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Gillian Wilson, Editor

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## INTRODUCTION

The editorship of the Museum's annual *Journal* rotates amongst the three curators, and the contents of earlier volumes were devoted to the editor's particular field of study. With volume 4, a broader spectrum is offered, representing a cross-section of work carried out in the three departments. In addition to the two articles written by me, this volume includes articles by Jiří Frel, the Museum's Curator of Antiquities; Edith Standen, Curatorial Consultant, Department of Western European Art, the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York; Geraldine Hussman, California State University at Northridge; Jean-Luc Bordeaux, Professor of Art History and Director of the Fine Arts Gallery, California State University at Northridge; and Faya Causey, University of California, Santa Barbara. I am grateful to the authors for their generous contributions of time and expertise.

Volume 5 of the *Journal* is in preparation at this time, and it is hoped that future volumes will continue to reflect all aspects of the Museum's collections.

Gillian Wilson  
Curator of Decorative Arts

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# SEVRES PORCELAIN AT THE J. PAUL GETTY MUSEUM

Gillian Wilson

While the J. Paul Getty Museum's collection of Sèvres porcelain is still small, it has been possible to acquire over the past five years some extremely rare examples in this field. This article discusses four of these pieces: a *vaisseau à mât*, a pair of *vases à flambeaux*, and a *cuvette mahon*. Particular reference is made to the Dutch "genre" scenes painted on their reserves.

The *vaisseau à mât* (figs. 1 and 2) was acquired in 1975 from Rosenberg and Steibel in New York. It had come from a South American collector and had previously formed part of the collection of J. Pierpont Morgan.<sup>1</sup> The development of the *vaisseau* has been carefully discussed by Svend Eriksen<sup>2</sup> and Marcelle Brunet.<sup>3</sup> Here I illustrate a rarely published photograph of a plaster model for it which is in the Manufacture Nationale de Sèvres (fig. 3). The *vaisseaux à mât* known today exist in two different sizes. This plaster model is closest, in the shape of its body, to the slightly larger, fatter version in the British Royal Collection, shown in fig. 10. The model is perhaps a most unsatisfactory shape, but was eventually greatly improved by the addition of a four-legged base, the extension of the mast and rigging, with added movement given by a billowing pennant.

Ten *vaisseaux* are known to exist today, and they are illustrated together for the first time in this article (figs. 4 to 12). Carl Dauterman<sup>4</sup> states that eleven exist, and Eriksen<sup>5</sup> and Brunet<sup>6</sup> have repeated this number. However, they have overlooked the fact that the example exhibited by Lord Crewe in the South Kensington exhibition of 1862 is actually the same *vaisseau* as that now owned by René Grog.<sup>7</sup> In the catalogue of the 1862 exhibition, Lord Crewe's vase was described as follows:

No. 1280. Vase in the form of a ship (*vaisseau à mât*) of rose Dubarry ground with green borders... in front is painted a Chinese subject of two mandarins seated and an attendant, flowers at the back... (See fig. 4)<sup>8</sup>

All the *vaisseaux* have gold fleur-de-lys painted on their pennants, and it has been reasonably suggested that they were all made for members of the royal family or were intended as royal gifts. Only four are listed in the register of the Sèvres Manufactory. One was sold to Louis XV in December 1759;<sup>9</sup> another was sold a year earlier to the Prince de Conti.<sup>10</sup> A third was sold in 1760 (Ronald Freyberger has shown that this vase was in the collection of Madame de Pompadour,<sup>11</sup> and it is the one now owned by René Grog, fig. 4). The fourth, sold in 1762, is listed without the name of the purchaser.

The reserve on the front of the Getty *vaisseau* is painted with a Teniers-like scene of a drunken man being assisted to his feet by a male companion while his wife berates him. This scene appears on numerous Sèvres pieces, with various additions.<sup>12</sup> Fig. 14 shows the most elaborate version, decorating a *jardinière* in the Musée Jacquemart-André. The objects on which this scene is painted are marked variously with the

symbols of Morin, Dodin, and Vieillard, suggesting that they used a common source. Research has not, however, turned up a painting by Teniers, or an engraving after it, which shows such a scene. Carl Dauterman recently published a small-scale drawing (fig. 15)<sup>13</sup> which was found on the back of an engraving after Teniers in the Musée de Sèvres archives. The drawing shows the drunken man, and he attributes it to Dodin. Studying the print itself (fig. 16), we see in the left middle-ground a woman helping a man to his feet. Was this the group that suggested the theme to the Sèvres artist? Teniers has used the same couple in another "Kermesse" in the British Royal Collections.<sup>14</sup> Without a painting or an engraving we might assume that the scene shown on this reserve is the invention of a Sèvres painter, well-versed in the themes of Teniers, and this assumption is strengthened by the discovery of the sketch.

The background of the extended version on the Jacquemart-André vase shows a group of peasants—some dancing in a circle while others sit at a table or stand, drinking and talking. Again, I have been unable to find an identical scene, or parts of it, in any of Teniers' "Kermesses," and yet the general theme is very characteristic of such genre paintings by this artist.

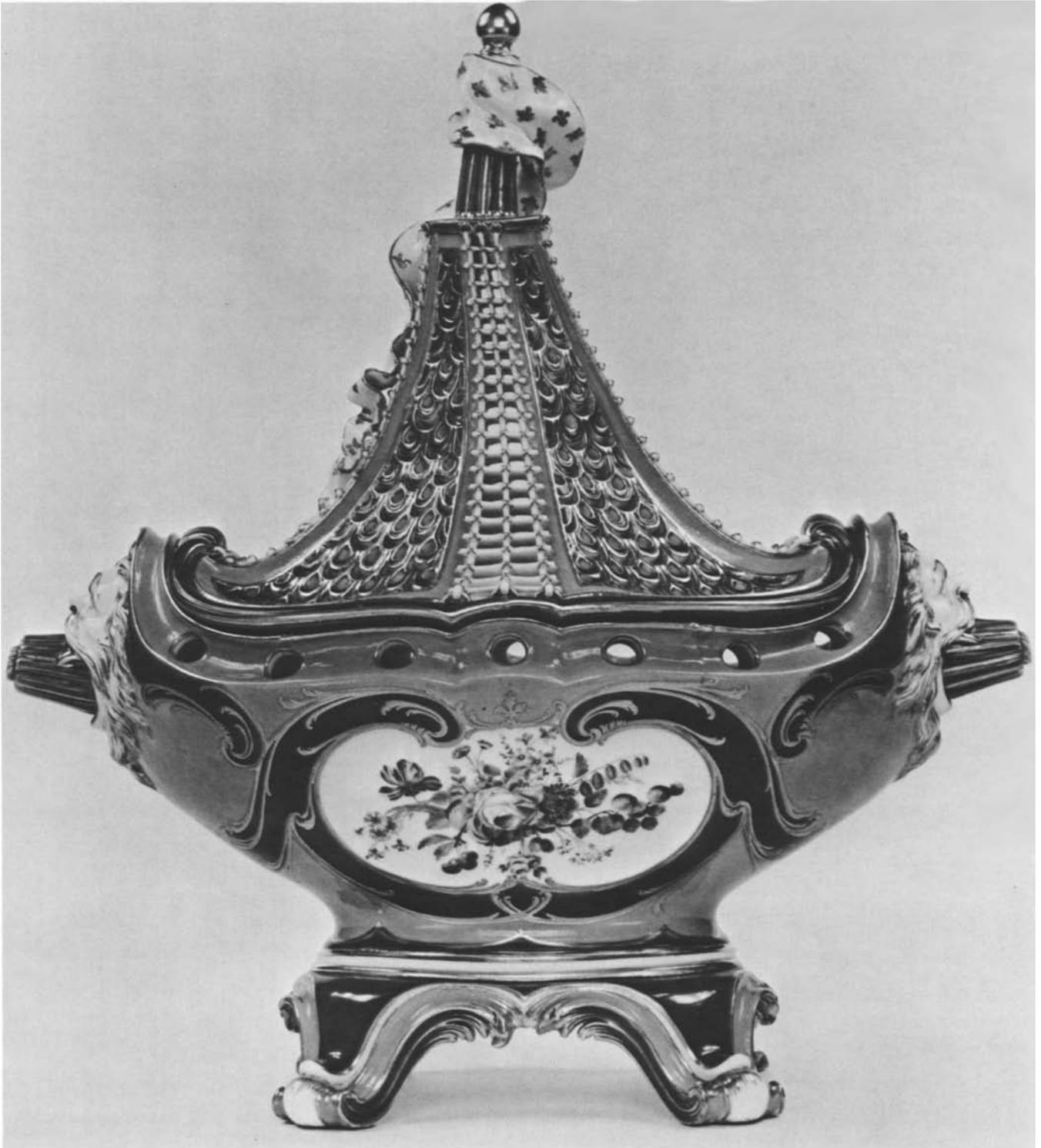
It is worth pointing out that the woman with the drunken man, as shown in the print, does appear as a direct copy on one of a pair of *vases à flambeaux* which was until recently in the possession of the Antique Porcelain Company in New York. The other vase of this pair is painted with another scene from the engraving: the elderly couple seated in the right middle-ground (the woman wears a ruff). This couple also appears on one of the Sèvres *vases à flambeaux* in the Kress Collection at the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

The Getty *vases à flambeaux* (figs. 17 and 18) were also acquired in 1975 from Rosenberg and Steibel. They also had been part of the collection of J. Pierpont Morgan.<sup>16</sup> No model for them exists in the Manufacture Nationale de Sèvres, and I know of only two other pairs. One, as mentioned, is in the Kress Collection at the Metropolitan Museum; the other, also previously mentioned, was with the Antique Porcelain Company till earlier this year. It appears that Sèvres may have made another version of these vases, without the candle sockets. One of this form—then in the collection of Mr. Goode—is illustrated in Garnier's *The Soft-Paste Porcelain of Sèvres*,<sup>17</sup> shown with its reverse decorated with flowers. It appears with its pair in the 1910 Christie's sale of Mrs. Milligan's collection,<sup>18</sup> by which time they had been embellished with gilt-bronze babies sitting on the shoulders, and with gilt-bronze bases. They are catalogued as having come from the collection of W. J. Goode, and they were bought at the sale by Frank Partridge and Company. Unfortunately, John Partridge can find no records of the transaction in their files, so we cannot tell if the vases bore date letters or painter's symbols, or where they are today.

1 *Vaisseau à mât*. Rose and green, date mark and painter's symbol illegible.  
H. 14 $\frac{1}{8}$  in. (37.1 cm.), W. 13 $\frac{3}{4}$  in. (34.9 cm.). The J. Paul Getty Museum  
(75.DE.11).



2 Fig. 1, reverse.



3 Plaster preliminary model for a vessel resembling a *vaisseau à mâit*, attributed to Duplessis. Manufacture Nationale de Sèvres.



4 *Vaisseau à mât*. Rose and green, painted only with the crossed L's of the Sèvres Manufacture. H. 15¾ in. (37 cm.), W. 13¼ in. (35 cm.). Collection of René Grog (formerly in the collection of Lord Crewe).



5 *Vaisseau à mât*. Dark blue (*bleu lapis*), unmarked. H. 14<sup>9</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (37 cm.),  
W. 13<sup>9</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (34.5 cm.). The James A. de Rothschild Collection at  
Waddesdon Manor (W.1/19/3).



6 *Vaisseau à mât. Bleu celeste*, painted with the crossed L's and the date letter "T" for 1761. H. 17½ in. (44.5 cm.), W. 14<sup>9</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (37 cm.). The James A. de Rothschild Collection at Waddesdon Manor (W.1/11/8).



7 *Vaisseau à mât*. Light turquoise blue, painted with the crossed L's and the date letter "T" for 1761. The architectural base is unique. H. 14¾ in. (37.5 cm.), W. 13<sup>9</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (33.5 cm.). The James A. de Rothschild Collection at Waddesdon Manor (W.1/28/5).



8 *Vaisseau à mât*. *Bleu lapis* and green, unmarked. H. 17½ in. (44.5 cm.),  
W. 14¾ in. (37.8 cm.). The Frick Collection, New York (16.9.7).



9 *Vaisseau à mâts. Bleu-du-roi*, apparently marked for Morin and dated for 1764. The gilt-wood base is not original to the piece. H. 15¼ in. (38.9 cm.), W. 14½ in. (37 cm.). The Walters Art Gallery (48.559).



10 *Vaisseau à mât*. *Bleu lapis* and green, marked with the crossed L's and with the date letter "F" for 1758. The gilt-bronze base is not original to the piece. H.  $17\frac{3}{16}$  in. (43.9 cm.), W.  $14\frac{1}{8}$  in. (37.8 cm.). The Collection of Her Majesty the Queen at Buckingham Palace.



11 *Vaisseau à mât*. *Bleu lapis* and green, unmarked. H. 17¾ in. (44.1 cm.),  
W. 14½ in. (36.9 cm.). The Wallace Collection, London.



12 *Vaisseau à mât*. Rose, painted with the crossed L's and the date letter "E" for 1757. H. 17½ in. (44.5 cm.), W. 15⅞ in. (38.4 cm.). The Samuel H. Kress Collection at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (58.75.89 ab). This *vaisseau* bears the added decoration of a pale blue pennant attached to the "mast."



13 Detail showing the painting on the front of the Getty *vaisseau à mât*.



14 Detail showing the painting on the front of a *cuvette à fleurs* at the Musée Jacquemart-André, Paris (D.1170). It bears the crossed L's, the date letter "H" for 1760, and the symbol for Dodin.



15 Small sketch on the reverse of an engraving after Teniers, attributed to Dodin. Manufacture Nationale de Sèvres.



16 Engraving by Le Bas after David Teniers. (This engraving forms a detail of a larger print by Le Bas of the *4me Fête Flamande*, at the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.) Manufacture Nationale de Sèvres.



Ronald Freyberger has pointed out the probability that a pair of *vases à flambeaux* were delivered to Madame de Pompadour in 1760, ensuite with the *vaisseau à mât* (fig. 4).<sup>19</sup> They are referred to in the Sèvres register as vases “à bobèches,” and later, in the inventory of her possessions taken at her death, they are described as having “cartouche chinois,” to match the *vaisseau* and the “pots pourri fontaines.” Their present whereabouts is unknown.

The scene of the couple drinking on the Getty vase (fig. 17) is a reduced version of one used on at least four other Sèvres pieces. Two *cuvettes mahons*—one in the British Royal Collection (fig. 19),<sup>20</sup> the other sold recently by the Antique Porcelain Company—and a *caisse à fleurs* in the Jones Collection at the Victoria and Albert Museum<sup>21</sup> all show a more complete scene with six figures. The latter vase bears the symbol for the painter Vieillard. One of the aforementioned Goode/Milligan *vases à flambeaux* bears the same reduced scene as found on the Getty piece. The Getty vase is marked for Dodin. I have been unable to trace a painting or an engraving for this scene.

The *cuvette mahon* (fig. 20) was acquired by the J. Paul Getty Museum through the Paris Market in 1972. It is a rare

model,<sup>22</sup> and I know of the existence of only twelve others.<sup>23</sup> The scene painted on the front was described as being “after Teniers,” and the base is marked with an “M” for Morin, with the date letter for 1761. The scene of peasants fighting is taken from the background of a “Kermesse” by Teniers which now hangs in the Hermitage. The painting<sup>24</sup> once formed part of the collection of the Duc de Choiseul and was sold to the Hermitage at his great sale in April 1772. The painting itself can be seen hanging on the wall of the *premier cabinet* in the miniature which forms the base of the famous Blarenberghe box.<sup>25</sup> An engraving by Le Bas (fig. 21) of this painting exists in the Cabinet d’Estampes in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. Curiously, this detail seems to have been used only once again by a Sèvres painter, on a turquoise blue *jardinière* in the Wallace Collection, London. Here, only three figures are shown, and it bears the mark for the painter Caton (1749–1790) and the date letter H for 1760. Another detail from the righthand foreground of the picture (left in the engraving) is used by the painter, given to Vieillard by Eriksen,<sup>26</sup> on one of the Waddesdon Manor *vaisseaux à mât* (fig. 5).

17 One of a pair of vases *à flambeaux* (also known as *pot-pourri à bobèches*). Rose and green, one bearing the crossed L's, the date letter "G" for 1759, and the symbol for Dodin. H. 9 $\frac{7}{8}$  in. (25.1 cm.), W. 5 in. (12.7 cm.). The J. Paul Getty Museum (75.DE.65).



18 Pair to Fig. 17.



19 *Cuvette mahon*. *Bleu lapis* and green, unmarked. H.  $6\frac{13}{16}$  in. (17.3 cm.),  
W.  $10\frac{13}{16}$  in. (27.5 cm.). The Collection of Her Majesty the Queen at  
Buckingham Palace.



20 *Cuvette mahon*. Rose, marked with the crossed L's, the date letter "I" for  
1761, and the symbol for Morin. H. 6 in. (15.2 cm.), W.  $8\frac{7}{8}$  in. (22.5 cm.).  
The J. Paul Getty Museum (72.DE.65).



21 Engraving by Le Bas after the Teniers “Kermesse” now at the Hermitage (see note 24). Cabinet d’Estampes, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. This engraving seems to have been originally executed for no. 38, the *Recueil d’Estampes Gravées d’après les tableaux du Cabinet de Monseigneur le Duc de Choiseul* which was published in 1771. Therefore some other, earlier, engraving of this painting must have been used by the Sèvres painters.



#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup>Comte S. de Chavagnac, *Catalogue des Porcelaines Françaises de J. Pierpont Morgan*, 1910, no. 109, pl. XXXIII. Sold Parke-Bernet, New York, January 8th, 1944, lot. 486.

<sup>2</sup>Svend Eriksen, *The James A. de Rothschild Collection at Waddesdon Manor: Sèvres Porcelain*, 1968, pp. 136–138.

<sup>3</sup>Marcelle Brunet, *The Frick Collection, Volume VII, Porcelains*, 1974, p. 224–232.

<sup>4</sup>Carl Dauterman, James Parker, Edith Standen, *Decorative Art from the Samuel H. Kress Collection at the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, 1964, p. 195.

<sup>5</sup>Eriksen, *op cit.*, p. 136.

<sup>6</sup>Brunet, *op cit.*, p. 228.

<sup>7</sup>This *vaisseau à mât* was until recently in the collection of the Baroness Edouard de Rothschild. The Rothschilds presumably bought the vase from Lord Crewe.

<sup>8</sup>I am grateful to Theodore Dell for supplying this information.

<sup>9</sup>Bellaigue, Harris, and Millar, *Buckingham Palace and its Treasures*, 1968, p. 223. However, Brunet, *op cit.*, p. 226, states that this *vaisseau* was sold to Madame de Pompadour.

<sup>10</sup>Brunet, *op cit.*, p. 226, and Dauterman, *op cit.*, p. 193. The *vaisseau* sold to the Prince de Conti would appear to be that now in the Kress Collection.

<sup>11</sup>Ronald Freyberger, “Chinese Genre Painting at Sèvres,” *American Ceramic Circle Bulletin*, 1970–1971, pp. 29–44.

<sup>12</sup>This scene is painted on the following Sèvres vessels:

- a Apple-green *jardinière*, painted with the shortened version, with the date letter for 1769, and the symbol for Vieillard. Property of Mrs. Derek Fitzgerald, sold Sotheby’s, May 4, 1965, lot. 74.
- b One of a pair of apple-green *vase Hollandais*, painted with the shortened version, with the date letter for 1760, and no painter’s symbol. Same sale as above, lot. 75.
- c Apple-green *vase Hollandais*, painted with the addition of peasants seated at table but without the dancers, with the date letter for 1760, and the symbol for Vieillard. Dauterman, *op cit.*, p. 208, no. 40, fig. 154.
- d One of a pair of *bleu-du-roi cuvette à fleurs*, painted with the shortened version, with the date letter for 1762, and the symbol for Morin. Robert Wark, *French Decorative Art in the Huntington Collection*, 1968, p. 115, fig. 112.
- e A *bleu celeste caisse à fleurs*, painted with the extended version, with the date letter for 1769, and the symbol for Vieillard. The property of the Earl of Harewood, sold Christie’s, July 1, 1965, lot. 17.
- f A rose *cuvette à masques*, painted with the extended

version, with the date letter for 1761, and the symbol for Morin. Sold Sotheby Parke-Bernet, Monaco, May 3, 1977, lot. 23. The property of Madame Bethsabée de Rothschild.

- g A green *cuvette à fleurs*, painted with the extended version, with the date letter for 1760, and the symbol for Dodin. See fig. 13 (ex-collection Edouard Andre).
- h One of a pair of apple-green *cuvette à fleurs*, painted with the short version, with the date letter for 1760, and the symbol for Morin. The property of Baron Schroder, sold Christie's, July 5, 1910, lot. 36.
- i One of a pair of *caisse à fleurs*, painted with the shortened version, marked with the date letter for 1760, no painter's symbol. At the Wallace Collection, London.

<sup>13</sup>Carl Dauterman, "Sèvres Figure Painting in the Anna Thompson Dodge Collection," *The Burlington Magazine*, November 1976, p. 753–761.

<sup>14</sup>*Die Meisterbilder von Teniers*, 1907, p. 50.

<sup>15</sup>Dauterman, *op cit.*, p. 204. This fact was overlooked by Carl Dauterman when he compiled the catalogue. However, he has pointed out, in the aforementioned article in the *Burlington Magazine*, that the couple appears again, with the bagpiper, on a *jardinière* painted by Vieillard in the Detroit Institute of Arts, fig. 27 in that article.

<sup>16</sup>Chavagnac, *op cit.*, no. 107, pl. XXXII.

<sup>17</sup>Edouard Garnier, *The Soft-Paste Porcelain of Sèvres*, 1892, pl. XXXV.

<sup>18</sup>Christie's, May 11, 1910, lot. 173.

<sup>19</sup>Freyberger, *op cit.*, p. 40.

<sup>20</sup>Bellaigue, Harris, and Millar, *op cit.*, p. 177.

<sup>21</sup>*Victoria and Albert Museum, Catalogue of the Jones Collection, Part II*, 1924, p. 9, no. 117, pl. 7.

<sup>22</sup>A model for it does exist at the Manufacture Nationale de Sèvres, but it is not illustrated in Troude.

<sup>23</sup>The twelve *cuvette mahons* are in the following collections, or have appeared in the following sales:

- a Blue and green, painted with peasants drinking at a table, unmarked. Bellaigue, Harris, and Millar, *op cit.*, p. 177.
- b Green, painted with a rustic landscape and putti in clouds, unmarked. The collection of the Earl of Rosebery, sold Sotheby's, May 24, 1977, lot. 2034.
- c & d Two, marbled rose, both painted with a Chinese scene and marked with the date letter for 1761 and the symbol for Dodin, in the British Museum, London (Eckstein Bequest, inv. no. 1948, 12–3, 16 & 17). One is illustrated in George Savage, *17th and 18th Century French Porcelain*, 1960, p. 48. (Ex-collection Charles Stein, sold 1899).
- e Rose, painted with Boucher's *La Chasse*, unmarked. The collection of the Earl of Harewood, illustrated in Hugh Tait: "Sèvres Porcelain in the Collection of the Earl of Harewood," *Apollo*, June 1964, p. 478, fig. 9.
- f Green, painted with Boucher's *La Chasse*, unmarked, illustrated in Svend Eriksen, *op cit.*, p. 90, no. 30.
- g *Bleu celeste*, painted with putti in clouds, unmarked, illustrated in Eriksen, *op cit.*, p. 88, no. 29.
- h *Bleu celeste*, painted with fruit and flowers on both sides, date letter for 1760. The collection of Mr. and Mrs. Deane

Johnson, sold Sotheby Parke-Bernet, New York, December 9, 1972, lot. 9.

