The J. Paul Getty Museum Journal 9

The J. Paul Getty Museum Journal

Volume 9/1981

The J. Paul Getty Museum Journal is published once a year. Manuscripts should be submitted no later than January 1 for consideration for that year's issue.

Photographs in this issue have been supplied by the institution that owns the object unless otherwise specified.

Cover: Flemish Master, ca. 1500. *Deposition*, detail. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum. See article pp. 133–156.

Editorial statement:
The J. Paul Getty Museum was founded in 1953 and moved to its new building in 1974. As the museum grows, an active program of research and publication has been encouraged. To this end our founder, J. Paul Getty, authorized the publication of the first two volumes of the J. Paul Getty Museum *Journal*.

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

The Editors

Subscriptions may be addressed to the Bookstore, The J. Paul Getty Museum, P.O. Box 2112, Santa Monica, California 90406.

17985 Pacific Coast Highway
Malibu, California 90265
(213) 459-2306
ISBN 0-89236-032-1
ISSN 0362-1980

Abbreviation: Getty MJ

Managing editor Sandra Knudsen Morgan;
designed by Patrick Dooley;
typography by Freedmen's Organization, Los Angeles;
printed by Alan Lithograph, Inc., Los Angeles

THE J. PAUL GETTY MUSEUM JOURNAL
VOLUME 9 / 1981

Contents

ANTIQUITIES

Ἄμασις, Ἀμάσιδος

Dietrich von Bothmer

The splendid Amazonomachy cup by the Kleophrades Painter in the Cabinet des Médailles in Paris[1] was found in very fragmentary condition in Tarquinia in 1829 and was briefly noted by the excavators Manzi and Fossati the same year.[2] In their report the signature on the foot was misread, but two years later E. Gerhard incorporated the vase in his *Rapporto Volcente*[3] and gave a proper reading, omitting, however, the final damaged letter. Gerhard saw that Kleophrades signed as potter, and he assumed that the four-letter αμασ that followed the signature by Kleophrades should be restored to read Amasis, already known to him as an artist from the Canino olpe now in the British Museum,[4] followed by the verb ἔγραφσε. Double signatures of potters and painters were not unknown to Gerhard: he cites Euphronios and Onesimos,[5] Hischylos and Epiktetos,[6] Hischylos and Pheidippos,[7] Python and Epiktetos,[8] Nikosthenes and Epiktetos,[9] Deiniades and Phintias,[10] Tlempolemos and Sakonides,[11] and Euxitheos and Oltos.[12] Thus for the longest time the cup in the Cabinet des Médailles figured in archaeological literature as having a signature of Kleophrades as potter and of Amasis as painter—in *CIG*,[13] in O. Jahn's introduction to the Munich catalogue,[14] in W. Klein,[15] and S. Reinach,[16] even though H. Brunn as early as 1859[17] had rejected the conventional interpretation. He realised that the final letter of the inscription just before the interpoints separating it from the beginning ruled out the reading "Ἄμασις ἔγραφσε" as there was no room for an epsilon between the sigma and the interpoints.

Kleophrades on the Paris cup remained our only signature by that potter until A. Furtwängler in 1883[18] discovered a mate, again painted in black glaze on the edge of a foot that belongs to either of two fragmentary cups in Berlin, both from Vulci and an obvious pair.[19] These two cups are early works by Douris, whose signature is preserved on one of the fragments of the second cup, on the outside, along the rim. The potter's signature on the edge of the foot has all but disappeared since Furtwängler recorded it,[20] but it seems to have consisted only of the words KVE[O]ΦR[AΔEꟻ EΓO]IEꟻE[N], without interpoints or any other name.

A few years later Jan Six examined the fragmentary cup in the Cabinet des Médailles and published the first accurate transcription of the signature.[21] He calculated that the gap in the foot must have contained seven letters or characters which he restored as IOꟻ:HVV. The completed inscription, running all the way around the edge of the foot would thus read:

KVEOΦRAΔEꟻ:EΓOIEꟻEN:AMAꟻIOꟻ:HVVꟻ:

(Kleophrades made [me], son of Amasis). While the patronymic in artists' signatures is often expressed by the definite article in the nominative followed by the father's name in the genitive (*e.g.* Tleson ho Nearchou; Ergoteles ho Nearchou; Euthymides ho Poliou), we also have "Eucheiros horgotimou hyihs" (= Eucheiros the son of Ergotimos)[22] and the Attic form ὑύς for son is known from inscriptions.[23]

1. 535. Beazley *ARV*² (1963) p. 191, no. 103.
2. *Bullettino degli Annali dell'Instituto* 1 (1829) pp. 198–199.
3. *Annali dell'Instituto* 3 (1831) pp. 115 and 179, no. 703.
4. B 471. Beazley *ABV* (1956) p. 153, no. 32.
5. *ARV*² p. 324, no. 60.
6. *ARV*² p. 79, no. 1.
7. *ARV*² p. 166, no. 11.
8. *ARV*² p. 72, no. 16.
9. *ARV*² p. 71, no. 8.
10. *ARV*² p. 24, no. 12.
11. *ABV* p. 178, no. 2.
12. *ARV*² p. 60, no. 64.
13. 4 (1877) p. 200, no. 8238.
14. *Beschreibung der Vasensammlung* (1854) p. CVIII.
15. *Die griechischen Vasen mit Meistersignaturen*² (1887) p. 149.
16. *Répertoire des Vases Peints* 2 (1900) p. 265.
17. *Geschichte der griechischen Künstler* 2 (1859) p. 657. He also brushed aside the restoration reported by the Duc de Luynes (*Description de quelques vases peints* [1840] pp. 24–25), AMAΣ [TRATINO]Σ, which would have made Kleophrades a native of the small poor town of Amestratos in Northern Sicily.
18. *AZ* 1883, cols. 183–184.
19. *ARV*² p. 429, nos. 21–22.
20. Cf. H. Bloesch *Formen attischer Schalen* (1940) p. 58, no. 2.
21. *RM* 3 (1888) pp. 233–234.
22. *ABV* pp. 162, 178–183; *ARV*² p. 26.
23. A. Raubitschek *Dedications from the Athenian Akropolis* (1949) pp. 10–12, no. 6; p. 23, no. 17; pp. 47–49, no. 46, pp. 224–225, no. 190; pp. 259–260, no. 227.

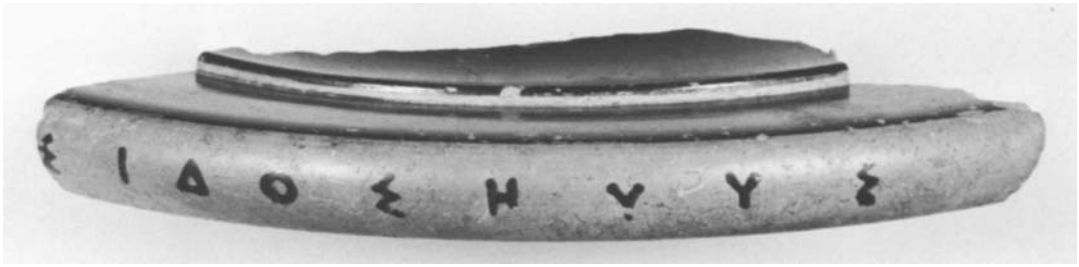


Figure 1. Inscribed fragment of a cup foot. Malibu, Getty Museum, 80.AE.54.

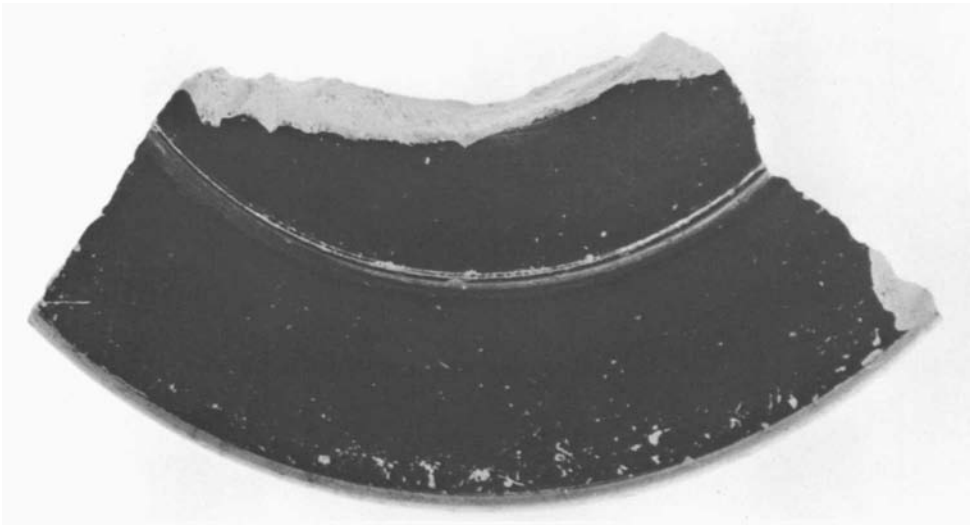


Figure 2. Fragment of a cup foot from above. Malibu.

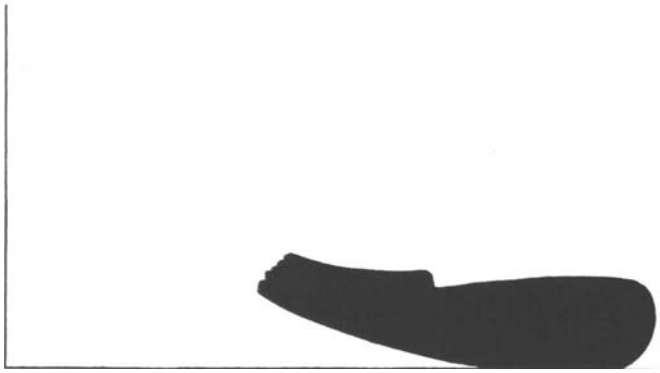


Figure 3. Profile drawing of the foot fragment.

Six's supplement is quite ingenious, and one would have thought that his reading would be widely accepted. Loeschcke welcomed the interpretation of Six in his *RE* article on Amasis,[24] and A. de Ridder quoted the new reading in his catalogue,[25] but Klein, compelled to abandon ἔγραφσε followed Six's transliteration, revived a proposal first made by O. Jahn[26] in 1864 and read AMAΣIΣ: KAVOΣ: in the first edition of his *Lieblingsinschriften* of 1890.[27] He maintained this reading in the second edition of 1898,[28] even though in the meantime P. Hartwig[29] had stressed that a καλός name should find no place on a foot or a handle, areas reserved for artists' signatures. Hartwig, too, had looked at the fragmentary cup in Paris and thought that the final letter in the inscription was not certainly a sigma. He also went over Six's calculation of the spacing of the letters and concluded that the gap in the foot allowed more than the seven characters that Six had limited himself to. He therefore reverted to Gerhard's original contention of a double signature and assumed the existence of another Amasis, a red-figure painter, to whom he attributed nine vases that form the nucleus of the vast *oeuvre* that we now associate with the Kleophrades Painter.

Hartwig proposed to call his Amasis "Amasis II" to distinguish him from the potter of black-figured vases. When Beazley in 1910 established his method with the article entitled *Kleophrades*,[30] he summed up the problem of the Paris signature in a few lines that are worth quoting in full:

> "The last and broken letter can only be a Σ, and we cannot therefore restore Ἄμασις ἔγραφσεν: the choice lies between Ἀμάσιος ὑός and Ἄμασις καλός, and of these the former is probably preferable."

In his monograph on the Kleophrades Painter,[31] dedicated to the memory of Paul Hartwig, Beazley said of Six's supplement of the missing letters: "it fits and is highly probable,"[32] but in all his published lists[33] he contented himself with giving only the preserved letters, indicating the gap with dots.

The acquisition of an inscribed cup foot fragment by the J. Paul Getty Museum in Malibu in 1980[34] now seems to settle the question of Kleophrades's signature once and for all. As on the foot in Paris and the one in Berlin,[35] the letters are on the reserved edge of the foot, evenly spaced, written boldly and calligraphically. The foot fragment itself is close in size to the foot in Paris, having about the same diameter, but in profile it is not a replica of either the Paris foot or the one in Berlin. The handwriting, however, is identical, as is the use of the four-stroke sigma. The preserved nine letters, clearly the end of an inscription, occupy about one quarter of the periphery and read as follows: .... ΣIΔOΣHVVΣ. The last letter is sufficiently far to the left of the break to assure us that no more letters followed. On the Paris foot the letters and interpoints are spaced so as to form a complete circle. On the Malibu fragments there are no interpoints, and the letters are closer together. Assuming that the Getty foot fragment gives us the termination of the signature employed by Kleophrades on the foot in Paris, and combining the two, we arrive at the complete formula:

KVEOΦRAΔEΣ EΓOIEΣEN AMAΣIΔOΣ HVVΣ

which must have occupied a little less than two thirds of the periphery. If Kleophrades used the same spelling and was consistent on his interpoints on the Paris foot, we have one character more than Six thought could be accommodated, but surely a very slight adjustment is feasible and barely noticeable, whereas the followers of the ἔγραφσεν theory would be in real trouble if they allowed for an interpoint after Amasis.

In addition to confirming Six's brilliant supplement, the Malibu fragment tells us something about the Attic declension of the name Amasis. Six and Beazley using the genitive Ἀμάσιος followed Herodotus,[36] but there is good authority for the genitive Ἀμάσιδος which Plutarch[37] uses, as do Dinon,[38] Diogenes Laertius[39] and Aelian,[40] normally in talking about the Egyptian king Amasis. Diodorus Siculus is inconsistent in the form of the genitive.[41]

It is of some interest to note that Kleophrades as a pot-

24. I (1894), cols. 1748–1749.
25. *Catalogue des vases peints de la Bibliothèque Nationale* 2 (1902) p. 402.
26. *Annali dell'Instituto* 36 (1864) p. 242.
27. *Die griechischen Vasen mit Lieblingsinschriften*[1] (1890) p. 50.
28. P. 93.
29. *Die griechischen Meisterschalen* (1893) p. 401.
30. *JHS* 30 (1910) pp. 38–68.
31. *Der Kleophrades-Maler* (1933) p. 17.
32. Quoted from the original English manuscript published in 1974.
33. *AV* (1925) p. 75, no. 68; *ARV*[1] (1942) p. 128, no. 91; *ARV*[2] (1963) p. 191, no. 103.
34. 80.AE.54. Anonymous donation in honor of Martin Robertson. Published here with the kind permission of Jiří Frel who facilitated my work in Malibu during a memorable week in August 1980 in every conceivable way.
35. *ARV*[2] p. 191, no. 103; *ARV*[2] p. 429, no. 21.
36. III, 1.
37. Throughout (at least five times).
38. As quoted by Athenaeus, XIII 560f.
39. Book 8, 1, 3 (dative Ἀμάσιδι).
40. *On the characteristics of Animals* XVII, 6.
41. Ἀμάσιος: X, 14.2; Ἀμάσιδος I, 69.1.

ter followed in the footsteps of his father Amasis, another potter, just as two sons of Nearchos, Tleson and Ergoteles, or Eucheiros the son of Ergotimos,[42] made use of the reputation established by their father. I know of no vase-painter who signs as the son of a vase-painter, but in the case of Euthymides, C. Robert suggested that he was the son of the sculptor Pollias.[43] From a commercial point of view, an established potter's workshop was valuable property, and a potter would well have wished for a son of his to continue in the profession, bequeathing to his heir not only the equipment but also valuable trade connections. Thus a signature that includes the patronymic would, on the part of the son, be not merely an act of filial piety but also a useful advertisement to his customers, both domestic and foreign.

Since the Malibu fragment cannot belong to either the Paris cup painted by the Kleophrades Painter or to the Berlin cups painted by Douris, we must now be on the lookout for another splendid cup of big dimensions which should be dated somewhere between the cup in Paris and the Dourian pair in Berlin.

The Metropolitan Museum of Art
New York

42. See above, note 22.

43. *RE* 6 (1909) cols. 1512–1514.

Dem Andenken meines Mannes gewidmet.

Medeas Widderzauber auf einer Schale aus der Werkstatt des Euphronios

Martha Ohly-Dumm

"Too many sherds" someone may say. But like all masters of the αὐσαηρτ ἁρμονία, he fragments well; for the part—a foot, a fold, a curl—is beautiful, studied, and thought grandly as well as the whole.*

Es sind zwanzig Scherben gefunden, einige davon eher Splitter. Ein paar Fragmente passen aneinander, so daß wir schließlich 13 Stücke zählen (*frr. 1 bis 13*). Vom Schalenbecken ist kaum ein siebter Teil erhalten geblieben. Dazu kommen einige Stücke von den beiden Henkeln und vom Stiel und der Standplatte des Fußes.[1] Das ist aufs Ganze gesehen sehr wenig. Man sieht dann auch, daß die Oberfläche der Scherben mitunter recht verletzt ist. Die Bruchkanten sind großenteils ziemlich stark verrieben. Die Schale war—das läßt sich noch erkennen—in den Händen der antiken Besitzer zerbrochen, und diese hatten sie geflickt. Sie müssen sich des Wertes des Gefäßes bewußt gewesen sein.[2] Später aber ist die Schale—auch das ist den Fragmenten anzusehen—ein zweites Mal in die Brüche gegangen und in Scherben starkem Feuer ausgesetzt gewesen, das unterschiedlich auf diese gewirkt hat, so daß sich an manchen Scherben die ursprüngliche Färbung der Schalenoberfläche und ihrer Bilder nicht rein erhalten hat, stumpf geworden ist oder sich auffallend verfärbte. Schließlich sind die Scherben verstreut worden. Auch alles das mag sich im Altertum abgespielt haben. Es bleibt schwer zu erklären, warum die Schale so zugrunde gegangen ist.[3]

Der äußere Befund von dem, was für uns von der Schale übrigblieb, ist, wie gesagt, sehr beklagenswert und flüchtigere Betrachter der wenigen Scherben werden eher dazu kommen, daß sich eine längere Beschäftigung mit ihnen kaum lohnte. Aber dieses Wenige, das wir haben, ist ein ganz herrliches einzigartiges Geschenk![4]

DIE SCHERBEN VON DER MITTE DER SCHALE

frr. 1-5, diese zunächst von außen (=a):

frr. 1a–5a

Mit dem Ornamentring außen am Ansatz des Schalenfußes, der an *3a* und *4a* beginnt. (Abb.2)

Das Ornament besteht aus gegenständigen Doppelspiralen mit eingeschriebenen Palmetten und außen halben Palmetten sowie Einzelblättchen. Dazu kommt *fr. 5a*, außen ohne Verzierung, das nahe dem Ornamentring anzusetzen ist: die Lage ist bestimmbar durch das Innenbild (siehe *5i*). Der Firnis ist dicht, schwarz und glänzend, die Ausparungen im üblichen hellen Rot. Alle fünf Scherben haben durchgehende Bohrlöcher (siehe Abb.8); die Schale war antik mit Draht geflickt. An den anderen Fragmenten sind keine Bohrlöcher gegeben.[5] An *3a* und *4a* ist der Stiel der Schale teilweise so abgesplittert, daß sich die gedrehte Wandung der Schale von der nachträglich aufgesetzten Tonmasse des Stiels absetzt; es zeigen sich im Ton Hohlräume, wobei die vom Stiel ehemals verdeckte Außenfläche am Boden des Schalenbeckens im Töpferofen eine glatte braune Brandfarbe angenommen hat. Dazu kommt weiterhin der Stiel *fr. 12* (Abb. 7), der oben am Becken

Ich danke Jiří Frel für die freundliche Erlaubnis, die Fragmente zu veröffentlichen. Meinem Mann Dieter Ohly verdanke ich die Rekonstruktionszeichnung des Innenbildes.

*J.D. Beazley, *The Kleophrades Painter*, 1974, 8.

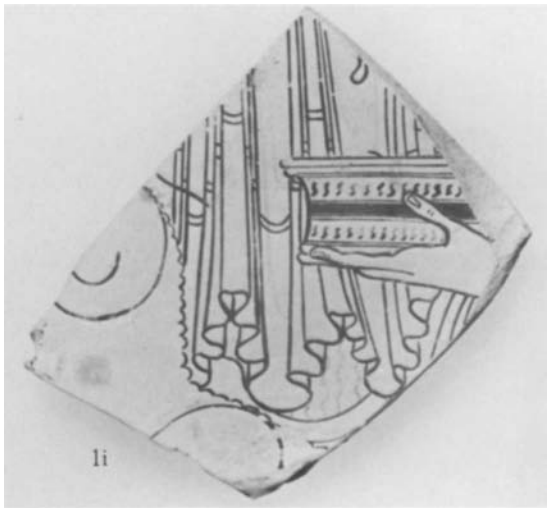
1. Die Stiel- und Fußfragmente sind mit den übrigen zusammen gefunden worden. 79.AE.19, anonyme Schenkung.

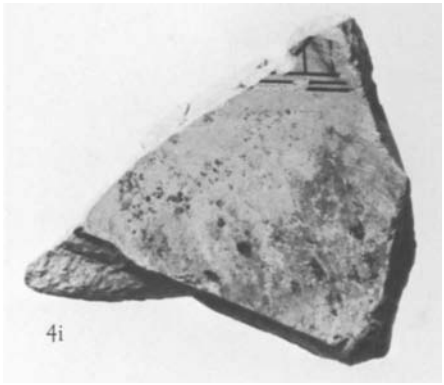
2. Die hohe Wertsch;ätzung griechischer Vasen bei den etruskischen Käufern bezeugen die häufigen Flickungen. Beispiele aus der Münchner Vasensammlung: Schale des Exekias 8729 (aus Vulci, *ABV* 146,21; E. Simon, *Die griechischen Vasen*, 1976, Taf.24 u.Abb.73) mit Flicklöchern am Fuß (nicht mehr sichtbar); Schale des Epeleios-Malers 2619A (aus Vulci, *ARV*² 146,2; A. Furtwängler-K. Reichhold, *Griechische Vasenmalerei* 1904–1932 Taf.155; K. Schefold, *Götter- und Heldensagen der Griechen in der spätarchaischen Zeit*, 1978, Abb.256); Kelchkrater des Euphronios 8935 (*ARV*² 1619, Euphronios 3bis, Beazley, *Paralipomena* 322, *MüJb* XXII, 1971, 229 Abb.3-11, J. Boardman, *Athenian Red Figure Vases, The Archaic Period*, 1975 Abb.112), dessen einer Henkel geflickt und angestückt war. Außerdem sind Aufbewahrungen über einen längeren Zeitraum—etwa von einer Generation—bekundet: Vgl. J.D. Beazley, "The Brygos Tomb at Capua," *AJA* 49, 1945,153 ff.

3. Vgl.Anm. 8.

4. Die Medeaschale ist erwähnt von K. Schefold, Die Basler Peliadenschale, *Ant. Kunst* 21, 1978, 102: "die Trümmer eines der Hauptwerke der attischen Vasenmalerei" gewürdigt und abgebildet bei H. Meyer, *Medea und die Peliaden*, 1980, 25 Taf.8,1.—Später hinzu kamen folgende Fragmente: Von *2i/2a*: kleines unteres Stück mit Kessel, Dreifuß und Ornamentring; von *6i/6a*: oberes Stück mit Dreifußbeinen und linkem Bein des Telamon; von *10i/10a*: unterer Teil des Randornamentes.

5. Oben Anm. 2.





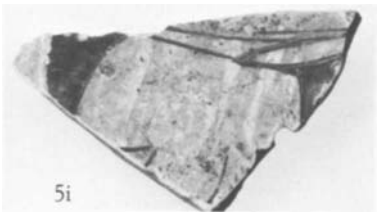


Abb. 1. Innenbild (1:1). *fr. 1i:* Medea, Pyxis, Widder—*frr. 2i.* Widder, Kessel, Gewand der linken Peliade—*fr. 3i:* Widder, Gewand der Medea, Kesselrand—*fr. 4i:* Gewand der Medea, Kesselrand—*fr. 5i:* zwei Füsse des Kessels, Flammen—*frr. 6i:* Zwei Füsse des Kessels, brennende Scheite, Segment mit Standfläche.

abgesplittert ist. An diesem Fragment ist kein Rest der Schalenwandung erhalten; es passt daher nicht an andere Fragmente des Beckens an. Unten im Stiel ist die Ausdehnung des Schalenfußes 4 cm tief erhalten. Von der Standplatte des Fußes gibt es mit *fr. 13* ein Stück: Durchmesser ca. 22 cm.

Dieselben Scherben *frr. 1-5* von innen (=i), die mittlere Partie vom *Innenbild der Schale* (Abb. 1):

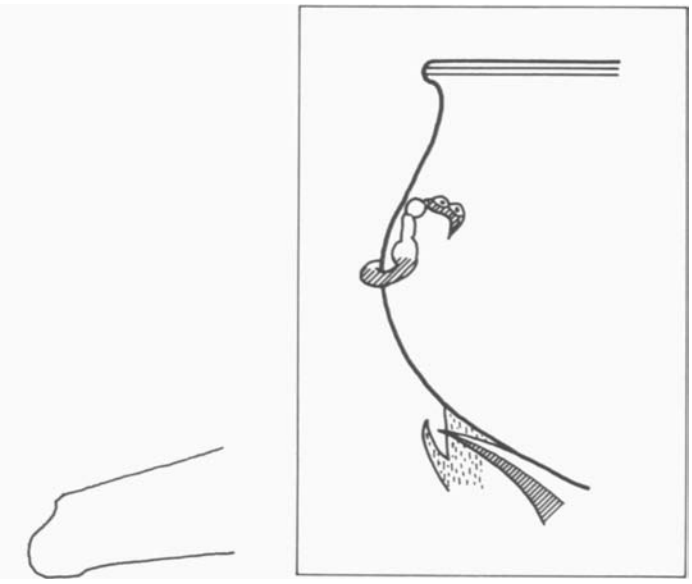
fr. 1i

Brust der *Medea*. Dazu ihre linke Hand mit der offenen *Kräuterpyxis* (ohne Deckel) und unten Schulter, Hals und Horn vom *Widder*.

Die hängenden Falten des Chitonüberfalls geben für die Rekonstruktion des Innenbildes die Vertikale an. Eine querverlaufende und durch zwei parallele Linien bezeichnete Borte des Chitons kommt hier und da zum Vorschein, einmal höher, einmal auch tiefer, je nachdem wie die Falten gestaffelt sind. Medea steht in der Mitte eines Dreifigurenbildes, den Körper leicht aus der Vorderansicht nach ihrer rechten Seite herausgedreht. Unter dem Saum des Chitonüberfalls im Bogen zur linken Hand hinaufziehende Falten des Himations, dessen Stoffmasse über den linken Unterarm gelegt war. Das Himation hing also über der linken Schulter der Medea. Die Zeichnung der Hauptfalten in dunkelbraunen Linien. Daneben feine Fältchen in verdünntem hellbraunem Firnis.

Die Pyxis hat oben und unten ein doppeltes Profil, einen breiten (dunkelbraunen) Firnisreifen; darüber und darunter gemusterte Friese. Überaus prachtvoll Medeas linke Hand mit den schlanken Fingern, den schmalen Fingernägeln, dem Nagelbett am Zeigefinger und den Fältchen am Gelenk des Daumens. Über dem Widderkopf die Profillinie der rechten Brust der Medea und oberhalb der Pyxis am Bruchrand der Scherbe das herabhängende Ende des Bandes, das sich Medea um das Haar geschlungen hat (wir ergänzen zu diesem ein Diadem der Königstochter).[6]

Die jetzige Oberfläche des Widders, Fell und Horn, ist tongrundig, aber matt; sie war ursprünglich in flachem Relief erhöht (Barbotinetechnik; siehe die *frr. 2i* und *3i*). An *1i* ist der aufgesetzte Ton bis auf wenige Spuren abgesplittert; die schwarze Innenzeichnung des Widders, Horn und Schulterlinie, liegt auf der Ebene der Schalenoberfläche und ist erhalten. Der Ton des Widderreliefs ist demnach erst nach Ausführung der Umriß- und Innenzeichnung aufgetragen worden, da er an manchen Stellen ein wenig, aber deutlich die Zeichnung überdeckt, so auch an den *frr. 2i* und *3i*. Von dem wollig gelockten Rücken-und Halskontur sind kleine Reste gegeben. Das Fell des Widders war weiß; Spuren davon finden sich an *fr. 2i* und *fr. 3i*. Vielleicht war das Horn anders gefärbt, d.h. mit Deckrot. Ein Bohrloch an der linken Ecke des *fr. 1i*.



fr. 2i (drei Stücke)

Die Vorderbeine des *Widders*, Mündung und Bauch des Kessels und das Himation der linken *Peliade*.

Das aufgesetzte Relief des Widders ist z. T. gut erhalten. Am Rand beider Widderbeine Reste der weißen Bemalung. Das Himation der Peliade ist so zu ergänzen, daß es über ihrem vorgestreckten Unterarm liegt (das Himation kehrt an *fr. 1o* wieder).

Die Kesselmündung ist profiliert (zum Kontur kommen zwei parallele Linien). An der größten Ausladung des Kesselprofils befindet sich ein schwarzer Henkel. Es scheinen bewegliche Henkel mit Scharnieren gemeint zu sein, die man hochklappen konnte und die mit Attaschen in Form von Blüten (?) am Kessel befestigt sind. Ein Teil vom aufgetragenen Schwarz ist hier abgesplittert (siehe die nebenstehende Skizze). Die Oberfläche des Kessels ist fleckig, wie verschmiert; wobei es sich um schwarzbraunen und braunen Firnisauftrag und daneben anscheinend um verblaßtes Deckrot handelt. Es sind das die Reste einer ursprünglich deutlicheren Darstellung von hoch hinaufreichenden Flammen und von Ruß, da der Kessel über einem lodernden Feuer auf einem Dreifuß steht (vgl. *frr. 4i* und *5i*). Unterhalb des Kessels das zu einer Spitze weit nach außen ausschwingende linke Bein des Dreifußes, das mit Firnis ausgefüllt ist (vgl. *fr. 5i* mit Skizze). Eine von der Spitze ausgehende Linie mündet in den Kesselkontur, und damit ist angezeigt, daß der Kessel auf dem Fuß ruht.[7] Der Fir-

6. Als Vorbild diente die Korone auf der Amphora des Euthymides München 8731 (*ARV*² 27,4; R. Lullies-M. Hirmer, *Griechische Vasen*, 1953, Abb.19).

7. Ein verwandter Kessel mit sehr ähnlich gearbeitetem Untersatz fand sich im sogen. Philippsgrab: *Analecta* X,1,1977,17 Abb.8.

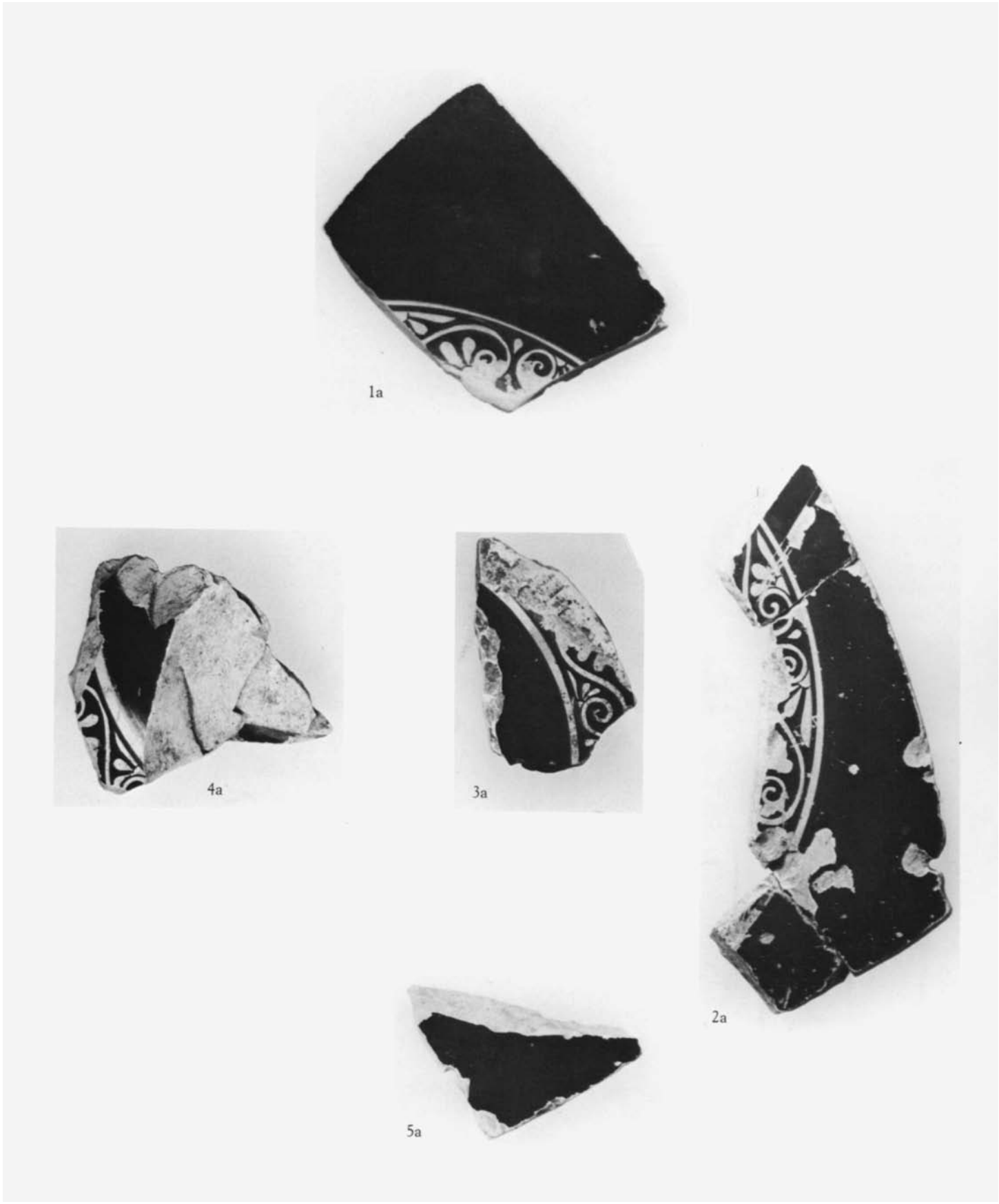


Abb. 2. frr. 1a bis 4a: Ornamentring am Fussansatz—*fr. 5a* (1:1)

nis auf dem kleinen Bruchstück unten ist im Unterschied zu den übrigen Stücken rotbraun verbrannt (siehe dazu unten *fr. 6i*). Links neben dem Bruchanschluß der kleinen Scherbe und ebendort, wo das Dreifußbein spitz endet, zeigen sich auf dem gefirnißten Grund deutliche Reste von verblaßtem Deckrot, das Feuer also unter dem Kessel, aus dem eine dünne Flamme hervorzüngelt (siehe die Skizze).

fr. 3i

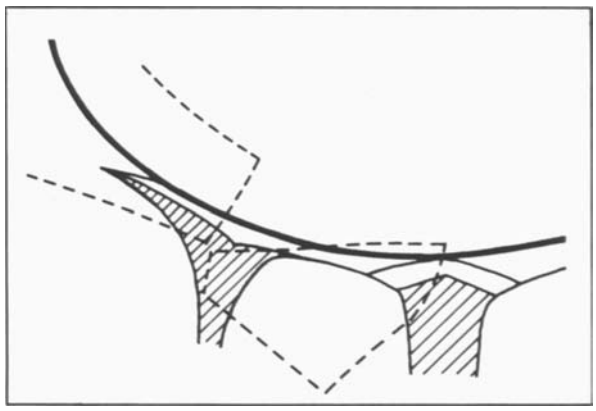
Mit den Profillinien der *Kesselmündung*. Oben ein Stück des Bauchkonturs, von dem im Relief erhöhten und aus dem Kessel herausspringenden Widder mit Flecken der einstigen weißen Bemalung seines Fells. Rechts ein Bohrloch und links gerade noch das Gelenk des linken Vorderbeins des Tiers. Zwischen Widderbauch und Kesselmündung das Himation der vom Kessel und vom Widder überschnittenen *Medea* (eine senkrechte Faltenlinie und darüber ein Faltenbogen an Medeas Hüfte). Der Firnis des Fragments ist rotbraun verbrannt (*vgl. fr. 6i*).

fr. 4i

Die profilierte *Mündung des Kessels* mit den drei Linien. Die Oberfläche des großen Kochtopfes ist fleckig: aufgetragene Bemalung in mehr oder minder verdünntem Firnis und vergangenem Deckrot, Flammen und Ruß. Die Zeichnung des nach oben flackernden Feuers ist hier noch deutlich zu erkennen. Über der Kesselmündung zwei senkrechte Faltenlinien des Himations der vom Kessel überschnittenen Medea; am Bruchrand eine schräg laufende Faltenlinie. An dieser Stelle ein Bohrloch. Der Firnis ist dunkelbraun.

fr. 5i

Der untere Bauchkontur des Kessels und die obere Partie von zwei Beinen mit dem Gestänge des Dreifußes, Feuer und Holzscheite. Gut erhalten die jetzt mattbraun erscheinenden Flammen unterhalb des Kessels, die mit Deckrot aufgemalt waren. Die Holzscheite in Umrißzeichnung. Die Dreifußbeine sind das linke und das mittlere, die beide gefirnißt sind. Zwischen den Beinen zwei Linien, die sicher das sie verbindende Gestänge bedeuten. Darüber der untere Kontur des Kesselbauches. Das mittlere, vorn befindlich gedachte Bein ist von vorn gesehen; was erhalten ist, läßt sich symmetrisch ergänzen. Man sieht, wie es der Vasenmaler mit seinen Mitteln darzustellen verstanden hat, daß das nach vorn ausschwingende Bein den Kessel trägt (vgl. das linke im Profil gesehene Bein auf *frr. 2i* und *5i* und die nebenstehende Skizze). Der



Firnis ist auf *fr. 5i* braunrot verbrannt (vgl. *fr. 6i*).

DIE SCHERBEN VON DER PERIPHERIE DER SCHALE

frr. 6-10, zunächst von innen: weitere Partien vom Innenbild der Schale.

fr. 6i (zwei Stücke, Abb. 1)

Der *Rahmen* und das *Segment* mit der Bodenlinie des Innenbildes, darüber zwei *Beine des Dreifußes* und die brennenden *Holzscheite*.

Wie auf *fr. 5i* oben das linke und mittlere Bein des Dreifußes (eine querverlaufende Verletzung auf diesem Bruchstück). Zwischen, hinter und vor den Beinen aufgehäuftes Holz von kräftigen Baumästen. Alles brennt und glüht. Wiederum eine Malerei aus Firnis und Deckrot, aber beides verfärbt (der Firnis ist rotbraun und verblaßt, das Deckrot ist matt geworden). Daß dieser Zustand nachträglich eingetreten ist, und zwar erst nach Zerstörung der Schale und durch eine unterschiedlich starke Einwirkung von Hitze, geht einwandfrei daraus hervor, daß das unten anpassende Bruchstück mit dem größeren Teil des Segments den ursprünglichen, schwarzglänzenden Firnis bewahrt hat. So stoßen jetzt am Bruchanschluß die schwarzen Blattzungen der Bodenlinie unmittelbar an die rotbraun verbrannten des oberen Bruchstücks an. Eine gleiche nachträgliche, rotbraune Firnisverfärbung wie dieses Stück zeigen auch die *frr. 3i* und *5i*. Jedoch ist ein solcher Verlust der ursprünglichen Farbwerte nur auf der Innenseite der drei Bruchstücke zu beobachten, während sich außen der Firnis schwarz erhalten hat. Es kann nur die eine Erklärung geben, daß eine Anzahl von Scherben der aufgelösten Schale mit ihrer Innenseite auf starker Glut gelegen haben, andere nicht, oder weniger stark erhitzt wurden—das ist merkwürdig genug.[8]

8. Wir wissen nichts über die Bedeutung und Verwendung der griechischen Vasen bei den Etruskern. Aber sicher waren diese so wenig wie im Ursprungsland Alltagsgerät. Monumentale Formen waren zum Gebrauch ungeeignet und geflickte Gefäße konnten kein Flüssigkeit aufnehmen. Benutzungsspuren sind selten und weisen wohl hauptsächlich auf kultische Feste oder Grabzeremonien hin: D. Ohly, *Die Antikensammlungen am Königsplatz*, 1967, 4.Aufl.16f. Spielte die Schale also bei einer Bestattungsfeierlichkeit eine Rolle, bei der sie zerbrach und teilweise verbrannte? Urnenbestattungen sind für diese Zeit bezeugt: L. Banti, *Die Welt der Etrusker*, 1960, 32f. u.101. Zur Verwendung bei einer Totenspende: E.R. Knauer, Die Berliner Andokides-Vase, *Reclams Werkmonographien z.bild. Kunst*, Nr.103,1969,103.

