 144; C. Hofstede de Groot, *A Catalogue Raisonné of the Works of the Most Eminent Dutch Painters of the Seventeenth Century* (London, 1926), vol. 9, no. 341.

37. JACOB VAN RUISDAEL
Dutch, 1628/29–1682
The Sluice, circa 1648–1649
Oil on panel, 39.4 x 55.9 cm (15½" x 22"). Signed: *JVR* in monogram at the lower left.
86.PB.597

The painting is illustrated on the Choiseul Gold Box, about which see F. J. B. Watson (*The Choiseul Gold Box* [London, 1963], p. 9, fig. 2). This box, painted by Louis-Nicolas van Blarenberghe circa 1770–1771, depicts rooms in the Hôtel de Choiseul, Paris, and shows the distribution of the duc de Choiseul's paintings collection. *The Sluice* hung with the finest pictures in the "Premier cabinet," on the upper tier of the left-hand wall. Three other Ruisdael paintings of sluices are known: *The Sluice* (1647, Enschede, Rijksmuseum Twenthe, HdG 659); *The Sluice* (early 1650s, Christie's, New York, December 2, 1983, lot 28, HdG 674); and *Wooded Landscape with a Sluice at a River Bank* (circa 1665–1670, Toledo Museum of Art, HdG 675).

PROVENANCE: Gerard Block, The Hague, 1744; Willem Lormier of Francken, The Hague (sale, July 4, 1763, lot 225); duc de Choiseul, Hôtel Crozat de Châtel, later Hôtel de Choiseul, Paris (sale, Hôtel de Choiseul, April 6, 1772, lot 66); Louis-François de Bourbon, prince de Conti, Paris (sale, April 8–June 6, 1777, lot 406); Morelli collection (sale, Paris, 1786); [Jean-Baptiste Pierre Lebrun, Paris]; Baron van Brienen van de Grootelindt, The Hague (sale, Hôtel Drouot, Paris [Charles Pillet, commissaire-priseur], May 9, 1865, lot 32); Eugène Secrétan, Paris (sale, Sedelmeyer Gallery, Paris, July 1, 1889, lot 160); Mrs. John W. Simpson, New York, by 1912; [Knoedler Galleries, New York, 1942, on consignment from Mrs. Simpson]; Harold E. Montag, Atlanta, from 1943; Georgia Institute of Technology, Atlanta; [French and Company, Inc., New York].

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, the Hudson-Fulton Celebration, *Exhibition of Paintings by Old Dutch Masters,* ex. cat. (New York, 1909), no. 109; C. Hofstede de Groot, *A Catalogue Raisonné of*

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the Works of the Most Eminent Dutch Painters of the Seventeenth Century (London, 1912), vol. 4, no. 663; J. Rosenberg, *Jacob van Ruisdael* (Berlin, 1928), no. 448; K. E. Simon, *Jacob van Ruisdael. Eine Darstellung seiner Entwicklung* (Berlin, 1930), p. 26; S. Slive, *Jacob van Ruisdael,* ex. cat. (Mauritshuis, The Hague, and Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge, Mass., 1981), p. 118.

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38. FRANS VAN MIERIS THE ELDER
Dutch, 1635–1681
Doctor's Visit, 1667
Oil on panel, 44 x 33 cm (17½" x 12¼") (arched top). Signed and dated: *Frans Mieris / Ao 1667* on the uppermost rung of the chair.
86.PB.634

This may be the work Balthasar de Monconys saw the artist painting in 1663 and also the one Arnold Houbraken says was painted for Cornelis Paedts—which Cosimo III de Medici tried in vain to buy from the artist. A number of versions of the composition (a favorite theme in seventeenth-century Dutch art) are recorded, although only the one in the Museo Frans Mayer (formerly in the Museo de San Carlos, both in Mexico City), can be traced today.

PROVENANCE: Possibly Philipp Wilhelm, Elector Palatine; Johann Wilhelm von der Pfalz, Elector Palatine, Düsseldorf, by 1716; transferred to Mannheim, 1730; Alte Pinakothek, Munich, by 1863–1935; [A.G., Zurich and Eindhoven, 1935–1937]; [D. Katz, Dieren, 1938]; H. E. ten Cate, Almelo, the Netherlands, in 1960; Sidney van den Bergh, Wassenaar; J. van Duijvendijk, Scheveningen; H. Kastengren, Stockholm, by 1967; sale, Sotheby's, London, March 19, 1975, lot 13; [Joseph Leegenhoek, Paris, 1975–1977]; Jean-Louis Dupré, Paris, 1977–1986 (sale, Sotheby's, Monte Carlo, June 19, 1986, lot 26).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Alte Pinakothek, Munich, *Catalogue* (Munich, 1930), no. 549; Nationalmuseum, Stockholm, "Holländska Mästare i Svensk Ago," ex. cat. (Stockholm, 1967), no. 104; O. Naumann, *Frans van Mieris the Elder* (Doornspijk, the Netherlands, 1981), vol. 1, pp. 69–70, and vol. 2, pp. 84–87, no. 71.

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39. GODFRIED SCHALCKEN
Dutch, 1643–1706
The Annunciation, early 1670s
Oil on panel, 26.3 x 20.5 cm (10⅜" x 8 1/16"); unpainted modern wooden strips (¼" wide) added to all sides. Signed: *G. Schalcken* in the upper left corner.
86.PB.464

This small panel is iconographically notable for the wingless angel and for the Virgin, who holds a scroll rather than the more customary book. An Annunciation by the artist was last seen in a 1900 auction in Berlin (Hofstede de Groot [London, 1913], vol. 5, p. 315, no. 10).

PROVENANCE: S. E. Herren von Saint Saphorin (sale, Vienna, May 19, 1806, lot 396); Bernard de Mestral, thence by descent; sale, Christie's, London, April 19, 1985, lot 98; [Edward Speelman, London, 1985–1986].

FLEMISH

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40. JACOB VAN HULSDONCK
Flemish, 1582–1647
Still Life with Lemons, Oranges, and a Pomegranate, circa 1620–1640
Oil on panel, 42 x 49.5 cm (16½" x 19½"). Signed: *J. VHVLSDONCK* (VH in ligature) at the lower left.
86.PB.538

The blue-and-white porcelain bowl dates from the Wan-Li period (1573–1619) of the Ming dynasty. Of several *pentimenti,* the most important is a knife, originally to the left of the bowl, which has been painted out but is still visible to the naked eye. The knife is present in two similar still lifes, one signed by Hulsdonck (sale, Palais de Congrès, Versailles, May 24, 1972, lot 52), the other unsigned (sale, Sotheby's, London, November 17, 1982, lot 76).

PROVENANCE: Sale, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, December 16, 1942, lot 54; [Didier Aaron, Inc., New York, 1985].

BIBLIOGRAPHY: E. Greindl, *Les Peintures flamands de nature morte au XVII^e siècle* (Sterrebeek, Belgium, 1956), p. 256, fig. 143; S. H. Pavière, *A Dictionary of Flower, Fruit, and Still-Life Painters* (Leigh-on-Sea, England, 1962), vol. 1, p. 36.

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41. ANTHONY VAN DYCK
Flemish, 1599–1641
Thomas Howard, Second Earl of Arundel, 1620–1621
Oil on canvas, 102.8 x 79.4 cm (40½" x 31¼")
86.PA.532

In 1620 Thomas Howard, Second Earl of Arundel—landowner, statesman, connoisseur and collector—invited the young van Dyck to England. This portrait, reflecting the painter's allegiance to his master Rubens as well as his exposure to sixteenth-century Venetian painting in the earl's collection, dates from this first, short visit. In his left hand, the earl holds the badge of the Order of the Garter, awarded him in 1611.

A small preliminary study on "carton" belonged to the Robartes family in the nineteenth century and is last mentioned by Rooses (see below); a later version or copy with the same composition, cropped to focus on the sitter's face, is in a private collection (Larsen, no. 281). The portrait was engraved three times in the nineteenth century (by Tardieu, Tomkins, and Sharp) while in the Sutherland collection.

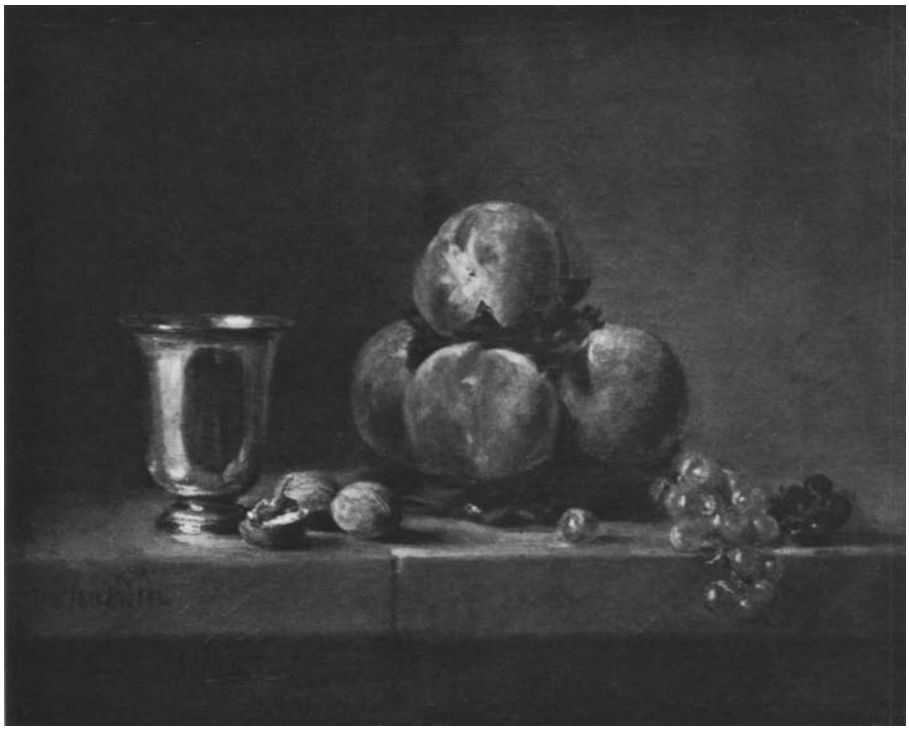
PROVENANCE: Probably commissioned by Thomas Howard, Second Earl of Arundel (1585–1646); said to have been given by him to Georges Villiers, First Duke of Buckingham, by 1628; Philippe, duc d'Orléans (le Régent), by 1727; by descent to Philippe, duc d'Orléans (Philippe Egalité), until 1792; citoyen Robit, Paris (sale, May 11, 1801, lot 36); Francis, Third Duke of Bridgewater (1736–1803), Cleveland House (later Bridgewater House), London, from 1801; his nephew Lord Gower, later Second Marquess of Stafford and First Duke of Sutherland (1758–1833); by descent with the dukes of Sutherland, Stafford House, London, until circa 1913; Frits Gans, Frankfurt; Bachstitz collection, The Hague; Daniel Guggenheim, New York, in 1929; Mrs. Daniel Guggenheim, New York, in 1931, until at least 1939; Robert Guggenheim, Washington, D.C., in 1950; Mrs. David Guggenheim, New York; Mr. and Mrs. Francis Lenyon; Rebecca

Pollard Logan, Washington, D.C., in 1980 (sale, Christie's, London, July 8, 1983, lot 92) [Thomas Agnew and Sons, Ltd.]; Swiss private collection; [Thomas Agnew and Sons, Ltd., 1986].

BIBLIOGRAPHY: L. Cust, *Anthony van Dyck* (London, 1900), pp. 23, 268, no. 1; M. Rooses, *Fifty Masterpieces of Anthony van Dyck* (London, 1900), pp. 89–90; M. F. S. Hervey, *The Life, Correspondence and Collections of Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel* (Cambridge, England, 1921), pp. 187–188; E. Larsen, *L'Opera completa di Van Dyck, 1613–1626* (Milan, 1980), p. 105, no. 280; A. McNairn, *The Young van Dyck,* ex. cat. (Ottawa, National Gallery of Canada, 1980), no. 65; O. Millar, *Van Dyck in England,* ex. cat. (London, National Portrait Gallery, 1982), no. 2.

FRENCH

42. JEAN-SIMEON CHARDIN
French, 1699–1779
Still Life, circa 1759–1760
Oil on canvas, 37.8 x 46.7 cm (14⅞" x 18⅜"). Signed: *Chardin* at the left center.
86.PA.544



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What appears to be a later version, or a very similar painting, signed and dated 1761 and probably exhibited at the Salon of 1763 (no. 62), was offered but then withdrawn from the Lemoyne sale (Paris, August 10, 1778, lot 10) and was last seen when sold in Paris (May 19, 1828, lot 62). Georges Wildenstein (1963, no. 32) confuses the provenances of the two paintings. The Museum's picture is closely related to a still life in the Reinhart collection, Winterthur, and to a version of that painting in a French private collection (Wildenstein, 1963, no. 334).

PROVENANCE: Aubert, Paris (sale, Paris [Paillet and Hugues, commissaires-priseurs], March 2–4, 1786, lot 56); la comtesse de Croismare, Folie de Montfermeil; Maurice Massignon; Charles Masson, Paris, by 1907; Pierre Masson, Paris, by descent, until about 1935; private collection, England; [Société Spiess, Paris].

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. Dayot and J. Guiffrey, *J.-B. Siméon Chardin* (Paris, 1907), no. 180; Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, *Exposition rétrospective d'art français,* ex. cat. (Amsterdam, 1926), no. 18; G. Wildenstein, *Chardin* (Paris, 1933), no. 793; G. Wildenstein, *Chardin* (Zurich, 1963, rev. ed., Oxford, 1969), no. 321; P. Rosenberg, *Tout l'oeuvre peint de Chardin* (Paris, 1983), no. 153.

43. HUBERT ROBERT
French, 1733–1808
A Hermit Praying in the Ruins of a Roman Temple, circa 1760–1764
Oil on canvas, 58 x 70.5 cm (22¾" x 27¾"). Inscribed: *ROBERT / FECIT / FIO. . . NT / PORT . . . 176. . .* [last digit obscured, perhaps 1760?] in the wall at center.
86.PA.605

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In his article in this *Journal,* Victor Carlson dates the painting to 1760 on the basis of a comparison with a drawing by Robert in the Louvre, signed and dated in that year, in which the general arrangement of the architectural setting is similar to that in the Museum's canvas. The drawing is illustrated in *Le Louvre d'Hubert Robert* (ex. cat. [Paris, Musée du Louvre, 1979], fig. 48).

In the 1777 sale of the prince de Conti's collection, the Museum's painting was paired with a pendant view of the interior of a colonnaded temple, now lost, described in the sales catalogue (lot 753) as ". . . un charriot rempli de foin, un homme & une femme a cheval, d'autres figures & un troupeau de moutons."

PROVENANCE: Louis-François de Bourbon, prince de Conti (sale, Paris, April 8–June 6, 1777, lot 752); Desmarets; Prince Pyotr Ivanovitch Tufialkin, Paris (sale, Paris, May 2–3, 1845, lot 65); private collection, Paris (sale, Galerie Sedelmeyer, Paris, March 25, 1892, lot 53); Georges Berger, Paris; possibly sale, Paris, March 20, 1928, no. 53; Georges Wildenstein family collection, Paris, by 1928; [Wildenstein and Co., New York].

BIBLIOGRAPHY: P. de Nolhac, *Hubert Robert, 1733–1808* (Paris, 1910), p. 98; Orangerie, Paris, *Exposition Hubert Robert,* ex. cat. (Paris, 1933), no. 2; G. Isarlo, "Hubert Robert," *Connaissance des Arts* no. 18 (August 15, 1953), p. 28; H. Burda, *Die Ruine in den Bildern Hubert Roberts* (Munich, 1967), p. 80 and n. 359; A. Corboz, *Peinture militante et architecture révolutionnaire: A propos du thème du tunnel chez Hubert Robert* (Basel and Stuttgart, 1978), p. 16, fig. 13; V. Carlson, "A

Roman Masterpiece by Hubert Robert: *A Hermit Praying in the Ruins of a Roman Temple,*" *GettyMusJ* 15 (1987), pp. 117–124.

44. JACQUES-LOUIS DAVID
French, 1748–1825
The Sisters Zénaïde and Charlotte Bonaparte, 1821
Oil on panel, 129.5 x 100 cm (51" x 39 3/8"). Signed and dated: *L. DAVID. / BRUX. 1821* at the lower right. Inscribed: *N.°13. / Philadelphie . . . / mes cheres petites amies. . . / Julie. . .* on the letter held by sitters.
86.PA.740

Zénaïde (1801–1854) and Charlotte (1802–1839) were daughters of Joseph Bonaparte, brother of Napoleon. In 1821 both lived with their mother in Brussels, also the home in exile of Jacques-Louis David, while their father—who wrote the letter seen in Zénaïde's hand in the Museum's painting—had taken up residence in Bordentown, New Jersey, and Philadelphia.

The high quality and substantial *pentimenti* of this little-known portrait, as well as the presence of both the signature and the 1821 date, indicate that it is the original version documented in David's June 25, 1821, receipt for payment from the girls' mother. The two replicas also mentioned in the receipt (costing one thousand francs each, as opposed to four thousand for the original) can be identified with the portraits in Toulon (Musée d'Art et d'Archéologie, signed and dated 1822) and Rome (Museo Napoleonico, unsigned), each of which has at times been called the original.

The *Liste des Tableaux de la galerie de Joseph Bonaparte* (undated but apparently compiled in the U.S.) mentions under No. 116 "Les Princesses Zénaïde et Charlotte. David," valued at four thousand francs, the price of the original version (Bertin, 1893). The painting returned to Europe with Bonaparte in 1836.

PROVENANCE: Commissioned by Marie Julie Bonaparte, comtesse de Survilliers, perhaps on behalf of her husband, Joseph, presumably in 1820 or 1821; their daughter Zénaïde, Princess of Canino (1801–1854); her daughter Julie Charlotte Zénaïde Pauline Laetitia

44

45

Désirée Bartholomée Bonaparte (1830–1900), wife of Alessandro del Gallo, Marchese di Roccagiovane, Rome; private collection, Switzerland, by about 1938; [Wildenstein and Co., New York].

BIBLIOGRAPHY: G. Bertin, *Joseph Bonaparte en Amérique* (Paris, 1893), p. 418; D. and G. Wildenstein, *Documents complémentaires au catalogue de l'oeuvre de Louis David* (Paris, 1973) pp. 220, 222; Philadelphia Museum of Art, *Federal Philadelphia, 1785–1825: The Athens of the Western World*, ex. cat. (Philadelphia, 1987), no. 228; G. Bazin and G. Wildenstein, catalogue raisonné of the work of J.-L. David (forthcoming).

GERMAN

45. LEO VON KLENZE
German, 1784–1864
Landscape with the Castle of Massa di Carrara, 1827
Oil on canvas, 76.9 x 101 cm (30¼" x 39¾"). Signed: *LvKle XXVII* at the lower left.
86.PA.540

Leo von Klenze visited Massa near Carrara in September 1826 and again from late April to early June 1827. On the second visit he probably made the drawing of the landscape with the castle, built by the Malaspina dukes from the fourteenth through the sixteenth centuries, preserved in his sketchbook (Münchner Stadtmuseum, Alte Sammlung, Sketchbook 3, f. 43 recto). A second drawing, in which he experimentally moved the castle to the right half of the composition and rotated it to the right, may have been executed after his return to Munich (Munich, Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, inv. no. 27.713—mappe 35/I).

This painting remained with the artist and subsequently his family, but a second, slightly smaller version (28 x 37 inches, location unknown) was painted for Franz Bolgiano about the same year and may be the *View of Massa* exhibited at the Munich Kunstverein in 1828. Klenze exhibited the Museum's landscape at the Berlin Academy in 1834 (no. 361).

PROVENANCE: By descent from the artist to Herbert M. von Klenze (b. 1907), Ellenberg, Germany (sale, Kunsthaus Lempertz, Cologne, November 21–23, 1985, lot 479) bought by [Bruno Meissner, Zurich].

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BIBLIOGRAPHY: G. K. Nagler, *Neues allgemeines Künstler-Lexikon* (Munich, 1839), p. 60; Bayerische Akademie der Schönen Künste, *Leo von Klenze als Maler und Zeichner*, ex. cat. (Munich, 1977), nos. G5, G30; N. Lieb and F. Hufnagel, *Leo von Klenze Gemälde und Zeichnungen* (Munich, 1979), pp. 101, 170, 242, no. G35.

46. FRANZ XAVER WINTERHALTER
German, 1805/06–1873
Portrait of Leonilla Fürstin zu Sayn-Wittgenstein-Sayn, 1843
Oil on canvas, 142 x 212 cm (56" x 83½"). Signed: *Winterhalter, Paris, 1843* at the center right.
86.PA.534

The Russian-born Princess Leonilla Ivanovna Bariatinskaya (1816–1918) married Prince Ludwig zu Sayn-Wittgenstein-Sayn in 1843, the year this portrait was painted in Paris. Her reclining pose, reminiscent of traditional Venuses and David's *Madame Récamier* of 1800 (Musée du Louvre, Paris), is appropriate to the princess' status as an international beauty and hostess with political interests. She had sat to Winterhalter once before, in 1833, for an oval portrait which also features her shadowed face, contrasting black hair and opaline skin, and magnificent pearls (Wittgenstein family, on loan to the Neue Pinakothek, Munich). A third Winterhalter portrait of the princess, painted in 1849, remains with the family. The portrait is in its original frame, made by P. Souty fils, Paris.

47

PROVENANCE: Commissioned by the sitter; by descent to Prince Alexander zu Sayn-Wittgenstein-Sayn, until 1985; [Artemis, London].

BIBLIOGRAPHY: C. Heilmann, *Neue Pinakothek München* (Munich and Zurich, 1984), pp. 37, 68–69; ex. cat. forthcoming, London, National Portrait Gallery, and Paris, Grand Palais, 1987.

ITALIAN

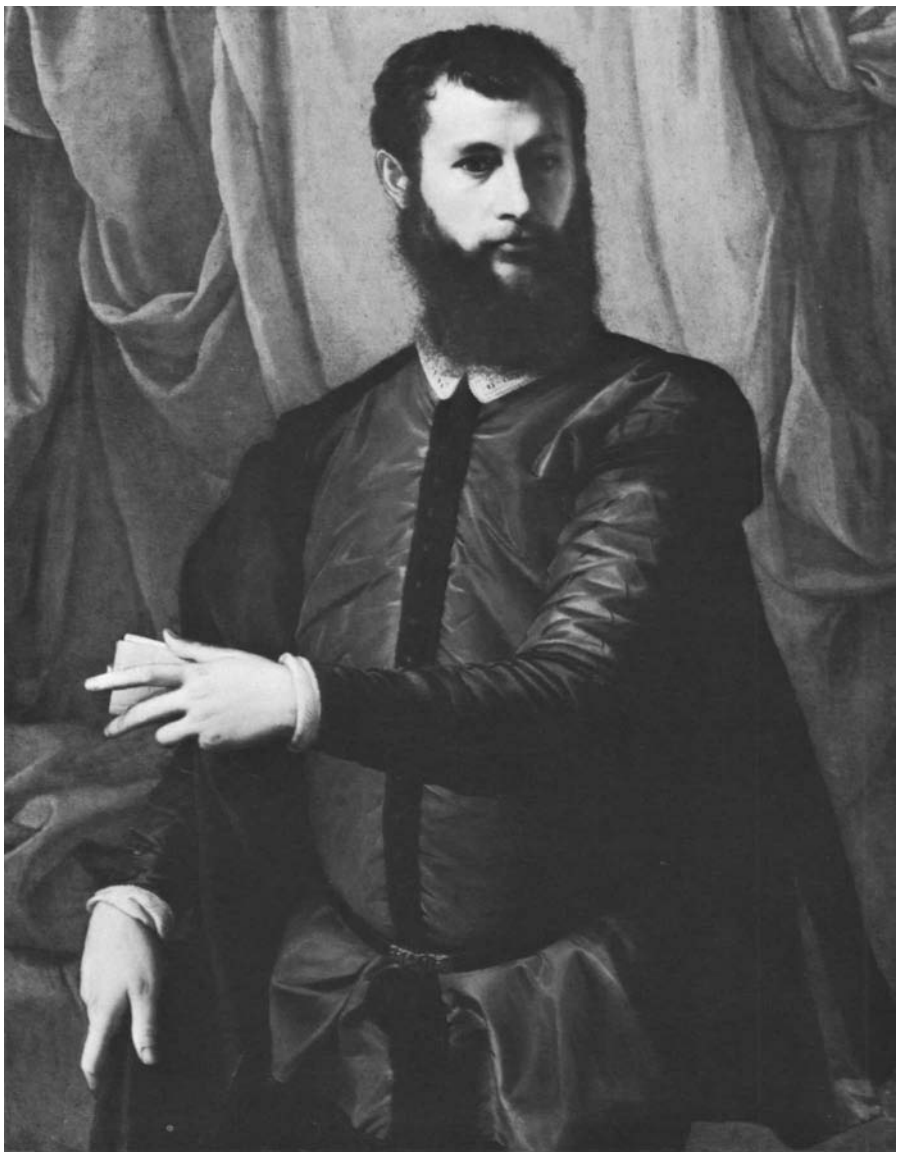
47. ITALIAN (Naples or Avignon), mid-fourteenth century
The Stigmatization of Saint Francis of Assisi and *The Crowning of Saints*

Cecilia and Valerian of Rome,
circa 1330s
Tempera on panel, each panel:
31.2 x 22.9 cm (12 5/16" x 9")
86.PB.490

Until recently this work, sometimes called the Ansouis Diptych, has been attributed to an Avignon painter and dated to the 1360s. The figures on the right-hand panel were traditionally identified as Saint Elzéar de Sabran (1286–1323) and his wife, the Blessed Delphine de Signe (1284–1360), relations of the counts of Sabran. In his article in this *Journal,* however, Carl Strehlke suggests that Delphine may have commissioned the diptych herself, from a painter active in Naples in the 1330s, perhaps the Master of the Saint Elizabeth Stories. Moreover, the right-hand panel may well depict the saints Cecilia and Valerian, whose chaste marriage served as the model for Elzéar and Delphine's relationship.