- i Rose, ribbon borders, painted with flowers, date letter for 1757. The collection of the late René Fribourg, sold Sotheby's, May 4, 1965, lot. 173.
- j & k Pair, white ground, painted blue, scarlet, and aubergine, with festoons of flowers, one with date letter for 1760, the other with date letter for 1776, both with the symbol for Méreaud. The collection of Mrs. Alan L. Corey, sold Sotheby Parke-Bernet, New York, December 5, 1974, lot. 70.
- l Green and blue, painted with a scene of peasants drinking at a table, unmarked, recently in the collection of the Antique Porcelain Company, New York.

<sup>24</sup>N. Smolskaya, *Teniers*, 1962, pl. 21.

<sup>25</sup>Illustrated and discussed in F.J.B. Watson, *The Choiseul Box*, 1963, p. 10, fig. 2.

<sup>26</sup>Eriksen, *op cit.*, p. 142.

Figures 5–7: Copyright the British National Trust, Waddesdon Manor; Figure 8: Copyright the Frick Collection, New York; Figure 9: Courtesy the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore; Figures 10 & 19: Reproduced by gracious permission of Her Majesty, Queen Elizabeth II; Figure 11: Copyright the Wallace Collection; Figure 12: Courtesy the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of the Samuel H. Kress Foundation, 1958.

#### ADDENDUM

Since this article went into page proofs, I have received the following information from colleagues in London. Frances Buckland from the Wallace Collection informs me that the Getty Museum's *vaisseau à mât* was sold at Christie's in 1874 (June 12, lot 150). It is there catalogued as "The Property of a Gentleman" but given by Lugt to the collection of the Earl of Coventry. It is illustrated with a line drawing. Robert Cecil, also of the Wallace Collection, tells me that the *vaisseau* reappears at Christie's in 1898 (May 20, lot 94b) in the sale of the Dowager Viscountess Barrington and other private sources. Here it is given to the collections of the Earl of Coventry and the Earl of Dudley. It is not illustrated. One would assume that Pierpont Morgan or his representative bought the *vaisseau* at this latter sale.

Frances Buckland also informs me that in a 1874 sale of March 19, as lot 99, appear a pair of *vases à flambeaux* which had turquoise, white, and gold grounds. The reserves are painted with Chinese figures. The *vases* are catalogued as having come from the collection of the late Duchess of Bedford, and they were exhibited at the South Kensington Loan Exhibition of 1862. They are illustrated with line drawings, showing the front of one and back of the pair. They appear at Christie's three months later on June 12, 1874 as lot 143, again illustrated with line drawings but showing the other sides of the *vases* to those shown three months earlier. This sale included objects from the collections of A. B. Mickford, Esq., Lady Schreiber, Sir H. H. Campbell, Lord Charles Thynne, and the Earl of Coventry. The present whereabouts of this *vases à flambeaux* is unknown. §

# SOME NOTES ON THE CARTOONS USED AT THE GOBELINS AND BEAUVAIS TAPESTRY MANUFACTORIES IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

Edith A. Standen

The recent publication of an article *The Epitome of the Pastoral Genre in Boucher's Oeuvre: The Fountain of Love and The Bird Catcher from The Noble Pastoral* by Jean-Luc Bordeaux, in volume III of this *Journal* has suggested that a few notes on how paintings and cartoons were handled at the Gobelins and Beauvais Manufactories in the eighteenth century might be of value. One common misconception should first be disposed of, namely that the artists working for Beauvais were obliged to furnish both large and small versions of their designs in stipulated sizes. This supposition arises from the quotation, contained in almost every book on Boucher, of a letter from the Directeur des Bâtiments, Le Normant de Tournehem, to the Premier Peintre du Roi, Charles Coypel, dated June 1, 1747.<sup>1</sup> The complete letter was published in the *Nouvelles Archives de l'Art français*, 3rd series, vol. 22, 1906, pp. 325–26, and clearly applies only to artists working for the Gobelins Manufactory. The first two paragraphs read:

Dans la seule vue de mettre le Roy en état d'occuper plus souvent ceux qui se distinguent dans son Académie de peinture et sculpture, j'ai cru, M<sup>r</sup>, devoir donner un règlement pour le prix des portraits. Il ne m'en paroît pas moins important d'en user de même pour les tableaux destinés à être exécutés en tapisserie dans la manufacture des Gobelins.

Déjà l'Académie peut être informée que, désormais, M<sup>rs</sup> les académiciens choisis pour travailler à ces grands ouvrages donneront à la fois les originaux en petit et de grandes copies de leur main ou revues par eux, de sorte qu'ils peuvent les avouer. La grande copie ou le second original servira de modèle aux tapissiers en sous-ordre et le petit tableau, fait en premier, sera sous les yeux du tapissier en chef préposé pour conduire les autres; par ce moyen, il aura toujours présent le tout ensemble du morceau qu'il fait exécuter. Je pense que, parmi M<sup>rs</sup> les académiciens, ceux qui désirent avec raison que leurs ouvrages passent à la postérité ne me sauront pas mauvais gré de cet arrangement.<sup>2</sup>

The remainder of the letter gives three possible sizes for the "grandes copies" and says that the "originaux en petit" for the largest cartoons (22 by 18 *pieds*) should not be more than 7 *pieds* 4 *pouces* long and 4 *pieds* high, with foreground figures not more than two *pieds* tall (French *pieds* and *pouces* were only slightly larger than feet and inches). The prices to be paid by the king in each category are listed.

Something of the background to this letter is known. Charles Coypel became Premier Peintre in January 1747, but he began to press for "originaux en petit" and "grandes

copies" for Gobelins work before this; in 1746 he wrote that "si Monsieur le directeur général des bâtiments ordonnoit ces grandes copies faites sous la conduite des auteurs, il feroit naistre des occasions favorables pour les élèves qui, vivement exercés pas de pareils ouvrages, acquéreroient la facilité de peindre en grand." The practice would also, he said, help the "tapissier en chef," who could have the small painting to study as a whole when he wished; the weaver normally saw only a portion of the design at one time.<sup>3</sup> Coypel continued, "Il paroistroit donc nécessaire de peindre en petit plutôt qu'en grand les tableaux destinés à être exécutés en tapisserie, pour ne donner aux tapissiers que de grandes copies faites sous les yeux du maître, retouchées par lui, s'il en est besoin." De Tournehem has been described as knowing nothing about art and relying entirely upon the advice of Charles Coypel.<sup>4</sup> The former was, in fact, only holding the job of Directeur des Bâtiments until Mme. de Pompadour's sixteen-year-old brother, best known by his later title of the Marquis de Marigny, should be ready for it. When de Tournehem visited the Academy on July 1, 1747, the Marquis sat on his right, Coypel on his left. Coypel then read to the assembled academicians a dissertation of his own "sur l'utilité et la nécessité de recevoir des avis;" they had already heard it in 1730 and 1744, but perhaps it was useful or even necessary to de Tournehem.<sup>5</sup>

It appears that the painters and the weavers both objected to the new regulation, for the three workshop heads at the Gobelins, the *entrepreneurs*, sent a memoir to this effect to Marigny:

... Chacun sentit que c'était faire deux tableaux au lieu d'un, et avec l'ennui de se répéter. En effect, un habile homme ne peut hazarder sa reputation au point de laisser paroistre publiquement un grand tableau, et surtout pour la manufacture, avec toute la foiblesse qui se trouve dans les meilleures copies; s'il veut éviter ce désagrément, il faut qu'il le repeigne tout entier, ainsy cet arrangement étoit encore plus onéreux pour les artistes. De plus, les entrepreneurs de la manufacture en furent très allarmés... s'ils ont bien de la peine à produire de belles choses, en suivant, pied à pied, un excellent original: que seroit-ce s'ils n'avoient plus que des copies? Ils y envisageoient la chute entière de la manufacture, et il y a toute vraisemblance à le penser...<sup>6</sup>

But perhaps the *entrepreneurs* were unduly alarmed. When the published records are examined, there is little evidence that any artist complied with the regulation except Charles Coypel himself. He, certainly, provided for the Gobelins in 1748, 1749, and 1750 paintings of four, five, and six

*pieds* by four with, in each case, “le même sujet répété par l’auteur pour être exécuté en tapisserie dans la manufacture des Gobelins,” all substantially larger. He was paid for each work of art, large and small.<sup>7</sup> No other artist was paid in these years for Gobelins cartoons of anything more important than borders.<sup>8</sup> One may even doubt Coypel’s uncompromising statement that the large copies were “répétés par l’auteur;” one subject was *Psichée abandonnée par l’Amour*, and in 1768 the three *entrepreneurs* wrote that Clement Belle was the maker of a cartoon of this subject after Coypel.<sup>9</sup> One cannot but suspect that the 1747 regulation was tailor-made for Coypel’s benefit and his alone. He wrote of painting: “je l’adore comme occupation, je la déteste comme profession.”<sup>10</sup> Perhaps the idea of finishing a small canvas, supervising a large one, and being paid for both appealed to him. After his death in 1752, the regulation seems to have been forgotten; certainly there is no record of large and small versions of the Gobelins designs of the mid-fifties by de Troy, Natoire, and others.

What the artists certainly did provide were *esquisses*, small sketches measured in inches rather than feet, which did not as a rule appear in the accounts and were not kept at the Manufactory. Their usefulness in gaining approval and procuring commissions is obvious. The sale of Marigny’s collection in 1782 included the sketches by Carle Van Loo, Boucher, J.-B.-Marie Pierre, and Joseph-Marie Vien for the tapestries of the Gobelins *Amours des Dieux* series;<sup>11</sup> there are numerous other sketches for various series recorded or preserved. Boucher certainly made many for both Manufactories.<sup>12</sup> There is a document showing that Coypel was ordered by de Tournehem to tell Boucher to make a sketch for a tapestry for the château of La Muette in 1748, as well as two paintings for the same purpose. Boucher is said to have made the sketches and to be working on what is described in one document as “deux tableaux de chevalet,” in another as “deux grands tableaux,” appraised at the huge sum of 12,000 *livres*. The subjects were “tirés des *Fêtes italiennes* et des *Fêtes de Thalie*.”<sup>13</sup> The only evidence that anything larger than sketches was ever completed of these two subjects is in a letter published by Alexandré Ananoff; this states that a painter called Nolleau, son-in-law of the late M. Oudry (who died in 1755), made a twelve by eighteen *pieds* copy, more than three years ago, of a *Fête vénitienne* by Boucher which he gave to André-Charlemagne Charron, *entrepreneur* of the Beauvais Manufactory from 1753 to 1780. A sad little marginal note, attributed by M. Ananoff to Charron himself, is dated July 15, 1759 and says that the copy was ordered by “feu Mr. Oudry dans le moment ou M. Boucher refusoit des tableaux et ou la manufacture courait le risque de le manquer.”<sup>14</sup> This must refer to the period when Boucher abandoned Beauvais for the Gobelins, much to the delight of the weavers at the latter Manufactory. There is no way of knowing what the *Fête vénitienne* painting and its copy looked like; could they have shown one of the designs for the *Noble Pastorale*, first woven in 1755?

In any case, what may perhaps be called the “Coypel regulation” of 1747 could have the force of law only for the Gobelins Manufactory and the academicians called on to

design for it, but curiously enough there is evidence that a somewhat similar arrangement had been used in the early part of the century at Beauvais. The Gobelins records are voluminous and have been superbly published by Maurice Fenaille; Beauvais is skimpily documented, and even the most substantial book about the Manufactory is unsatisfactory.<sup>15</sup> Though called “royal” and granted a number of privileges, Beauvais was a commercial establishment; it received subsidies, but it was not under the Bâtiments, and its connection with the crown was a purely financial one. The government officials whose names occur from time to time in its records are usually treasury bureaucrats. Any account of how the Manufactory treated its paintings and cartoons must therefore be pieced together from scattered fragments of information.

The most useful of these are the inventories, usually taken when the directorship of the Manufactory changed hands. In 1724, we learn from one of these that there were then nine painters, “qui travaillent actuellement à faire de nouveaux dessins.” The most important—and the only one whose work is known today—was Jacques Duplessis. He was under contract to provide six designs a year, and the other artists were occupied in 1724 in copying “en grand” his “*exquisses*,” which were three to four *pieds* high. This is about the size that Coypel had stipulated for the “*originaux en petit*” for the Gobelins, and Duplessis, being at Beauvais, presumably supervised the making of the copies. There is no suggestion, however, that other artists of original designs, perhaps located in Paris, were supposed to do the same thing.

An inventory dated November 3, 1732 is the work of the retiring director, Noël-Antoine Mérou. He lists “*les desseins de l’Histoire de Télémaque*, en six pièces, coupés par bande, pour servir de patrons à une tenture de tapisserie,” appraised at 300 *livres*, and the six “*esquisses du dit dessein*, de 3 *pieds* de haut ou environ,” worth twice as much. The “*six grands tableaux du dessein de l’Isle de Cithère*, originaux du sieur Duplessis” were valued at 4780 *livres*, whereas “*six petit tableaux de 3 pieds de haut*, peints par le dit sieur Duplessis, qui ne sont qu’ébauchés” were worth only 150. On November 28 of the same year, official inspectors came. Their report mentions a painter, Le Pape, whom they found teaching drawing to six apprentice weavers “à l’heure marquée pour cette étude.” In the “*galerie des desseins*,” the “*anciens desseins*” were rolled up and stored, “chacun sous son numéro;” the director said they were worthless. The new designs were hung “*tout du long de la galerie*” and made up five series in twenty-eight pieces; one, Oudry’s *Chasses*, appeared as “*six esquisses*, peintes par le Sr Oudry appartenant à la manufacture” and also as “*le même dessein copié en grand*, partenant au Sr Mérou qui l’a fait copier avec les bordures.” But the inspectors had previously toured the workrooms, where they had found eleven active looms with thirty-one weavers; pieces of three series were being woven of which they later saw the designs on the walls of the “*galerie des desseins*.” The weavers must therefore have been working from copies.

By this date, Jean-Baptiste Oudry had taken Duplessis’ place as the supplier of designs for Beauvais.<sup>16</sup> His first

contract was the same as his predecessor's: six paintings, three to four *pieds* high, "finis et de composition nouvelles pour servir de modèles à faire les patrons d'une tenture de tapisseries." The copies (*patrons*) were made at the director's expense. In 1728, this arrangement was changed; Oudry was to produce eight full-scale designs every three years. Preliminary sketches, including the borders, were to be shown to the Contrôleur général des Finances, who at this date was Louis Fagon. Mérou asked that the artists be obliged to show the sketches also to him or his representatives, "gens qu'il indiquera connaisseurs en ces sortes d'ouvrages, afin d'être assuré de les pouvoir faire exécuter en tapisseries, de manière qu'elles ne lui soient pas à charge quand elles seront fabriquées et qu'il sera question de les vendre." This was disallowed by Fagon.<sup>17</sup> One senses here a certain tension between artist and *entrepreneur*. Could Oudry have been hard to get along with? He had his troubles later at the Gobelins.

From 1736, it was Boucher who fulfilled Oudry's contract, supplying designs for the six great, highly successful series on which Beauvais' fame largely rests. Only once is it recorded that Boucher provided sketches; these were the *Desseins chinois*, of which nine are in the Museum of Besançon. They were enlarged, according to a 1754 inventory, "par le sieur Aumont<sup>18</sup> sur les esquisses de sieur Boucher et par lui retouché."<sup>19</sup>

The brief inventory of 1784 gives only the titles of some tapestries and says nothing about cartoons; it is interesting to note that the only Boucher set mentioned—a *Desseins chinois*, here attributed to Dumont after Boucher—was appraised at a low figure, "n'étant plus de mode." It had not been woven since 1775; no tapestries after Boucher were made later than 1778. In 1794, the then-director retired; there is a list of "tableaux remis à la Nation" by him, including "6 dessins *Chinois*" and "6 tableaux copies des Chinois par Dumont." Here, for the first time, are "5 tableaux *Pastorales* de Boucher." These pictures remained at the Manufactory; when an attempt was made to obtain a new *entrepreneur* in 1794 (*le 7 nivôse, deuxième année républicaine*), he was offered "la jouissance, à titre d'encouragement, des terrains, maisons, et bâtiments, ainsi que des matières, tableaux, dessins et autres ustensiles appartenant à la Nation."<sup>20</sup> Finally, an inventory of "modèles existant en 1820" lists five pieces after Boucher called *Tentures Pastorales*, each in from five to eight "bandes" or strips.<sup>21</sup> If these were about three feet wide,<sup>22</sup> the *Fountain of Love* and the *Bird Catcher*, both in eight "bandes," were each about twenty-four feet wide.

These scanty details, over a period of almost a hundred years, leave many questions unanswered. Was the stable of nine painters of 1724 kept up to strength for any length of time, or was it drastically reduced when first Oudry and then Boucher began delivering large paintings instead of the three to four feet high designs? By 1794, there was only one painter, paid by the Nation.<sup>23</sup> Were the pictures "remis à la Nation" in 1794 complete or cut into strips? By 1820, apparently, only strips remained at the Manufactory and they were sold in 1829.<sup>24</sup> Are any extant paintings of the right subjects and sizes and attributed to the artists to be identified with them? Can an

original and a copy be presumed to have existed for each tapestry, or were some originals cut up for *basse-lisse* weaving? The records as they have been published are seldom of much use to the art historian who is trying to determine the relationship of a painting to a tapestry with which it is in some way connected, but it seems reasonable to conclude that at Beauvais the paintings cut into strips were generally copies made at the Manufactory.

A *Luncheon* from the *Noble Pastorale* is in the tapestry collection of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, of which a very thorough catalogue has been published.<sup>25</sup> The author, Adolph S. Cavallo, lists all the tapestries of the series known to him. Some of these, recorded only in early sales, have reappeared at later auctions and some previously unknown examples have been illustrated in recent sales catalogues. A *Bird Catcher* with the royal arms, probably that listed by Mr. Cavallo as being in the Camillo Castiglioni sale, is now in the Calouste Gulbenkian Museum, Lisbon.<sup>26</sup> This is apparently the only tapestry of the *Noble Pastorale* in a public collection in Europe, whereas in this country the Huntington Gallery, the Cleveland Museum of Art, the Chicago Art Institute, and the Boston Museum of Fine Arts all own one or more pieces.

#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup>The first appearance of extracts from this document was apparently in André Michel, *F. Boucher*, Paris, n.d., p. 72. (*Les Artistes Célèbres* series, c. 1889). The *règlement* is here correctly associated with Boucher's work for the Gobelins Manufactory only.

<sup>2</sup>The regulation for the prices of portraits (they were lowered) is reproduced in Fernand Engerand, *Inventaires des Tableaux Commandés et Achetés par la Direction des Bâtiments du Roi*, Paris, 1901, p. XVII, note 1. It is a letter from de Tournehem to the secretary of the Academy, dated May 13, 1747. M. Henry Sorensen was kind enough to check the June 1st letter for me in the Archives Nationales; he found a copy of it under the number O' 1923<sup>A</sup>, p. 110. There is no record that it was read at one of the meetings of the academicians, but Coypel had already told them, on April 29, that the Directeur des Bâtiments would always approach the Academy through the Premier Peintre: "il lui marque, qu'en qualité de Premier Peintre de Sa Majesté, ce sera toujours à lui qu'il s'adressera pour tout ce qui pourra regarder l'Académie de Peinture et de Sculpture" (Anatole de Montaiglon, *Procès-Verbeaux de l'Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture*, Paris, vol. 6, 1885, p. 51).

<sup>3</sup>Adrien Léon Lacordaire, *Notices Historique sur les Manufactures Impériales de Tapisseries des Gobelins et de Tapis de la Savonnerie*, Paris, 1853, p. 91. Lacordaire adds an interesting note: "Un rouleau fixé derrière l'ouvrier, à l'une des parois de l'atelier de tapisserie, servait autrefois à suspendre le modèle à la hauteur voulue pour la reproduction successive de toutes ses parties, procédé qui n'était pas sans inconvénient pour la conservation des tableaux et surtout des toiles anciennes." In the nineteenth century, he adds, a slot in the floor behind the weaver enabled the painting to be low-

ered as the work proceeded. The damage that *haute-lisse*, or vertical warp, weaving could do to cartoons is also mentioned in the Tessin-Cronström correspondence. In a letter of 20/10 July 1696, Daniel Cronström in Paris, writing to Nicodème Tessin in Stockholm, says that “les tableaux ne sont guère en estat de servir après cela” (*Les Relations Artistiques entre la France et la Suède, 1693–1718*, Stockholm, 1964, p. 135). The cartoon was hung behind the weaver for work on an *haute-lisse* loom; it was cut into strips and placed under the warps on a *basse-lisse*, or horizontal warp, loom. In the latter case, the weaver’s view of his cartoon was even more restricted. According to Lacordaire, the strips were about 90 cm. wide (*Notice Historique*, p. 85, note 2).

<sup>4</sup>Engerand, *op. cit.*, p. XVI.

<sup>5</sup>De Montaiglon, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

<sup>6</sup>Lacordaire, *op. cit.*, pp. 91, 92. Lacordaire dates the memoir 1775. This is impossible, as Marigny was then no longer head of the Bâtiments. The date must be a misprint for one early in the 1750s; Marigny took over the Bâtiments in 1751.

<sup>7</sup>Maurice Fenaille, *État général des Tapisseries de la Manufacture des Gobelins*, vol. 4, Paris, 1907, p. 141.

<sup>8</sup>Engerand, *op. cit.*, p. 415.

<sup>9</sup>Fenaille, *op. cit.*, p. 163.

<sup>10</sup>Lacordaire, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

<sup>11</sup>Fenaille, *op. cit.*, pp. 189, 190.

<sup>12</sup>Several of Boucher’s sketches for the Beauvais *Psyche* series, for instance, are reproduced in Kathryn B. Hiesinger, “The Sources of François Boucher’s *Psyche* Tapestries,” *Philadelphia Museum of Art Bulletin*, vol. 72, 1976, pp. 7–23, figs. 1, 3, 7.

<sup>13</sup>Fenaille, *op. cit.*, p. 174.

<sup>14</sup>Alexandre Ananoff, *François Boucher*, vol. 1, Paris, 1976, p. 37, no. 322. The letter is placed under 1748, but it must date from 1755 or later.

<sup>15</sup>Jules Badin, *La Manufacture de Tapisseries de Beauvais*, Paris, 1909. Unless otherwise noted, all succeeding references to Beauvais documents are from this book. René Mille, *La Manufacture Nationale de Beauvais*, Paris, 1939, is a doctoral thesis written for the Law School of the University of Paris; it is of very little use to the art historian.

<sup>16</sup>H. N. Opperman, “Observations on the Tapestry Designs of J.-B. Oudry for Beauvais (1726–1736),” *Allen Memorial Art Museum Bulletin*, vol. 26, 1969, pp. 49–71.

<sup>17</sup>Jean Lacquin, “Jean-Baptiste Oudry, III,” *Bulletin de la Société d’Etudes Historiques et Scientifiques de l’Oise*, vol. 3, 1906, p. 109.

<sup>18</sup>Elsewhere the name is given as Dumont, and the artist has been identified with Jean-Joseph Dumons, who worked at Aubusson from 1731 to 1754 and took Oudry’s place at

Beauvais in 1755 (*Trois Siècles de Tapisseries de Beauvais*, exhibition catalogue, Beauvais, 1964, p. 15).