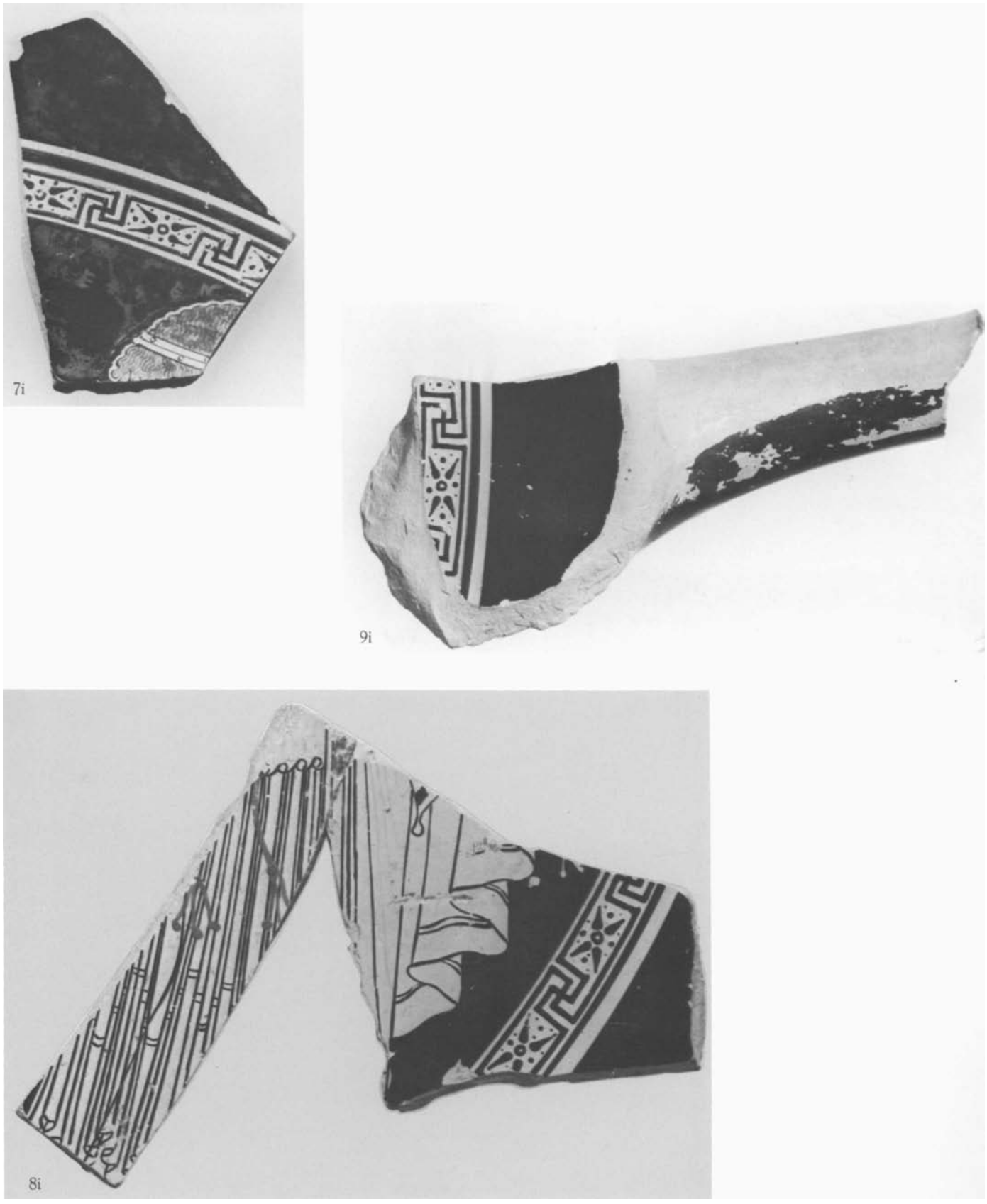


Abb. 3. Innenbild (1:1). *frr. 7i und 8i*: rechte Peliade, Kopf und linker Unterschenkel mit Gewand—*fr. 9i*: rechter Henkel.

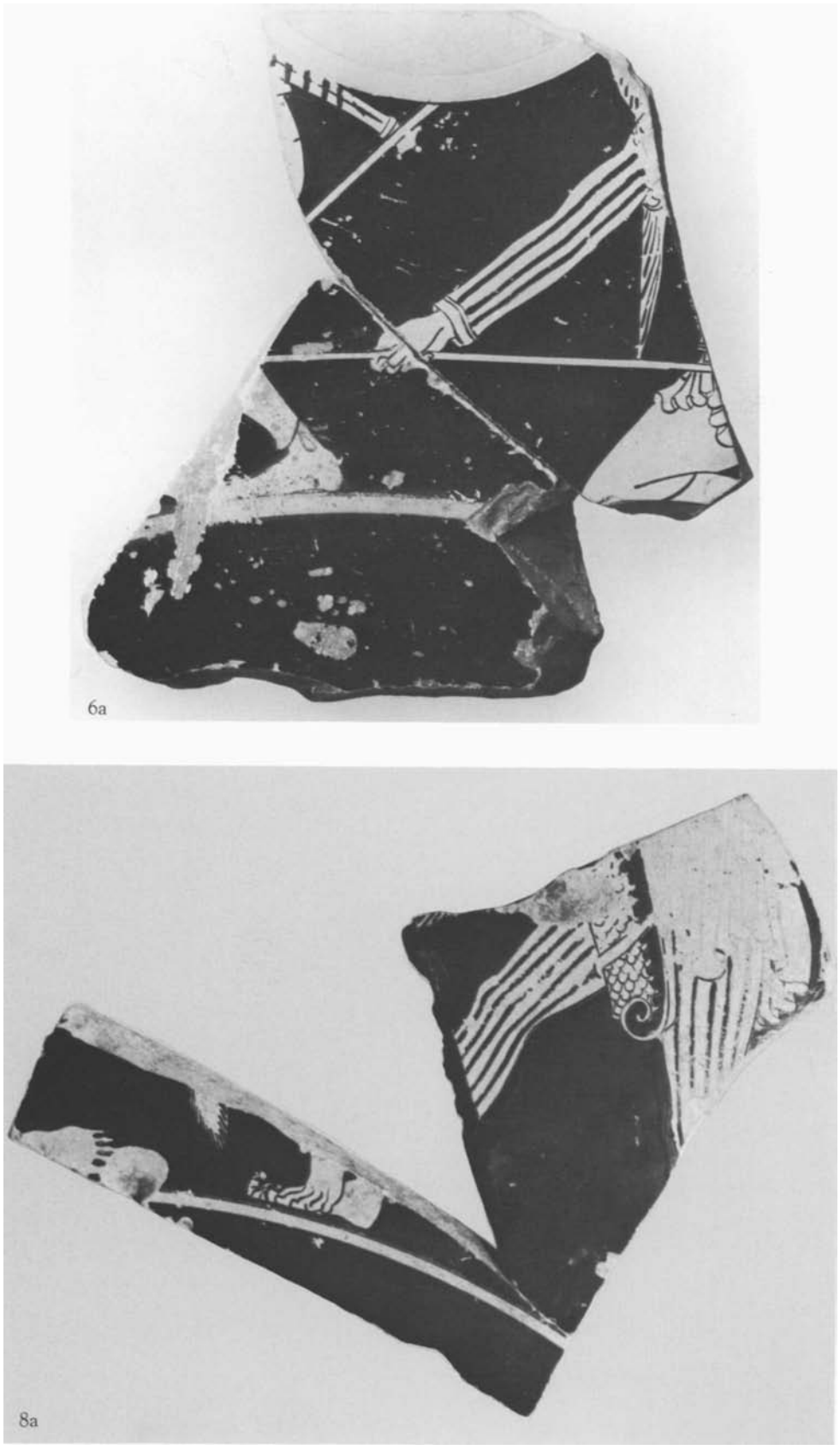


Abb. 4. Aussenbild A (1:1). *frr. 6a*: Telamon und Amazone (Gegnerin des Herakles)—*frr. 8a*: zwei Amazonen und Herakles.

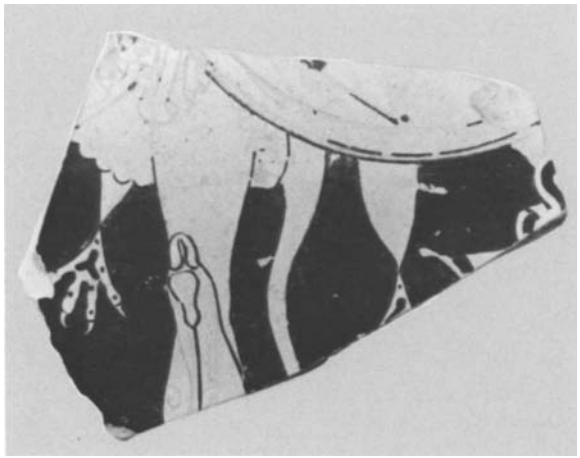


Abb. 5. Aussenbild B (1:1). *fr. 7a*: Amazone.

Auf der Bodenlinie zuunterst dick aufgetragenes Deckrot, mit dem die Glut unter den Holzscheiten—ein erster großer Baumast liegt quer darüber—bezeichnet ist. Das Deckrot ist durch die oben erwähnte nachträgliche Erhitzung der Scherbe dunkelmatt verbrannt, regelrecht verkohlt. Der Vasenmaler hat den ganzen Hintergrund der Feuerung unter dem Kessel aus dem schwarzen Bildgrund ausgespart. Letzterer ist auf der Scherbe links gerade noch zu sehen, allerdings der Firnis rotbraun verbrannt, und darauf wiederum in Deckrot aufgetragene Flammen, die jetzt matt und dunkler als der Bildgrund verfärbt sind (vgl. oben *fr. 2i*). Auf dem ersten Holzscheit wie auf anderen "glühenden" Scheiten ist Deckrot streifig aufgemalt. Daneben mit verdünntem Firnis aufgemalte Flämmchen, die die Scheite dicht überziehen: so brennen harzige Kiefernstämme, die der Maler vor Augen hatte (deutlich auf dem zweiten Stamm links neben dem Dreifußbein).

Unter der Bodenlinie (ein Zungenmuster) im Segment drei eingeschriebene, liegende Palmetten, deren äußere sich in die Zwickel des Segments verjüngen. Zwei der Palmetten sind zum großen Teil erhalten, von der jetzt fehlenden rechten Palmette, die wie die Mittelpalmette nach rechts gerichtet war, ist nur noch eine Spiralabzweigung erhalten.[9] Der Rahmen des Rundbilds ist ein Band aus Kreuzmäander mit Sternmetopen.[10] Man möchte nicht ausschließen, daß die große Schale, deren Rundbild einen Durchmesser von nahezu 42 cm hatte und deren voller Durchmesser auf etwa 53 cm kam,[11] ähnlich wie die Theseusschale im Louvre am Mündungsrand mit einem zweiten Ornamentrahmen geschmückt war, von dem sich indessen nichts erhalten hat[12] (die Scherben des Schalenbeckens haben eine Wandungsstärke von 4,9 bis 9,0 mm).

fr. 7i (Abb. 3)

Teil vom Kopf der *rechten Peliade* und einem Stück des Bildrahmens. Das Fragment gehört nicht, wie man vielleicht zunächst vermuten möchte, zur Medea; denn der Kopf wäre zu hoch angesetzt, um mit *fr. 1i*, auf dem die Brust der Medea erhalten ist, in Einklang gebracht werden zu können. Im braunen Haar ein doppeltes Band, verziert mit kleinen Kreisen. Die Stirnlinie gerade noch zu sehen. Über dem Kopf die rot aufgemalten Buchstaben.

fr. 8i (Zwei Stücke, Abb. 3)

Zur *Peliade*, die im Rundbild rechts steht, zählt auch dieses Fragment: ein Teil vom Unterschenkel des vorgesetzten rechten Beines, bedeckt vom langen Chiton; vor dem Schienbein gerade noch ein Rest des schwarzen Bildgrundes. In Kniehöhe hat der Chiton einen tiefen Überfall (ein zweiter ist jedenfalls unter der Brust der Peliade anzunehmen).[13] Das eine und andere, rot aufgemalte und tief herabhängende Ende des Gürtels hat eine dreiteilige Troddel. Im Rücken der Figur Falten und Saum des Himations mit zwei Zipfeln, an denen einmal ein schwereres Bleigewicht, das andere Mal zwei kleine Bleigewichte hängen. Zu den schwarzen Hauptfalten kommt feine Fältelung in verdünntem Firnis.

fr. 9i (Abb. 3)

Scherbe des Beckens (an Henkelstück) mit dem *Rahmen* des Innenbildes, wohl nahe oberhalb *fr. 8i* anzusetzen (demnach der rechte Henkel: siehe zu diesem unten).

fr. 10i (vier Stücke, Abb. 6)

Scherbe des Beckens (mit Teil des linken Henkels: siehe unten): der *Rahmen* des Innenbildes und eine Falte mit Saum des im Rücken der *linken Peliade* herabhängenden Himation. Dieses begegnete schon an *fr. 2i*, wozu bemerkt war, daß das um die Figur geschlungene Gewand ihr vorn über den erhobenen linken Unterarm hing.[14]

9. Eine verwandte Ranke (mit doppelter Spiralabzweigung) im Segment der Sosias-Schale Berlin 2278 (*ARV*² 21,1; Boardman, *Redfigure Vases* Abb.50).

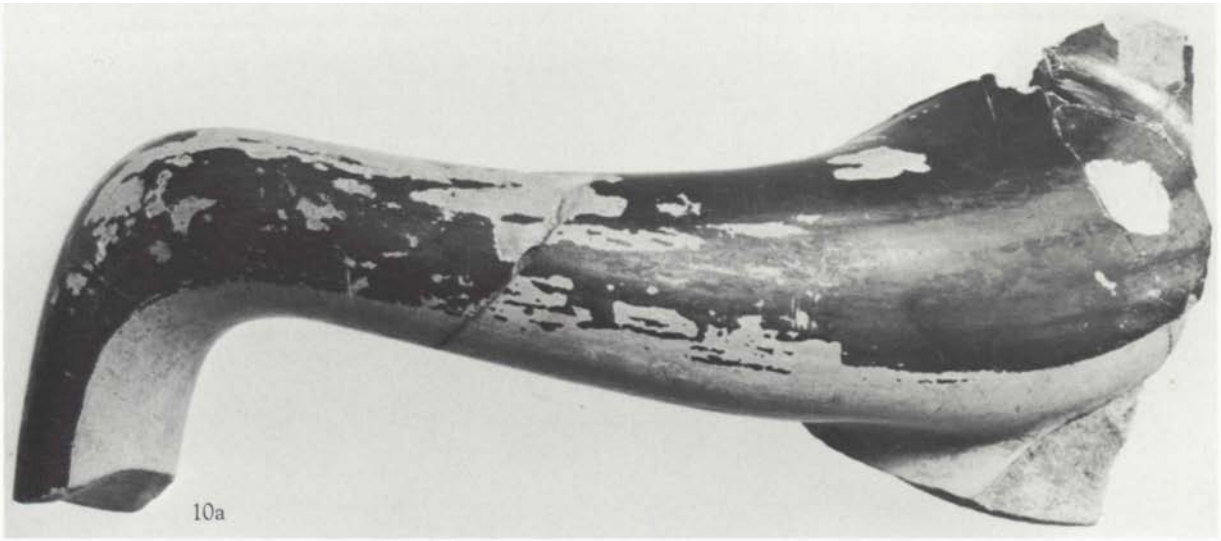
10. Rahmen aus Mäander und Sternmetopen: Schale des Onesimos New York 12.231.2 (*ARV*² 319,6; E. Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung der Griechen*, 1924, Abb.300).

11. Es handelt sich um eine der größten Schalen, die uns überliefert sind. Die Schale des Kachrylion und Euphronios München 8729 (Leagrosschale, *ARV*² 16,17; Simon, *Griechische Vasen*, Abb.107–109) mißt 43 cm, die Schale des Kleophrades-Malers Cab.Med. 535,699 und weitere frr. (*ARV*² 191,103; Beazley, *Kleophrades-Maler* Taf.10–12), mißt ca. 50 cm, die Schale des Penthesilea-Malers in Ferrara (*ARV*² 82,35, N. Alfieri—P.E. Arias, *Spina*, 1958, Abb.28–32) mißt 56,6 cm.

12. Louvre G 104 (*ARV*² 318,1; P. Arias—M. Hirmer—B. Shefton, 1962 Abb.160.

13. Die Falten des oberen Überfalls waren sicherlich in Relieflinien wiedergegeben. Ebenso gegliedert (dreifach) und stilisiert der Chiton des Herakles im Innenbild der Onesimosschale New York Anm.10.

14. Für die linke Peliade stand weniger Raum zur Verfügung als für die rechte, und so ist es wahrscheinlich, daß sie als Profilfigur dargestellt war. Der sitzende Pelias an dieser Stelle, wie er gelegentlich auf schwarzfigurigen Bildern erscheint (Halsamphora der Medeagruppe Brit.Mus.B 221; Beazley, *ABV* 321,4, Meyer a.0.Taf.3,1) ist schon aus Platzmangel auszuschließen. Auch sprechen die zu hoch angesetzten Mantelzipfel eindeutig für eine stehende Figur.



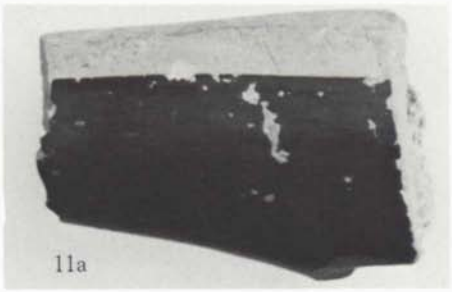
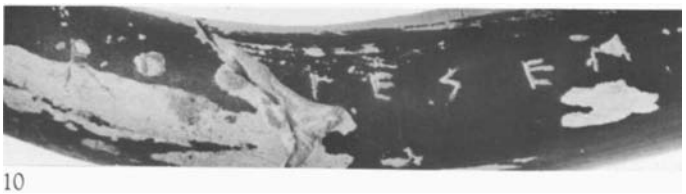
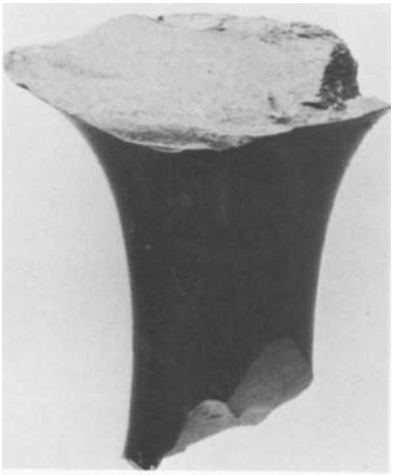


Abb. 6. frr. 10 und 11: linker Henkel (1:1); *frr. 10i* mit Gewand der linken Peliade.

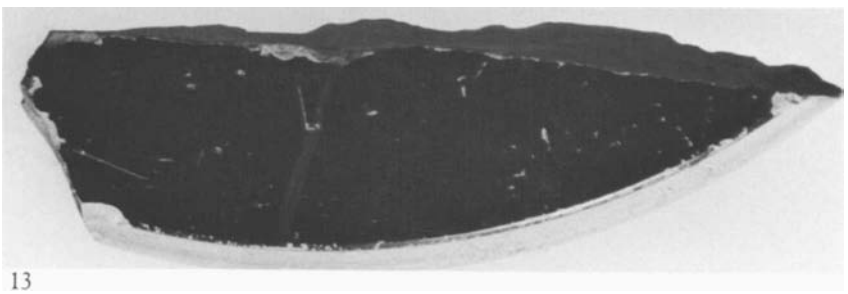
9



10



12



13

Abb. 7. frr. 9 und 10: Henkel mit Signatur—*frr. 12 und 13*: Stiel und Standplatte des Fusses (1:1).

Die Komposition des großen Rundbildes (Abb. 8) mit drei Frauen, Kessel, Widder, Dreifuß und Feuerung ist somit in allen wesentlichen Zügen gesichert. Von der Gestalt der Medea, die nach links gewendet ist, war die untere Hälfte von Widder, Kessel and Dreifuß verdeckt. Ihr rechter Arm war zweifellos erhoben. Hatte die Königstochter mit der rechten Hand ein langes Zepter erfaßt? Oder hatte sie wie erstaunt und bewegt von der Verwandlung die rechte Hand erhoben? Medea läßt, was sie erzauberte, geschehen. Wie die Brust im Profil zu sehen ist, so wohl auch ihr Antlitz: dahin weist auch das gerade noch erhaltene Ende des vom Haarschopf herabhängenden Bandes (vgl. *fr. 1i*). So blickte Medea also auf den Erfolg ihrer Kochkunst, den aus dem Kessel jugendfrisch und weiß herausspringenden Widder. Die Peliaden bestaunen das unerhörte Wunder. Die rechte Königstochter wurde mit einer Geste der Überraschung beider Hände ergänzt—eine Möglichkeit. Der Linken gaben wir in die rechte Hand ein Messer als Hinweis des Malers auf den bevorstehenden Vatermord des Mythos. Das ist wohl nicht richtig, da ein andeutendes Vorgreifen auf künftiges Geschehen der zu fordernden Eindeutigkeit des noch frühen Vasenbildes widerspricht. So mag auch die linke Peliastochter beide Hände erstaunt erhoben haben.[15]

Die Töpfersignatur muß hinter dem Kopf der linken Peliade eingesetzt haben, um über dem Kopf der rechten mit den auf *fr. 7i* geretteten vier Buchstaben zu enden "Euphronios epoiesen" (siehe unten).

Dieselben Scherben *frr. 6-10* von der Peripherie der Schale außen: *Amazonomachie, Seite A und Seite B.*

fr. 8a und 6a (jeweils zwei Stücke, Abb. 4): Seite A

Der Außenfries hat einen einfachen Kreis als Bodenlinie. Auf *fr. 8a* von links nach rechts drei Figuren: *Amazone, Herakles, Amazone.* Auf *fr. 6a* ebendieselbe zweite Amazone und vor dieser ein *Hoplit.* Somit im ganzen vier Figuren, zu denen ganz links eine fünfte erschlossen werden kann.

Auf *fr. 8a* in der Mitte ein zurückgesetzter, vom Boden sich energisch abstemmender linker Fuß mit kraftvoll modellierten Zehen.

Die Figur, zu der dieser Fuß gehört, bewegt sich weithin ausschreitend nach links hin. Vor dem Fuß baumelt eine behaarte Schwanzspitze, die zu derselben Figur gehörte—zweifellos war es Herakles mit dem Löwenfell. Herakles' linkes Bein muß gestreckt gewesen sein; das rechte Bein ist hinter dem am Boden ausgestreckten linken Bein der vor Herakles ins Knie gesunkenen Amazone zu denken. Von dieser Amazone ist auf *fr. 8a* der linke Fuß in Vorderansicht gegeben, und auf *fr. 6a* findet sich die Fortsetzung der Figur—ein Teil des rechten Unterschenkels mit dem Saum einer Beinschiene, des gebeugten rechten Knies und der Oberschenkel mit Falten eines kurzen Chitons; am Bruchrand sind gerade noch zwei Beinschienen zu erkennen. Auf *fr. 6a* sodann auch der ausgestreckte rechte Arm dieser Amazone mit dem langen Ärmel einer gestreiften Skythenjacke. Die Hand hält eine Lanze. Hinter der Schulter mit Ärmelfalten des Chitons hängt der lange Schweif eines Helmbusches herab.

Die kriegerisch reichhaltige Kleidung der vor Herakles hingestürzten Amazone ist eine Mischung skythischer und griechischer Tracht. Über der fremdländischen Jacke trägt sie den kurzen Chiton, über diesem einen griechischen Brustpanzer. Den Kopf schützt keine skythische Ledermütze, sondern ein griechischer Helm mit Busch, und die Beine sind nicht von Beinkleidern umhüllt, die in der Regel zu jener Jacke getragen werden, sondern nackt; nur die Unterschenkel sind mit den Beinschienen des griechischen Hopliten versehen.[16]

Die so beschriebene Amazone war von vorn zu sehen, mit dem ganzen Gewicht auf ihr rechtes Knie gestützt, während der linke Unterschenkel leicht verkürzt nach hinten führte. Die von den Fingern der rechten Hand fest umschlossene Lanze war in kämpferischer Abwehr fast waagerecht gegen Herakles gerichtet. Das Gesicht der Amazone zeigte sich im Profil und war nach dem Sieger emporgewendet. Zum griechischen Helm kam vermutlich ein griechischer Rundschild, mit dem sich die Amazone gegen den Heros zu schützen suchte.

Herakles wird sich, um sein Opfer zu töten, nicht der Keule bedient haben; dagegen spricht die nach links gehende Aktion, die einen von hinten her ausholenden, schwungvollen Keulenschlag des rechten Arms kaum zuläßt. So geben wir Herakles ein Schwert, mit dem er vorn agierte, während die linke Hand—der Arm im Rücken erhoben—wahrscheinlich den Bogen hielt.

Auf *fr. 8a* näherte sich dem Heros von hinten, von der Henkelzone her, eine Amazone im Eilschritt. Sie führt die Verstärkung heran, die auf der anderen Seite der Schale herbeieilt. Ihr rechter Fuß ist von Herakles' linkem Fuß überschnitten, das Bein im Profil gesehen, während das

15. Die Zeichnung entstand vor Abfassung des Textes und konnte nicht mehr korrigiert werden.—Die "Schwertpeliade" Alkandra gehört einer späteren ikonographischen Tradition an, die nicht mehr den Widderzauber, sondern den Tod des Pelias zum Gegenstand hat; vgl. Meyer a.O. 32 ff., wie auch E. Simon, Die Typen der Medeadarstellung in der antiken Kunst, *Gymnasium* 61,3, 207 ff.

16. Diese Zusammenstellung ist ungewöhnlich. Die umgekehrte Kombination—skythische Beinbekleidung ohne dazugehöriges Oberteil, an dessen Stelle ein Chiton—trägt die Amazone des Hermaios-Malers auf der Schale Louvre G 35 (*ARV*² 111,13, D.v.Bothmer, *Amazons in Greek Art*, 1957, Abb.72,10).

zurückgenommene linke Bein leicht nach vorn gedreht war. Entsprechend ist die Körperhaltung in halber Vorderansicht zu ergänzen. Die Bewegung der Amazone, die Beine fast gestreckt und den Rücken vorgebeugt, ist die charakteristische der Bogenschützin, die ihren Bogen mit ausgestreckten Armen führte.[17] Zwischen den Beinen ein großer geschuppter Köcher, der an einem Tragband über der rechten Schulter hing; vor dem linken Bein der Amazone am Bruchrand das gestreifte Ende der nach vorn hängenden Köcherbedeckung (ein Fuchsschwanz).[18] Zu den gestreiften skythischen Beinkleidern muß man sich die passende Jacke mit den langen Ärmeln ergänzen. Darüber trägt auch diese Amazone wieder einen kurzen Chiton (der Firnis der Chitonfalten größtenteils abgeblättert), aber nicht, wie jene gestürzte, einen Panzer. Die Chitonfalten folgen der erschlossenen Bewegung der Figur und in Hüfthöhe ist ein (von einem Gürtel gehaltener) Chitonbausch zu sehen. Da die Gegnerin des Herakles einen Helm trägt, hatte diese Amazone wohl eine Skythenmütze oder eine Kappe als Kopfbedeckung.[18a]

Auf *fr. 6a* vor der gestürzten Gegnerin des Herakles ein Hoplit; von ihm sind erhalten: der zurückgesetzte linke Fuß mit einem Teil des Unterschenkels und der Beinschiene, eine rot aufgemalte Schleife des Knöchelschutzes[19]; das Gesäß (auf ihm die abgeblätterte Spur einer senkrechten Falte des kurzen Chitons) und oben gerade noch zwei übereinandergreifende Hüftlaschen eines Panzers; eine Schwertscheide und die Außenseite eines Rundschildes, die in verdünntem Firnis am Rand gelb schattiert ist, um die Rundung zu betonen. Der Schild hatte vermutlich kein Schildzeichen.[20] Natürlich trug der Hoplit einen Helm. Deutlich sein Verhalten: Er war in schwungvoller Aktion mit dem linken Bein ein wenig ins Knie gegangen, und das rechte Bein war nach vorn genommen, fast ausgestreckt. Während der linke Arm mit dem Rundschild weit zurückschwingt, ist der Körper vorgebeugt, dabei nach vorn gedreht. Dieser Mitstreiter des Herakles—es kann sich nur um Telamon handeln—war im Begriff, seinem Opfer—jedenfalls wieder eine hingestürzte Amazone—mit einem Schwert den Todesstoß zu versetzen.

Von dieser dritten Amazone der Seite A des Außenfrieses unserer Schale ist zwar nichts erhalten. Aber da ist ein Lanzenschaft zu sehen, der unter dem Gesäß des Hopliten aufragt und dessen Spitze hinter dem Schild verschwindet. So läßt sich zusammen mit der erschlossenen Aktion des Hopliten auch die Erscheinung der Amazone rekonstruieren. Selbstverständlich gehört ihr die Lanze. Die Amazone war besiegt nach hinten gestürzt und hielt die Lanze in der Rechten, ohne daß sie noch in der Lage war, die Waffe gegen den Gegner zu führen.[21] Vielleicht hing ihr Kopf erschlafft nach rechts herab und sie war wirklich sterbend dargestellt. Wohl kam zur Lanze am linken Arm ein Schild, mit dem die Verwundete sich nicht mehr schützen konnte.

fr. 7a (Abb. 5): Seite B

Auf *fr. 7a*, das allein von Seite B erhalten ist, sind Reste von zwei Figuren: zwei Amazonen aus den Hilfstruppen, die zur Unterstützung der auf Seite A in Bedrängnis geratenen Kriegerinnen herbeieilen. Von einer schwungvoll sich nach links bewegenden Amazone ist zu sehen: linkes gestrecktes Bein mit Beinschiene und im Ansatz rechter Oberschenkel, der zeigt, daß dieses rechte Bein der Kriegerin im Profil dargestellt war. Wir stellen es uns leicht gebeugt vor. Die Amazone trug einen Chiton (Relieflinie der Falten abgeblättert) und darüber das fremdländische Pantherfell,[22] dessen Schwanz neben dem linken Bein herabschwingt; je eine scharfkrallige Pranke dieses Fells baumelt zwischen den Beinen und unter dem Schild.

Der große Schild mit einem Wagenkasten als Zeichen muß die Figur zum großen Teil verdeckt haben.[23] Zur Ausrüstung der Amazone gehörte natürlich ein Helm und mit Sicherheit schwang sie die Lanze, die sie geschultert trug. Möglicherweise hatte sie sich nach ihrer Gefährtin umgedreht. Von der Kampfgefährtin haben sich nur ein paar Chlamyszipfel erhalten. Da man aber annehmen muß, daß sich diese Amazone in derselben Richtung bewegte wie die vorauseilende, so ist leicht auszumachen, daß der Gewandrest das Ende einer über der rechten Schulter hängenden Chlamys ist. Ein ähnlich schwingendes Gewandende darf vom linken Arm herabhängend gedacht werden. Die Chlamys, ein Schultermantel, wurde über Panzer und Chiton getragen, gelegentlich aber auch über dem Skythengewand, sodaß nicht ganz auszuschließen ist, daß diese Amazone eine Bogenschützin war.[24]

Der Kampffries auf den Außenseiten der Schale (Abb. 9) mit der Amazonomachie des Herakles und Telamon ist

17. Vgl. die bogenschießenden Amazonen auf dem Krater des Euphronios Arezzo 1465 (*ARV*² 15, 6, Arias-Hirmer-Shefton Abb.113–115) und auf dem Schalenfragment in Tarquinia von der Hand des gleichen Malers (*ARV*² 17,19, Bothmer, *Amazons* 137, *AA* 1977,2,228 Abb.54).

18. Geschuppter Köcher und Fuchsschwanz als Köcherbedeckung: Herakles New York Anm.10.

18a. Vgl. die Bogenschützimmen Anm.17.

19. Die Schleife ist selten dargestellt: es hat sie der gefallene Gigant auf der Onesimosschale Brit.Mus. 3 47 (*ARV*² 318,3).

20. Ebenso schattier Schild mit Blatt als Schildzeichen: Schale des Onesimos, Fogg Art Museum (*ARV*² 323,55, *The Frederick M. Watkins Collection*, 1973, Abb.60 u.Titelbild), und Schild mit Kentaur als Schildzeichen: Brygosschale Vatikan (*ARV*² 373,28, Photo Alinari 35809). Schilde ohne Schildzeichen: Schale des Onesimos, Basel, (*ARV*² 323,56; Boardman, *Redfigure Vases* Abb.230); Schale des Euphronios Brit.Mus. 3

in seiner Hauptszene auf Seite A gut erschlossen. Da ist die Dreiergruppe mit Herakles, dessen Gestalt sich zwischen gefallener und verfolgender Amazone schwungvoll entfaltet haben muß, und die Zweiergruppe mit Telamon und einer Amazone, die an ihrem aufragenden Lanzenschaft eindeutig als gefallen erkannt worden ist. Auf Seite B vermitteln die beiden Amazonen aus den Verstärkungen deren Anführerin die Bogenschützin auf Seite A ist—so gering die Reste sind—dennoch eine Ahnung von der Pracht dieser Kriegerinnen, die sicherlich in der Art ihrer Helme, ihrer Gewänder und ihrer Schildzeichen in reizvollem Kontrast voneinander unterschieden waren. Vielleicht war die erste Amazone gleich hinter dem Henkel, da sie dem Kampfgeschehen am nächsten stand, mit geschwungener Lanze und vorgehaltenem Schild dargestellt, bereit, der Bogenschützin hinter Herakles auf Seite A beizustehen.[25] Wie auf der Hauptseite müssen fünf Figuren angenommen werden.

Die Henkel: 10i mit 11i bezw. 10a, 11a sowie 9i (siehe Abb. 3 und 6-7).

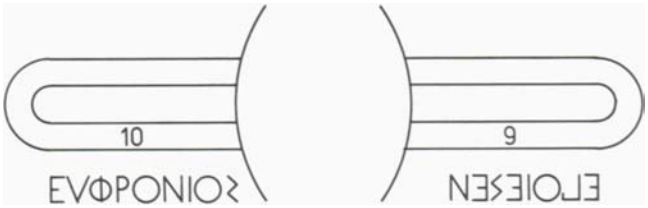
Die großen *Fragmente 10* (aus vier Stücken) *und* 9—beide mit Rahmen des Innenbildes (s. Abb. 8)—werden in der Rekonstruktion auf zwei Henkel verteilt. *fr. 10* zeigt Himationfalten der linken Peliade. Dieses Fragment gehörte jedenfalls zum linken Henkel auf Abb. 9. Es ist möglich, daß auch *fr.* 9 zu diesem linken Henkel gehörte. Dementsprechend muß das kleine Henkelfragment *11* entweder dem linken oder dem rechten Henkel zugeteilt werden.

Auf den beiden großen Fragmenten *geritzte Töpferinschrift*; vgl. die Außenansicht der Schale Abb. 9 (9 ist hier links, *10* rechts):

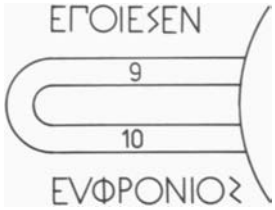
Auf *fr.* 9 die Buchstaben ΦPONIO ; der Firnis ist vielfach gesplittert. Die Inschrift befindet sich auf der Außenseite des Henkels und geht rechtsläufig von außen nach innen.

Auf *fr. 10* die z.T. stark ausgesplitterten Buchstaben E O (kaum lesbar) und IE EN. Die Inschrift wieder auf der Außenseite des Henkels und rechtsläufig in Richtung auf die Schale.

Werden die Stücke 9 und *10* zum gleichen Henkel gezählt, so ergibt sich die folgende Anordnung der beiden Worte (bei Ansicht der Schale von außen):



Trennt man die Fragmente, so ergibt sich folgende Anordnung:



Beide Lösungen erregen den Verdacht, daß die Inschrift modern eingeritzt wurde. Die beiden an den Außenseiten der Henkelarme befindlichen Worte können nicht gleichzeitig gesehen, d.h. nicht zusammen gelesen werden. Man muß im ersten Fall (wenn 9 und *10* vom gleichen Henkel stammen), nachdem man das Wort Euphronios gelesen hat, die Schale um 180° drehen, um dann das zweite Wort "epoiesen" lesen zu könen. Bei der Zusammenfassung also von *10* und 9 zu einem Henkel erscheint nach der Drehung der Schale das zweite Wort des Satzes ("epoiesen") auf dem Kopf stehend. Verteilt man nun *10* und 9 auf zwei Henkel, so erscheint dasselbe Wort ("epoiesen") wiederum auf dem Kopf stehend.

Gegen die Echtheit der Inschrift spricht weiterhin die große Flüchtigkeit der Ritzung wie auch die Tatsache, daß der Inschriftritzer die beiden Worte in die weniger verriebene Partie des schwarzen Firnis eingetragen hat (die konvexen Flächen der Henkelarme sind—vielleicht vom Gebrauch der Schale—stärker abgerieben). Euphronios' Signaturen sind in der Regel aufgemalt. Die geritzte Sinatur auf dem einen Henkel der Londoner Eurystheusschale —seine einzige dieser Art—läuft vom Inneren des Henkels nach außen (so wurde in der Regel signiert) und ist mit einem Blick zu erfassen.[26] Endlich ist der letzte Buchstabe des Töpfernamens verkehrtherum geschrieben:

Die Stiel- und Fußfragmente zeigen die für die meisterliche Hand des Töpfers Euphronios charakteristischen

41 (*ARV*² 58,51, dort noch Oltos zugeschrieben; Bothmer, *Amazons* Taf.68,4).

21. Wie die gestürzte Gegnerin des Herakles auf dem Krater des Euthymides Syrakus 58.2382 (*ARV*² 28, 10; *AJA* 63,1959 Taf.43).

22. Amazone mit Pantherfell (nicht häufig dargestellt): Schale des Kleophrades-Malers Anm.11.

23. Die Schildzeichen hat D. Williams erkannt. Vgl. auch die Schale Brit.Mus. E 45 (*ARV*² 316,8, Bothmer, *Amazons* Taf.69,4a-b), die D. Williams Onesimos zugeschrieben hat (*Jahrb.Berl.Mus.*18,1976,22).

24. Amazone mit Skythengewand, darüber Panzer und Chlamys: Amphora des Berliner Malers Basel 453 (*ARV*² 1634,30bis; Boardman, *Red figure Vases* Abb.149).

25. Vgl. die Vorkämpferin der Amazonomachie des Berliner Malers Anm.oben.

26. Brit.Mus. E 44 (*ARV*² 318,2; Pfuhl, *Malerei u. Zeichnung* Abb. 401-402, 405).

Abb. 8. Innenbild. Medea und die Peliaden. Rekonstruktion.

Einzelheiten (Textabb. 1). Der Stiel ist fast in seiner ganzen Länge erhalten, so daß nach oben der Übergang zum Schalenbecken und nach unten die Verbreiterung zur Standplatte hin erkennbar ist ein eher gedrungener Stiel, dessen schmalste Stelle unterhalb der Stielmitte liegt. Vom Schalenfuß ist der Fußabsatz weggebrochen, aber das präzis getöpferte Fußprofil fügt sich bestens in den Formenkanon der großen Euphroniosschalen; es ist mit einer tiefen Kehlung ausgestattet, die seine obere Hälfte gleichsam abschneidet.[27]

Über den Maler ergibt sich ein zusätzlicher Hinweis auf Euphronios, den Töpfer. In den Bildern der Schale erkennen wir den Stil des Onesimos genannten Malers, von dem wir wissen, daß er ausschließlich im Atelier des Töpfers Euphronios tätig war.[28] Es kann sogar behauptet werden, daß alle rotfigurigen Schalen, die Euphronios mit seiner Töpfersignatur gewürdigt hat, von diesem Maler bemalt worden sind.[28a] Mit bester Überzeugung ergänzten wir daher die Buchstabenreste im Innenbild der Schale zu der Signatur "Euphronios epoiesen" (siehe oben).[29]

In der Ungewöhnlichkeit des Formats und in der Pracht der Ausführung überragt die Medeaschale alle Spitzenwerke dieses Malers, der als der bedeutendste unter den Schalenmalern des ausgehenden 6. und beginnenden 5. Jahrhunderts gilt. Das Bild mit der Darstellung Medeas, die einen Widder verjüngt, um die Töchter des Pelias von ihrer Zauberkraft zu überzeugen, steht einzigartig da in der Vasenmalerei und man wird nicht zögern, dieser Schöpfung den Rang des Peliadenreliefs zuzusprechen.[30] Die Steigerung der Thematik gegenüber der einzigen älteren Darstellung von Bedeutung, einem schwarzfigurigen Bild auf einer Amphora in London aus dem Beginn des letzten Viertels des 6. Jahrhunderts, ist evident.[31] Der Künstler verzichtet auf den dort mitabgebildeten Pelias und konzentriert das Geschehen auf die drei Frauen, in denen sich die unmittelbare Wirkung des Zaubers spiegelte und von denen Medea durch die Kräuterpyxis zum ersten Mal eindeutig charakterisiert und bedeutungsvoll hervorgehoben ist.[32] Eine tiefere psychologische Differenzierung lag noch nicht in den Möglichkeiten seiner Kunst, aber eine verhaltene Vielstimmigkeit des Ausdrucks, wobei jede der Beteiligten auf ihre Weise zur Dramatik der Situation bei-

27. H. Bloesch, *Die Formen attischer Schalen*, 1940, 72.

28. *ARV*² 313 f., 318 ff., *Paralipomena* 358 ff., *Jb.Berl.Mus.* 18,1976, 9 ff.