PROVENANCE: Counts of Sabran, Château d'Ansouis (Vaucluse), France (possibly by descent from the Blessed Delphine de Signe [1284–1360]); by descent to the dukes of Sabran and Pontèves, Paris; [Wildenstein and Co., New York, 1981–1986].

BIBLIOGRAPHY: P. Girard, *Saint Elzéar de Sabran et la Bienheureuse Delphine de Signe* (Paris, 1912), p. 6; G. Duhamelet, *Saint Elzéar et la Bienheureuse Delphine* (Paris, 1944), pp. 17, 19; J. Dupont, "Quelques exemples de rapports entre le France et l'Italie au XIV^{e} et au XV^{e} Siècles," *Cahiers de l'Association Internationale des Etudes Françaises* 8 (June 1956), p. 36; M. Laclotte and D. Thiébaut, *L'école d'Avignon* (Paris, 1983), pp. 194–195, no. 24; P. Leone de Castris, *Arte di Corte nella Napoli angioina* (Florence, 1986), p. 428; C. B. Strehlke, "A Celebate Marriage and Franciscan Poverty Reflected in a Neapolitan Trecento Diptych," *GettyMusJ* 15 (1987), pp. 79–96.



48

48. FRANCESCO SALVIATI
Italian (Florentine), 1510–1563
Portrait of a Bearded Man, circa 1550–1555
Oil on panel, 109 x 85 cm (43" x 33 1/2")
86.PB.476

Sometimes attributed to Bronzino, this portrait belongs more appropriately to Salviati's second Roman period (1550–1555), when one would expect to find such an arresting combination of Mannerist precision, along with the animation and interest in the sitter characteristic of the mature Salviati. Its heavily rippled gold frame, apparently original to the picture, does not appear to be Florentine.

PROVENANCE: Marchese Carlo Niccolini di Camugliano, by 1904; [Heim Gallery, London, circa 1975]; [P. and D. Colnaghi, Ltd., London and New York, 1982]; Daniel Varsano, Connecticut; through [Zangrilli and Brady, New York].

BIBLIOGRAPHY: I. H. Cheney, *Francesco Salviati (1510–1563),* unpublished Ph.D. diss., Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, 1963, pp. 421, 483, fig. 412; C. Whitfield, *Discoveries from the Cinquecento,* ex. cat. (New York, P. and D. Colnaghi, Ltd., 1982), no. 7.

49

49. LUCA FORTE
Italian (Neapolitan), active circa 1625–1655
Still Life with Grapes and Other Fruit, circa 1630s?
Oil on copper, 31.4 x 26 cm (12 3/8" x 10 1/4"). Signed: *Luca Forte* on the wall at the lower left.
86.PC.517

The still life of grapes, apples, pomegranates, and pears may have emblematic significance, but it is just as likely that it simply portrays the bounties of autumn. The basket at the lower left may have been used for the harvest of fruit.

Photographs taken at the time of the painting's sale in London in 1984 show the ghost of a coat of arms on the upper left near the corner of the wall. Recent cleaning demonstrated that the arms postdated the execution of the painting, and it has been impossible to reconstruct what they look like.

PROVENANCE: Said to have been sold by Leonard Koetser, London; private collection, Jersey, since about 1955; sale, Sotheby's, London, December 12, 1984, lot 31, bought by [Thomas Agnew and Sons, Ltd., London].

50

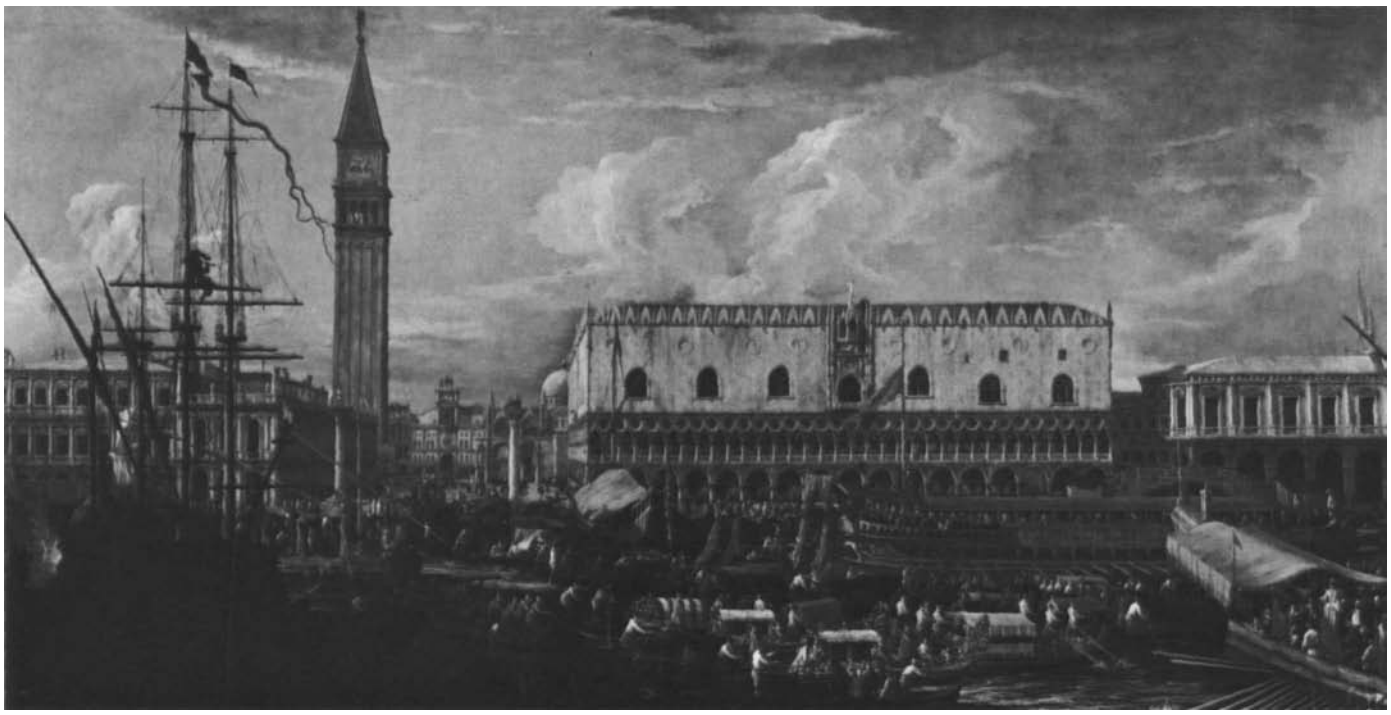
50. SEBASTIANO RICCI
Italian (Venetian), 1659–1734
Perseus Turning the Companions of Phineus to Stone, circa 1705–1710
Oil on canvas, 64 x 77 cm (25 1/4" x 30 1/4")
86.PA.591

This painting can be compared closely with Ricci's *Battle of the Lapiths and Centaurs* (circa 1705, High Museum of Art, Atlanta) and his frescoes in the Palazzo Marucelli-Fenzi, Florence, dated 1706–1707. The figure of Perseus is close to that of the soldier in the *Death of Archimedes* (Palazzo Vidmar-Foscari, Venice) dated circa 1705 by A. Rizzi (*Sebastiano Ricci disegnatore,* ex. cat. [Udine, Salla Aiace del Commune], 1975).

The subject is taken from Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (5.1–235). In the midst of celebrating his wedding to Andromeda, Perseus is attacked by Phineus—the bride's uncle and her erstwhile intended—assisted by a thousand supporters. The turning point in the lopsided battle is the moment depicted here, when Perseus finally displays the head of Medusa and petrifies three of Phineus' henchmen (Thescelus, Ampyx, and Nileus).

PROVENANCE: Ray Livingston Murphy (1923–1953), New York (probably acquired in England); Ray Slater Murphy, mother of R. L. Murphy (sale, Christie's, New York, January 15, 1986, lot 113, bought by [Thomas Agnew and Sons, Ltd., London]).

51a



51b

51. LUCA CARLEVARIJS
Italian (Venetian), 1663–1730
Regatta on the Grand Canal in Honor of Frederick IV, King of Denmark, 1711
Oil on canvas, 134.9 x 259.7 cm (53 1/8" x 102 1/4"). Inscribed: *MDCCXI/L.C.* at the bottom center on the boat.
86.PA.599
The Bucintoro Departing from the Bacino di San Marco, 1710
Oil on canvas, 134.7 x 259.3 cm (53 1/16" x 102 1/8"). Inscribed: *LC MDCCX* at the lower left on the stern of the boat.
86.PA.600

The *Bucintoro* (Venetian state barge) is shown on the day of the "Sposalizio del mare" (Marriage of Venice and the sea), an annual Ascension Day ceremony. The regatta in honor of Frederick IV was held March 4, 1709, on the occasion of the Danish king's state visit to Venice. A second version of this painting, with minor differences, is in Fredericksborg castle, Denmark (inv. no. 3456).

PROVENANCE: Baron Michele Lazzaroni, Paris, by 1922; Barone Edgardo Lazzaroni, Rome, by 1937 and as late as 1940; Baronessa Lazzaroni, Paris; private collection, Rome, until 1985; [Thomas Agnew and Sons, Ltd., London].

BIBLIOGRAPHY: N. Tarchiani, *Mostra della pittura italiana del Seicento e del Settecento,* ex. cat. (Florence, Palazzo Pitti, 1922), nos. 209, 210; F. Mauroner, *Luca Carlevaris,* 2nd ed. (Padua, 1945), pp. 59, 82, pls. 4, 5; *Venetian Eighteenth-Century Painting,* ex. cat. (London, Thomas Agnew and Sons, Ltd., 1985), nos. 7, 8.

52

52. GIUSEPPE MARIA CRESPI
Italian (Bolognese), 1665–1747
The Blessed Bernard Tolomei Interceding for the Cessation of the Plague in Siena, circa 1735
Oil on copper, 42.7 x 66.6 cm (16 13/16" x 26 1/4")
86.PC.463

In his article in this *Journal,* John Spike connects this recently discovered painting with a documented commission for two paintings for the Olivetan Abbot Corsi. The pendant representing *Saint Francesca Romana Placing the Infant Christ in the Arms of Her Confessor* (Merriman, no. 115) is known from workshop replicas, which also exist for the *Bernard Tolomei* (Musée des Beaux-Arts, Nîmes; Marchini collection, Rome; Gemäldegalerie der Akademie der Bildenden Kunste, Vienna; Ilo Nunes-Mauri collection, Rome). Crespi's presentation of Tolomei as an intercessor is an innovation in the iconography of the fourteenth-century Olivetan abbot.

PROVENANCE: Commissioned by Abbot Corsi, Florence, circa 1735; Marchese Gino Capponi, Florence, by 1767; sale, Hôtel Drouot, Paris [Marcel Walter and Tabourdeau, commissaires-priseurs], February 7, 1945, lot 383; private collection, Switzerland; [Piero Corsini, New York], 1985–1986.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: G. Zanotti, *Storia dell'Accademia Clementina di Bologna* (Bologna, 1739), vol. 2, p. 64; L. Crespi, *Felsina Pittrice, Vite de' pittori bolognesi* (Rome, 1769), vol. 3, p. 217; M. P. Merriman, *Giuseppe Maria Crespi* (Milan, 1980), pp. 265, 271–272; J. T. Spike, *Giuseppe Maria Crespi and the Emergence of Genre Painting in Italy,* ex. cat. (Fort Worth, Kimbell Art Museum, 1986), p. 162; idem, *The Blessed Bernard Tolomei Interceding for the Cessation of the Plague in Siena*: A Rediscovered Painting by Giuseppe Maria Crespi," *GettyMusJ* 15 (1987), pp. 111–116.

DRAWINGS

BRITISH

53 (recto)

53 (verso)

53. THOMAS GAINSBOROUGH
British, 1727–1788
Study of a Seated Woman (recto); *Study of a Small Girl Seated on a Bank* (verso), circa 1765–1770
Black chalk and stump and white chalk on blue paper (recto); black chalk (verso), 31.8 x 23.8 cm (12½" x 9⅜")
86.GB.620

This is one of a number of full-length studies of beautifully costumed young women executed by Gainsborough in the mid-to-late 1760s. It shows a dainty young woman seated and facing front, a pose rare in Gainsborough. The costume consists of a broad-brimmed milkmaid's bonnet, a shawl drawn about the woman's slender shoulders, and a luxuriantly cascading skirt, broadly sketched in black and white chalks. This drawing descended in the artist's family through his younger daughter, Margaret, and was lithographed by his great-nephew Richard Lane in 1825.

PROVENANCE: Mrs. Thomas Gainsborough, London; by descent to the Gainsboroughs' daughter Margaret; Sophia and Richard Lane (probably Lane sale, Christie's, London, February 25, 1831, lot 100); Crompton collection; Spiller collection; Dr. and Mrs. Francis Springell, Portinscale, Cumberland (sale, Sotheby's, London, June 30, 1986, lot 103).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. Hayes, *The Drawings of Gainsborough* (New Haven and London, 1971), vol. 1, nos. 32, 33, vol. 2, pls. 98, 100; J. Hayes and L. Stainton, *Gainsborough Drawings,* ex. cat. (Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art; Fort Worth, Kimbell Art Museum; New Haven, Yale Center for British Art, 1983), no. 43.

DUTCH

54

54. FRIEDRICH SUSTRIS
Dutch, circa 1540–1599
Angels Bearing the Column of the Passion, circa 1580–1590
Pen and dark brown ink and gray wash, 16.6 x 20.6 cm (6⁹⁄₁₆" x 8⅛").
Inscribed (verso): *Carracci* in pencil.
86.GA.8

Sustris' activities as overseer of the artistic undertakings at the court of Wilhelm V of Bavaria in Munich included the designing of sculpture and decorative objects. This drawing, among his few surviving designs for a decorative piece, was used as the model for one of the twenty-five etched-glass panels of a reliquary shrine in the Reiche Kapelle in the Munich Residence. With its exceptional refinement of line and graceful figure style, it is qualitatively superior both to another version in Budapest, considered by Heinrich Geissler to be a copy (Szépmüvészeti Múseum, inv. no. 1387; T. Gerszi, *Netherlandish Drawings in the Budapest Museum* [Amsterdam, 1971], no. 259; H. Geissler, "Unbekannte Entwürfe von Friedrich Sustris," *Kunstgeschichtliche Studien für Kurt Bauch* [Munich-Berlin, 1967], p. 154), and to a copy in Düsseldorf (Kunstmuseum, inv. no. FP 5280).

PROVENANCE: Private collection, Switzerland; [Pamela Gordon, Paris].

BIBLIOGRAPHY: P. Gordon, *Pamela Gordon Presents Old Master Drawings,* ex. cat. (New York, Bob P. Haboldt, Inc., Gallery, 1985), no. 24.

55

55. JAN HARMENSZ. MULLER
Dutch, 1571–1628
Embracing Couple (Mercury and the Nymph Lara?), 1588–circa 1594
Black chalk, pen and brown ink, brown wash, and white gouache

heightening on light brown paper, 18.7 x 21.7 cm (7⅜″ x 8⅝″). Inscribed: *145* in brown ink at the bottom.
86.GG.595

E. K. J. Reznicek recognizes this drawing as the work of Muller, assigning it to the period of 1588 through circa 1594, when the artist practiced the Mannerist figure style of the Prague painter Bartholomäus Spranger and the flowing pen work of Cornelis van Haarlem. Compositionally, the drawing is quite close to Muller's engraving after a drawing by Spranger, *The Drunken Lot with His Daughters* (W. L. Strauss, ed., *The Illustrated Bartsch,* vol. 4 [formerly vol. 3], *Netherlandish Artists: Matham, Saenredam, Muller* [New York, 1980], no. 64 [284]), which is also dominated by a muscular nude woman shown from behind. The burning city in the background and various other similarities of technique and composition occur in the drawing *Lot and His Daughters* in the Graphische Sammlung, Munich (inv. no. 1037), attributed to van Haarlem by C. van Thiel (*Katalog der Staatlichen Graphischen Sammlung Munchen* [Berlin, 1973], vol. 1; W. Wegner, *Die Niederländischen Handzeichnungen des 15.–18. Jahrhunderts* [Berlin, 1973], vol. 1, no. 42). Judging from the background conflagration, the helmet, and what seems to be a caduceus in the lower right corner, the embracing couple might well be identified as Mercury and the nymph Lara, a subject also treated by Muller in an engraving (*The Illustrated Bartsch,* vol. 4, no. 10 [268]).

PROVENANCE: Antonio Morassi, Milan; sale, Christie's, Amsterdam, November 18, 1985, lot 10; [Richard Day, London].

BIBLIOGRAPHY: E. K. J. Reznicek, "Jan Harmensz. Muller as Draughtsman: Addenda," *Master Drawings* 2 (1980), pp. 120–121, 131, pl. 3.

56

56. HENDRICK GOLTZIUS
Dutch, 1558–1617
Bust of an Angel, 1609
Black chalk and white chalk heightening, 55.6 x 39.7 cm (21¹⁵⁄₁₆″ x 15⅝″). Signed and dated: *HG/A:1609* in black chalk in the right middle margin.
86.GB.593

This drawing, exemplifying Goltzius' late, classical style, has only recently come to light. Its cartoonlike scale, softly modeled flesh, and angelic subject tie in closely with his late paintings, suggesting that it might have been intended as a preparatory study. No corresponding painting, however, has been discovered. The drawing is powerfully affecting, owing to its impressive size, the immediacy of the subject, and the broad, rich application of black chalk.

PROVENANCE: Private collection, Malmö, Sweden; private collection, London; [Ars Libri, Boston].

BIBLIOGRAPHY: E. K. J. Reznicek, "A Survey of Recent Discoveries and of Bibliography Concerning Dutch Art, 1500–1600," in *Netherlandish Mannerism,* G. Cavalli-Björkman, ed. (Stockholm, 1985), pp. 10–11.

57. REMBRANDT VAN RIJN
Dutch, 1606–1669
An Artist in a Studio, circa 1632–1633
Pen and brown ink, 20.5 x 17 cm (8¹⁄₁₆″ x 6¹¹⁄₁₆″). Collection marks of

57

E. Bouverie in the lower left corner and of an anonymous collector in the lower right corner.
86.GA.675

Rembrandt here depicts a solitary young artist, possibly his friend and colleague Jan Lievens, holding a palette, brushes, and maulstick, and contemplating a painting in progress. Beside the easel stands a stone on which to prepare paint. Rembrandt's varied pen work describes a range of textures as well as the shadowy atmosphere pervading the high-ceilinged interior. The masterful manipulation of space and chiaroscuro, combined with the painter's expression of intense concentration as he confronts his painting, make this one of the most powerful and original seventeenth-century images of an artist at work.

PROVENANCE: E. Bouverie, Delapré Abbey, near Northampton; Lewis Huth Walters; Dr. and Mrs. Francis Springell, Portinscale, Cumberland (sale, Sotheby's, London, June 30, 1986, lot 41).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. M. Hind, "Rembrandt in His Studio," *Old Master Drawings* 1 (June 1926), p. 9; O. Benesch, *Rembrandt: Werk und Forschung* (Vienna, 1935), p. 28; idem, *Selected Drawings by Rembrandt* (Oxford and London, 1947), no. 33; idem, *The Drawings of Rembrandt* (London, 1954), vol. 2, no. 390; S. Slive, "Rembrandt's 'Self-Portrait in a Studio,' " *Burlington Magazine* 106 (November 1964), p. 485, fig. 4; idem, *The Drawings of Rembrandt* (London, 1973), vol. 2, no. 390; I. W. L. Moerman, et al., *Geschildert tot Leyden anno 1626,* ex. cat. (Leiden, Stedelijk Museum de Lakenhal, 1976), p. 26.

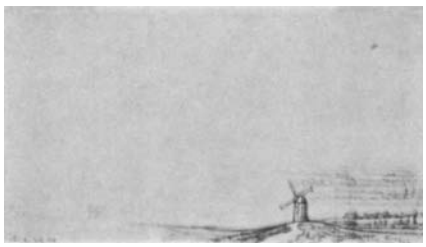
58

58. AELBERT CUYP
Dutch, 1620–1691
A Milkmaid, circa 1640–1650
Black chalk, graphite, and gray wash, 12 x 14.7 cm (4¾" x 5¹³⁄₁₆")
86.GG.672

It was Cuyp's practice to make separate figure studies which he later used in his landscape paintings, often more than once. The present drawing was used in several of his paintings of milkmaids, the most important of which is in the Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, Rotterdam. Cuyp brought this drawing to an unusually high degree of finish, lavishing particular attention on the many soft folds of the garment and the fall of sunlight over the figure.

PROVENANCE: L. Dupper (probably) (sale, Roos/Engelberts/Roos, Dordrecht, June 28–29, 1870, part of lot 452); Victor de Stuers, The Hague; private collection, the Netherlands; [Ars Libri, Boston].

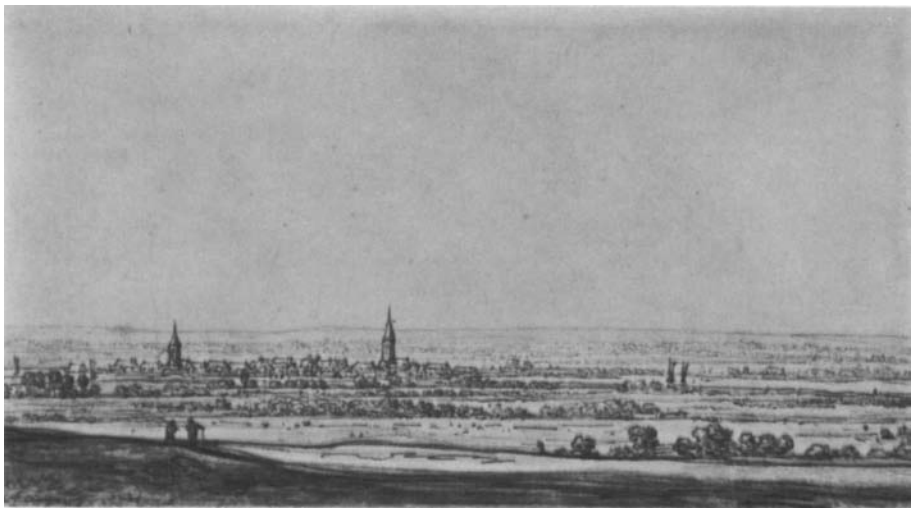
BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Aelbert Cuyp: Originalabbildungen nach seiner vorzüglichsten Gemälden und Handzeichnungen* (Leipzig, 1912), pl. 12; *Honderd Teekeningen naar oud hollandsche meesters* (Bloemendaal, n.d.), pl. 15; *Handzeichnungen alter Meister der holländischen Malerschule* (Leipzig, n.d.), vol. 2, pl. 2; S. Reiss, *Aelbert Cuyp* (London, 1975), p. 90.



59 (verso)

59. AELBERT CUYP
Dutch, 1620–1691
View of the Rhine Valley (recto); *View of the Heideberger Mill near Cleves* (verso), circa 1651–1652
Black chalk, graphite, and gray wash, 13.2 x 23.7 cm (5³⁄₁₆" x 9⁵⁄₁₆").
Inscribed (recto): *A Cuyp* in black chalk in the lower left corner.
Inscribed (verso): *Coll. ten Cate 196* in graphite.
86.GG.673

This drawing belongs to a sketchbook of landscapes and townscapes that Cuyp made during a trip to the region of Nijmegen and Cleves in 1651–1652. Other examples from this sketchbook include those in the Groninger Museum voor Stad en Lande, Groningen (inv. no. 1931–146); the British Museum, London (E.1912, inv. no. 172); and the Fondation Custodia, Collection Frits Lugt, Paris (inv. no. 5304). The drawings from this sketchbook are all executed in a similar technique. Dark black chalk appears in the foreground and the middle ground, and graphite is used in the background; this produces an effect of atmospheric perspective. Cuyp here built up the landscape in a succession of horizontal zones, achieving a sense of expansiveness reminiscent of the work of Rembrandt and Philips Koninck. While the town on the recto remains unidentified, the sketch on the verso shows the Heideberger Mill outside Cleves. Van Gelder and Jost note that it is a continuation of a drawing in the Musée Conde, Chantilly (inv. no.



59 (recto)

1085) showing the city of Cleves from the Galgenberg outside the walls, and it exemplifies Cuyp's habit of beginning a landscape on the recto of a sheet and continuing it on the verso of the preceding page.

PROVENANCE: [B. Houthakker, Amsterdam]; H. E. ten Cate, Almelo, the Netherlands; [C. G. Boerner, Düsseldorf]; [R. M. Light and Co., Boston]; Charles Cunningham, Massachusetts.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: D. Hannema, *Collection of H. E. ten Cate* (Oldenzaal, the Netherlands, 1955), no. 196, fig. 98; F. W. Robinson, *One Hundred Master Drawings from New England Private Collections,* ex. cat. (Hartford, Conn., Wadsworth Atheneum, 1973), no. 26 (entry by J. G. van Gelder and I. Jost); J. Giltay, *Aelbert Cuyp en Zijn Familie,* ex. cat. (Dordrechts Museum, 1977), p. 172, n. 1, under no. 70.