<sup>19</sup>Roger-Armand Weigert, “La Manufacture Royale de Tapisseries de Beauvais en 1754,” *Bulletin de la Société de l’Histoire de l’Art français*, 1933, p. 232.

<sup>20</sup>Mille, *op. cit.*, p. 131.

<sup>21</sup>Badin, *op. cit.*, p. 105. A sixth piece, *Vertumne et Pomone*, is listed, but this is part of the *Fragments d’Opéra* series. Badin elsewhere (p. 62) lists *La Bergère* as a sixth piece of the *Noble Pastorale*, woven only once, in 1769, for the King. This is an impossibly late date for a new Boucher design to be supplied to Beauvais. As the king’s standing order was for sets of six pieces, perhaps *La Bohémienne* (also, I think, called *La Bergère*) from the *Fêtes italiennes* series was added to make up the number. The king took only five pieces in his other sets. Alexandre Ananoff has published a document about the king’s 1762 set, stating that “il ne peut être fourni pour cette tenture que cinq pièces attendu qu’il n’y a que cinq tableaux, le sixième ayant été exécuté par le peintre pour augmenter la tenture des fragments d’Opéra, qui n’étoient que de trois pièces” (Ananoff, *Boucher*, vol. 1, p. 89.)

<sup>22</sup>See note 3.

<sup>23</sup>Mille, *op. cit.*, p. 131.

<sup>24</sup>Badin, *op. cit.*, p. 47, note 1.

<sup>25</sup>Adolph S. Cavallo, *Tapestries of Europe and of Colonial Peru in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, Boston, 1967, no. 55.

<sup>26</sup>Glória Nunes Riso Guerreiro, “Some European Tapestries in the Calouste Gulbenkian Collection in Lisbon,” *Connoisseur*, vol. 173, 1970, p. 233, fig. 4. §

# NEW INFORMATION ON FRENCH FURNITURE AT THE HENRY E. HUNTINGTON LIBRARY AND ART GALLERY

Gillian Wilson

The fine collection of eighteenth-century French furniture at the Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery had remained relatively untouched since its acquisition by Henry Huntington in 1927.<sup>1</sup> For some time the condition of a number of pieces had become a little dilapidated, and finally, in 1974, the trustees decided to have sixteen of the veneered pieces restored. The work was done by H. J. Hatfield and Sons of London, on the premises of the J. Paul Getty Museum. Dr. Robert Wark, the curator of the collections at the Huntington Art Gallery, asked me to supervise this work, which I was only too happy to do. It was obvious that, in the course of such extensive restoration, much new information would come to light. This article is given to that information rather than the actual restoration of the furniture.

## SECRETAIRE A ABBATANT BY BERNARD MOLITOR

For many years this *secrétaire* (fig. 1) had stood unopened, its key having been mislaid. It has been attributed by a number of scholars on stylistic grounds to the *ébéniste* Bernard Molitor (born 1730, master 1787, died after 1811), but his stamp could not be found on the outside of the *secrétaire*. When the fall front was unlocked, the stamp "B. MOLITOR" was discovered at the edge of the front (fig. 2).

The painting on the large rectangular Sèvres porcelain plaque set into the front of the *secrétaire* (fig. 3) is an accurate copy of François Boucher's *morceau de réception, Rinaldo et Armida*, which was exhibited at the salon of the *Académie Royale de Peinture et Sculpture* in 1734. The painting was sent to the Sèvres Manufactory in 1783,<sup>2</sup> so this would appear to be a rare example of a Sèvres painter copying from the original rather than an engraving of it. The plaque is signed "d'après F. Boucher, Dodin en 1783" on the lower left-hand corner (fig. 4). Charles-Nicolas Dodin (born 1734, active 1754–1803) was one of the more skillful and prolific painters at the Sèvres Manufactory. Signatures such as this are not often found on the front of porcelain plaques and only a few other examples exist.<sup>3</sup>

When the plaque was removed, it was found to be painted with the crossed L's of the Sèvres Manufactory, the date letter "FF" for 1783, and the letter "K" for Dodin (fig. 5), all in blue. However, the horizontal strokes of the L's are also inscribed in their thickness, "d'Après F. Boucher" and "Dodin 1783" in a darker blue. This marking would appear to be unique and suggests the artist's pride in his work.

The rectangular plaques at the sides of the *secrétaire* (figs. 6 and 7) are also marked on their backs with the crossed L's, the letter "K" for Dodin, and the date letters for 1773 and 1777. The latter date is also painted as numbers in a darker blue in the horizontal stroke of the L (fig. 8). That there should be some ten years difference in the date between these

plaques and the larger one at the front is somewhat unusual. The *marchand mercier* Daguerre must have had the large Boucher plaque in stock for some four years, because he would not have commissioned Molitor to make the *secrétaire* before 1787, the year of Molitor's entry into the guild. It is possible that the smaller plaques were also from an existing inventory. Daguerre had taken over control of the shop "A la Couronne d'Or" from his partner Poirier in 1778, and the two smaller plaques may have been the remains of Poirier's stock.<sup>4</sup>

All three porcelain plaques bear on their backs French customs labels. This may be explained by the probability that the fragile plaques were removed from the piece prior to its shipment from Europe to America, and passed separately through customs. The *secrétaire* had originally belonged to Alfred de Rothschild.

## WRITING DESK (BUREAU PLAT) BY JOSEPH BAUMHAUER

The table (fig. 9) is stamped "JOSEPH" for Joseph Baumhauer (master 1767, died 1772). The gilt-bronze mounts and the carcass of the table are genuine, but the porcelain plaques would definitely appear to be later additions. They are poorly painted, and, held in horizontal groups of two and three by rectangular gilt-bronze frames, they fit clumsily into the original curved drawer-frame moldings. Although the 1968 catalogue of the Huntington Library and Art Gallery states that the reverses of the plaques are unmarked,<sup>5</sup> seven of the eleven removed were found to be inscribed in black ink "Max" (fig. 10). Such a name is certainly not found in the Sèvres register of painters!

It is possible that the table was once decorated with panels of lacquer on the drawer fronts and sides.<sup>6</sup> These, having become damaged, were replaced with porcelain plaques so popular in the second half of the nineteenth century.

## WRITING DESK (BUREAU PLAT) BY CLAUDE-CHARLES SAUNIER AND JOSEPH BAUMHAUER

During the restoration of this table (fig. 11), all of the Sèvres plaques that decorated the frieze were removed. They are asymmetrical in shape (fig. 12), and each bears on its reverse the Sèvres Manufactory mark and the date letter "K" for 1763 (fig. 13), a fact previously unknown. There are no painter's marks. One of the plaques bears a partial label inscribed "2 plaques de Porcelain Pour Remplacer... Bureau de..." (fig. 14). The veneer of the frieze has been cut away to receive these plaques, and here and there pieces of playing cards, which appear to be of eighteenth-century date, have been used as padding (fig. 15).

The table bears the stamps "JOSEPH" for Joseph Baumhauer, and "C. C. SAUNIER" for Claude-Charles Saunier (master 1752). It has been suggested that the table

1 *Secrétaire* by Bernard Molitor.



2 Detail showing the stamp of Bernard Molitor on the edge of the fall front.



4 Detail showing the signature on the lower left corner of the plaque.



3 The porcelain plaque set on the fall front of the *secrétaire*.



5 Detail of the mark on the back of the plaque shown as fig. 3.



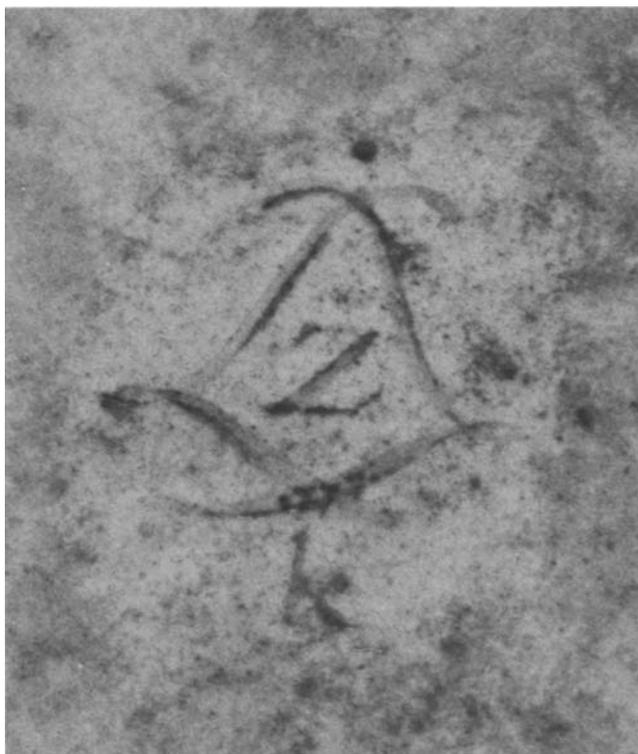
6 One of the porcelain plaques set on the sides of the *secrétaire*.



7 One of the porcelain plaques set on the side of the *secrétaire*.



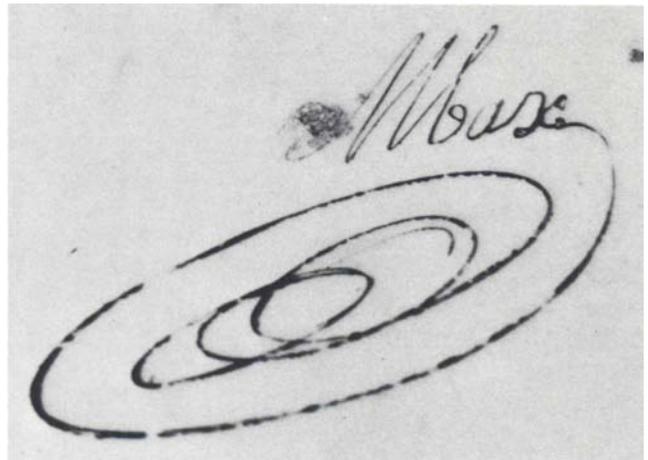
8 Detail of the back of the plaque shown as fig. 7.



9 Writing desk (*bureau plat*) by Joseph Baumhauer.



10 Detail of the back of one of the porcelain plaques decorating the frieze.



11 Writing desk (*bureau plat*) stamped by Joseph Baumhauer and Claude-Charles Saunier.



was made by Joseph and that the plaques were added by Saunier at a later date, or that they were added to the piece in the nineteenth century.

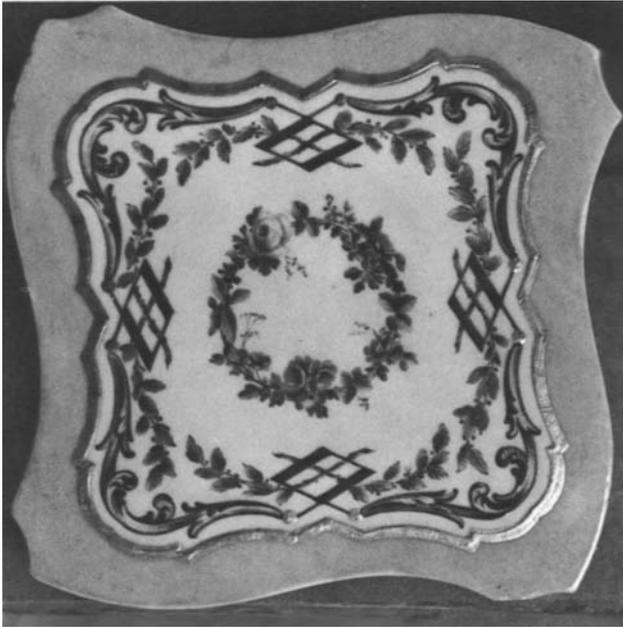
A nearly identical but slightly smaller table exists in the James A. de Rothschild Collection at Waddesdon Manor, England. It is also stamped “JOSEPH” and bears asymmetrically shaped Sèvres plaques on its frieze, five of which are dated for 1760. Geoffrey de Bellaigue, in the recently published catalogue of the collection, discusses at some length this and other similarly decorated tables by Joseph.<sup>7</sup> He was unaware at the time that the plaques on the Huntington table are dated, and he assumed them to be nineteenth-century additions. As there exist at least three other tables stamped by Joseph that are of similar shape and mounting, all bearing such plaques, we must conclude that the plaques on the Huntington table were also placed there by Joseph. It probably passed through the hands of Saunier at a later date, who added his own stamp according to guild rules.

It is strange, however, that Joseph used asymmetrically shaped plaques, masking their outlines with wide, rectangu-

lar, gilt-bronze framing mounts, instead of plain rectangular plaques which were, of course, produced at that time. Only one piece of furniture—the famous commode by Bernard van Risenburgh<sup>8</sup>—uses these plaques with their asymmetrical shape revealed. It seems, however, that Poirier may have had the production of other similarly mounted commodes in mind, as the Sèvres Manufactory made such plaques from 1758 until at least 1765.<sup>9</sup>

The table is heavily branded beneath with the letters “EHB.” This mark was formerly thought to represent either the initials of Eugene Hortense Bonaparte or the Ecurie de Hôtel Bourbon. It has been found frequently on furniture of both eighteenth and nineteenth-century date. Geoffrey de Bellaigue recently published an article showing that it is the mark of Edward Holmes Baldock, a fascinating figure who dealt in French furniture of the grand style during the first half of the nineteenth century.<sup>10</sup> He was also given to alteration and embellishment, but it would not seem that he practiced his hand on this table. It must have merely passed through his shop, perhaps on its way to the collections of Alfred de Rothschild, a previous owner of the piece.

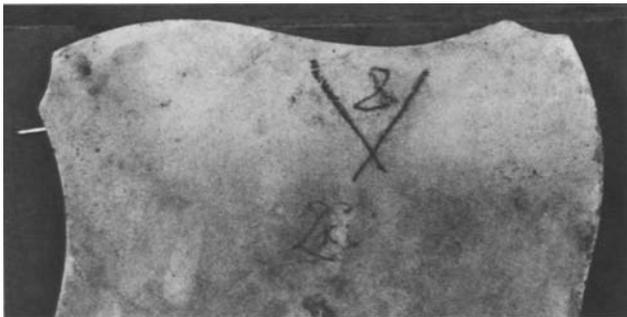
12 A porcelain plaque from the frieze of the table illustrated as fig. 11.



14 Detail of the back of the plaque bearing a label.



13 Detail of the back of one of the plaques shown as fig. 12.



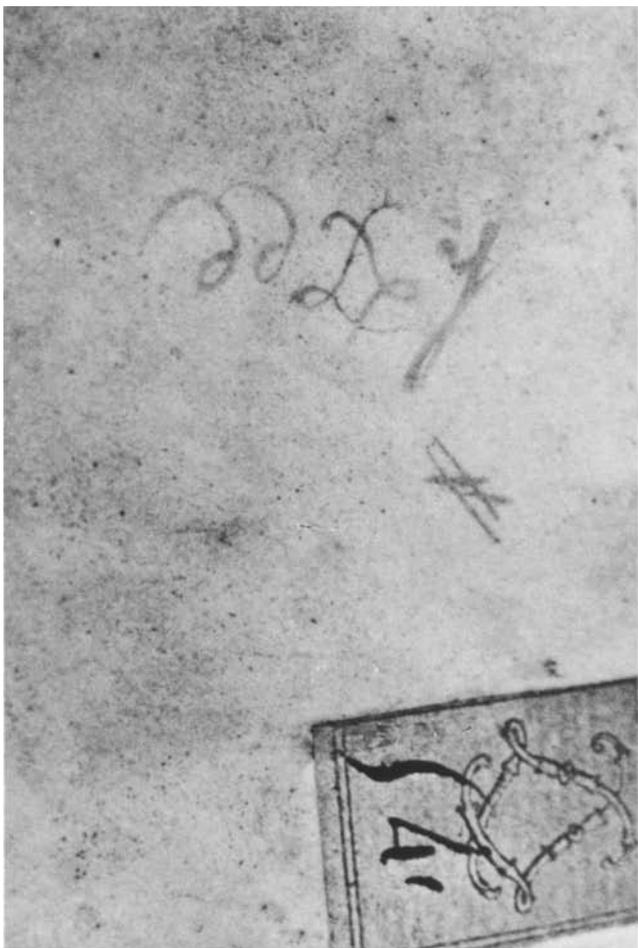
15 Detail of the frieze of the table, with the plaques removed, showing pieces of playing cards used as padding.



16 Music and writing table attributed to Martin Carlin.



17 Detail of the back of one of the shaped porcelain plaques set on the table illustrated as fig. 16.



18 Detail of the back of one of the rectangular plaques set on the table illustrated as fig. 16.



#### MUSIC AND READING STAND ATTRIBUTED TO MARTIN CARLIN

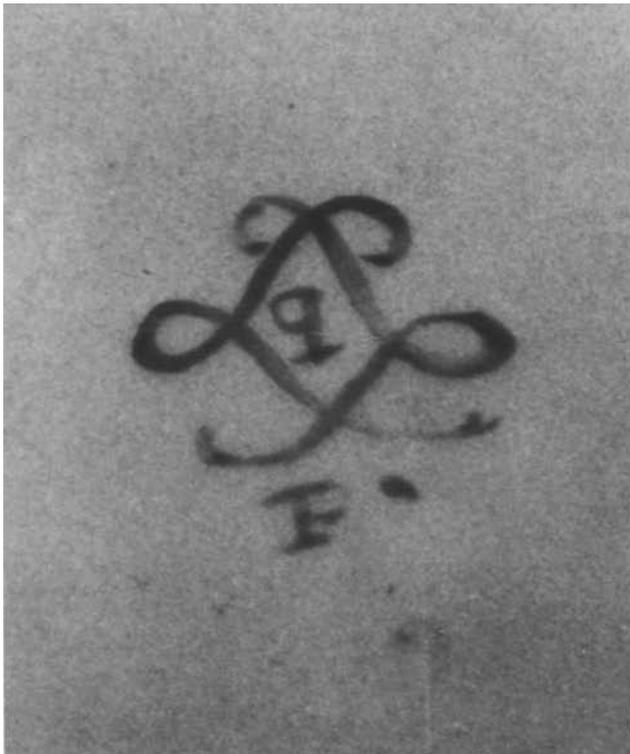
This mechanical music or writing stand (fig. 16) was thought, in the 1968 Huntington catalogue, to have the date letter for 1781 painted on the reverse of a Sèvres plaque.<sup>11</sup> At the time of restoration it was only possible to remove the two lower shaped plaques and one of the rectangular plaques. The carcass of the table had shrunk, holding the other plaques so tightly that they could not be removed without the possibility of damage. The shaped plaques are both marked with the letter “Y” for 1776, the as yet unidentified painter’s mark “DD,” and the mark “#” for the gilder Barnabé Chauvaux aîné (active 1753–1788). The plaques also bear the Sèvres price labels showing that they cost 41 livres each (fig. 17). The rectangular plaque bears the date letter “AA” for 1778, and the mark “V,” possibly for the gilder Vande père (active 1753–1779) (fig. 18).

Three other almost identical tables exist. One, in the Wallace Collection, London, is stamped “M. CARLIN” for Martin Carlin (master 1766, died 1785). Its plaques are marked “FF” for 1783. Another, in the Frick Collection, does not bear date letters but is dated to 1782 by Theodore Dell from information on the sale of such plaques to Daguerre by the Sèvres Manufactory. It is also stamped “M. CARLIN.” The third example is in the James A. Rothschild Collection at Waddesdon Manor.<sup>14</sup> It is not fitted with any drawers or mechanical devices, and it is not stamped with the cabinet-maker’s name. The plaques bear only the Sèvres price labels and the gilder’s mark “2000” for the gilder Vincent. Geoffrey de Bellaigue dates the table to about 1790, again using information gleaned from the sales records and the *Registre des Peintres* at Sèvres. Therefore, we are able to state that the table at the Huntington is the earliest model known to exist by some four years. As the plaques had obviously been specifically designed for this piece, it is not likely that they stayed in the hands of Poirier (or Daguerre) for long.

19 Writing desk (*bonheur-du-jour*) by Martin Carlin.



20 Detail of the back of one of the plaques set on the lower surface of the desk shown as fig. 19.



21 Detail of the back of one of the plaques set on the upper surface of the desk shown as fig. 19.



#### WRITING DESK (*BONHEUR-DU-JOUR*) BY MARTIN CARLIN

There are two of these desks (fig. 19) in the collection. They are not a pair and will be discussed separately. The example illustrated is stamped “M. CARLIN” for Martin Carlin. Twelve of the seventeen plaques were removed during restoration, and they are all marked with the date letter “Q” for 1769. Two of the three large plaques on the lower surface are marked with “P” for the flower painter Jean-Jacques Pierre *le jeune* (active 1763–1800 (fig. 20)). Two of the three large plaques from the surface of the superstructure are marked “” for the flower painter Guillaume Noël (active 1755–1804) (fig. 21). The smaller shaped plaques from the sides of the lower frieze are all marked “” for the flower painter Denis Levé (active 1754–1805) (fig. 22). Three of the small rectangular plaques from the superstructure are marked “” which has been given to Philippe Parpette (fig. 23). However, this flower painter only worked at Sèvres from 1755 to 1757 and 1773 to 1806. As all the plaques on this piece are dated for 1769, it now seems likely that this mark was used by some other, as yet unidentified, painter.

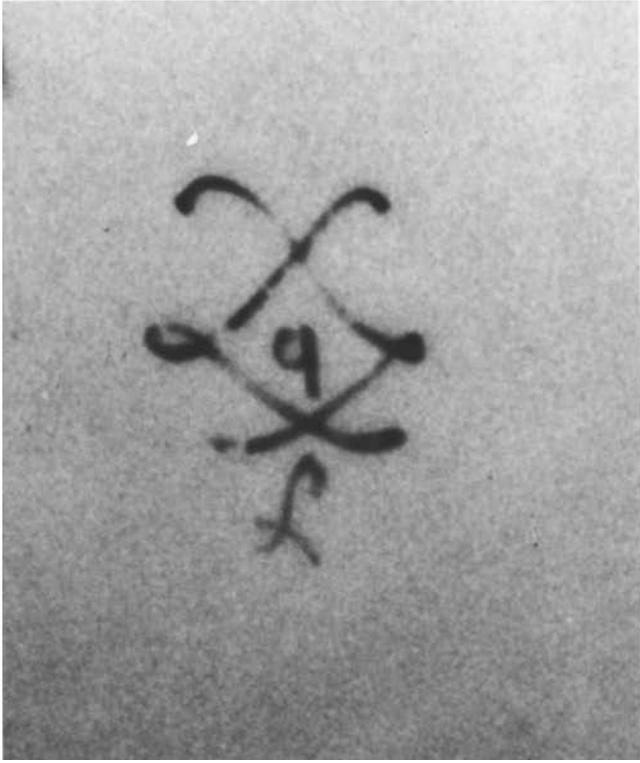
The interior of the carcass is inscribed in black ink “Poirier” (fig. 24). It is not, of course, surprising to find Poirier’s name, as it was he who commissioned such pieces to be made and supplied the plaques for them. Other objects

exist which also bear his name,<sup>16</sup> but on these pieces Poirier’s name and address appear neatly inscribed on a visible surface—such as the interior or the sides of a drawer—suggesting that the inscription was done as a means of advertising Poirier’s shop. As the inscription in the Huntington desk is written somewhat crudely and is deep in the interior of the carcass, one would assume that it was written by one of Carlin’s workmen, indicating where the desk was to be delivered on completion. Fig. 25 shows the glass inkwell that is fitted in one of the drawers. It would appear to be original to the piece, and is therefore a very rare survival.