28a. Die ebenfalls mit Euphronios' Töpfersignatur versehenen Schalen mit weißgrundigem Innenbild sind vom Pistoxenos Maler dekoriert (*ARV*² 859, 1; 860, 3).

29. Zu den Töpfersignaturen des Euphronios: *ARV*² 13, 20; 313 f.; *Paralipomena* 360 f.; *Harvard Stud.*76, 1972, 271 f.; *MüJB* XXV,1974,22 (Anm.11, Schale Gotha); *Metr.Mus.Journ.*9, 1974,96 (die weißgrundigen Schalen); *Jahrb.Berl.Mus.*18,1976,9 ff. (Iliupersisschale Berlin-Vatikan). Mit der Medeaschale zähle ich neunzehn Töpfersignaturen des Euphronios. Die Schalen in Gotha und Berlin-Vatikan sind die ersten, die Euphronios als Töpfer signiert hat.

30. H. Götze, Die attischen Dreifigurenreliefs, *RM* 53, 1938, 200 ff. Taf. 38; Meyer a.O. 17 ff. Taf.14.

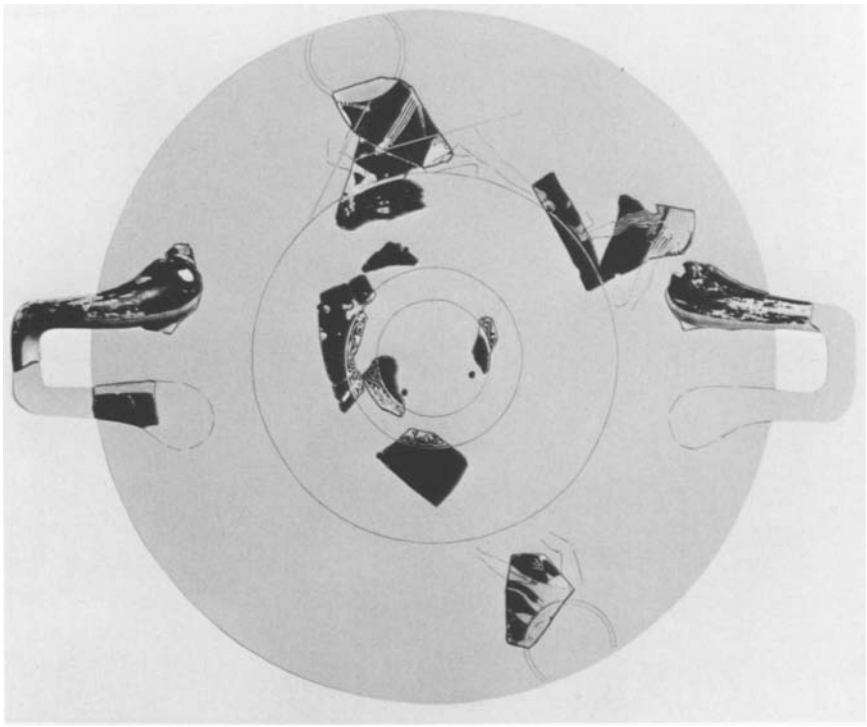


Abb. 9. Aussenbilder. Amazonomachie (Teilrekonstruktion.

getragen hat, wird dargestellt gewesen sein. Vor allem war der Maler ein Meister der schwebenden, beziehungsvollen Gebärden.[33]

Das weit sich öffnende Innenbild der Schale war keine eigentliche Rundkomposition (Abb. 8). Der Rundbildcharakter war durch das große Segment sogar weitgehend ausgeschaltet. Man möchte eher von einem Tafelbild sprechen, in dem die mächtigen Gestalten wie auf einem Podium standen. Gegenüber der noch erahnbaren feierlich-monumentalen Gehaltenheit dieses Dreifigurenbildes, mit der pyxishaltenden Medea in majestätischer Vorderansicht wirken die Außenbilder freier und unbekümmerter. Ähnlich verhält sich des Malers etwas ältere Dreifigurenkomposition im Inneren der Theseusschale zu den in einem lockereren und ungebundeneren Stil gemalten Außenbildern (siehen unten).[33a] Fast mit Sicherheit ist anzunehmen, daß den Figuren Namen beigeschrieben waren und der Raum hinter ihnen durch sinnvoll gesetzte Inschriften gefüllt war.[34]

Die Amazonomachie des Herakles und Telamon (Abb. 9) zeigt wie andere bedeutende Amazonenkämpfe dieser Zeit Anklänge an das gewaltige Bild des Euphronios auf dem Volutenkrater in Arezzo.[35] Auch dort greift die Hauptseite auf die Darstellung der Rückseite über, die damit in das Gesamtgeschehen einbezogen ist. Die bogenschießende Amazone Teipsipyle am rechten Ende des Hauptbildes des Kraters ist die Anführerin der ihr nachfolgenden Abteilung. Sie ist auf dem Kampfplatz angelangt und beginnt in die Schlacht einzugreifen.[36]

Mit Sicherheit aber war Herakles nicht der nackte Heros der Vorzeit, der mit der Keule brutal auf seine Gegnerin einschlägt, wie in der Amazonenschlacht des Euphronios und in einer anderen um 500 v. Chr. gemalten Amazonomachie des Onesimos.[37] Die Gestalten des frühen strengen Stils leben in einer realeren Sphäre und so wird sich seine Erscheinung dem Krieger der damaligen Zeit angeglichen haben, wie das in anderen Amazono-machiedarstellungen von Rang der Fall is. Er trug wohl unter dem Löwenfell, das Kopf, Schultern und Rücken bedeckte, einen Chiton und das Schwert als Waffe.[38]

Daß Herakles und Telamon abweichend vom Bild des Euphronios nicht Rücken an Rücken und ganz unüblich

31. Vgl.Anm. 14 u.Meyer a.O. 17 ff.

32. Die qualitätlose Oinochoe des Athena-Malers Cab.Méd.268, Meyer a.O. 25, Taf. 4,1 ist jünger (ca.480).

33. Vgl. das Innenbild der Theseusschale Anm.12.

33a. Vgl. Anm. 12 und Furtwängler-Reichhold Taf. 141.

34. Es sind inschriftlich fünf Peliastöchter überliefert: W.H. Roscher, *Lexikon der griech.-röm.Mythologie*, 1902-9, 1845 f.

35. Vgl.Anm.17 u. Dyfri J.R. Williams, Apollodoros and a new Amazon cup in a Private Collection, *JHS* 98, 1978, 160 ff.

36. Eine solche Anführerin eines Hilfstrupps von Amazonen ist sicherlich auch die Bogenschützin Toxaris auf dem Schalenfragment Tarquinia, einem späteren Werk des Euphronios: Vgl. oben Anm. 17.

37. Brit.Mus. E 45 Anm.23.—Zur "heroischen Nacktheit" vgl. E. Buschor, *Das Kriegertum der Parthenonzeit*, 1943, 26 ff.

38. Vgl. den Herakles im Innenbild der Onesimosschale Anm. 10.

nach links gerichtet kämpfen,[39] ist künstlerisch begründet. Die Außenseiten der Schale sind nicht mehr, wie es noch im ersten Jahrzehnt Gepflogenheit der Schalenmaler war, in zwar thematisch verbundene, aber kompositionell in sich geschlossene, durch Henkel zertrennte Szenen zerlegt, sondern mit Bildern verziert, die im Einklang mit dem Schalenrund dieses als Ganzes umfassen.[40] Die Figuren sind dabei sternförmig nach der Schalenmitte orientiert: autonome Gestalten von elastischer Gespanntheit und—wie an der Pantherfellamazone noch erkennbar ist—von geradezu tänzerischer Beschwingtheit.[41] Die schwierige Aufgabe, zwei feindliche Parteien nicht im Gegeneinander, sondern in einem einzigen durchlaufenden Bewegungsrhythmus darzustellen, bewältigt der Maler—der führende im wahrhaft glänzenden Kreis der Schalenmaler dieser Zeit—mit einem genialen Kunstgriff: er kehrt die Protagonisten Herakles und Telamon nach links, so daß nun das von rechts heranstürmende Amazonenheer mit der Bogenschützin an der Spitze den beiden Helden gefahrbringend in den Rücken fällt. Dramatik des Geschehens und künstlerisches Gesetz waren zu einer glücklichen Einheit verschmolzen. Solche locker gebauten Kompositionen mit großen Intervallen zwischen den Figuren, die mit dem in einheitlichen Schwung aufsteigenden Gefäßkörper zusammenklingen, sind charakteristisch für die Zeit um 490. Glänzende Zeugen für diesen Stil sind die von der Hand des gleichen Malers stammenden Komasten der Schalen in Boston und Leningrad.[42]

Die Frage nach der Künstlerpersönlichkeit des Onesimos sollte neu gestellt werden, da jüngste Forschungsergebnisse diese etwas anders konturieren als bisher. Die von D. Williams[43] unter anderen als Frühwerke des Onesimos erkannten weißgrundigen Schalen des "Eleusis-Malers"[44] (mit denen ich die von Beazley nicht zugeschriebenen Akropolisfragmente mit Herakles und Athena im Innenbild und einem Götterzug auf den Außenseiten verbinde),[45] stellen deutlich eine Weiterentwicklung der Spätwerke des Euphronios dar, die sich um das Hauptbild des Arezzokraters gruppieren:[46] das sind vor allem das Amazonenfragment in Tarquinia[47] und das Heraklesfragment in Mailand.[48] Die Schalen des "Eleusis-Malers" zeigen die gleiche reiche und glanzvolle Formensprache des "heroischen Stils" des Euphronios.[49] Somit stellen sie nicht nur eine Verbindung zu den späteren Werken des Onesimos her, sondern führen auch zu dessen Ursprüngen, nämlich zum Werk des Euphronios zurück.[50]

Für seine Bilder stehen Euphronios unterschiedliche Ausdruckslagen zur Verfügung. Wie beim Andokidesmaler laufen auch bei ihm große Sagendarstellungen und Szenen aus dem Alltag nebeneinander her.[51] Die großen mythischen Kompositionen zeigen in der Regel einen anderen "Stil" als die Bilder des täglichen Lebens. Der Antaios-Krater[52] und der Berliner Athletenkrater[53] sind Werke von größter Gegensätzlichkeit. Oft finden sich Darstellungen beider Stillagen auf einem einzigen Gefäß, wie auf dem New Yorker Sarpedon-Krater[54] oder dem Pariser Krater mit Herakles im Löwenkampf.[55] Diese voneinander abweichenden stilistischen Ausdrucksmöglichkeiten mögen der Grund sein, warum die künstlerische Entwicklung des Malers Euphronios und die Beurteilung seiner Werke uns solche Schwierigkeiten bereitet. Wir haben Schöpfungen verschiedener Größenordnungen vor uns, deren jede Anspruch auf eigene Wertung erhebt, und die zwei nebeneinander herlaufende Entwicklungen erkennen lassen.

Auch dem Werk des Onesimos eignet dieser zweifache Stil und viele Vergleichsmöglichkeiten zu Euphronios lassen sich nicht nur über den Prachtstil des "Eleusis-Malers", sondern auch im Bereich der einfacheren Alltagsbilder

39. Der nach links kämpfende Herakles begegnet sonst nur noch auf dem Kantharos Brüssel A 718 (*ARV*² 445,256; Bothmer, *Amazons* 139, Taf.70).

40. Ein früherer Versuch zu einer solchen Vereinheitlichung: Schale Brit.Mus. E 45 Anm. 23. Die Amazone Hippo hinter Herakles flieht nicht, sondern sie gehört zu den Hilfstruppen auf der anderen Seite (Beazley, *Kleophrades-Painter* a.O. 9f).

41. E. Buschor, *Griechische Vasen* (Neuausgabe 1967) 161.—Vgl. die Amazonomachie des Kleophrades-Malers Anm.11, die noch in der Horizontalen aufgebaut ist: Telamon, nach rechts kämpfend, bildet den Abschluß auf der einen Seite des Bildstreifens, die nach links bewegte Bogenschützin begrenzt das Bild auf der anderen.

42. Boston 95.27 (*ARV*² 325,76, J.D. Beazley-L.D. Caskey, *Attic Vase Painting in the Museum of Fine Art, Boston*, 1954, II Taf.41–42; Pfuhl, *Malerei u. Zeichnung* Abb.409–411); Leningrad 651 (*ARV*² 325,77, A. Peredolskaja, *Krasnofigurnye Attischeskie Vazy*, 1967, Taf.45, 1–3, Pfuhl Abb.406).

43. D. Williams, The Ilioupersis Cup in Berlin and the Vatican, *Jahrb. Berl.Mus.* 18,1976,9 ff. Vgl.auch Anm.23.—Auch Beazley hielt ursprünglich einige Werke des Eleusis-Malers, darunter die beiden weißgrundigen Schalen, für Frühwerke des Onesimos: J.D. Beazley, *Attische Vasenmaler des rotfigurigen Stils*, 1925, 166.

44. Eleusis 618, (*ARV*² 314,3, M. Robertson, *Griechische Malerei*, 1959, Abb.97); Eleusis 619, (*ARV*² 315,3, H. Philippart, *Les Coupes attiques à fond blanc*, 1936, Taf.37). In der Erstpublikation, *Deltion* 9, 1924/25, 14f. hat S. Papaspyridi-Karusu die beiden Schalen Euphronios zugeschrieben.

45. Akropolis 208, E. Langlotz—B. Graef, *Die antiken Vasen von der Akropolis* II, 1933, Taf.11.

46. Vgl. Anm. 17.

47. Wie Anm. oben.

48. Mailand 06.590, *ARV*²14,5, *AJA*1950 Taf.20 c.

49. Der Triton und die Athena der Eleusinischen Schalen gleichen sowohl dem Telamon des Kraters wie der Amazone des Tarquiniafragments in der Führung des Gesichtskonturs, aber sie sind verschieden im Ausdruck, der gezielt und richtungsbetont geworden ist, darin auch engst verwandt dem Hyakinthos (Tellerfragment, Athen, Nat. Mus., *ARV*² 17, 23, Schefold, *Götter u. Heldensagen*a.O. Abb. 53) wie Pferdeführer und Knaben Pelike Villa Giulia ¿*ARV 15, 11, Boardman, Redfigure Vases* a.O. Abb. 30.1,2 in Zeichnungen Beazleys), anderen späten Werken des Euphronios.

beider Maler finden. Die tanzenden Zecher der von D. Williams ebenfalls dem Onesimos zugeschriebenen Londoner Leagros-Schale[56] aus der "Protopanaitian Group", in der Beazley die Frühwerke des Onesimos vermutet hat, führen zu den Halsfrieskomasten des Arezzokraters. Sie sind in einem lockeren, anspruchslosen Stil gemalt, wie auch die Komasten des Kraters im Louvre[57] und die Hetären des Leningrader Psykters,[58] andere späte Schöpfungen des Euphronios und Repräsentanten seines zukunftsweisenden "Alltagsstils". Eine weitere Verdichtung der Beziehung zwischen beiden Malern stellt die ältere Brüsseler Schale[59] aus der "Protopanaitian Group" dar, ein zweifellos eigenhändiges Werk des Onesimos, deren Zechergestalten in ihren gesteigerten und ins Skurille gewendeten Bewegungen den Stil des Komosbildes auf dem Arezzokrater noch unmittelbarer fortsetzen.

Mit der Brüsseler Schale läßt sich die Schale in Gotha verbinden.[60] Die Zusammengehörigkeit ergibt sich aus der Übereinstimmung der Physiognomien der Komasten mit denen des Liebespaares auf der Gothaer Schale. Die gelagerten Zecher der weißgrundigen Außenseiten der Schale in Gotha, die die früheste Töpfersignatur des Euphronios trägt, sind wiederum Abkömmlinge der Leningrader Hetären des Euphronios in einer freieren, räumlich entfalteteren Darstellungsweise.[61] Die Zuweisung der Gothaer Schale an Onesimos wird nun auch durch die eng verwandte Darstellung eines Liebespaares im Tondo einer Schale im Getty Museum gesichert.[62]

Anklänge an die Kunst des Euphronios finden sich mannigfach auch noch in den späteren Werken des Onesimos.[63] Die Innenbilder der Iliupersis-Schale,[64] der Theseus-Schale[65] und auch der Medea-Schale sind Weiterbildungen des "hohen" Euphroniosstils, den dieser auf den Hauptseiten seiner großen Kratere verwendet. Die Darstellungen auf den Rückseiten dieser Kratere verhalten sich zu deren großen Mythenbildern auf den Hauptseiten ähnlich kontrastierend wie die freier behandelten Außenseiten der oben genannten Schalen zum feierlich-hieratischen Stil der Innenbilder.

Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek
München

50. Die Beziehung zwischen Onesimos (dem früheren Panaitios-Maler) und Euphronios haben Furtwängler und Pfuhl bereits gesehen: Furtwängler—Reichhold II 177 f., Pfuhl, *Malerei u. Zeichnung* I, 447 ff. Dagegen äußerte Beazley, *Attische Vasenmalera*.O. 165: "zwischen beiden Persönlichkeiten finde ich keinen näheren Zusammenhang".

51. z.B. Amphora Louvre G 1, *ARV*² 3,2, Arias-Hirmer-Shefton Abb.87 u.88 mythischer Zweikampf und Kithröde mit Zuhören.

52. Louvre G 103, *ARV*² 14,2, Pfuhl Abb.392-393.

53. Berlin 2180, *ARV*² 13,1, Arias-Hirmer-Shefton Abb.112.

54. *AA* 1976, 4, 485-499, Abb.1-16.

55. Louvre G 110 und weitere Fragmente, *ARV*² 14,3, *Mon.Piot* 45, 1951, Taf.1,1. Man beachte auch den feierlichen Charakter des Symposions auf der Hauptseite des Münchner Kraters und die damit zusammenhängende, aber inhaltlich untergeordnete Szene der Rückseite mit dienenden Personen, die stilistisch bedeutungsvoll unterschieden ist. Die Möglichkeiten differenzierender Bildgestaltung dienen hier der Bereicherung und Stiegerung des Gesamtbildes (*AA* 1976, 507, Abb. 24-26 u. Anm. 2).

56. Brit.Mus. E 46, *ARV*² 315,1, *Jahrb.Berl.Mus.*18, 1976, Abb.8-10.

57. Vgl.Anm.55.

58. Leningrad 644, *ARV*² 16,15, Peredolskaja Abb.14-115, Pfuhl Abb.393.

59. Brüssel A 723, *CVA* 2 Taf. 11,1, *ARV*² 317,15: "A difficult piece to place exactly: the inside is very Panaetian, the outside less so, and it combines old-fashioned traits with more modern ones."

60. Schale Gotha, *ARV*² 20.*CVA* 1,54 u.Taf.43, 1-3, *Metr.Mus.Journ.* 9,1974,Abb.14.u.15.

61. Vgl.Anm. 58.

62. Malibu, Getty Museum (Leihgabe). Mit Rüstungsszenen auf den Außenseiten.

63. Die Übereinstimmungen gehen bis in die Details. So erklärt sich wohl die weisung der weißgrundigen Schale mit Dionysos und Silen (Sammlung Bareiss, Greenwich/Connecticut) an Euphronios von J. Mertens in: (*Harvard Stud.*76, 1972, 271 ff., Taf.2-3); bei der um 490 zu datierenden Schale müßte sich nur um ein Werk des Onesimos handeln. Hier weise ich auch auf die Hand der Medea hin, die eine jüngere Ausprägung der Hand der Hetäre auf dem Leningrader Psykter darstellt (vgl.Anm.58).

64. Berlin 2281 und Vatikan frr., *ARV*² 19,1 und 2, Jahrb.Berl.Mus. 18, 1976, Abb. 1-7 und Anm. 43.

65. Vgl.Anm.12 und 33a.

POSTSCRIPT

The Getty Museum possesses a small fragment from a red-figure bell-krater with the same scene, said to be from Agrigento (acc. no. 80.AE.58 presented by Dr. and Mrs. Fred Bromberg). Gr.d. 4.1. I was at first in doubt whether it came from a bell- or calyx-krater, but Frel has shown me that a calyx is not in question.

Breast and forelegs of a ram issuing to right from a pot on a fire; left leg higher; below the right fore-hoof, claw-end of a meat-hook (see below).

Relief-contour throughout. Dilute glaze: dots on ram's fleece. Red: flames. Some of the relief-lines have flaked (ram's shoulder, pot-rim).

So far as it is preserved, the bowl from which the ram is jumping resembles a calyx-krater, but the proportions must have been broader and lower: some form of lekane,[1] no doubt in bronze. We cannot tell what its lower part was like or what kind of stand supported it over the fire. Most pictures of the scene show a round-shouldered bowl, the lebes (dinos) on its tripod-stand. On a stamnos in Berlin by the Hephaisteion Painter,[2] the vessel appears to be in one with the stand like the Geometric tripod-lebes[3]; but whereas the bowl in those is of the normal round-shouldered type, that on the Berlin vase has a contour more like ours. There, however, the legs rise to the rim, as those of the vessel on the sherd cannot have done.

The subject is not very common in red-figure,[4] and in most examples (and in the variant with Medea renewing Jason's youth[5]) the ram emerges to the left as on Onesimo's cup. On the Berlin stamnos, however, as on our fragment, the movement is to the right, following the regular scheme in the more frequent and more consistent black-figure pictures.[6] On the stamnos, the cauldron on the fire is flanked by two women. The one to the right holding up a sword, the other, a meat-hook at her side, the claw-end of which is just like the remains at the bottom right on the fragment.[7] Which figure, if either, is to be identified as Medea rather than a daughter of Pelias is not clear to me.

I cannot date the fragment with any precision. It is not archaic, but which side of the mid-century it lies I am not sure. Frel inclines to the third quarter, and he may well be right.

M. Robertson

1. On the form and development of this all-purpose vessel in clay, see Sparkes and Talcott *Agora XII Black and Plain Pottery.*

2. Berlin 2188; *ARV*² 297 no. 1; Neugebauer *Führer II, Vasen* pl. 57; see also notes 4 and 7.

3. Willemsen *Dreifusskessel* (*Ol.Forsch.* III).

4. Brommer *Vasenlisten* (1973) 494. The Berlin vase (nn. 2 and 7) is not listed.

5. Hydria, London E 163; *ARV*² 258, Copenhagen Painter no. 26; *CV* 7 pl. 70,4.

6. Brommer, *l.c.* n. 4, 493.

7. Above, notes 2 and 4. The claw-hook is particularly well seen in Jacobsthal *Orn.* Pl. 96a.

Euphronios at the Getty

Martin Robertson

I. THE SARPEDON AND ACHILLES CUPS

THE SARPEDON CUP

Anonymous loan
H: 11.5 cm.
D: 33.0 cm.
D. of foot: 11.8 cm.
D. of tondo: 13.0 cm.
D. of circle: under outside pictures: 19.8 cm.

On reserved edge of foot, towards the right of B, **ΕΥΦΡΟΝΙΟΣΕΛΡΑΦ[**.[1]

Inside. Reserved circle below rim. Tondo: within reserved circle, palmette and tendril complex. "Vertical axis" (across handle-axis): two long, closed palmettes supported on tendrils which run up beside them to end in volutes enclosing and supporting smaller closed palmettes. "Horizontal axis": the tendrils enclose tiny open palmettes and pointed leaves and support closed palmettes. Relief-contour for most of tendrils but not for palmettes.

Outside. Reserved circle below rim. Handle-complexes are symmetrical and identical: volutes support a closed palmette under each handle, and the tendrils rise to enclose a large open palmette at either side, with three lotuses (vertical, unenclosed at handle; horizontal towards picture, enclosed above, unenclosed below). Relief contour for most of the tendrils, calyces, and central buds of lotuses.

Side A. Body of Sarpedon. From right: Akamas (inscribed downward in front of face **ΑΚΑΜΑΣ**), walking right, left foot forward, head bent and bearded; Corinthian helmet (low crest) up on hair; corslet over short chiton; rerebrace (Bothmer); greaves; girt with sword; hoplite shield on left arm and a spear in left hand; right hand open at side. Missing: mouth and chin, left shoulder and arm with hand and part of spear, right wrist, front of left ankle with foot except heel, toes of right foot. Decoration of corslet: star on shoulder-flap, rays, billets, rays on skirt-flaps. On rerebrace: frontal monkey mask (gorgoneion following Bothmer); volute.

Relief-contour: throughout preserved part of figure except neck-piece of helmet, back hair, front hair, chape, feet. Red: baldric, spear.

Thanatos (inscribed upwards in front of face **ΘΑΝΑΤΟΣ**) trudging right, bent forward, left foot forward. Bearded; Corinthian helmet (low crest, billets on support) up on hair; corslet over short chiton with sleeves; greaves; girt with sword; Boeotian shield on his left arm and spear in his left hand; his right hand is lifted high to grasp the right wrist of Sarpedon's body supported on his shoulders. Missing: front of helmet and crest; lower part of his right leg and foot except toes. Corslet: crenelation on chestband; billets on belt; herringbone, rays, herringbone on skirt-flaps. Relief contour: throughout preserved part of figure except front hair, front of left greave-top, and feet. Red: baldric.

Sarpedon (inscribed horizontally retrograde **ΣΑΡΠΕΔΟΝ**) supported on Thanatos' back, left arm hanging in front of Thanatos' right shoulder, right hand gripped at wrist by Thanatos' right hand above his head. Head (black beard, hair in close-set zig-zag lines of brown, thinner glaze) lying face upward in profile; huge torso, naked, turned frontal; thighs which extend slightly sloping line of body and are supported by Hypnos; lower legs, greaved and hanging vertically. Missing: right upper arm and armpit with forehead and nose-line and most of eye; lower contour of left hip and thigh; lower legs below knees. Relief-contour: throughout preserved part of figure. Red: blood from wounds below right breast and left collarbone.

Hypnos (inscribed downwards behind **ΗΥΠΝ Σ**), moving to right, bent forward. Bearded; Corinthian helmet (stilted crest, dots on tall support) up on hair; corslet (no doubt over the short chiton but none shows on preserved part); rerebraces; cloak over shoulders; sheathed sword at side; hoplite shield on left arm. Missing: all below the hips. Corslet: rightward key on chestband; crenelation on belt; rays, crenelation rays on skirt-flaps. Rerebraces: frontal "monkey-masks" (or gorgoneia) and spiral complexes. Relief-contour: throughout preserved part of figure except front hair, chape. No red (baldric not shown).

Thinned glaze is used in this picture only for Sarpedon's hair, and that is not very thin. The musculature is in relief-line, and the letters of the inscriptions are reserved. The artist seems first to have reserved a billet, then filled

1. The last letter read by D. von Bothmer.

Figure 1. The Sarpedon cup, side A.

Figure 2. The Sarpedon cup, foot, side B.

in the glaze round the letters later (Frel's observation). I do not know if this method is used in any of the other rare examples of reserved lettering in early red-figure. Beazley mentions three cases (*ARV*² 6, top); a mastos or mastoid from Perachora (*ibid.* 5, no. 6 "recalls the Andokides Painter"; *Perachora* II 351 no. 3831, fig. 20, pl. 145); fragments from the Acropolis, perhaps from Nicosthenic amphora (Athens Acr. 697; Langlotz pl. 54); stemmed dish (Louvre CA 3062; *ARV*² 12 no. 11, "the potter-work makes one think of Nikosthenes, the drawing, in some points, of early Psiax").

This Akamas was not the son of Theseus but the son of Antenor who figures in the *Iliad*, but, as Bothmer points out, was killed by Meriones before Sarpedon (*Il.* 16, 342–344).

Side B. Pyrrhic. From right: woman to left, right foot forward; hair in krobylos, chiton, himation, flower in left hand. Missing: chin and throat with right shoulder, arm and hand, much of breast and left upper arm. Hair-line reserved; a little incision in forehead locks. Relief-contour: throughout preserved part of figure, except hair, neck, back of himation, himation-weights, lower edge of chiton, feet. Red: hair-tie, flower on left (against chiton). On the following triangular rim fragment, D. von Bothmer identifies a red petal of a flower, originally held in the (now missing) right hand of the female onlooker. "The fragment joins the fragment with the head of this woman at the very edge." (Bothmer)

Piper to left, largely missing. Preserved: feet, right foot advanced, with lower part of chiton; hands playing pipes. Relief-contour: throughout hands and pipes, except for two of three fingers of right hand appearing above pipe; on lower fragment, vertical edges of chiton. Red: possible letter Σ above pipes, but this is doubtful.

Young warrior dancing to left but looking back to right. Corinthian helmet (low crest) up on hair; greaves, shield on left arm, spear in right hand. Missing: most of left forearm with hand and much of shield; most of profile. Face and breast much worn. Relief-contour: throughout preserved part of figure except shield and feet. Red: spear.

Youth standing to right, left foot forward, both hands raised, left hand forward with flower; himation. Missing: top edge of front hair. Hair-line reserved. On himation, dots in groups of three. Relief-contour: throughout, except for hair, right little finger, reserved flower in left hand, himation-weight, lower edge of himation, feet. Red: wreath.

Thinned glaze is not used in this picture; musculature is in relief-line.

(This cup will be discussed in connection with the next.)

THE ACHILLES CUP

GETTY 77.AE.20

Fragmentary and badly burned (surface ruined and discoloured)

Dimensions (Bothmer):

H. 12.4 cm.

D: 33.3 cm.

D. of foot: 12.226 cm.

D. of tondo: 13.3 cm.

D. of circle under outside pictures: 17.7 cm.

Inside: Reserved circle below rim. Tondo: within reserved circle, palmette, lotus-bud, and tendril complex. The center is missing. "Vertical axis": two long closed palmettes with tendrils running up beside them and back again to support in the center of each side a small closed palmette. In the four corners are lotus-buds (or leaves) supported on side-scrolls.

Outside: Reserved circle below rim. Handle-complexes identical and symmetrical: volutes support a closed palmette under each handle, and the tendrils rise to enclose

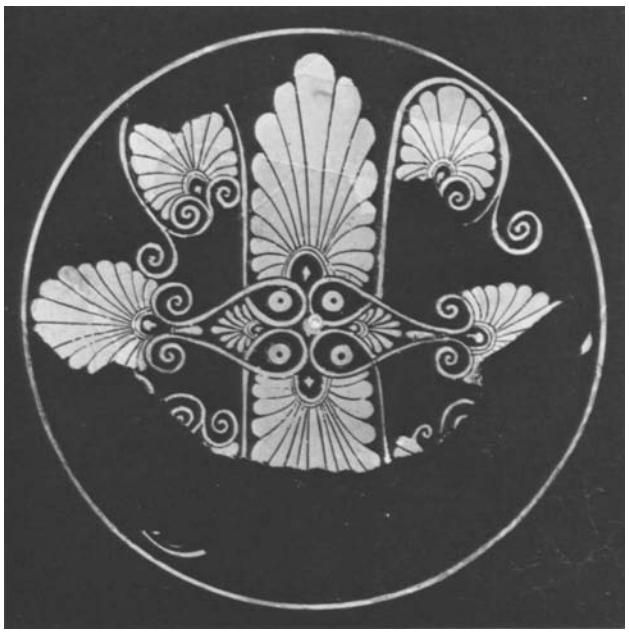


Figure 3. The Sarpedon cup, tondo.

Figure 4. The Sarpedon cup, detail of side A.

and support an upright closed palmette on each side, then down again to enclose a pointed lotus-bud or leaf under each.

Side A. Body of Achilles. From right: male in chiton and himation moving right with his head bent, his left foot forward and left hand down open, his right hand is forward holding a spear or staff (visible over foot). The top of his head is bald or cloaked (?), the rest of it is missing with breast and shoulders. Traces of relief-contour visible in most parts, except feet. Red: spear or staff. This figure should be Phoenix. Woman (Thetis) striding right, looking back left with her left foot forward, her left arm stretched out in front and her right hand to her head in mourning: chiton, cloak hung over her shoulders and upper arms. Missing: her left hand, left thigh and knee with much drapery, and her lower right leg. The chiton skirt (outside and in) has a pattern of dots in threes. Relief-contour seems traceable on most of preserved part except lower edge of chiton and feet. Red: bracelet on left arm.

This is the best preserved figure. The upper part (with the fragment of Phoenix's back) keeps its orange colour.

Bearded warrior (Ajax) trudging to right, bent forward, his left foot forward, his left arm extended forward with Boeotian shield and spear in hand; the corpse of Achilles is over his left shoulder, his head forward and down. Missing: most of Ajax's left arm and shield, most of Achilles' head. Much of the rest is illegible. Ajax wears a Corinthian helmet (without crest) up on hair, corslet over short chiton. Greaves. Corslet; scale-pattern on body, patterns on ends of shirt-flaps. Achilles' hair is done in zig-zag lines of thinned glaze. He was wearing a corslet with zig-zags of herringbone. I cannot make out how Ajax's right arm and Achilles' legs were treated. Some traces of relief-contour in upper part of Ajax. Red: his spear.

Figure 5. The Sarpedon cup, detail of side B.

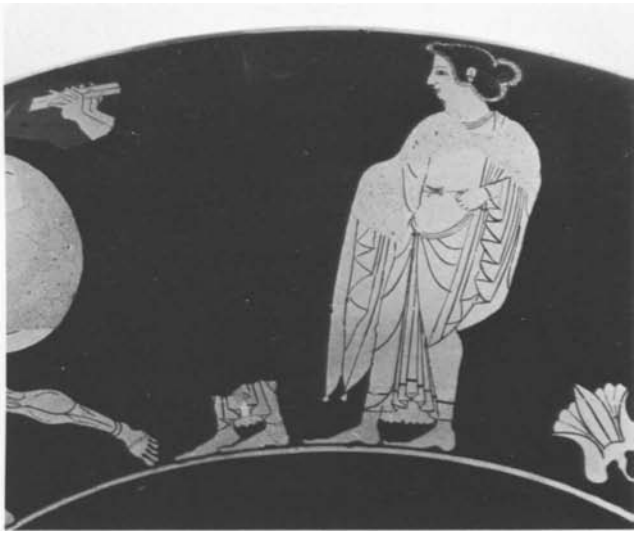


Figure 6. The Sarpedon cup, detail of side B.

Bearded figure (presumably Odysseus), moving right. Bareheaded; hoplite shield. Most of figure lost and no other detail discernible, except the right forearm which seems to be held forward. Between Odysseus and Ajax is a rounded object at head level, too small for a shield, which Odysseus might have been holding in his right hand.

Side B. Chariot-harnessing (very fragmentary and ruined). From left: young charioteer (dotted whisker), right foot on ground, left in chariot to right, holding reins and goad or spear. Himation (three-dot pattern on border and elsewhere). Three horses are harnessed, and beyond them stands a bearded man to right in himation. From the right a naked youth brings up the fourth horse. Some traces of relief-contour, especially on the charioteer who, apart from the loss of his profile, is comparatively well preserved. Red: reins and trace.

These two cups make, if they were not made as, a pair. They are certainly the work of both the same potter and the same painter. The dimensions are all but identical, and the form of the foot, the edge reserved with a convex moulding, is the same. The two palmette-complexes in the tondos are variations on one basic scheme, and the handle-ornaments are similarly close. The figure-styles are identical. Particularly comparable details are the profiles, both bearded and beardless, and the treatment of Achilles' and Sarpedon's hair, but the resemblance extends more generally to the character of the figures and the design. The signature on the Sarpedon cup shows that the painter was Euphronios. Without it one might have thought rather of Oltos, and it is for consideration whether some work hitherto ascribed to Oltos is not in fact early Euphronios. I believe that this is certainly the case for the fine cup in London with Theseus and Antiope (E 41; *ARV*² 58 no. 51). This has the name of Kachrylion retrograde on B. Beazley pointed out that the verb might have appeared on the missing part; and I am most grateful to Robert Guy for telling me that he has found a fragment in the Villa Giulia which supplies it, together with the nose and fingers of a figure with a flower. The foot is lost, which makes comparison of the potting with the Sarpedon and Achilles cups difficult, but it is likely that all three were made by Kachrylion who worked with both Oltos and Euphronios.[2] The London cup is placed by Beazley at the beginning of Oltos' "early and early middle" cups without eyes. These cups are surely among the earliest pieces we can ascribe to Euphronios and seem to show him at his beginning in close contact with Oltos when the older painter's style was beginning to mature after the earliest phase of bilingual eye-cups.

A floral complex in the tondo is found on cups by Psiax (*ARV*² 7f. nos. 7 and 8) and Oltos (*ARV*² 58 nos. 53, 63, 94 and perhaps 68 lower middle). The picture of Sarpedon carried by Sleep and Death is the first we have. The iconography is not yet that established a little later by Euphronios himself on the New York krater. It is influenced, as Bothmer has pointed out, by the old subject of Achilles' body borne from the field; a theme itself given unusually full treatment on the second Malibu cup.[3]

2. In 1979 J. Frel attributed the Achilles and Sarpedon cups to Kachrylion, which was confirmed by H.J. Bloesch. D. von Bothmer tells us that he attributed the Achilles cup to Euphronios in 1974. Independently Martha Ohly-Dumm reached the same attribution for this cup and for London E 41.

3. See Bothmer's important remarks in *AA* 1976, 511.

Figure 7. The Achilles cup, side A.

Figure 8. The Achilles cup, side B.

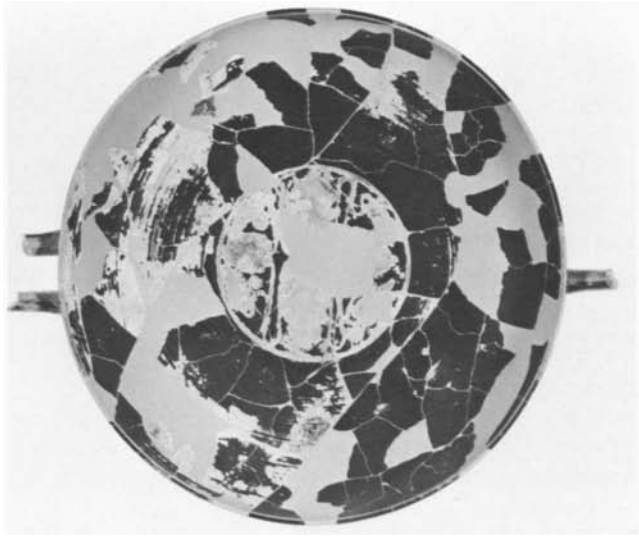


Figure 9. The Achilles cup, tondo.

Figure 10. The Achilles cup, from below.

II. TWO FRAGMENTARY CALYX KRATERS

GETTY 77.AE.86

Two fragments of a large calyx-krater, the larger made up of ten sherds, the other a singleton.

Larger fragment:

L: 16.2 cm.

H (from rim to top): 12.5 cm.

T (immediately below rim): 0.8 cm.,

(at bottom of fragments): 0.5 cm.

Inside: below black rim, reserved band: 0.6 cm. wide; 8.7 cm. below is another reserved stripe: 0.3 cm. wide.

Outside: Rim, upper register convex, black: 2.5 cm.: Lower register, flat: 4.0 cm.; red-figure palmette-band. Upward-pointing eight-leaf palmette enclosed by tendrils on which it rests. These tendrils curl around, enclosing reserved circles, and rise to volutes from which hang unenclosed eight-leaf palmettes. One of these is given by a smaller fragment. H: 5.0 cm. Step at the bottom of the rim is reserved.

Athena. She is looking left with her left arm stretched out to the right with aegis which conceals her hand. Attic helmet, no cheek-pieces, low crest, revealing her ear (earring). Spear on the left, evidently held in her right hand at an angle across her body. Her eyebrow, eye with eyelashes and reserved iris, protruding lips and small mouth are evident. Relief-dots on the front of her hair, arranged in separated masses with finely scalloped edges; four locks on her neck. Volute on her helmet, billets on the crest-support. Aegis: dotted scales upward (to left); at right edge there are large red-figure snakes (dot eye, beard; two preserved completely, two partially).

Relief-contour throughout preserved part. No dilute glaze. Red for inscriptions horizontally to the right of her

Figure 11. Two fragments of a calyx krater.