60. CORNELIS SAFTLEVEN
Dutch, 1607–1681
An Enchanted Cellar with Animals, circa 1655–1670
Black and red chalk, gray and brown wash, and watercolor, 25.7 x 32 cm (10⅛" x 12⅝"). Collection mark of Armand Sigwalt in the lower left margin.
86.GG.17

Saftleven here combines his talents as a painter of animal drolleries and of rustic interiors. The animals engage in various activities, including giving a concert and reading books. These are both traditional themes in Netherlandish animal painting, occurring, for example, in the work of Jan Brueghel the Elder. With its elaborate composition and high degree of finish, this is one of the most accomplished animal drawings in Saftleven's oeuvre.

PROVENANCE: Sale, Paillet/Delaroche, Paris, April 25, 1803, lot 236; Armand Sigwalt, Paris; Eugène Rodrigues, Paris (sale, Frederik Muller, Amsterdam, May 27–28, 1913, lot 192); sale, Sotheby's, Amsterdam, November 15, 1983, lot 247; [John Morton Morris, London].

BIBLIOGRAPHY: W. Schulz, *Cornelis Saftleven* (Berlin, 1978), no. 353, p. 147.

60

61

61. ADRIAEN VAN DE VELDE
Dutch, 1636–1672
Seated Female Nude, circa 1660–1670
Black chalk and white chalk heightening on gray paper, 26.5 x 19.6 cm (10⅞" x 7¹¹⁄₁₆")
86.GB.641

Van de Velde was among the finest Dutch figure draughtsmen of the late seventeenth century. This example derives its charm from the soft and delicate modeling of the form in light and shadow, combined with the graceful pose and contemplative expression of the young model. It is comparable to a number of other drawings by van de Velde, possibly of the same model, including a signed example in the Louvre (F. Lugt, *Musée du Louvre. Inventaire général des dessins des écoles du Nord. Ecole hollandaise* [Paris, 1931], vol. 2, no. 779) and one sold at Sotheby's, Amsterdam, May 3, 1976 (lot 110).

PROVENANCE: C. R. Rudolf, London (sale, Sotheby's, Amsterdam, April 18, 1977, lot 66); private collection, South Africa; [Richard Day, London].

BIBLIOGRAPHY: C. White, et al., *Old Master Drawings from the Collection of Mr. C. R. Rudolf,* ex. cat. (London, Arts Council, 1962), no. 144.

62

62. GERARDUS VAN VEEN
Dutch, circa 1620–1683
Standing Ruff (Philomachus pugnax), 1677
Black chalk, pen and brown ink, watercolor, and gouache on paper, 23.3 x 27.1 cm (9 3/16" x 10 11/16").
Signed and dated: *Gerardus Van Veen fec:/A° 1677:* in the lower left corner.
86.GG.15

Van Veen was a draughtsman who for the most part produced highly finished watercolors of birds. His rare drawings are close in style to that of his brother Rochus, also a natural history draughtsman (A. van der Willigen, *Les artistes de Harlem* [Haarlem and The Hague, 1870], p. 302). This drawing shows a species of sandpiper named for the distinctive collar of long black feathers that appears on the neck of the male as part of its summer plumage. It is drawn almost entirely with the brush, in a delicate and precise technique in which each feather is delineated. This is especially noticeable in the intricate patterns of the dorsal plumage.

PROVENANCE: [John Morton Morris, London].

63

FLEMISH

63. DENYS VAN ALSLOOT
Flemish, 1570–1628
Forest Landscape with a Distant Castle, 1608
Pen and brown ink and brown and blue-gray wash, 20.3 x 27.6 cm (8" x 10 7/8"). Signed: *D. ab Alsloot. S.A. Pic.:* in the bottom right corner. Dated: *1608* in the lower left corner.
86.GA.9

Van Alsloot developed a variant of the dense forest landscape invented by Gillis van Coninxloo, which combines this type of scene with views of actual castles and abbeys situated in the environs of his native Brussels, especially in the region of the forest of Soignes. The present drawing might well represent one of these buildings, although the site has yet to be identified. The treatment of foliage as delicate, lacy tufts, combined with the deft handling of washes, create the effect of airy sunlight penetrating successive glades.

PROVENANCE: Private collection, Paris; [Richard Day, London].

64. PETER PAUL RUBENS
Flemish, 1577–1640
The Adoration of the Shepherds, circa 1613–1614
Pen and brown ink, brown wash, and white gouache heightening; indented for transfer, 27.9 x 18.1 cm (11" x 7 1/16"). Inscribed: *P. Rub...* in brown ink in the lower left corner.
86.GA.592

This is one of eleven illustrations and a title page Rubens designed for a new edition of the *Breviarium Romanum,* published by the Plantin Press in Antwerp in 1614. Theodore Galle received payment for cutting the plate on April 12, 1614 (Judson and van de Velde, Appendix 3, p. 455, no. 17).

The drawing is among the most highly finished in the series, comparable in this respect to the *Adoration of the Magi* (New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, inv. no. 1,230) and *The Resurrection of Christ* (London, British Museum, inv. no. 1895.9.15.1049). The technique is rich and painterly in its combination of vigorous hatching, warm brown washes, and extensive white highlights. The composition focuses on the sleeping Christ child, who radiates holy light. Rubens' interpretation of the theme of the Adoration of the Shepherds in this example is notable for the beautiful

effects of nocturnal lighting, the emphasis upon the rustic stable interior, and the inclusion of the statuesque maiden balancing a milk pitcher on her head—a figure that appears in his later works.

PROVENANCE: H. Tersmitten, Utrecht (sale, de Bary and Yver, Amsterdam, September 23, 1754 et seq., lot 43); Pieter Testas the Younger, Amsterdam (sale, de Leth, Amsterdam, March 29, 1757, lot 49); Gerard Hoet, Jr., The Hague (sale, Franken and Thol, The Hague, August 25–28, 1760, lot 243); Dionis Muilman (sale, de Bosch, Jr., Ploos van Amstel, de Winter, Amsterdam, April 29, 1773, lot 965); Neyman collection, Amsterdam (sale, Hôtel d'Aligre, Paris, July 8, 1776, lot 755); Armand Frédéric Ernest Nogaret (sale, Langlier, Antoine, Thierry, Paris, April 6, 1807, lot 457); private collection (sale, Christie's, London, April 2, 1947, lot 47); Ludwig Burchard, Berlin and London; private collection, Switzerland; [Wildenstein and Co., New York].

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Rooses, *L'Oeuvre de P. P. Rubens* (Antwerp, 1892), vol. 5, p. 60, no. 1253; E. Haverkamp-Begemann, *Olieverfschetsen van Rubens,* ex. cat. (Rotterdam, Museum Boymans, 1953), p. 50, under no. 20; F. Boudouin, "De Aanbidding der Herders, een Schets van P. P. Rubens," *Antwerpen* 1 (1955), p. 3, fig. 4; L. Burchard and R.-A. d'Hulst, *Tekeningen van P. P. Rubens,* ex. cat. (Antwerp, Rubenshuis, 1956), p. 56; idem, *Rubens Drawings* (Brussels, 1963), vol. 1, p. 114, under no. 68; J. R. Judson and C. van de Velde, *Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard,* vol. 21, *Book Illustrations and Title Pages* (London and Philadelphia, 1978), vol. 1, no. 21a, vol. 2, fig. 81.

64

FRENCH

65. FRANÇOIS STELLA
French, 1563–1605
View of Tivoli, circa 1587
Black chalk, traces of red chalk, pen and brown ink, and gray and brown wash, 26.9 x 41.3 cm (10⅝" x 16¼").
Inscribed: *Paul Brill* in brown ink at the bottom of the mount. Collection mark: *AW* (close to Lugt 202) on the verso.
86.GG.28

Stella's biographer Jacques Pernetti records that the artist visited Rome in 1576 with the Jesuit priest and architect Etienne Martellange (*Recherches pour servir à l'histoire de Lyon* [Lyons, 1757], vol. 2, pp. 24–27). J. Vallery-Radot points out, however, that the correct date of the trip is 1586–1587, based upon a group of fifteen drawings in the Musée du Louvre (inv. nos. 32866–32880), all formerly attributed to Stella and all bearing dates of 1586–1587 ("Le Séjour de Martellange a Rome en 1586 et 1587 et ses dessins de jeunesse," *Revue du Louvre,* 12, no. 5 [1962], pp. 205–216). Recognizing ten of these drawings as the work of Martellange, Vallery-Radot has retained Stella's authorship for four (inv. nos. 32866, 32867, 32869, 32873), which form a stylistically homogeneous group, all showing the cascades of Tivoli. The Museum's drawing closely parallels the group in the Louvre. Not only is it thematically related, but it also shows a similar handling consisting of broadly applied washes and varied pen work, including frequent parallel hatching and sinuous passages articulating the cavities of the tufa stone. The Getty Museum and Louvre sheets are among Stella's few known drawings.

65

PROVENANCE: Probably Sir Anthony Westcombe, England; Sir William Forbes, Bt., Scotland, and by descent (sale, Christie's, London, April 10, 1985, lot 30); [Galerie de la Scala, Paris].

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Old Master and XIXth Century Paintings and Drawings,* ex. cat. (Paris, Galerie de La Scala, November 6–29, 1985), no. 32.

66

66. NICOLAS POUSSIN
French, 1594–1665
Two Girls Accompanied by Cupid, circa 1625
Pen and brown ink and brown wash over black chalk, 14.5 x 12.4 cm (5 11/16″ x 4 7/8″). Collection mark of Baron Milford on the verso.
86.GG.468

It has been suggested that the scene may represent a bride being led to her bridegroom by a putto and an attendant, while Cupid urges her on. In general stylistic terms this example is related to Poussin's drawings made soon after his arrival in Rome in 1624. Its theme is perhaps closest, as Friedländer and Blunt suggest, to depictions of Bacchus and Ariadne or of a classical marriage scene (Friedländer-Blunt, vol. 3, nos. A61 [Leningrad, Hermitage, inv. no. 5076], 181, 182 [Windsor, Royal Library, inv. nos. 11888 verso and 11911]).

PROVENANCE: Baron Milford, Richard Philipps, Pickton Castle, Pembrokeshire; by descent to Sir John Philipps; Anthony Blunt, London; private collection, Zurich; [Ars Libri, Boston].

BIBLIOGRAPHY: W. Friedländer and A. Blunt, *The Drawings of Nicolas Poussin,* catalogue raisonné (London, 1974), vol. 5, p. 115, no. 444.

67

67. NICOLAS POUSSIN
French, 1594–1665
The Crossing of the Red Sea, circa 1634
Red chalk, 15.5 x 22.6 cm (6 1/8″ x 8 7/8″)
86.GB.466

One of only a handful of drawings by Poussin in red chalk that is more than a marginal notation, this scene of the Crossing of the Red Sea (Exod. 15) was made as a composition study for the painting of the same subject in the National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne. Its principal figure groups consist of a turbulent, fleeing crowd above and a cluster of praying women in the lower foreground. This is among the most animated and fluent composition studies in Poussin's drawings oeuvre.

PROVENANCE: J. Isaacs, London (sale, Sotheby's, London, February 27, 1964, lot 69 [as "Italian School"]); Anthony Blunt, London; private collection, Zurich; [Ars Libri, Boston].

BIBLIOGRAPHY: W. Friedländer and A. Blunt, *The Drawings of Nicolas Poussin,* catalogue raisonné (London, 1974), vol. 5, p. 66, no. 386; A. Blunt, *The Drawings of Poussin* (New Haven, 1979), p. 90.

68

68. NICOLAS POUSSIN
French, 1594–1665
Study for the Triumph of Neptune and Amphitrite, circa 1635
Pen and brown ink, 14.6 x 20.6 cm (5 3/4″ x 8 1/8″). Collection mark of N. Hone at the bottom right. Fragment of a letter, not by Poussin, on the verso.
86.GA.470

Depicted here are a putto at the right, two nymphs and a triton at the center, and a standing marine goddess at the left that is similar to Venus figures in other drawings by Poussin. The putto and the group of two nymphs with a triton appear in the artist's important painting of the mid-1630s, *The Birth of Venus* (Philadelphia Museum of Art).

PROVENANCE: Nathaniel Hone, London; Anthony Blunt, London; private collection, Zurich; [Ars Libri, Boston].

BIBLIOGRAPHY: W. Friedländer and A. Blunt, *The Drawings of Nicolas Poussin* (London, 1953), vol. 3, p. 34, no. 213.

69

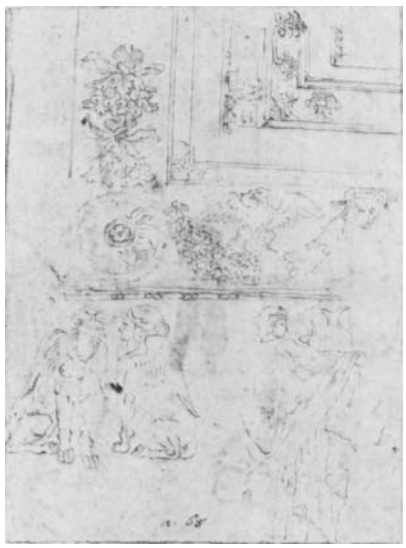
69. NICOLAS POUSSIN
French, 1594–1665
Votary of Bacchus, circa 1640
Pen and brown ink and brown wash, 15.7 x 13.6 cm (6 3/16" x 5 5/16"). Inscribed (recto): *109* in brown ink at the top right corner and (verso) *G.F.M.*
86.GG.469

It has been proposed that this drawing is based upon a damaged Roman cameo and thus represents a rare instance of Poussin attempting to reconstruct an antique artifact. This and a second drawing by Poussin (private collection, London) show the same running figure, except that the two carry different objects (in this case a jug and in the other, two torches) and wear differently disposed animal skins. This has led to the hypothesis that these drawings represent alternative "restorations" by Poussin of a carved figure on a cameo missing its hands and background. Features that suggest the cameo shape include the roughly drawn circle inscribing the form, and the shading, which indicates that the figure stands out in relief from a hollowed-out surface.

PROVENANCE: Private collection, England (circa 1825); Anthony Blunt, London; private collection, Zurich; [Ars Libri, Boston].

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. Blunt, "Newly Identified Drawings by Poussin and His Followers," *Master Drawings* 12 (1974), no. 3, pp. 243–244; idem, "Further Newly Identified Drawings by Poussin and His Followers," *Master Drawings* 17 (1979), no. 2, pp. 139–140.

70 (recto)



70 (verso)

70. NICOLAS POUSSIN
French, 1594–1665
Studies of Antiquities (recto and verso), circa 1645
Pen and brown ink and brown wash (recto); pen and brown ink; later red chalk framing lines (verso), 26.8 x 19.6 cm (10 9/16" x 7 11/16"). Inscribed (recto): *hypocrateridium, ...pasa,* and *testa di bour* by the brazier at top left; *torques* by the draped torso at the right; *in villa Julia* on the tripod base, middle left; *putto* and *bulla con la trabea* by the bust, bottom left—all by Poussin in brown ink. Collection marks of Moriz von Fries at the upper right, the marquis de Lagoy at the lower right, and A.Ch.H. His de la Salle at the center. Inscribed: *a.65* in brown ink and *96* in graphite on the verso of the mount.
86.GA.467

Among the various types of drawings Poussin made after the antique, this represents what Blunt calls his "anthological" drawings, in which the artist brought together a wide range of motifs on a single page. Here he depicts a brazier (top left), an Etruscan mirror (top right), a tripod dedicated to Apollo (middle row, left), the torso of a man wearing several torques (middle row, right), the bust of boy wearing a bulla (lower row, left), and a sandaled foot (lower row, right). This sheet is notable for the beautiful *mise-en-page,* fine line, and warm brown washes producing the effect of sunlight on stone reliefs. The verso contains drawings of a sphinx and a woman holding a water pot in the lower half and in the upper half a frieze composed of swags, an eagle, a ram's head, and other decorative details.

PROVENANCE: Count Moriz von Fries, Vienna; marquis de Lagoy, Aix-en Provence; Sir Thomas Lawrence, London; A.Ch.H. His de la Salle, Paris; Sir E. J. Poyner (sale, Sotheby's, London, April 25, 1918, lot 225, to Thomas Agnew and Sons, Ltd.); Clark collection, London; [Thomas Agnew and Sons, Ltd.]; Anthony Blunt, London; private collection, Zurich; [Ars Libri, Boston].

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. Blunt, "Poussin et les ceremonies religieuses antiques," *Revue des arts* 10 (1960), p. 61; W. Friedländer and A. Blunt, *The Drawings of Nicolas Poussin,* catalogue raisonné (London, 1963), vol. 4, p. 25, no. 247, 1974, vol. 5, p. 41, no. 344.

71 (recto)

71 (verso)

71. NICOLAS POUSSIN
French, 1594–1665
Two Studies of an Ancient Statue (recto); *Scylla and a Centaur* (verso), circa 1645
Pen and brown ink and some later red chalk framing lines, 16.2 x 12.6 cm (6⅜″ x 4⅝″)
86.GA.471

The recto shows two views of an unidentified Roman statue of a man in a short toga. The verso is based upon an antique trapezophore (a type of ornate table) with reliefs of centaurs, Eros, and Scylla, which was in the Villa Madama, Rome, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and is now in the Museo Nazionale, Naples. Both the recto and verso are characteristic copies by Poussin of the remains of ancient Rome.

PROVENANCE: Sale, Sotheby's, London, July 9, 1968, lot 49; Anthony Blunt, London; private collection, Zurich; [Ars Libri, Boston].

72

BIBLIOGRAPHY: W. Friedländer and A. Blunt, *The Drawings of Nicolas Poussin,* catalogue raisonné (London, 1974), vol. 5, p. 42, nos. 346, 346a.

72. JACQUES STELLA
French, 1596–1657
An Apple Harvest, circa 1655
Brush and varying shades of gray wash over black chalk; indented with a stylus throughout; verso covered with red chalk for transfer, 24.3 x 32.4 cm (9⁹⁄₁₆″ x 12¾″)
86.GG.619

Stylus indentations throughout indicate that this drawing was created as a design for a print. It is closely related to the series of engravings entitled *Pastorales,* designed by Stella and executed by his niece and follower, Claudine Bouzonnet Stella, twelve years after his death. Although the drawing is not a preparatory study for any of the works in *Pastorales,* it is not unlikely that it was made as an additional print in the series. An especially fine example of a genre drawing by Stella, it was executed almost entirely with the brush in delicately modulated tones that lend weight to the figures and produce a lively play of sunlight and shadow.

PROVENANCE: Private collection, Paris; [Christopher Comer, Paris].

73

73. HYACINTHE RIGAUD
French, 1659–1743
Portrait of a Man, circa 1710–1720
Black chalk, gray wash, and white and gray gouache heightening on blue-gray paper, 35.4 x 28 cm (14″ x 11″)
86.GB.612

When this drawing was sold in Paris in 1971, it was suggested that the sitter was the marquis de Louvois. Rigaud probably drew it as a copy of one of his paintings, as he did of the well-known *Portrait of Samuel Bernard*

(1727, Kansas City, Missouri, Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art). Such finished portrait drawings by Rigaud are exceptionally rare. This example displays a characteristically impressive pose and virtuoso rendering of velvet, silk, and lace.

PROVENANCE: Sale, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, May 10, 1971, lot 26; private collection, Paris; [Bruno de Bayser, Paris].

74. ANTOINE WATTEAU
French, 1684–1721
The Remedy, circa 1716–1717
Red, black, and white chalk, 23.4 x 37.1 cm (9 3/16" x 14 5/8").
Inscribed: *Watteau/Etude de femme nue couchée sur un lit. Servante tenant une serigue./F. Villot* in pen and brown ink on the verso of the mount.
86.GB.594

74

One of Watteau's greatest nudes, this highly finished drawing was made in preparation for the painting *Reclining Nude* (circa 1716/17, Pasadena, Norton Simon Museum). Somewhat smaller than the drawing (5 1/2" x 6 3/4"), the painting has been cut just above the knees, making it impossible to tell whether it ever similarly contained a maid administering a clyster. The clyster was an erotic subject commonly treated by eighteenth-century artists. In *The Remedy* Watteau experimented with three different placements of the maid's head and did not finish drawing her arm and shoulder, which suggests that this figure might have been included as an afterthought. The drawing's main focus is on the magnificent nude, whose beauty Watteau enhanced by using the *trois crayons* to help create a delicate head and pearly, volumetric flesh.

PROVENANCE: F. Villot, Paris; A. Dumas the Younger, Paris; A. Vollon, Paris; C. Groult, Paris; by descent to P. Bordeaux-Groult, Paris; John Gaines, Lexington, Kentucky.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: H. Adhémar and R. Huyghe, *Watteau, sa vie, son oeuvre* (Paris, 1950), p. 54, no. 20; K. T. Parker and J. Mathey, *Antoine Watteau: Catalogue complèt de son oeuvre dessiné* (Paris, 1957), vol. 2, no. 865; M. Cormack, *The Drawings of Watteau* (London, 1970), no. 114; D. Posner, "Watteau's *Reclining Nude* and the 'Remedy' Theme," *Art Bulletin* 54 (December 1972), pp. 385–388; D. Posner, *Antoine Watteau* (London, 1984), pp. 105–106; P. Rosenberg and M. Grasselli, *Watteau, 1684–1721,* ex. cat. (Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art, 1984), no. 88, p. 333, under no. 37.

75

75. ANTOINE WATTEAU
French, 1684–1721
Studies of Three Women, circa 1716–1717
Red, black, and white chalk, 26.8 x 32.7 cm (10 9/16" x 12 7/8")
86.GB.596

Several paintings by Watteau contain figures based on this drawing. The standing woman at the right appears on the arm of a swain in *Assembly in a Park* (Paris, Musée du Louvre). This figure was also engraved by J. Audran (*Figures de différents caractères,* no. 205) and by Demarteau (reproduced in P. Mantz, *Antoine Watteau* [Paris, 1892], p. 37). The seated woman with a fan was employed for the figure in the right foreground of both versions of the *Pilgrimage to*

Cythera (Paris, Musée du Louvre, and Berlin, Schloss Charlottenburg), as well as in a lost painting by Watteau known through a print by Benoit Audran with the title *Bon Voyage* (reproduced in E. Dacier and A. Vuaflart, *Jean de Jullienne et les graveurs de Watteau au XVIII^e siècle* [Paris, 1921], vol. 4, fig. 35). The standing woman on the left side of the sheet appears in an engraving after Watteau by Laurent Cars, *Diseuse de bonne aventure.* The *trois crayons* technique is here used with great effectiveness, with the highly worked central figure done predominantly in black chalk and the sketchier flanking pair executed primarily in red. With its varying poses and subtle spatial arrangement, this sheet exemplifies Watteau's ability to unify a series of unrelated individual studies.

PROVENANCE: Jules-Robert Auguste, Paris (sale, Paris, May 28, 1850, lots 101–102); Baron L. A. de Schwiter, Paris (sale, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, April 20–21, 1883, lot 157, to Larroque); H.-A. Josse, Paris (sale, Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, May 28, 1894, lot 46); Jacques Doucet, Paris (sale, Paris, 1912, lot 55, to Féral); Donaldson collection, London; Walter Burns; Mortimer L. Schiff, New York (sale, Christie's, London, June 24, 1938, lot 54, to Leggatt); Lord Wharton, Dublin and Switzerland; heirs of Lord Wharton, Switzerland.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: E. de Goncourt, *Catalogue raisonné de l'oeuvre peint, dessiné et gravé d'Antoine Watteau* (Paris, 1875), p. 366; G. Dargenty, *Antoine Watteau* (Paris, 1891), p., 47; K. T. Parker, *The Drawings of Antoine Watteau* (London, 1931), no. 53; H. Adhémar, *L'Embarquement pour l'île de Cythère, Watteau* (Paris, 1947), ill. no. 12 (no page no.); K. T. Parker and J. Mathey, *Antoine Watteau: Catalogue complèt de son oeuvre dessiné* (Paris, 1957), vol. 2, no. 606; P. Rosenberg and M. Grasselli, *Watteau, 1684–1721,* ex. cat. (Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art, 1984), pp. 386, 406.

76

76. JEAN-BAPTISTE PATER
French, 1695–1736
Study of a Seated Woman, circa 1730
Red chalk on tan paper, 15.2 x 16.7 cm (6″ x 6 9/16″). Inscribed: *JB. pater* in graphite and *25* in brown ink in the lower left corner.
86.GB.613

This hitherto unpublished figure study shows a robust young peasant woman seated on the ground. It was made as a preparatory study for Pater's painting *The Halting Place of the Troops* of circa 1730, now in a private collection, New York (F. Ingersoll-Smouse, *Pater* [Paris, 1921], no. 417, fig. 126). The figure in the painting is shown seated in the foreground among the troops, holding a baby.

PROVENANCE: Private collection, Paris; [Bruno de Bayser, Paris].

77

77. JEROME-MARTIN LANGLOIS
French, 1778–1838
Alexander Ceding Campaspe to Apelles, 1819
Black chalk, gray wash, and white gouache heightening, 39 x 51.4 cm (15 3/8″ x 20 1/4″)
86.GG.475

Langlois made this as a presentation drawing for his painting of the same subject of 1819, which won a first-place medal in the Salon of 1819. The painting is now in the Galerie Municipale du Château de l'Eau, Toulouse. The composition is closely related to an unfinished painting of the same subject by Langlois' teacher, David (Lille, Musée des Beaux-Arts), which he began around 1813 and continued to work on during his exile in Brussels (1816–1825). Langlois thus could have become familiar with the project during its initial stages. The subject must have had particular significance for David and for his pupil Langlois, since the latter portrayed the aged David in the famous portrait of 1825 (Paris, Musée du Louvre) at work on a drawing for the Lille painting.