#### WRITING DESK (*BONHEUR-DU-JOUR*) ATTRIBUTED TO MARTIN CARLIN (Not illustrated)

During restoration, fourteen of the seventeen plaques were removed. All, with the exception of the four shaped plaques at the side of the frieze, are marked with the date letter “S” for 1771, and with the painter’s mark “P” for Jean-Jacques Pierre *le jeune* (fig. 27). Three of the remaining four plaques are unmarked, while the fourth bears the letter “r” for 1770 and the unidentified painter’s mark “” (fig. 26). This plaque is also covered with handwriting, in black ink, of which only the name Poirier is legible.

22 Detail of the back of one of the plaques from the side of the lower frieze of the desk illustrated as fig. 19.



23 Detail of the back of one of small plaques set in the super-structure of the desk illustrated as fig. 19.



The desk is not stamped with the maker's name but is struck with the "JME" stamp of the *juré* of the guild. The interior construction of the two desks differs markedly, and shows that they were probably made by different craftsmen in Carlin's *atelier*.

At the present time, ten of these desks are known. Two are in the Kress Collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, and the majority of their plaques are dated for 1768 and 1774; two are in a New York collection, and the majority of their plaques are dated for 1769 and 1770; one at the Musée Nissim de Camondo bears a plaque dated 1766; another at Boughton, England has some of its plaques dated for 1768; the remaining two at Waddesdon Manor, England have the majority of their plaques dated 1766 and 1770. Geoffrey de Bellaigue, in the recent catalogue of the James A. de Rothschild Collection,<sup>17</sup> and James Parker, in the catalogue of the Kress Collection at the Metropolitan Museum,<sup>18</sup> discuss these desks in some detail. In both catalogues, the plaques on the Huntington desks are given as all dated for 1771.

WRITING DESK (*BUREAU PLAT*) ATTRIBUTED TO CHARLES CRESSENT

This *bureau plat* (fig. 28) with its *serre papier* is not of

particularly fine quality. It has been in the past tentatively attributed to Charles Cressent. The gilt-bronze mounts, with two exceptions, are of fairly standard quality. However, at each end of the table are masks, which for their modeling and inventiveness must stand as major contributions to the field of gilt-bronze furniture mounts (figs. 29 and 30). The mount on the left shows a man wearing a domino mask with a false nose. An owl with spread wings perches in the brim of his clown's hat. The mask on the right shows a man with pointed ears. A quill pen is stuck behind his right ear, which is pierced to carry an ink pot. A rat perches on his left ear, the tip of its long tail resting on the outstretched tongue of the man.

As far as this writer knows, these mounts appear on only two other pieces of furniture: a pair of curved corner cabinets formerly at Mentmore, the seat of the Earls of Rosebery.<sup>19</sup> They are attributed with some certainty to the hand of Charles Cressent as they are extremely similar to a pair of curved corner cabinets, in a private collection in Paris,<sup>20</sup> which in turn relate closely to the pair of *médailleurs* made by Cressent and listed in his sale of 1757 as lots 145 and 146.<sup>21</sup> We are now able to attribute the Huntington *bureau plat* more firmly to Charles Cressent, since there are no indications that these mounts are not original to the piece.

24 Detail showing the inscription found on the carcase inside the desk shown as fig. 19.



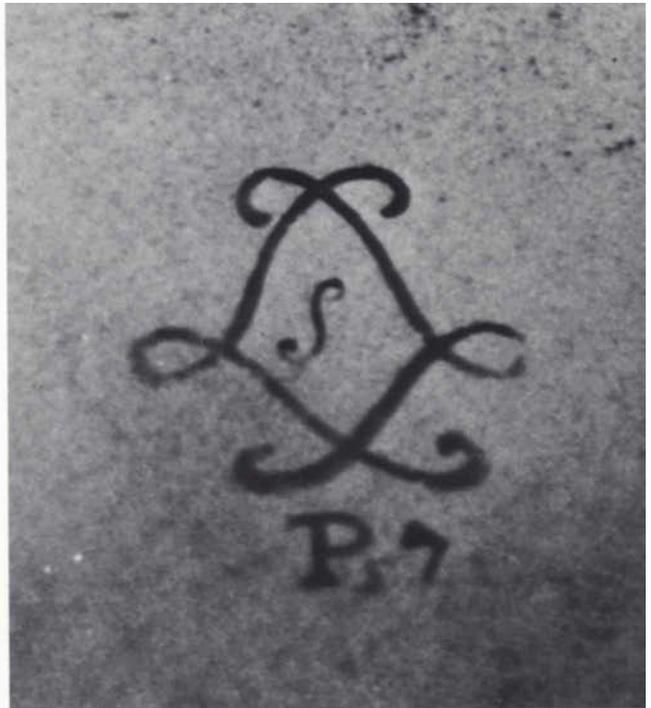
26 Detail of the back of one of the plaques set into the writing desk which is unillustrated but almost identical to that shown in fig. 19.



25 The inkwell set into the drawer of the desk illustrated as fig. 19.



27 The back of one of the shaped plaques set into the desk which is almost identical to that shown in fig. 19.



28 Writing desk (*bureau plat*) attributed to Charles Cressent.



29 Detail showing the bronze mount set on the side frieze of the table shown as fig. 28.



30 Detail showing the other bronze mount set on the side frieze of the table shown as fig. 28.



#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup>The *bureau plat* discussed as no. 7 at the end of this article was acquired in 1911.

<sup>2</sup>Alexander Ananoff, *Boucher*, vol. I, 1976, p. 239. Ananoff gives this information with no documentary evidence.

<sup>3</sup>A plaque in the Musée de Céramique at Sèvres, painted with a still life after Desportes, is signed "F. CASTEL, 1786" (illustrated in Pierre Verlet, *Sèvres*, vol. I, 1953, pl. 87). A large plaque signed by Dodin and dated 1761 is in the Metropolitan Museum, New York, and another signed by him and dated 1764 is in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Another plaque has recently appeared at the sale of the contents of Mentmore, England (Sotheby's, May 24, 1977, lot. 2078). It shows a boar with hounds and is signed "DIDIER 1793."

<sup>4</sup>On the other hand, both Poirier and Daguerre appeared frequently at Paris auctions where either may have bought back plaques previously sold by them as wall decorations at the "Couronne d'Or." If these plaques have been re-used, it would account for the discrepancy in date.

<sup>5</sup>Robert R. Wark, *French Decorative Art in the Huntington Collection*, 1968, p. 78.

<sup>6</sup>A similar table stamped by Joseph and decorated with eight lacquer panels was in the possession of Frank Partridge and Sons, Ltd. in 1972. (Mentioned in Geoffrey de Bellaigue, *The*

*James A. de Rothschild Collection at Waddesdon Manor: Furniture, Clocks and Gilt-Bronzes*, 1974, p. 431.)

<sup>7</sup>Bellaigue, *op cit.*, vol. I, no. 89, pp. 428–433.

<sup>8</sup>*Louis XV, un Moment de Perfection de l'Art Français*, 1974, exhibition catalogue, p. 329–330, fig. 431. The majority of the plaques on this commode are dated for 1758.

<sup>9</sup>A cabinet in the Kress Collection at the Metropolitan Museum of Art bears thirty of these asymmetrical plaques which are dated from 1761 to 1765. See Dauterman, Parker, and Standen, *Decorative Arts from the S. H. Kress Collection*, 1964, no. 19, pp. 124–126. It is worth noting, however, that the small bouquets of flowers decorating the plaques on this cabinet, the Waddesdon table, and the similar table at Drumlanrig are all placed at right angles to the "base" of the plaque. Only those decorating the aforementioned plaques on the van Risenburgh commode are placed diagonally across the reserve. Therefore, these shaped plaques were intended to be placed in a straight line, and not set diagonally as on the commode.

<sup>10</sup>Geoffrey de Bellaigue, "Edward Holmes Baldock," *Connoisseur*, part I, August 1975, pp. 290–299; part II, September 1975, pp. 18–25.

<sup>11</sup>Wark, *op cit.*, p. 90.

<sup>12</sup>F. J. B. Watson, *Wallace Collection Catalogue: Furniture*, 1956, p. 182–183, 327, pl. 105.

<sup>13</sup>Gaston Brière, *The Frick Collection*, vols. 9 & 10: *French*

*Furniture of the 18th Century*, 1955, p. 19, no. 62, pl. XXXV.

<sup>14</sup>Bellaigue, *op cit.*, vol. II, no. 108, pp. 530–535.

<sup>15</sup>Bellaigue, *op cit.*, vol. II, pp. 532–534.

<sup>16</sup>See *Louis XV, un Moment de Perfection de l'Art Français*, 1974, pp. 330–331, no. 432, for a table attributed to Bernard van Risenburgh which bears the inscription “Poirier md rue Saint Honore” on the back of a drawer. The table belongs to M. Riahi. A commode by Martin Carlin which bears the same inscription is in a New York collection. Another private collection in New York possesses a *bonheur-du-jour* by Martin Carlin similarly inscribed. I am grateful to Theodore Dell for this information.

<sup>17</sup>Bellaigue, *op cit.*, pp. 472–483, nos. 29 and 30.

<sup>18</sup>Dauterman, Parker, and Standen, *op cit.*, pp. 134–138, nos. 22 and 23.

<sup>19</sup>Sold, Sotheby's, May 19, 1977, lot. 513.

<sup>20</sup>Pierre Verlet, *Les Ebénistes du XVIIIe siècle Français*, 1963, p. 46, figs. 1 and 2.

<sup>21</sup>Verlet, *op cit.*, p. 47, fig. 3.

§

# BOUCHER'S *PSYCHE AT THE BASKETMAKERS*: A CLOSER LOOK

Geraldine C. Hussman

François Boucher's *Psyche at the Basketmakers* (fig. 1) is one of five tapestry panels in which he depicts episodes from the legend of Cupid and Psyche.<sup>1</sup> A most popular and successful series, the cartoons were woven as tapestries eight times between 1741 and 1770. The set was the artist's second effort for the *atelier* at Beauvais. Of the five tapestries, the subject of the basketmaker is unique. While the other four subjects—Psyche with Zephyr, Psyche at her bath, with her sisters, and abandoned by Cupid—are found in literary sources, Psyche at the basketmakers is not. This article is an attempt to unravel the mystery of Boucher's source for the panel.

An investigation of the panel should begin with the work itself. The setting, a clearing in the mountains, is indicated by the steep bluff in the far background. In the left foreground, amid a profusion of large-leafed plants, stands a pink-tinted nanny-goat. In the right background, behind a vine-covered old tree, is a rustic enclosure bordered by lattice-work panels and rough-hewn posts.

Within this bucolic setting, Boucher has placed two groups of characters. On the left, an old man attempts to steady the faltering steps of a beautiful young girl, and on the right, a woman and another girl sit upon sheaves of grain. The groups are joined by the glance which passes between the young girl on the left and the woman on the right. The light floods in from the right,<sup>2</sup> leaving the seated group in shadow, and falls on the group at the left. The strong chiaroscuro creates deep shadows in the folds of their clothing and reflections off the old man's bald head. At the upper center of the composition is a cartouche featuring the armorial shields of France and Navarre, a common addition to eighteenth-century tapestries.<sup>3</sup>

Obvious physical similarities indicate that the two characters on the right share a family relationship. Both have the same body type and coloring: each is small, well-rounded and blond. In addition, each wears an off-the-shoulder blouse which alluringly exposes the right breast, and the gesture of the older woman's left hand is echoed by the right hand of the younger. Both are equally attractive, and their poses are almost mirror images of each other's. A number of clues are provided to their relative ages. The girl is dressed more casually, wearing a yellow skirt which is tied with a large blue bow. She is barefooted, and her skirt has been gathered up above her knees, leaving her bare legs exposed to view. Her hair has a depth of color which is missing in that of her companion. The woman in the seated group is elegantly dressed in a white, silky fabric. She sits sedately with her legs covered. Boucher, then, has depicted a mature woman and young girl, and it would be logical to assume that they are mother and daughter.

The two sit in shadow upon a stack of grain-sheaves. The daughter, in darker shadow, leans upon a red drape. A sheaf of ripened grain is in the right foreground next to her, and a tree stump is by her feet. Empty baskets are scattered about; one is behind the mother and another behind the daughter. A fruit

tree grows in a third basket at the center of the composition. The older woman is in the process of weaving a basket. Its framework and some wheat stalks lie forgotten in her lap as her hands gesture in surprise. Upon her face is an expression of mixed compassion and regret. Her shoulders and torso pull away slightly in a motion of denial while her head inclines in a movement of sympathy. These responses are reactions to the old man and the young girl on the other side of the tapestry.

This girl, who is also blond, enters the scene from the left. Her robe is disheveled, and Boucher uses the agitated drapery to convey her psychological state. She leans forward pleadingly and looks with entreaty at the older woman on the right. The girl gathers her garments to her breast with her right hand, and with her left hand she steadies herself upon the strongly muscled arm of the old countryman. The old man's britches and rolled-up shirt convey a rustic quality, but his costume also includes a luxurious drape which falls in deep folds about his neck and shoulders to his knees, and a pink-fringed sash which encircles his waist. Thinning white hair and a full white beard frame a slightly wrinkled, but ruddy and vigorous visage. His expression is one of tender concern as he casts his glance upon the ground and leads the girl into the clearing where the basketmakers wait.

Such is the visual material which the artist has provided. The question becomes, "Where did Boucher find basketmakers in the story of Cupid and Psyche?"<sup>4</sup>

The Cupid and Psyche theme first appeared as well-developed mythology in the work of Lucius Apuleius, a Roman author of the second century A.D. The myth is treated as a tale within a tale in his *Metamorphoses* (*The Golden Ass*). However, Apuleius included no basketweavers in this original "Cupid and Psyche."

A possible source for the basketmakers may be a work by the seventeenth-century French writer, La Fontaine. In 1669 his *Les Amours de Psyché et de Cupidon* was first published, and in his preface La Fontaine cites the *Métamorphoses d'Apulée* as his principal source.<sup>5</sup> In the French adaptation of the myth, an old fisherman finds Psyche by the side of a river. He befriends her and brings her to the humble dwelling he shares with his two granddaughters. It might be argued that the Boucher tapestry was this La Fontaine invention: Psyche's entrance into the home of the old fisherman, and that Boucher chose to depict the family as basketweavers.

This conventional La Fontaine source is the one accepted by Kathryn B. Hiesinger in a long, in-depth article in a recent *Philadelphia Museum of Art Bulletin* on the Cupid and Psyche series in the collection of the Philadelphia Museum.<sup>6</sup> She uses as her main argument the fact that Louis Petit de Bauchaumont suggested such a scene from La Fontaine's work in a letter to Boucher.<sup>7</sup> That the suggestion was made is undeniable, but that it was followed is open to question. Ms. Hiesinger admits that Boucher made "departures from the text" in his rendition:

1 *Psyche at the Basketmakers*, tapestry from cartoon by François Boucher.



Boucher prettified the landscape, eliminated the goats, and transformed the daughters from shepherdesses to basket weavers. . . . It is interesting that Natoire, who also selected this episode for the Hôtel Soubise cycle. . . ., again followed Boucher's sources more literally than Boucher himself, including in his painting the goats and rustic "Tuscan" setting of La Fontaine which Boucher so carefully avoided.<sup>8</sup>

Ms. Hiesinger twice refers to the absence of goats in Boucher's version of the basketmaker story. She states that he "eliminated" the animal from the scene. It must be pointed out, however, that there is indeed a nanny-goat in the lower left portion of the tapestry. The animal is prominent in the panel which hangs at the J. Paul Getty Museum; while it fades into the background somewhat in the Philadelphia Museum tapestry, it is, nonetheless, unquestionably there. One other correction must be made to the material quoted above, which relates to the ages of the seated woman and girl in the tapestry. Ms. Hiesinger refers to them as the daughters of the old gentleman, when in fact La Fontaine has them as granddaughters, his *petites-filles*.<sup>9</sup>

Thus, the assignment of Boucher's cartoon to the La Fontaine source presents many difficulties. First, neither baskets nor basketmakers can be found in an examination of La Fontaine's *Psyché*. Second, the shepherdesses in *Les Amours de Psyché et de Cupidon* spin (*filer*); they do not weave (*tisser*). Last, and most important, is the fact that the artist's visual message is distorted if his mature woman/young girl contrast is ignored. It is this deliberately created difference between the ages of the two physically similar females which produces the mother/daughter imagery. This calculated effort on the part of the artist is negated if the La Fontaine source is accepted. The young sisters in his tale were thirteen and sixteen years of age.<sup>11</sup> Although Boucher's mountain setting, nanny-goat, and old countryman are elements which are present in La Fontaine, they are also found in Apuleius, and it must be remembered that the former is based upon the latter.

A second seventeenth-century work could be considered in the quest for the source of the basketmakers: the ballet, *Psyché*; Molière and Corneille collaborated in this creation. The resultant *tragedie-ballet* was constructed on the Cupid and Psyche theme and based very loosely upon the prose/poetry piece by La Fontaine. It was first performed in January 1671.<sup>12</sup> However, no basketmakers are included in it, nor does it provide a scene which could be likened to Boucher's illustration.

In order to fathom *Psyche at the Basketmakers*, Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* must be reexamined. As has been noted, there are no basketmakers in the original story of Cupid and Psyche; there are, however, many gods and goddesses, favorite subjects of Boucher. It is most probable that they are the figures in Boucher's composition: in the Basketmakers panel, the old man is Pan; the girl on the left, Psyche; the older woman on the right, the goddess Ceres; and the young girl, her daughter Proserpine. Each of these individuals appears at some time in Apuleius' story, and Boucher has merely employed his decorative genius to create a unified composition

from disparate parts of his source. He has symbolically identified each participant with the exception of Psyche herself, who needs no additional identification.

According to Apuleius' tale, the unfortunate girl met Pan after her unsuccessful suicide attempt. She encountered the rustic god beside a river, in the midst of a flock of she-goats who "roamed around browsing greedily on the grass."<sup>13</sup> Pan seemed to know of her trouble, and he tried to comfort her with these words:

Though I'm only an old, old shepherd and very much of a countryman, I have picked up a good deal of experience in my time. So if I am right in my conjecture, or my divination as sensible people would call it—your constant sighs and your sad eyes show how that you're desperately in love.<sup>14</sup>

The nanny-goats browsing about the old god in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* and the nanny-goat (fig. 2) standing opposite the old man in the Boucher tapestry are symbols of the goat god, Pan. Both artist and writer portray an old countryman who shows solicitous concern for the unhappy Psyche; both artist and writer portray Pan.

Boucher's *Psyche at the Basketmakers* reflects many other influences from the original Latin source. Apuleius' tale contains a setting identical to that illustrated by Boucher: a holy clearing in the mountains, the location of Ceres' temple. This sanctuary was reached by Psyche "with some difficulty, after climbing ridge after ridge."<sup>15</sup> There, Psyche pleaded with the goddess for shelter from the wrath of Venus:

I beseech you, Goddess, by the corn-stalks in your hand, by the happy ceremony of the harvest-home, by the secret contents of the wicker baskets carried in your procession, . . . by the furrows of Sicily from which a cruel god once ravished your daughter Proserpine, by the wheels of his chariot, by the earth that closed upon her, by her dark descent and gloomy wedding, by her happy torch-lit return to earth, . . . help me, oh please help your unhappy supplicant Psyche. Allow me, just for a few days, to hide myself under that stack of wheat sheaves, until the great Goddess's rage has had time to cool down: . . .<sup>16</sup>

She was rejected by Ceres with these words:

Your tears and prayers go straight to my heart, and I would dearly love to help you; but the truth is that I can't afford to offend my niece. . . . You'd better leave this temple at once. . . .<sup>17</sup>

The baskets, corn-stalks, the fruit tree (fig. 3),<sup>18</sup> and the fenced enclosure in Boucher's panel are not rustic accoutrements; they are symbols of Ceres, the goddess who is protectress of agriculture and the fruits of the earth. Psyche referred to corn-stalks in the hand of the goddess, and it can be seen that the figure in the tapestry has, in her lap, corn-stalks which seem to have dropped from her hand. Cupid's unhappy bride begged for permission to hide beneath a stack of wheat-sheaves, and it is just such a stack upon which the pair at the right sit in the Basketmakers panel.

2 Detail of fig. 1.



3 Detail of fig. 1.



Further links between the Boucher panel and Ceres can be found at Eleusius, the site of the Greek shrine which was built to honor Demeter (Ceres) and her daughter Persephone (Proserpine). At this sanctuary, baskets were important ritual objects. They were carried in procession atop the heads of priestesses, and within the baskets was the sacred paraphernalia with which the rites were performed.<sup>19</sup> Large baskets, the *cista mystica*, and small baskets, *kalathos*, were used in the celebration of the Eleusinian Mysteries.<sup>20</sup> The eloquent gestures of the older woman in Boucher's tapestry, then, are not those of a peasant faced with prospect of an unexpected guest for dinner; rather they are those of a goddess who sadly refuses to aid a supplicant.

The sad fate of Ceres' daughter, Proserpine, was recounted above in Psyche's prayer to Ceres. Proserpine also appeared in Apuleius' tale as the queen of Hades. Ceres and Proserpine as mother and daughter can be seen in the two related figures in Boucher's illustration. The symbols which the artist used to identify Proserpine are numerous. Ceres' daughter was a goddess in her own right. She was both the goddess of the dead and of the earth's fertility, and as such she spent part of each year in Hades but returned to the upper world at the time of the sprouting grain and returning vegetation. Proserpine was an expression of death and rebirth. In the tapestry, she is the only person in deep shadow, to symbolize her role in the underworld. Next to her is a sheaf of new stalks of grain, which illustrates her function as the bringer of fertility.

4 Detail of fig. 1.



Another iconographical device which Boucher employed in this work is the tree stump (fig. 4) next to Proserpine: a symbol of death and rebirth which has its roots in Renaissance art:

... in the Renaissance the idea of rebirth or resurgence was often thought of in terms of regrowth and could be represented by a bare tree (which will "come to life" when it grows new leaves in the spring) or a truncated tree sprouting new shoots.<sup>21</sup>

The use of this symbol continued into the Baroque period. In an *Art Bulletin* article which deals with Rembrandt's use of the device, Susan Donahue Kuretsky observes:

Whereas the living tree is a familiar symbol of resurrection because of its yearly renewal of foliage, the dead tree carries a more complex accumulation of meanings. In a physical sense it represents death, but in a spiritual sense it may also imply life *through* death.<sup>22</sup>

Life through death was the message expressed in the myth of Proserpine; life through death was almost the promise made to those who practiced the Eleusinian Mysteries.<sup>23</sup>

Proserpine, Ceres, and Pan in Boucher's tapestry are linked to their symbols, and linked as well to Apuleius. Symbolism must be the key to the Basketmakers puzzle. The number and the placement of symbolic devices precludes coincidence; each was specifically chosen and woven into the composition in order to identify Boucher's deities. This sophisticated

symbolism adds depth of meaning, an element which was often lacking in artistic production of the Rococo period. "Decorative," "light-hearted," and "frivolous" are adjectives which art historians have applied to art produced during that time. The terms make subtle value judgments; they indicate that Rococo art gives sensual, but not intellectual, pleasure. This article suggests that a combination of the two is possible, and that François Boucher attempted to combine them in *Psyche at the Basketmakers*. The union of the spiritual Psyche and the sensual Cupid did, after all, produce a daughter named Pleasure.