Figure 12. Fragment of a calyx krater.

helmet. **[AΘ]ENA**; retrograde horizontally to the right of the aegis **ΠΕΡ]ΣΕ)(Σ**. (Bothmer's restoration, which is no doubt correct).[4]

This is certainly by Euphronios and is probably rather late. It is very close to Athena on the Kyknos vase (see below), but this is even finer.

SINGLETON FRAGMENT

H: 5.0 cm.

T: 0.8 cm. above to 1.0 cm. below

Rider to left, his short chiton with scalloped overfold and his left hand holding the reins and two spears. Relief-

4. Some specialists originally thought the fragment modern but changed their minds later. D. von Bothmer tells us that he attributed the fragment to Euphronios in spring 1976; he is publishing his interpretation of the subject in *Antike Kunst*. The same attribution was reached independently by J. Frel.

Figure 13. The Kyknos krater, side A.

contour: hand; all round tiny piece of background below wrist; not for thigh. Dilute glaze: knuckles; fold-lines on two areas of chiton-skirt between groups of relief-folds; wash on reins. Red: bindings and *ankylai* of spears. I cannot interpret relief-lines (three preserved) at top right of fragment, hanging in front of the chiton-overfold and ending just below it.

I thought of mounting a chariot as an alternative possibility, but see Bothmer's observations in n. 5.

This fragment is undoubtedly by Euphronios and is rather late. Attribution and interpretation are both due to Bothmer.[5]

III. THE KYKNOS KRATER

Anonymous loan
Dimensions (Bothmer):
H: 45.0 cm.
D: 55.1 cm.
D. of the foot: 29.5 cm.

Rim: Band of seven-leaved palmettes without ribs, alternately up and down, as on 77.AE.86. The hanging ones depend unenclosed from volutes which curl around to support and enclose the upright ones. Relief-contour throughout.

5. D. von Bothmer tells us, "The three vertical relief lines could be the tassels of a scabbard. I took the figure to be a rider, *not* a charioteer, because of the *two* lines for *both* thighs near the left hand. Attributed by me in 1976."

Figure 14. The Kyknos krater, side B.

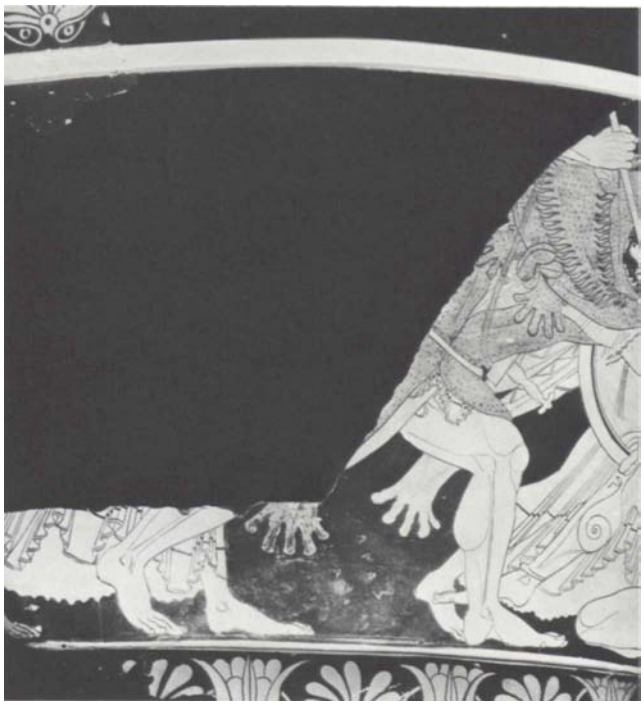


Figure 15. The Kyknos krater, detail of side A.

Cul: A. Double palmette and lotus-chain, three loops between palmettes (without ribs) and two between lotuses; B. enclosed ribbed palmettes to right (only one preserved).

Side A. Lower legs and feet of figure in long chiton hurrying to right with left foot forward, only his toes on right on ground. Relief-contour throughout except lower edge of chiton and toes of left foot.

Herakles. He is leaning sharply forward with his right leg extended back across figure 1, his left arm forward with Boeotian shield, and his right arm raised and thrusting down with a spear which crosses his face and enters Kyknos' right thigh. He wears a short chiton, exposing sex, and over it a lion-skin with the jaws enclosing face, with belt and baldric over it. Relief-contour throughout, except for the right thumb and most of the lion-skin paws. Dilute glaze: lines on the right hand, left knee, inside of the lion-skin paw. Wash: thick on outside of lion-skin, streaky and thin on inside of shield. Red: baldric; **ΛΕΑΓΡΟΣ ΚΑΛΟΣ** in two lines between legs.

Kyknos falls to right across center, with his right leg bent up, foot off ground out to the left; his left leg is doubled under him; his footsole is visible behind his buttock, and his right elbow is bent up as he draws his sword half out of the scabbard. The left elbow is back and up with the shield (largely lost); his torso and face are frontal. He wears a short chiton exposing sex with scale-corslet over it and lions on the shoulder-flaps; greaves (the calf-volute of the visible right greave ends in a snake's head); and double-crested Corinthian helmet up on hair. Relief-contour: throughout except hair. Dilute glaze: wash under wavy black lines of hair and beard, and on interior of shield (which has a strip extending the line of the arm-loop, suggesting that it was of hoplite type: contrast Herakles'). Red: baldric; blood from the wound in the thigh (the spear-head was drawn entire in relief-line before the red was added); **ΚΥΚΝΟΣ** retrograde above the head.

Behind him Ares advances (much lost). The left arm is extended with Boeotian shield (device: outline gorgoneion, snake-wreathed, between silhouette lions, to the left above, to the right below, upside down); his right hand is raised above his head with horizontal spear. He wears a Corinthian helmet up on his hair, a corslet over his short chiton and greaves. Relief-contour: throughout except for hair. Dilute glaze: eyelashes; muscles on right arm. Red: baldric; **ΑΡΕΣ** retrograde over the spear.

Behind Ares stands Aphrodite, quite still, in long chiton and himation. Her right hand is raised as though holding a flower but none is shown. Relief-contour: throughout except for hair (incised outline). Dilute glaze: wavy line on chiton. Red: double hair-band; snake-bracelet on her right arm; **ΑΦΡΟΔΙΤΕ** retrograde in front of her face (broken by her right wrist between **Ι** and **Τ**).

In the centre of the composition Athena advances right to protect Herakles from Ares. Her lower part is largely hidden by Herakles and Kyknos, but her hand is the center and she dominates the picture. She strides forward, her right leg is back, and her left hand is extended with the aegis muffling her hand. Her right hand is raised with

Figure 16. The Kyknos krater, detail of side A.

Figure 17. The Kyknos krater, detail of side A.

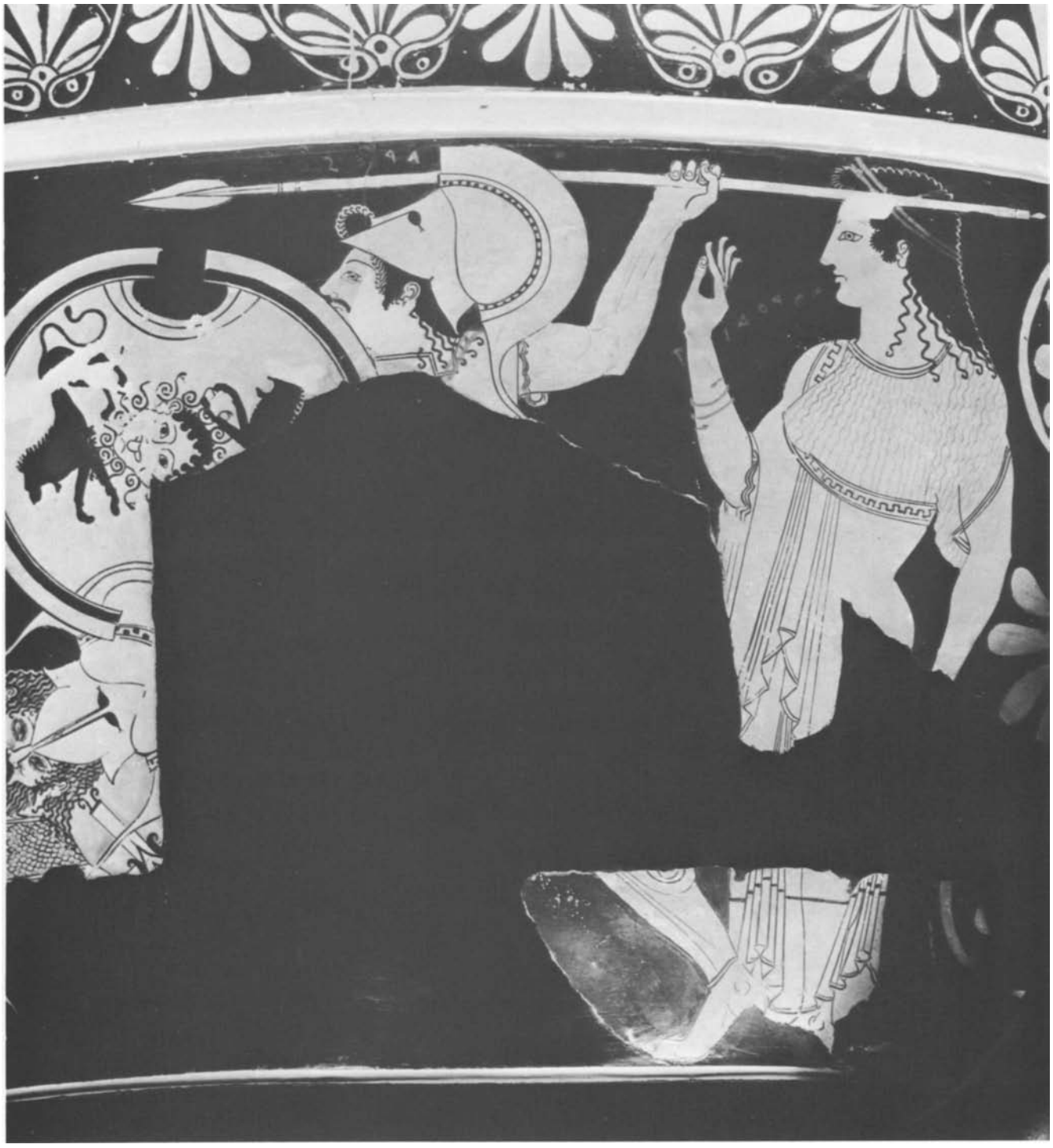


Figure 18. The Kyknos krater, detail of side A.

a spear in downward thrust. She wears an Attic helmet with a low crest, with long chiton and aegis over it. The aegis bears a gorgoneion and is fringed along its hanging edge with red-figure snakes. The far edge with the interior is not shown. Relief-contour: throughout except for front hair. Dilute glaze: nostril; lines on her right arm. Red: **ΑΘΕΝΑ** under spear; **ΕΥΦΡΟΝΙΟΣ ΕΓΡΑΦΣΕΝ** in two lines under it.

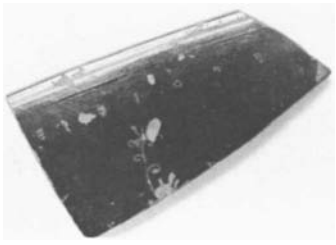
Bothmer adds: "The heel of the left-hand figure (Artemis?) is off the ground. Herakles has a sheathed sword. The crest of Kyknos is transverse, perhaps two half-crests? His left arm is bent at the elbow. Lions on cross-piece of scabbard. The eyes are turned up (dying), wrinkles at the nostrils, crenelation on the breast-strap. There is dicing on the crest-support. Aphrodite has a crenelation-pattern on upper edge of himation. The signature of Euphronios is *above* the spear, in two lines (*stoichedon*)."

Florals: Behind Aphrodite is a cross of unenclosed palmettes with enclosed ones in the corners; on the other side a smaller design with an enclosed horizontal palmette at the bottom (the rest is missing). The designs on the Sarpedon krater are closely similar, again with the broader complex on the right of the main picture.

Side B. Athlete to the left holding a pick in his right (and no doubt also in his left) hand, across floral. Relief-contour throughout the preserved part (right wrist and hand with pick; most of leg and backward left foot), except footsole. Dilute glaze: lines on wrist and leg. Lower leg and heel to right (overlapped by backward left leg and foot of figure 1). Relief-contour: throughout. Dilute glaze: lines on lower leg.

Piper to the left. Small loose fragment with left elbow. Main fragment: head thrown back, *phorbeia*, pipes, long chiton (hands with most of arms, front of body, lower edge of chiton and feet missing). Relief-contour throughout preserved part, except hair (incised). No dilute glaze. Added red for wreath in his hair (Bothmer).

Athlete. On the same fragment as last: part of right upper arm and forearm with hand and javelin; part of the right thigh with knee and shin disappearing behind figure 3; both frontal, back of hair, incised (head facing right). On another fragment: frontal left breast and shoulder with arm and hand bent across breast. Relief-contour: throughout, except hair. Dilute glaze: lines on arms and the leg (the knee is elaborately drawn in relief-lines). "His head is bent down, looking to see whether his javelin is straight. Inscribed **ΑΝ]ΤΙΑΣ**" (Bothmer).



Athlete to the right (on same fragment as the last): part of his right forearm and his hand with the javelin is evident. Below, line on the back. Relief-contour throughout. Red: **Σ** above arm.

There were only these five figures. For figure 4, cf. figures by Phintias (amphora, Louvre G 42; *ARV*² 20 no. 1; Pfuhl *MuZ* fig. 283) and Pheidippos (cup, London E 6; *ARV*² 166 no. 11; Boardman *Rf.* fig. 8).

The Kyknos picture is an exceptionally full rendering. I do not know another in which Aphrodite appears to support Ares or in which Athena is so deeply involved in the fight.[6] The figure behind Herakles is a problem, since he has no regular supporter except Athena. The figure does not stand still like Aphrodite but hurries forward. It might be Zeus coming to intervene, though one might expect him rather in the center and, as Frel points out, the feet are smaller than Herakles', though I am not sure that this is conclusive. Iris sent by Zeus would be an alternative, perhaps the best. Otherwise I can think only of a local nymph, or conceivably of Artemis, unusually supporting Herakles because Kyknos had offended Apollo; but neither suggestion appeals. On a cup in London (E 8; *ARV*² 63 no. 88; Schefold *Heldensagen* 137, fig. 178), Oltos shows Athena advancing on the far left and a woman behind each of the two combatants. Schefold suggests that these are the mothers of Herakles and Kyknos, and the one behind Ares certainly looks elderly and cannot be Aphrodite. Alkmene, however, disappears from her son's story after his childhood and is most unlikely to appear here. It seems possible that Oltos has misunderstood a picture like Euphronios' and turned it into one with anxious mothers, like the combat of Achilles and Memnon.

The confrontation of the real Medusa-head on Athena's aegis with its simulacrum in the *phobos*-image on Ares' shield is unusual. (Pheidias' Parthenos bore both the original on her breast and the simulacrum on her shield).

January–May 1980 Visiting Scholar
The J. Paul Getty Museum

POSTSCRIPT

The fragment in the Villa Giulia, added to the cup London E41 by R. Guy, containing the second half of Kachrylion's signature; see already *ARV*² 1557.1 above.
Photo: R. Guy.

6. But Bothmer compares the Chamay hydria in Geneva to which *ARV*² 35.18 (Louvre Cp 11090) belongs.

A Clazomenian Sarcophagus in Malibu

R. M. Cook

After more than fifty years of stagnation, the stock of Clazomenian sarcophagi in American collections—as far as I know them—has now increased from four to six.[1] One of the newcomers is a sarcophagus in Malibu (figs. 1, 3–4, 6, 8–10), which J. Frel has kindly asked me to publish here. With his help I give a description of it.

Inv. no. 77.AE.88 (G.21A).[2] Face and box. 221.5 cm, width of face at head 101 cm, width of face at foot 73 cm, height (face to base) at head 60 cm, height at foot 47 cm. Original weight about 450 kg (roughly ½ ton American or 9 cwt British).[3]

Clay, coarse and lightish brown (but ranging from reddish to grey). Slip (on upper surface and edges of face), thick and creamy white. Paint, blackish to red. Some traces of white and purple for inner details of black-figure parts.[4] Black-figure style[5] for main fields of headpiece and upper panels; reserving style for main field of lower panel and in footpiece.

Headpiece. Hoplite duel with two-horse chariot on each side: flowers in field. Above: meander cross and quincunx (two deep) between square and four. Below: broken meander between square and four. (fig. 3)
Upper Corner Strip. Meander cross and quincunx (two deep).

1. Berkeley 8/3430—early eccentric (F.15); Boston 59.333 (formerly Wellesley College)—Hanover painter (C.5); Boston 04.285—Albertinum group, early (G.9); New York 21.169.1—Albertinum group, early (G.23); and now besides the sarcophagus published here Chapel Hill 77.25.1—Borelli painter (B.3A). There was also a seventh sarcophagus on the market in America in 1979—Albertinum group (G.36A).

2. This and similar numbers are those of the catalogue in my general study, *Clazomenian Sarcophagi*, which is in the press. Reasons for some of the more peremptory assertions in this paper are given there.

3. I am indebted to the Conservation Department of the J. Paul Getty Museum for this calculation of the weight. It was obtained by careful measurements to ascertain the quantity of fired clay in the sarcophagus and by weighing loose fragments to ascertain the specific gravity of that clay.

4. Though these colours are well preserved on the griffin of fig. 4, they are faint on the main scene of the headpiece: fig. 7, from Berlin Inv. 3145 (G.28) which is by the same painter, shows what the Malibu hoplites looked like originally.

5. The style is black-figure, though in the conventional sense of that term the technique is not, since painted white lines are used instead of incision.

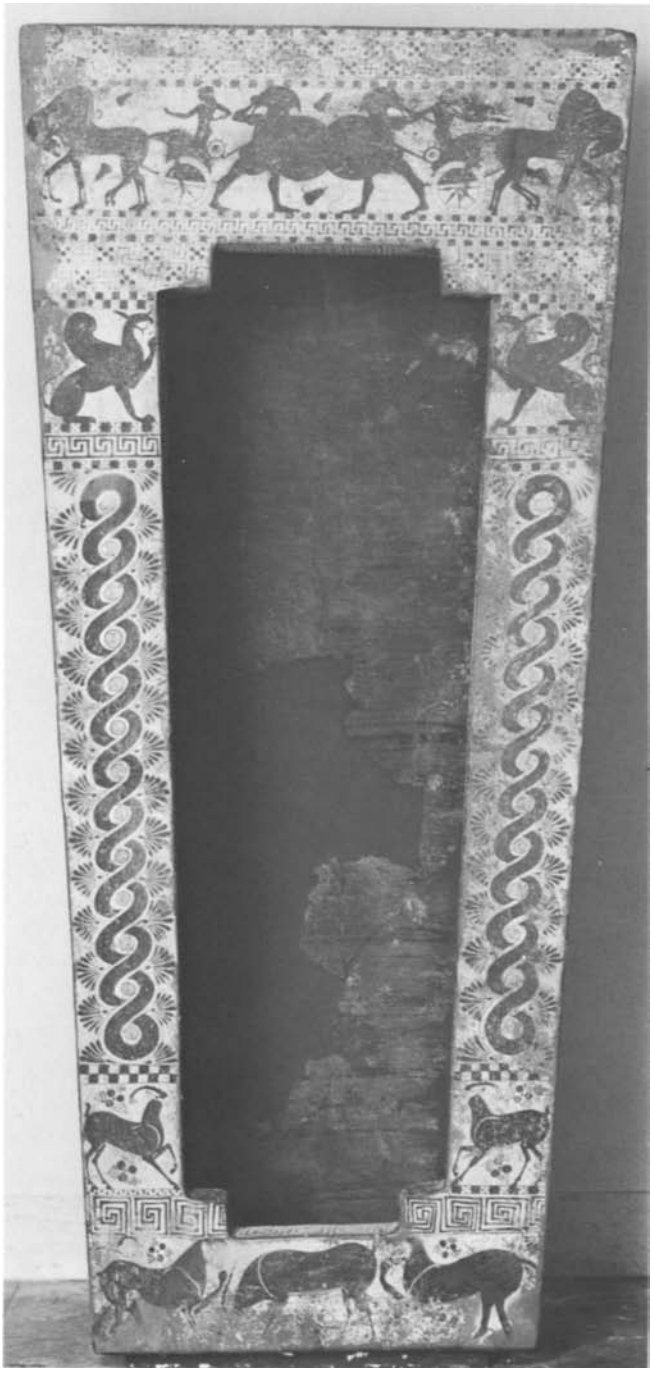


Figure 1. Clazomenian sarcophagus. Malibu, Getty Museum, 77.AE.88.

Figure 2. Clazomenian sarcophagus. Berlin, Staatliches Museen, inv. 3347.

Upper Panel. Griffin. Above: chequers. Below: hook meander between square and four. (fig. 3)
Sidepiece. Cable and palmette.
Lower Panel. Goat. Above: chequers. Below: on left, alternating dots; on right, square and four.
Lower Corner Strip. Meander.
Footpiece. Panther, goat, panther.
Outer Edge. Egg and dart (alternate eggs void). (fig. 8)
Inner Edge. Meander and star (the star omitted at the foot).
Box outside. Unpainted. (fig. 10)
Box inside. Roughly daubed with dark paint.

Nearly all the Clazomenian sarcophagi that are of normal size and shape, and owned by museums outside Turkey and Greece, have been found and marketed through private enterprise.[6] For transport it has been easier and, at least till very recently, normal to discard the undecorated box.[7] In general purchasers are not much upset by this practice, since the box has no artistic appeal and a detached face can be exhibited more conveniently in a gallery where space is short. So the Malibu sarcophagus is unusual in its completeness, though its shape is usual enough.

The face (fig. 1) is trapezoidal, with the headpiece deeper from outer to inner edge than the sidepieces or footpiece, and the sidepieces correspondingly tapering towards the foot—devices to give greater importance to the head. The small projections at the inner corners of the face, which first appeared when the painting of sarcophagi was becoming sophisticated,[8] are also not functional but decorative in purpose. The box (fig. 10) is, in contrast, clumsily utilitarian. Since the face is considerably wider than the walls, its edges project above them except at the outside of the foot. The open space surrounded by the face had to be large enough for a fairly decorous insertion of the corpse, but the bottom of the box did not need to be much larger than that corpse and to save material, and perhaps weight, the walls of the box shelve inwards to the bottom, except again at the foot. For these and other reasons one may infer that the outside of the box was not meant to be seen and that at some time the sarcophagus was expected to be stood upright, whether in the workshop or the purchaser's house, though not in the prothesis (as for a while was supposed). In the grave, of course, it was laid flat in a trench, usually with a slab or slabs of stone as a lid, and covered—to judge by excavators' observations—with a mound of earth and stones.

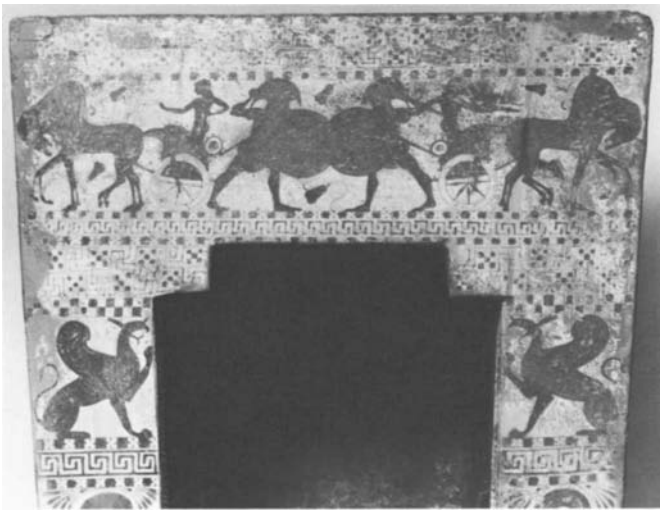


Figure 3. Detail of headpiece. Malibu.

By the style of its decoration the sarcophagus in Malibu belongs to the Albertinum group and—I think—to its late stage, which tentatively I put in the 470's B.C. or not much earlier. This group, which almost monopolised the production of Clazomenian sarcophagi in the early fifth century, is a large one comprising so far more than sixty examples, most of them apparently painted by the same painter as that in Malibu. It may be thought that this implies an improbably high rate of survival, since the Brygos painter for instance, who was active over much the same period, has at present only four times as many pots and independent fragments to his credit and pots are much smaller than sarcophagi; on the other hand no class of ancient artifacts had a better chance of preservation than clay sarcophagi, made only to be buried and useless for any other purpose,[9] and I doubt if the sixty odd sarcophagi of the Albertinum workshop need represent as much as four percent of its original output.

The system of decoration of the Malibu specimen is typical of the more modest black-figured sarcophagi of the

6. It seems that there was official permission for the excavation in Rhodes about 1867 of London 63.3-30.2 (Hopkinson painter, H.4) and at Clazomenae in 1892 of Louvre CA 460 *bis* (Dennis painter, D.3) and CA 460 (Albertinum group—middle, G.31). All three have kept the whole or most of the box.

7. Exceptions, besides the Malibu specimen, are two sarcophagi recently on the market (Hanover painter, C.2 and an early eccentric, F.1A), Leyden I.1896/5.1 and Oxford 1911.267 (both early eccentrics, F.1 and F.9), and Cambridge GR.7.1902 (Hopkinson painter, H.5); there are also considerable remains of the box of Louvre CA 244*a* (Albertinum painter—late, G.14) and of a third recent arrival on the market (Albertinum painter—early, G.15A). The last two sarcophagi and that in Malibu had heavy boxes; the Hanover painter's is of moderate size; but the boxes of the other four are small. That four of these eight are recent additions to the known stock of sarcophagi is instructive.

8. The preceding sarcophagi are of what I call the Monastirakia class. Several of them are listed and some illustrated in *Anadolu* x, 179–92.

9. They might, I suppose, have served as troughs, if they were not cracked or broken; but the only reuse of which I know is of the fragment British Museum 86.3-26.5-6 (D.1) as a building block (AD i, p. 34).

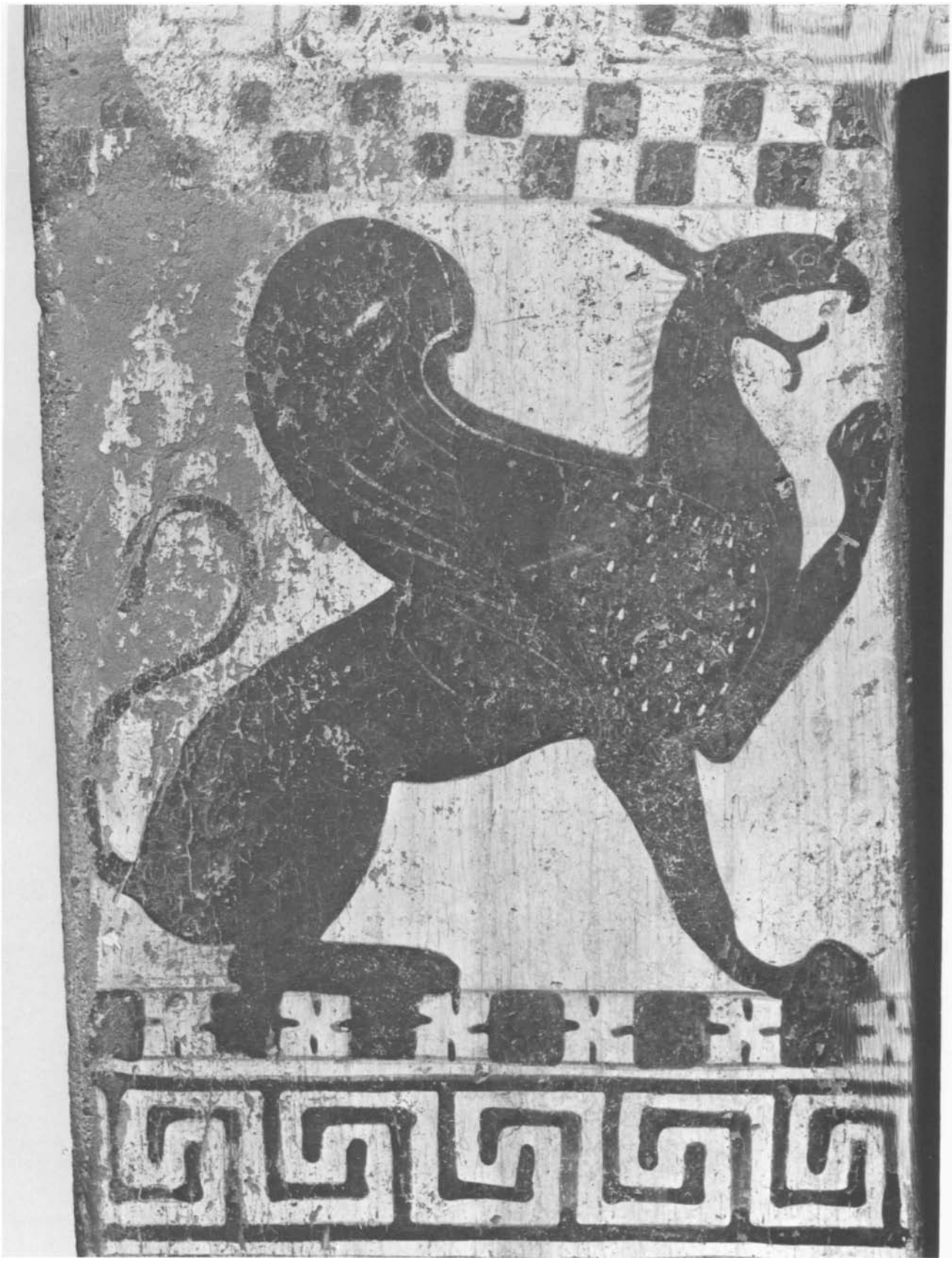


Figure 4. Griffin, detail of left side. Malibu.

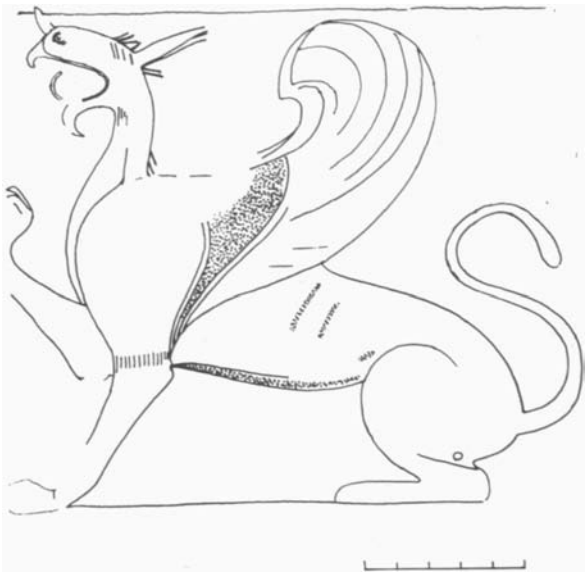


Figure 5. Griffin, drawing after detail of Berlin inv. 3348.

Figure 6. Goat, detail of left side. Malibu.

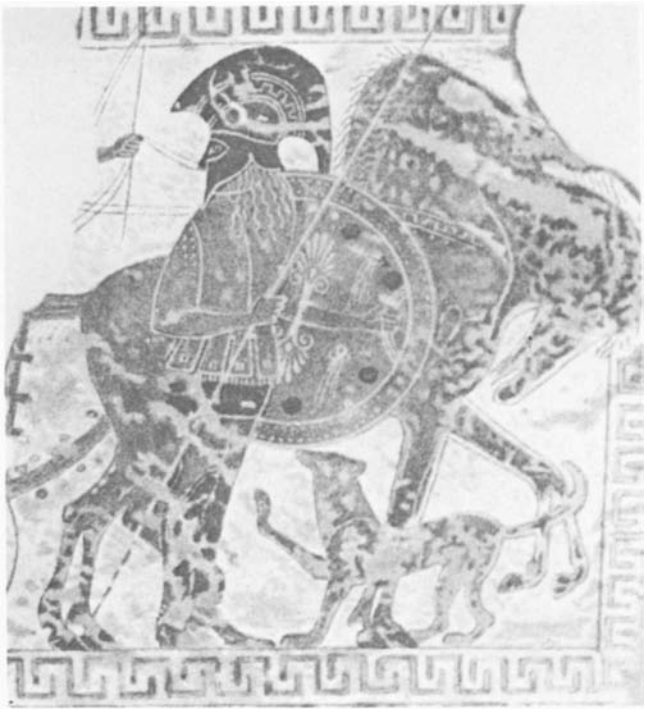


Figure 7. Hoplite, detail of Berlin inv. 3145.

Figure 8. Outer edge. Malibu.

Figure 9. Inner edge. Malibu.

Albertinum painter, especially in his later stage. So too is the repertory of figures and ornaments, except that the meander cross and quincunx occurs—so far as I know—on only one other of his works, Leipzig T.3338 (G.10), and there it is not on the face proper but its inner edge. Yet though his components were generally standardised, the Albertinum painter seems to have been careful to vary his selection of them from one sacrophagus to another, especially in the upper fields of the face—headpiece, upper corner strips, and upper panels. Among some forty black-figured main fields of headpieces that I have come across, there is only one instance of exact repetition of figures—on Istanbul 1354 and 1352 (G.32 and 33). Here it is instructive to compare the Malibu example with Berlin Inv. 3347 (G.21: fig. 2),[10] which is of much the same date and size. Both have a duel of hoplites and flanking chariots—so alike on the two sarcophagi that they look almost as if printed from the same blocks. But on the Berlin headpiece the duellists have the company of a fallen hoplite and the chariots of irrelevant dogs; further, the drivers wear scarves, and instead of one of the flowers we have a bird. There are variations too in the supporting bands of orna-

Figure 10. Side view. Malibu.

ments, though except at the bottom of the upper panels the decorative emphasis hardly differs.

The subject of these two headpieces appears to be one familiar in Archaic Greek art—a heroic duel with the combatants' chariots close as hand. This was evidently intended on the headpiece of a sarcophagus painted a generation earlier by the Hanover painter (Hanover 1897.12; C.4),[11] since there one of the duellists still has a foot in his chariot. But the Albertinum painter, especially in his later work, tends for his compositions to juxtapose stock units with effects which, though decorative, do not necessarily make coherent sense; and so the coherence of the subject here may be more fortuitous than deliberate.

Museum of Classical Archaeology,
Cambridge

NOTE ON THE CONSERVATION OF THE SARCOPHAGUS

The sarcophagus was reassembled immediately after its discovery. This first attempt was conceived as a temporary effort, hence the joins were imprecise and the materials used were not the most appropriate. The sarcophagus was put together with two different epoxy resins and with ridged, construction-grade steel bars for dowling. These materials were removed to a limited extent, but the decision was made to leave the first reconstruction alone and to finish the piece accepting the imperfect joins rather than risk a break.

The present conservation included filling the large missing areas, consolidation of the painted surface, and artistic reintegration. A specially modified epoxy resin was chosen for the fills, with the addition of light-weight synthetic filler. The large fills also included bars of rigid polyethylene foam for further reduction of weight. These fills are easily reversible, either mechanically or by application of heat. Their addition increased the weight of the sarcophagus only about 2½ per cent. The consolidation of the clay body was made with organofunctional silane. This was chosen because it darkens the natural color of the surface less than traditional products for consolidation. The artistic reintegration was made by painting with water soluble acrylic colors over the white acrylic fills. The technique carefully distinguishes the restored sections from the original sections, while providing artistic integrity to the surface.

Zdravko Barov
The J. Paul Getty Museum

10. *AD* ii, pl.27.2. The length of the face is 221 cm and the width 103 cm. at the head and 72 cm. at the foot. As R. Zahn observed long ago (*Jdl* 1908, 178–9), this sarcophagus is very close to Berlin Inv. 3348 (G.29), a griffin from which is shown in fig. 5 for comparison with one on the Malibu sarcophagus (fig. 4).

11. *AD* ii, pl.27.3.

Coroplastic Workshops at Taras: Marked Moulds of the Late Classical Period

Bonnie M. Kingsley

The Tarentines of South Italy were among the earliest of Greek coroplasts to inscribe their names,[1] spelled in full or abbreviated, on the backs of the moulds which were their stock in trade.[2] Four terracotta moulds from Taras in the J. Paul Getty Museum bear the marks of five men who are familiar from the studies of Deonna, Wuilleumier and others: Zopyras, Ra-, Dionysios, Al- and Leon.[3] The mark of a sixth, Ly-, has not, heretofore, been associated with the production of terracottas (figs. 1–4).[4]

The practice of tooling letters into the backs of moulds while the clay was still moist was adopted at Taras sometime in the mid-fourth century B.C.[5] We cannot be certain that coroplasts marked their own moulds; hence the term "signature" is best avoided. The letter-forms correspond to other inscriptions from classical Taras.[6] Minor idiosyncracies may be due to such variables as the shape of the marking instrument; relative wetness of the clay; difference in age, dexterity, or literacy of the persons who made the marks; or even to variations in the circumstances in which the moulds were made and marked.

1. I am indebted to the trustees and the staff of the J. Paul Getty Museum for permission to study and to publish the materials. Moulds nos. 1, 2, and 15 have been published in a museum booklet, *The Terracottas of the Tarentine Greeks, an Introduction to the Collection in the J. Paul Getty Museum* (Malibu 1976) (cited without footnote in the text as Kingsley). The present study owes much to the guidance of Profs. J.K. Anderson, Ronald Stroud, and D.A. Amyx, who directed the dissertation at the University of California, Berkeley (1977) from which it is drawn. I am most grateful to Prof. Dr. Reinhard and Frau Erika Lullies for their careful reading of the typescript and for their suggestions. I have drawn inspiration and profit from lively and friendly discussions with Frau Dr. Helga Herdejürgen. Though we differ in some of our conclusions as to chronology, I am deeply indebted to her meticulous and comprehensive research in the field of Tarentine coroplastic art. Above all, I must acknowledge the generosity of Dorothy Burr Thompson in sharing materials from her files, for her enthusiasm and encouragement, and, even more, for her published studies which have established a model for all subsequent work in the field of ancient terracottas.

Frequently cited publications are abbreviated as follows:

Atti 6 Conv.: Rüdiger, in *Atti 6 Convegno di Studi sulla Magna Grecia 1966 (Naples) 1967).*

Bell: M. Bell, *The Terracottas of Morgantina: 400-50* B.C. (diss. Princeton 1971).

Dörig: J. Dörig, "Von griechischen Puppen," *AntK* 1 (1958).

Grabvasen Basel: A. Cambitoglou, A.D. Trendall, and M. Schmidt, *Eine Gruppe Apulischer Grabvasen in Basel* (1976).

Harden: Harden, "A Series of Terracottas Representing Artemis, found at Taranto," *JHS* (1927).

Herdejürgen: H. Herdejürgen, *Die tarentinischen Terrakotten des 6. bis 4. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. in Antiken Museum Basel* (Mainz 1971).

Herdejürgen, *GMD*: *Götter, Menschem und Dämonen*[1] (Basel 1978).

Higgins: R. Higgins, *Catalogue of Terracottas in the British Museum* I (London 1959).

Jeffery: L. Jeffery, *The Local Scripts of Archaic Greece* (Oxford 1961).

Letta: C. Letta, *Piccolo Coroplastica Metapontina* (Naples 1971).

Mollard-Besques: S. Mollard-Besques, *Musée du Louvre, Catalogue raisonnée des figurines et reliefs en terres cuites grecs, étrusques et romaine* II (Paris 1963).

Neutsch: B. Neutsch, "Der Heros auf der Klinê," *RM* 68 (1961).

Neutsch, *Koroplastik*: B. Neutsch, *Studien zur vortanagräisch attischen Koroplastik, Jdl* Suppl. 17 (1952).

Neutsch, *Policoro*: B. Neutsch, *Archäologische Studien und Bodensodierungen bei Policoro in den Jahren 1959-1964, RM* Suppl. 11 (1967).

Paul: E. Paul, *Antike Welt in Ton* (Leipzig 1959).

Poulsen: H. Poulsen, *Catalogue des Terres Cuites grecques et romaines* (Copenhagen 1949).

Quagliati: Q. Quagliati, *Il Museo Nazionale di Taranto* (1932).

Richter: G.M.A. Richter, *The New York Metropolitan Museum of Art Handbook of the Greek Collection* 2 (Cambridge 1954).

Smith: H.R.W. Smith (ed. J.K. Anderson), *Funerary Symbolism in Apulian Vase Painting* (Berkeley 1976).

Szilágy: "ΠΛΑΤΥΣ," *Bulletin du Musée des Beaux-Arts Hongrois* (19. .) 21–37.

Tarente: P. Wuilleumier, *Tarente des origines á la conquête romaine* (Paris 1939).

Troy 3: D.B. Thompson, *Troy*, Suppl. 3 (Princeton 1963).

Winter: F. Winter, *Die antiken Terrakotten III: die Typen der figürlichen Terrakotten* I (1903).