PROVENANCE: Private collection, U.S.; [Zangrilli, Brady and Co., Ltd., New York].

78

79

78. THEODORE GERICAULT
French, 1791–1824
Sailboat on the Sea, circa 1818–1819
Watercolor, wash, and white gouache over traces of black chalk on tan paper, 15.3 x 24.7 cm (6″ x 9 3/4″)
86.GG.679

This newly discovered study for Gericault's painting *The Raft of the Medusa* of 1819 (Paris, Musée du Louvre) probably shows the frigate *Medusa* in difficulty while another ship disappears on the horizon. Gericault's biographer Clément reports that the artist made a brief visit to Le Havre in order to study the sky for his painting (C. Clément, *Géricault: Etude biographique et critique* [Paris, 1879], pp. 357–358). It is likely that he made this and two other cloud studies done in the same technique during this reported trip (Bayonne, Musée Bonnat, inv. nos. NI 800, NI 801). Possessing all of its original coloristic strength and subtlety, this drawing ranks among the most powerful of Gericault's studies of nature, capturing its dramatic qualities through strongly contrasting tonal effects.

PROVENANCE: Private collection, Paris; [Richard Day, London].

BIBLIOGRAPHY: P. Grunchec, *Master Drawings by Gericault,* ex. cat. (New York, Pierpont Morgan Library; San Diego Museum of Art; Houston, Museum of Fine Arts, 1985), no. 64; L. Eitner, "Review of *Master Drawings by Gericault,*" *Burlington Magazine* 128 (January 1986), p. 56; H. Lüthy, "Review of *Master Drawings by Gericault,*" *Master Drawings* (in press).

79. THEODORE GERICAULT
French, 1791–1824
The Giaour, circa 1822/23
Watercolor over pencil, 21.1 x 23.8 cm (8 5/16″ x 9 3/8″). Inscribed (verso): *géricault* in brown ink and *le giaour* in black chalk.
86.GC.678

Among Gericault's earliest and most impressive renderings of a Byronic theme, this highly finished watercolor illustrates Byron's 1813 poem *The Giaour.* The poem is about a Christian outlaw roaming the Turkish coasts at night. Gericault's image reflects the description

of this figure in the poem with specificity of mood and gesture:

> His brow was bent, his eye was glazed;
> He raised his arm, and fiercely raised,
> And sternly shook his hand on high,
> As doubting to return or fly...

The watercolor served as a preparatory study for the Gericault lithograph of 1823 (L. Delteil, *Le Peintre-graveur illustré* [Paris, 1924], vol. 18, no. 71) published by the Gihaut brothers in 1823.

PROVENANCE: De la Cressonnière collection, Lausanne; Hans E. Bühler collection, Winterthur (sale, Christie's, London, November 15, 1985, lot 58); [H. Shickman Gallery, New York].

BIBLIOGRAPHY: C. Clément, *Géricault, Etude biographique et critique* (Paris, 1879), no. 171 bis; L. Eitner, "Géricault's 'La Tempête'," *Museum Studies* 2 (1967), pp. 11, 16, n. 9; idem, *C. Clément, Géricault Supplement* (Paris, 1973), p. 472; P. Grunchec, *Géricault: Dessins et aquarelles de chevaux* (Lausanne, 1982), pp. 138–139; L. Eitner, *Géricault: His Life and Work* (London, 1983), pp. 258, 260, 261, pl. 215, pp. 262, 359, n. 111; P. Grunchec, *Master Drawings by Gericault,* ex. cat. (New York, Pierpont Morgan Library; San Diego Museum of Art; Houston, Museum of Fine Arts, 1985), p. 161.

80

80. HENRI LEHMANN (Karl Ernest Rodolphe Heinrich Salem)
French, 1814–1882
Lamentation at the Foot of the Cross, 1847
Black and white chalk, graphite, and gray wash on dark tan paper, 42.8 x 29.2 cm (16⅞" x 11½"). Signed and dated: *henri Lehmann.1847.* in black chalk in the lower left corner.
86.GB.474

81

Lehmann produced this highly finished drawing in preparation for his painting of 1847 in the chapel of the Compassion, church of Saint-Louis-en-l'Ile, Paris. This was part of an important commission that included two further paintings for the same church, the *Assumption* (1849) and the *Virgin Presents the Child Jesus* (1850). Lehmann also exhibited the painting of *The Virgin at the Foot of the Cross* in the Salon of 1848.

In addition to numerous individual figure and drapery studies, he did at least two elaborate drawings of the composition as a whole, that in the Getty Museum and one in a private collection in Paris made at an earlier stage in the evolution of the composition (Aubrun [1984] no. D.287). Between the Paris and Getty drawings, Lehmann made a number of changes, retained in the final painting. The most important of these is the deletion of background figures in favor of the deserted barren landscape, which heightens the emotional desolation of the scene.

PROVENANCE: Descendants of the artist; private collection, Paris; Mario Amaya, New York; Frederick J. Cummings, Detroit; [Zangrilli, Brady and Co., Ltd., New York].

BIBLIOGRAPHY: R. Kashey and M. H. Reymert, *Christian Imagery in French Nineteenth Century Art, 1798–1906,* ex. cat. (Shepherd Gallery, New York, 1980), no. 86; J. Foucart and L.-A. Prat, "Quelques oeuvres inédites d'Henri Lehmann (1814–1882) au Louvre et au Musée d'Orsay," *La revue du Louvre et des musées de France* 33 (1983) no. 1, p. 23, n. 12; M. M. Aubrun, *Henri Lehmann, 1814–1882: Portraits et décors Parisiens,* ex. cat. (Paris, Musée Carnavalet, 1983), p. 75, under no. 81; idem, *Henri Lehmann, 1814–1882: Catalogue raisonné de l'oeuvre* (Nantes, 1984), vol. 1, no. D.288, p. 113.

81. EUGENE DELACROIX
French, 1798–1863
The Education of Achilles, circa 1855–1858
Pastel on paper, 30.6 x 41.9 cm (12¹/₁₆" x 16½"). Signed: *Eug. Delacroix* at the bottom left.
86.GG.728

This large and beautifully preserved pastel represents Achilles' instruction in the art of hunting by the centaur Chiron. Delacroix painted this subject in one of the pendentives of the Poetry cupola in the Bibliothèque du Palais Bourbon, Paris. This important official commission, which involved the decoration of two hemicycles and five cupolas with mythological scenes

representing various branches of human knowledge, occupied Delacroix from 1838 to 1847.

The Museum's pastel is based on the pendentive painting of *The Education of Achilles,* which similarly shows the centaur from behind, bounding forward. The drawing differs most significantly from the painting in its addition of the expansive landscape and cloud-swept sky—passages that highlight Delacroix's brilliant sense of color and bravura handling of the pastel medium. Lee Johnson points out the drawing's close compositional relation to Delacroix's oil painting of the same subject (formerly in the Alexis Rouart collection), which is dated 1862 (as cited in the sale catalogue, Sotheby's, New York, November 17, 1986, lot 29).

PROVENANCE: George Sand (sale 1864); Khalil Bey (sale, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, January 16, 1868, lot 22); Quincy Shaw McKean, Boston; Richard S. Davis, New York and London; John Gaines, Lexington, Kentucky (sale, Sotheby's, New York, November 17, 1986, lot 29).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. Moreau, *E. Delacroix et son oeuvre* (Paris, 1873), p. 323; A. Robaut, *L'Oeuvre complète de Eugène Delacroix* (Paris, 1885), p. 218, no. 841; M. Sérullaz, *Inventaire général des dessins école française, Eugène Delacroix* (Paris, 1984), vol. 1, p. 164, under no. 305.

82

GERMAN

82. ALBRECHT ALTDORFER
German, circa 1480–1538
Christ Carrying the Cross,
circa 1510–1515
Pen and black ink and gray wash over black chalk, Diam: 30.4 cm ($11^{15}/_{16}$″).
86.GG.465

This newly discovered drawing is reminiscent of the panel *Christ Carrying the Cross* from the Saint Florian Altarpiece (Austria, Monastery of Saint Florian); both are composed with monumental, relieflike figures concentrated near the foreground. The most striking of these figures in the drawing is the lively standing man on the left, who pulls at Christ with his right arm. The individualistic, varied draughtmanship, encompassing broad outlines, meandering abstracting lines, and distinctive zigzag pen work, is also found in a group of drawings by Altdorfer in the Universitätsbibliothek, Erlangen (F. Winzinger, *Albrecht Altdorfer/ Zeichnungen* [Munich, 1952], nos. 96–99). The circular format and planar composition of the drawing indicate that it was probably made as a design for a stained glass window.

PROVENANCE: Gösta Stenman, Stockholm (sale, Christie's, London, December 12, 1985, lot 341, as "Circle of Wolf Huber"); [Ars Libri, Boston].

BIBLIOGRAPHY: G. R. Goldner and L. Hendrix, "A New Altdorfer Drawing," *Burlington Magazine* 129 (June 1987), no. 1011, pp. 383–387.

83a

83b

83. HANS SEBALD BEHAM
German, 1500–1550
A Peasant Man Holding a Jar, circa 1520
A Peasant Woman Carrying a Jug, circa 1520
Black chalk and pen and brown ink, each 10.7 x 5.8 cm (4 3/16" x 2 5/16")
86.GG.477–478

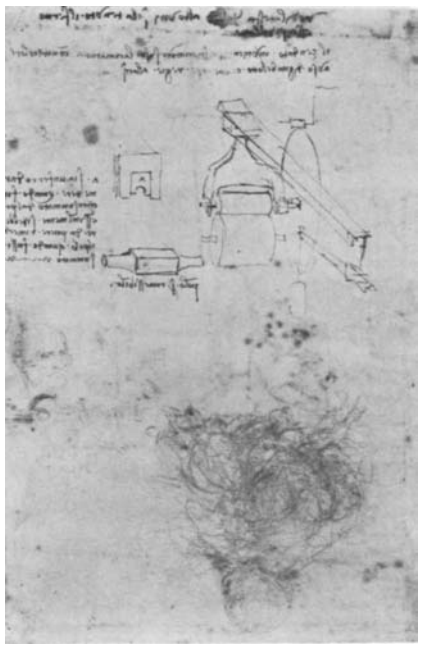
These drawings show a young laborer holding a jar and standing in front of two wheels of cheese and a hook-nosed crone with a pitcher, walking forward and pointing. Such animated depictions of peasants are characteristic of Beham. This pair is close in many details to Beham's undated woodcut illustration of a *Peasant Couple with Jugs and a Goose* (R. A. Koch, ed., *The Illustrated Bartsch,* vol. 15 [formerly vol. 8, pt. 2], *Early German Masters: Barthel Beham and Hans Sebald Beham* [New York, 1978], nos. 142–143).

PROVENANCE: Robert P. Roupell; T. Straus-Negbaur (sale, Cassirer and Helbing, Berlin, November 25, 1930, lot 25); private collection (sale, Christie's, London, December 12, 1978, lot 232); private collection; [Yvonne Tan Bunzl, London].

84 (recto)

ITALIAN

84. LEONARDO DA VINCI
Italian, 1452–1519
Three Sketches of a Child with a Lamb (recto); *A Child with a Lamb, Head of an Old Man, and Studies of Machinery* (verso), circa 1503–1506
Black chalk and pen and brown ink (recto and verso), 20.3 x 13.8 cm (8" x 5 7/16"). Inscribed (recto): *jicipit liber.endaborum. assauasorda.judeo inebraicho coposit[us] et a platone/ti-*



84 (verso)

burtinj inlatin sermone translat[us] anno. arabu.dx. mse sap h ar / capi tulu pimu ingeometrice arihtmetice (p) vnyversalia proposita: and *franco.o dif.* Inscribed (verso): *vedj la testa de[llo] alto vitj sella tenvto il fermo / essapi dal caiano / il zendato invernjca[to e] stacciatovi.suso la cimatura conuarj colori / a vso dj gianbellotto.e altre opere.regie allacqa / essimilmente. sidebbe.f[a]/re.da potere.rimecter[e] / il polo.quando.fussi.ch[o] / summato / [Figura] polo. (s) rimessibile.* All inscriptions in pen and brown ink. 86.GG.725

This drawing contains elements of a number of the diverse aspects of Leonardo's artistic and intellectual character. The principal image of the child with a lamb appears on the recto in three pen-and-ink sketches and on the verso in another black chalk sketch. The infant has been alternatively identified as Christ and Saint John the Baptist. These studies were made in relation to a lost painting by Leonardo of the *Virgin with the Two Holy Children,* now known through at least three studio versions (Oxford, Ashmolean Museum; Florence, Uffizi; Italy, private collection). The pose is also quite similar to those employed in the various cartoons and paintings by Leonardo of the *Virgin and Child with Saint Anne.* The image of the child and the lamb evolves on the sheet through several stages, exemplifying the spontaneously creative aspect of Leonardo's draughtsmanship and his manner of formulating imagery. Two closely related studies of the child with a lamb are in the Royal Library at Windsor Castle (Clark and Pedretti [1968], nos. 12539, 12540).

Leonardo's scientific and mechanical interests are exemplified by the inscription in mirror writing on the recto concerning a twelfth-century mathematical manuscript and on the verso by the sketch of a laminating machine and the accompanying explanatory notes, also in mirror writing. His fascination with human physiognomy is reflected in the sketch of the head of an old man, also on the verso.

PROVENANCE: Probably Abbot Luigi Cellotti, Venice; Sir Thomas Lawrence, London; probably King William II of Holland [Willem Frederik George Lodewijk, Prince of Orange], The Hague (sold 1850?); Grand Ducal collection, Schlossmuseum, Weimar (sold 1929); S. Schwartz, New York; John Gaines, Lexington, Kentucky (sale, Sotheby's, New York, November 17, 1986, lot 3).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: E. Möller, "Die Madonna mit den Spielenden Kindern aus der Werkstatt Leonardos," *Zeitschrift für Bildende Kunst* 62 (1928–1929), pp. 221, 226; T. Borenius, "Leonardo's *Madonna with Children at Play,*" *Burlington Magazine* 56 (March 1930), p. 142; C. Pedretti, *Studi Vinciani* (Geneva, 1957), pp. 228–229; K. Clark and C. Pedretti, *The Drawings of Leonardo da Vinci in the Collection of Her Majesty the Queen at Windsor Castle* (London, 1968), pp. 98–99, under no. 12540; J. Wasserman, "A Rediscovered Cartoon by Leonardo da Vinci," *Burlington Magazine* 112 (April 1970), pp. 201, 203; C. Pedretti, et al., *Leonardo dopo Milano. La Madonna dei fusi (1501)* (Florence, 1982), p. 82.

85 (recto)

85 (verso)

85. CESARE DA SESTO
Italian, 1477–1523
The Swooning Virgin Supported by Three Holy Women and Three Studies of Men (recto); *Saint George and the Dragon* (verso), circa 1510–1514

Pen and ink over red chalk, 13.6 x 19 cm (5⅜″ x 7½″). Inscribed (recto): *Sfasimo* (?) by Cesare in brown ink on the left edge near the center. Inscribed (verso): *23* by another hand in brown ink in the upper right corner.
86.GA.1

The drawing almost certainly once formed part of a now dismembered sketchbook, of which the largest remaining share is in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York. Cesare, who was originally from Milan, probably made this sketchbook during his stay in Rome in the second decade of the sixteenth century. The recto of this drawing consists of several sensitively drawn studies indicative of his exposure to the work of Raphael in Rome, while the verso is derived from Leonardo da Vinci's famous interpretations of horsemen.

PROVENANCE: Sale, Christie's, London, December 13, 1984, lot 27; [Ars Libri, Boston].

86. DOMENICO CAMPAGNOLA
Italian, circa 1500–1552
Saint Christopher, circa 1520–1525
Pen and brown ink, 33.3 x 23 cm (13⅛″ x 9⅛″). Inscribed: *1* in pen and brown ink in the upper right corner.
86.GA.691

This drawing of Saint Christopher carrying the Christ child across the ford is generally similar to Titian's fresco of the same subject of circa 1523 in the Palazzo Ducale, Venice. A relatively early drawing by Campagnola, it is comparable to several others in the same technique which have also often been attributed to Titian. A typical example is the study of *The Jealous Husband Murdering His Wife* (Paris, Ecole des Beaux-Arts, inv. no. 401). Despite its previous attribution to Titian, there can now be little doubt that this drawing is by Campagnola. Monumental in form and distinguished by richly animated pen strokes, it ranks among Campagnola's greatest drawings.

PROVENANCE: Gösta Stenman, Stockholm (sale, Christie's, London, December 12, 1985, lot 295); [Yvonne Tan Bunzl, London].

86

BIBLIOGRAPHY: H. Tietze, "Venetian Renaissance Drawings in Swedish Collections," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* (March 1949), pp. 178–179 (as Titian); R. Pallucchini, *Tiziano* (Venice, 1969), pp. 330, 555 (as Titian).

87. IL SODOMA (Giovanni Antonio Bazzi)
Italian, 1477–1549
The Resurrection (recto); *Christ Carrying the Cross* (verso), circa 1535
Pen and brown ink and white gouache heightening over black chalk on brownish green paper (recto); brush and brown ink and white gouache heightening (verso), 21.5 x 18.8 cm (8⅞″ x 7⅜″). Collection mark of Alfredo Viggiano on the verso.
86.GA.2

The recto of this drawing, showing the Resurrection of Christ, served as a preparatory study for the fresco of the same subject in the Palazzo Pubblico, Siena,

87 (recto)

painted in 1535. The *pentimenti* in various places are indicative of Sodoma's attempt to establish the positions of the arms and hands of Christ, as well as the placement of his feet in relation to the open tomb. The verso is executed

87 (verso)

in a more painterly style, with the composition focusing on the impassive image of Christ—set in sharp contrast to his tormentors. The drawing broadens our knowledge of this rare draughtsman, as it exemplifies two very different yet complementary aspects of his style.

PROVENANCE: Alfredo Viggiano, Venice; sale, Sotheby's, New York, January 16, 1985, lot 28; [Ars Libri, Boston].

BIBLIOGRAPHY: G. Goldner, "A New Drawing by Sodoma," *Burlington Magazine* 127 (November 1985), pp. 775–776.

88

88. FRANCESCO SALVIATI
(Francesco dei Rossi)
Italian, 1510–1563
Reclining Male Nude, circa 1550
Red chalk and white chalk heightening, 27 x 39.7 cm (10⅝" x 15⅝").
Inscribed (verso): *di Fr. Salu...i* in light brown ink.
86.GB.574

Although not connected with a surviving fresco, this previously unpublished drawing might have been made as a study for one of a pair of decorative figures situated on either side of a doorway. The drawing compares in scale, pose, and technique to a study of a reclining woman by Salviati in the Musée du Louvre (C. Monbeig-Goguel, *Vasari et son temps* [Paris, 1972], no. 157).

PROVENANCE: Sale, Sotheby's, London, July 4, 1985, lot 15; [John Morton Morris, London].

89

89. SANTI DI TITO
Italian, 1536–1603
The Resurrection, circa 1568
Pen and brown ink over black chalk on blue paper, 37.6 x 25.3 cm (14 13/16" x 10").
Collection mark of Pierre Crozat(?) at the lower right.
Inscribed (verso): *G. Vasari, N 10,* and *fis 15000* (?) in graphite; and two illegible inscriptions in graphite and brown ink.
86.GA.18

This drawing was made as a preparatory study for the painting by Santi di Tito in the Medici chapel of the church of Santa Croce, Florence. It appears to be an early study for the project, since there are many differences in detail between the drawing and painting. Other drawings for this project include six preparatory studies in the Uffizi (inv. nos. 7687 F, 764 F, 7756 F, 7705 F, 2396 S, 2416 S), one in the Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe, Rome (inv. no. F.C. 130629), and one in the Graphische Sammlung, Munich. The definitive *modello* is in the Uffizi (inv. no. 7687 F).

PROVENANCE: Pierre Crozat, Paris(?); private collection, Switzerland; private collection, U.S.; [Robert Dance, New York].

90

90. IL MORAZZONE
(Pier Francesco Mazzuchelli)
Italian, 1573–1626
Angel Musicians, circa 1598–1599
Black chalk and brown wash and white gouache heightening on blue paper, 39.5 x 24.7 cm (15 9/16" x 9¾").
Inscribed (verso): *164* (?) in brown ink.
86.GG.16

Nicholas Turner points out that this drawing is connected with *Musical Angels, One Playing a Cello,* one of the four compartments depicting musical angels in the Cappella del Rosario in the church of San Vittore, Varese. Morazzone carried out these ceiling frescoes in circa 1598–1599, soon after his return to Lombardy from Rome. The unusual format of the drawing—a square with a lunette shape attached to the left side—is repeated in a slightly altered form in two of the ceiling compartments. The angel playing the cello, the most prominent figure in the drawing, appears in the fresco behind another angel on the left. These and other differences between drawing and fresco have led Turner to propose that the drawing records an early stage in the planning of one of the scenes.

PROVENANCE: Sale, Christie's, London, April 3, 1984, lot 10; [John Morton Morris, London].

BIBLIOGRAPHY: N. Turner, "Some Unpublished Drawings by Morazzone," *Master Drawings* 22 (1984), pp. 426–427.

91

91. AGOSTINO CARRACCI
Italian, 1557–1602
Sheet of Studies, circa 1598–1600
Pen and brown ink, 40.5 x 30.9 cm (15 15/16" x 12 1/8"). Inscribed: *An.C* in pencil at the lower left. Collection marks of the marquis de Lagoy, Thomas Lawrence, Thomas Dimsdale, and the Duke of Sutherland at the bottom.
86.GA.726

Executed circa 1598–1600 during Agostino's Roman period, this drawing contains a number of motifs, including the principal figure group of shepherds adoring the Christ child, heads of three old men, a caricatured head at the right center, and naturalistically rendered animals. The group of shepherds was employed in a painting by Annibale Carracci, now known only through a copy, made circa 1606, by Domenichino in the National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh. The caricatured head at the right is found in other drawings by Agostino, including one in the Royal Library, Windsor Castle (inv. no. 1928). With its decisive, lively pen work and subtle integration of diverse forms and figure groups, this is among Agostino's most impressive drawings.

PROVENANCE: Marquis de Lagoy, Aix-en-Provence; Thomas Dimsdale, London; Sir Thomas Lawrence, London; Lord Francis Egerton, First Earl of Ellesmere, London; by descent to the Fifth Earl of Ellesmere, Sixth Duke of Sutherland (sale, Sotheby's, London, July 11, 1972, lot 32); John Gaines, Lexington, Kentucky (sale, Sotheby's, New York, November 17, 1986, lot 12).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: H. Bodmer, "Drawings by the Carracci: An Aesthetic Analysis," *Old Master Drawings* 8 (March 1934), pp. 65–66; R. Wittkower, *Drawings of the Carracci in the Collection of Her Majesty the Queen at Windsor Castle* (London, 1952), p. 110, under no. 89, p. 121, under no. 157 [*Supplement,* London, 1971, p. 60, under no. 93]); D. Mahon, *Mostra dei Carracci, Disegni,* ex. cat. (Bologna, Palazzo dell'Archiginnasio, 1956), no. 71; D. Posner, *Annibale Carracci: A Study in the Reform of Italian Painting around 1590* (London, 1971), vol. 1, p. 66, vol. 2, p. 47, under no. 108; H. Brigstocke, *Italian and Spanish Paintings in the National Gallery of Scotland* (Glasgow, 1978), pp. 40, 42, n. 13; D. DeGrazia Bohlin, *Prints and Related Drawings by the Carracci Family,* ex. cat. (Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art, 1979), pp. 470, 472, 474, n. 7.

92 (recto)

92 (verso)

92. GIULIO CESARE PROCACCINI
Italian, 1574–1625
Head of a Female Figure (recto); *Female Nude* (verso), circa 1610
Black and white chalk, 33.4 x 23.7 cm (13 3/16" x 9 3/8"). Inscribed (recto): *Scuola di Carraci* in pen and brown ink in the lower right corner. Inscribed (verso): *n° 20, S.B. n° 131* and

two illegible inscriptions in brown ink.
86.GB.20

This drawing may have been made in preparation for a painting, although a precise connection has not yet been discovered. The head finds numerous parallels in Procaccini's work, such as the drawing of the *Head of a Boy with Curly Hair* in the Albertina, Vienna (inv. no. 24.984, B. 448; V. Birke, et al., *Old Master Drawings from the Albertina,* ex. cat. [Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art, New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, 1984], no. 59) and the head of the Virgin in the altarpiece of the *Adoration of the Magi* (Milan, Castello Sforzesco). The nude torso of a woman on the verso is comparable to the figure of Venus in the painting *Venus and Amor* (New York, Didier Aaron, Inc.). The extraordinary luminosity and textural subtlety seen in this drawing result from Procaccini's characteristic handling of the two chalks, using black chalk for the underdrawing followed by the liberal application of stunning white highlights.

PROVENANCE: "Borghese Album" (anonymous eighteenth-century Venetian collector?); private collection, Paris; [Bruno de Bayser, Paris].