#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup>The remaining four tapestries in the series are: *Zephyr Leading Psyche into the Palace of Love*; *The Toilet of Psyche*; *Psyche Abandoned*; *Psyche Displaying Her Treasure to Her Sisters*. All except the last mentioned are on display at the J. Paul Getty Museum.

<sup>2</sup>Gertrude Townsend observes that the light source in Boucher's Gobelin tapestries is at the left, while, in those woven at Beauvais, the source is at the right ("A Pastoral by François Boucher," *Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts*, December 140, pp. 81–6).

<sup>3</sup>Townsend explains that the early kings of France used only the blue and gold *fleurs-de-lis* shield, but, as Henry III was king of Poland before the death of his older brothers made him also king of France, he added the shield of Poland to the arms of France. His successor, Henry VI, had been king of Navarre, and he replaced the symbol of Poland with that of Navarre (*ibid.*).

<sup>4</sup>A basketmaker is found in an unrelated poem by Tasso whose influence upon Boucher should be mentioned at this point. Joyce G. Simpson points out that Boucher "avait toujours aimé le Tasse, puisque de 1732 il avait traité le sujet de Renaud et Armide... (II) proposa aux Gobelins une série tirée encore de la Jérusalem délivrée." (*Le Tasse et la littérature et l'art baroques en France*, Librairie A. G. Nizet, Paris, 1962, p. 171.) The heroine, Erminia, in the Tasso epic which Boucher wanted to illustrate, also found shelter with a rustic family. Tasso's poem describes a basketmaker: "(she) sees a white-haired man in the cool shade weaving twig-baskets, with his flock nearby, and listening to three children's lullaby" (Torquato Tasso, *Jerusalem Delivered*, translated by Joseph Tusiani, Associated University Presses, Inc., Cranbury, N.J., 1970, p. 161.).

<sup>5</sup>La Fontaine, *Oeuvres Complètes*, (Aux Editions du Seuil, Paris, 1965), p. 403.

<sup>6</sup>Kathryn B. Hiesinger, "The Sources of François Boucher's Psyche Tapestries," *Philadelphia Museum of Art Bulletin*, November 1976, pp. 7–23.

<sup>7</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 20.

<sup>8</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>9</sup>La Fontaine, *op. cit.*, p. 431.

<sup>10</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>11</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>12</sup>Molière, *Oeuvres Complètes*, The Macmillan Co., Paris, 1963, p. 542.

<sup>13</sup>Robert Graves, *The Golden Ass (The Transformations of Lucius) by Apuleius*, Farrar, Straus and Giroux, New York, 1951, p. 119.

<sup>14</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 120.

<sup>15</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 126.

<sup>16</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 127.

<sup>17</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>18</sup>Sir Arthur Evans mentions that the fig tree was associated with the goddess Demeter (Ceres). The little fruit tree in the tapestry, however, cannot be identified as to variety. In the same place, Evans notes that a walled enclosure was also evident at the sanctuaries ("Mycenaean Tree and Pillar Cult," *Journal of Hellenistic Studies*, 1901, pp. 2–204.).

<sup>19</sup>Karoly Kerényi, *Eleusis, Archetypal Image of Mother and Daughter*, translated by Ralph Manheim, Pantheon Books, New York, 1967, p. 63.

<sup>20</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 66.

<sup>21</sup>H. W. Janson, *The Mirror of History*, Time-Life Library of Art, New York, 1971, p. 8.

<sup>22</sup>Susan Donahue Kuretsky, "Rembrandt's Tree Stump: An Iconographic Attribute of St. Jerome," *The Art Bulletin*, December 1974, pp. 571–580.

<sup>23</sup>Kerényi, *op. cit.*, p. 146.

§

# THE TRAGIC LOSS OF THE GRAND SALON FROM THE HOTEL CORDIER DE LAUNAY

Jean-Luc Bordeaux

In 1971, a year marked by the late J. Paul Getty's decision to participate more actively in the world art market, I was asked by Mr. Burton Fredericksen to start searching for outstanding eighteenth-century French rooms. Plans were being made at that time for the construction of a new Getty Museum in Malibu, and there were no French *boiseries* in the existing museum comparable in quality to its world-famous collection of French decorative arts. In 1972, the Getty Museum decided to purchase two important *boiseries*, one of which had decorated the Grand Salon from the Hôtel Cordier de Launay and was found in the Parisian gallery of Fabre & Fils, rue Balzac, in Paris. This ill-fated paneled room—comprised of four pairs of doors with four over-door paintings and four mirrors with trumeaux (fig. 1–4) was destroyed while being trucked from New York to Los Angeles. The shipping van, which might have had faulty brakes, suddenly caught fire in Pecos, Texas. The room was completely burned except for three pairs of doors which had fortunately been left in New York.

According to Paul Jarry, the Hôtel Cordier de Launay was located at 47-49 rue Cambon, in the district of the Palais Royal.<sup>2</sup> Jacques Cordier de Launay, Lord of Verrières and French Chief Paymaster, purchased from Madeleine Perrot (*veuve* Desgrez) the two adjacent *corps de logis* that formed the Hôtel Cordier de Launay, one on October 16, 1743 and the other on May 28, 1744. In addition, Jarry wrote he had found enough evidence to believe that Madeleine Perrot was responsible for the interior decoration of the Hôtel: "C'est donc la veuve Desgrez qui aurait décoré son salon des magnifiques boiseries Louis XV, et dessus de portes..." The date of the decoration can be established at mid-1740; that is, after Madeleine Perrot acquired the lots in rue Cambon in September 1739 and started to build her Hôtel during that winter. Following Cordier de Launay's death in 1760, his son, Claude-René Cordier de Montreuil, became the legal owner of one *corps de logis* of the Hôtel (no. 47), while his sister, Anne-Prosper Cordier de Launay, received the other half (no. 49). This harmonious group of buildings remained divided for a great number of years, until the Gripon-Sordet Friry family reunited the two *corps de logis* under the same ownership in 1865. Shortly after Mme. Gripon-Sordet Friry's death, her heirs decided to sell the decorative ensemble of the Grand Salon which, according to Paul Jarry, was purchased by M. Zafiropoulo on December 23, 1918. The new owner transported the *boiseries* and the overdoor paintings to his house in the rue Beaujon. As far as the buildings are concerned, they were sold on August 26, 1920 to a bank, the Crédit Foncier d'Algérie et de Tunisie.<sup>3</sup>

Several specialists have suggested that the de Launay *boiseries* could have been designed by the remarkable Nicolas Pineau who, after his return from Russia in 1727, was

responsible for introducing the concept of asymmetry to French decorative arts.<sup>4</sup> Although the general lines and the proportions of the room—with its low relief-carving—still observes the symmetry of the early years of the century, the highly contrasting treatment of the decorative ornaments or motifs—such as the cartouches of the *trumeaux* (fig. 5) and the different trophies grouped in the center of each major panel (figs. 6 & 7)—seem rather to point to the *genre pittoresque* of Pineau. The framing of the mirrors was ingeniously detailed and delicately executed, but the *cadres chantournés* of the overdoor paintings showed a certain amount of restraint in their contour and lacked the fantasy or the movement of those in Pineau's Hôtel de Rouillé and Hôtel de Roquelaure, both built seven years before Cordier de Launay. In general, the Cordier de Launay room exuded a sense of charming intimacy which was the result of a harmonious blend between the cream color of the room, the amount of gilding, and the low relief-carving. The *rocaille* motifs—such as the scrolls, shells, and ruffles—together with the rectilinear accents of the carved moldings (some of them were new) had been regilded with distressed gold leaf.

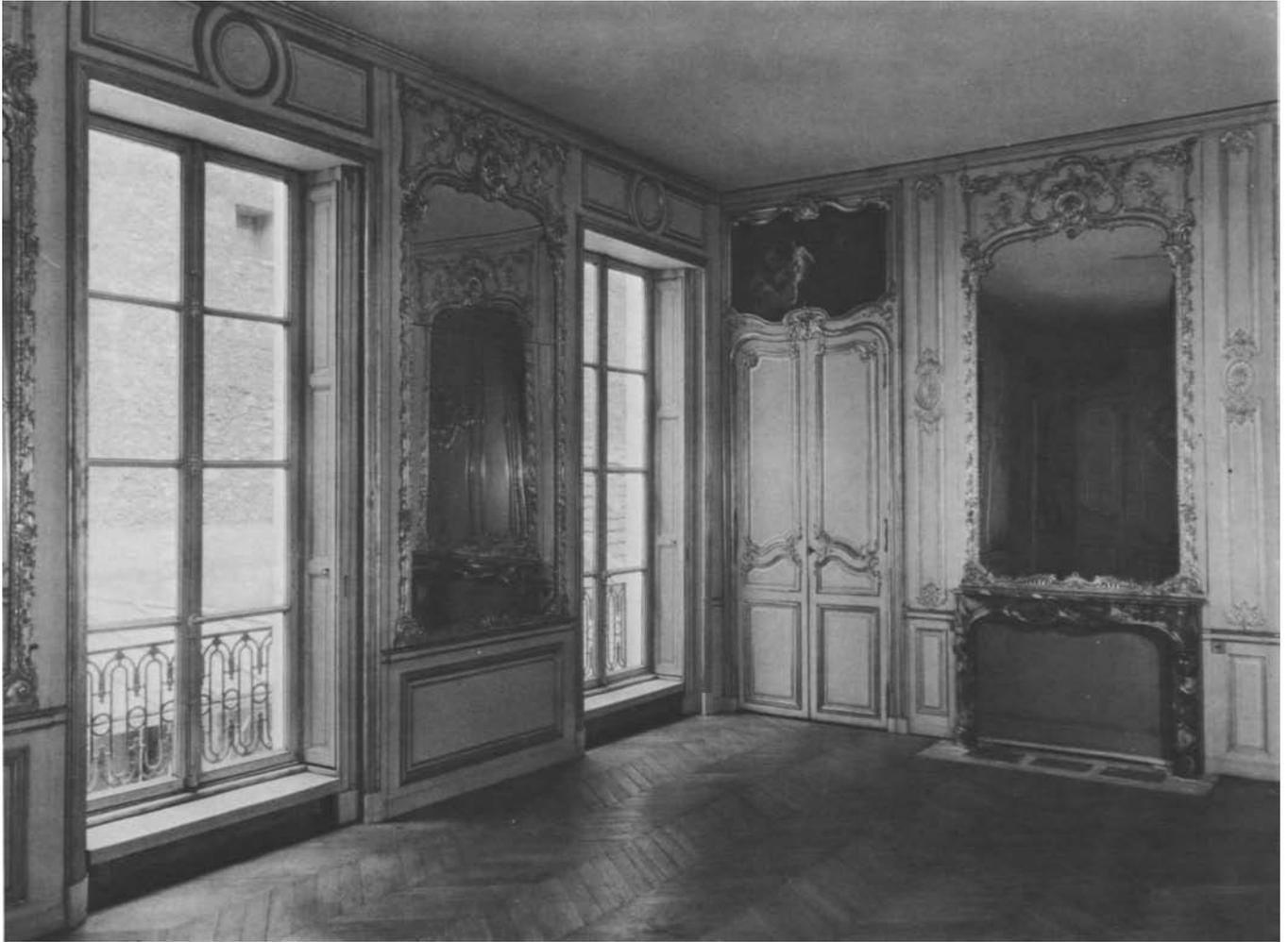
The four overdoor paintings, attributed to Coypel in Jarry's essay, offer some art historical interest. Two of them were eighteenth-century copies of paintings which had been commissioned in 1700 by the *Grand Dauphin* for the Château de Meudon. One (fig. 8) was an enlarged version of Louis de Boullogne's *Cephalus and Procris* (the original is in the museum of St. Etienne), while the second (fig. 9) was a rectangular version of an oval format painted by Charles de La Fosse and entitled *Hercules between Vice and Virtue* (the original is in the museum of Nevers).<sup>5</sup> The two remaining pictures of the Grand Salon were also eighteenth-century copies—by the same hand—of works which were not listed in the Meudon inventory. One of them featured *Pan and Syrinx* (fig. 10) and was copied after a work now in the Musée des Arts Décoratifs in Paris with an attribution to François Le Moyne (fig. 11). The other overdoor painting is *Diana surprising Callisto* (fig. 12), also a copy after an original which has not yet been located. I would like to attribute both of these paintings to Louis de Boullogne, not only on the basis of their stylistic affinities but also because both include a group of three nymphs in the background comparable to those which reoccur with variations in other works by Boullogne.

It may seem unlikely at first that the *veuve* Desgrez would have commissioned copies of paintings instead of original works. Until further research is done on the taste of the high bourgeoisie and the *noblesse de robe*, it will be difficult to assess if it was a common practice among the eighteenth-century "*bourgeois gentilhommes*" to imitate the *Grands du Royaume*. There is no question that the decoration of the

1-4 Views of the paneled room as displayed at B. Fabre et Cie, Paris. The room lacks a cornice.

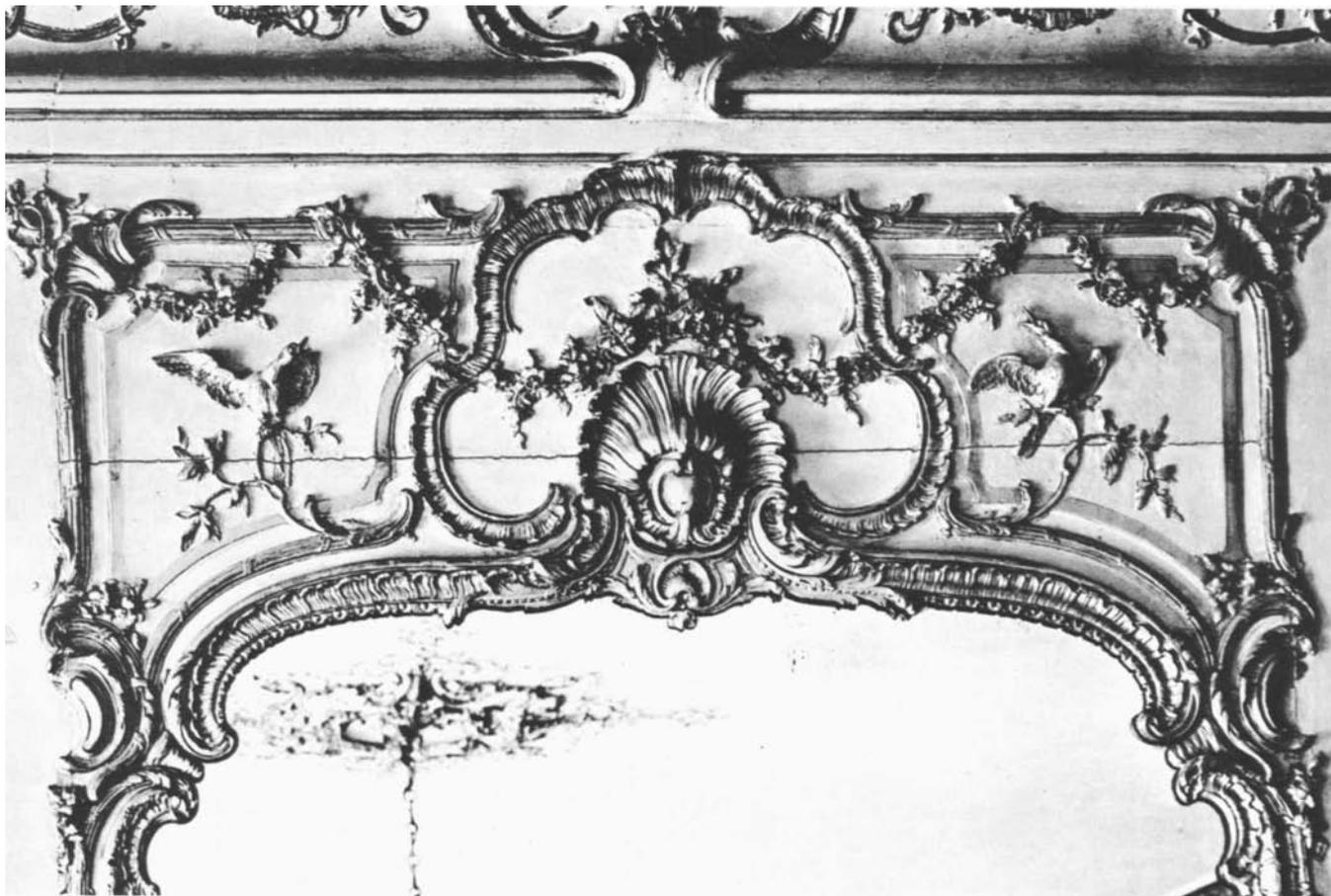




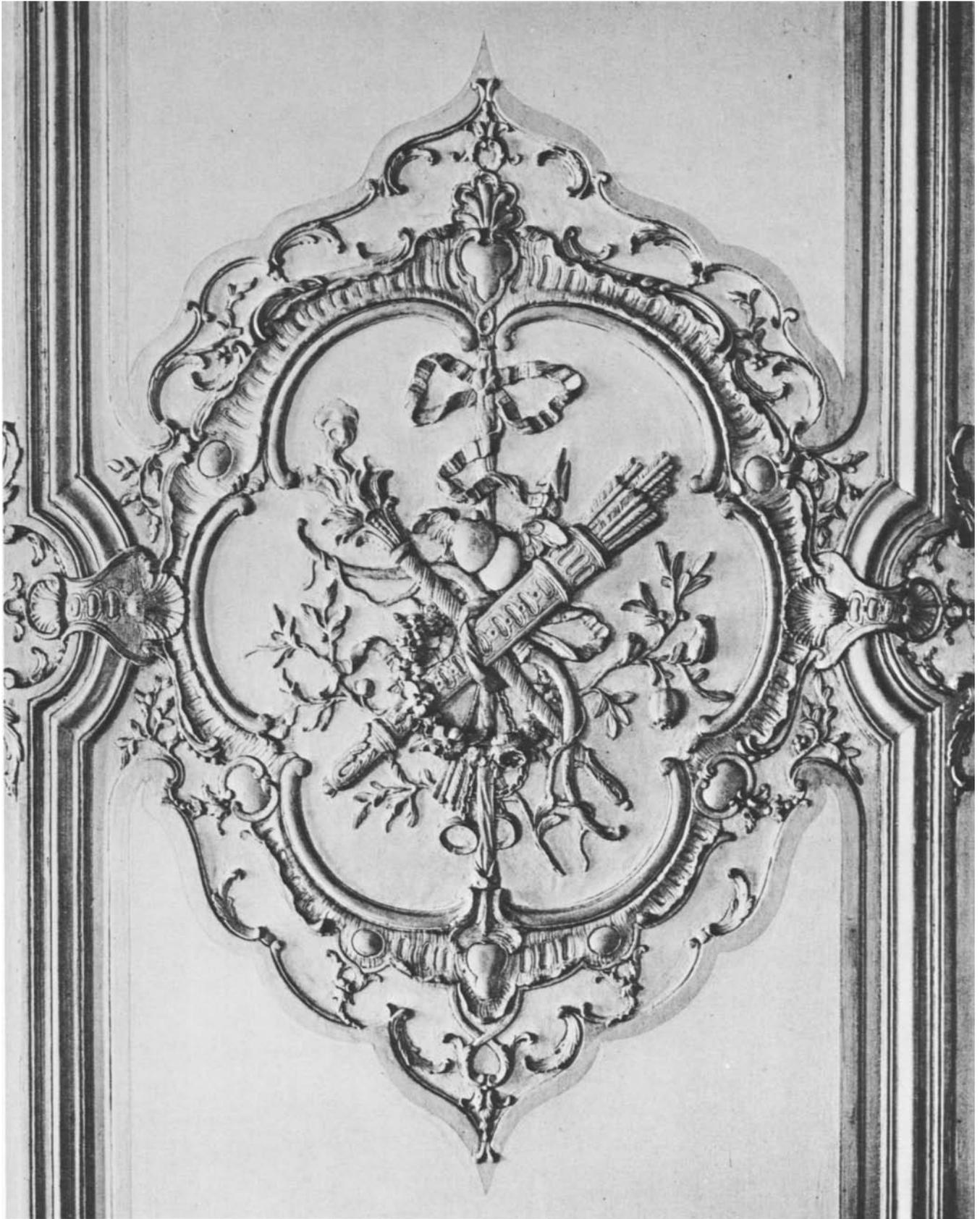




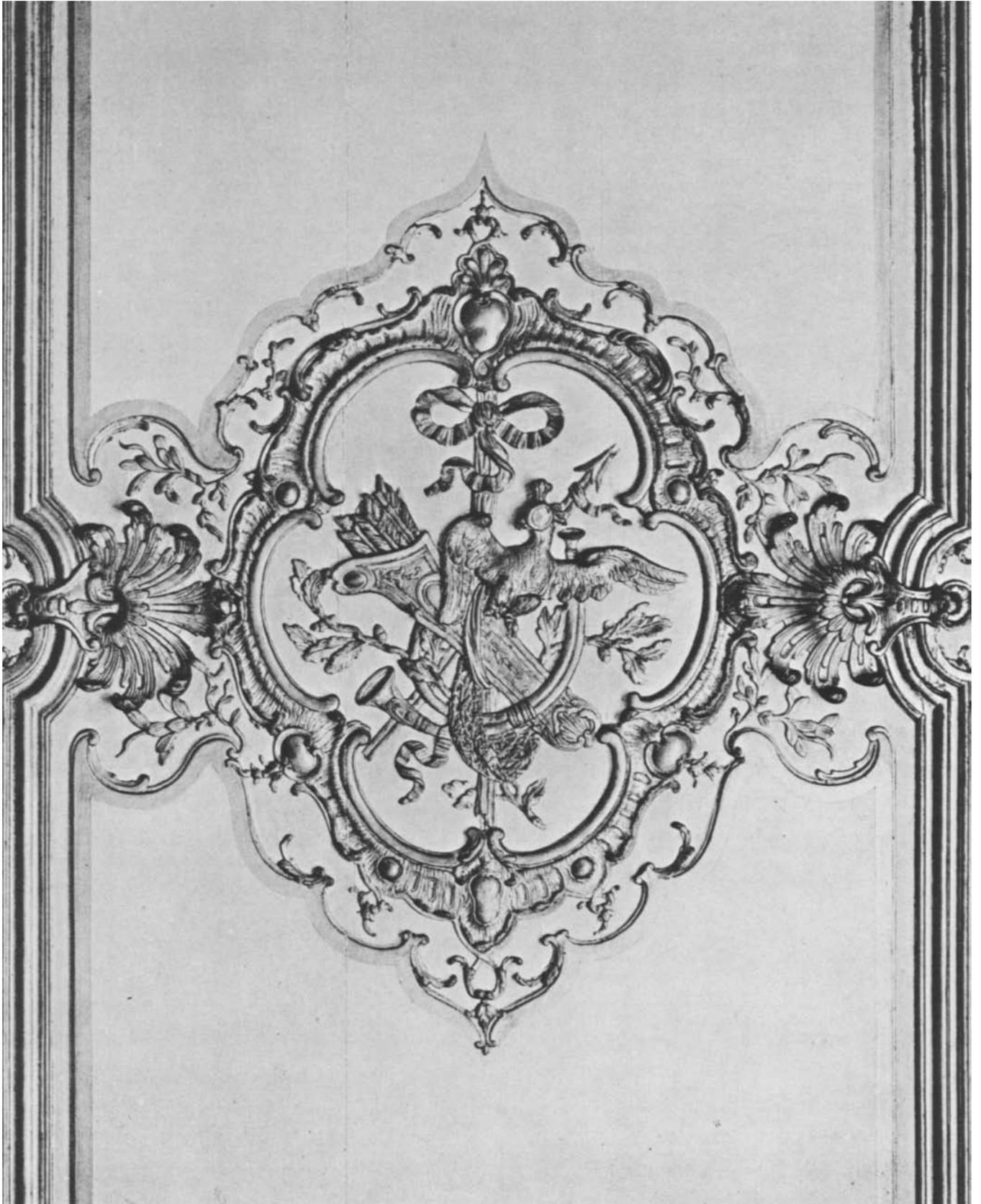
5 Detail showing the top of a mirror frame. (Photo from Jarry, *Les Vieux Hôtels de Paris*)



6 Detail of one of the panels showing a trophy symbolizing Love. (Photo from Jarry, *Les Vieux Hôtels de Paris*)



7 Detail of one of the panels showing a trophy symbolizing the Hunt.  
(Photo from Jarry, *Les Vieux Hôtels de Paris*)



8 Overdoor painting depicting "Cephalus and Procris."



9 Overdoor painting depicting "Hercules between Vice and Virtue."





11 "Pan and Syrinx" attributed to Louis de Boullogne, at the Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Paris (Inv. 21.170).