2. Neutsch, 163.

3. Deonna, "Moules Tarentines," *Genava* 6 (1928) 1–8; 8 (1930) 67–74; *idem*, *MonPiot* 30 (1929); *idem*, *Acropole* (1929) 109–112; *Tarente*, 394–395 and prosopography 709–923; Szilágy, 21–37.

4. Not until now attested as a coroplast at Taras, though the prefix appears in other names of men perhaps associated with the city: *Tarente*, 717.

5. Neutsch, loc. cit.

6. Jeffery, 279–284.

Figure 1. Back of head mould from the shop of Ly showing inscription. Malibu, 74.AD.22. See also figure 5.

Figure 2. Back of fragment of mould of head and torso from the shop of Al and Dionysios showing inscription. Malibu, 74.AD.53. See also figure 9.

Figure 3. Back of mould of bust of Demeter or Kore from the shop of Zopyras, Ra, and La showing inscription. Malibu, 74.AD.44. See also figure 13.

Figure 4. Back of mould of seated boy and puppy from the shop of Leon showing inscription. Malibu, 74.AD.21. See also figure 14.

With one exception, the ducti of the strokes forming the letters of like names appear similar.[7] Wuilleumier noted that Ra- and La- may have been retrograde.[8] Against this interpretation is the fact that the third syllable of Zopyras' name on no. 11 is written left to right. Leon, on the other hand, continued his mark retrograde on a second line of no. 16 (fig. 4).

A few Tarentine mouldmarks allude to the subjects to be reproduced.[9] The majority, however, are like other proper names occurring in the Tarentine sphere for citizens, dedicants, and other craftsmen.[10] Names spelled in full are usually in the genitive. The retrograde graffiti on a mould from Taras, now in Bari, reads when the letters are reversed: **ΦΙΛΟΧΕΝΟ(Y)E(I)M(I)**. ("I am [the property] of Philoxenos").[11] It has been proposed that marks which occur in pairs stood for given names and patronymics.[12] Since most of the paired marks also appear independently and in some instances within triads, it is safer to assume that such combinations represented the association of two or more men within a single workshop. It is, however, not at all unlikely that, as Dorothy Burr Thompson has suggested, members of a family worked together, the elder training the younger.[13] The proposition that each distinctive mark designated only one man or his shop is supported by some technical affinities of pieces thus associated and by external indications for their chronology. The marks have sometimes been taken as artists' signatures,[14] or the pairs as indicating one man's revision of a type created by a prior coroplast.[15] Moulds presumably were not displayed to the public, nor did they circulate

7. The *alpha*'s of nos. 3 and 4 differ, and neither resembles in the slightest that of no. 2. The same letters on the back of no. 11, in Taranto, were drawn by a remarkably unsteady hand, as were the *rho*'s. For further discussion, see Szilágy whose publication reached me through the courtesy of Prof. Lullies and Michel Squaitamatti just as this piece was going to press.

8. *Tarente*, 394.

9. *Tarente*, 394–395.

10. *Tarente*, 719–723.

11. See Neutsch, 163 and n. 54 for a probable fourth-century date for the mould, contra *Tarante*, 394 and Jeffrey, 280–281.

12. *Tarente*, 394. Tarentine graffiti were not uncommonly written retrograde. See Jeffrey, 280–281 and supra n. 11. Though *Ar-* was more prevalent as a prefix for Tarentine names, *Ra-* occurs on an oscillum at Bari and *R-* on three others from, or in, Taranto: *Tarente*, 722–723.

13. Troy 3, 61. Among a large group of fragmentary terracottas from Taras in the study collection of the Getty Museum are a number on which the deep imprints on the backs are far too slender to have been made by adults.

14. E.G., *Troy* 3, 61.

15. A suggestion of Malcom Bell. While the idea is intriguing, so far as we can tell no. 1 with its single mark has been retouched, and other Tarentine moulds, to be treated in a subsequent study of coroplasts who made "Tanagra" figurines at Taras, show no signs of having been reworked though they bear the marks of two men.

Figure 5. Cavity of mould (right) and modern cast of head of a female wearing a stephane also in figure 1. Malibu, 74.AD.22.

among customers for figurines. The marks must therefore have been signs for the convenience of the craftsmen, either of those working within a single shop or those engaged in commerce in moulds. Simone Besques has observed that the marks asserted an awareness of the value as commodities of the moulds and the figurines they produced.[16]

The fabric of all the moulds is consistently well-washed and hard-fired. Within each piece the color ranges from beige to a pale, ruddy orange. The surfaces and contours of the backs all reflect the general shapes of the figures to be formed in the cavities. The backs of moulds nos. 6, 10, and 11 are irregular and covered with the imprints of the coroplasts' hands. The excess clay of nos. 2, 6, and 10 was turned up around the edges, and an extra wad added to no. 6 to allow for the stub of the uplifted right arm. The backs of nos. 1–4 and 16 are smoother and more neatly trimmed.[17]

With the exception of the reclining hero of no. 6 and of the female of no. 17, the figures produced were moulded only in front. Those made from Leon's no. 17 were obviously rounded. On the back of no. 6 are five clay tabs, of the sort which were affixed to bind two half-moulds together while these were setting about a patrix. There are neither tabs nor string-marks on the edges of the other moulds, and their comparanda, including for no. 4 the figures nos. 5, 7, and 8, have open, concave backs.[18] The reverses of heads and torsos of other seated, quasi-nude figurines approximately contemporary with no. 3 were often hand-modeled, the hips and legs left open.[19] No seats have been recovered for them at Taranto, so it is presumed that they were placed on furniture of wood or of other perishable material.[20] The practice of combining separate moulds for heads (as no. 1) and torsos had been adopted at Taras as early as the fifth century B.C.[21] One-piece moulds might also be made by joining two separate

16. Mollard-Besques, xii.

17. Mrs. Thompson has observed of terracottas found in the Athenian Agora that progressive care in finishing the backs of moulds is indicative of their chronological order: *Hesperia* 31 (1951) 122, 124–125.

18. For the Artemides of nos. 1 and 15, cf. Harden's observations of examples from Taranto: Harden, 93. For figurines preserved intact with bases, derived from Tarentine types by way of Herakleia, see Rüdiger, *NSc* 21 (1967) 350–352.

19. Cf. Louvre CA 3298: Mollard-Besques I (1954) 124, pl. 88, C 249 (P.H.: 26.0 cm.).

20. Dörig, 47–48.

21. Neutsch, 163.

Figure 6. Back of mould of head and torso of Artemis showing inscription. Genève, Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, 1249bis.

Figure 7. Cavity of mould in figure 6.

Figure 8. Plaster cast from mould in figures 6 and 7.

patrices.[22] Nos. 2–4 and 15 are products of one of these processes. Heads and torsos were extensively interchanged among terracottas of differing types, as the studies of Helga Herdejürgen have shown.[23] The head wearing a polos of no. 8 is very close to that of no. 3, on which a stephanê is set. Yet the same head-type appears most often as a veiled kourotrophos of which a number of examples are preserved.[24] A taste for figures more freely disposed in space led to experimentation on the part of coroplasts. The position of no. 1 is no longer strictly frontal. Heads that turned or tilted were affixed to torsos like that of no. 6, and by the fourth century craftsmen began, first by hand, then using moulds, to work the backs of the heads and torsos of their figurines. Ultimately, the limbs, too, were more freely hand-modeled, then formed in part-moulds. The left forearm of the hero of no. 6 was added to extend forward on the pillow, the hand curving over the edge. The right arm was lifted free of the torso, and the hand may have held a kanthaross.[25] Leon, the coroplast of no. 16, achieved greater depth in his tiny, triangular composition of boy and dog by setting the clay of the mould at a slight angle over the patrix. He turned out at least one type which was fully in-the-round by coupling mould no. 17 with a matching front-mould.[26]

Terracottas were not mass-produced[27] but replicated, for the moulds deteriorated gradually as they were used.[28] Repeated mouldings wore away sharp or subtle detail. A figurine made early in the life of a mould was thus fresher than one made late.[29] Conscientious coroplasts renewed their types by making new moulds from prior moulded

22. Neutsch, *Koroplastik,* 3–5, 28–30.

23. Herdejürgen, 15.

24. The patrix from which no. 3 was made can scarcely have been created before the time when the sculpture of Praxiteles began to inspire the minor arts. The coiffures of no. 8 and the related kourotrophoi, on the other hand, are found in the preceding period. At times the vase painter and the coroplast designing single-faced moulds resort to similar solutions to the problem of representing three dimensions in what essentially is a two-dimensional field. The position of the infant in the terracottas cited below is frontal, right arm flung across the breast of the female, and legs dangling froglike; it is precisely like that of the child Ploutos in the painted symbola depicting the *Eirene* of Kephisodotos on Panathenaic amphorai of 360/359 B.C.: J. Frel, *Panathenaic Prize Amphoras* (Athens 1973) 18–19.

The terracotta kourotrophoi: Potenza Mus. Prov. inv. 12099, from Metaponto: Lo Porto, *NSc* 20 (1966) 171, pl. 8.4. Other examples at Potenza from the same city: Letta, 100–105, pls. 27–20, among type Xa, nos. 62, 66–69, 71, 75, and 78. From Policoro, D 37; Neutsch, *Policoro* 240, pl. 33, 2.

Additional published examples include Brit. Mus. reg. 1952. 7–31.1: Higgins, 367, pl. 189, no. 1354 bis; N.Y. Met. Mus. of Art 10.210.75 (cf. 10.110.76): Richter, 98 and n. 51, fig. 78f (cf. 78e); Louvre MNB 2251, 2242–2243 and 2246: Mollard Besques I, 127, pll. 90, 94, C 275, C 372–375. Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek: Poulsen, pl. 15, no. 27.

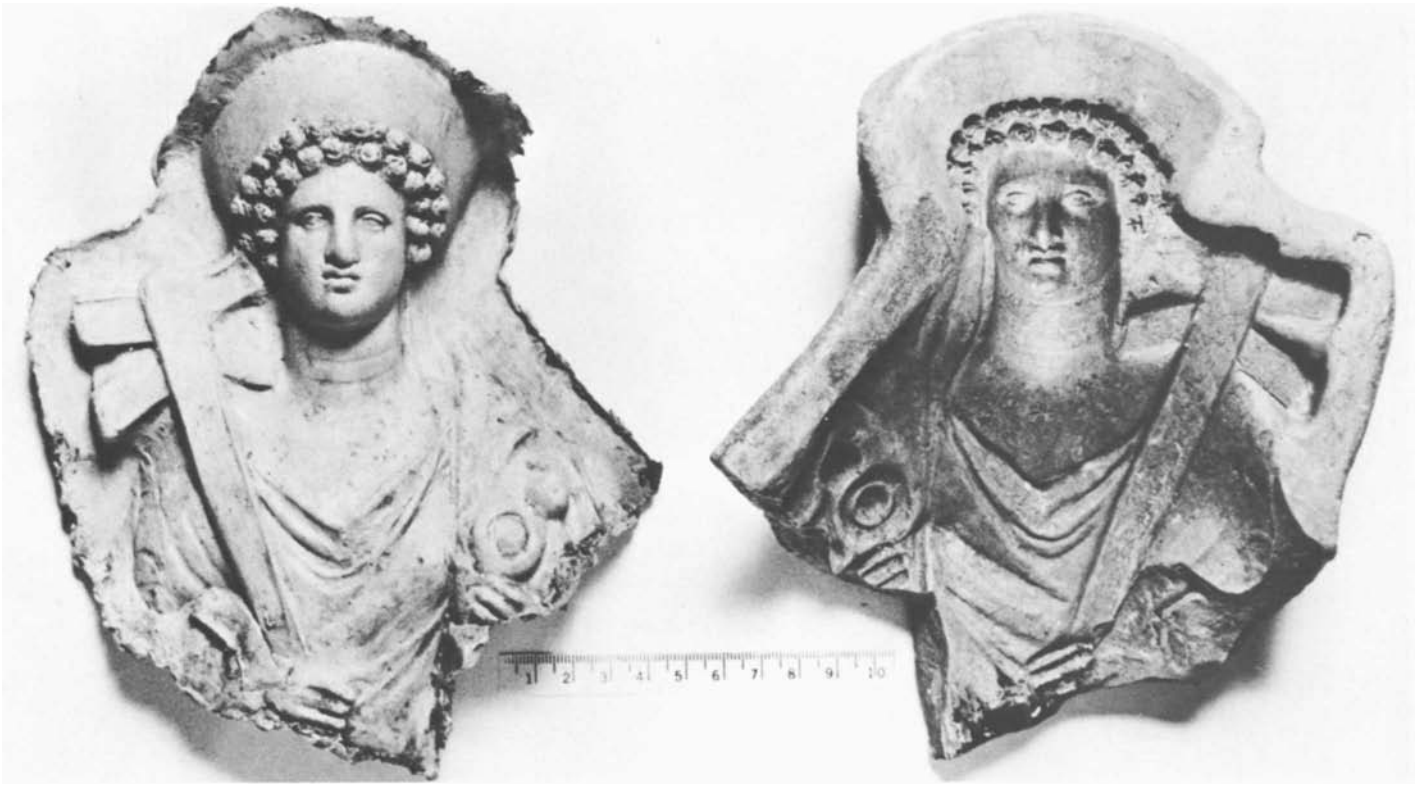


Figure 9. Cavity (right) and modern cast of a standing woman holding a torch also in figure 2. Malibu, 74.AD.53.

figurines or from patrices reserved for that very purpose.[30] They retouched detail which had grown dim either in the process of remoulding or from wear in a prior mould. Renewal was sometimes carried out in an unfired positive from which a fresh mould was subsequently to be made, but most often at Taras the cavity of the new, unfired mould was reworked *intaglio*. The contrast between softened features, which have been transferred from a prior moulded figure, and the sharpness of renewal is especially apparent in nos. 2 and 10. All of our moulds except the exhausted little no. 16 have been renewed. They belong, therefore, to second or later generations, as examination will show. At least three dates are consequently pertinent to establishing a chronology for each type: a time for a prototype, another for the production and first use of the mould, a third or more for its renewal and continued use.[31]

A. THE SHOP OF LY

1. Head-mould, Getty Mus. Inv. 74.AD.22, ΛV: Kingsley 9, no. 19. Head of a female wearing a stephane. H., mould: 11.3 cm.; cast: 10.0 cm. (figs. 1 and 5).

The coroplast Ly- was not known to Wuilleumier.[32] The head from his mould, appropriate for an image of Aphrodite, tilts and turns slightly toward proper right.[33] The gaze is directed upward, the eyes open widely, and the lids do not meet at the inner corners. The upper edge of the narrow stephane is raised in relief. The round strands of the coiffure wave loosely from a central part and are drawn from the temples, leaving the earlobes exposed. A

A group of terracotta reclining heroes having moulded fronts and hand-modeled backs will be published as " 'Orpheus' and the Master of the Singers of Taras" (forthcoming). All have hand-modeled arms, one or both freed from the torso.

26. Mrs. Thompson informs me that she has not observed such a technique at Athens.

27. Cf., Bell, 1.

28. Neutsch, *Koroplastik*, 5.

29. Experiments in making clay casts from ancient Tarentine moulds carried out in Berkeley in 1970 proved that such wear occurs in the cavity whether or not the mould is allowed to dry completely between successive castings.

30. Neutsch, *Koroplastik*, 4–5 describes the process in detail.

31. For problems in dating terracottas by sculptural style, see D.B. Thompson, *AJA* 77 (1973) 246–247. For the necessity of dual dating: *Troy* 3, 20. See also n. 70 infra.

32. *Tarante*, 717.

33. For the coiffure in its association with Aphrodite see, most recently, Ridgway, "The Aphrodite of Arles," *AJA* 80 (1976) 152–153. For identification of the stephanê with Aphrodite and its appearance among terracottas after the fourth century, see *Troy* 3, 49–50, and Thompson, "O dea Certe," *AntK* 18 (1975) 84.

Figure 10. Back of mould of torso of reclining hero showing inscription. Genève, Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, 12519.

Figure 11. Cavity of mould in figure 10.

Figure 12. Plaster cast from mould in figures 10 and 11.

curl falls along either side of the neck. These were reworked when the clay of the mould was wet. Light recutting was also attempted along the eyelids after firing, not the usual stage at which Tarentine coroplasts refreshed their moulds. No. 1 is probably no later than the second generation of its type. The swelling of the tissue of the forehead above the bridge of the nose, the oblique planes of the temples and cheeks, and the full, narrow lips point to a prototype of ca. 350 B.C. or not long before. The diamond-shaped configuration of the head and the arrangement of the hair find parallels in the head of the seated female of Al's mould no. 3.

B. THE MOULD MARKED A-

2. Mould, Geneva Mus. d'Art et d'Hist., inv. 1249bis, A-: Head and upper torso of a standing figure of Artemis wearing a pelt, a nebris, or pardalee, slung diagonally from the left shoulder and under the right breast. A lionskin cap is surmounted by a high, peaked cap or helmet; the paws lie on the goddess's shoulders. The tip of the cap is missing. P.H., mould and cast: 38.0 cm. (figs. 6–8).[34]

The initial *alpha*, all that remains of the mouldmark, may indicate the subject, Artemis, or a coroplast, though probably not Al (infra) or Ariston.[35] The goddess was probably addressed in the Tarentine sphere not as Bendis, but as Soteira.[36] She stood on a high, block-base made within the same mould as the figure. She wore endromides and a chitoniskos suitable for hunting, though in a late type related to no. 2 by the pelt worn obliquely, the dress has become a long chiton.[37] In most of the variants the left hand touches the tip of a bow, and a miniature deer is perched on the outstretched right forearm. A second animal, a hound or a feline, sometimes peers from behind the right thigh.[38] In some examples dressed as no. 2, the right forearm rested on a pilaster, as for no. 15 (infra). The hand might also be turned inward toward the waist.[39]

The mould was made from a positive in which the surface detail was dim, for the clothing and unretouched areas of flesh are bland, almost devoid of modeling. The

34. I am indebted to Mlle Christiane Dunant, the former conservateur, to Prof. José Dörig, and to the Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, Ville de Genève, for their courtesy in providing the photographs and in granting permission for their publication. Dr. Jacques Chamay kindly made it possible for me to study at first hand the moulds in Geneva.

35. Ariston, a Tarentine coroplast who worked until after ca. 310 B.C., is the subject of a forthcoming study. In scale, fabric and style, no. 2 accords more closely with the time of Al- than of Ariston, though the latter produced some moulds of classical types. The *alphas* and *lambda* of no. 2 are not compatible with those of 3 and 4 and scarcely resemble any of Ariston's marks.

Figure 13. Cavity (right) and modern cast of bust of Demeter or Kore also in figure 3. Malibu, 74.AD.44.

muzzle and mane of the cap, the hair and facial features of the goddess have been reworked. The eyes were merely redrawn in this mould with the tip of a stylus, yet their shapes approximate those of the eyes of no. 1. The heavy strands of hair are arranged in the stiff, parallel waves still fashionable among other remodeled terracotta types at Taras and Herakleia during the middle and third quarter of the fourth century.[40] In spite of the high forehead and small features, no. 2 is probably to be dated well before 330 B.C., the earliest possible date for a ritual deposit of Artemides derived from Tarentine models found at an inland Lucanian site near Santa Maria d'Anglona.[41]

C. THE SHOP OF AL AND DIONYSIOS

3. Mould, Geneva Mus. d'Art et d'Hist., inv. 12496, **ΑΛ**: Deonna, *MonPiot* 30 (1929) 46–47, no. 1, pl. 5, 1; Dörig, *AntK* 1 (1958) 41–52, pl. 24, 2. Seated female wearing stephane and diaphanous gown affixed with small discs. H.: 33.0 cm.
4. Mould, Getty Mus. 74.AD.53. **[ΔΙΟΝ]ΥΣΙΟ(Υ), ΑΛ**: Kingsley, cover and 6–7, no. 13. Fragment, head and upper torso of standing, draped female holding torch at right shoulder and basket of offerings on left arm. The hair is dressed in two even rows of short curls and is crowned by a veiled polos. P.H., mould: 20.0 cm.; cast: 17.3 cm. (figs. 2 and 9).
5. Figurine, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, inv. 983: Poulsen,[42] no. 24, pl. 13. Head and upper torso of female of the same type as no. 4. Missing below shoulders. P.H.: 8.5 cm.
6. Mould, Mus. d'Art et d'Hist., Geneva, inv. 12519, **[Δ]ΙΟΝΥΣΙΟ(Υ)**:[43] Deonna, *Genava* 6 (1928) 8; *Acropole*

36. Identification of the Tarentine Artemis as Soteira was suggested by Harden, 93–101, and argued cogently by Letta, "Le Terrecotte Tarantine de 'Artemis Bendis'," *RendLinc* 23 (1968) 305–315. An altar inscribed to Artemis Soteira was found at Policoro where both the cults and their votive terracottas were dominated in the fourth century by those of Taras: Neutsch, *Policoro*, 134, 137 fig. 25; Lo Porto, *BdA* 46 (1961) 138, 140, figs. 14–15.

37. Rüdiger, *NSc* 21 (1967) 350–351, fig. 23c (H: 20.8 cm.), holding a phialê at the right hip. The types are Tarentine in source. The deposit was dated by coins issued in 330 B.C. and thereafter and in circulation for not more than ca. 50 years: Rüdiger, 330–333.

38. Supra nn. 36–37 and Scheuleer, "Die Göttin Bendis in Tarent," *AA* (1932) 314–334; Schneider-Herrmann, "Terrakotta figuren der Artemis in Tarent," *BABesch* 34 (1959) 55–58.

39. Neutsch, *AA* (1968) 777 and fig. 23, lower left, from Bothros 66A in the sanctuary of Demeter, a deposit closed sometime in the second half of the fourth century.

40. Well represented in Bothros 66A (supra n. 39) and in Bartoccini's tomb (infra n. 49) of ca. 330 B.C.

41. *Atti 6 Conv.*, 333.

42. Poulsen, *passim*.

43. Photographs and permission to publish them were kindly granted by the Musée D'Art et d'Histoire, Ville de Genève.

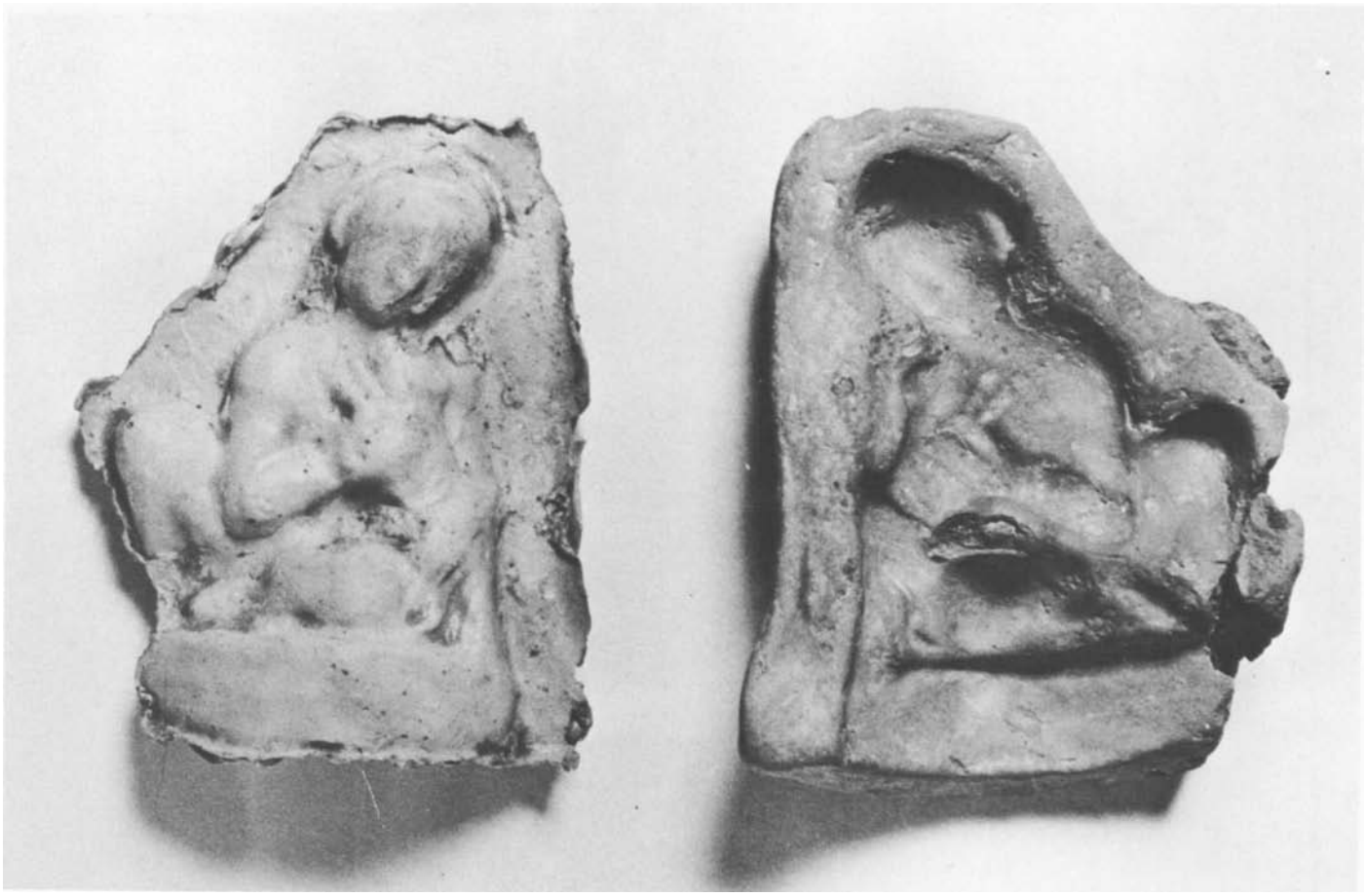


Figure 14. Cavity (right) and modern cast of seated boy with puppy also in figure 4. Malibu, 74.AD.21.

5 (1929) 113; *Tarante* 394. Torso of reclining male, nude but for himation over right thigh to break above knees. P.H., mould: 11.0 cm.; cast: 10.5 cm. (figs. 10–12).

6-bis. Mould, Musée des Beaux Arts, Budapest, inv. T 616, ΔI-: Szilágy, 34–37, figs. 24–26, no. 3. Fragment of horse's head. P.H.: 15.49 cm.

D. RELATED TO THE SHOP OF AL AND DIONYSIOS

7. Figurine, Taranto Mus. Naz. nn.: Quagliati,[44] pl. 48, 1. Standing, draped female with torch and basket, as nos. 4 and 5. Hair center-parted and dressed in fine, puffed strands. Feet and lower skirt missing from below knees.

8. Figurine, Ashmolean Mus., Oxford, inv. 721: Evans, *JHS* 7 (1886) 29, no. 11; Winter I,[45] 117, 5. The torso comes from the same prototype as that of nos. 4, 5, and 7, but the head is that of a series of kourotrophoi and other veiled females.[46] The base is intact. H.: 30.0 cm.

44. Quagliati, pl. 48,1.

45. Winter, I, 117,5.

46. Supra n. 24.

47. For the gilding, see Dörig, 49. He takes the discs not as pins or fibulae but as representing other rich jewelry suitable to a goddess.

48. Lo Porto, *BdA* 46 (1961) 144, 146, fig. 32; Neutsch, *Policoro*, 158, pl. 45.1–2. The figurine, G-31, came from site 9, tomb 2, together with a lebes gamikos, a cup and a bronze mirror.

49. Bartoccini, *NSc* 12 (1936) 147–149, fig. 40ab. According to J. Frel the oinochoe was painted "not later than the late 330's B.C." The burial is significant to the history of coroplastic production at Taras. Rich terracotta furnishings illustrate a time of transition in style, scale, technique, and subject, which is analogous to that revealed in Athens by the contents of the Coroplast's Dump of ca. 328/327 B.C., published by Mrs. Thompson in *Hesperia* 21 (1952) 115–164.

50. The seated females are 28.5 and 29.0 cm. high, respectively, but their height is exaggerated by the ungainly length of the necks and the disproportion of the new head-types. The treatment of the hair for the second, left, fig. 40a, is like that of the seated female, Policoro G 31 (supra n. 47) and of many of the heads and busts from Bothros 66A (supra n. 39). In comparing the thyrsos with that of no. 3, the difference in the angles from which the figurines were lighted and photographed should be kept in mind as well.

51. Higgins, *Atti 10 Conv.* (1970) 272; Dörig, 48. Evans, *JHS* 7 (1886) 29, no. 28, was said to have come from a deposit of votives to Demeter.

52. Dörig, *passim*.

53. Smith, 49–51; cf. review by E. Keuls, *AJA* 81 (1977) 574–575.

54. *Troy* 3, 87–95. The Tarentine seated females of the class we are con-

Wuilleumier tentatively assigned to the coroplast Dionysios a mould in the Vlastos collection, now in the Louvre. The suffix differs however from the Doris genitive of nos. 4 and 6.

9(?). Mould, Louvre 981.0017, -ΣΙΟΝ:
Tarante 395, 414 and n. 3, pl. 46, 6. Seated female, arms and thighs draped, wearing sphendonê; long-handled feather-fan upright at shoulder; she holds a leash or reins of a bird, probably a swan, on which rides an Eros.

The rigidly frontal posture of the female of no. 3 and the placement of the discs, which were gilded when the figurines had been fired and painted, almost lend the impression that the figure is held in position by delicate shackles.[47] She holds a fruit or a ball on her left thigh, and in her right hand is another rosette-disc. A lion's head is set in the center of a heavy, round necklet which encircles her throat. The stephane is like that of no. 1, but a small ornament has been added to the crest. Another seated female of a differing type, perhaps slightly later, from a tomb of ca. 330–320 B.C. at Policoro, preserves blue paint for the gown.[48] The torso of our seated female is very like those of a pair of figures from a Tarentine tomb, an infant burial which can be assigned to the late 330's by the presence of a red-figured Apulian oinochoe.[49] Though debased heads have been used for the pair, they can be little later than our mould. Their scale is only slightly reduced, and the fine relief of the draperies is still apparent.[50]

Within the region of south Italy under Tarentine influence, the seated, quasi-nudes have been found, with one possible exception, exclusively in burials.[51] They have sometimes been connected with the jointed terracotta dolls which enjoyed wide distribution and were long-lived in the Mediterranean. José Dörig has suggested that they might be associated with a cult of Hera at Taras.[52] Aphrodite or another female who partook of her nature and attributes would also suit the iconography and what is known of funerary beliefs and practices at Taras.[53] Mrs. Thompson believes that the Hellenistic seated, jointed, clothed figures found at Ilion represented hierodouloi of Aphrodite.[54] Two miniature standing females wearing knee-length garments, large poloi and thick-soled sandals were among other terracottas found in Bartoccini's tomb.[55]

The fully preserved statuette in Oxford, no. 8, enables a reconstruction of the general appearance of the figures of nos. 4, 5, and 7. The heads of the latter three differ, however, and revision has twice occurred in the torsos as well. The female, Demeter or Kore, holds the crossed torch which is peculiar to south Italy.[56] A cake, fruit, and a small loaf with a buttonlike center can be identified in the basket of offerings.[57] The weight of the massively draped figure is borne by the left leg. The right thigh thrusts forward against the heavy cloth of the skirt, the knee flexed, and the foot set toward the side. A knee-length kolpos interrupts the pairs of vertical, tubular folds in the left panel of the skirt. The broad V of the neckline of the chiton of nos. 4 and 5 has been redefined with the tip of a modeling tool. A long, twisted curl lying on the left shoulder of no. 8 is replaced in no. 7 by a flat fold of the veil, in turn renewed cursorily in 4 and 5. The archaizing curls of 4 and 5 represent a further reworking of a coiffure like that of no. 7. So called shell-curls, these are actually short, sausagelike ringlets placed in layers one over the other about the face, as were, in fact, the genuinely archaic curls which they imitate.[58] The fragmentary figurine in Copenhagen, no. 5, was made in a mould one generation younger than no. 4 and the two pieces belong to the same series.[59]

Apt parallels for certain stylistic details of nos. 4, 5, and 7 may be found in vase-painting, particularly in early works of the Darius Painter and his circle. This suggests that the coroplasts Dionysios and Al were inspired, perhaps indirectly through the medium of small bronzes, by major trends in Apulian art of the mid-fourth century. On the Rhodope Krater of ca. 340–330 B.C., for example, the low, loose neckline of the chiton and the oblique line

sidering could not have been toys to dress and undress, for they were at first clothed and their rigid arms would have frustrated attempts to dress them.

55. Supra n. 49, loc. cit.

56. Lo Porto has suggested that the votive terracottas developed from types originally representing votaries or priestesses: *NSc* 20 (1966) 12, 167–168. See Smith, 121 and *Grabrasen Basel*, 76 and n. 257, 97 and n. 351.

57. For the cakes see Smith, 97–98, 101; the basket carried by votaries: *NSc* 20 (1966) 162, fig. 24, 2; a mould for the waffle-like cake: *Atti 10 Conv.* (1970) 491–492, pl. 90, 17. The upright object is similar to a loaf identified among Attic terracottas by Mrs. Thompson as the *pompanon orthaphalon*: *Hesperia* 23 (1954) 94–95. Cf. Paul, 93, no. 269, pl. 75; and from a Rhodian tomb of ca. 450–425 B.C., Brit. Mus. reg. 64.10–7.11: Higgins, 97, pl. 48, no. 280.

58. G. Schneider-Herrmann, *Eine Niederlandische Studiensammlung Antiker Kunst*, *BABesch* Suppl. (1975) 20, pl. 17, no. 39 (inv. 115B). Terracotta busts from Bothros 66B included examples for which various coiffures had been reworked into "shell-curls": supra n. 39, fig. 23.

59. I am indebted to Frau Dr. Jetta Christiansen for furnishing the measurements of no. 5. An unfired clay cast, modern, of no. 4 measures 4.3 cm. from the top of the center forehead to the point where the underchin meets the neck, while the same span in no. 6 is 3.9 cm. The difference of 3.87 cm. is very close to the average normal shrinkage from one generation to the next due to dehydration observed by E. Jastrow in her study of the phenomenon: "Abformung und Typenwandel in der antiken Tonplastik," *OpArch* 2 (1938) 1–43.

of the himation over Antiope's thighs resemble the drapery of our Demeter/Kore.[60] The ponderation of the figure and the schema of folds pulled toward the left shoulder are perhaps better reflected in vase-painting of ca. 350 B.C.[61] Again, the Rhodope, Skythes, and Artemis of the krater are rendered with similar rounded heads, columnar necks and small, round eyes set under short, arched brows. Terracotta and painted figures share the same thick nostrils and protruding underlips, scored beneath and faintly upturned at the outer corners.[62] Other techniques in the rendering of the features of no. 4, such as the fine, crisp eyelids and the incision between lids and brow appear in monumental sculpture of the mainland of ca. 340 B.C.[63]

Moulds nos. 6 and 9 were reworked intaglio with a coarse-tipped instrument before they were fired. The reclining male may be identified as one of two venerable Tarentine heroes, both sons of Poseidon, Phalanthos or Taras.[64] The moulded positive from which no. 6 was made had lost much of the subtle modulation of the torso, but the gross musculature is well preserved. When he made this new mould, Dionysios touched up the fanlike folds of the himation and drew broad lines to reemphasize the contours of the torso: from the left armpit (in the cast) to the hip, between the thighs, and along the ridge of the right pelvis. There are affinities between the reclining male and the seated female of Al's no. 2: the triangular pads of flesh under the armpits, the slender waist, lean thighs, and short, bowed ribcage. The torso of the female of no. 9, surely Aphrodite, is in contrast, somewhat sturdier, with highset, small breasts. The drapery and attributes have been crudely redrawn. In subject and style the relief of no. 9 is related to a group of terracottas, including plastic lekythoi, which originated in Attica and circulated in the Aegean ca. 370–340 B.C.[65]

E. THE SHOP OF ZOPYRAS, RA, AND LA

10. Mould, Getty Mus. 74.AD.44, **[ΖΩ]ΠΥ[ΡΑΣ], ΡΑ**: Kingsley 6–7, no. 13. Bust of Demeter or Kore wearing veiled polos and holding torch at right shoulder. P.H., mould: 20.0 cm.; cast: 17.8 cm. (figs. 3 and 13)
11. Mould, Taranto Mus. Naz. 102.836, **ΛΑ, ΡΑ, ΖΩΠΥΡΑΣ**: Apobates wearing chlamys and carrying round shield, preparing to leap from horse racing to right.[66]

F. RELATED TO THE SHOP OF ZOPYRAS, RA AND LA

12. Fragmentary bust, Basel Antiken Mus., from Virzi collection: Herdejürgen, *GMD* 31, no. A 20. Unretouched version of no.10, thus probably from a mould of the preceding generation of the same series. Base, neck and torch are missing. P.H. (to underchin): 17.0 cm.[67]
13. Virzi collection no. 108: unpublished, but see Herdejürgen, *GMD* 31, comparanda for A 20.
14. Bust, Ashmolean Mus., no. 1886.730: Evans, *JHS* 7 (1886) 29. Replica, slightly smaller, of no. 12, with minor renewal in the coiffure. P.H.: 14.5 cm.[68]

The female of no. 10 shares the torch of nos. 4–5 and 7–8. The sturdy jaw, broad neck, and polos are traits typical for Tarentine terracotta busts, favored dedications to Demeter or Kore.[69] The facial features, including the dimpled chin, are derived unretouched from a prior moulded bust of the series to which nos. 12–14 may also have belonged.[70] One of the two pendant earrings has been shortened in no. 10 because of spatial limitations when the mould was renewed. The tangled mass of curls

60. *Grabvasen Basel*, S 34, 95–108, pll. 22–26. For another example of the diagonal hemline of the himation and other similarities, see also N.Y. Met. Mus. Art 11.210.3: *Monlnst* 6 (1866) pl. 42: *BMMA* (1912) fig. 2; Richter, 185; ead., *The Furniture of the Greeks and Romans* (1966) fig. 645; Trendall, "Three Apulian Craters in Berlin," *BerlMus* 12 (1970) 183; *Grabvasen Basel*, 84–85, pl. 32b. The broad neckline and a cursory rendering of the triangular 'apron' of the himation are also present in the terracotta kourotrophoi, supra n. 24.

61. See the Apulian loutrophoros attributed to a painter near the Darius Painter and his immediate predecessors, Basel S 21: *Grabvasen Basel*, 78–93, colorplate and pll. 19–22. The free leg of draped females is not, in vases painted just later, covered by the diagonal fold-lines. As in the terracottas, the tension of the cloth pulled toward the right shoulder is indicated by pairs of simple folds which point upward like arrows.

62. Supra n. 60, loc. cit.

63. Cf. for the technique, the head of the bronze youth from Antikythera, Athens Nat. Mus. 13396: S. Karouzou, *National Archaeologiccal Museum Catalogue of Sculpture* (Athens 1968) 160–161; R. Lullies and M. Hirmer, *Greek Sculpture* (New York 1957) 69, pll. 206–209, 213.

64. For the identification, see Kingsley, "The Reclining Heroes of Taras and Their Cult," *CSCA* 12 (1979) 101–120.

65. S. Besques, "Le commerce des figurines en terre cuite au IVe siècle av. J.C. entre les ateliers Ioniens and l'Attique," *Proceedings of the Xth International Congress of Classical Archaeology* (Ankara 1978) 617–626, pll. 183–L188.

66. I am indebted to the courtesy of Dott. G.F. Lo Porto, former Soprintendente, and to the Museum Nazionale di Taranto for study photographs of no. 11.

67. Particular thanks are due to Dr. Helga Herdejürgen, Dr. Margot Schmidt, and to the director and staff of the Antiken Museum, Basel, for making it possible for me to examine materials there.

68. I was able to examine the collection at the Ashmolean Museum through the kindness of Mr. Michael Vickers.

69. See especially examples excavated at Policoro: Neutsch, *Policoro*, 172, 181–192; Neutsch *AA* (1968) 754–795, figs. 20c, 23–25b.

70. It should be emphasized that, as yet, no clear, secure, external indices for a chronology of Tarentine terracottas have been established. Frau Dr. Herdejürgen places the example in Basel, no. 12, within the fifth century. For a bust which I believe to have been earlier in inception than our nos. 10, 12–14, cf. in Kassel, inv. T 6 99, which the courtesy of Dr. Peter Gercke has made it possible for me to examine: *Ars Antiqua Luzerne, Kunstwerke der Antike* (*Aukt.* 5, Nov. 7, 1964) no. 87; Lullies *AA* (1966) 117, no. 9, fig. 35; U. Sinn, *Antike Terrakotten Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Kassel* (1977).