93

93. GIOVANNI BENEDETTO CASTIGLIONE
Italian, circa 1610–1663/65
Pastoral Journey, circa 1650
Brush and brown oil paint and touches of white, blue, and rose gouache, 28.1 x 41.3 cm (11 1/16" x 16 1/4"). Inscribed (recto): *Benedetto* in black chalk. Inscribed (verso): *Benedetto Castiglione* and *40 x 53* in graphite; and *Collection Denon* in blue pencil. Collection mark of Baron Vivant-Denon in the lower right corner of the recto.
86.GG.573

Prior to its recent reappearance, this drawing had been known through the lithograph by J.-B. Mauzaisse in *Monuments des arts du dessin chez les peuples tant anciens que modernes,* vol. 3 (Paris, 1829), pl. 232 (also engraved by Charles Macé, in C. Le Blanc, *Manuel de l'amateur d'estampes* [Paris, 1854–1890], vol. 2, p. 583) since passing from the Vivant-Denon collection in the early nineteenth century. It is one of the finest of a number of versions of this composition by Castiglione, which include the painting of *Rebecca Led by the Servant of Abraham* (?) (University of Birmingham, England, Barber Institute of Fine Arts) and brush drawings in the Rasini collection, Milan (reproduced in A. Morassi, *Disegni antichi dalla collezione Rasini in Milano* [Milan, 1937], pl. 49), formerly Benedict Nicolson collection, London (Percy, no. 59) and the P. de Boer collection, Amsterdam (*Le dessin italien dans les collections hollandaises,* ex. cat. [Paris, Fondation Custodia, Collection Frits Lugt, 1962], no. 172). Percy points out that while these versions repeat the central figure of the woman astride the donkey, they also contain different attendant figures and animal groupings, so that each provides an interesting variant of the same basic theme.

PROVENANCE: Baron Dominique Vivant-Denon, Paris; private collection, Paris; [Bruno de Bayser, Paris].

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. Percy, *Giovanni Benedetto Castiglione: Master Draughtsman of the Baroque,* ex. cat. (Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1971), p. 94, under no. 59.

94

94. BARTOLOMEO BISCAINO
Italian, circa 1632–1657
Mystic Marriage of Saint Catherine, circa 1655
Red chalk and white heightening on yellow-brown paper, 28.9 x 39.9 cm (11 3/8" x 15 11/16"). Inscribed: *Biscaino di Genova* in pen and brown ink in the lower right corner and *E* and *S.L. n°:65* in pen and brown ink on the verso of the mount.
86.GB.6

This drawing exhibits Biscaino's characteristic rich colorism with its vibrant effects of texture and light. Examples of his draughtmanship comparable in manner and medium to the Museum's drawing include the *Vision of Saint Augustine* (Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. no. 9191) and the *Holy Family with Saint John the Baptist as an Infant* (Edinburgh, National Gallery of Scotland, inv. no. D1621). Biscaino's etching of the *Mystic Marriage of Saint Catherine* (P. Bellini, ed., *The Illustrated Bartsch,* vol. 47 [formerly vol. 21, pt. 2], *Italian Masters of the Seventeenth Century* [New York, 1983], no. 33 [198]) is related to this drawing only in a few isolated details.

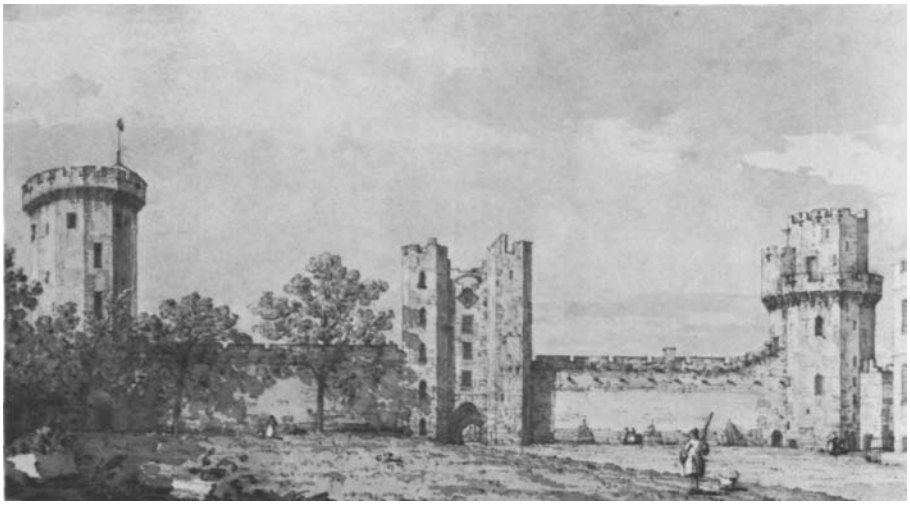
PROVENANCE: "Borghese Album" (anonymous eighteenth-century Venetian collector?); private collection, New York; [Bob Haboldt, New York].

95

95. GIOVANNI BATTISTA PIAZZETTA
Italian, 1683–1754
A Boy Holding a Pear, circa 1740
Black and white chalk on blue-gray paper (two joined sheets), 39.2 x 30.9 cm (15 7/16" x 12 3/16")
86.GB.677

This drawing, which is among the finest and most beautifully preserved of Piazzetta's half-length figures done in black and white chalk, is closest to *Young Woman Holding a Pear* (New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, inv. no. IV, 89) and *Giacomo Feeding a Dog* (Art Institute of Chicago, inv. no. 1971.326). An autograph copy of this drawing is in Berlin (Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. no. KdZ 5874). Piazzetta's painting of a *Boy with a Lemon* (Hartford, Conn., Wadsworth Atheneum; engraved by Marco Pitteri) shows what appears to be the same model in half-length, wearing a similar costume and holding up a lemon in his right hand, but turning his head to the left. The significance of the upheld fruit in the Museum's drawing has yet to be determined. This gesture in other works by Piazzetta has been interpreted as representing either the sense of taste or an erotic allusion (J. Bean and F. Stampfle, *Drawings from New York Collections III: The Eighteenth Century in Italy* [New York, 1971], no. 42; A. Mariuz, *Opera completa del Piazzetta* [Milan, 1982], no. 89).

PROVENANCE: H. A. Vivian Smith, London (sale, Christie's, London, May 20, 1955, lot 45, to Welker); sale, Christie's, London, December 12, 1985, lot 269; [John Morton Morris, London].



96

96. CANALETTO (Antonio Canale)
Italian, 1697–1768
Warwick Castle: The East Front from the Courtyard, circa 1748
Pen and brown ink and gray wash, 31.7 x 57.1 cm (12½" x 22½"). Collection mark of Paul Sandby in the lower left corner of the recto. Inscribed: *Warwick Castle Canalletti* in brown ink on the verso of the mount. A Paris customs stamp on the verso.
86.GG.727

This drawing depicts the East Front of Warwick Castle as seen from inside the courtyard. Its pendant, in the Robert Lehmann collection, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, shows the East Front from outside the courtyard. This is among five paintings (Constable, nos. 443–447) and five drawings (Constable, nos. 756–760) of Warwick Castle that Canaletto made for Charles Greville, Earl of Warwick, around 1748–1749. Canaletto here succeeded in conveying the impressive mass and balance of the castle walls—enlivened by a scintillating play of light and shadow across the irregular surfaces of the masonry.

PROVENANCE: Possibly the Hon. Charles Greville; Paul Sandby, London; Lady Eva Dugdale, Royal Lodge, Windsor Great Park (sale, Sotheby's, London, November 18, 1920, lot 42, with pendant); [Sabin Gallery, London]; Adrien Fauchier-Magnan, Neuilly-sur-Seine (sale, Sotheby's, London, December 4, 1935, lot 5); A. Tooth, London; Sir George Leon, Bt.; [E. V. Thaw, New York]; John Gaines, Lexington, Kentucky (sale, Sotheby's, New York, November 17, 1986, lot 25).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: H. F. Findberg, "A Catalogue Raisonné of Canaletto's English Views," *The Walpole Society* 9 (1920–1921), p. 68; W. G. Constable, *Canaletto* (Oxford, 1962), vol. 1, p. 142, vol. 2, p. 536, no. 760 (reprinted and revised by J. G. Links [Oxford, 1976], vol. 1, p. 142, vol. 2, p. 584, no. 760); J. Bean and F. Stampfle, *Drawings from New York Collections III: The Eighteenth Century in Italy* (New York, 1971), p. 68, under no. 157; T. Pignatti, *Venetian Drawings from American Collections,* ex. cat. (Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art, 1974), p. 50, under no. 103; A. Bettagno, *Canaletto, Disegni-Dipinti-Incisioni,* ex. cat. (Fondazione Giorgio Cini, Venice, 1982), p. 76, under no. 105.

DECORATIVE ARTS

CHINESE

97

97. LIDDED VASE
Chinese (Kangxi), circa 1662–1722
Hard-paste porcelain, H: 59.7 cm (1′ 11½″); Diam: 37.5 cm (1′ 2¾″)
86.DE.629

Porcelain objects, painted in underglaze blue with patterns of stylized flowers and figures in landscapes, were manufactured in large quantities in China during the Kangxi dynasty (1662–1722) for export to Europe. The wares were avidly collected by Europeans in the second half of the seventeenth century and throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. They were used for decorative purposes, massed on cabinets in grand *salons* or in *Porzellenkammers.*

PROVENANCE: [Spink and Son, Ltd., London].

FRENCH

98. LENGTH OF PASSEMENTERIE
French, circa 1670
Wire, parchment, and silk thread, 81.9 x 18.5 x 4 cm (2′ 8¼″ x 7¼″ x 1½″)
86.DD.667

This length of passementerie is a rare surviving example of the elaborately

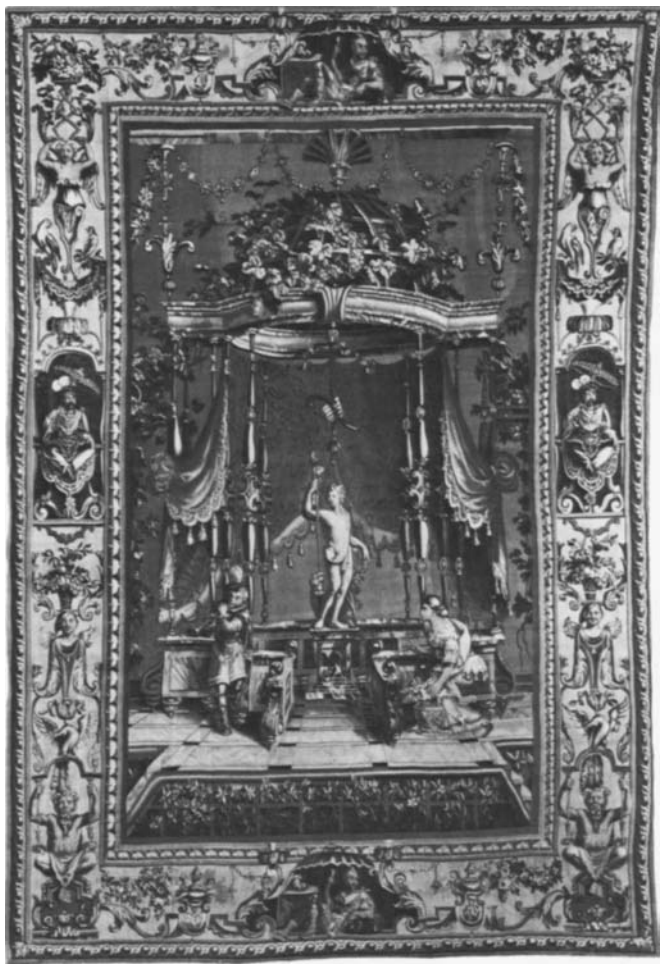
98 (detail)

worked fringes and trim that embellished grand beds of the Baroque period throughout Europe but particularly in England and France. Trims of this type were also used to decorate the interiors of coaches and sedan chairs. The same craftsmen produced the fringes and tassels for curtains and upholstery.

PROVENANCE: [Juliette Niclausse, Paris].

99. TAPESTRY, *The Offering to Bacchus* from the *Grotesques* series
French (Beauvais), circa 1685–1730
Wool and silk, 289 x 201 cm (9′ 5¾″ x 6′ 7¼″)
86.DD.645

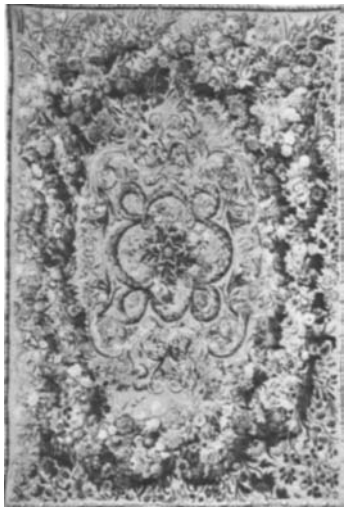
The Offering to Bacchus is one of a series of six tapestries woven at the Beauvais Manufactory after the cartoons of Jean-Baptiste Monnoyer (1636–1699). The composition is in a light, open style that was extremely popular with the aristocracy, who were turning away from the solemn and majestic tapestries produced



99

by the royal manufactory at the Gobelins. This was the first tapestry series for which seat upholstery was designed and woven en suite. The background color is saffron yellow, called *tabac d'Espagne.*

PROVENANCE: Rothschild collection, Vienna; (anonymous sale, Christie's, London, June 22, 1939, lot 159); (sale, Christie's, London, July 1, 1982, lot 3); [Bernheimer Fine Arts, Ltd., London, 1982].



100

100. CARPET
French (Beauvais), circa 1700–1725
Wool and silk, 371.5 cm x 246.3 cm (12′ 3″ x 8′ 1″)
86.DC.633

This woven carpet is attributed to the Beauvais Manufactory on the basis of its style and color, particularly the background color of saffron yellow, which was introduced by this manufactory before 1689 and known as *tabac d'Espagne.* One carpet of the same design and dimensions is found in the collection of the Art Institute of Chicago, and examples of seat upholstery in the same style are known in two private collections in France.

PROVENANCE: Sale, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, May 27, 1910, as one of four lots,(?)131–134; Thenadey collection, Paris; [Mayorcas, Ltd., London, 1985].

101 (Terrestrial Globe)

101. CELESTIAL AND TERRESTRIAL GLOBES
French (Paris), circa 1728–1730
Printer paper, papier-mâché, gilt bronze, and wood painted with *vernis Martin*, H: 110 cm (3′ 7½″); Diam: 45 cm (1′ 5½″); Diam. of globes: 32 cm (1′ ½″)
86.DH.705.1-2

The globes were designed and assembled by Jean-Antoine Nollet (1700–1770) and the maps printed by Balleuil *le jeune.* The terrestrial globe bears a dedication to the duchesse du Maine (1676–1743) and the date 1728; the celestial globe bears a dedication to her nephew the comte de Clermont (1709–1771) and the date 1730. The stands are painted with a yellow *vernis* ground, polychrome flowers, and red reserves with chinoiserie scenes, all picked out and framed with gilding.

Nollet was a fashionable scientist and a member of the Académie des Sciènces. By 1758 he was named *maître en physique des enfants de France.*

PROVENANCE: Guillaume, twelfth marquis de Biron; duc de Talleyrand and by descent to the duc de Dino Andia y Talleyrand-Périgord; [Maurice Segoura, Paris].

102

102. COMPOUND MICROSCOPE WITH CASE
French (Paris), circa 1751
Gilt bronze, mirror glass, enamel, and shagreen. The case is of wood, covered with tooled and gilded leather. It has brass closing fixtures and is lined with silk velvet and silver braids. 48 x 28 x 20.5 cm (1′ 6⅞″ x 11″ x 8 1/16″); case: 66 x 34.9 x 27 cm (2′ 2″ x 1′ 1¾″ x 10⅝″)
86.DH.694

The mechanical parts of the microscope are attributed to Alexis Magny (1712–after 1777). A microscope of the same model in the Musée de Nancy is inscribed *Magny construsit et fecit Paris anno 1751.* The name of the *bronzier* responsible for the stand is unknown.

A drawer in the leather case contains all the necessary attachments, such as tweezers, pointers, interchangeable lenses, mica slides, and nineteenth-century slides of various small specimens, labeled *ailes de mouche, petal de geranium, cheveaux,* and *écaille de papillon.*

Alexis Magny described himself as "ingénieur pour l'horologerie, les instruments de physique et de mathematiques." He listed among his clients Louis XV, Stanislas Leczinski, and the scientists de Réaumur (1683–1757) and Duhamel du Monceau (1683–1757). A microscope of the same model once stood in the *cabinet d'optique* of Louis XV at La Muette. (I am grateful to Jean-Nerée Ronfort for this information. –G. W.)

PROVENANCE: (Sotheby's, Monaco, February 23, 1986, lot 901) [Mrs. Kila Kugel, New York].

103

103. PAIR OF BUSTS: LOUIS XV AND MARIE LECZINSKA
French (Lunéville), circa 1755
Earthenware (faience) bust of Louis XV: 53 x 24 x 25 cm (1′ 8⅞″ x 9 7/16″ x 9⅞″); bust of Marie Leczinska: 53 x 15.5 x 25 cm (1′ 8⅞″ x 6⅛″ x 9⅞″)
86.DE.668

These portrait busts on socles are of a glazed earthenware known as faience. They portray Louis XV (1710–1774) and Marie Leczinska (1703–1768) in their prime as king and queen of France. The busts were pressed molded at the

Lunéville Manufactory (in eastern France near Strasbourg), possibly by Paul-Louis Cyfflé (1724–1806), who was a modeler well known for figural groups. The proud and confident pose of the king was inspired by a bronze bust of him cast in 1751 by Jean-Baptiste Lemoyne (1669–1731).

PROVENANCE: [M. Vandermeersch, Paris].

104

104. FIGURE
French (Mennecy), circa 1755–1760
Soft-paste porcelain, 23.9 x 11.5 x 10.7 cm (9 3/8" x 4 1/2" x 4 1/4"). The base of the figure is incised with *DV* for the Mennecy Manufactory.
86.DE.473

Although the modeler of this figure is not known, it can be dated with some certainty to the 1750s, the decade when the Mennecy Manufactory produced a variety of full-length figures. It seems that figures portraying members of the lower social orders were found appealing during the Rococo period, as quantities of them were made by European porcelain manufactories, based upon engravings known as the *Cris de Paris* after such artists as Edmé Bouchardon (1698–1762).

PROVENANCE: Mr. and Mrs. William Brown Meloney, Riverdale, New York; [Antique Porcelain Company, New York].

BIBLIOGRAPHY: B. Craven, "French Soft Paste Porcelain in the Collection of Mr. and Mrs. William Brown Meloney," *Connoisseur* 143 (May 1959), no. 577, p. 142.

105

105. DRAWING FOR A WALL LIGHT
French (Paris), circa 1756–1783
Ink and paper, 26.5 x 17.1 cm (10 7/16" x 6 3/4"). The reverse of the drawing is inscribed *Bachelier* in pencil and *E.A. Maglin 1902* in ink. Two rectangular pieces of different paper were glued to the reverse, one inscribed *lr* in pencil and the other *Th^re. Van Thulden,* also in pencil.
86.GA.692

This drawing is a study of one of a set of wall lights which were hung in the *chambre d'apparat* and the *salon des jeux* of the Palais Royal (residence of Louis-Philippe, duc d'Orléans) after 1756, when the palace was redecorated by the architect Contant d'Ivry (1698–1777). The wall lights were executed in gilt bronze by the silversmith François-Thomas Germain (1726–1791) in 1756. Four of the lights survive, conserved, in the Museum's collection (81.DF.96.1–4). The drawing is inscribed *(S) Girandolle de dessus la Chem[inée][. . .?]/ de Jeu dans l'Elevation N^o 6.* in ink at the lower right.

PROVENANCE: F. A. Maglin, 1902; François-Gérard Seligmann, Paris.

106. BED
French (Paris), circa 1760–1770
Gilded beechwood and modern silk upholstery, 174 x 264.8 x 188 cm (5′ 8 1/2" x 8′ 8 1/4" x 6′ 2")
86.DA.535

This large bed, known as a *lit à la Turque,* was undoubtedly made for a large *chambre à coucher* in a fashionable and grand *hôtel.* It would have been placed against the wall, with a draped baldachin above. It is attributed to the *menuisier* Jean-Baptiste Tilliard II (*maître* 1752, died 1797), who made—and stamped—two other *lits à la Turque* of similar sculptural monumentality.

PROVENANCE: [Alexander and Berendt, Ltd., London].

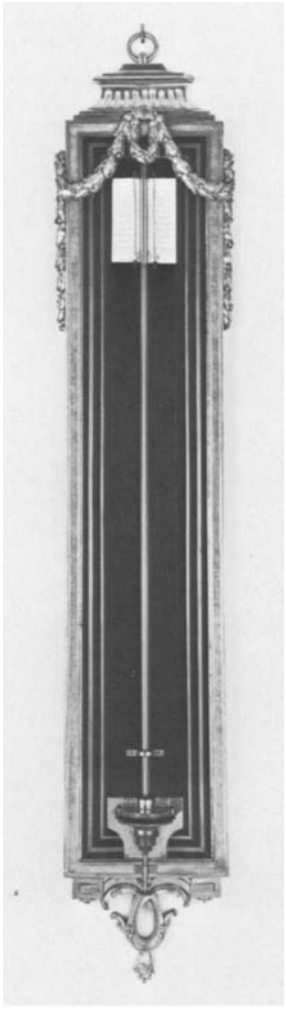
106

107

107. PAIR OF LIDDED VASES
French (Sèvres), circa 1768–1770
Soft-paste porcelain, enameled and gilded, with gilt-bronze mounts, 45.1 x 24.1 x 19.1 cm (1′ 5 3/4″ x 9 1/2″ x 7 1/2″)
86.DE.520.1-2

The lids are incised *2* and *4*, and the bases *3* and *4*. They were made at the Sèvres Manufactory but are apparently unrecorded in the existing archives of the manufactory. The *bleu Fallot* ground is covered with gold dots in groups of four. The reserves are painted in grisaille and are supported by babies similarly painted. The vases are of almost unique form. One other vase of the same model, with an egg on its lid, was at Gatchina Palace, Leningrad, in 1914. Its present whereabouts are unknown.

PROVENANCE: [Rocheux, Paris], bought in 1819 by Sir Harry Fetherstonhaugh, Uppark, Hampshire (I am grateful to Sir Geoffrey de Bellaigue for this information. – G.W.); Alfred de Rothschild, Halton, Buckinghamshire; Lionel de Rothschild, Exbury House, Buckinghamshire; (sale, Christie's, London, July 4, 1946, lot 90); Sir Charles Clore, London and Monaco (sale, Christie's, Monaco, December 6, 1985, lot 6).



108

108. BAROMETER
French (Paris), circa 1770–1775
Oak veneered with ebony; set with plaques of enameled metal; glass barometrical tube; bone pointers; gilt-bronze mounts, 124 x 24.1 cm (4′ 1″ x 9 1/2″)
86.DB.632

The maker of the barometer is unknown. Examples of this early phase of Neoclassicism, known as *goût grec,* are comparatively rare. The rather heavy decorative elements in gilt bronze, set off against a background of ebony, are typical of this style.

PROVENANCE: Marquis da Foz, Lisbon; (sale, Christie's, London, June 10, 1892, lot 65); Mrs. Orme Wilson (sale, Parke-Bernet Galleries, Inc., New York, March 25–26, 1949, lot 386); Madame Lucienne Fribourg (sale, Parke-Bernet Galleries, Inc., New York, April 19, 1969, lot 189); [Alexander and Berendt, Ltd., London]; Frau Quandt, Munich; [Jeremy, Ltd., London].

109

109. PAIR OF CANDELABRA
French (Paris), circa 1785
Gilded and patinated bronze; white and griotte marbles, H: 82.2 cm (2′ 8 3/4″); Diam: 29.2 cm (11 1/2″)
86.DF.521.12

The candelabra are attributed to Pierre-Philippe Thomire (1751–1843). A single candelabra of the same model appears in a drawing in the Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Paris, which illustrates different decorative proposals for a mantelpiece with firedogs, a clock, various candelabra, and ornamental bronzes. A clock of the same model is also in the Museum's collection (82.DB.2), while a pair of *brûle parfums,* also shown in the drawing, are on loan to the collection (L.82.DF.56). Two other pairs of candelabra of the same model are known, one in the Palacio Reale, Madrid, and the other in the Husgeradskammaren, Stockholm. A later pair, from circa 1810, with identical figures but completely gilded, is in the office of the *directeur de la musique,* Paris.

PROVENANCE: [Bernard Barouch Steinitz, Paris].

GERMAN

110

110. BOWL
Porcelain: Chinese (Kangxi), circa 1710
Painted decoration: German (Breslau), circa 1715–1720
Hard-paste porcelain, incised and painted in underglaze blue; painted and gilded, H: 7.3 cm (2⅞″); Diam: 14.9 cm (5⅞″)
86.DE.738

The Chinese bowl is painted in black and gold (*Schwarzlot*) with allegorical scenes representing spring and summer. The painting is attributed to the *Hausmaler* Ignaz Preissler (1676–1741) of Breslau, an independent artist who was known for his painted decoration on both oriental and European porcelain from the Meissen and Viennese manufactories. On this bowl, Preissler used the Chinese underglaze blue diaper pattern on the rim, the lower section of the bowl, and the foot to frame the scenes he added. The source of inspiration in this instance was the cycle of the four seasons painted by Pierre I Mignard (1612–1695) in 1677 for the Galerie d'Apollon in the Château de Saint-Cloud. The plate matching this bowl, with scenes of fall and winter, is conserved in the Musée National de Céramique, Sèvres.

PROVENANCE: Octave du Sartel, Paris; (sale, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, June 4–9, 1894, lot 251); Familie von Plupart(?), Berlin; (sale, Lepke, Berlin, March 18–22, 1912, lot 488); Nordböhmisches Gewerbemuseum, Reichenberg (now Liberec, Czechoslovakia), 1912; private collection, Germany [German dealer]; [Kate Foster, Ltd., London].

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Cassidy-Geiger, "Two Pieces of Porcelain Decorated by Ignaz Preissler in the J. Paul Getty Museum," *GettyMusJ* 15 (1987), pp. 35–52.