12 Overdoor painting depicting "Diana surprising Callisto."



Château de Meudon and that of the Grand Trianon were held in great esteem, and I have already suggested a similar hypothesis regarding some elements of the decoration for the Hôtel Peyrenc de Moras (today Musée Rodin) which may have been inspired by works commissioned for the Grand Trianon.<sup>6</sup>

#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup>These three pairs of doors were sold at a public auction held in Los Angeles (Sotheby's, November 20, 1975, lot. 1564).

<sup>2</sup>Paul Jarry, *Les Vieux Hôtels de Paris*, Paris, 1926, vol. 17, pp. 18–19, pl. 31–35.

<sup>3</sup>Paul Jarry, *op cit.*, p. 19: “des magnifiques boiseries Louis XV, et dessus de portes, mis aux enchères publiques le 23 décembre 1918, et dont M. Zafiropoulo leur acquéreur, a autorisé, avec bonne grace charmante, la photographie ... Quatre dessus de portes, attribués à Coppel, empruntent leur sujet aux Métamorphoses d'Ovide, et ont été transportés rue Beaujon avec les boiseries.” The excellent photographs of the Salon and the details of the *boiseries* reproduced in Jarry's article were taken after the room was reinstalled in rue Beaujon, with a cornice which may have been a reproduction based on photographs of the original cornice before it was moved. The room, as we see it reproduced in the present study, was photographed in Fabre's gallery in 1971. The paneling in the Fabre gallery had been rearranged to fit an exhibition space which could contain only four-fifths of the original.

<sup>4</sup>Cf. Fiske Kimball, *The Creation of the Rococo*, first published in Philadelphia in 1943; edition used, Norton paperback, 1964, p. 224.

<sup>5</sup>Antoine Schnapper, “Le Grand Dauphin et les Tableaux de Meudon,” *Revue de l'Art*, vols. 1–2, 1968, pp. 57–64, pl. 6 and 11.

<sup>6</sup>Jean-Luc Bordeaux, “François Le Moyne et la Décoration de l'Hôtel Peyrenc de Moras,” *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, February 1971, p. 69 and 71.

*The editor apologizes for the quality of some photos used in this article which are the only ones in existence.* §

# THE KLEOPHRADES PAINTER IN MALIBU

Jiří Frel

Three pieces by the greatest late-Archaic Attic vase painter are among the new acquisitions of the Department of Antiquities in the J. Paul Getty Museum.<sup>1</sup> He is called the Kleophrades Painter,<sup>2</sup> because one of his early works bears the signature of the potter Kleophrades. His real name, discovered after his nickname had already come into common use, is Epiktetos. He signed this name twice on a late and rather unattractive vase. Another vase painter working about half a generation before was also named Epiktetos, known from his signed vases. To avoid confusion, the Kleophrades Painter has been dubbed Epiktetos II. The name means in Greek “bought in addition” or “newly purchased.” Thus, one of the most Attic, most Greek among vase painters was originally a slave, and probably a barbarian.<sup>3</sup>

The Kleophrades Painter learned to write, but he wrote much less on his vases than did many of his more loquacious colleagues. Little else is known about his personality, and what is known must be gleaned from his art: he must have loved poetry, music, dance, wine, and women. So far no inscription praising handsome boys appears on his vases. When he writes *kalos* (beautiful), it refers mostly to the figures he draws,<sup>4</sup> and he does not add any names of contemporary young Athenians to it, contrary to the well-established habits of his contemporaries. Even if he was born a barbarian, he was as familiar with and fond of the fairy tales of Greek mythology as any native Athenian. His work shows a knowledge of Homer as well. It is possible that he fought at Marathon in 490 B.C., when, in extreme need, the Athenians enlisted slaves in the citizen army.

The Kleophrades Painter started painting vases a few years before 500 B.C. He must have learned his trade from Euthymides, a great painter of the previous generation, who had helped to develop the new red-figure technique to its fullest possibilities. The output of Epiktetos II was mainly large vases or pots, but five cups by him are known. He left a little more than one-hundred red-figure vases and fragments, but he also painted in the old-fashioned black-figure technique of which less than one dozen examples remain. In his red-figure vases, he carried over some procedures of the older method. For example, he made the distinction between hair and background by an incision rather than by leaving a space, or reserved area. But he enjoyed the freedom the red-figure technique allowed. With delight he exploited its most distinctive features, the so-called relief line which is visibly raised, and diluted glaze for the details. It was in black-figure, however, that he received official recognition for his craftsmanship. In the 490s and 480s B.C., he was regularly commissioned by the city of Athens to paint prize amphoras for the Panathenaic festival. These vases, which were then filled with oil from the holy grove of Athena, were awarded to the victors of the many competitions in the Panthenaic Games. Ten of the Panathenaic prize amphoras decorated by the Kleophrades Painter survive today.<sup>5</sup>

At the height of his powers, the Kleophrades Painter transcended the essence of pre-Classical art even at its best with a sense of simple grandeur—both in single features and large compositions—a courageous attempt at daring and unusual views—a strength of emotions, and a sensual feeling of beauty.

## THE RED-FIGURED VOLUTE-KRATER

The earliest of the vases by the Kleophrades Painter in the Museum was recently presented by Mr. Gordon McLendon. It is a red-figured volute-krater (77.AE.11)<sup>6</sup> that once stood almost three feet tall. The parts of the vase in the Getty Museum include approximately two-thirds of the decorated area (the two stages of the neck and the rim), a fragment of the foot, a part of the all-black bottom with some rays on it, a section of the handle with a palmette, and some of the black body.<sup>7</sup> The last are not reproduced. The new restoration of the fragments by Zdravko Barov, the Museum's Chief Conservator of Antiquities resulted in a more correct presentation of the figured scenes than had been given in the past.

Two large and two smaller fragments of the volute-krater, as well as large portions of the body, are in the Louvre, acquired from the collection of the Marquis Campana in 1869.<sup>8</sup> These fragments with figures were incorporated into another volute-krater by a completely different artist—a masterpiece of inept nineteenth-century restoration.<sup>9</sup> The Museum hopes to make an exchange with the Louvre for the fragments.

J. D. Beazley<sup>10</sup> once wrote of the grandeur of the volute-krater:

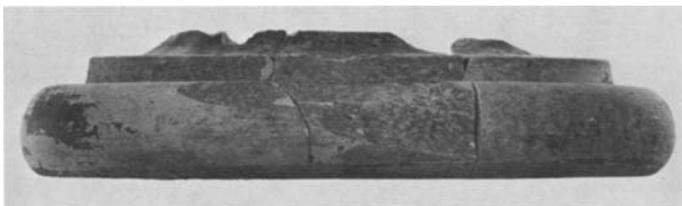
The volute-krater is the vase-shape which has more of the temple in it than any other: not only do the handle-volutes recall the Ionic capital, but the designer of the upper part must have been thinking of epistyle, frieze, and cornice, and the contrast of the ornamented architrave and plain shaft and capital may also have been at the back of his mind.

A look at the Kleophrades Painter volute-krater shows that he too presented his vase as an architectural form. The body of the vase—glazed solid black with a narrow stripe of tongues at the shoulder join and rays at the bottom licking up from the join to the foot—further emphasizes this appearance. An unusual feature for volute-kraters seen here are the two super-imposed friezes, one slightly larger than the neck proper, the other on the protruding “step” above. The lower frieze is taller, but, because of the reduced circumference, it has fewer figures.<sup>11</sup> The rim emphasizes the distinction between the front side (obverse) of the vase and the back (or reverse) of the vase. On the obverse rim, black-filled rectangles are placed between right and left meanders. On the

1 Volute krater by the Kleophrades Painter (A).



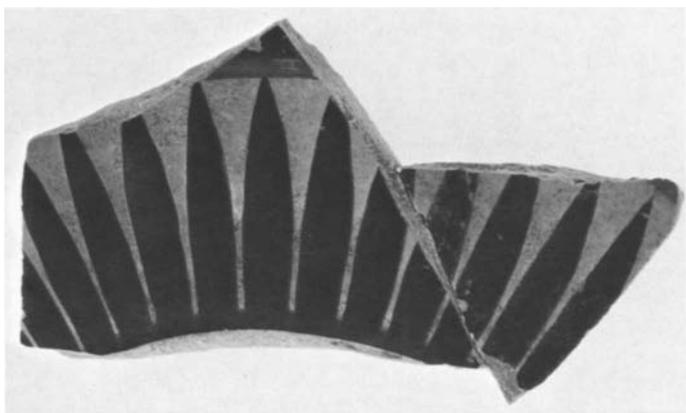
2 Fragment of the foot from fig. 1.



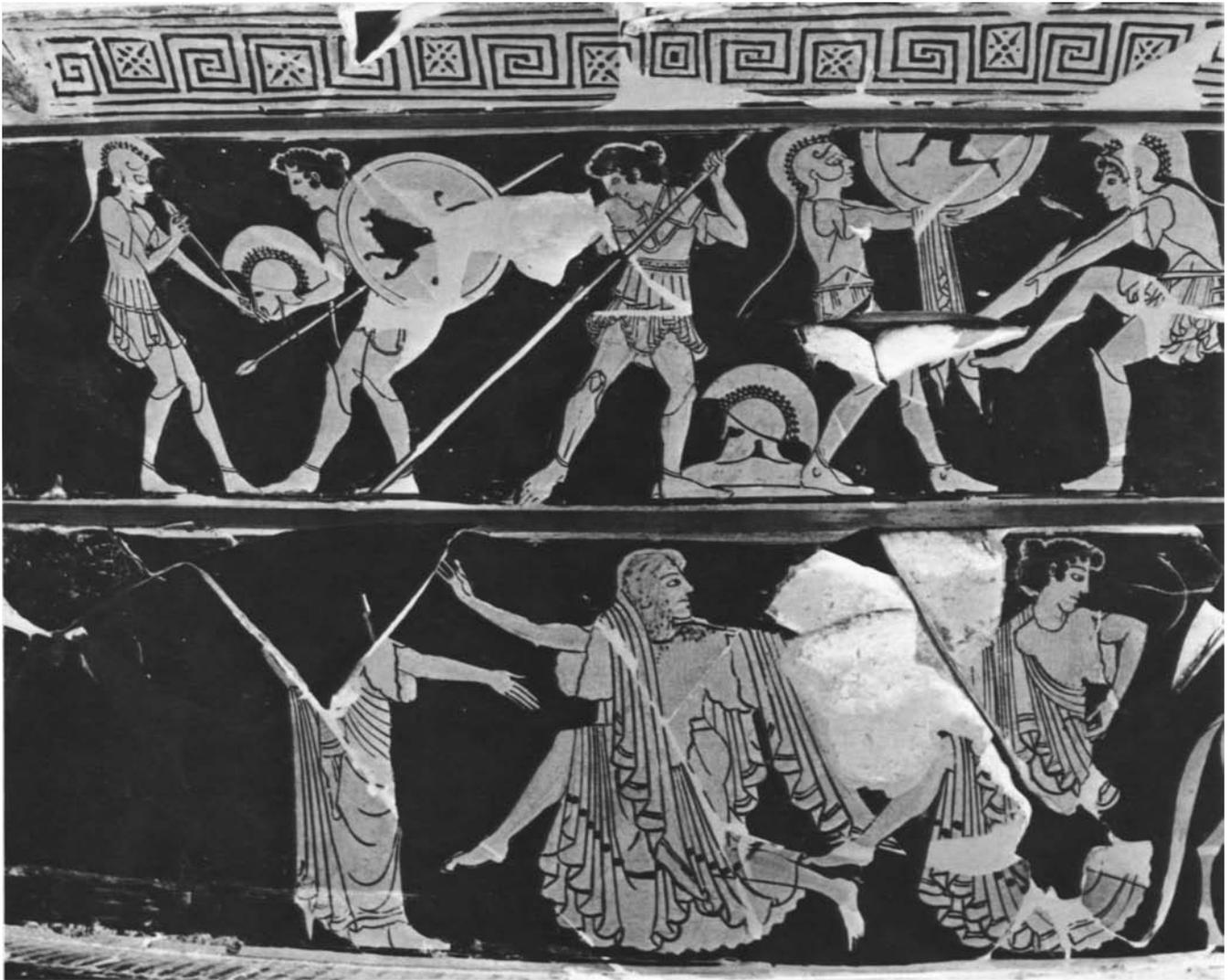
4 Fragment of a handle from fig. 1.



3 Fragment of the bottom from fig. 1.



5 Amazons arming (top), Nereids fleeing to Doris (bottom).



6 Amazons leading horses (top), Cheiron, Peleus and Thetis (bottom).





reverse, a star-cross is found between the meanders. One rectangle is also found on the back side, marking the spot where the painter started his patterning.

On the upper frieze of the reverse (the better preserved side) the scene is the preparation of Amazons for battle. It introduces the subject of the upper side of the main frieze, the Amazonomachy. The painter divided the preparation scene into three parts: at the left side near the handle, five Amazons test their weapons and begin to arm; next, three Amazons lead their horses; last, two soldiers on foot and one with a horse hurry to the battle, obeying the clarion call of the trumpeter who stands at the far right. Unfortunately, from this last section only the lower part of the trumpeter and half of the shield of the first running Amazon are in Malibu. The remainder is in the Louvre.<sup>12</sup> The Kleophrades Painter obviously delighted in such narrative scenes: placing figures in various stances and positions, mastering difficult poses, and depicting foreshortening and movement. The trumpeter and the Amazon testing an arrow at the left serve as framing heralds for the whole tableau, a technique which is repeated with still more emphasis on the lower frieze of the same side. Though the Kleophrades Painter frequently employed framing figures, they are not restricted to his work. For example, on the East Frieze of the Siphnian Treasury (Delphi), isolated Ares framed the left side and exhorting Nestor, the right.

The framing on the lower frieze of the reverse is done by Doris—her head is in the Louvre<sup>13</sup>—and by her seated husband Nereus, the old man of the sea. Forming the side wings of the triptych, two Nereids fly to their parents. (The two Nereids on the side of Nereus and a section of him are in the Louvre).<sup>14</sup> The central part, though in very poor condition, can still be read: Peleus wrestles with Thetis, the daughter of Nereus, who uses all the tricks she can muster. We see the snake, one of her metamorphoses. The fight goes on under the eyes of Cheiron, the wizard among centaurs, carrying an elm from Mount Pellion over his shoulder. He will give the tree to Peleus for the construction of his famous lance. Cheiron's presence suggests his future role as the tutor of Achilles, the offspring from the union of Peleus and Thetis.

The upper frieze of the obverse shows the Amazons and the Greeks in the full throes of battle. The scene must have been divided into a triptych of which only the right and center are preserved. To the right, three pairs of Amazons—two archers and four hoplites<sup>15</sup> are trying to defend a fallen sister against Herakles. Their attack does not deter the lion skin-draped hero who grasps her hair to administer the final blow with his sword. Back to back with him, Telamon, the hero from Aigina, fights a group of Amazons. The next part of the frieze is missing. It seems possible that in this part Theseus, the national hero of Athens, was represented. At the extreme

9 Telamon and Herakle fighting with Amazons.



10 Amazons (top), Herakle at the tree of Hesperids, Atlas (bottom).



11 Herakles and Geryones.



12 Herakles and the Hydra.



left side here, a framing figure is partially preserved—an Amazon carrying her wounded companion out of the battle.

The lower frieze is also a triptych. From the Labors of Herakles, the Kleophrades Painter chose three events: on the extreme right, a framing figure partially survives—Atlas, standing frontally, holding the heavens on his shoulders. This suggests the localization of the story, particularly close to our Californian hearts, at the extreme west of Greek fairy tales. Herakles is picking the miraculous apples of the Hesperides' tree, which is defended by the dragon Ladon. Behind Herakles—the head is in the Louvre<sup>16</sup>—stands his protectress Athena. She is only partially preserved, but enough remains to see that, instead of helping her protege to get the apples, she was turning her head back in the direction of another of Herakles' Labors. This section is rather well-preserved. Herakles has already killed the double-bodied dog Orthos and the shepherd Eurythion. He is in the midst of battle with the three-bodied giant Geryones (only the three left feet remain on the vase) whose cattle he had coveted. The last section of the triptych joins to an area where the handle would have been, thus confirming that there were no more figures behind the last Herakles, of which only the foot survives.<sup>17</sup> The Labor represented was the terrible fight with the Lernean Hydra. Alone, even Herakles could not defeat this hideous monster, for two more venomous heads grew in place of each that he cut off. Iolaos was needed to assist Herakles by burning the stumps of the severed heads with a torch. On Iolaos' shield is the winged horse, Pegasus. There are other examples of heraldry on the krater, but, as will be seen, this device is of particular interest.

J. D. Beazley knew the Louvre fragments when they were still embedded in the alien vase, and he attributed them to Epiktetos II in his early period, that is, before 490 B.C.<sup>18</sup>

This is the only known volute-krater with two superimposed friezes. The rather minaturist execution is dictated by the limitations of space. The Kleophrades Painter may have been competing with his contemporary colleague, the Berlin Painter. Another great master of Late Archaic vases, the Berlin Painter placed on each of his volute-kraters just one frieze with few figures in perfectly designed and delicately drawn scenes. This was not the way of the Kleophrades Painter. He maintained his taste for big narrative cycles, and thus in a cramped space he was forced to a rather sketchy drawing style comparable to the execution of the secondary parts of his big compositions (for example, the necks of the large painted amphoras).<sup>19</sup> Nevertheless, he is still able to preserve a grandeur in the drawing and maintain a dramatic and exciting tension in the stories.

#### THE TWISTED-HANDLE AMPHORA

The second vase by the Kleophrades Painter (76.AE.54), recently presented by an anonymous donor, is an amphora with twisted handles. Only a large piece of the foot, part of the body, and a separate fragment of the handle survives. The fragments were successfully reconstructed recently by Penelope Potter. On the bottom of the foot, two letters were scratched in after the vase was fired: "EY." The same sign

occurs on another vase by the Kleophrades Painter, on one by the Berlin Painter, and some other contemporary minor vases.<sup>20</sup> The sign may have been a commercial mark of a vase merchant between Athens and Etruria.

Originally both sides of the vase had a single figure. The surviving fragments show a youth in short chiton above a truncated section of ornament—a filled rectangle between alternating meanders. Unfortunately, the figure cannot be identified because the upper portion of the figure and the decoration of the other side—the likely keys to his identity—are missing. The placement of a large single figure on each side of a vase is not common in the work of the Kleophrades Painter, but appears often in that of the Berlin Painter. Was the former again inspired by the Berlin Painter or in competition with him?

The twisted-handle amphoras by the Kleophrades Painter mark the turning point of his career, from his early to his more mature style. The Getty amphora may be among the earliest of them, as the monumental drapery recalls the crisply drawn fabrics of his early period. It should be noted in this respect that the foot is profiled in the same way as the other twisted-handle amphoras, but the handle is much more finely formed.<sup>21</sup> It can only be regretted that not more of this noble vase survives.

#### THE PANATHENAIC PRIZE AMPHORA

The third vase (77.AE.9), presented by Nicholas Koutoulakis in memory of J. Paul Getty, testifies to their close relationship of several decades, during which their shared love of ancient art brought them much closer than mere patron and dealer. The vase is a Panathenaic amphora which must date from the early 480s B.C. J. D. Beazley included it in his list of the Kleophrades Painter.<sup>22</sup> It had been repaired in antiquity; at the base of one handle are holes in which metallic clamps were inserted to bind the broken parts together. Evidently the amphora was appreciated as a trophy, since it could hardly have been used as a container after being mended. When the vase was put together in modern times, the missing parts were restored without disturbing the original composition. Not only does the inscription identify the amphora as a prize vase containing the required thirty-two litres of oil, but the surface of the vase has some cracking and flaking from the action of the oil.

Athena, on the obverse, stands in a martial attitude, her shield decorated with the device of winged Pegasus. It may be recalled that the shield of Iolaos on the Getty volute-krater has the same device. As Pegasus appears on all Panathenaics attributed to Epiktetos II, it seems that it must have served as a kind of official trade-mark, not only of the painter but also of the potter who turned all of his Panathenaics. If only a fragment of Athena's face from a Kleophrades Painter Panathenaic survived, it could quickly be identified by the distinctive facial type: massive chin, full sensual lips, the lower one overhanging slightly, and perfect straight nose with beautifully delineated nostrils. Next to the column on Athena's right is the inscription "a prize from the Games in Athens." More than any other painter, Epiktetos II wrote it



14 Fragment of a handle from fig. 13.



15 Bottom of fig. 13.



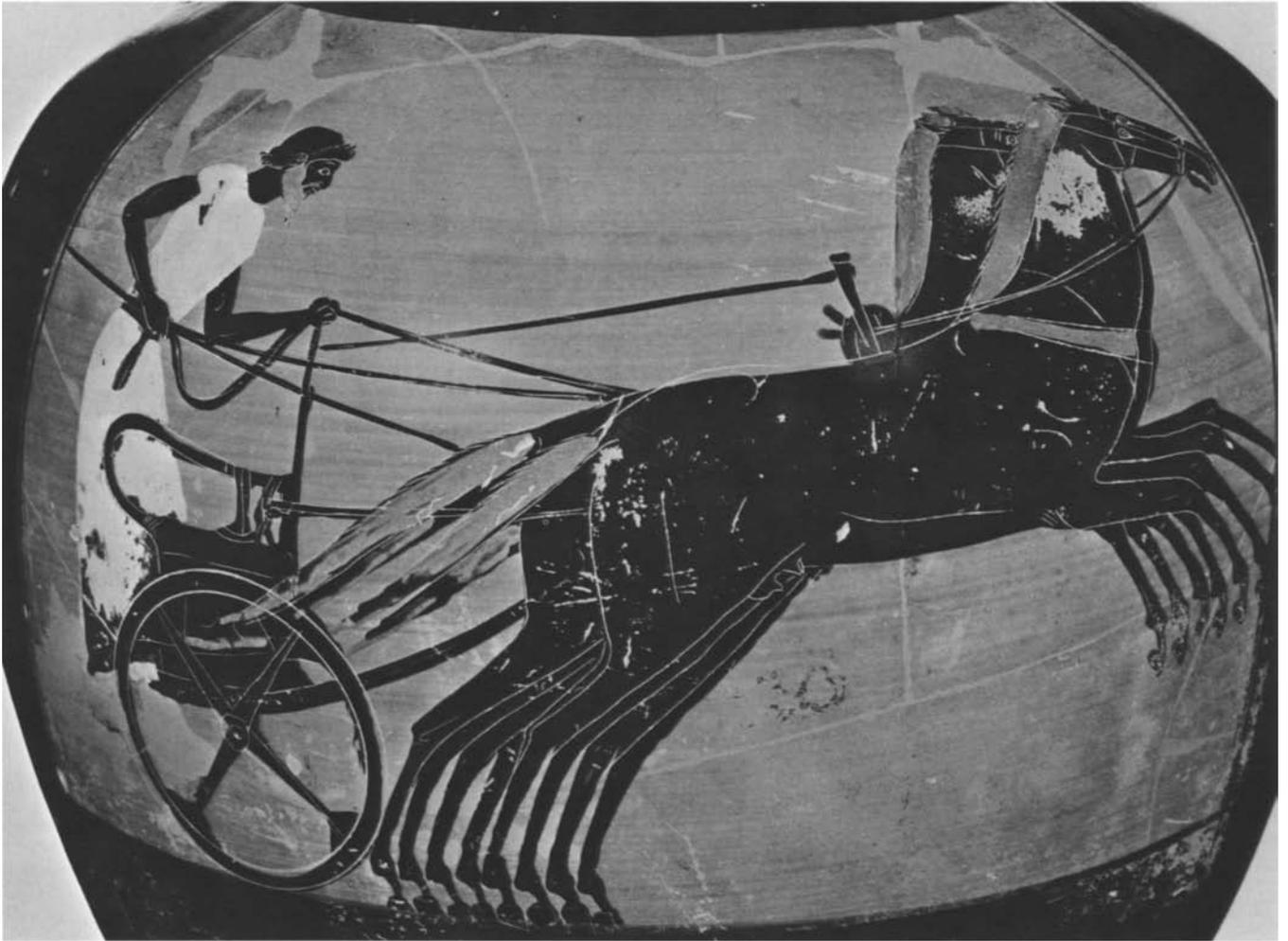
16 Panathenaic prize amphora by the Kleophrades Painter.