71. Leipzig inv. T 3150: Paul, 34, 71, pl. 23 no. 77; Mus. Naz. Taranto

encircled by a halo of ringlets appears in a later Tarentine bust of which at least four examples are known.[71] While similar images found in Sicily have been identified by Zuntz[72] and others as Persephone,[73] those of the Tarentine sphere have more often been claimed for Demeter.[74] The goddess's name occurs together with a sketch of the torch in graffiti.[75] On a scrap of bronze found at Policoro she is called [Dam]ater Pa-, for which the excavators have proposed the epithet *Pampana*.[76] In Apulian vase-painting, however, Persephone carries the torch more frequently than other females.[77] It has been suggested that Demeter bore it in her role as mother of the bride of Hades.[78] But it is held, too, by an archaistic cult image of Artemis depicted on the Rhodope Krater (supra).[79]

The solitary horseman of mould no. 11 was a subject which began to appear in Tarentine coinage from ca. 440 onward. According to Kraay's revised chronology, the round, convex shield with its narrow red rim was not depicted until ca. 370 B.C. The rendering of the anatomy of the terracotta rider, his approximate position and that of the horse find closest parallels in an image on a stater of ca. 340–330 B.C.[80] The cavity of the mould is exceedingly worn, even in such areas as the mane of the horse which were seemingly renewed in one or more prior remouldings of the type. No. 11 may, therefore, be younger than the comparable coin. The youth is almost certainly to be identified rather with such banqueting heroes as the male of no. 6 than as votive for a cult of the Dioskouroi.[81] The racing horsemen represent an agonistic element in a festival honoring the heroes, Phalanthos and Taras. They embody, as Helga Herdejürgen has observed of the reclining banqueters, aspects both of the honors paid the heroes and of the activities of participants in the rituals and games of the cult.[82]

G. THE SHOP OF LEON[83]

15. Mould, Danish National Mus., inv. 3346, ΛΕΩΝ: Breitensten,[84] 45, no. 399, pl. 38. Fragment, lower torso of Artemis standing, wearing chitoniskos and leaning on herm, to right. P.H.: 23.8 cm.

16. Mould, Getty Mus. inv. 74.AD.21, ΛΕΟΝΤΟΣ: Kingsley 10–11, no. 27. Boy seated on low base, holding Maltese puppy against left shoulder. H., mould: 8.9 cm.; cast: 8.3 cm. (figs. 4 and 14).

17. Mould, Musée des Beaux Arts, Budapest, inv. T 611, ΛΕΟΝΤ: Szilágy 30–31, 37, figs. 21–23, no. 2. Back half-mould for standing female. H., mould: 15.95 cm.; cast: 14.64 cm.

Leon produced both traditional, large-scale votive figures, represented by no. 12, and the new miniatures which began to circulate during the third quarter of the fourth century, of which no. 17 was moulded in-the-round.[85] He is thus a coroplast of the time of transition from classical to Hellenistic tastes. The fragmentary mould for the Artemis furnishes one of the variants with the group which included no. 3 (supra). These votives are found in Apulia and Lucania in proximity to sanctuaries of Demeter and Kore. It is perhaps for this reason that we find attributes of the goddesses progressively intermingled in terracottas.[86] The child and dog of no. 15 were among the genre subjects which spread quickly after they were introduced to South Italy. A figurine comparable in subject, style, and condition from a tomb at inland Ferandina has been dated by the accompanying pottery to ca. 338 B.C.[87] A mischievous version in which a plumper child, an Eros

nn: Quagliati, pl. 47, center top row; Boston Mus. Fine Arts: Caskey, *BullMFA* 29 (1931) fig. 11; art market, Switzerland.

72. G. Zuntz, *Persephone* (Oxford 1975) *passim*.

73. Bell, 88–108; Adamesteanu, "Diffusione del Culto di Demetra e Kore in Sicilia," *Kokalos* 14–15 (1968–69) 334–338.

74. See *Atti 6 Conv.*, 324–326; Neutsch, *Policoro*, 167–169. *Cf.* Thompson, *Hesperia* 21 (1952) 146–147. The identification of the busts as Demeter is based in part on a description of a like monument at Thebes: Pausanias 9.16.5.

75. See Schauenburg, *AntK* 5 (1961) 62; Parlangeli, *Atti 4 Conv* (1965) 213–214; *BdA* 46 (1961) 134: Neutsch, *Policoro*, 186–192.

76. Neutsch, *Policoro*, 136; *AA* (1968) 775–776, fig. 29. After Hesychios, s.v. Δεμετερ ἰν ἡρακλεια.

77. See Schauenburg, "Die Totengötter in der unteritalischen Vasenmalerie," *JdI* 73 (1968) 48ff; Metzger, *Atti 6 Conv.*, 157ff. For a marble relief depicting the use of the torches in a ritual scene: G. Marzano, *Il Mus. Prov. F. Ribezzo di Brindisi* (1961) 29, pl. 3.

78. Smith, 94–95, 245.

79. *Grabvasen Basel*, loc. cit. and Basel S. 21, 78–79, color plate and pll. 19–22. See also K. Neugebauer, *Führer durch das Antiquarium II. Vasen* (1932) pl. 75, for Berlin F 3164. For terracotta Artemides carrying the torch: Neutsch, *Policoro* 168–169.

80. C.M.Kraay, *Archaic and Classical Greek Coins* (Berkeley and Los Angeles 1976) 183. No. 676 is among the earliest carrying the shield.

81. *CSCA* 12 (1979) 101–120.

82. Herdejürgen, 26–33. It should be clearly understood that her remarks are not expressing a return to the outdated interpretation of the votives as representing "heroized dead," a conception clearly refuted by Wolters. See *CSCA* 12 (1979) n. 63; *pace*, Bell, who repeats the old notion more than once: e.g. p. 98.

83. A mould marked by another coroplast, Le-, noted by Wuillemier, has been excluded because the *lambda* resembles none in the other marks of Leon: Geneva, inv. 12505. The form does occur, however, on a mould in Naples of uncertain provenance: A. Levi, *Le Terrecotte figurate dei Museum Nazionale di Napoli* (Florence 1926) 170, no. 764, inv. 10370.

84. N. Breitenstein, *Danish National Museum Catalogue of Terracottas* (Copenhagen 1941).

85. Thompson, "The Origin of Tanagras," *AJA* 70 (1966) 52–54, 57–58.

86. Neutsch, *Policoro*, 167–169; Rüdiger, *NSc* 21 (1967) 350–352. Some caution should perhaps be exercised in reading historical or religious meaning into the interchange of attributes among terracotta types which were used in cults closely associated, often made within one workshop.

87. Inv. 12499: *MonAnt* Suppl. 4 (1973) 204–205, pl. 54, 3. H: 13.0 cm. For other variants on the theme, see Winter, 275, especially 8a and 9.

because he is winged, dangles his pet by the tail appears in relief on the so-called oscilla, or loom-weights, of early Hellenistic Taras.[88] The anatomy of the boy of no. 15 is treated naturalistically, unlike the "temple-boys" which were among his antecedents.[89] The rendering of the child's boney knee and the bending of the rounded head and slender neck toward the pet are still perceptible despite the utterly exhausted condition of the cavity. The mould was made from a worn model and appears not to have been renewed.

CHRONOLOGY

The Demeter/Kore in Copenhagen, no. 5, was dated by Poulsen to the second quarter of the fifth century.[90] Deonna, observing in the seated female of mould no. 3, elements he associated with art of the midfourth century, assigned the mould to ca. 350 B.C.[91] Yet the two are approximately contemporary, for the coroplasts Al and Dionysios were associated. The problems of trying to set a chronology for terracottas either by sculptural style or by such details as easily imitated as coiffures are, thus, nicely illustrated.

The coroplasts Ly, Al, and Dionysios seem to have flourished in the middle and earlier third quarter of the fourth century. Prototypes for the heads of nos. 3 and 8, together with the kourotrophoi to which they are closely related, could not have been created earlier than the decade 360–350 and may well have been slightly later. The treatment of the head of no. 1 is a bit more advanced, and the mould was not of a first generation. The workshop of Al and Dionysios may have extended into the 330's, if we may judge by the terracotta comparanda in Taranto for no. 3.[92] Such a time is compatible with the comparanda of ca. 340 cited for the Demeter-Kore in Malibu and Copenhagen, nos. 4 and 5, with their reworked torsos and fresh heads.[93] The workshops of Zopyros, La, and Ra belong to the same general period.[94] The marked mould no. 10 and the bust in Basel, no. 12, represent with their fresh fly-away curls a subsequent touching up of the type, no. 14, which was established earlier in the century.

The popularity of miniature bronzes may have influenced the taste for terracotta figurines rendered, as Leon's nos. 16 and 17, on a diminutive scale.[95] The childlike anatomy of no. 16 is not yet found among figurines from Olynthos, i.e., of before 348.[96] Like the small boy of no. 16, the comparable piece of the early 330's from Ferrandina came from a series which already had begun to lose its freshness.[97] Thus the miniatures must have been introduced to Taras around 340 or so. One would hope that Leon's mould was a practice-piece or a discard, for it is even more degraded than the figurine from the tomb. A portion of the man's career can be set in the 330's, a time agreeable with what can be deduced of his fragmentary mould for Artemis, no. 15, as well as the miniature, no. 17.[98]

Questions still remain open. What was the relationship between the coroplasts whose marks appear on the same moulds? Did the person who designed the first patrix also make the subsequent moulds and figurines? In Leon's case, as also in that of Zopyras, Ra, and La, the discrepancies between or among their moulds in scale, style, and technique suggest that the answer is negative. The appearance of types known to have originated in Taras among terracottas of Metaponton, Herakleia, and inland sites also points to active commerce in moulds or models. Why the seemingly sudden appearance of mouldmarks at Taras in the midfourth century? The coroplastic industry was flourishing enough at that time to support more craftsmen than those whose names we know. Competition must have been lively among them to obtain the trade of the pious Tarentines who purchased their wares. A corollary emerges: religion, expressed in the medium of votive terracottas, was still very much alive among these Greeks of South Italy. Tradition and the art of former times still present may have exerted a conservative influence. But customer and craftsman alike were sensitive to more than one new line along which plastic art, its forms and its techniques, were developing at the end of the classical era.

Stevenson College
University of California Santa Cruz, California

88. The Eros appears alone or on one side of double-faced oscilla, classified by Wuilleumier, *RA* (1932) as types 100 and 101g–k; *Tarente*, 222–223, 439; see also *BdA* 46 (1961) 139; *NSc* 20 (1966) pl. 4, 1: Herdejürgen, nos. 51–52, pl. 23. M. Bonghi-Jovino, *Documenti de coroplastica italiota siceliota et etrusco-laziale nel Museo Civico di Legnano* (Florence 1972) no. 189, pl. 40.

89. Now see Hadgisteliou-Price, "The Crouching Child and 'Temple Boy'," *BSA* 64 (1969) 95–111.

90. Poulsen, no. 27.

91. *MonPiot* 30 (1929) 46–47.

92. Supra n. 49.

93. One illustration of the vexing temporal relationship between vase-painting and terracottas in South Italy is that an acrobat (mounted on a base not unlike that of no. 13) from Bartoccini's tomb (supra n. 49) belongs to a type which is depicted on a krater painted by Asteas in the first half of the fourth century, thus a lag of 25 years or more: e.g. A.D. Trendall and T.B.L. Webster, *Illustrations from Greek Drama* (Phaidon 1971) 128, IV, 11.

94. Supra n. 80, loc. cit.

95. Supra n. 85.

96. Cf. D. Robinson, *Excavations at Olynthus VII* (Baltimore 1934) 74, 102, nos. 280 and (plastic vase) 398, pll. 36 and 56. H: 10.7 and 9.2 cm.

97. Supra n. 87.

98. Cf. supra nn. 37 and 86. Leon's Artemis is too fragmentary to place precisely, but it may antedate the types in like poses which appear in deposits of the second half of the fourth century at Policoro and after 330 at Santa Maria d'Anglona.

A Monumental Etruscan Medusa Head

Mario A. Del Chiaro

A recent acquisition (figs. 1 and 2), exceptional in kind and quality, has been added to the ever-growing and noteworthy collection of Etruscan antiquities in the J. Paul Getty Museum.[1] The impressive and captivating head of monumental proportion is relatively well preserved and carefully carved in *tufo*, the porous volcanic stone so common to parts of Etruria and ancient Etruscan stone sculpture as a whole.[2] The wide and fleshy face, deep-set eyes, broad nose, full and slightly parted mouth — all acknowledged Hellenistic features—seemingly mark this head as characteristically Hellenistic Etruscan of the third century B.C. At first sight, the Getty Medusa head may recall the near three-dimensional frontal or three-quarter view protome heads that embellished Etruscan arched gateways, as best noted in the keystone and/or voussoir blocks of the celebrated "Porta dell'Arco" at Volterra,[3] which is echoed on cinerary urns most probably produced at Volterra with reliefs depicting siege scenes alluding to the "Seven Against Thebes."[4]

To judge by the angular cutting which suggests an apex at the base of the Getty sculpture and the worked back portion of the head, this attractive Medusa may have originally served to decorate a gable of an architectural monument, most likely funerary.[5] Etruscan parallels for a Medusa head (*Gorgoneion*) in the round, like the Getty specimen, are unknown to me. However, the prolific Etruscan production of stone and terracotta cinerary urns —specifically those attributed to Volterra, Chiusi, and possibly Perugia—offer close parallels in iconographic type. I believe that the Getty Etruscan Medusa head and the counterparts on later urns are ultimately derived from a Greek prototype dating to the Classical period and destined for a long-lived existence down into Roman times.[6]

Seemingly nestled on top of Medusa's head but actually to be envisaged as part of her hair, two angular serpent heads are now mere vestiges of the once horrific snake-haired Medusa. These two snakes, placed side by side (Catamaran-like) in a stiff and formal composition, are of the *bearded* type not uncommon to representations of snakes in Greek, Etruscan, and Roman art.[7] The bodies of the two snakes reappear at the neck of the Medusa where, very much like a necklace, their tails are intertwined and decoratively knotted. Small wings emerge from the head and hair of the Medusa just above the temples—one to each of the outer sides of the serpents—with that at Medusa's right side much damaged, the other more fully preserved.

The monumental size of the Getty Medusa is very much

1. I wish to thank Dr. Jiří Frel, curator of Classical Antiquities, for permission to study and publish the fine new acquisition in this number of the museum journal. Inv. number 78.AA.10. Max. height, 80 cm.; max. depth, 62 cm.; length of base, 43 cm.; breadth, 39 cm..

2. *Tufo, tufa*, and sometimes *nenfro* are generally greyish in color for most parts of Tuscany and Latium, but in the Cerveteri and Cività Castellana regions more russet and warm in tone, whereas at Vulci there is a conspicuous bluish-grey tone. For tufo sculpture of the Archaic period, see A. Hus, *Recherches sur la statuaire étrusqua archaique* (Paris, 1961). For additional tufo sculpture in the J. Paul Getty Museum, see M. Del Chiaro, "Archaic Etruscan Stone Sculpture," *J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 5 (1977), pp. 45–54.

3. G. Giglioli, *L'arte etrusca* (Milano, 1935), pl. CCCCXXI, 1; see also M. Sprenger and G. Bartolini, *Die Etrusker, Kunst und Geschichte* (Munich, 1978), pl. 263. On monumental arched gateways to city walls with heads located on portions other than keystone or voussoir, see G.Giglioli, *op. cit.*, pl. CCCCXXI, 2 and pl. CCCCXXII, 2.

4. Cf. G. Ronzitti Orsolini, *Il mito dei sette a Teve nelle urne volterrane* (Florence, 1971) and I. Krauskopf, *Der thebanische Sagenkreis und andere Sagen in der etruskischen Kunst* (Mainz, 1974). Note the following urns: G. Ronzitti Orsolini, *op cit.*, no. 25; C. Laviosa, *Cultura tardo-etrusca di Volterra* (Florence, 1964), no. 29 and pls. LXXXVII–VIII; M. Sprenger and G. Bartolini, *op. cit.*, pl. 268 below.

5. The general configuration of the cut block which bears the Getty Etruscan Medusa does not suggest a figured capital, or the like: cf. *Studi Etruschi* 3 (1929), pl. XXI, fig. 2.

6. See *Studi Miscellanei* 10 (1963–64), pl. LI, fig. 33 (relief on shield; Chieti, Museo Nazionale; pl. LII, figs. 138–139 [sepulchral aedicula; Museo Nazionale, L'Aquilea]). See also *Enciclopedia dell'arte antica* III (Rome, 1960), p. 984, fig. 1259 (Egypt) and fig. 1260 (Leptis Magna), also *Gestalt und Geschichte. Festschrift Karl Schefold. 4. Beiheft zu Antike Kunst* (1967), pl. 38; fig. 2.

7. Greek art: on a fragmentary Attic white-ground vase, R. Hampe and E. Simon, *Griechische Sagen in der frühen etruskischen Kunst* (Mainz, 1964), pl. 90c; dragon (snake)-drawn chariot of Medea on a vase by the Policoro Painter, J. Charbonneaux et al., *Classical Greek Art* (New York, 1972), fig. 341. Etruscan art: snakes of *Tuchulcha* in a wall painting, R. Herbig, *Götter und Dämonen der Etrusker* (Mainz, 1965), pl. 41 figs. 1 and 2 (see also, M. Sprenger and G. Bartolini, *op. cit.*, pl. 223 and M. Pallottino, *Etruscan Painting*, Geneva, 1952, p. 113); bronze statuette of *Vanth*, R. Herbig, *op. cit.*, pl. 25; red-figured vase, *ibid.*, pl. 34 (see also, J. Beazley, *Etruscan Vase-Painting*, Oxford, 1947, pl. XXX, fig. 1); the snake-like heads of the *Hydra* on a Caeretan hydria, M. Robertson, *A History of Greek Art* (Cambridge, 1975), pl. 42a; bronze relief, R. Hampe and E. Simon, *op. cit.*, pl. 20. Roman art: A. Maiuri, *Pompeii* (Novara, 1960), p. 116, fig. 89; R. Calza and E. Nash, *Ostia* (Florence, n.d.), pl. 128.

Figure 1. Medusa head. Malibu, Getty Museum, 78.AA.10.

Figure 2. Medusa head. Malibu, Getty Museum.

Figure 3. Medusa head, detail of a tufo urn. Volterra, Museo Etrusco Guarnacci, inv. no. 39.

in keeping with the gradual proliferation of large-scale sculpture throughout Etruria from the end of the fourth and beginning of the third century B.C. Despite the difficulty in assigning the Getty specimen to a special center of production on stylistic grounds, its iconographic type points strongly to Northern rather than Southern Etruria. Evidence for North Etruscan workmanship is offered by the reliefs on cinerary urns of Volterra, Chiusi, and Perugia, and the sculptural decoration within a certain tomb at Perugia.

Although nenfro sarcophagi from the Tarquinia-Tuscania-Viterbo region may also display a winged or wingless Medusa head with knotted snakes at the top of the head, at the neck, or both,[8] these are relatively few in number and especially crude in style and carving. This is also true for the majority of related types of Medusa heads on cinerary urns, but they appear in greater numbers on urns, particularly those associated with Volterra, Chiusi, and Perugia.[9] The closest analogy in type with the Getty Medusa head—i.e., two serpent heads at the top of the head flanked by wings, and knotted serpent tails at the neck—is provided by a tufo urn at Volterra (fig. 3)[10] and a number of travertine examples from Chiusi (e.g., fig. 4)[11] and the Perugia area (e.g., fig. 5)[12]

In addition to cinerary urns, strong support for North Etruscan origins—specifically Perugine—may be found in a single and well-known Etruscan monument dating to the second century B.C.; i.e., the *Tomb of the Volumni*, an elaborate family tomb cut into the natural tufo at the foot of present-day Perugia.[13] Apart from the stucco Medusa heads which embellish four near-identical chests to urns (e.g., fig. 6)[14] set about the much-admired urn of *Arnth Velimna*, a Medusa head within a coffer to the ceiling of the *tablinum* (fig. 7),[15] one of the many rooms of the tomb complex, shows the two serpent heads and wings at the top of the head and the knotted tails around the neck. Although the face is very round and consistent with the style of Gorgoneions dating to the second and first centuries B.C., the hair retains some of the character known for the Getty Medusa. In all cases—on cinerary urns and

8. R. Herbig, *Die jüngeren etruskischen Steinsarkophage* (Berlin, 1952), no. 99, pl. 14b; no. 108, pl. 83b; and no. 212, pl. 59b.

9. G. Körte, *I relievi delle urne etrusche* III (Berlin, 1916), pp. 203–214 and pls. CSSSVII–CXL; G. Giglioli, *op. cit.*, pl. CCCCVI, figs. 1 and 4, pl. CCCVIII, figs. 1 and 3, and pl. CCCCXVII, fig. 2; *Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung* (hereafter *RömMitt*) 57 (1942), pp. 232–233 and pls. 18, 19, and 21; *Studi Etruschi* 23 (1954), pl. 61, p. 62, and p. 63; *idem*, 37 (1969), pl. CXXI, fig. b; G. Dareggi, *Urne del territorio Perugino* (Rome, 1972), nos. 35, 36, and 38, pl. XXII, figs. 1 and 2 and pl. XXIII, fig. 3; F-H. Pairault, *Recherches sur quelques séries d'urnes de Volterra à representations mythologiques* (Rome, 1972), nos. 35, 64, L183, and 186; M. Cristofani *et al.*, *Corpus delle urne etrusca di età ellenistica. Urne volterrane 2. Il Museo Guarnacci* (Florence, 1977), nos. 41, 43, 46, and 47; M. Sprenger and G. Bartolini, *op. cit.*, pl. 267.

10. Volterra, Museo Etrusco Guarnacci, inv. no. 39, tufo, second half of the third century B.C. M. Cristofani *et al.*, *op. cit.*, no. 47; same in M. Cristofani, *L'Arte degli etruschi. Produzione e Consumo* (Torino, 1978), pl. 193.

11. Perugia, Museo Archeologico, inv. no. 356 (travertine): G. Körte, *op. cit.*, pl. p. 209, pl. CXL, 6 and G. Giglioli, *op. cit.*, pl. CCCCVI, fig. 1. See G. Dareggi, *op. cit.*, nos. 35, 36, and 38.

12. Palermo, Museo Archeologico, inv. no. 91 (from Chiusi), *Studi Etruschi* 23 (1954), p. 61.

13. A. van Gerkan and F. Messerschmidt, "Das Grab der Volumnier bei Perugia," *RömMitt* 57 (1942), pp. 122–235.

14. For the entire urn of *Larth Velimna Volumnius*: L. Banti; *The Etruscan Cities and their Culture (Berkeley, 1973), pl. 90. For all four Medusa heads: RömMittg* 57 (1942), pp. 232 and 233.

15. G. Giglioli, *op. cit.*, pl. CCCCXVII; M. Sprenger and G. Bartolini, *op. cit.*, pl. 267.

Figure 4. Travertine urn with Medusa head from Chiusi. Perugia, Museo Archeologico, inv. no. 356.

Figure 5. Travertine urn with Medusa head from Chiusi. Palermo, Museo Archeologico, inv. no. 91.

in the tomb decoration—the physiognomy and style of the Medusa heads are rather diverse from those exhibited by the Getty head.

In terms of style, however, an especially close parallel comes from an unexpected quarter, namely the *Ager Faliscus*. Excavations at the temple site of "Lo Scasato" at *Falerii Veteres* (present-day Cività Castellana) have brought to light a highly fragmentary terracotta torso which has been restored into a handsome youth (Apollo?) now in the Museo di Villa Giulia, Rome (fig. 8).[16] Despite the opposing directions to the turn of their heads, comparison of the sexless Getty Medusa head with that of the Scasato Youth will disclose convincing affinities. The single major difference, which admittedly at first glance may dismiss such comparison, can be seen in the mouth, which is small with full lips for the Scasato Youth, wide with relatively narrow lips for the Getty Medusa. But if attention is focused on the shape of the face—essentially the region of the cheeks, chin, and jaw line—and the shape and "gaze" of the eyes, not to mention the obvious "texture" and general configuration of the hair,[17] then the two heads are remarkably similar, and can be said to be more Lysippan than Skopaic in character.[18]

Irrespective of the Hellenistic features mentioned at the outset, the Getty Etruscan Medusa head possesses an undeniable "Classical" cast best noted in three important facial details: the wide mouth with relatively thin lips; the flat brow which, when viewed in profile (see fig. 2), does not show the usual tell-tale Hellenistic swell above the bridge of the nose; and, more significantly, the "stationary" eyes with narrow eyelids which stare straight ahead in a glassy manner. Comparison of these features with any Etruscan Hellenistic head *par excellence* will clearly disclose the Classical conservatism inherent in the Getty Medusa.[19]

16. See also M. Sprenger and G. Bartolini, *op. cit.*, pls. 240 and 241.

17. Curiously—even provocatively—two large broken tufts of hair located high at the top of the head for the Scasato "Apollo" appear at practically the same place as do the two serpent heads on the Getty Medusa. If it were not for the obvious male body to which the head is joined—at a large missing portion of the neck—the head could be that of a female as well as a male.

18. A handsome Etruscan bronze statuette (third-second centuries B.C.) bearing features strongly reminiscent of Alexander the Great cannot be overlooked: see D. Mitten and S. Doeringer, *Master Bronzes from the Classical World* (Mainz/Rhein, 1967), no. 187. See also M. Bieber, "The Portraits of Alexander the Great," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 93 (1949), pp. 373-427 and L. Bernabò Brea, "I rilievi tarantini in pietra tenera," *Rivista dell' Instituto Nazionale d'Archeologia e*

Figure 6. Stucco Medusa head on urn of *Arnth Velimna.* Perugia, Tomb of the Volumni.

Figure 7. Medusa head, detail of one coffer of the ceiling of the tablinum. Perugia, Tomb of the Volumni.

Such consideration of the Getty head as more closely based on a Classical rather than a Hellenistic prototype gains additional credence through the continuing studies of the celebrated "Medusa Rondanini" (fig. 9), an almost twice life-size head in Munich which, if not a Roman (Augustan?) copy of a Greek original dating to the second half of the fifth century B.C.,[20] may—as recently proposed by Janer Belson—be actually based on a later, post-Classical type.[21] In view of the late iconographic type and the earlier style of the Getty head and her counterparts on Etruscan cinerary urns and the decoration within the Tomb of the Volumni at Perugia, Belson's remarks regarding the Rondanini Medusa are especially significant; i.e., " . . . with her fifth century style, yet late iconography would well be a Hellenistic pastiche, the handiwork of some later artist, who in his efforts to create a Classical-looking gorgoneion combined an iconography familiar to him from contemporary gorgoneia with facial features reminiscent of fifth century work."[22]

Hence, the stylistic analogies of the Getty Medusa head with Greek Classical and post-Classical glyptic (carved stone) and Faliscan Etruscan late fourth-century coroplastic (modeled clay) art strongly suggests that the Getty head may be best assigned to the last decades of the fourth, or at the latest, the very beginning of the third century B.C. Furthermore, the more favorable geographic proximity of Faliscan territory to Perugia than to the more north-westernly and distant Chiusi-Volterra districts may account for the close stylistic relationship already noted between the Getty head and the Scasato "Apollo" and, at the same time, may single out the Perugia area as the likely place of origin.

The relationship between the Scasato "Apollo" and the Getty Etruscan Medusa head poses interesting and pro-

di Storia dell'Arte I (1952), pp. 5–241: in particular Chapter XI (La scuola Lisippea, pp. 104–114).

19. M. Santangelo, *Musei e monumenti Etruschi* (Novava, 1960), p. 42 (Arezzo, first half of the 2nd century B.C.); also M. Sprenger and G. Bartolini, *op. cit.*, pls. 276 and 277.

20. E. Buschor, *Medusa Rondanini* (Stuggart, 1958); M. Robertson, *A History of Greek Art* (Cambridge, 1975), pp. 313–314; and E. Harrison in *American Journal of Archaeology* 81 (1977), pp. 162–175. Note also the winged head of *Hermes* in Berlin, another Roman statue after a Greek bronze original of the late fifth century B.C.: M. Robertson, *op. cit.*, pl. 110c.

21. J. Belson, "The Medusa Rondanini: A New Look," *idem,* 84 (1980), pp. 373–378.

22. *Ibid.*, p. 377.

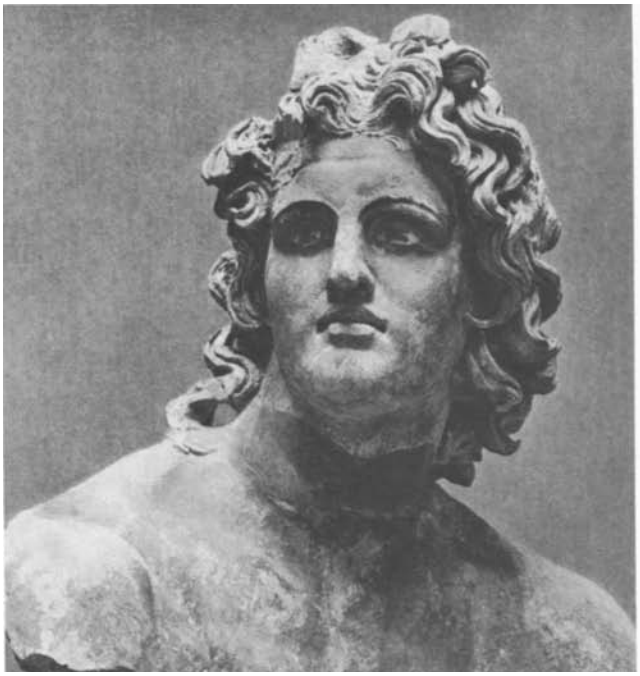


Figure 8. Scasato "Apollo." Rome, Museo di Villa Giulia.

Figure 9. "Rondanini Medusa." Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek.

vocative questions, not solely regarding Northern or Southern Etruscan sculptural workshops or, better, internal and maritime Etruria—a "division" already considered by Italian scholars (Etruria *interna* or *marittima*). In what direction does influence travel *within* "internal" Etruria; i.e., Falerii Veteres and the Perugia-Chiusi-Volterra "crescent"? Granted that in the present discussion there is a problem of glyptic versus coroplastic techniques, is it a matter which must take into account traveling artists (*maestri vaganti*)? Solution or a better understanding of these questions centering on the Getty Medusa head deserves far more time and research than the time I wish to have lapse before bringing this handsome and decisively important new acquisition to the attention of colleagues for study and contemplation.

University of California
Santa Barbara

POSTSCRIPT

Since this paper has gone to press, an offprint of a recent article forwarded me by its author has broadened the significance of the Getty Medusa head by including—in addition to Perugia—consideration of the Orvieto area and, at the same time, supports not solely my observation of Faliscan links with "internal" South Etruria, but justifies analogies with the Rondanini Medusa.*

*F. Roncalli, "Il Gorgoneion tipo 'Belvedere' a Orvieto," *Annali della Fondazione per il Museo "Claudio Faina* I (1980), pp. 79–98. See also *ibid.*, p. 82, note 9 for a doubtlessly worthy forthcoming study: I. Krauskopf, "Gorgonendarstellung in der etruskischer Kunst," in *Atti del V Convegno del Centro Internazionale di Studi Numismatici* (Naples, 1975).

Dionysos, Eros, and a Kitharist in an Etruscan Mirror Cover Type

Maxwell L. Anderson

The supported Dionysos first appears in late archaic vase paintings depicting the Return of Hephaistos. Dionysos is shown needing the help of Hephaistos himself (in an inversion of the original pictorial tradition) or the help of other followers.[1] This is apparent in a now-lost red-figured amphora by the Painter of the Munich Amphora, which had Dionysos and Hephaistos limping along in their shared drunken state, each supporting the other.[2] A later red-figured kylix interior by the Kodros Painter shows that the supported Dionysos is not, in Attic vase painting, limited to representations of the Return of Hephaistos. Here Dionysos fairly falls backward while Ariadne seeks to support him; the pair is joined by Aphrodite and Eros.[3] Thus while representations of the myth of Hephaistos' return may be the earliest in this genre, the supported Dionysos is eventually depicted independently of that myth. This type of the supported Dionysos had a stylistic origin separate from that of Dionysos in the Apollo Lykeios pose, which begins in the fourth century and runs parallel with the earlier type.[4]

Dionysos' appearance as a supported figure, both within the corpus of scenes with the Return of Hephaistos and outside it, is frequent enough to have had an effect on metalworkers of the fourth century. There was clearly a burgeoning interest in producing images of the drunken Dionysos from this time onwards since the surviving metalwork with this theme comes from various areas of the Greek world, including Corinth, Eretria, the island of Chalke, and Etruria. Dionysos is shown standing still and leaning on a satyr for support on a bronze hydria handle attachment in Athens, on which the supporting satyr has a smile for Dionysos.[5] A weathered mirror cover in Leipzig repeats this type, and dates slightly later.[6] On two bronze attachments for hydriai in the British Museum, Dionysos is shown together with Ariadne, leaning not on her but on an altar between them.[7] Ariadne reaches her right arm around Dionysos for added support on one of the attachments, but she is fixing her hair on the other. Both date to the second half of the fourth century.

From the first half of the third century comes another mirror cover, this one in the Bibliothèque Nationale.[8] Here Dionysos and Silenos move to the left. Dionysos holds a cornucopia in his left hand and leans on Silenos whom Collignon properly judges to have a paternal expression of concern over the young god rather than the bemused smile of the satyr on the earlier attachment in Athens.

Also in the early third century there begins a series derived from that with Dionysos supported by a satyr, Ariadne, or Silenos, and this is Dionysos supported by Eros. Züchner has suggested that this type recalls a prototype in vase painting, citing a red-figured cup interior in Leningrad.[9] The earliest example is a fragmentary mirror cover in the Louvre, which shows Dionysos moving to the right, supported by a shorter Eros (fig. 1).[10] Dionysos' head is missing, and of Eros' head only the jaw is preserved, but that is enough to show that he is turning to look up at Dionysos. The cover has been dated around 300 by Züchner, for whom it epitomizes the transformation from late classical into Hellenistic style in the feminization of the figures' forms and their fluttering drapery. The Louvre cover has been assigned to a Corinthian workshop; there may have been an earlier Athenian mirror. A fragmentary bronze vase attachment in Berlin with Dionysos sup-

1. F. Brommer, *JdI* 52 (1937) 198–219.
2. *Ibid.* p. 208, fig. 8; *ARV*² 246 (bottom).
3. Würzburg 491: *ARV*² 1270, 17.
4. See P. Ducati, *ÖJh* 16 (1913) 107–117; H. Speier, *RömMitt* 47 (1932) 1–95; W. Technau, *Die Antike* 15 (1939) 293, fig. 15; P. Amandry, *Scuola arch. di Atene, Annuario* 24–26 (1946–58) 181–198.
5. Athens, N.M. 7913: G.M.A. Richter, *AJA* 50 (1946) p. 364, no. IV, 15, pl. 27, fig. 17.
6. Leipzig: W. Züchner, *Griechische Klappspiegel*, *JdI* Erg. 14 (Berlin 1942) p. 38, no. 46, fig. 17.
7. London, British Museum, nos. 311 & 312; H.B. Walters, *Cat. Bronzes* 1899) 46–47, pl. XI (no. 311); *idem*, *Select Bronzes* (1915) pl. 35 (no. 312).
8. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale 1355: E. Babelon & J.A. Blanchet, *Cat. des bronzes* no. 1355; M. Collignon, *BCH* 9 (1885) 323, pl. VII; W. Züchner, *op. cit.* p. 39, no. 48.
9. W. Züchner, *op. cit.*, p. 40; unattributed fourth-century stemless cup from Kertsch, illustrated in *CR* (1869) Atlas, pl. IV, 9.
10. Paris, Louvre Br 1708: A. de Ridder, *Cat.* II, no. 1708, pl. 78; W. Züchner, *op. cit.* pp. 39–40, 200, 203, no. 49.

Figure 1. Paris, Louvre, Br 1708. Museum photo

Figure 1. New York, Metropolitan Museum, 29.141c. Museum photo

ported by Silenos has a rather different character in the frontality of the figures, their psychological blankness, and workmanship of lesser quality.[11] Most noticeably, Silenos does not here turn to gaze concernedly into his master's eyes; this is a motif we have encountered on vase attachments dating from the late fourth century onwards, but its absence here is in keeping with the work's other anachronisms.

From the late third century come a dozen Etruscan mirror covers with the same type: Dionysos is in the center of the tondo, leaning on Eros to the left, who looks up with concern at the god (figs. 2, 3).[12] Dionysos holds a thyrsos in his left hand and is nude except for a chlamys over his left shoulder. To the god's right stands a female, perhaps a muse since she plays a kithara. Her body is shown either frontally or slightly turned away from Dionysos. There seem initially to be few variants among the replicas of this type. In examples in New York (fig. 2) and Tarquinia, Dionysos turns his head to look down and exchange a glance; in the example in the Getty Museum, Dionysos instead looks away somewhat listlessly (fig. 3).

It is at first uncertain what is implied in this type—whether the drunken Dionysos is being set in opposition to the kitharist, or whether she is serenading the god or leading him in a procession. The mirror cover in New York appears to be one of the earliest, judging from its fine detail and success as a circular composition, and differences between it and the other examples are informative about the intended meaning of the composition. There is no exergue on the New York cover, such as there is on the example in Malibu, and Dionysos' right leg extends straight down. Eros, instead of pulling back at Dionysos, as on the Getty cover, appears to push him forward, since his right leg is higher than his left, and his body seems to lean forward in support. The female kitharist, finally, bends and raises her right leg, and tends towards the right, as if walking. The whole composition is thus in motion to the right, and the kitharist clearly leads Dionysos and Eros. The glance between Dionysos and Eros in the New York example suggests that Eros is encouraging the god to proceed while Dionysos gazes back vaguely and drunkenly at his companion.

11. Berlin, Antikenmuseum 7980: W. Züchner, *op. cit.*, p. 178, fig. 91.

12. 1) Malibu, Getty Museum 71.AC.152; 2) New York, Metropolitan Museum 29.141c: included in J.S. Sargent portrait of E. Robinson, MMA 31.60; 3) Berlin, Antikenmuseum 6318: E. Gerhard, *Etr. Spiegel* I (1843) pl. 21, 3; 4) Geneva: W. Deonna, *RA* (1909) p. 246, fig. 4; 5) Karlsruhe: K. Schumacher, *Sammlung antiker Bronzen* (1890) 42, no. 254; 6) Tarquinia: P. Romanelli, *Tarquinia* (Ist. Poligraphico 75 [1940] 44–45, fig. 86; 7) London, British Museum 732: H.P. Walters, *Cat. Bronzes* 127; 8) Paris, Louvre C 1833: A. de Ridder, *Cat.* II (1915) no. 1833, pl. 88; 9) Munich, Antikensammlungen: P. Wolters, *Führer durch das Glyptothek zu München* (1922) 55; 10) Vatican: *Mus. Greg.* I, pl. 85, 6; 11) Cambridge, Corpus Christi College: C.W. King, *Cambridge Antiquarian Communications* 4 (1883), opp. p. 187; 12) Copenhagen, Thorwaldsen Museum: L. Müller, *Musée Thorwaldsen* no. 181; 13) Chiusi, Museo Nazionale: F. Inghirami, *Etrusco Museo Chiusino* (1833) I, pl. 57; 14) once Paris market: *Hotel Drouot, 18 mars 1901* lot 234, pl. 8; 15) once London market: *Sotheby's, 11 July 1939*, lot 273.

Figure 3. Malibu, Getty Museum, 71.AC.152. Museum photo

The surviving examples of this type vary in certain details because they do not rely upon a prototype in statuary but are instead versions of each other and of earlier fourth-century reliefs. The transformation of the type from the New York example to that in the Getty results from the copyist's urge for a more symmetrical composition—one which is balanced rather than tending towards the right. The artist's impulse to effect this symmetry is stronger than his interest in the original significance of the type; this preoccupation with design is ironically his undoing, since what was previously an animated trio with subtle visual exchanges has become a static scene with three separate figures.

The Etruscan mirror type is reproduced on Calene terracotta bowls, which show either Herakles or Dionysos in a pose identical to that of the drunken Dionysos in the Etruscan series (fig. 4).[13] This Calene version was presumably manufactured soon after the invention of the Etruscan type; a mirror cover found in Tarquinia confirms that the type was available to South Italian artists.[14] Because god and hero are interchangeable on the Calene bowls, one may infer that the original type came, in the

13. Florence, Museo Archeologico inv. no. 4476: museum negative no. 28760/8. See R. Pagenstecher, *Die Calenische Reliefkeramik*, *Jkl* Erg. 8 (Berlin 1909) pp. 35–36.

14. See *supra*, n. 12, no. 6.

Figure 4. Florence, Museo Archeologico, 4476. Museum photo

course of the late third or early second century, to describe the pair's return from their drinking bout, an episode most vividly described on a Neo-Attic puteal in the Vatican.[15]

An echo of the type is found on first-century B.C. gems in Munich, with Eros on the right supporting Dionysos who holds a thyrsos in his right hand.[16] It appears as well on a late Severan sarcophagus in the Louvre, which exchanges a satyr for Eros and places the trio in the midst of a thiasos.[17] The sarcophagus successfully recalls the light-hearted Hellenistic humanization of Dionysos and his retinue by artists throughout the Greek world of the third century. The Etruscan contributions to this genre, as the New York and Malibu mirror covers attest, are among the most spontaneous and appealing.