111

111. LEAF-SHAPED DISH
Porcelain: German (Meissen), circa 1715–1720
Painted decoration: German (Breslau), circa 1715–1725
Hard-paste porcelain, painted and gilded, 4 x 8.3 x 11.1 cm (1⁹⁄₁₆″ x 3¼″ x 4⅜″)
86.DE.541

Made of white Böttger porcelain, the dish is modeled after a Chinese prototype. The painted and gilded decoration is attributed to the Bohemian *Hausmaler* Ignaz Preissler (1676–1741).

PROVENANCE: Dr. Marcel Nyfeller, Switzerland (sale, Christie's, London, June 9, 1986, lot 183).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Cassidy-Geiger, "Two Pieces of Porcelain Decorated by Ignaz Preissler in the J. Paul Getty Museum," *GettyMusJ* 15 (1987), pp. 35–52.

112

112. FIGURE
German (Meissen), circa 1720
Hard-paste porcelain, glazed, 16.5 x 6.8 x 6.5 cm (6½″ x 2¹¹⁄₁₆″ x 2⅝″)
86.DE.542

This figure, made of white Böttger porcelain, probably represents Beltramo di Milano, one of the stock characters of the commedia dell'arte. The name of the modeler is unknown.

PROVENANCE: Dr. Marcel Nyfeller, Switzerland (sale, Christie's, London, June 9, 1986, lot 21).

113

113. LONG-CASE CLOCK
German (Berlin or Potsdam), circa 1755–1760
Oak, painted, silvered, and lacquered; mirror glass, enameled metal, and gilt bronze, 252 x 76 x 57 cm (8′ 3½″ x 2′ 5½″ x 1′ 10½″)
86.DB.695

The maker of the clock case is unknown. The clock face is signed *Rehnisch, Berlin.* Rehnisch is recorded as having been active in that city in the mid-eighteenth century. In style, the case of the clock relates closely to the work of Johann Michael Hoppenhaupt II (1709–1769). He designed interiors in the robust Rococo style for Frederick the Great in Berlin, Potsdam, and at Sans Souci. The case is painted in *faux bois,* and the carved decoration is silvered, overlaid with yellow varnish to resemble gilding.

PROVENANCE: Herr Michael Konig, Munich; [Alexander and Berendt, Ltd., London].

SCULPTURE AND WORKS OF ART

114

CERAMICS: ITALIAN

114. ORAZIO FONTANA
Italian (active Urbino), 1510–1571
Basin (rinfrescatoio), circa 1561–1571
Tin-glazed earthenware, Diam: 46 cm (18⅛″)
86.DE.539

This basin was part of a service traditionally said to have been commissioned by Duke Guidobaldo II della Rovere of Urbino (1538–1574). The largest group from this service—thirty-two objects—is in the Bargello, Florence. Orazio Fontana copied a mid-sixteenth-century German print in depicting the scene of Deucalion and Pyrrha (Ovid *Metamorphoses,* 1.315–415) on the basin's central boss. Around this boss, the delicate grotesques on a painterly white ground decorating the basin's rim and the concave lobes are typical of Fontana's ceramic decoration; the grotesques were inspired by Raphael's Vatican frescoes which, in turn, were influenced by the antique Domus Aurea grottoes. This basin's glaze painting and its highly decorative and plastic shape reflect the new ornate style of the mid-sixteenth century. Although basins of this type usually functioned as refreshment cisterns to cool wine glasses and bottles at the table, this elaborately molded and embellished work probably served solely for display.

PROVENANCE: Baron Adolphe de Rothschild, Paris, 1870–1890; Baron Maurice de Rothschild, Paris, 1890–1916; Duveen, New York, 1916; private collection, Stuttgart; sale, Reimann and Montasberger, Stuttgart, January 1986; [Alain Moatti, Paris].

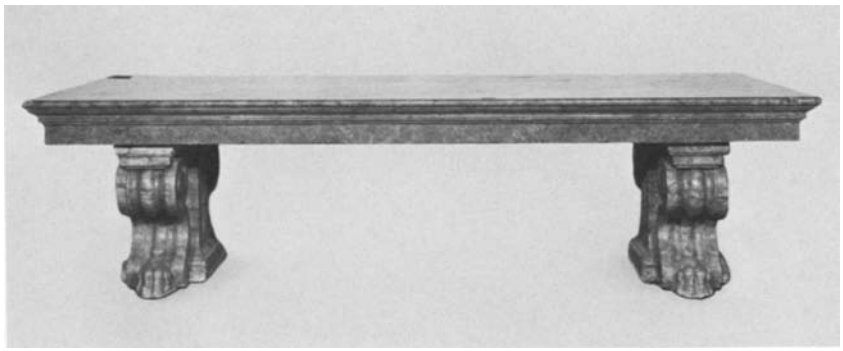
115

115. PILGRIM FLASK
Italian (Florence), circa 1575–1587
Produced by the Medici Factory
Soft-paste porcelain, H: 28.6 cm (11¼″). Inscribed with the dome of Santa Maria del Fiore (the cathedral of Florence) accompanied by the letter *F* on the underside.
86.DE.630

This flask is one of a small but seminal group of soft-paste porcelain wares—the earliest examples of porcelain in Europe—produced in the Florentine Medici Factory (which operated between 1574 and 1587) under Francesco I de'Medici's patronage. Since these ceramics often display signs of their experimental nature, the present flask is remarkable for its exceptionally fine, well-formed, translucent white body, decorated with clear blue designs.

Chinese high-fire ceramics were much sought after in Italy from the time of Marco Polo's travels to the East in the late thirteenth century; their fame and popularity further spread through the active trade between Italy, Asia, and the Near East in subsequent centuries. Translucent Chinese porcelain was a particular favorite in Italy partly because it appeared to combine characteristics of pottery and glass—two crafts mastered by Italian artists by the late fifteenth

116



117

century. This flask's form and its glaze embellishment reflect the influences of Chinese blue-and-white porcelain, contemporaneous maiolica production, and Turkish Isnik ware. Only about sixty pieces of Medici porcelain are known to have survived.

PROVENANCE: William Spence, Florence, until 1857; Alessandro Foresi, 1857; Giovanni Freppa, Florence; Eugène Piot, Paris (sale, Paris, March 19, 1860, lot 82, to Baron Alphonse de Rothschild); Baron Alphonse de Rothschild, Paris, 1860; Baron Edouard de Rothschild, Paris; Baron Guy and Marie-Hélène de Rothschild, New York; [Curarrow Corporation N. V., Curaçao, Antilles].

116. FRANCESCO SAVERIO II MARIA GRUE
Italian, 1731–1799
Tabletop, circa 1760
Tin-glazed earthenware, Diam: 59.5 cm (23⅜″). Signed twice with Saverio Grue's monogram, *SG*, on the horse's haunch in the scene of Europeans hunting deer and *FSG* on the horse's haunch in the scene of Moors hunting ostriches. Inscribed: *FLAVA CERES TENUS SPICIS REDEMITA CAPILLOS* (Blond Ceres whose hair is enwreathed with grain) and *FORTUNAE SUAE QUISQUE FABER* (Each man is the maker of his own fortune) in two cartouches on the obverse.
86.DE.533

This tabletop is painted with four elaborate cartouches interspersed with landscape scenes of birds and hares in their natural habitat, intertwining vegetation, and floral and fruit swags. The cartouches—composed of scrolls, shells, acanthi, and vegetal motifs—enclose Moorish and European hunting scenes. The fanciful curvilinear forms, charming pastoral scenes, and exotic depictions of Moors hunting elephants and ostriches are typical of the eighteenth-century Rococo.

Francesco Saverio II Maria Grue was the last active member of a family long connected with the manufacture of painted maiolica at Castelli in the Abruzzi region. In 1774 he became director of the royal porcelain factory at Capodimonte, where he executed porcelain statuettes, small busts, and reliefs painted in a refined style inspired by Pompeiian figures and ornament. On maiolica, however, Grue painted mainly scenic landscape and genre scenes in a loose, almost sketchy style emphasizing the "rustic" quality of the medium.

PROVENANCE: Earl of Warwick, Warwickshire; sale, Sotheby's, London, March 4, 1986, lot 24; [Winifred Williams, London].

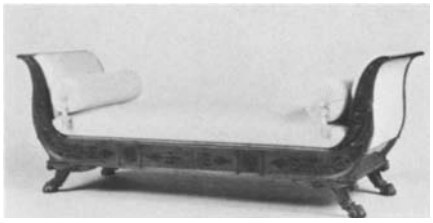
FURNITURE: ITALIAN

117. TABLE
Italian (Verona), late sixteenth century
Verona marble, 81 x 309 x 123.5 cm (31⅞″ x 121⅝″ x 48⅝″)
86.DA.489

The table's reddish color and irregular, branchlike veining are characteristic of the *rosso di Verona* marble from which it was made. The carved decoration of the support slabs, elegant in its simplicity and proportion, is based on late sixteenth-century architectural motifs of oval oculus (or *oeil-de-boeuf*) and double spiral. Carved on either side of the central pilaster elements, these volutes appear to flatten with the weight of the

heavy top slab they support. Although undocumented as to place of manufacture, it is presumed that, because of its material, the table was made in Verona.

PROVENANCE: Baron Edmond de Rothschild, Château de Pregny, Switzerland, 1930s–1984; [Sameart, Ltd., Zurich].



118

118. FILIPPO PELAGIO PALAGI
Italian, 1775–1860
Daybed, 1832–1835
Designed by Palagi and probably made by Gabriele Capello
Maple inlaid with mahogany, 80 x 224 x 69 cm (31½" x 88⅛" x 27⅛").
On the back of the frame: *3421* stenciled in green paint from Racconigi inventory of 1900 (obscured by upholstery), *Dazio Verificato* ink stamp, and *PPR 3421* incised stamp; on the frame of the upholstered seat: *Dazio Verificato* ink stamp and *Racconigi Camera da letto degli Augusti Sposi* in pencil across the front; on the frame structure: *37* in ink on part of the label and a pencil design for inlay.
86.DA.511

This daybed was designed by Filippo Pelagio Palagi for King Carlo Alberto's (1798–1849) Racconigi palace (one of the residences of the kings of Sardinia, later kings of Italy) near Turin. Based upon ancient Roman and Napoleonic prototypes, the daybed form probably had "imperial" associations for the designer and his patron.

An architect, portrait painter, furniture designer, ornamentalist, and collector, Filippo Pelagio Palagi developed an interest in archaeology after a trip to Rome in 1806. As in the Museum's daybed, Palagi's furniture and ornament designs reveal his interest in Egyptian, Greek, Etruscan, and Roman antiquity, whose motifs he inventively and eclectically combined. This work also shows the influence of the Empire style, disseminated in Italy with the installation of the Bonaparte courts.

Gabriele Capello, known as Moncalvo, executed most of Palagi's furniture, and he probably made the Museum's daybed. An innovator in inlay technique, Capello devised a new method of completing more easily and quickly the many commissions for inlay work from the Court of Savoy. The chiaroscuro effects of the daybed's sophisticated inlay design are typical of the Italian, and more particularly the Emilian, tradition.

PROVENANCE: Made for the Racconigi palace near Turin; sale, 1922; private collection, Switzerland, 1938–1980; [Heim Gallery, Ltd., London, 1980–1986].

METALWORK: FRENCH

119a

119b

119. LEONARD LIMOUSIN
French, circa 1505–1575/77
Allegory of Charles IX as Mars, 1573
Allegory of Catherine de'Medici as Juno, 1573
Polychrome enamel with painted gold highlights on copper and silver (each, unframed), 17.5 x 23 cm (6⅞" x 9").
Inscribed: *LL* on the sword in the *Mars* plaque and dated 1573 in the center of the cloud at the left; inscribed: *LL* at the bottom of the cloud in the bottom center of the *Juno* plaque; inscribed: *C DE MEDICIS* and *CHARLES IX* on the backs of both plaques at a later date.
86.SE.536.1–.2

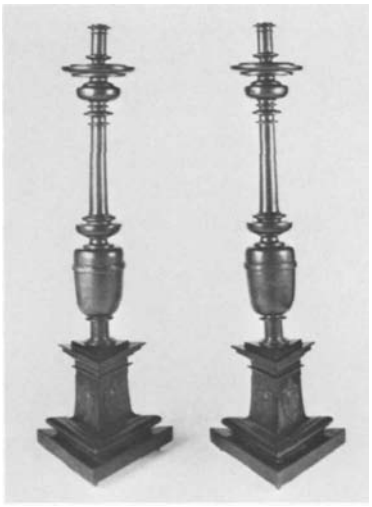
Limousin was the foremost master of mid-to-late sixteenth-century Limoges enamels. The Museum's plaques are allegorical portraits of Charles IX (1550–1574) as Mars, and his mother, Catherine de'Medici (1519–1589), as Juno. Charles is portrayed riding triumphantly across the sky, bearing the sword and shield that are the attributes of the Roman god of war. His chariot is pulled through the clouds by wolves, animals considered sacred to Mars. In the background is a war-ravaged landscape in which a woman screams while her house burns and a pillager runs off with her belongings; directly above this scene, a man beats another man while a third man flees. In the second plaque, Catherine de'Medici, queen of France as the wife of Henri II and queen mother of Charles IX, is likened to Juno, who, as the wife of Jupiter and mother of Mars, was queen of the heavens. She bears Juno's attributes: the scepter, signifying her queenship, and the wedding veil, signifying that she was the Roman goddess of marriage. Her chariot is pulled across the clouds by peacocks, birds sacred to Juno. Behind her is a rainbow, symbol of peace and the personal device of Catherine de'Medici. In the background is a peaceful, pastoral landscape. Besides being general allegories of the king and the queen mother, it is possible that these plaques reflect an iconography dictated by Catherine to celebrate two triumphs of her political career—the Peace of Saint Germain (1570) and the marriage of Charles IX and Elizabeth of Austria, both of which she helped arrange.

The Museum's plaques belong to a group of about a dozen related works by Limousin, all of which depict mythological gods or members of the French court as gods. Originally they probably

would have been incorporated into a cabinet.

PROVENANCE: Debruge-Dumenil, 1847; Mentmore collection, 1883(?) (sale, London, May 20, 1977); Lord Astor, Hever Castle (sale, London, May 6, 1983, lot 296); [Cyril Humphris, London].

METALWORK: SPANISH



120

120. PAIR OF CANDLESTICKS
Spanish, circa 1650–1670
Bronze (each), H: 175 cm (68⅞″)
86.DH.601.1–.2

The base of each work bears the arms of the counts of Benavente, a branch of the Pimentel family. An approximate *terminus ante quem* for the candlesticks is suggested by Juan de Valdes Leal's painting *In Ictu Oculi* of 1672, in which a candlestick of similar sobriety and solemnity triumphs over more ornate gold and silver artifacts. Like the painting, the austere candlesticks are reflective of a profoundly spiritual movement that swept up many of Spain's noble patrons in the seventeenth century. With their simple baluster forms and unadorned surfaces, the Museum's candlesticks contrast with the more elaborately decorated works produced at the same time in Italy and Germany, recalling, instead, medieval and Renaissance precedents.

PROVENANCE: Commissioned by the counts of Benavente; [Antoine Perpitch, Paris]; (sale, Christie's, London, April 24, 1986, lot 34); [Rainer Zeitz, Ltd., London].

121

SCULPTURE: DUTCH

121. ADRIAEN DE VRIES
Dutch, 1545–1626
Rearing Horse, circa 1613–1622
Bronze, 49 x 55 cm (19¼″ x 21⅝″).
Signed: *ADRIANUS FRIES HAGUENSIS FECIT* at the rear of the base.
86.SB.488

De Vries was Giambologna's most original and influential follower, and he played a key role in disseminating that sculptor's late Mannerist style throughout Northern Europe. By 1593 the artist had begun to work at the court of Prague for Emperor Rudolph II, whose official court sculptor he became in 1601. He was active until his death. De Vries' mature works begin to move away from the abstract pneumatic forms and convoluted compositions which he had learned from Giambologna. Instead, as in the *Rearing Horse,* they exhibit an increasing proto-Baroque interest in more realistic forms, open compositions, and the play of light and shadow.

In the first decade of the seventeenth century, a number of bronze statuettes of rearing horses were being made by Giambologna and his workshop, as well as by his followers. By this time, bronze-casting techniques had become more sophisticated and the subject was technically easier to accomplish. Also, an open composition with forms projecting into space and the sense of a "captured-fleeting-moment," both of which are basic to depictions of rearing horses, were prime concerns of early Baroque sculptors. The Museum's *Rearing Horse* can be dated to circa 1613–1622 on the basis of comparison with de Vries' other equestrian statuettes.

PROVENANCE: Emperor Rudolph II, Prague; Queen Christina of Sweden; Antoine Brun, Baron d'Asprémont, 1658; Claude Ferdinand, Marquis de Brun, 1664; Agalange Ferdinand, Baron de Brun, 1716; descendants of Baron de Brun, 1746 (sale, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, December 12, 1984, lot 78); [Sameart, Ltd., Zurich].

SCULPTURE: FRENCH

122

122. JEAN-JACQUES CAFFIERI
French, 1725–1792
Hope Nourishing Love, 1769
Marble, H: 72 cm (28 3/8″). Inscribed: *L'ESPÉRANCE NOURRIT L'AMOUR* on the front of the base and *j. j. CAFFIÉRI. INVENTIT & SCULPSIT.1769* on the back of the base.
86.SA.703

Jean-Jacques Caffiéri was the last and most celebrated member of a renowned family of sculptors. He established his fame with a series of busts executed for the Théâtre Français, and throughout his career he produced numerous portrait busts—of important dead and living figures—that reflect the spirit of the Enlightenment in their combination of extreme realism with psychological acuity. For this marble group, however, Caffiéri adopted a more elegant and decorative style perfectly suited to his subject matter.

Hope Nourishing Love is a love-and-friendship allegory—an important sculptural genre of mid-eighteenth-century France. Sculptures of this type—including Pigalle's allegorical portraits of Madame de Pompadour—display earthly sensuality and gentle eroticism loosely veiled by the supposed nobility of the subjects they represent. The only other known version of this composition is a terracotta model for the marble, now lost, that was exhibited at the Salon of 1769.

PROVENANCE: Michel Ephrussi, Paris, by 1877; princesse de Faucigny-Lucinge, Saint Biez-en-Belin, 1935–1952; [Wildenstein and Co., New York].

SCULPTURE: GERMAN

123

123. ERNST FRIEDRICH AUGUST RIETSCHEL
German, 1804–1861
Bust of Felix Mendelssohn, 1848
Marble, 59.7 x 39.4 x 25.4 cm (23 1/2″ x 15 1/2″ x 10″).
Inscribed: *E. rietschel 1848* on the back.
86.SA.543

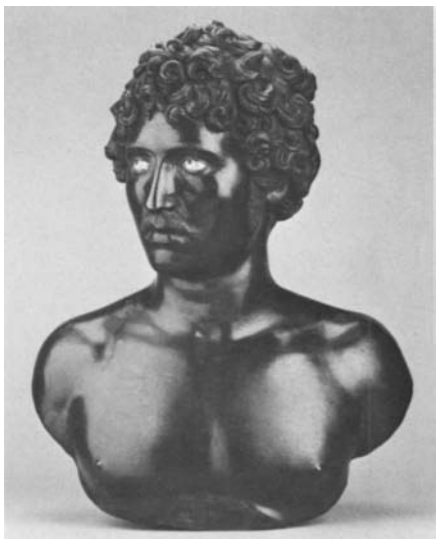
This sculpture of the composer Felix Mendelssohn (1809–1847) was commissioned the year after his death by the subject's family for display in their home, and it remained in the family's possession until it was purchased by the Museum.

Rietschel's artistic training, by Christian Rauch, the leading Neoclassical sculptor in Germany, was reinforced by his study of antique sculpture in Italy in 1830. He experienced great success upon his return to Germany, receiving a professorship at the Dresden Akademie in 1832 and a steady stream of major sculptural commissions, including those for public monuments dedicated to famous Germans such as Lessing, Goethe, Schiller, and Luther.

Despite his rigorous education in the restrained Neoclassical idiom, Rietschel introduced elements of naturalism into his works; the Mendelssohn bust exemplifies the transitional nature of his style. The lower portion of the bust is treated in a Neoclassical fashion, with the shoulders and chest truncated by sharp edges above the cartouche and socle. In contrast to this generalization of form, Rietschel stresses his subject's individuality in his treatment of the head by naturalistically rendering Mendelssohn's large forehead, full lips, flowing hair, and penetrating gaze.

PROVENANCE: Mendelssohn-Bartholdy family, 1848–1986; [Sam Nystad, The Hague].

SCULPTURE: ITALIAN



124

124. ANTICO
(Pier Jacopo Alari-Bonacolsi)
Italian (Mantua), circa 1460–1528
Bust of the Young Marcus Aurelius,

circa 1520
Bronze; eyes inlaid with silver, 54.7 x 45 x 22.3 cm (21½" x 17¾" x 8¾")
86.SB.688

Trained as a goldsmith, Pier Jacopo Alari-Bonacolsi became the principal sculptor at the court of Mantua in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. His main patrons were members of the Gonzaga family, including the wife of Francesco I Gonzaga, Isabella d'Este, for whom he executed a series of bronze reductions and variants of famous antique statues. It is presumably because of the close relation of his works to antique models that the artist was nicknamed Antico. The Museum's bronze, one of only seven known busts generally accepted as being by Antico, represents the Roman emperor Marcus Aurelius as a young man. Very subtly modeled, the *Young Marcus Aurelius* has a less schematic, freer, and more naturalistic rendering of forms than is to be found in most of the artist's other busts. It is likely to have been executed late in Antico's career, at the time of the emergence of the High Renaissance style in Italy.

PROVENANCE: Grimani family, Venice; Antonio Sanquirico, Venice (since at least 1831); duchesse of Talleyrand and Sagan, Paris (offered for sale by her heirs through an unknown auction house in Paris, June 19–20, 1907, possibly as lot 44 or 45, unsold); Talleyrand family (sale, Sotheby's, Monaco, February 23, 1986, lot 913); [Sameart, Ltd., Zurich].

125

125. GIROLAMO CAMPAGNA
Italian (Venice), 1549–1625
Infant Christ as Salvator Mundi(?), circa 1605
Bronze, H: 88 cm (34⅝")
86.SB.734

Campagna worked chiefly in Venice, where he was trained under the Tuscan-born Danese Cattaneo (1509–1573). His style varied considerably throughout his career, moving from the restrained forms of his teacher to a dramatic and expressive style whose compositional sensuousness was inspired by the works of Alessandro Vittoria and Giambologna. By 1590 he was a leading artistic figure in Venice and secured commissions for many major churches and *scuole* there, including the sculpture for the high altar at San Giorgio Maggiore and the Altare degli Orefici in San Giacometto di Rialto. The infant Christ shown here is approximately two to three times larger than most Venetian table or cabinet bronzes, suggesting that the piece might have functioned originally as part of an architectural complex, probably an altar.

PROVENANCE: Traditionally said to have been in the collection of Prince Corleone, Vicenza; Arnold Seligman, Paris, circa 1900; Jacques Seligman, Paris; Jean Davray, Paris, before 1930; sale, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, April 14–15, 1986, lot 90; [Alain Moatti, Paris].

126

126. VINCENZO GEMITO
Italian, 1852–1929
Medusa, 1911
Silver, parcel gilt, Diam: 24.1 cm (9½"). Inscribed: *1911, GEMITO* at the bottom center of the front.
86.SE.528

Gemito was the most important late nineteenth-century Neapolitan sculptor. At the height of his artistic success he became seriously depressed and in 1887 was committed to a home for the mentally disturbed. He immediately escaped and returned to his own home, where for fourteen years he supposedly remained hidden in a single room. In 1911 he reentered the world and continued working actively until his death in 1929. Perhaps intended as a kind of apotropaic symbol, this *Medusa* was executed just as Gemito emerged from his period of seclusion.

Although Gemito's works generally display a vibrant, obsessive response to the everyday realities—particularly the poverty and misery—of life in Naples, they are tempered by a search for formal beauty based on Hellenistic ideals and by a mastery of craftsmanship rivaling that of Renaissance artists. Although its composition follows the design of the *Tazza Farnese,* the famous Hellenistic hardstone object in the Museo Archeologico, Naples, Gemito's *Medusa* is hardly a simple copy. He transformed the incised, one-sided design of the *Tazza* and extended it into a three-dimensional object. In doing so, Gemito stretched the traditionally neat boundaries between relief sculpture, two-sided medallions, and sculpture in the round. The *Medusa* appears to be a composition that was executed in only one version, as opposed to Gemito's bronzes which were often cast several times.

PROVENANCE: L. Carl and Hazel Bean, Shriverport, Maine; sale, Skinner's Auction, no. 709, October 3, 1980, lot 617; Mrs. Piero Corsini; [Piero Corsini, New York].

PHOTOGRAPHS

Note: Listed here are the individual photographers whose work was acquired during 1986. Each photographer's name is followed by his or her nationality, life dates (or years flourished), and by the number of photographs acquired. This list is followed by reproductions of twenty chronologically arranged photographs that are highlights of the year's collecting activity. There follows a section on six of the photographers whose work was acquired in depth during the year, consisting of a brief commentary on each and selected reproductions.