17 Ancient repair on fig. 16.







exactly the same way each time, giving the impression that he was copying from a model.

The reverse of the Panathenaic represents a *quadriga*, a chariot with four horses charging at full speed. They rear in the air, all at once, forelegs thrashing. Both outside horses are in advance, with the inside horses behind, as in all other Archaic Greek representations. The bearded charioteer is bent forward, pressing his horses to the finish, yet the winner of this prize vase was not the charioteer. The honor and the prize, two-hundred amphoras each filled with thirty-two litres, went to the owner of the horses. The vase in Malibu is the sixth Panathenaic by the Kleophrades Painter with this subject.<sup>23</sup> Further study may establish if there is any close relation among them—some might have been produced in the same year, for example.

Several other outstanding Attic vase-painters are represented in the new acquisitions of the J. Paul Getty Museum.<sup>24</sup> But the Kleophrades Painter excel among them: while the red-figured amphora and the Panathenaic provide good insight into his art, the volute-krater is a unique *tour de force*, rare even in the work of this master.

#### NOTES

This is a revised text of a pamphlet produced and distributed by the J. Paul Getty Museum (June–July 1977) with added references.

<sup>1</sup>Since 1975 the Museum was presented with several hundred Greek—and some Etruscan—painted vases, mostly fragments. Some of them figure in two check lists: *Recent Acquisitions of Antiquities, The J. Paul Getty Museum, June 1–September 3, 1976* and *Greek Vases in the J. Paul Getty Museum, January 1–April 3, 1977*; see also note 24.

Recent bibliography: J. D. Beazley, *Attic Black-figure Vase-painters*, 1956, 404 sqq., 696; J. D. Beazley, *Attic Red-figure Vase-painters*, 2nd ed., 1963, 181 sqq., 1631 sq., 1705; A. H. Ashmead, *Hesp.* 35, 1966, 20–36; J. D. Beazley, *Paralipomena Additions to ABV and ARV*, 1971, 175 sq. 340 sq., 510; U. Knigge, *AM* 85, 1970, 1972 1–22; A. Greifenhagen *Neue Fragmente des Kleophradesmalers*, 1972; J. D. Beazley, *The Kleophrades Painter*, English ed., 1974.

<sup>3</sup>P. Hartwig thought he might have come from Naukratis (*Die griechischen Meisterschalen*, 1894, 420). L. Schnitzler

(*Opuscula Atheniensia* 2, 1955, 53 sqq.) attempted to demonstrate the Corinthian origin of his art. A. Ashmean (*Hesp.* 35, 35) admits that this may be supported by the exclusive use of Pegasos (standard “heraldic emblem on Corinthian coins) as the epistema on Athena’s shield of the Kleophrades Painter’s Panathenaics.

<sup>4</sup>Beazley (*Kleophr.* 14 sqq.) gives most of the inscriptions (in parenthesis: the inscription does not include *kalos*, *kalos ei*, or the like; in square brackets: unmeaning inscription): nos. 3, 4, 11, 13 (with a quotation from an epic poem), (25), (29) (with the name of the poet Anakreon), 31, 32, 40, 41, 49, 51, [52], 54, 55, [57], [58], 60, 61, 62, 63, 65, 66, [67], 68, 69, (90), 91, 92, [93], (94).

<sup>5</sup>ABV, 404, 1–9 and our one, see note 22.

<sup>6</sup>Greifenhagen 24 sqq., pll. 14 sqq.

<sup>7</sup>More of the black body is in the Louvre, cf. H. Giroux, *RA* 1972.2, 243 note 4. It is more likely that the fragment of the foot in the Louvre reproduced by Giroux 247, fig. 7 does not belong to the volute krater by the Berlin Painter, but to ours. It is certain that the handles reproduced *ib.* 246, figs. 5–6, join the Kleophrades Painter’s volute krater. Our fragment (fig. 4) the right “leg” of the handle with palmettes and the root of the flange, is the missing part on one of the pair in the Louvre. The other Louvre handle joins the palmette leaves remaining on a part of the black body in Malibu. There must be also a join with the rim of the vase. Moreover, our fragment of the “leg” is painted red on the edge of the flange, while the side of the flange reveals the beginning of spirals. Giroux demonstrated that this spiral pattern is characteristic of the Berlin Painter (it appears also on one of his two phialai mesomphaloi in Malibu, see note 24, nr 27). This substantiates our suggestion that in decorating this volute krater, Epiktetos II was emulating the Berlin Painter.

<sup>8</sup>Greifenhagen 24, note 47.

<sup>9</sup>Louvre G 166, patched by the Campana restorers together with fragments of another volute krater by the Berlin Painter and repainted: *Catalogues Campana* IV-VII nr. a94; E. Pottier, *Catalogue des vases Grecs* 1016 (in the 2nd ed., pp. xxiv sq., he accepts the statement of Beazley); E. Pottier, *Vases antiques*, pl. 127, *CVA* (2), pll. 17, 18.1–2; C. Gaspar, *Mon. Piot* 9, 1902, 48 sq., fig. 13; J. C. Hoppin, *Handbook of Attic Red-figure Vases* 64 nr. 39; Beazley *JHS* 42, 1922, 94 note 51, *Att. V.*, 1925, 73.34; *Der Kleophrades Maler* (orig. ed. 1933) 18 nr. 95, *ARV* (1st ed. 1942) 24.44; A. Rumpf, *Malerei und Zeichnung der klassischen Antike*, 1953, 14 note 2; Beazley *ARV* (2nd ed. 1963) 186.51, Greifenhagen 24 sqq.; F. Brommer, *Vasenlisten zur griechischen Heldensage* (3rd ed., 1973) 23.10, 63.6, 72.22, 80.5, 328.54; Beazley, *The Kleophrades Painter*, 1974, 17 sq. nr. 44. For the part by the Berlin Painter, see also *CVA* (2) pll. 18.3, 19; Beazley *JHS* 42, 1922, 94 nr. 66; *Att. V.* 80.77, *Der Berliner-maler*, 1930, 18.95, *ARV* (1st ed. 1942) 137.101, *ARV* (2nd ed., 1963) 206.130; H. Giroux, *RA* 1972.2.24 sqq.; Beazley, *The Berlin Painter*, 1974, 11.101.

<sup>10</sup>*The Berlin Painter* 6.

<sup>11</sup>See Greifenhagen 24, 27.

<sup>12</sup>*Ib.*, pll. 15, 19.

<sup>13</sup>*Ib.*, pll. 17, 18.1.

<sup>14</sup>*Ib.*, pll. 15, 19.

<sup>15</sup>The lower part of the fallen Amazon, the first pair of her rescuers, and the left legs of the second pair are in the Louvre, *ib.* pll. 21, 22.

<sup>16</sup>*Ib.*, pll. 18.2, 25.

<sup>17</sup>Greifenhagen 34 suggested that Athena might have stood behind Herakles.

<sup>18</sup>See note 9.

<sup>19</sup>Greifenhagen pll. 10.1, 11, 32.

<sup>20</sup>B. Philippaki, *The Attic Stamnos* 48 note 7, fig. 13 (Louvre G 55-stamnos by the Kleophrades Painter), 34 note 12, fig. 11 (Munich 2407-stamnos by the Harrow Painter); Allan Johnston told me about many other instances of this graffito.

<sup>21</sup>*ARV* 183 sq. 11–18, 184.19 (triple handles, comparable to our one).

<sup>22</sup>*ARV* 192, *Paralipomena* 176.

<sup>23</sup>*ARV* 404.1–6.

<sup>24</sup>Here is an incomplete list of attributed Attic vases presented to the Museum during 1975–1977; it owes much to Dietrich von Bothmer. Jerry Abramson and Bruce Kennedy presented nos. 24, 24 (1977), Garry Anderson nos. 11, 12 (1976), Lenore Barozzi nos. 16, 19 (1975), Dr. and Mrs. Fred Bromberg no. 20 (1975), The Crary Foundation no. 37 in memory of J. Paul Getty (1976), Gordon McLendon nos. 4–7, 9, 10, 13, 14, 17, 18, 31–36, 39–52, 54, 55 (1976, 1977), Bruce McNall nos. 8, 21, 53 (1975, 1976), Linda and Max Palevsky nos. 2, 3, 15, 30 in memory of David Rinne (1976), Patricia Tuttle no. 46 in memory of David Rinne (1976), an anonymous donor nos. 29, 38 (1975), another anonymous donor (the same person who presented the Kleophrades Painter’s amphora) no. 1 (1976), a third anonymous donor nos. 22, 23, 26 (1977):

- 1 Gorgon Painter, 76.AE.55, olpe: lion
- 2 Gorgon Painter, 76.AE.130.25, frg. of the name piece in the Louvre, identified by Bothmer
- 3 Sophilos, 76.AE.126, 3 frgs. of the dinos in the British Museum (*Para* 19.16 bis; *BMQ* 36, 1971, 107 sqq., pll. 34–37)
- 4 C Painter, 77.AE.46, Siana cup, I:warrior, A-B:warriors and one rider
- 5 C Painter, 76.AE.101.21, frg. of a Siana cup: heads of two horses [Bothmer]
- 6 Castellani Painter, 76.AE.87, neck amphora (Tyrrhenian), A: komos, B: helmeted head; one of the frgs. with Amazonomachy by the same painter in the Louvre may belong
- 7 Lydos, 76.AE.101.29, frg. of a hydria: deer, lion [Bothmer]
- 8 Taleides Painter (signed by Amasis as potter), 76.AE.48, lekythos, shoulders: boxers, body: assembly around a seated king
- 9 Tleson and Tleson Painter, 76.AE.90, lip cup, I: sphinx
- 10 Tleson, 76.AE.101.23, frg. of a lip cup, signed
- 11 Xenokles, 76.AE.53.1, lip cup, signed
- 12 Xenokles, 76.AE.53.2, foot of a lip cup, replica of no. 11, not signed
- 13 Painter of the Louvre 132 bis, 76.AE.101.26, frg. of a cup, I: vines, A: love-making in a vineyard

- 14 Pamphaios, 76.AE.101.27, frg. of a cup, signature not preserved, A: vines [Bothmer]
- 15 Antimenes Painter, 76.AE.130.24, four frgs. of the psykter in the Louvre C 10616 (ABV 275.136, identified by Bothmer)
- 16 Ryckroft Painter, 75.AE.14, three frgs. of a calyx krater, A: Athena mounting a chariot, a male dancing, B: athlete and flutist
- 17 Wraith Painter, 77.AE.54, Droop cup, ext: love-making [Bothmer]
- 18 Leafless Group, Caylus Painter, 76.AE.94, kyanthos: Amazonomachy with Herakles
- 19 Haimon Group, 75.AE.15, lekythos: Athena mounting a chariot, Nike, another goddess
- 20 Kuban Group, 75.AE.28, frg. of a Panathenaic: head of Athena
- 21 Kuban Group, 76.AE.73, frg. of a Panathenaic: part of a cock
- 22 Andokides Painter, 77.AE.7, frg. of a mastoid: head of a centaur
- 23 Euphronios, 77.AE.6, frg. of a calyx krater: rider [Bothmer]
- 24 Oltos, P.77.AE.13, frg. of a pot: head of a youth
- 25 Oltos, P.77.AE.13, frg. of a cup, ext: female [Bothmer]
- 26 Berlin Painter, 77.AE.5, six frgs. of a calyx krater, A: Athena, Aias carrying the body of Achilles, B: fight
- 27 & 28 Berlin Painter, 76.AE.16.1–2, two phialai mesomphaloi
- 29 Nikoxenos Painter, 75.AE.83, kalpis: musicians after a party [Bothmer]
- 30 Eucharides Painter, 76.AE.129, two frgs. of a pot: youth with a cock, another youth
- 31 Eucharides Painter, 76.AE.102.24, two frgs. of a pot: head of a youth, drapery
- 31 bis Eucharides Painter, 77.AE.21.11, two frgs. of an amphora: two male heads
- 32 Eucharides Painter, 77.AE.42, several frgs. of an amphora: votaries
- 32 bis Eucharides Painter, 77.AE.41, stamnos, return of Hephaistos [Bothmer]
- 33 Nikosthenes Painter, 77.AE.21.24, frg. of a cup: two hoofs, rider
- 34 Euergides Painter, 77.AE.21.26, frg. of a cup (r. arm), joined by Bothmer
- 35 Douris, 77.AE.21.25, frg. of a cup, I: female, A: legs of two males
- 36 Pan Painter, 76.AE.102.7, two frgs. of a small pelike, A: two “Anacronies,” B: woman with skyphos, Bothmer added a frg. to A (by exchange) and attributed the piece
- 37 Providence Painter, 76.AE.44, kalpis: Menelaos and Helen
- 38 Achilles Painter, 75.AE.81, pelike, A: Zeus and Ganymede, B: man [Eisenberg, Bothmer]
- 39 Niobid Painter, 76.AE.88, fragmentary kalpis: two youths with spears, a woman
- 40 Niobid Painter, 77.AE.21.18, frg. of a kalpis: pattern [Bothmer]
- 41 Niobid Painter, 77.AE.44, fragmentary calyx krater: Athena, Apollo, Herakles, etc.
- 42 Niobid Painter, 77.AE.44, fragmentary calyx krater, A: Leto, Apollo, Artemis, B: ?
- 43 Villa Giulia Painter, 77.AE.12.1, fragmentary pelike, A: Leto, Apollo, Artemis, B: woman
- 44 Villa Giulia Painter, 77.AE.12.2, fragmentary pelike, A: Leto, Apollo, Artemis
- 45 Villa Giulia Painter, 77.AE.40, calyx krater, A: two riders, B: athletes
- 46 Charmides Painter, 76.AE.66, lekythos: Artemis
- 47 Kleophon Painter, 77.AE.21.13, frg. of a pot: male head [Bothmer]
- 48 Shuvalov Painter, 76.AE.89, oinochoe: Polyneikes and Eriphyle
- 49 Aison, 76.AE.104, four frgs. of an oinochoe: seated woman playing kottabos, woman with flute, another woman
- 50 Aison, 76.AE.105.1, frgs. of an oinochoe: man pursuing woman
- 51 Aison, 76.AE.105.2, frgs. of an oinochoe: man pursuing woman
- 52 Aison, 76.AE.107, some 40 frgs. of several oinochai: figs, patterns
- 53 G Group, 76.AE.31, pelike, A: two men, B: man
- 54 A kalos-name: 77.AE.21.22, frg. of a skyphos, Lakimachos kalos (the emendation to Alkimachos has been proposed, but cf. Lakiadai, e.g. A Corinthian painter
- 55 Tydeus Painter, 76.AE.92, “Chalcidian” krater, A: between sphinxes, battle with Hippiasos, Ch..., Aias, inscribed, plus one, B: (sphinx) §

# SIX ADDITIONAL HEADS OF THE ARES LUDOVISI TYPE

Faya Causey

Since its discovery in the late sixteenth century, the Ares Ludovisi has aroused admiration and controversy. It has been called a Greek original, an excellent Roman replica, and an Imperial eclectic creation. Given varying dates, the Ares Ludovisi has been attributed to sculptors from Skopas to Lysippos. Recently the head has been seen as the departure point for other standing and seated, nude and draped variants. The attempt here is not to re-open the arguments surrounding this famous work, but to confirm much of the recent scholarship<sup>1</sup> on the Ares Ludovisi by presenting six little-known heads related to the type, five of them from Southern California public collections.<sup>2</sup> The sixth head, unpublished, is on the Swiss art market.

In the most recent analysis, Paul Zanker surveyed the restorations of the Ares Ludovisi, repairs which he restated to be the work of Bernini<sup>3</sup> and not of Algardi as once commonly thought. However, the limitations of the Helbig format prevented a more detailed description of the repairs to the head. In addition to the new nose, Bernini seems to have slightly retouched the surface of the face. The area around the bridge of the nose and the cheeks were smoothed. The helix of the left ear was made smaller; hence, the groove above is visible. From the side view, it is particularly noticeable that the lips were reduced in volume; the “trumpeter’s lip” is the result. Then, in order to make the thin smaller lower lip protrude, a slight indentation appears to have been carved between it and the chin crease. A retouching similar to this can be seen below the eyelids. The forehead, too, exhibits some modifications: the horizontal crease in mid-brow, a feature found on even the most cursory of variants (compare Malibu 71.AA.119) is less apparent since the brow swell below it was reduced. Nevertheless, some parts of the head, the hair, and most of the neck exhibit an ancient patination. A retracing is found only in the line above the collarbones. These Baroque restorations must be kept in mind when comparing the six heads. Though the Antonine Ares Ludovisi communicates “nur einen Schatten der plastischen Form des klassischen Originals,”<sup>4</sup> it seems to be a faithful replica, if only in surface details. Though the beautiful late Hellenistic head in Vienna is in many respects the best extant replica, there are notable differences in the arrangement of the hair and the contouring of the mouth. The lack of teeth and the marble-sensitive interpretation of the original’s bronze hair may provide a standard for judging the faithfulness of this replica. Nevertheless, the modelling of the face is richer and more expressive, closer to the spirit of the fourth century than is any other version.

1 The J. Paul Getty Museum, I-59 (Figs. 1 & 2)

White, fine crystallized marble, probably Italian.

Height: 36 cm.

Bibliography: M. Del Chiaro, *Greek Art in Private Collections of Southern California*, Santa Barbara, 2nd ed., 1966,

no. 22, fig. 22; J. Frel, *Greek and Roman Portraits from the J. Paul Getty Museum*, Northridge, 1973, no. 14; D. Rinne and J. Frel, *The Bronze Statue of a Youth*, Malibu, 1975, p. 9.

Broken at the neck. Nose, chin, and part of the right cheek, hair at the right temple, and both ears chipped and broken. Since the last reproduction, the modern repairs of marble dust and adhesive have been removed (1973). Chips and abrasions on lips and hair. The head has been reworked in modern times. The face received a thorough repolishing of the surface, a process in which the sideburns were subdued. The upper and lower eyelids of both eyes were retraced. The left was widened and both eyeballs were flattened at the center. At the expense of the swell at its outer edge the “line” of the orbital ridge was emphasized, and the surfaces below it reduced. Particularly on the right side, the locks framing the face were redrawn. Though teeth are not indicated, the lips were smoothed, and the space between them recarved. Traces of original patination are found on the left cheek near the eye, the lachrymal corners, the back of the neck, and on the crown of the head.

This version has a less marked bone structure, fewer modulations in the facial planes, and is smaller than any other head of the type. Yet the general proportions are preserved and it has the same organization of features. Though “younger” than the Rome or Vienna heads, it expresses some of the same tension and restlessness found in the best copies. However, the hair is markedly different. It is cap-like, without the indentation at the crown or the “fillet-groove” on the back of the head, and the strands are summarily described. Only the framing curls preserve some relationship to the standard type.

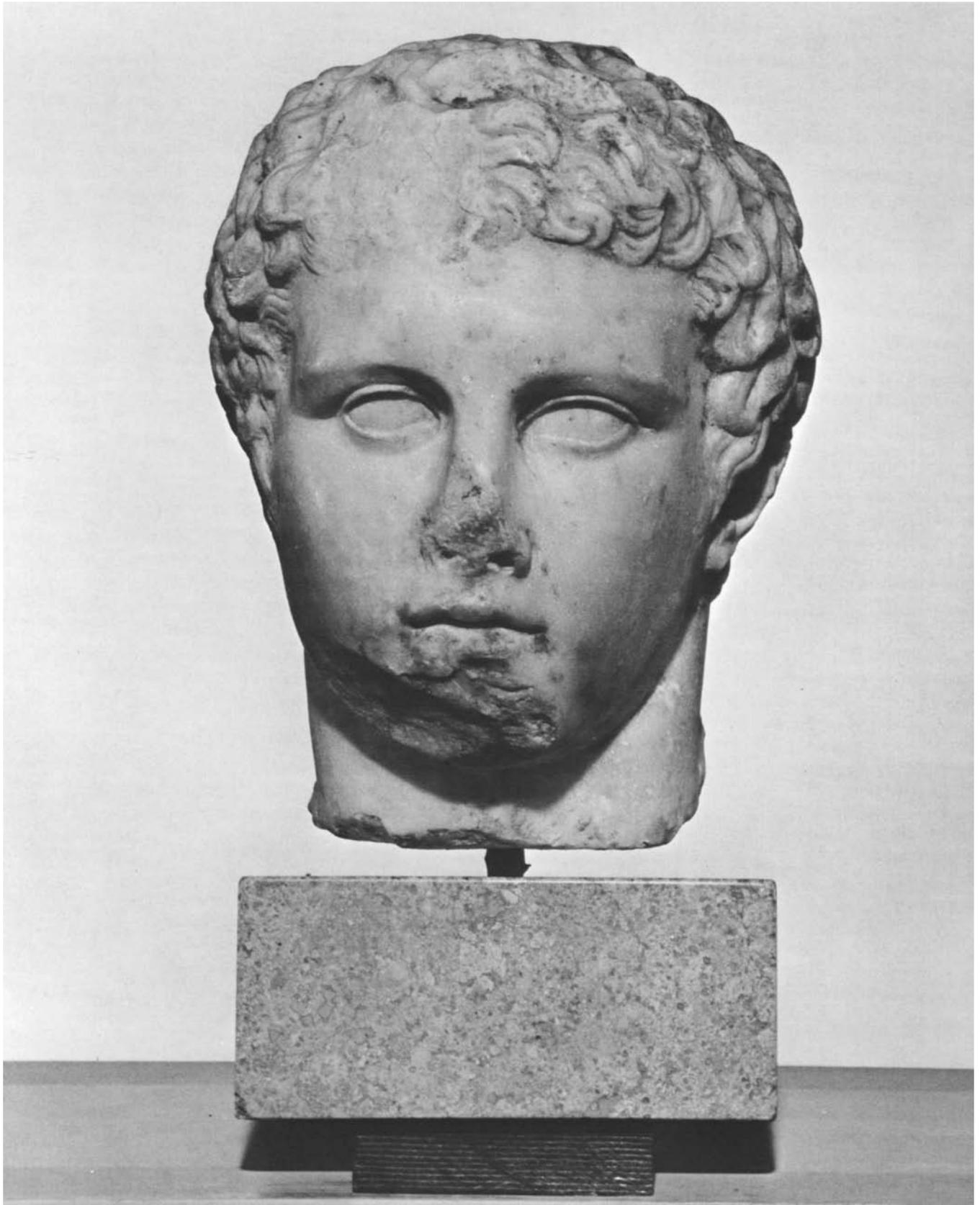
The tiny protrusions of marble at the edges of the break are evidence of the position of the join to the shoulders, suggesting that the head was turned in the same direction as the Ares Ludovisi. It cannot be determined if the statue to which the head belongs was seated or standing, but the weathering pattern on the top of the head (evenly worn from crown to forehead) supports the latter possibility. In addition, the casual treatment of the back in contrast to that of the front, indicates that the once-complete statue was adjunct to an architectural setting.