Department of Greek and Roman Art
The Metropolitan Museum of Art

15. Vatican, Candelabri 2589: unpublished.
16. Munich Antikensammlungen: *AGDS* Munich, nos. 3569–3574.
17. Paris, Louvre 1346: F. Matz, *Die Dionysischen Sarkophage*, *ASR* IV, 3 (Berlin 1969) pp. 394–397, no. 222, pl. 237, 2.

A Roman Lady from a Southern California Collection

Fikret K. Yegül

In possession of Mr. Robert K. Martin,
Irvine, California.
Late Roman. Eastern Empire.
White marble with grey streaks. Fine grain.
Height (inc. neck): 27.5 cm.; width (max.): 16 cm.
Height (face only): 14 cm.; width (face only): 11 cm.

The head, which includes the neck and tenon intact, was intended for insertion in a full-sized statue. The nose (except the bridge) and a piece of the left side of the diadem are missing. The edges of the diadem are chipped. The lips, the chin, the left eye and brow, and the left ear are partially damaged. There are isolated marks of abrasion on the left cheek and neck, possibly belonging to more recent times. Otherwise the piece is well preserved and has a particularly good and clean surface (figs. 1–4).

A young woman wearing a plain diadem over gently wavy hair parted in the middle and pulled back over the ears is represented. A very thin braid, barely visible, is stretched between the diadem and the frontal tresses. A wisp of loose hair emerges under the latter in front of the ears, accentuating the temples.[1] The coiffure is a variation of the type generally known as the *Scheitelzopf* in which a broad plait composed of many strands or braids is folded over at the nape and brought forward over the top of the head. On the Martin head, the fold in the plait occurs lower on the neck than usual, almost at shoulder level, and it is not brought all the way up to the top of the head. The hair behind the diadem is arranged in concentric circles of braids fitting over the skull neatly like a cap.

The face is oval with a pointed chin and a full, almost heavy, neck. The ears are small and simplified; they are pierced with prominent-looking holes in their middles, presumably for the attachment of ornaments. The eyes gaze straight ahead with a calm and demure expression. The irises and pupils are drilled (the latter with double holes which create a heart-shape). Originally, however, the head might have tilted forward a bit, adding a sweet and pensive quality to the appearance. The lips are shut but relaxed, about to break into a gentle smile. The modeling is soft and naturalistic with smooth transitions between broad and somewhat generalized surfaces. Altogether, the face is highly idealized without any prominent personal features or marks of individuality.

At the first glance, the frontal view of the Martin head is deceptive: the idealized features, the soft carving, and the gentle expression remind one of the classicizing portraits of the Late Hadrianic and Antonine periods—especially portraits of Sabina such as the posthumous image in the Getty Museum[2] (fig. 5). However, the drilled eyes and the hairstyle indicate otherwise. The *Scheitzelzopf* made its first tentative appearance in the Severan period (A.D. 193–235) on the coin portraits of Plautilla (A.D. 202–205) and Julia Paula (A.D. 218–222).[3] Later, it was employed for portraits of Tranquillina (A.D. 238–244) and Etruscilla (A.D. 249–251). As pointed out by J. Inan, in the course of the third century, especially during the Tetrarchy, the *Scheitelzopf* became more common and grew longer,[4] the plait sometimes making a thick fold over the top of the head as seen in the Fausta (or Helena?) in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts (inv. no. 62.662)[5] (fig. 6). This is also seen in the head in the Fasanerie Castle at Fulda (*Cat.* no. 53), thought to date in the last quarter of the third century by H. von

1. For a similar treatment of a "chop" of hair appearing under the frontal tresses in front of the ears, see the head attributed to Helena in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen (*Cat.* 762). V. Poulsen, II, Pl. CCCXXIV-CCCXXV, no. 199. See also the Plautilla of the J. Paul Getty Museum, note 9, figs. 8–10, below.

2. Another fine comparison is the idealized portrait of Sabina in Rome (fig. 5A): D. Strong, *Roman Art*, Baltimore, 1976, 95–96, pl. 105. Also compare with the Apotheosis of Sabina relief in the Palazzo dei Conservatori in Rome, pl. 111. Other comparisons may be made to the "marble head of a girl" in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York (no. 10.210.22), dated in the Antonine period (G. Richter, *Roman Portraits*, New York 1948, fig. 79); or to the relief portrait of a young woman, suggested to be Bruttia Crispina, Commodus' wife, in Fasanerie Castle at Fulda (*Cat.* no. 40, H.F. von Heintze, *Die antiken Porträts in Schloss Fasanerei bei Fulda*, Mainz, 1968, pl. 67).

3. For coin portraits of these empresses with the *Scheitelzopf*: R. Delbrueck, *Die Münzbildnisse von Maximinus bis Carinus*, pl. 4.27, 28; B.M. Felletti Maj., *Iconografia romana imperiale*, II, Rome, 1958, pl. XXXI, 97, 98.

4. J. Inan and E. Rosenbaum, *Roman and Early Byzantine Portrait Sculpture in Asia Minor*, London 1966, 195. See also K. Wessel, "Römishe Frauenfrisuren," *AA*, 1946–47, 62–75.

Figure 1. Portrait head of a Woman. R.K. Martin.

Figure 2. Portrait head of a Woman. R.K. Martin.

Figure 3. Portrait head of a Woman. R.K. Martin.

Figure 4. Portrait head of a Woman. R.K. Martin.

Figure 5. Portrait head of the empress Sabina. Malibu, Getty Museum, 70.AA.117.

Figure 6. Portrait head of the empress Fausta (or Helena). Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, William E. Nickerson Fund, 62.662.

Heintze.[6] In most of these later examples the diadem is omitted—or replaced by the thick, decorative roll of the plait on top of the head—even though the women represented may have belonged to the imperial family or may have been empresses themselves. Judged by the length and the severe outline of the plait, our head should be placed somewhere in the first half of the third century.[7]

A good parallel to the general arrangement of the hair and the diadem can be found in the Etruscilla of the Museo Nazionale in Rome (fig. 7). Here, as in a similar head in the British Museum, she is portrayed as Augusta, wearing a diadem over wavy frontal hair parted in the middle.[8] But in both of these portraits, Etruscilla displays strong personal features: the prominent nose, bushy eyebrows, deep-set eyes and hard, purposeful gaze create a very different image from the person represented by our portrait. A better parallel can be drawn with the head in the J. Paul Getty Museum in Malibu recently identified by S. Nodelman as Plautilla, the ill-fated first wife of emperor Caracalla (72.AA.118)[9] (figs. 8–10). The sensitive, even idealized treatment and the calm and youthful expression of the face are rather close to our example. Also comparable is the arrangement of the *Scheitzelzopf* with its unusually low fold on the nape and relatively short height. Furthermore, the individual braids have been arranged over the skull in concentric circles, suggesting a similar taste in experimentation with abstract patterns of coiffure.[10] But the Getty head displays a decidedly more relaxed and naturalistic

5. M.B. Comstock and C.C. Vermeule, *Sculpture in Stone*, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 1976, no. 380; W. von Sydow, *Zur Kunstgeschichte des spätantiken Porträts im 4. Jahrhundert n. Chr.* (Antiquitas, series 3, VIII), Bonn, 1969, 7, note 19; K. Weitzmann (ed.), *Age of Spirituality*, New York, 1979, no. 14 (J.D. Breckenridge).

6. H. von Heintze, *Die antiken Porträts*, 79, cat. no. 53, pl. 88–89.

7. Compare with the female head in Antalya Museum which carries a simple plait without the flamboyant overhead fold but which is considerably longer than that of our example; a date ca. A.D. 260–270 has been suggested. Inan-Rosenbaum, *Portrait Sculpture*, pl. CXLVII, 1–2.

8. Felletti Maj, *Iconografia*, II, 193–194, pl. XXXI-100, XXXII-99–101.

9. K.P. Erhart, J. Frel, and S. Nodelman, *Roman Portraits; Aspects of Self and Society*, Los Angeles, 1980, no. 15, 78–81. Nodelman's identification is based on numismatic comparisons. The head was previously suggested to be Julia Paula; C.C. Vermeule and N. Neuerburg, *Catalogue of the Ancient Art in the J. Paul Getty Museum*, 1973, no. 74, pl. 74.

10. Such artistic preoccupation with abstract and geometric patterns in hair styles can be illustrated by various female portraits of the late Roman empire. Undoubtedly the most striking of these—though not related to our examples in style and design—is the head of the young woman in the Cincinnati Museum of Art (inv. no. 1946.5). G.M.A. Hanfmann, *Roman Art*, New York, 1964, no. 84, pl. 84.

Figure 7. Portrait head of the empress Etruscilla. Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano.

Figure 8. Portrait head of the empress Plautilla. Malibu, Getty Museum, 72.AA.118.

handling of these hair forms.

Another important stylistic source for the Martin head should be sought in the late Constantinian period which produced works of unusually high quality harking back to the soft modeling of second century models. A comparison between the Martin head and the head in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, identified as the emperor Constans (ca. A.D. 337–340) (inv. no. 67.107), displays remarkable similarities in the handling of individual features: the eyes with their pupils drilled in heart-shapes, the sensitively formed cheek and mouth, and the slightly receding, weak chin[11] (fig. 11). In studying this head, J.D. Breckenridge aptly observes that "the style is characteristic of the last phase of Constantinian classicism, when models were no longer being sought in the stern Augustan-Trajanic tradition, but in the more subtly modeled, emotional style of the Antonines."[12] This last characteristic may explain the immediate (and superficial) resemblance of the Martin head to some portraits of the Hadrianic and Antonine periods mentioned earlier.

There is no question that the head which has been the subject of this query is a consciously classicizing work, somewhat incongruously combining a subtle and naturalistic face with a stiff, abstract, and even artificial coiffure.[13] Could this mean that the Martin head owes its inspiration to more than one source or model? Quite apart from aesthetic and iconographical considerations, it could be regarded as a valuable document illustrating a highly sophisticated and eclectic taste which sought to combine contrasting stylistic tendencies in one piece, a puzzling but recurrent characteristic of Roman sculpture of all periods. Comparison with the portraits of Etruscilla in Rome and Plautilla in the J. Paul Getty Museum suggests a date in the early third century A.D.[14] But more probable would be a date around the middle of the fourth century in consideration of the general characteristics and qualities of post-

11. R. Delbrueck, *Spätantike Kaiserporträts*, Berlin-Leipzig, 1933, 154–155, pls. 58–59; R. Calza, *Iconografia*, III, 1972, 327–329, pls. CXIII, 415–416. Weitzmann, *Spirituality*, no. 15 (J.D. Breckenridge).

12. Weitzmann, *Spirituality*, no. 15, pg. 23.

13. The awkward transition between the diadem and the braids on the back of the head has been kindly brought to my attention by E.K. Gazda who feels that "the sculptor did not understand the coiffure nor did he know what to do with the ends of the diadem." J. Frel and S. Nodelman believe the hair has been heavily recut.

14. Pertinent issues concerning the iconography of third century Roman portraiture and in particular of Tranquillina are discussed in a recent article by S. Wood, "Subject and Artist: Studies in Roman Portraiture of the Third Century," *AJA* 85, 1981, 59–68.

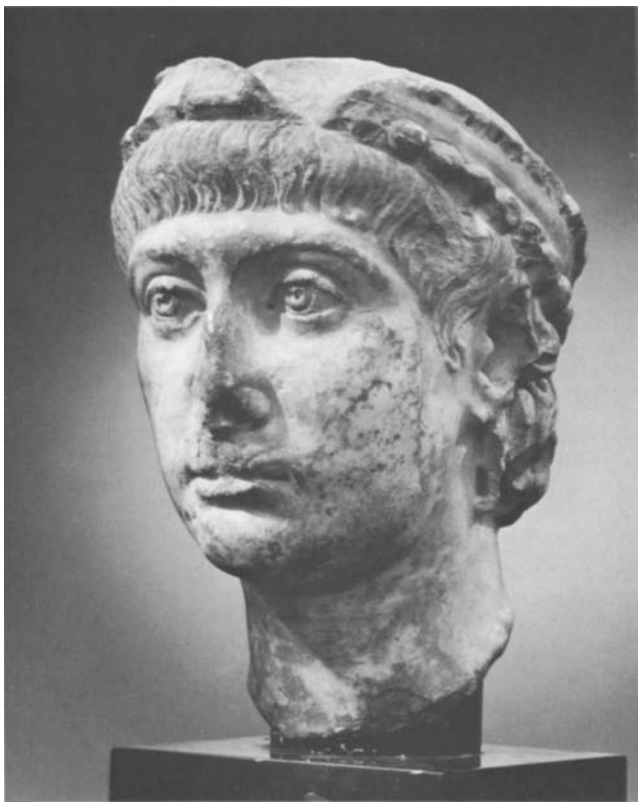


Figure 9. Portrait head of the empress Plautilla. Malibu, Getty Museum, 72.AA.118.

Figure 10. Portrait head of the empress Plautilla. Malibu, Getty Museum, 72.AA.118.

Figure 11. Portrait head of the emperor Constans. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 67.107.

Constantinian portraiture, and particularly, the head of Constans in the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

This study makes no attempt at identifying the person represented by the Martin head; the idealized style makes a firm identification risky. However, on the basis of the diadem and the high quality of workmanship, it would not be imprudent to suggest that she might have been a woman of imperial rank.

University of California
Santa Barbara

Imitations of Ancient Sculpture in Malibu

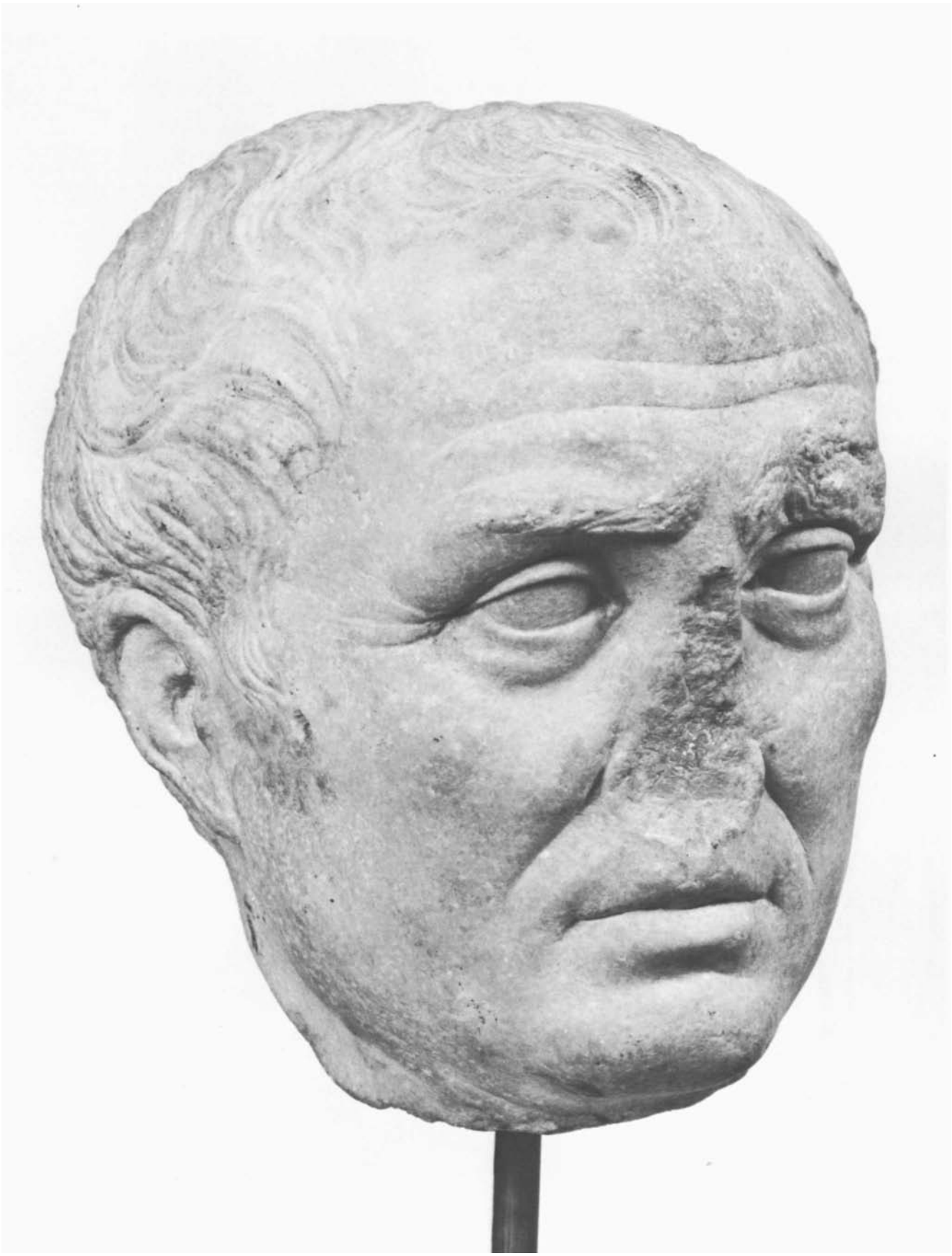
Jiří Frel

Towards the end of 1980 Mr. and Mrs. C. David Bromwell graciously offered the Getty Museum a large terra cotta statuette, a hitherto unknown work by Alceo Dossena, the great twentieth century master of imitating classical and Renaissance sculpture (no. 15 below). Deserving wide recognition, it provides an opportunity to discuss other imitations of ancient statuary in our collection, while small bronzes,[1] terracottas,[2] vases,[3] other minor arts,[4] coins,[5] and non-classical (mostly Egyptian) items[6] are listed in footnotes.[7] The label "forgery" is avoided throughout this note since it does not encompass the variety of problems associated with these pieces.

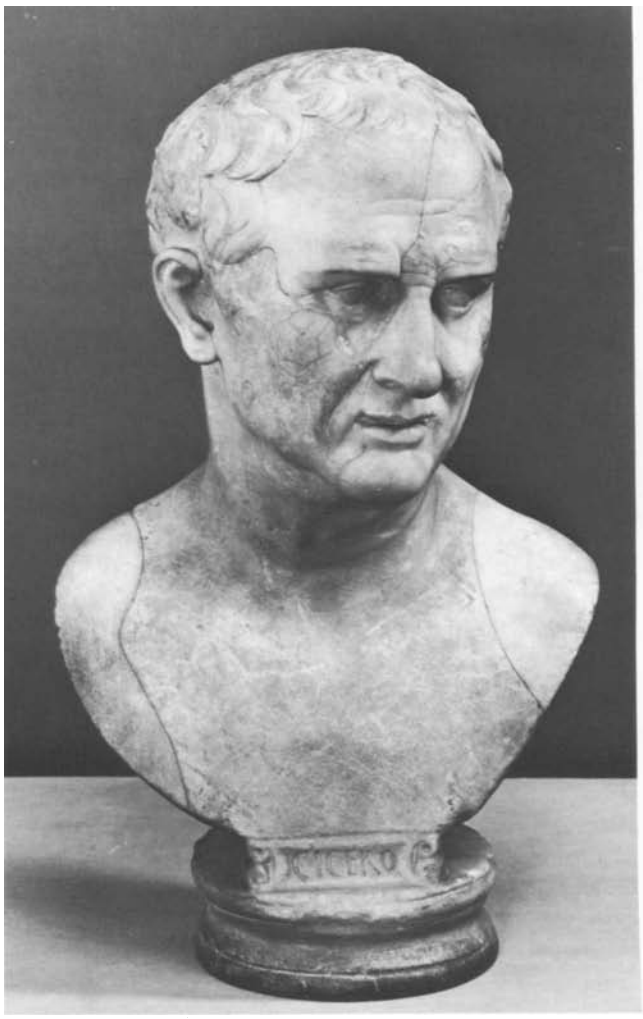
This note may perhaps be opened with some general thoughts. How do imitations enter a museum's collection? Who is faultless may throw the first stone; but no curator, scholar, trustee, or collector is immune against error, and the more he feels superior, the sooner he will fall into the ridiculous. On the other hand, a lack of modesty some-

Abbreviations:
Checklist 1: *Antiquities in the J. Paul Getty Museum. A Checklist. Sculpture* I: *Greek Originals* (1979)
Checklist 2: *Antiquities in the J. Paul Getty Museum. A Checklist. Sculpture* II: *Greek Portraits and Varia* (1979)
Grüneisen (W. de): *Art classique, exposition de la collection W. de Grüneisen* (1925)
Grüneisen (W. de), *Moutafoff: Sculpture grecque archaique, étude sur les kouroi et les kores de la collection L. Moutafoff* (1932)
Joys: J. Paul Getty, *The Joys of Collecting* (1965)
Paul (E.): *Die falsche Göttin* (1962)
Roman Portraits: Roman Portraits in the Getty Museum, exhibition catalogue, Philbrook Art Center, Tulsa (1981)
UCSC-LMU: *Roman Portraits; Aspects of Self and Society*, exhibition catalogue, University of California, Santa Cruz, and Loyola Marymount University (1980)

1. *Etruscan kore, 81.AK.000 (ex 56.AD.16); Joys* 46
Isis, 71.AL.179; possibly Italian, 17th c.
Bust of Athena, 71.AL.151; Sotheby's, 1 December 1969, no. 133, possibly 18th c.
Venus 70.AK.119; ex-coll. Duchess of Wellington, said to be from Baalbek, 18th c.
Helios, 75.AK.23, anonymous donation; 19th c.
Female figure, 70.AK.107; souvenir rather than imitation, 20th c.
Oinochoe, 75.AK.24 (ex 71.AK.227), anonymous donation; 20th c.
Beam head with relief, 79.AK.55 (ex 71.AK.231), anonymous donation Sotheby's 26 November 1968, no. 140
Aphrodite, 70.AK.118; *Bulletin of the Getty Museum* 1 (1957) 14, fig. 6A; cast after the statuette in Berlin, *Agyptisches Museum* (1967) 1003
Strategos, 78.AK.411, anonymous donation; Checklist 2, G45, cast after a statuette in Barcelona (*AA* 1941, 209–212).
Athena, 80.AK.32, anonymous donation
2. Venus with Erotes on couch, 78.AK.38; Sotheby's 24 July 1939, no. 83; mid-19th c.
Knucklebone player, 78.AK.48; ex coll. E.L. Page, mid-19th c.
Seated woman, 78.AK.52, ex coll. Lord Harewood, mid-19th c.
Standing girl, 75.AK.22, anonymous donation; ca. 1900
Lamp with view of Alexandria, 75.AK.21, anonymous donation; 19th c.
3. "Protocorinthian" oinochoe in the shape of an owl, 79.AK.185, anonymous donation; *Ancient Art. The N. Schimmel Collection* (1974) no. 59 bis
"Protocorinthian" dinos on stand, 79.AK.186, anonymous donation
"Rhodian" oinochoe, 72.AK.127; Getty *MJ* 5 (1977) 123–132 bis (C.H. Greenwalt)
"Attic" black-figure cup, 71.AK.359; Christie's, 2 December 1969, no. 96, fig.
Red-figure hydria, 80.AK.80, anonymous donation; reproducing Munich, *ARV*² 23.7 by Phintias
Fragment of a stamnos after the Kleophrades Painter, 75.AK.70, anonymous donation; *A Selection of Vases from the Getty Museum*, exhibition catalogue, University of California, Riverside (1978) no. 27, fig.
Campanian black oinochoe (ancient) with modern overpainted white Eros, 71.AE.210
4. Two glasses, 78.AJ.29 (pastiche of Roman vase and Islamic basket carried by an animal) and 78.AJ.30 (toilette bottle)
Seven silver objects (mirror, patera, two bowls, ladle, spatula, armlet), 78.AK.11–17
Small silver vase, 71.AK.349
Metal vase with relief of Scylla, 78.AK.43; ex J. Brummer; Parke-Bernet, 10–24 April 1949, no. 140, fig.
5. Vitellius by G. Cavino, 75.AL.90, presented by D. Content; Getty *MJ* 5 (1977) 106ff., fig. 2
Five "denarii" by Becker, 78.AK.297, anonymous donation
Five modern imitations of Greek coins, 80.AK.136, anonymous donation
6. Imitation of Egyptian:
Bronze cat. 55.AK.9, *Joys* 48
Bronze Nefertum, 56.AK.12
Bronze Nefertum, 68.AK.15
Bone scarab with name of Thutmosis, 56.AK.7A, formerly joined with terracotta servant 56.AK.7B
Wooden servant, 78.AK.60
Varia:
Bronze figure of a zebu, "near-Eastern," 79.AK.52
Vase with relief protome of bull and eagle, "Anatolian," 79.AK.54.
Ivory statuette of a nude female without lower legs (mediaeval Persia?), 56.AJ.5.
7. The sculpture once in Malibu and returned may be reserved for another note.

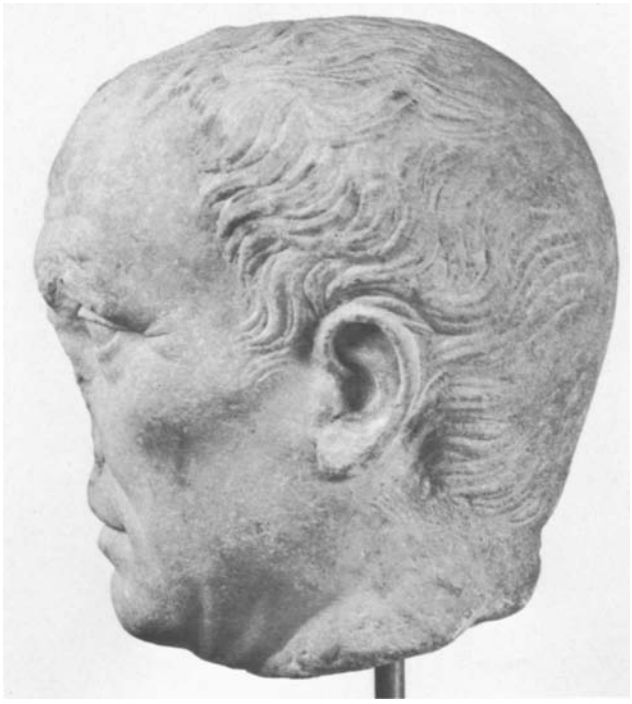


1a



1b

1b



1a

Figure 1a. Head of Cicero. Malibu.

Figure 1b. Bust of Cicero. Apsley House.

Figure 3a. Hermes and Nymph seated on a Rock. Malibu.

Figure 3b. Back view of Figure 3a.

Figure 2. Torso of Herakles Epitrapezios. London, private collection. Photo: P. J. Gates.

times produces self-annointed judges who condemn perfectly genuine art monuments simply because they do not fit inside the boundaries of their knowledge. Only time will tell, infallibly separating grain from chaff. Playing safe inevitably produces an accumulation of banalities: the more exciting an antiquity is, the higher the risk. Thus since 1973 the collection of antiquities in the J. Paul Getty Museum has been revised, resulting in the return of blatent imitations with the exception of items—mostly inexpensive—kept for artistic quality, historical and human interest, and/or because they are relevant for connoisseurship. Some of the returned pieces have later been accepted back as donations for the same reasons, and active collecting of selected imitations (by donation) is actively pursued. The aim is to share the valuable information an imitation often provides.

1. *Head of Cicero* (fig. 1a)
   73.AL.142
   Italian (Florentine?), early sixteenth century
   Grayish Carrara marble with medium sugary crystals, H: 23.5 cm.

   Roman Portraits,[8] no. 96; 133 (bibliography). For the history of the acquisition and discussion of the chronology, see UCSC-LMU, no. 20.

Neither the carving (especially of the ears and hair) nor the modeling (where the flesh of the cheeks turns to stone) nor the psychology (expressed by the unorganic wrinkles on the forehead) are ancient. J. Pope-Hennessy and P.

8. Some corrections to *Roman Portraits in the J. Paul Getty Museum*, exhibition catalogue, Philbrook Art Center, Tulsa, Oklahoma, April 26-July 12, 1981.

Meller agree on the date and origin. The face is very close to the marble bust in Apsley House (fig. 1b),[9] over-restored in the sixteenth century and provided at the same time with the inscription *CICERO*.[10] It raises an interesting question: does the Getty head (or its unknown prototype) reproduce the likeness of the Apsley House piece, or rather does the restoration of the Apsley House bust follow the likeness of the Getty head (or its unknown prototype)? One would like to date the restoration and "identification" of the Apsley House bust after the middle of the sixteenth century, at the time of the great flourishing of iconographical studies of ancient portraits, a time when historical names were attached to many images of unknowns. The reconstruction and inscription of the Apsley House piece and its plaster reproduction in Madrid with another inscription identifying Cicero could have been the starting point for the brilliant busts in the Capitoline Museum and in the Uffizi,[11] eventually followed by other minor imitations.[12] It may be restated that the Chiaramonti head is also modern (the surface is without patina and not recut; the modeling and psychology can hardly be earlier than the early nineteenth century).[13]

2. *Statuette of Herakles*, Farnese type
78.AL.49
Northern Italy?, later sixteenth century
Italian marble, H: 39.5 cm.
Right hand missing.

Frel, *The Getty Bronze*, 1978, 22, pl. 15B; idem, *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Journal*, 1973, p. 139, n. 5 (list of similar miniatures of famous statues; they are not all from the sixteenth century: the tradition continued until the nineteenth century [the date of the miniature Apoxyomenos and of the two torsos in the Rodin Museum and in Boston]. For the Antinous in the list [ex-New York private collection], see now *The Ernest Brummer Collection. Ancient Art*. II, 1979, no. 634. A new miniature in a private collection in London recently passed through the Getty Museum: a torso of Herakles Epitrapezios (fig. 2, H: ca. 20 cm.), probably eighteenth century.

The sculptor juxtaposed fragments to give the impression of ancient breaks. The bull's head, the engraved hair of Herakles and of the lion skin, and the shape of the base are not ancient. The relaxed stance of the Farnese Herakles and its variants is given theatrical torsion; Lysippos' quiet strength is forced into a dramatic appearance.

3. *Small head of Domitian*
79.AL.191
Presented by R.M. Harlick
Venice, late eighteenth century
Alabaster-like marble, H: 14.5 cm.

Roman Portraits, no. 97.

This piece belongs to a group of Roman emperors created to illustrate historical personalities without any intent to deceive. Surviving heads include two pieces in the museum in Berlin, one in Oslo, and one in a private collection in Leipzig (see Paul, pp. 56ff., figs. 19–20) and "Balbinus" in Torcello, published as ancient in G. Traversari, *RIA*, 1977, pp. 89ff., fig.

4. *Hermes and Nymph seated on a Rock* (fig. 3)
55.AL.11
Ex-collection Sir Francis Cook
Marble similar to no. 1; H: 34 cm.
Heads of both figures missing, several small chips.

E. Strong, *JHS* 28, 1908, p. 38; S. Reinach, *Rép. stat.*, 4, 1903, no. 2; G. Libertini, *Il Museo Biscari*, p. 26, no. 46; C.C. Vermeule, *AJA* 60, 1956, p. 326; idem, *Wadsworth Atheneum Bulletin*, Winter 1960, p. 11, figs. 5ff.

The style mingles late Rococo with Neoclassical. There was no intent to deceive anyone. The fragmentary condition produced the illusion of antiquity both to the seller and to the purchaser.

p. 2: The illustrated lid of an Etruscan urn is of alabaster, not limestone. Indeed, a limestone example should have been reproduced as more appropriate for the text.

Plotina no. 42: Eyelids, upper lip, articulation of the hair crown above the forehead are recut, the race repolished.

Antinous no. 46: Flemming Johansen pointed out that the plastic indication of the pupils is secondary and also that the hair above the right temple was cut down for the second use, perhaps in the very beginning of the 3rd century.

The sarcophagus no. 49 was used later for a second burial: both the bottom and top moldings of the body and the bottom molding of the lid were cut down. The right rear akroterion of the lid was cut off, the genitals of all the Erotes, the feet of some, and the second plane thighs of two were recarved.

Antonine woman no. 56: the hair is completely redrawn, the face retouched and repolished.

Philip the Arab no. 94: see below here no. 5, p. 74.

Bearded man no. 95 is misplaced among dubia: it is a replica of Periander with some modern recutting.

9. F. Johansen, *Meddelelser fra Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek* 29 (1972) 123, fig. 5, 126, notes 25–27 (Apsley House), 122, fig. 2, 136–137, notes 23–28 (Madrid).

10. Compare also the inscription "Apollodoros" (mispelled) on a bearded bust in Munich which also may be modern: G.M.A. Richter, *The Portraits of the Greeks* 3 (1965), p. 286, fig. 2039.

11. Johansen, 126, fig. 8, 137–138, notes 35–37 (Uffizi) and *ibid.* 125, fig. 7, 137, notes 31–34 (Capitol).

12. Johansen, 127, fig. 9 and 138, notes 39–40 (Mantova), *ibid.* 129, fig. 10 and 138, note 41 (Turin); the head in the Ny Carlsberg *ibid.* 129, fig. 11 and 138, note 42 is surely genuine but seems to represent another personality.

13. Johansen, 125, fig. 6 and 137, notes 29–30; G. Daltrop kindly agreed that the Chiaramonti Cicero is modern.

Figure 4. Miniature bust of the emperor Philip the Arab. Malibu.

5. *Miniature bust of the emperor Philip the Arab* (fig. 4)
   78.AL.292
   Presented by Gordon McLendon
   Limestone, H: 3.8 cm.
   Roman Portraits, no. 94.

An undisputed masterpiece. Bought in Smyrna, but it must have been imported because this quality could not have been carved there. The modeling of the face is sketchy, the pathos overstated. The central "rib" on the reverse of the bust imitates a full-size bust but seems improper for a miniature (observation of R. Wünsche). F. Johansen suggests that the piece may have been done for the library of a doll house. The style of both well-known life-size portraits of Philip (Vatican, Leningrad) is rather idiosyncratic. As they both passed through the hands of Cavaceppi, they may have been recarved. The Leningrad piece may eventually be found not to be ancient at all. For the modern basalt fragment of a statue in the Metropolitan Museum representing the same man, see K. Fittschen, *Festschrift F. Brommer*, 1977, 95ff. The different marble head in Copenhagen seems to be the only indisputable Philip.

6. *Head of Demosthenes* (fig. 5)
   78.AL.318
   Anonymous donation; ex-collection Franz Trau, Vienna
   Italian grayish crystalline marble similar to marble in no. 1, H: 33 cm.
   Checklist 2, no. G43

The surface is slightly worn and mottled. The top and back of the head are missing. Decorative use of the drill is contrary to ancient practice. Also not ancient are the baroque wrinkles on the head, the overall appearance, and the agitated mood. The piece must have been created without intent to deceive after numerous ancient heads well-established as Demosthenes by the inscribed small bronze bust found in the Villa dei Papiri in 1753.[14]

7. *Small female head*
   78.AK.45
   End of the eighteenth century (?)
   Ex J. Brummer.
   Grayish Carrara marble, H: 21 cm.
   Nose restored, surface recut.
   Parke-Bernet, 10–26 April 1949, no. 158.

The head must have been originally intended to represent a Muse as there is a laurel wreath partially covered by

14. J.J. Bernoulli, *Griechische Ikonographie* 2 (1901), 70, no. 7.

the hair. There may have been no intention to deceive, as the style and presence of the wreath is clearly Neoclassical. Its attribution to antiquity must have been a simple mistake.

8. *Head of "Aiedius"*
   78.AK.55
   Second half of the nineteenth century.
   Bought in 1952 from Galleria Barberini in Rome.
   Carrara marble, H: 33 cm.
   Well preserved with some small chips, slightly worn on the right side of the nose. Made for insertion in a statue. The funerary relief of Aiedius in Berlin (see C. Blümel, *Römische Bildnisse*, 1933, no. R7) which is imitated here was found in 1864.
   Roman Portraits, no. 100 (bibliography).

9. *Bust of a Roman*
   70.AK.127
   Late nineteenth century
   White Carrara marble, H: 40 cm.
   Roman Portraits, no. 99 (bibliography)

10. *Small head of a Roman* (fig. 6)
    71.AK.234
    White Carrara marble, H: 14 cm.
    Unpublished.

One section of the upper part is missing, as if originally sculpted from another block. It may have been intended as a modern restoration for a relief. The modeling is very summary, the result lifeless. The surface appears dark purple under ultraviolet light.

11. *Head of a bearded man*
    75.AK.25
    Said to be from Ephesus
    1960 and after
    Anonymous donation
    Asia Minor marble, H: 26.5 cm.
    Some minor chips in hair. The left nostril is partly broken off. There are artificial rusty spots in the hair.
    Roman Portraits, no. 98.

The proportions of the face are so poorly imitated that it looks like an unintentional caricature. The carving has very little artistic pretension, but the workshop must be very prolific, with an apparently rather limited repertoire. Marble heads that look like clones of our head, from miniatures to slightly over life-size pieces, are often brought to the museum for identification.

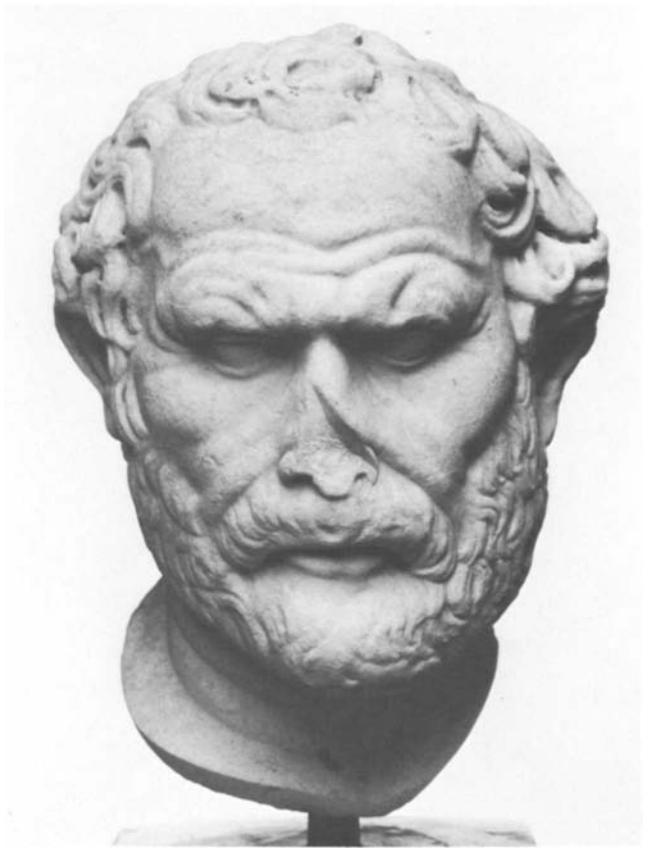


Figure 5. Head of Demosthenes. Malibu.

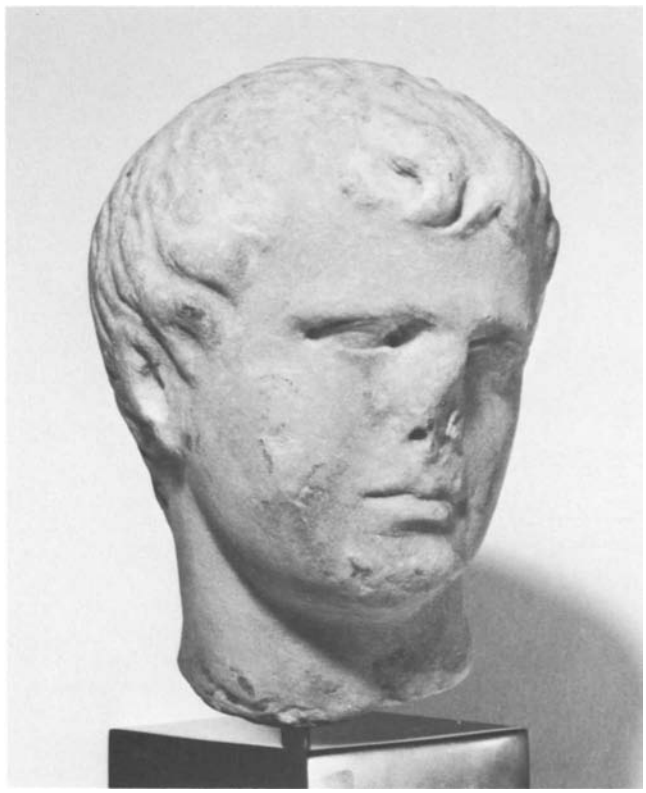


Figure 6. Small head of a Roman. Malibu.

Figure 7. Terra cotta statuette of an "Etruscan Kore." Malibu.

12. *Small torso of Aphrodite*
70.AK.103
Early twentieth century (?)
Italian marble, H: 33.5 cm.
Joys, p. 69, illus.