PHOTOGRAPHERS

ADAMS, ANSEL
(American, 1902–1984), 11

ALINARI BROTHERS
(Italian, active Florence: Giuseppe, 1836–1890; Leopoldo, 1832–1865; Romualdo, 1830–1891), 3

ARNDT, GERTRUDE
(German, b. 1903), 1

ATGET, EUGENE
(French, 1857–1927), 2

AUERBACH, ELLEN (Studio Ringl and Pit)
(American, b. Germany 1906), 1

BALZER, GERD
(German, active 1930s, Bauhaus), 1

BARDOU, A.
(active Italy 19th century), 1

BATZ, EUGEN
(German, b. 1905), 1

BAYER, HERBERT
(American, b. Austria, 1900–1985), 1

BAYER-HECHT, IRENE
(American, b. 1898), 1

BEDFORD, SIR FRANCIS
(British, 1815/16–1894), 1

BEESE, LOTTE
(German, b. 1903), 1

BISSON FRERES
(French: Auguste-Rosalie, 1826–1900; Louis-Auguste, 1814–1876), 1

BONFILS
(French: Félix, 1831–1885; Lydie, 1837–1918; Adrien, 1861–1929), 57 (album)

BONFILS, FELIX
(French, 1831–1885, active Near East), 1

BORRI, V. E FIGLIO
(Italian, active Greece 1870s–1907), 3

BOTH, KATT
(German, active 1930s, Bauhaus), 1

BOURKE-WHITE, MARGARET
(American, 1904–1971), 1

BRANCUSI, CONSTANTIN
(French, b. Romania, 1876–1957), 1

BRANDT, BILL
(British, 1904–1983), 11

BRASSAI (Gyula Halász)
(Hungarian, 1899–1984, active France), 13

CAMERON, HENRY HERSCHEL HAY
(British, 1852–1911), 15

CAMERON, JULIA MARGARET
(British, b. India, 1815–1879), 10

CAMERON STUDIO (H. H. H. Cameron)
(British, active late 19th century), 2

CLIFFORD, CHARLES
(British, 1819/20–1863, active Spain), 1

COLLEIN, EDMUND
(German, b. 1906), 1

CONSTANTIN, DIMITRIOS
(Greek, active Athens 1858–1860s), 1

COPPOLA, HORACIO
(Argentinian, b. 1906), 1

DANA STUDIOS,
(American, active 1880s), 1

DEGAS, EDGAR
(French, 1834–1917), 3

DEGAS, EDGAR AND BARNES STUDIO
(active France 19th century), 1

DELAMOTTE, PHILIP HENRY
(British, 1821–1889), 1

EAKINS, THOMAS
(American, 1844–1916), 4

EHRLICH, FRANZ AND LOEW, W. M. HEINZ
(German: Ehrlich, active 1920s–1930s; Loew, 1903–1981, active England), 1

EVANS, WALKER
(American, 1903–1975), 1

FEININGER, T[heodore]. LUX (Lucas)
(American, b. Germany 1910), 11

FEIST, WERNER DAVID
(German, b. 1909), 1

FENTON, ROGER
(British, 1819–1869), 8

FERREZ, MARC
(Brazilian, 1843–1923), 165 (album)

FRITH, FRANCIS
(British, 1822–1898), 3

FUNKAT, WALTER
(German, b. 1906), 1

GENTHE, ARNOLD
(American, b. Germany, 1869–1942), 2

GOOD, FRANK MASON
(British, active London and Near East 1860s–1890s), 3

HAGEMEYER, JOHAN
(American, b. Holland, 1884–1962), 1

HAJO, ROSE
(Bauhaus, 20th century), 1

HAWARDEN, LADY CLEMENTINA
(British, 1822–1865), 1

HENRI, FLORENCE
(American, 1895–1982, active France and Germany), 1

HOPKINS, THURSTON
(British, b. 1913), 1

JACKSON, WILLIAM HENRY
(American, 1843–1942), 1

JACOBI, LOTTE
(American, b. Germany 1896), 1

KALES, ARTHUR
(American, 1882–1936), 103

KEMMLER, FLORENCE
(American, 1900–1972), 9

KERTESZ, ANDRE
(American, b. Hungary, 1894–1985), 46

KORTH, FRED G.
(American, b. Germany, 1902–1983), 21

KRULL, GERMAINE
(Polish, b. 1897, active Germany, Holland, and France), 64 (book)

LE GRAY, GUSTAVE
(French, 1820–1882), 2

LONDON STEREOSCOPIC CO.
(British, active 1850s–1890s Britain, Canada, and U. S.), 1

LOUGHTON, ALFRED J.
(British, 19th century), 1

LYNES, GEORGE PLATT
(American, 1907–1955), 3

MAN RAY (Emmanuel Radnitsky)
(American, 1890–1976), 26

MARTIN, IRA W.
(American, active New York 20th century), 5

MATHER, MARGRETHE
(American, 1885–1952), 6

MAULL AND POLYBANK
(British, active 1850s), 34

MELVILLE, R. LESLIE
(British, 1835–1906), 132 (album)

MODOTTI, TINA
(Italian, 1896–1942, active U.S., Mexico, and Germany), 7

MOFFETT STUDIO
(active Chicago circa 1913), 1

MOHOLY, LUCIA
(German/Swiss, b. Bohemia 1899), 1

MOON, KARL
(American, 1878–1948), 8

MORAITES
(Greek: Petros, 1835–1905; Georgios, active 1874–1900), 5

MUCHA, GEORG
(German, b. 1895), 1

MUNKACSI, MARTIN
(American, b. Hungary, 1896–1963), 5

NINCI, GIUSEPPE
(Italian, 1823–1890), 1

PAP, GYULA
(Hungarian, b. 1899), 1

REJLANDER, OSCAR GUSTAF
(British, b. Sweden, 1813–1875), 1

RICE, CHESTER
(American, active 1890s), 1

ROBINSON, HENRY PEACH
(British, 1830–1901), 2

SANDER, AUGUST
(German, 1876–1964), 1

SCHNEIDER, DR. ROLAND
(American, 1884–1934), 4

SMITH, LEWIS
(American, active circa 1921), 1

SOMMER, FREDERICK
(American, b. Italy 1905), 1

STEICHEN, EDWARD
(American, b. Luxembourg, 1879–1973), 5

STERN, GRETE
(Argentinian, b. Germany 1904), 1

STIEGLITZ, ALFRED
(American, 1864–1946), 7

STORY-MASKELYNE, M. H. NEVIL
(British, 1823–1911), 1

STRAND, PAUL
(American, 1890–1976), 119

STRAUB, KARL
(German, active 1930s, Bauhaus), 1

STRUWE, CARL
(German, b. 1898), 10

SUDEK, JOSEF
(Czech, 1896–1976), 1

SUTCLIFFE, FRANK MEADOW
(British, 1853–1941), 1

TABARD, MAURICE
(French, 1897–1984), 1

TALBOT, WILLIAM HENRY FOX
(British, 1800–1877), 2

TEYNARD, FELIX
(French, 1817–1892), 160 (book)

THALEMANN, ELSE
(German, active 1930s), 13

THOMSON, JOHN
(British, 1837–1921), 27

VALLOU-DE-VILLENEUVE, JULIEN
(French, 1795–1866), 3

WATKINS, HERBERT
(British, 19th century), 4

WEEGEE (Arthur H. Fellig)
(American, b. Hungary, 1899–1968), 11

WESTON, EDWARD
(American, 1886–1958), 833 (795 album photographs, including about 150 of undetermined authorship)

WESTON, EDWARD AND MATHER, MARGRETHE
(American: Weston, 1886–1958; Mather, 1885–1952), 2

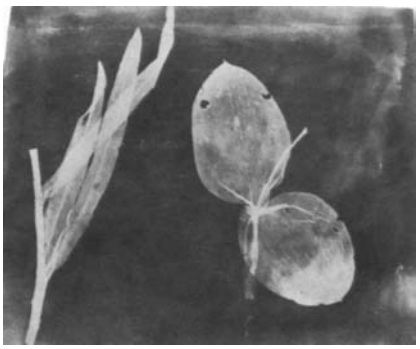
WILSON, GEORGE WASHINGTON
(British, 1823–1893), 54 (book)

WINOGRAND, GARRY
(American, 1928–1984), 1

WOLCOTT, MARION POST
(American, b. 1910), 8

WORTLEY, COL. H. STUART
(British, 1832–1890), 1

SELECTED ACQUISITIONS



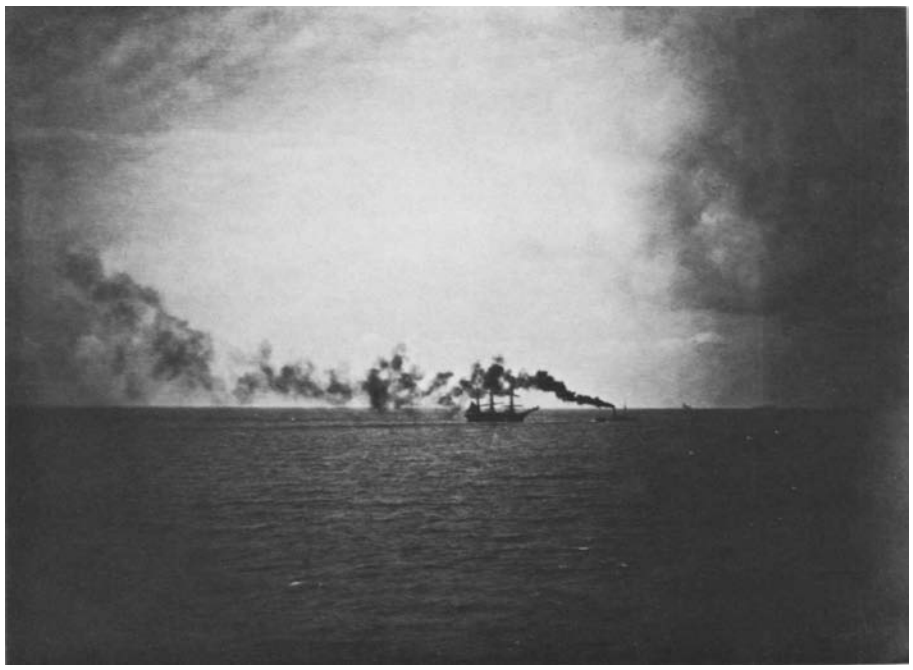
127

127. WILLIAM HENRY FOX TALBOT
British, 1800–1877
Leaves of Orchidea, 1839
Photogenic drawing,
17.1 x 20.8 cm (6¾" x 8³⁄₁₆").
Inscribed: *HF Talbot photogr./April 1839.* on the verso.
86.XM.621

PROVENANCE: Robert Shapazian; [Daniel Wolf, Inc., New York].

128. GUSTAVE LE GRAY
French, 1820–1882
Seascape with Steamboat and Three-Masted Ship, circa 1856
Albumen print, 30 x 41.2 cm (11⅞" x 16¼"). Photographer's wet stamp in red ink in the lower right corner of the image; photographer's blind stamp on the mount at the center below the image.
86.XM.604.1

PROVENANCE: French private collection; Robert Hershkowitz, London; [Charles Isaacs, Philadelphia].



128

129

129. R. LESLIE MELVILLE
British, 1835–1906
Going to the Portree Ball, from the Melville Album of 138 photographs (86.XA.21.1–137), circa 1860s
Albumen print, 18.5 x 23.3 cm (7⁵⁄₁₆" x 9³⁄₁₆"). Inscribed: *Miss Willoughby, Sophy L.M., R.L.M., Jack Thorold, Applecross, Lady Middleton, Going to the Portree Ball. Bingy Lawley.* on the mount below the image.
86.XA.21.103

PROVENANCE: Heirs of R. Leslie Melville; [Howard Ricketts, Ltd., London].

130

130. FRANK MEADOW SUTCLIFFE
British, 1853–1941
The Dock End, Whitby, 1880
Carbon print, 23.6 x 29.2 cm (9⁵⁄₁₆" x 11½"). Signed in ink at the lower left.
86.XM.518.1

PROVENANCE: European vendor; [Robert Klein Gallery, Boston].

131

131. EDGAR DEGAS AND
BARNES STUDIO
French
Degas: 1834–1917
Barnes Studio: active 19th century
Apothéose de Degas (after Ingres' *L'apothéose d'Homère*), 1885
Albumen print, 8.2 x 9.5 cm
($3^{1}/_{4}$" x $3^{3}/_{4}$")
86.XM.690.4

PROVENANCE: Madame Joxe-Halévy; Estate of François Braunschweig, Paris.

132. ALFRED STIEGLITZ
American, 1864–1946
Portrait of Eva Hermann, circa 1894
Platinum print, 25.2 x 20.2 cm
($9^{15}/_{16}$" x $7^{15}/_{16}$")
86.XM.622.4

PROVENANCE: Kurt Hermann; [Daniel Wolf, Inc., New York].

132

133

133. EUGENE ATGET
French, 1857–1927
Vieille Cour, 22 rue Quincampoix, 1908
Albumen print, 22.2 x 17.7 cm
($8^{11}/_{16}$" x $6^{7}/_{8}$")
86.XM.628.1

PROVENANCE: Elias Antinopoulis, Paris; [Brent Sikkema, Boston].

134

134. KARL MOON
American, 1878–1948
The Peace Pipe, circa 1909
Sepia-toned gelatin silver print with additions in oil; squared in pencil, 34.6 x 43.2 cm (13⅝″ x 17″)
86.XM.472.6

PROVENANCE: Estate of Karl Moon; [Argonaut Bookshop, San Francisco].

135

135. EDWARD STEICHEN
American (b. Luxembourg), 1879–1973
Untitled, 1915
Mock gum-bichromate print, 21.2 x 16.6 cm (8⅜″ x 6½″). Signed and dated at the upper right.
86.XM.625.1

PROVENANCE: John Simpson; [Mack Lee]; [Daniel Wolf, Inc., New York].

136

136. MARGRETHE MATHER
American, 1885–1952
Edward Weston, 1921
Platinum print, 19.1 x 24.1 cm (7½″ x 9½″). Signed and dated on the mount below the image.
86.XM.721.5

PROVENANCE: Edward Weston; by descent, Cole Weston, Carmel.

137

137. TINA MODOTTI
Italian (active U.S., Mexico, and Germany), 1896–1942
Dog and Tree, 1924
Gelatin silver print, 8.3 x 11.9 cm (3⅜″ x 4¹¹⁄₁₆″). Signed and dated on the mount below the image.
86.XM.722.4

PROVENANCE: Edward Weston; by descent, Cole Weston, Carmel.

138

138. JOHAN HAGEMEYER
American (b. Holland), 1884–1962
Lily, 1926
Gelatin silver print, 16.2 x 22.4 cm (6⅜″ x 8¹³⁄₁₆″). Signed and dated on the mount below the image.
86.XM.724.1

PROVENANCE: Edward Weston; by descent, Cole Weston, Carmel.

139

139. ANSEL ADAMS
American, 1902–1984
Group Portrait, circa 1930
Gelatin silver print, 17 x 22.7 cm (6 11/16" x 8 15/16")
86.XM.588.10

PROVENANCE: Donald Tressider; Oliene Tressider Mintzer; Butterfield and Butterfield; [Paul M. Hertzmann, Inc., San Francisco].

140

140. MARTIN MUNKACSI
American (b. Hungary), 1896–1963
Motorcycle, circa 1930
Gelatin silver print, 33.9 x 26.9 cm (13 3/8" x 10 9/16")
86.XM.529.5

PROVENANCE: Joan Munkacsi; [Howard Greenberg, New York].

141

141. LOTTE JACOBI
American (b. Germany), 1896
Modern Monk Cleaning in Cloister, early 1930s
Gelatin silver print, 21.8 x 13.4 cm (8 9/16" x 5 5/16"). Signed in pencil at the right; photographer's wet stamp on the verso.
86.XM.642.1

PROVENANCE: Folkwang-Auriga Archive, Berlin, West Germany; [Mathias Schroeder, Radbruch, West Germany].

142

142. MAURICE TABARD
French, 1897–1984
Schön ist ein Zylinderhut, 1931
Gelatin silver print with additions and corrections in black-and-white ink, 22.4 x 16.5 cm (8 13/16" x 6 1/2"). Designer's scaling marks and Studio Deberny-Peignot stamp on the verso.
86.XM.627.1

PROVENANCE: Paul Pavel family; [Brent Sikkema, Boston].

143

143. BRASSAI (Gyula Halász)
Hungarian (active France), 1899–1984
Odalisque, 1934–1935
Cliché-verre, gelatin silver print, 39.4 x 29.3 cm (15 1/2" x 11 9/16")
86.XM.3.5

PROVENANCE: Louis Stettner, New York.

144

144. WEEGEE (Arthur H. Fellig)
American (b. Hungary),
1899–1968
Their First Murder, circa 1936
Gelatin silver print, 25.6 x 27.9 cm
(10 1/16" x 11"). Two photographer's
wet stamps on the verso.
86.XM.4.6

PROVENANCE: Louis Stettner, New York.

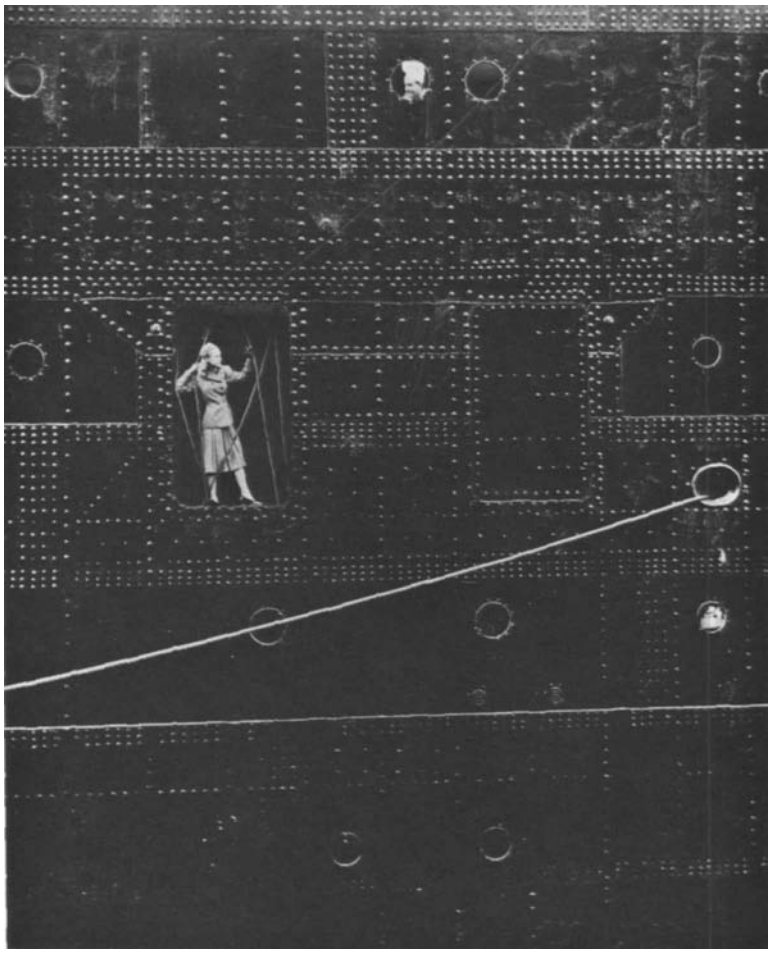
145. JOSEF SUDEK
Czech, 1896–1976
Panorama of Prague, circa 1946
Gelatin silver print, 15.9 x 50.7 cm
(6 1/4" x 20")
86.XM.516.1

PROVENANCE: Victor Musgrove, London;
[David Dawson and Paul Kasmin, London].

146. BILL BRANDT
British, 1904–1983
Girl on Boat, circa 1946
Gelatin silver print, 25.4 x 20.1 cm
(10" x 7 15/16"). Photographer's wet
stamp on the verso.
86.XM.618.4

PROVENANCE: Noya Brandt, London;
[Marlborough Fine Art, Ltd., London];
[Edwin Houk Gallery, Chicago].

145



146

A SELECTION OF PHOTOGRAPHERS COLLECTED IN DEPTH

JULIA MARGARET CAMERON. During 1986 the Museum acquired a group of twenty-seven photographs made by or relating to the English photographer Julia Margaret Cameron (1815–1879), who was the subject of the Department of Photographs' inaugural exhibition, *Whisper of the Muse,* held in the fall. Ten of this group are portraits by Cameron herself; seven of these are albumen prints, two are carbon prints, and one is an autotype. They range in date from 1865 to 1875, thus covering nearly all of her working life. The people depicted include three of Mrs. Cameron's five sons, the essayist Sir Henry Taylor, and a Singhalese girl.

Fifteen of the photographs were made between 1870 and 1900 by the youngest of Mrs. Cameron's five sons, Henry Herschel Hay Cameron (1852–1911), who was a successful portrait photographer in his own right. These are albumen and gelatin silver prints. All fifteen are portraits except one, which is a photograph of a portrait of Julia Margaret Cameron painted by George Frederic Watts (1817–1904).

The two remaining photographs in this group are by unknown makers. One is an unsigned albumen print of the 1860s which depicts Mrs. Cameron's house on the Isle of Wight and which may be by her. The subject of the last, a gelatin silver print from the 1880s, is a pair of chess players; one of them is Hardinge Hay Cameron (1846–1911), another of her sons, who may have made this study.

Julia Margaret Cameron is the most important portrait photographer in the history of English photography. Born Julia Margaret Pattle in Calcutta and raised and educated in Paris, she lived again in India and Ceylon for a decade after her marriage to the distinguished Anglo-Indian jurist Charles Hay Cameron (1795–1880). They moved to England in 1848 and settled on the Isle of Wight in 1860. There, at the age of forty-eight, she took up photography. She pursued the medium with great energy, and it brought her considerable critical acclaim and modest commercial success. Cameron made few photographs after 1875, the year she and her husband returned to Ceylon; she died there in 1879. Henry Herschel Hay Cameron's portrait of his mother (no. 147) shows her enveloped in one of the shawls that were part of her usual garb. This sedate image gives little indication of Mrs. Cameron's indefatigable nature.

The Museum's holding of Mrs. Cameron's work, now the most extensive and important outside England, is complemented by a provocative group of Cameron family papers belonging to the Archives of the History of Art, a department of the Getty Center for the History of Art and the Humanities. Both the Archives' holding and the photographs reproduced here derive from Hardinge Hay Cameron.

Her work has been characterized as typological. That is, in the characteristic Cameron image the model stands both for him- or herself and for a figural type drawn from a literary or religious source. In thus representing her sitters, she hoped to imbue her photographs with both physical and spiritual beauty. In short, her intent was to make photography an art of moral purpose.

There was also a genre aspect to her work. This is seen, for example, in the study of about 1872 she entitled *May Prinsep (The Letter)* (no. 148). The subject of letters bearing portentous news, whether from lovers, family, or friends, appeared often in Victorian images. The model here is May Prinsep, a niece of a brother-in-law of Cameron, who also posed often for G. F. Watts. Cameron cast her as Elaine in the photographs she made as illustrations for Tennyson's *Idylls of the King* (1875). The poignant 1864 study of the young Ellen Terry (no. 149) is Mrs. Cameron's first masterpiece. The sitter is the celebrated actress, who had married the painter Watts the year before the collodion negative for the photograph was made. Albumen prints dating from 1864—and printed in reverse—were entitled *Sadness,* suggesting the result of an unhappy union; Watts and Terry were later divorced. This carbon print, commissioned by Mrs. Cameron, was made about 1875 by craftsmen of the Autotype Company of London. They restored the original damaged negative and somewhat enlarged the image, which received its present title, *Ellen Terry at the Age of Sixteen,* when it was published by Alfred Stieglitz in his journal *Camera Work* in January 1913. (A rectangular version of this subject exists which shows even more of the damage to the negative. In it the image is also reversed.) The décolletage and loosed hair, which are extraordinary for the period, serve to emphasize the vulnerability of the sitter, as does the carefully controlled light. Luminous portraits such as this one exerted a great influence on the later development of pictorial photography and secured for Cameron a prominent place in the history of photography.

147

147. HENRY HERSCHEL HAY CAMERON
British, 1852–1911
Portrait of Julia Margaret Cameron, 1874
Albumen print, 25.6 x 21.6 cm (10″ x 8½″). Inscribed: *Photograph from the life taken by my youngest son Henry Herschel Hay Cameron. Taken in 1874. 'For my cherished son Hardinge with the love and blessing of his mother Julia Margaret Cameron. March 10th, 1877.* on the mount below the image.
86.XM.637.1

PROVENANCE: Hardinge Hay Cameron; Adeline Blake (Mrs. Hardinge Hay)

Cameron; Geraldine Blake Thomas (a sister of Adeline Blake Cameron); Neville Hickman, Birmingham, England.

148

148. JULIA MARGARET CAMERON
British, 1815–1879
May Prinsep (The Letter), circa 1872
Albumen print, 31.7 x 22.3 cm (12 9/16" x 8 13/16")
86.XM.636.5

PROVENANCE: Hardinge Hay Cameron; Adeline Blake (Mrs. Hardinge Hay) Cameron; Geraldine Blake Thomas (a sister of Adeline Blake Cameron); Neville Hickman, Birmingham, England.

149. JULIA MARGARET CAMERON
British, 1815–1879
Ellen Terry at the Age of Sixteen, circa 1875, from a negative of 1864
Carbon print, Diam: 24.2 cm (9 9/16"). Inscribed: *H. H. Cameron, 100 Holywell* on the verso.
86.XM.636.1

PROVENANCE: Hardinge Hay Cameron; Adeline Blake (Mrs. Hardinge Hay) Cameron; Geraldine Blake Thomas (a sister of Adeline Blake Cameron); Neville Hickman, Birmingham, England.