There are various opinions regarding the dating of this head. J. Frel dated the head to about 100 A.D.,<sup>5</sup> while P. Zanker<sup>6</sup> suggested the third quarter of the second century,<sup>7</sup> comparing it to the Antinous’ from the early Antonine period. The latter dating can be supported by an examination of the solid modelling of the face and neck, the stiff but freely organized style of the locks, and the subtle use of the drill employed for the ends of the locks, the nostrils, the ears, and the separation of the ears from the hair.

2 The J. Paul Getty Museum 71.AA.119 (Figs. 3 & 4)

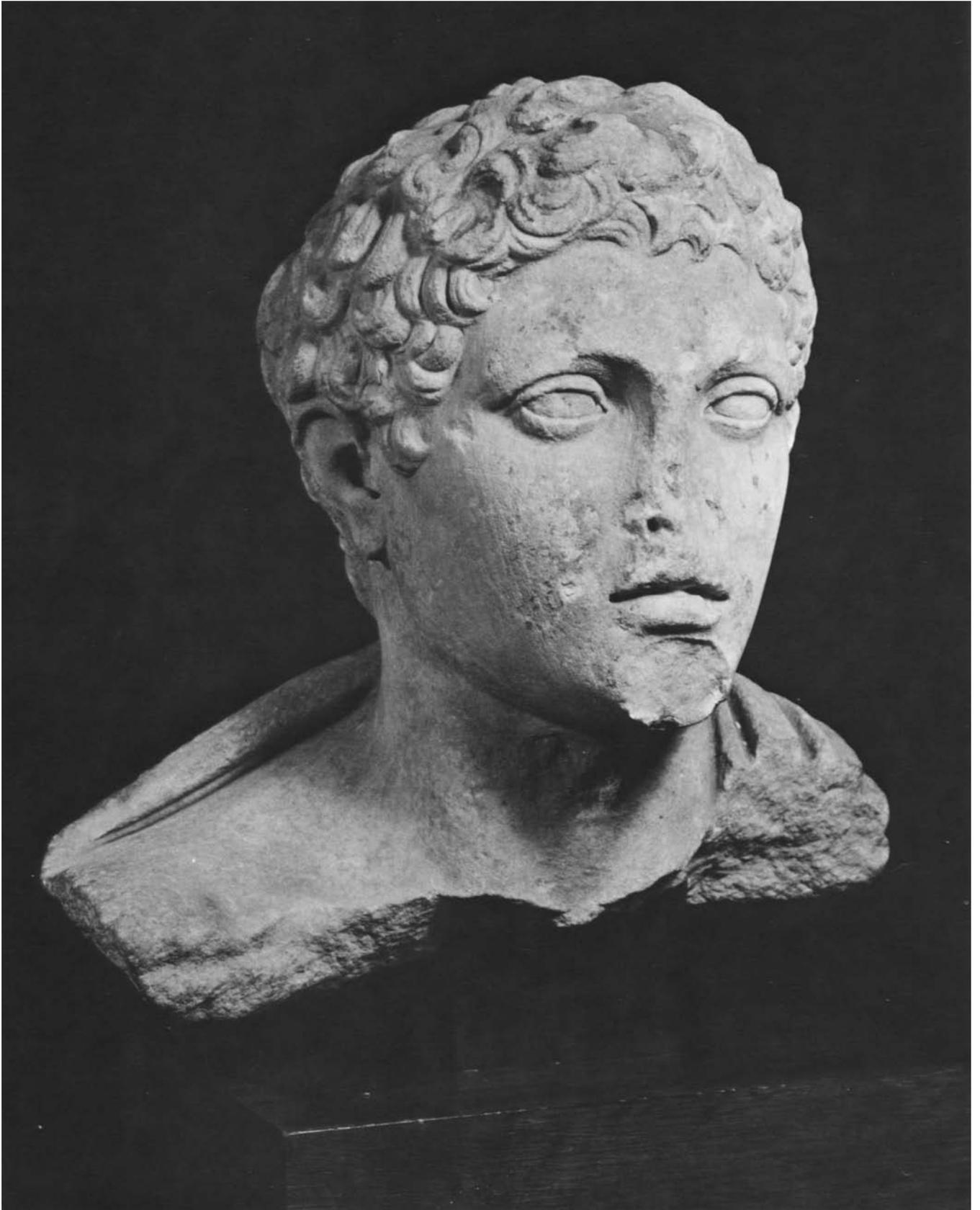
Crystalline marble, possibly Pentelic.

Height: 33.5 cm.

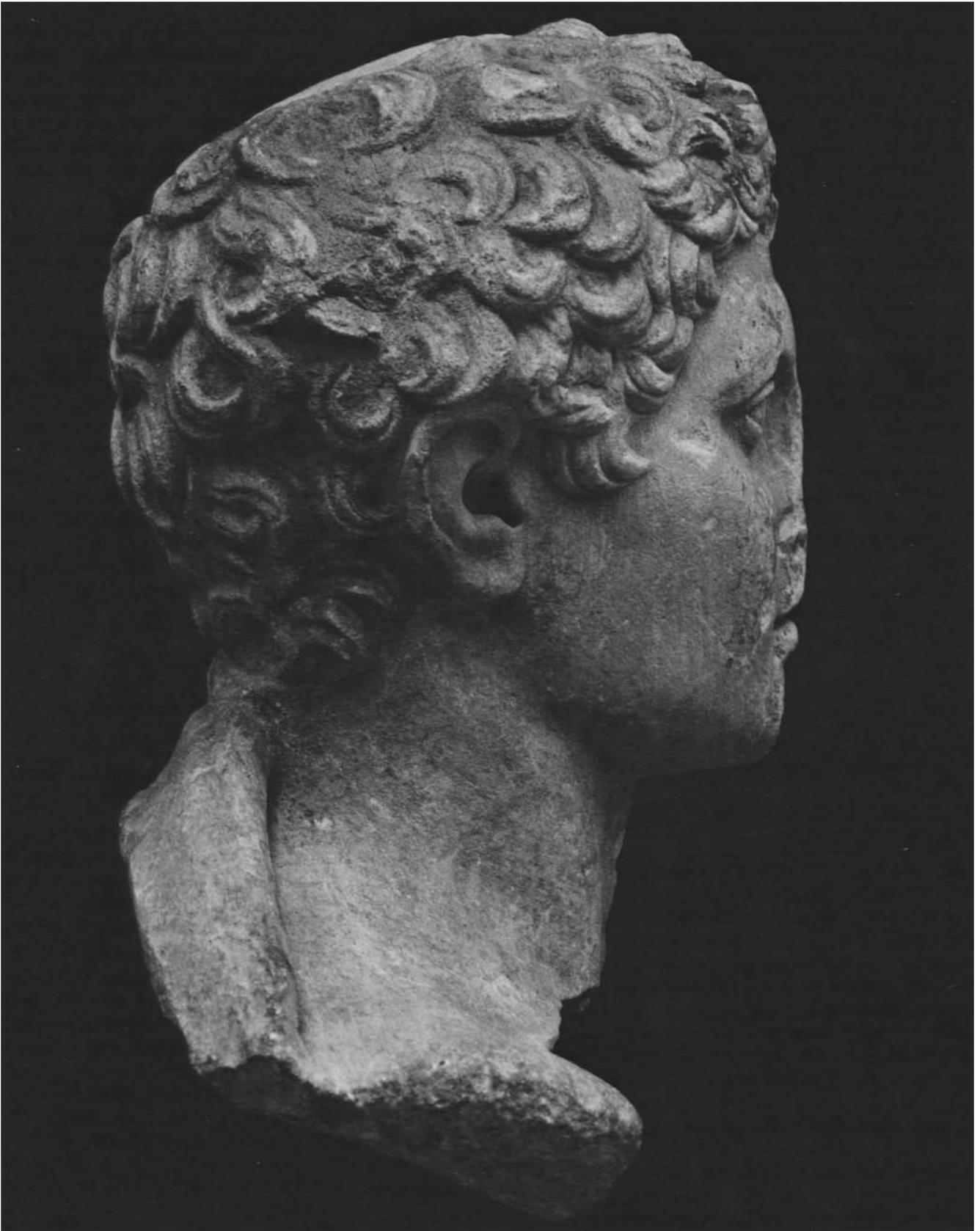


2 Figure 1.





4 Figure 3.



Bibliography: C. Vermeule, *Catalogue of the Ancient Art in the J. Paul Getty Museum*, Malibu, 1973, no. 53, p. 25 f.; *Greek and Roman Portraits*, no. 13; *The Bronze Statue*, p. 9.

Broken below and across the collarbone, and cut to a "bust" in modern times. Nose, chin, and a large "disc" of the crown broken off. Surfaces worn and chipped include: the right ear, the ridges of the eyebrows, and the area around the Adam's apple, the left side of the mouth, the outside of the right eye, and between the eyebrows. The fragment of drapery is the remainder of an abbreviated mantle. A reddish-ochre patina covers all the ancient surfaces.

This portrait head in the style of the Ares Ludovisi type was originally oriented in the same direction as the name piece though the movement of the head, neck, and shoulders has become more rigid. Compared to the other variants, the modelling is more shallow, the facial planes are reduced, and the expression is subdued. However, the framing curls correspond well to the best copies. The flatness of the back surfaces of the statue and the working of these areas with a pick indicate that an architectural placement was originally intended. This, in combination with the erect pose, presents the possibility that the statue was standing rather than seated. Pointing out the individualized features, J. Frel compared the head to that of the Youth from Eretria "which was also possibly intended to represent an individual."<sup>8</sup> He proposed an Augustan date for its manufacture.

Although the hairstyle of the youth, particularly the arrangement of the forehead locks, recalls the Julio-Claudians, a Tiberian date may be more appropriate. There is an almost indefinable quality in the look of the youth which suggests the wan countenance and pallid complexion characteristic of this later Julio-Claudian emperor.

3 The J. Paul Getty Museum 71.AB.458 (Not illus.)  
Bronze, green patina with reddish brown encrustations.  
Height: 26 cm.  
Bibliography: *Catalogue*, no. 7, p. 5 f.: *The Bronze Statue of a Youth*, p. 7 ff., fig. 1, cover

This head was first compared to the Ares Ludovisi type by J. Frel in 1972, in the publication describing the reconstruction of this head on its torso in Burdur, Turkey. C. Vermeule<sup>9</sup> had previously suggested a relationship to the Hermes from Atalante, identified by J. Fink as a free variant of the Ares Ludovisi type. Despite many individual details which differ from the better replicas, (hair style, mustache, and beard), the general "family" resemblance, the facial proportions, and the contrasting modelling from face to hair place it within the boundaries of the Ludovisi type. C. Vermeule dated the head to the second century A.D., while J. Frel suggested that it may be even earlier. Both agreed upon an Imperial Greek workmanship. In accordance with J. Fink's discussion of the use of widely varying bodies for the Ares Ludovisi type head, the Malibu-Burdur statue was also once an eclectic combination—a Polycleitan body<sup>10</sup> and a late fourth century head.

4 The J. Paul Getty Museum 73.AA.139 (Figs. 5 & 6)  
Creamy small-grained marble  
Height: 57 cm; width of base: 32.5 cm; depth of base: 23.5 cm.  
Bibliography: *Recent Acquisitions*, no. 4; *The Bronze Statue*, p. 9.

The herm bust is in its original form with an anathyrosis of 5 cm. The back of the herm was cursorily executed while the back of the head was carefully carved. The nose, left orbital ridge, and right shoulder are broken off. There are chips in the hair, on the face, and on the herm. The scratch on the right side of the face was filled only at the eye. Ancient surface encrustations were removed. The marble is in good condition with a pale yellowish patina.

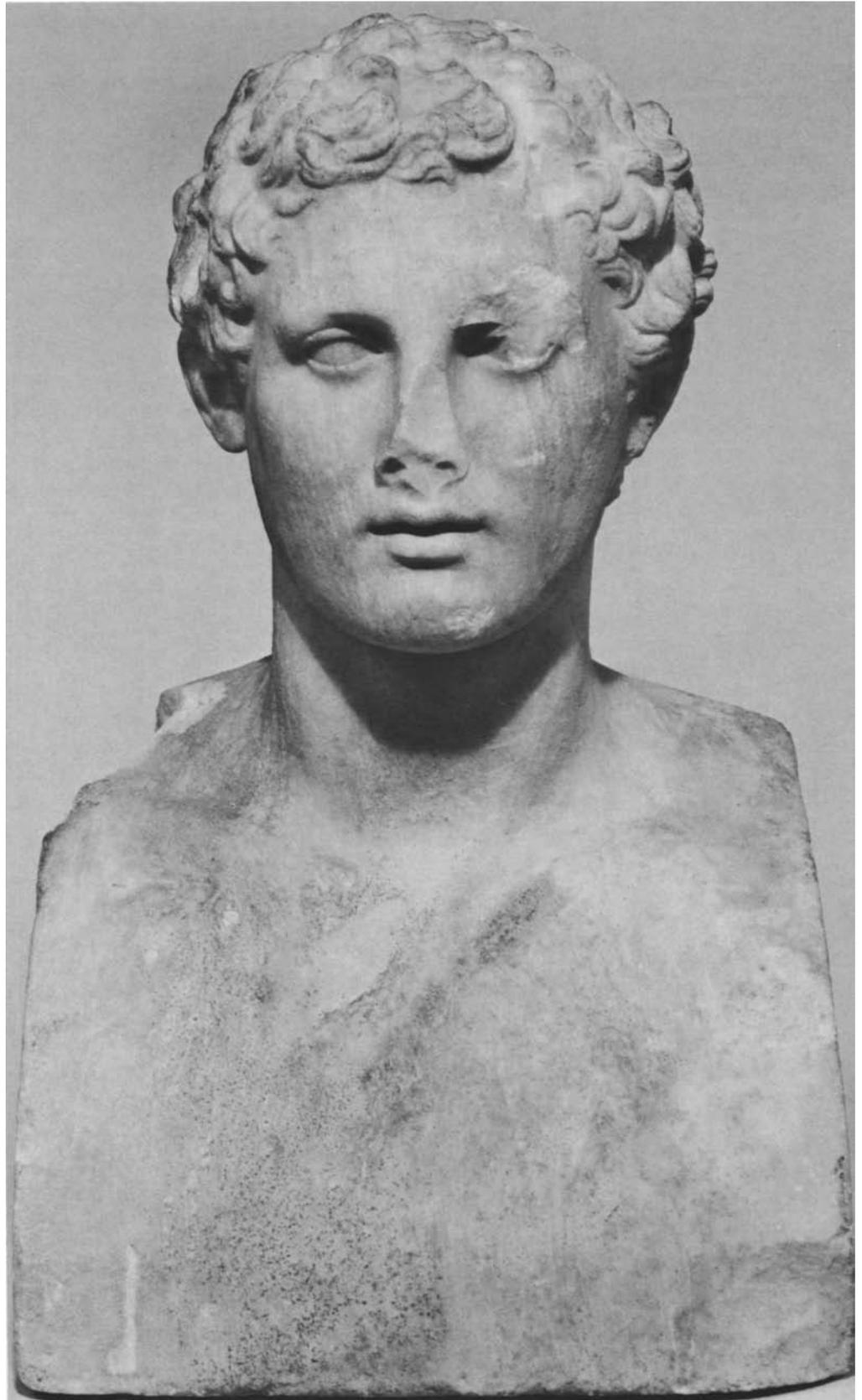
Despite its placement on a herm bust, the orientation of the head is the same as that of the namepiece. However, when it was "corrected" for its translation on to a herm, the face was positioned frontally and the asymmetry was minimized. In terms of the correspondence of individual details, this head is one of the most precise replicas. The arrangement of the hair is remarkably like that of the Ares Ludovisi while the texture and modelling more closely approximate the Vienna head. Other similarities to the better copies include the soft carving at the orbital ridge, a shaping which breaks the continuous arc of the eyebrow, the smallish eyes with flat lower lids, the deep-set lachrymal corners, the presence of teeth, the slightly protruding ears, and the full, almost swollen neck.

While J. Frel dated the work before the middle of the second century A.D., Paul Zanker placed it in the Claudian period. Indeed, the treatment of the carefully tousled locks and the soft modelling of the features suggests a closer association with the earlier date.

5 Santa Barbara Museum of Art (Fig. 7)  
Lent by Wright Ludington  
Creamy fine-grained marble with mica (Pentelic?)  
35.5 cm.  
L.41.2.6  
Bibliography: M. Del Chiaro, "Greek and Roman Sculpture in Santa Barbara," *The Classical Journal*, 60, 1962, 118.

Small fissure through the left side running through the left eye to chin. The nose is broken and the lips are chipped. The surface is weathered but the hair is more worn on the crown, right side of head, and right ear. The back and right side of the neck is broken yet the tenon is still visible on the left side.

Although the surface of the head is partially weathered, probably from exposure in an unprotected setting, it has not been reworked. It is a mirror reversal of the Ares Ludovisi, careful in the rendering of many of the characteristic details. The placement of the framing curls corresponds closely to those on the namepiece but the curls are less lively, the hair much flatter, encroaching much further into the boundary of the face. Compared to many other copies, the modelling around the mouth is more fluid, especially on the left side, but the general treatment of the surface is much drier and the contours more angular. This can be seen in the engraved, flat



6 Figure 5.



7 Santa Barbara Museum of Art, L.41.2.6. Gift of Wright Ludington.  
(Photo courtesy of the museum.)





locks, the crisply delineated eyes, the sharp forehead crease, the marked eyebrow ridge (only at the inner section), and the linear contour of the face. While, for example, the Vienna, Getty (I-59), and the head of the Eretria youth appear as young men in their late teens, this head emanates the *Weltschmerz* of a young man reaching maturity.

The tenon for insertion into a separately carved body suggests that the head was originally designed to complete a draped rather than naked statue. At the same time, the direction of the extended trapezius muscle and the slightly forward tilt of the head (supported by the pattern of heaviest weathering) imply that the figure was seated.

A *terminus post quem* for the dating of this replica are the Julio-Claudian locks which fall on to the brow; but the dry treatment of the surface, the smooth but angular modelling, and the world-weary expression place the head in the Flavian period. It is thus tenable that the Ludington head was copied after a Julio-Claudian intermediary (compare, for example, the Malibu Claudian herm, no. 4).

#### 6 Art Market, Switzerland (Fig. 8)

White-gray marble with large veins and mica

Height: 43 cm.

Unpublished

Despite the poor preservation of this herm, many characteristic features of the type remain: the large head, the deep-set eyes shadowed by the protruding area below the eyebrows, the flat upper brow set off by the swelled area below the brow crease, the wide temples, full jaw, and well-padded neck. The orientation of the head is not only the same as the Rome version, but the direction and movement are similar as well. Contrary to the frontally positioned herm in Malibu, this herm preserves to some extent the correct viewpoint of the original.

On the other hand, some other features vary from the better replicas, differences such as the lumpy hair, and the downward slanting upper lids shadowed by a heavy outer lid. The latter feature immediately recalls the “Skopasic” eyes of the Herakles Lansdowne. Other affinities between this herm and other Hadrianic creations such as the Antinous’ are revealed in the similar articulation of facial planes, a system based less on the framework of bone and muscle but on the subtle transitions in the subcutaneous layers of fat. Like Antinous, this version of the Ares Ludovisi evokes the last presence of youthful chubbiness mixed with the worldly wisdom of a young man of gentle birth.

Although the existence of many copies of a sculpture does not guarantee the extent of its fame in Antiquity, the presence of eight replicas and several variants of a type, carved during a period of several centuries, suggests that in Roman times the original of the Ares Ludovisi type must have been considered as a popular Greek “classic.” The presence of two herms among the variants seems to substantiate this possibility and in addition, poses the more general question—which other *opera nobilia* heads were introduced into herms and when does this trend begin? The well-dated herms from the Villa

dei Papyri with the head of Doryphoros and of an Amazon are the best known examples. A future investigation of surviving scattered evidence may provide the basis for understanding the practice of abbreviating famous works on herms,<sup>11</sup> providing a further insight into the afterlife of Greek sculpture in Roman times.

#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup>The most important discussions of the Ares Ludovisi are by Paul Zanker, in W. Helbig, *Führer durch die Öffentlichen Sammlungen Klassischer Altertümer in Rom*, 4th ed., 1969, vol. III, 268–70, and by Joseph Fink, “Ein Kopf für viele,” *RM*, 71, 1964, 152–157 with bibliography including G. Lipold, *Handbuch*, p. 289, n. 11, in which the best list of copies and variants are given. A new study of the Ares Ludovisi is promised by Steven Lattimore.

<sup>2</sup>I would like to express my deep gratitude to Jiří Frel, the source of constant encouragement, and to Selma Holo for her devoted assistance. This study originated in a seminar taught by Prof. Mario Del Chiaro, at the University of California, Santa Barbara (Fall, 1976). Thanks are due to the Santa Barbara Museum of Arts and its Curator, Katherine Harper Mead, for their generosity and support. The photographs of the Malibu heads were taken by Donald A. Hull after their recent conservation.

<sup>3</sup>The repairs and additions by Bernini were first discussed by Bruand, *Mélanges d'Archéologie*, 66, 1956, 400 f. Helpful for understanding the extent of Bernini's repairs is a comparison of the Eros' eyes, for example, with those of Ares.

<sup>4</sup>Zanker, 269.

<sup>5</sup>The date in *Greek and Roman Portraits*, “early first century A.D.” was incorrectly recorded.

<sup>6</sup>During their brief stay in Malibu, Paul Zanker (Fall of 1976) and Klaus Fittschen (Fall 1977) discussed the chronology of the various Ares Ludovisi heads. They are not responsible for any possible misinterpretation of their views.

<sup>7</sup>K. Fittschen concurred.

<sup>8</sup>Vermeule, *Catalogue* (entry by J. Frel, see Preface), 26. The date of late third century in *The Bronze Youth* was a misprint (p. 9).

<sup>9</sup>Vermeule, *Catalogue*, 6.

<sup>10</sup>“For a conclusive historical appraisal of the Burdur-Getty Statue we must await the results of research by Prof. Jale Inan of Istanbul. She has with justification pointed out the similarities between the body of the statue and the Polycheitan Doryphoros.” (Frel, *The Bronze Statue*, p. 9.)

<sup>11</sup>Another *opus nobile* extant as a herm is the head of a youth, now in the collection of Norton Simon, Malibu. §

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