149

FÉLIX TEYNARD. A French civil engineer, Teynard (1817–1892) made photographs in Egypt in 1851 and 1852 using a paper negative process. Beginning in 1853 and continuing until 1858, prints were produced in France from his negatives one at a time and mounted by hand one to a page and then issued in small groups. When these fascicles were gathered together in 1858, the completed set of photographs comprised a two-volume set containing 160 plates, entitled *Egypte et Nubie, sites et monuments les plus intéressants pour l'étude de l'art et de l'histoire.* Fewer than a dozen complete copies survive, one of which the Museum has now acquired.

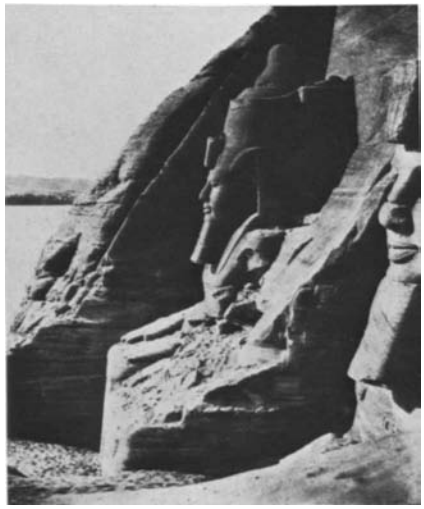
Although Teynard's photographs were published with accompanying plans of some of the monuments of Egyptian antiquity and explanatory notes to the photographs, his intent was not simply to record antiquity but rather to depict the overall beauty of Egyptian architecture and its setting. His subjects were predominantly ruined temples, but they also included Arab houses, mosques, and cemeteries, the Nile and its cataracts, and studies of palm trees and mountains. At each of the many archaeological sites to which Teynard traveled he made at least one general view of the ruins, such as the view of the temple at Edfu (no. 152), then framed more particularized compositions, and finally photographed an architectural detail or two. As the view of the capitals of the temple at Esna (no. 150) indicates, Teynard occasionally decontextualized architectural details. He treated them with soft-focus to lend them a sense of mystery without, however, detracting from the sense he gave of the extraordinary solidity of Egyptian monumental architecture. He is noted for his mastery of the use of shadow in patterning his work, as the photograph of the rock-cut temple at Abu Simbel (no. 151) clearly demonstrates. It is unusual among nineteenth-century photographs of this subject in that it shows the temple's relation to

the Nile. Teynard's response to the atmosphere of Egypt was a mixture of melancholy and wonder and, as such, epitomizes nineteenth-century romanticism.

150

150. FELIX TEYNARD
French, 1817–1892
Capitals, Shafts, and Architrave, Temple of Knum, Esna, 1852
Salt print, 24.9 x 30.8 cm
(9 13/16" x 12 1/8")
86.XB.693.1.71

PROVENANCE: Private collection, Los Angeles; [Zeitlin and Ver Brugge, Los Angeles].



151

151. FELIX TEYNARD
French, 1817–1892
Colossi in Profile, Great Temple, Abu Simbel, 1852
Salt print, 30.8 x 25.3 cm
(12 1/8" x 10")
86.XB.693.2.154

PROVENANCE: Private collection, Los Angeles; [Zeitlin and Ver Brugge, Los Angeles].

152

152. FELIX TEYNARD
French, 1817–1892
Pylon, Temple of Horus, Edfu, 1852
Salt print, 23.7 x 30.5 cm
(9 3/8" x 12")
86.XB.693.1.75

PROVENANCE: Private collection, Los Angeles; [Zeitlin and Ver Brugge, Los Angeles].

EDWARD WESTON. In 1986 the Museum acquired a collection of 821 photographs by and about Edward Weston (1886–1958) and his family, plus fourteen images by artists associated with Weston. The entire group was purchased from the artist's son Cole. All made at the time of the negatives, these photographs chronicle Weston's early career, from 1906 when he moved from Chicago to Los Angeles to the 1920s when he gravitated first to Mexico and then to Northern California. For the most part, the individual prints and a minority of album prints are signed and titled by the artist. The grouping includes primarily gelatin silver and platinum prints, with some palladium and cyanotype prints; all range in size from 1 7/8-by-1 5/8 to 11 1/8-by-14 1/16 inches.

Nearly eight hundred of these images come from family albums compiled and titled by the artist's first wife, Flora Chandler Weston. Most of these family prints, which are primarily biographical and autobiographical in nature, are mounted on pages which have been gathered, sometimes unbound, into albums. The majority of the album photographs have been attributed to Weston; however, about one hundred fifty are of undetermined authorship.

The collection also contains many individual Weston photographs that are central to his art before 1925 and were printed for exhibition purposes. Master prints from the Armco Steel series, portraits of his longtime model and friend Tina Modotti, and figure studies of the dancer Bertha Wardell are included, as well as those illustrated here: *Plaster Works* (no. 156), *Chandler Weston* (no. 155), and *Chandler Weston in His Shop* (no. 157).

The album photographs provide insightful glimpses into Weston's transition from a promising juvenile to a full-fledged artist. In addition to the 762 photographs included in informal albums, about thirty others were originally mounted in albums and subsequently removed before they arrived at the Museum. One such print is the *Back Entrance of Edward Weston's First Studio, Tropico* (no. 154). Constructed for a mere six hundred dollars in the small town of Tropico (today part of Glendale), this studio served Weston for the entire early phase of his career, from 1911 to the early 1920s. Its pared-down, unpretentious facade is emblematic of his lifelong devotion to maintaining an uncomplicated, bohemian existence. Forsaking the financial rewards and glamour that might have been his had he fully pursued commercial photography, he made a choice to work out of his simple rural studio rather than one in the center of Los Angeles.

Weston's *Self-Portrait* (no. 153), also formerly mounted in an album, shows the ambitious artist as he looked at twenty-four or twenty-five. Arms folded, sleeves rolled up, and staring directly and self-assuredly at the camera, he appears ready to go to work. Indeed, Weston worked very hard at his craft during these early years.

During the first part of his career, Weston worked primarily in his studio. Between commercial assignments, he honed his skills as a portraitist. The fine platinum print *Chandler Weston* is one of a series of sensitive portraits of his eldest son; the newly acquired collection includes several other photographs from this series, such as *Chandler Weston in*

His Shop. Weston's earlier portraits were typically executed in the pictorialist style, of which he was an important West Coast exponent. In its flattening of space and playful geometry of shadow, *Chandler Weston,* from 1920, shows signs of Weston's modernist explorations.

Five years later, during a period of travel and after his artistic renewal in Mexico during 1923–1924, Weston photographed *Plaster Works.* This extraordinary platinum photograph, made on a return visit to Los Angeles, invites comparison with *Chandler Weston* in its soft, evocative use of light and form. Utilizing the subtle geometric abstraction of a plaster mill, Weston goes beyond his early flirtation with modernism to achieve a masterful merging of the softness of pictorialism with the dynamism of Constructivist painting.

154

154. EDWARD WESTON
American, 1886–1958
Back Entrance of Edward Weston's First Studio, Tropico, circa 1915
Gelatin silver print, 11.9 x 20.3 cm (4 11/16″ x 8″). Inscribed: _____ *(?) ed Studio, Glendale, Calif.* in an unknown hand on the verso.
86.XM.719.27

PROVENANCE: By descent, Cole Weston, Carmel.

155

155. EDWARD WESTON
American, 1886–1958
Chandler Weston, 1920
Platinum print, 19.2 x 23.6 cm (7 9/16″ x 9 5/16″). Signed, dated, and inscribed *Chandler,* on the recto of the mount below the image.
86.XM.710.10

PROVENANCE: By descent, Cole Weston, Carmel.

153

153. EDWARD WESTON
American, 1886–1958
Self-Portrait, circa 1910–1911
Gelatin silver print, 16.5 x 10.1 cm (6 1/2″ x 3 15/16″)
86.XM.719.4

PROVENANCE: By descent, Cole Weston, Carmel.

156

156. EDWARD WESTON
American, 1886–1958
Plaster Works, 1925
Platinum print, 19.2 x 24 cm (7 9/16" x 9 7/16"). Signed, dated, and inscribed *Los Angeles* on the verso.
86.XM.710.5

PROVENANCE: By descent, Cole Weston, Carmel.

157

157. EDWARD WESTON
American, 1886–1958
Chandler Weston in His Shop, 1920
Platinum print, 23.7 x 19 cm (9 5/16" x 7 1/2"). Signed and dated on the recto of the mount below the image.
86.XM.710.12

PROVENANCE: By descent, Cole Weston, Carmel.

MAN RAY. In 1986 the Museum acquired a group of twenty-six photographs ranging in date from 1917 to 1951 by the American artist Man Ray (né Emmanuel Radnitsky, 1890–1976). Varying in size from 3 7/8-by-2 15/16 to 11 13/16-by-9 3/16 inches, these prints are the earliest or best surviving ones from the negatives and were made by him at the time the negatives were made. This group of images, assembled from a variety of sources by the New York dealer-collector Daniel Wolf, is particularly strong in works from the first decade of Man Ray's career.

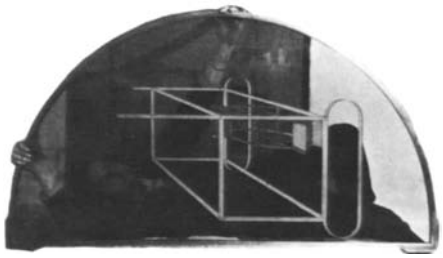
Man Ray—the painter, writer, and maker of objects—was also an exceptionally inventive photographer. Born and educated in the United States, he first worked as a commercial artist in New York City during the early teens of the century. His visits to Alfred Stieglitz's 291 gallery acquainted him with the idea of experimental art, and he soon met Stanton MacDonald-Wright, Morgan Russell, and Marcel Duchamp. (He met the last in 1915, and the two developed a friendship that lasted nearly fifty years.) During much of his career Man Ray worked simultaneously at painting, collage, and photography. In his autobiography he described how natural it was for him to create in several media. "I had never shared the contempt shown by other painters for photography," he wrote. "There was no competition involved, rather the two mediums [painting and photography] were engaged in different paths."

About 1915, Duchamp invited Man Ray to visit his work space in a commercial loft building that housed such tradesmen as printers and tire vulcanizers. In Duchamp's quarters he found nothing that resembled a painter's studio. "In the far corner near the window," he later recalled, "stood a pair of trestles on which lay a large piece of heavy glass covered with intricate patterns laid out in fine lead wires." The piece had a deep influence on Man Ray, who soon quit his job as a commercial artist to dedicate himself exclusively to photography.

Man Ray soon followed Duchamp to Paris and was introduced there to Tristan Tzara, André Breton, Francis Picabia, and other participants in the Dadaist movement. In Paris in 1917 he photographed Duchamp with his *Glissière contenant un moulin à eau en metaux voisins* (1913–1915, a study for his *Large Glass*), the most impressive Dada-object from Duchamp's Paris years. Man Ray's photograph (no. 158) introduces elements of spatial illusion and portraiture to Duchamp's sculpture via the background, which includes wires from an electric meter that appear to be attached to the top edge of the sculpture. Duchamp is shown stretched ambiguously on a table supporting the object in a way that confuses what is up with what is down. Between them, Man Ray and Duchamp created a work that bridges the gap between the creative act and public perception of a work of art.

It was through the filter of Man Ray's eye that the world saw Duchamp's work. Duchamp's celebrated altered ready-made, *L.H.O.O.Q.* (a color postcard of da Vinci's *Mona Lisa,* to which Duchamp added drawing and text), was propagated via Man Ray's photograph *La Joconde vue par Duchamp* (no. 159). Even though Duchamp had the idea of manipulating the celebrated painting, Man Ray initialed the photograph of it, thus identifying himself with the idea. The Museum's print is believed to be the earliest surviving Man Ray replica of *L.H.O.O.Q.,* the one Duchamp valued over the "original" altered postcard.

Soon after arriving in Paris, Man Ray began a romantic relationship with Kiki of Montparnasse (neé Alice Prin in Brittany), who was a popular artist's model. She inspired Man Ray's artistic interest in the female figure. *Le violon d'Ingres* (no. 160), Man Ray's altered photograph of her, was his answer to Duchamp's *L.H.O.O.Q.* Without the ink design representing the sound holes of a violin that has been superimposed on the model's back, the photograph would resemble an academic study; with the design, there is a witty reference to Ingres' hobby of playing the violin and to the figure in his celebrated painting *The Turkish Bath* (1859–1863, now in the Musée du Louvre).



158

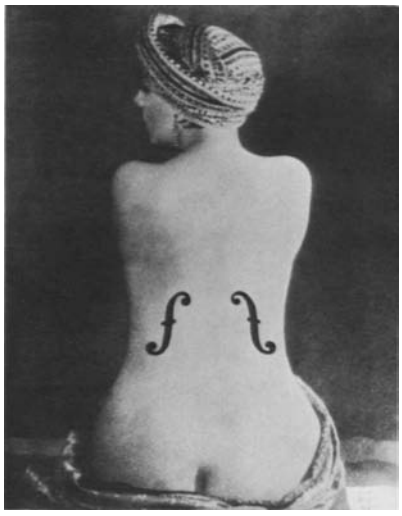
158. MAN RAY
American, 1890–1976
Duchamp avec son verre (Duchamp with [a study for his] *Large Glass*), 1917
Gelatin silver print, 8.6 x 15.2 cm (3⅜" x 6 1/16"). Signed, dated, inscribed, and marked with a photographer's wet stamp on the verso.
86.XM.626.4

PROVENANCE: Arturo Schwarz; [Daniel Wolf, New York].

159. MAN RAY
American, 1890–1976
La Joconde vue par Duchamp (Mona Lisa as seen by Duchamp), 1921/22 (from a ready-made of 1914)
Gelatin silver print, 16.9 x 10.5 cm (6⅝" x 4⅛")
Initialed at the lower right.
86.XM.626.1

PROVENANCE: Arturo Schwarz; [Daniel Wolf, New York].

159



160

160. MAN RAY
American, 1890–1976
Le violon d'Ingres, 1924
Gelatin silver print, 29.5 x 22.8 cm (11⅝" x 9"). Signed and dated at the lower right; photographer's wet stamp on the verso.
86.XM.626.10

PROVENANCE: [Robert Kasmin, London]; Paul Kasmin; [Daniel Wolf, New York].

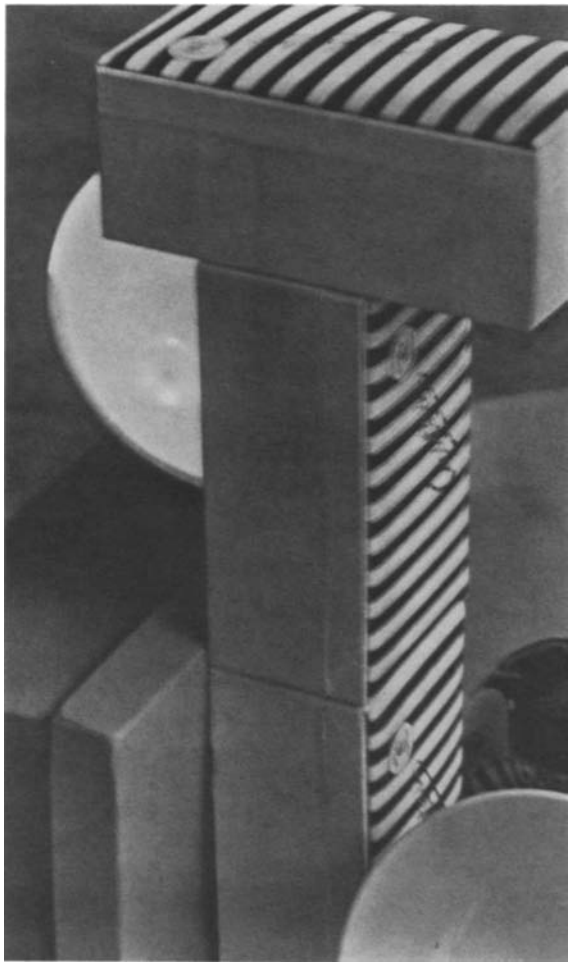
PAUL STRAND. During 1986 the Museum acquired a group of 117 photographs ranging in date from 1913 to 1955 by the American artist Paul Strand (1890–1976). These photographs, varying in size from 4½-by-5¾ to 13⅛-by-7¾ inches, are the best surviving prints made at the time the negatives were made. Strand, a master printer, employed platinum, palladium, satista, Cykora, bromide, and gelatin silver papers in creating these photographs. This comprehensive group of prints spans Strand's career from before his first critique with Alfred Stieglitz in 1915 to his later years and expatriate life in France.

Still Life with Matchboxes (no. 161) is one of a series of experiments in abstraction produced by the artist at his family's summer cottage at Twin Lakes, Connecticut, in 1916. Although the image most likely originated as a 3¼-by-4¼-inch negative made with Strand's handheld Ensign camera, the large satista print was probably contact printed from a negative enlarged by the lantern-slide projection method. At this time Strand was making his carefully crafted prints at the Camera Club of New York, where he had been using a darkroom since graduating from the Ethical Culture School in 1909. In the summer of 1916, perhaps with the encouragement of Stieglitz, the artist pushed his modernist instincts to their limits. Stieglitz had reviewed Strand's work in 1915 and, in March 1916, had given him a one-man show, *Photographs of New York and Other Places by Paul Strand,* at his gallery, 291. That summer, Strand was looking not at the city but rather at compositions of his own making, set up on the porch of the Twin Lakes cottage. Bottles, bowls, chairs, fruit, and matchboxes provided the raw material for imagery that finally ranged from the nearly realistic to the totally abstract. In *Still Life with Matchboxes*, subject matter is still recognizable, albeit unexpected, but the sense of space and scale is fractured and ambiguous. The warm grays of the print range beautifully through the solids and shadows from the white bowl at the upper left to the almost-black bottle at the lower right.

In 1919 Strand met Rebecca Salsbury, a teacher who would later become a painter; in 1922 they were married. Through Strand, Rebecca met and became friends with Alfred Stieglitz and his wife, Georgia O'Keeffe. *Rebecca at Dr. Stieglitz's, Mamaroneck, New York* (no. 162) was made in 1920, the year Strand began compiling a "portrait" of his wife. This series also chronicled their twelve-year marriage. In 1932, after exhibiting together at Stieglitz's An American Place gallery in New York, they separated. The 1986 acquisition includes eight of Strand's portraits of Rebecca. His series is sometimes compared to that made by Stieglitz, entitled *Georgia O'Keeffe, A Portrait,* between 1917 and 1930. Stieglitz's idea of one portrait made of many parts may have inspired Strand's series; on the other hand, it may have been an extension of the intense investigation of portraiture he had begun several years earlier in his "candid" New York street photographs.

Strand seems to have become aware of architecture as an important subject for photography very early in his career. When he established himself as a commercial photographer in 1912 he set out to earn an income by documenting the architecture of college campuses and selling the final hand-colored platinum prints to departing seniors as souvenirs. Although this enterprise did not prove particularly lucrative, it did provide him with the excuse to travel around the country, to look at various kinds of buildings, and to develop an eye for the forms and potential iconography of architectural photography. Strand's *Wall Street* (1915) shows his ability to use architectural forms expressively, but *White Fence, Port Kent, New York* (1916), more significantly, foreshadows his mature work and, in particular, his persistent attention to the forms of vernacular architecture.

Between 1930 and 1932 the Strands spent summers in Taos, New Mexico, using as their base one of the cottages owned by the art patron Mabel Dodge Luhan. From there Strand explored the architectural remnants of the region that was once frontier America. *City Hall, Ghost Town (St. Elmo?) Colorado* (no. 163), a small bromide print of 1931, is an exquisite miniature rendering of the edifice of a deserted public building set against vigorous hills and clouds, lit by a bright full sun and photographed straight on. Through Strand's honest vision the onetime city hall is shown as a majestic American ruin. The Museum's print is indeed a much more accurate record of the city hall than the more familiar horizontal version of this photograph, which harks back to Strand's experiments of the teens. In the horizontal image the structure is isolated from any context, natural or man-made, and the final effect is of a more abstracted facade with bold blackened windows.



161

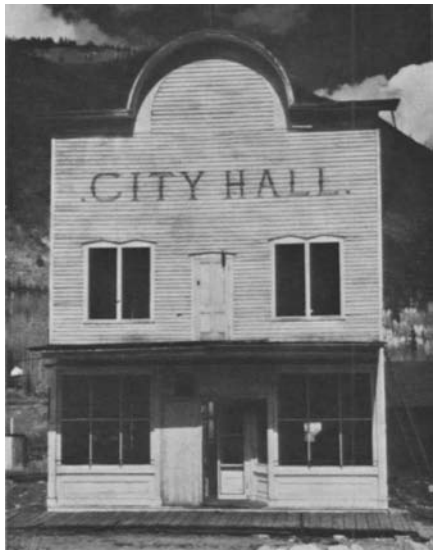
161. PAUL STRAND
American, 1890–1976
Still Life with Matchboxes, 1916
Satista print on rice paper mount, 33.4 x 19.8 cm (13 1/8" x 7 5/8"). Signed at the lower right.
86.XM.683.59

PROVENANCE: The Aperture Foundation, New York.

162. PAUL STRAND
American, 1890–1976
Rebecca at Dr. Stieglitz's, Mamaroneck, New York, 1920
Platinum print, 25.1 x 20 cm (9 7/8" x 7 7/8")
86.XM.683.1

PROVENANCE: The Aperture Foundation, New York.

162



163

163. PAUL STRAND
American, 1890–1976
City Hall, Ghost Town (St. Elmo?), Colorado, 1931
Silver bromide print, 14.6 x 11.3 cm (5 3/4" x 4 7/16"). Inscribed: *Paul Strand H.S.* by Hazel Strand on the verso.
86.XM.683.64

PROVENANCE: The Aperture Foundation, New York.

ANDRÉ KERTÉSZ. In 1986 the Museum acquired a group of forty-one photographs by André Kertész (1894–1985), who was born in Hungary and moved to Paris in 1925 and then to New York in 1936. These prints, varying in size from 6 7/8-by-6 1/4 to 11 7/8-by-7 15/16 inches and in date from the 1910s to 1958, are for the most part either unique pieces or the earliest and best surviving prints created by the photographer in gelatin silver at the time the negatives were made. Acquired principally from the estate of André Kertész, the group includes images ranging from the beginning of his career in Budapest to his first experimental work in Paris to his New York period, when he was in full creative stride.

In Paris Kertész entered the circle of leading painters and sculptors, including Tristan Tzara, Marc Chagall, Alexander Calder, and Piet Mondrian. Kertész's photographs have much in common with the work of artists with

whom he fraternized, yet he remained generally independent of their manifestos and movements. Both an innovator and a teacher, he introduced Brassaï, who was trained as a writer, to the art of photography, and he also greatly influenced Henri Cartier-Bresson.

Kertész once provided an apt characterization of his work when he described himself as a "naturalist-surrealist." Indeed, in his most characteristic photographs, a surrealistic perspective is mixed with his abiding interest in the manifestly ordinary aspects of daily life.

This naturalist-surrealist element is evident in the four photographs reproduced here. Kertész had an instinct for endowing commonplace subjects with an aura of the mysterious and supernatural. If the subject was a still life, Kertész would deftly choose his viewpoint and occasionally make a subtle alteration to gain the desired effect. *Chez Mondrian* (no. 165), for example, was photographed from the inside of that artist's studio looking toward the stairwell. A straw hat belonging to the writer and photographer Michael Seuphor hangs nearly obscured on the wall where Kertész presumably found it; the vase, however, has been moved from the center of the table to its edge in order to complete the effect of a balanced composition. Kertész was less likely to rearrange his subject, however, than to photograph it at the most revealing instant or from the most telling viewpoint. This tendency is evident in *Smokestacks at Night, Paris* (no. 164). The key to this photograph is the time of day—presumably dusk—when there was just enough light left in the sky to silhouette the smokestacks but not so much as to diminish the mysterious glow of the single lighted window.

Kertész's distinctive talent lay in his ability seemingly to record a visual perception the moment he had it, to create the illusion that the picture was made in the eyes and mind without the intervention of the hands. In *Diver in a Paris Pool* (no. 166) and *Fête Performer* (no. 167) much is left to the viewer's imagination. Both photographs rely on us to fill in elements that lie outside the frame or that are so indistinct as to be illegible. In *Fête Performer* we infer that the busker has an audience other than the solitary figure in the background and that the two chairs are standing on an elevated platform; in *Diver* we assume the figure is diving into a swimming pool and that the blurry foreground is water.

164. ANDRE KERTESZ
American (b. Hungary), 1894–1985
Smokestacks at Night, Paris, 1927
Gelatin silver print, 6.6 x 6.2 cm ($2^{3}/_{16}$" x $2^{7}/_{16}$")
86.XM.706.2

PROVENANCE: Estate of André Kertész, New York.

164

165. ANDRE KERTESZ
American (b. Hungary), 1894–1985
Chez Mondrian, 1926
Gelatin silver print, 10.9 x 7.9 cm ($4^{5}/_{16}$" x $3^{1}/_{8}$"). Signed and inscribed *Paris* below the image.
86.XM.706.10

PROVENANCE: Estate of André Kertész, New York.

165

166

166. ANDRE KERTESZ
American (b. Hungary),
1894–1985
Diver in a Paris Pool, 1929
Gelatin silver print, 25 x 19.1 cm
(9⅞" x 7½").
Dated at the top center of the verso.
86.XM.706.30

PROVENANCE: Estate of André Kertész, New York.

167

167. ANDRE KERTESZ
American (b. Hungary),
1894–1985
Fête Performer, 1931
Gelatin silver print, 23.9 x 19 cm
(9⅜" x 7⅜").
Dated at the lower right of the verso.
86.XM.706.28

PROVENANCE: Estate of André Kertész, New York.

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