The surface was covered with artificial root marks made from concrete and applied with a not-too-adhesive glue (removed in 1973). The marble appears dark purple under ultraviolet light. The torso is an over-schematized imitation of the Venus de Milo. The head, more "independent," makes one think of the fashions just after World War II.

13. *Head of a man with curls in a pyramid*
78.AK.46
End of the nineteenth century (?)
Ex J. Brummer
White Italian marble, H: 34 cm.
Some small scratches.
Parke-Bernet, 10–23 April 1949, no. 163.

The surface is covered by an unpleasant yellowish tint. The rounded chips regularly scattered over the surface are clearly intentional. One wonders how the piece could ever have been considered ancient.

14. *Large terra cotta statuette of an "Etruscan Kore"* by Alceo Dosenna (figs. 7a–d)
80.AK.144
Presented by Mr. and Mrs. C. David Bromwell
After 1920 and before 1930
H: 55.5 cm.; base ca. 15 x 9 x 2.5 cm.
Unpublished.

The statue seems to have been reconstructed from countless fragments joined with fills of differently colored plaster (very light under the base, orange to pink to wine-red elsewhere). As a matter of fact the fills must have been done at the same time as the modeling itself. The missing hands were never modeled. While the actual stability of the statuette is excellent, it gives the impression of being out of balance, standing on the right leg with the left foot extended back to produce an illogically narrow wave of drapery which is neither chiton nor mantle. There is no consistency in the folds or in the incised decoration of the drapery edge. The small rectangular plinth at first looks modern. The face was evidently inspired by the Apollo and Hermes from Veii. The stance, base, drapery, and whole appearance duplicate the New York kore by Dosenna.[15]

15. *Life-size female nude torso*
67.AK.12
Italian marble, H: 72 cm.
Joys, p. 62, illus.

At first glance the surface seems well preserved, but the fine homogenous patina is artificial. It even covers the "breaks." Evidently the pose resulting from movement (with both arms raised) may have been intended for a Venus arranging her hair. The very competent carving tries to achieve a naturalistic modeling and movement with an appeal for special clients, but the effect remains schematic and lifeless. A torso of Venus with head, once Grüneisen, pls. 17–19, has the same approach to the same anatomy, movement, and stance: the same hand (?).[16]

16. *Double head*
78.AK.336 (ex-58.AK.5)
Anonymous donation
1920–1930
Ex-collection Lazare Moutafoff
Checklist 1, no. 111 (bibliography, esp. Grüneisen, *Moutafoff*, pp. 35ff., pls. 9ff.); S. Howard, *CalStuClassAnt*, 4, 1971, pp. 181ff.

Perhaps from the same workshop as no. 15 above.

17. *Fragment of an "Archaic grave stele"* (fig. 8)
79.AK.173
Anonymous donation
Fine crystalline marble, H: 18 cm.; W: 27 cm.
Unpublished.

Spots of iron corrosion on the surface; remains of an

15. G.M.A. Richter, *The Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks* (1950), fig. 543; Paul, 27; S. Howard, *Cal.St.Cl.Ant.* 4 (1971) pls. 9–10.

16. Other marbles from the same collection are related:
Head of an "archaic" Athena; Grüneisen pls. 5–6; G. Richter, *The Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks*, fig. 534
Lower body of an Athena, Grüneisen pls. 7–8.
Relief with a charis, "archaic" headless female statue; pls. 12–13.
Venus Genetrix; pls. 14–16.
Funerary stele; pl. 20.
Fragment of a funerary stele; pl. 21; without raising any suspicions the piece found its way onto the art market (Sotheby's 7 December 1976, no. 329, pl. 38). Two other pieces, perhaps by another hand, are related:
Head of a kore; pls. 9–10.
Relief with a sacrifice; pl. 23.
All these sculptures were carved in the same workshop which may have produced also our own double head, no. 16 below, p. 78; Grüneisen, *Moutafoff*, 35ff., pls. 9ff. The other Moutafoff pieces look different from the reproductions.
Another imitator is responsible for two portrait heads: .
Young Octavian; Grüneisen pl. 26.
Caligula; pl. 27.

17. It may be noted that E. Langlotz (letter in archives) wrote already on June 21, 1960 that our double head comes from the Moutafoff collection, that he saw it in Paris and considered it modern.

Figure 8. Fragment of an "Archaic grave stele." Malibu.

iron pin in the back. Bottom and right broken. In a simply molded frame. Occiput hair with fillet, ear, and right eye of a man to the right preserved. Traces of iron clamps may suggest that the piece was intended for restoration or to be part of a more elaborate recent relief. The nearest parallel, perhaps from the same workshop, is the upper part of a modern "archaic" stele of a bearded man in the Naples Museum (*EAA* 3, 1960, p. 582, fig. 701).

18. *Inscribed bust of Sappho* (figs. 9a and 9b)
80.AK.73 (ex-58.AK.10)
1950–1960
Italian marble, H: 38.5 cm.
Checklist 2, no. G44 (bibliography)

The form of the letters and the engraving technique do not look ancient whatever may have been said. The patina is artificial, made essentially from concrete mixed with chalk. Root marks are imitations. The shape of the bust has no ancient parallel, and the modeling of the flesh is unorganic which produces a stone-like effect. The neck is unconvincing when seen from the back. The pattern of the hair from the cowlick on the occiput is not ancient. The large clip holding the four braids has no ancient parallel, no clearly defined shape, and no function.

19. Relief dedicated to Asklepios from the Haurân
71.AK.319
Ca. 1900–1910
Haurân basalt, H: 62.4 cm.; W: 64.9 cm.
Sotheby's, 4 December 1969, no. 189, illus.; *Check-*
2, no. V89; S. Downey, Getty *MJ* 6/7, 1978/79, pp. 111ff.; K. Parlasca, *ibid.* 8, 1980, pp. 145ff.

The stone block is, of course, ancient, but the relief is not. It represents Hygeia feeding a snake twisted around a stick held by a seated Asklepios on the right. On the

Figures 9a and 9b. Bust of "Sappho." Malibu.

Figure 10a. "Roman provincial" gravestone of a soldier. Malibu.

Figure 10b. "Roman provincial" gravestone of a horseman. Malibu.

frame, a snake in negative relief. Above the figures is a gibberish inscription partly in Greek letters. According to Parlasca, one of several pieces carved as decoration in Damascus by an Italian sculptor expelled in 1911 at the beginning of the Turko-Italian war. His villa was looted and the reliefs found their way onto the market and into museums.

20–21. *Two "Roman provincial" gravestones* (figs. 10a and 10b)
74.AK.42A and B (Ex-71.AK.270)
Presented by F. Richman
Limestone horseman; H: 105 cm.
Limestone soldier; H: 105.5 cm.
Checklist 2, nos. V86 and V87.

No comment necessary. The reliefs are reproduced here for the attention of Latin epigraphists who may be able to identify the models for the inscriptions.

22. *"Venus Marina"*
56.AK.9
Limestone, H: 57 cm.
Joys p. 82, illus.

Deep relief with a flat back like a naiskos. A standing female nude with a rectangular cape over her head, holding a ship with both her hands. On the inside zone of side pillars is a vertical row of small holes continuing under the chin of the figure. No parallel known. It is hardly possible to think of it as the work of some provincial sculptor as the whole appearance points to a rather recent manufacture.

23. *Relief with piping satyr*
56.AK.10
Italian marble; H: 51.2 cm.
Joys, p. 80, illus.

A pyramidal slab with molded base (left lower corner broken off, several chips). A young satyr with an animal skin tight around his neck stands on tiptoe to the right playing two pipes. The slab may be ancient, and the damage and patina are not recent, but the figure is so radically recarved (most severely the toes and feet, fingers and hands, the pipes modified to some kind of modern clarinet, and the face, especially the eyes and nose) that one can hardly trace the original design even if it may have been ancient.

24–25. *Two toys: frog and tortoise*
71.AK.316 (fig. 11)
71.AK.317 (fig. 12)
Frog: yellow-brown hardstone, L: 10.2 cm.; right front foot missing.
Tortoise: black basalt, L: 13.6 cm.; left hind foot missing.

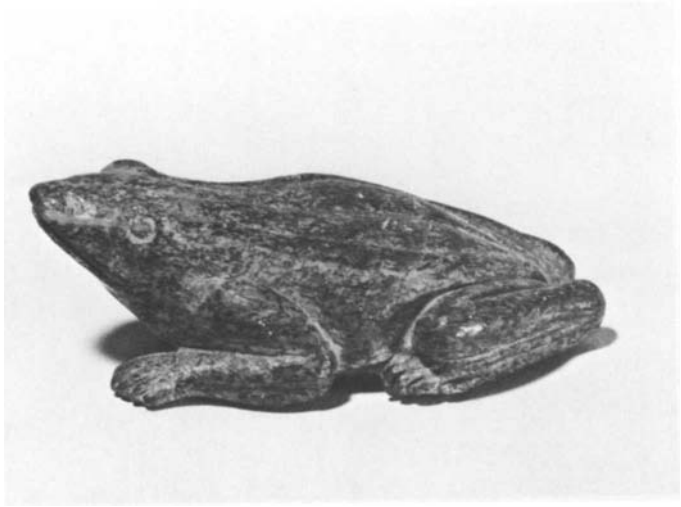


Figure 11. Frog. Malibu.

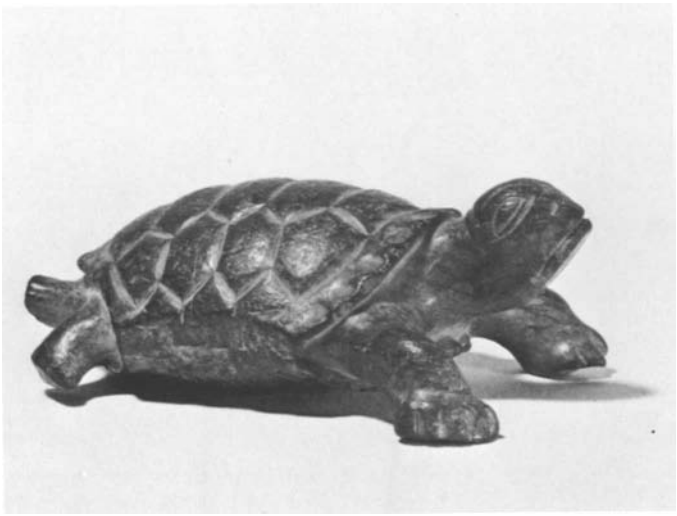


Figure 12. Tortoise. Malibu.

Figure 13. Head of Eros. Malibu.

Unpublished.

The only information was that both items were purchased in Beirut. Ancient or modern? For years the only consolation was the good old quotation, *Est quidem nesciendi ars et sapientia.* One day in 1979 the puzzle was irrefutably solved: a visitor—from Beirut—produced a worn photograph showing the toy shop of his neighbor who made dozens of such animals.

For a change let us present a rather curious piece.

26. *Fragmentary statue of an angel* (fig. 13)
71.AA.367

Ca. 1800 (the body).
Body is Italian marble; head Pentelic marble
H (of whole figure): 61 cm.; H (of head): 17 cm.
Unpublished.

This poor angel must have led a tormented existence as at some point he lost his original head. An ancient one was used to replace it, and the bad fit was covered with plaster. An amusing case, the opposite of the usual way of repairing ancient statues with modern additions. Indeed, the head is a battered but recognizable Roman copy after the Eros with a Bow by Lysippos.

Malibu

The Cohn Beaker: The Glass.

Catherine Lees-Causey

The Cohn beaker,* is a unique and significant example of Roman blown glass with painted decoration, almost as rare in antiquity as it is today. Less than two dozen complete or nearly complete specimens and a few hundred fragments of painted glass have survived compared to the tens of thousands of fragments and vessels of unpainted Roman glass.

The beaker is fourteen centimeters in height and nine centimeters at the lip. The shape is a truncated cone[1] of clear, blown glass,[2] slightly yellowish in color, with a scratched surface. On some Roman painted vessels the surface was protected by a varnish-like substance;[3] the Cohn beaker, however, shows no evidence of such a coating, making the preservation of the painted scene even more remarkable.

The portion of the rim that remains is gilded, and one can assume that the entire rim was originally gilt. An ornamental band 1.5 centimeters wide consisting of two double lines, each dark red above gold, runs entirely round the vessel. The band frames rosettes composed of five petals around a center dot, each rosette alternating yellow and blue.

The main scene is below. The only background detail is a large pair of closed doors depicted as if seen from a slight angle. Flanking the doors are four figures. On one side three are walking or standing, and on the other, the fourth approaches.

The figure to the viewer's right and the doors' left, the *Oinopotes*,[5] wears a short, dark red chiton with the interior folds and details indicated in dark brown. A light cloak is knotted over his chest and thrown behind his shoulders. Although the major part of the head of this figure is missing, a small amount of dark curly hair remains on its right side. Dark brown brush strokes indicate sandals. *Oinopotes* holds an object in his left hand painted in dark brown, blue, and some gilding.

The next figure, *Pornoboskos*, stands to *Oinopotes'* left, resting his left arm on the shoulder of the third figure, *Opora*, a *Hetaira*. His right arm points toward the doors and *Oinopotes*. *Pornoboskos*, beardless, displays outstandingly beautiful facial features and hair which is abundant, dark, and curly. His short chiton is white, and his cloak, crossed over his chest, is thrown behind his shoulders. The well-preserved left foot bears a gilded boot.

Opora wears a long white chiton with the interior details indicated by dark lines. She wears a fillet in her dark curly hair and inclines her head slightly to the right. Her right hand, expressively and beautifully modeled, hangs gracefully at her side.

The short beardless figure, *Slave*, in a short white chiton, approaches from the right of the closed doors, his cloak folded over his right arm. His right hand seems to hold an object, represented now by two small dots, and a thread from which an oval shape appears to hang. At the center bottom fold of his chiton are two oval patterns painted in blue. These decorative shapes, though now devoid of color, continue along the hem. Some blue pigment also remains at the neck of the garment.

The painted scene on the Cohn beaker was applied directly to the exterior of the vessel. Some portions show evidence of later retouching, primarily the left leg of *Oinopotes* and the object he holds. The pigments range from dark red, reddish-brown, pinkish-tan, brown and black, to white, blue, yellow, and gold. The pigments are unfired,

*I wish to thank Mr. Hans Cohn, who permitted me to study this beaker extensively, Dr. Dericksen M. Brinkerhoff, who supervised my Master's thesis from which this paper derives, and Mr. Roy Kotansky, whose article on the inscriptions on the beaker follows this note. Thanks to Mr. Cohn's generosity the piece was on view in the Getty Museum for more than a year.

1. G.A. Eisen, assisted by F. Kouchakji, *Glass, Its Origin, History, Chronology, Technic, and Classification to the Sixteenth Century* (1927) fig. 172b, p. 424; Morin-Jean, *La Verrerie en Gaule sous L'Empire Romain* (1913), shape 104–107; C. Isings, *Roman Glass from Dated Finds* (1957), form 106.

2. The so-called colorless or transparent ancient glass was usually tinted, due to impurities in the glass batch. "The natural color of glass is green or greenish, because of the iron contained in the sand or the silica . . . It can, however, be rendered colorless by the addition of a decolorant." D.B. Harden, "Ancient Glass, II: Roman," *Archaeological Journal* 126, 1969, p. 60.

For a more complete discussion of colorless and transparent colorless glass, see F. Neuberg, *Ancient Glass*, 1962, pp. 3–6; R.H. Brill, "Ancient Glass," *Scientific American*, 1930, pp. 120–130.

3. Eisen, *Glass*, . . ., 2:471.

4. This type of ornamentation is first discussed by M. Rostovtsev, "Vasi di vetro dipinto del periodo tardo Ellenistico e la storia della pittura decorative," *Archeologia Classica*, vol. 25, no. 2, 1963.

5. The figures described from the painted scene will be designated according to Kotansky's text. The interpretation is solely the responsibility of the author.

and no protective coating is apparent.

Certain similarities exist between the Cohn beaker and several other painted glass vessels. The ornamental band at the top is present also on three beakers discovered in Afghanistan.[6] A comparable method of depicting dress, drapery folds, and detail is present on the Corning Museum's "Judgment of Paris" plate.[7]

The feeling of three-dimensional depth suggested in these examples by ground lines and by arm and body gestures is also present in the Cohn beaker. In the gladiatorial scene depicted on the Lübsow beaker[8] (discovered at Lübsow in Pomerania in 1925, once in the Museum of Stettino, destroyed during World War II), the arm movements of the protagonists also suggest varied fields of action and recession in space.

The subject matter portrayed on the Cohn beaker is not paralleled on any other painted glass nor (to the author's knowledge) in any other pictorial media. The following explanation of the scene is proposed.[9] *Oinopotes*, dressed in a dark, short garment common to the working class in ancient Greek literature, may portray the familiar figure in mime plays, the mimic fool. Other phrases used to describe this figure are "the rustic buffoon," ". . . foolish in speech, in manners, and in action."[10] *Oinopotes'* lines in the text on the beaker refer to him as a wine drinker and his disappointed efforts in obtaining a *heteira*. The *Pornoboskos*, rather better dressed than the other actors, portrays the pimp and speaks to the fool, calling him back to try another whore. It is not clear to whom *Opora* speaks. This figure may address either *Oinopotes* or reply to the *Pornoboskos*, for her lines could apply to either. *Slave* seems slightly separated from the other actors by his position to their rear. The glances of the three main figures are directed between themselves, leaving only the arm gesture of *Opora* to possibly relate to *Slave*. *Slave* could be interpreted as approaching from the doors and may represent the attendant or doorkeeper of the bordello. His lines seem to be in the nature of an explanation to the audience of what has happened in the scene.

Many details of the painted scene on the Cohn beaker do indeed relate to the mime play and the theatre. A common backdrop or background for the mime play was intended to give ". . . the impression of a back wall broken by a door . . . placed to give the illusion of both inner and outer action."[11] The relief decorations present on the so-called Megarian terra cotta bowls show a remarkable similarity of composition with the Cohn beaker—particularly the Homeric bowl in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (31.11.2 [HB 11])[12] and the two Odyssey cups in the Berlin Museum (3161 r).[13] Both the Homeric bowl and the Odyssey cups have lines of text which appear beside and above the figures, like the inscriptions on the Cohn beaker. The evidence suggests a tradition of illustrating famous plays on a series of drinking vessels. It is conceivable that the Cohn beaker formed one of such a set, comprising scenes from favorite plays, or even illustrating a complete play. T.B.L. Webster in *Potter and Patron in Classical Athens*, suggested that "complete sets of vases (were) made and painted for each special occasion." Such sets of vases comprised part of the paraphernalia for symposia which celebrated outstanding theatrical performances.[14] It is clear that one of the most important aspects of the beaker is the evidence it offers for the continuation of such literary allusions into the Roman age.

One might even suggest a possible occasion for the manufacture of the beaker, if not of a set. It is well known that famous actors were held in considerable esteem, for "names and achievements of some actors have been recorded."[15] To the end of antiquity it was quite possible for actors to rise to the highest positions in the state. The regard in which famous actors were held suggests the Cohn beaker may have been a gift from an admirer to a popular performer or a souvenir for an admirer of a particular celebrity.

Some scholars are inclined to date the Cohn beaker in the Hellenistic period, quite understandably, as the subject goes back to such a date. The execution of the painted scene and the vessel's shape and metal give evidence of a later dating, however. The date assigned to the beakers from Begram by their discoverers is the late second to early third centuries A.D.[16] This date applies also to the examples known as the "small group of Hellenistically inspired vessels"[17] to which the "Judgment of Paris" plate belongs. Such a date is the most credible for the Cohn

6. J. Hackin, "Deux verres peints, d'origine Syrien, mis au jour (Chantier R. 10) á Begram (Afghanistan) "Fouilles de la délégation archéologique français en Afghanistan," *Mélanges Syriens, René Dussaud*, 1959, pp. 941–945; P. Hamelin, "Sur quelques verreries de Begram," *Cahiers de Byrsa*, 2, 1952, pp. 11–25; *Idem*, "Matériaux pour servir a l'étude des verreries de Begram," *Cahiers de Byrsa*, 3, 1953, pp. 121–128, Pls. I–IV; *Idem*, "Matéeriaux pour servir a l'étude des verreries de Begram," *Cahiers de Byrsa*, 4, 1954, pp. 153–183, Pls. XV–XXXVI.

7. *Glass from the Ancient World, The Ray Winfield Smith Collection*, The Corning Museum of Glass in the Corning Glass Center, 1957, p. 169.

8. H. Eggers, "Lübsow, ein Germanischer Füstensitz der alteren Kaiserzeit," *Praehistorische Zeitschrift*, XXXIV/V, 1949/50 (1953), pp. 73, 93–94, Taf. 6.

9. See above note 5.

10. A. Nicoll, *Masks, Mimes and Miracles*, 1963, p. 94.

11. *Ibid.*

12. U. Hausmann, *Hellenistische Reliefbecher aus attischen und böotischen Werkstätten*, Deutsches Archaologisches Institut Ableitung, 1959; C.

Figures 1–3. The Cohn Beaker. Photo: Donald Hull.

beaker as well. The resemblances cited above, and the fact that no other material so closely comparable is known at present, reinforce such a conclusion. Although Syria was the prime region for luxury glass-making in the Roman Imperial period, the fineness of the execution of the painted scene on the Cohn beaker suggests Alexandria as a place of origin. Dating to the late second or beginning of the third century A.D. was proposed on the basis of an analysis of the painted scene and stylistic comparison with painted parallels. This dating also considers the vessel's shape and metal. These two last factors would not allow a date earlier than the second century A.D.[18]

Several late antique Roman tombs contain frescoes which when compared with the Cohn beaker painting reveal certain similarities and a common Hellenistic heritage. A *quadretto* near the entrance of the tomb in the Via Portuense[19] reveals figures drawn with the same rapid but controlled brushwork as seen on the Cohn beaker. Felletti Maj proposes that the style is inspired by classic naturalism. Another panel in the same tomb contains figures who cast shadows suggesting several spatial depths, thus reinforcing this opinion. The second strain of art present in tomb paintings of this time period, the "popular,"[20] is apparent in the depiction of the garments, legs, and feet of the seated couple, which bears a strong similarity to the rendition of *Slave*. Both the Cohn beaker figures and this fresco portray figures against a neutral background, suggesting the abstract view of space commented on by Felletti Maj[21] and reminding us of the non-specific background of the beaker.

The Hypogeum of Trebio Giusto in Rome contains frescoes displaying similar stylistic features,[22] and the combination of the two diverse streams of art, Hellenistic and "popular." In some frescoes, figures move in well-defined space and cast realistic shadows; however, there are portions of the frescoes which do not entirely observe organic balance and rational space. The manner of portraying figures with quick yet controlled brush strokes is present in the fresco of the ball-game, where there is also a similar rendition of dress not entirely indicative of the anatomy

Robert, *Homerische Becher*, 1890; *Idem*, "Homerische Becher mit Illustrationen zu Euripides' *Phoinissen*," *JdI*, 23, 1909, pp. 184–203.

13. K. Weitzmann, *Illustrations in Roll and Codex, A Study of the Origin and Method of Text Illustration*, 1970, figs. 6,7.

14. T.B.L. Webster, *Potter and Patron in Classical Athens*, 1972.

15. Nicoll, *Masks, Mimes and Miracles*, p. 94.

16. See above note 6.

17. G.M.A. Richter, and R.W. Smith, "A Glass Bowl with the 'Judgment of Paris,' " *The Burlington Magazine*, June 1953, p. 184.

18. This point brought out by Mr. Kurt T. Luckner, Curator of Ancient Art, Toledo Museum of Art, Toledo, Ohio, in a letter to the author on May 14, 1980.

19. B.M. Felletti Maj. "Le pitture de una tomba della Via Portuense," *RIA*, 1953, pp. 40–76.

20. *Ibid.*, p. 67.

21. Felletti Maj, "Le pitture. . . ," p. 67: z". . . in questa disposizione sul fondo neutro si deve probabilmente riconoscere l'influsso classicistico di eredita adrianaea . . . che non interrompe e non esclude il progresso contemporaneo della prospettiva e della composizione spaziale."

beneath and comparable gestures and poses of arms and legs.

The Mausoleum of the Aurelii contains two frescoes which also demonstrate the survival of the Hellenistic figurative style and which bear great stylistic similarities to the Cohn beaker. The figures in the frescoes stand firmly and convincingly on their ground lines, as do *Opora*, *Pornoboskos*, and *Slave*. The figures exhibit the same small, serious mouths, a use of tonal shading along the lines of the nose, and the same intent gaze.

The appearance of the two streams of art in these examples of wall paintings and on the Cohn beaker places them all early in the transitional phase of art[23] when Hellenistic traditions were being replaced by "new," more abstract concepts of form and space.

Such mural paintings as the frescoes from the Mausoleum of the Aurelii provided, in Dorigo's opinion, a background for the miniature painters of the fourth and fifth centuries A.D.[24] If this is so, a common stylistic approach should be apparent in a comparison of the Cohn beaker's painted scene and selected scenes from illustrated manuscripts dating to these centuries. The "Death of Dido," fol. 40r from the Vatican Vergil, presents a perspectival background similar in understanding and rendition to the perspective of the doors on the Cohn beaker. The "Arrival of Aeneas at Carthage," also from the same manuscript, depicts figures with a similar rendering of drapery, whose feet stand securely on a ground line and whose arms are raised in gestures quite similar to those of *Oinopotes*, *Pornoboskos*, and *Opora*. The miniature heads present a three-quarter view as do the beaker figures and a corresponding treatment of facial features.

The "Capture of Dolon" from the Ambrosian *Iliad*, Plate XXXIV,[26] depicts male figures clad in short chitons and cloaks, three-quarter views of heads, and very close similarities in the rendition of facial features, particularly the heavy eyebrows, eyes with dark pupils and prominent whites. Inscriptions appear in some miniatures of the Ambrosian *Iliad* beside and above the figures, which increases the resemblance between the miniatures and the Cohn beaker's painted scene.

The Hellenistic stylistic elements in miniature painting analogous with the Cohn beaker's painting recur in several Byzantine miniatures dating from the tenth and eleventh centuries A.D. In the scene of the "Return of Helen after the Capture of Troy," of the *Nicander Theriaca*,[27] an astonishing similarity to *Pornoboskos* and *Opora* is apparent in the outstretched arm of the female figure and the tilt of her head and facial features. We are again reminded of *Opora* in the head of Moses from the "Crossing of the Red Sea" in the Paris Psalter.[28] The treatment of the dark curls, heavy dark eyebrows, expressive eyes with the pupil highlighted from the left, and the head in three-quarter view turned to the right are readily comparable. Such strong affinities between these manuscript miniatures and the beaker scene permit the proposal of a common source, perhaps in the form of a sketchbook or copy book containing a repertory of scenes and motifs traditional since Hellenistic times. The manuscripts and frescoes show us how an old tradition, going back to the early Hellenistic period, was preserved and reproduced in more or less faithful copies through Roman times until the early medieval period.

Riverside Art Center and Museum

POSTSCRIPT

While this article was in press, a variant interpretation of the cup appeared in K. Weitzmann, *AK* 24 (1981) pp. 39ff.

22. C. Casalone, "Note sulle pitture dell'Ipogeo di Trebio Giusto a Roma," *Cahiers Archeologiques*, 12, 1962, pp. 57-64.

23. The end of the second, beginning of the third century A.D.

24. W. Dorigo, *Late Roman Painting*, 1962, The 'Apostolic Procession,' and the 'Ovatio.'

25. *Fragments et picturae Vergiliana* (*Codices e Vaticanus selecti* I, 1899), republished 1930 & 1945; J. de Wit, *Die Miniaturen des Vergilius Vaticanus*, 1959, pl. XLVII.

26. Codex 1019 F. 205 Inf., Ambrosian Library, Milan.

27. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Ms. Suppl. Grec 247, f. 12.

28. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Ms. Grec 139, f. 419.

The Cohn Beaker: The Inscription.

Roy Kotansky

In the Hans Cohn glass collection[1] there is a rare painted beaker whose figured scene is addressed in an accompanying article in this journal.[2] Here we offer a proposed reading and interpretation of the faintly preserved inscription[3] that clusters around each of the four speaker's heads. As seems clear from the scene and the text, a portion of a comic play has been preserved; however, one soon realizes that the genre of the work lies outside the cadre of mainstream Attic drama. The lack of a recognizable meter and the use of forms inadmissable in Attic poetry preclude identifying this stage piece with any known or recognizable writer. Still, what little can be gleaned from the text hints at an imitation of a theme or plot borrowed from New Comedy. Such borrowing characterizes other mimic sketches of a burlesque sort with which we compare our fragment. First, a transcription of the text is provided, then comments and interpretations of the scene as they apply.

A. αφε[. . . . .]φαι
νεταιοι[. .] vacat
ποτησδε[. .]ος
διδραχμον[. .]ȩχοι

B. ερχουισ[± 8] vacat
ταυτην [± 5] vacat
ωραντικ . .ϕιπα
ραπυλ ωνα

C. κυριωδεκεκ̣λη
μαικαιεκκ̣ω . . . (?)
συμεκ. . . .
. . . . (?)

D. ου. . . .αφφυ̣σ
ελεγοναυ. . .
εγειρεα. .
αυτοσδε
τημ ος

COMMENTS

A.

1. This speaker's part shows four lines on the left side, but the terminations of only three of the lines appear on the right. The ending —φαι is presumed to be the termination of the first line, whereas the connection of the ending —ος with the third line on the left accounts for the general curvature of the cup and for the engraver's difficulty in aligning the lines as he resumed writing on the opposite side of the painted figure. The lacuna contains approximately six letters, for in this line all the letters seem to have been written above the speaker's head. The word beginning with αφε— suggests a form of the verb ἀφίημι; however, since we note below that φαίνεται should be read at the end of line 1 and the beginning of line 2, an additional verb here seems unlikely. A possible restoration reads, Ἀφε[ιδὴς δὲ] φαί|νεται, *viz.*, "she seems unsparing," or perhaps Ἀφε[ιδής μοι] φαί|νεται, "she seems unsparing to me" (cf. Callimachus, *Epigr.* 47.7). The reference criticizes an hetaira's excessive cost, or perhaps her "unsparing love."

1–2. φαι|νεταιοι[. .]: in view of the probable verb in [. .]ȩχοι at the end of line 4, φαίνεται should be followed by a heavy stop, since such a stop avoids the hiatus otherwise formed by the following letters. The lacuna contained the whole of the speaker's head, and thus probably only two letters are lost. A small tick following the final *iota* on the left side belongs to the etching of the speaker's head and does not represent a letter.

2–3. οι[. .]|ποτης can be safely restored as οἰ[νο]πότης, "wine-bibber." The infrequently attested word has poetic quality and may serve as a self-designation of the speaker; cf. Anacreon, fr. 57: οἰνοπότης δὲ πεποίημαι.[4] In the lacuna following δε, two letters can be restored. Since the fourth line begins a new and recognizable word, we

1. See Alex von Saldern, *Glas von der Antike bis zum Jugendstil / Glass 500 B.C. to A.D. 1900. The Hans Cohn Collection, Los Angeles / Cal.* (Mainz, n.d. [1980]) p. 38, no. 38 (Colorplate 4). The left hand plate is incorrectly produced in "mirror-image." The catalogue describes the glass piece as from "probably Syria or Egypt, probably 1st or 2nd century / H. 14.3; D. rim 8.8." Additional bibliography is also cited. The brief reference to the piece in *Journal of Glass Studies* 20 (1978) 120, no. 9 dates the cup to the 3rd century A.D.

2. I would like to thank Catherine Lees-Causey for her many helpful observations on the interpretations of the figured scene discussed pp. 83–86 above. The interpretation of the inscription, however, is carried out independent of her analysis, and so for this the responsibility rests with this writer.

3. The cup preserves sixteen lines of Greek, somewhat evenly distributed around each of the four speakers' heads. At first glance the inscription of this somewhat achieved hand proved only faintly visible and

Figure 1. The Cohn beaker. Drawing by Martha Breen Bredemeyer.

suggest that δε[. .]ος contains an adjective modifying οἰ[νο]πότης. Though it is possible to read more than one word (such as a conjunction with a relative pronoun) in the sequence of letters, this would tend to complicate the syntax by introducing a subordinate clause into a sentence already quite short. Furthermore, this would probably make φαίνεται the main verb of the sentence, which is unlikely as suggested above. Possible restorations might be δε[ιλ]ός, "low-born," "mean," "poor," or perhaps "cowardly." Alternatively, one could read δεινός.

4. Δίδραχμον is easily read but not so easily interpreted in this context. As will be shown below, it is best to interpret this as the name of a courtesan, "Didrachmon" rather than a real reference to the two drachmae piece, which is rarely attested on inscriptions and in literature.[5] Again, the lacuna permits a restoration of only approximately two letters, in view of the lost portion of the speaker's upper torso. At the end of the line we suggest the optative of ἔχω rather than a compound form of the verb, since the context of the restored text has sexual reference. The restoration of [ἄν] for the two letters preceding the verb has in mind an axiomatic or gnomic meaning: either a "mild exhortation" (so *LSJ* s.v. ἄν, def. IIIe), or with a potential sense (*id.*, def. IIId). If the former, the restored dialogue would read, "A poor wine-drinker should have Didrachmon"; if the latter, "A poor wine-drinker can have a 'Didrachmon,'" i.e., a less expensive courtesan. On this interpretation consult the discussion below.

B.

1. The lacuna leaves space for approximately eight letters, assuming the text is carried to the end of the broken section. The text at the beginning reads ἔρχου ισ[---]. The use of the 2nd person singular imperative of ἔρχομαι shows demonstrably that the fragment as a whole does

yielded no more than 95–100 recognizable letters. However, after Zdravko Barov at the Getty Museum carried out additional conservation on the piece approximately eight additional letters came to view. I would like to express thanks for the energy and the time he spent with the piece and also for the Getty Museum's generous provision of technical resources for the study of the cup.

4. For additional occurrences of οἰνοπότης, consult Bruno Gentili, *Anacreon* (Roma 1956) 42; *BAG* s.v. οἰνοπότης.

5. The weight or coin "two drachmae" is usually expressed by δύο δραχμαί. On the scarcity of the usage δίδραχμον, see M. N. Tod, *Epigraphical Notes on Greek Coinage* (Chicago 1979) 102–104. The work is a compiled reprint of several published articles.

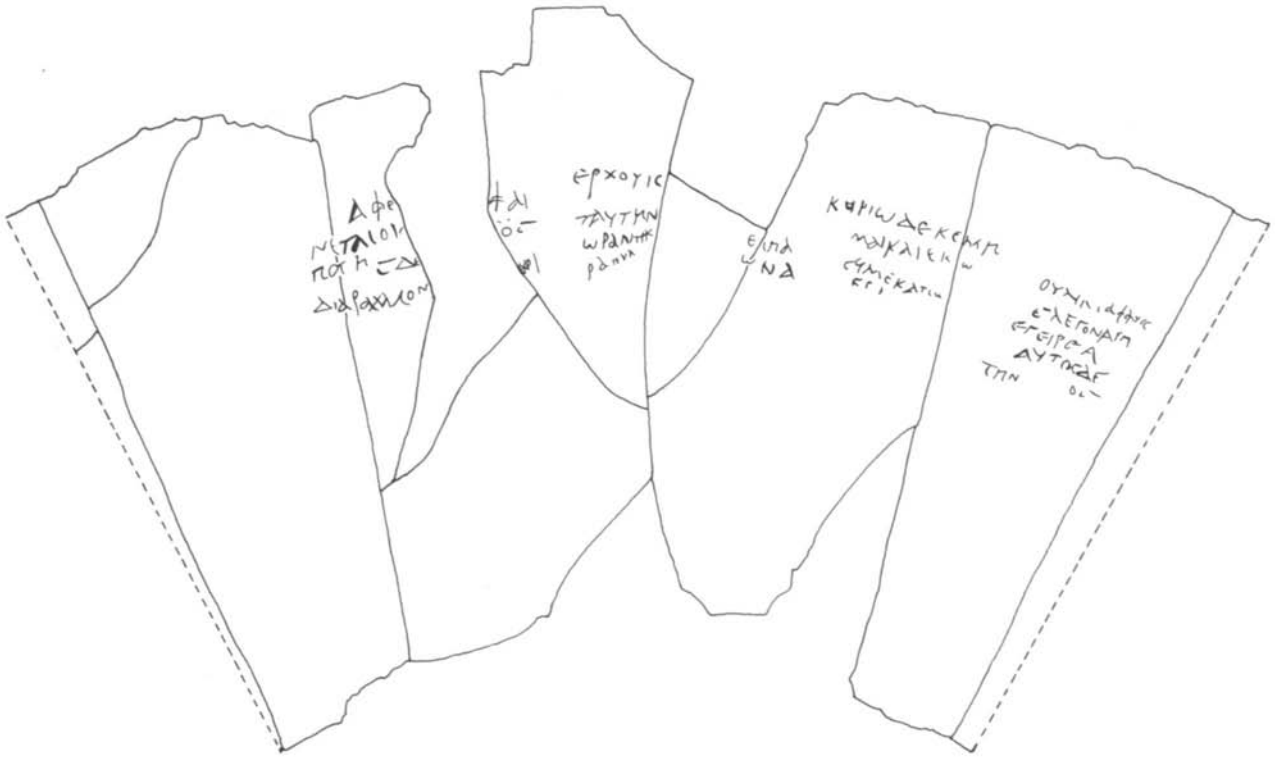


Figure 2. The Cohn beaker. Drawing of the inscription by Martha Breen Bredemeyer.

not belong to Attic comedy. The use of ἔρχου is not only impermissible in Attic poetry, it never even occurs in Attic prose, which always uses ἴθι.[6] Apart from the old epic form ἔρχεο and the single manuscript attestation in Theognis 220 (Ms. A Bergk, ἔρχου Vulg.), the form is only found in a few late texts (cf. Luke 7:8; Matt. 8:9; Rev. 6:5, etc.). The occurrence of the 2nd person imperative highly suggests, if not confirms, that the fragment represents a prose, *koinē* composition probably contemporary with the cup itself. Examples and a discussion of this type of composition follow the textual comments.

The letters ισ[---] are restored to read ἴσ[ως --] plus a verb with a potential sense, perhaps ἴσ[ως ἂν ἐρῷς][7] or some other verb similarly expressed: λαμβάνω, θέλω, or perhaps ἔχω again. The reference, as shown in the restoration of the remaining lines, is a request for speaker *A* to come back and take a different woman.

2–4. Ταυτην probably represents the pronoun. In the lacuna in the second line three or four letters can be restored to the right of and above the speaker's head, whereas essentially all the letters of lines 3–4 are read on the glass, though some are faint. Syntactically, the proposed lost letters (no more than thirteen in number) prove necessary in order to complete the sense of the speaker's part, and they correspond to roughly matching numbers of letters in the other speakers' parts.

In line 3 ωραν may contain the accusative ending of a longer noun than ὥρα. With the conjectured reading [τὴν Ὀπ]|ώραν, a personal name "Opora" is proposed as a parallel to the other courtesan nicknamed "Didrachmon." The whole sentence is tentatively read Ἔρχου, ἴσ[ως ἂν ἐρῷς]|ταυτήν, [τὴν Ὀπ]|ώραν· τὶ κεῖθι πα|ρὰ πυλῶνα;. The names Opora and Didrachmon as well as other names for *hetairai* were probably rather popular and widely circu-

6. On this, see Roy J. Deferrari, *Lucian's Atticism. The Morphology of the Verb* (Princeton 1916) 61.

7. In Herodas' *Pornoboskos*, the brothel-keeper at one time declares, ἐρᾷς σὺ μὲν ἴσως Μυρτάλης, referring to one of his courtesans (Herod. II.79).

lated. The name of Didrachmon was attached to the famous courtesan Leme whom Stratocles the orator lived with as his mistress.[8] And as we learn from Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae* 13.567C many names of well-known *hetairai* found their way into the plots and titles of New Comic plays, one of which is a lost work of Alexis entitled *Opora* ("Ripe Fruit"). Although only one or possibly two[9] fragments of this play have survived, one can imagine the name used elsewhere to portray a character in comic and burlesque performances.[10] Aelian, *Epistula rustica* 7,8 refers to his own lover as "Opora," quite possibly with the knowledge of the Opora immortalized and made proverbial by Alexis' play.[11]

On τικειθι, traces of two letters in front of the *theta*, which is itself somewhat faint, are obliterated. No letters are read immediately to the right of the *kappa*, but it seems clear that the text of both lines three and four are to be read on either side of the speaker's head and shoulders. Since very few words begin τικ-- (and none prove appropriate), we propose the beginning of a question: τὶ κεῖθι . . . (= ἐκεῖθι, poetic for ἐκεῖ). The proposal finds support in the relatively sure reading of παρὰ πυλῶνα at the end of the sentence. The "door" is probably the one pictured on the cup, a fact that helps establish its position to the left of speakers *A* and *B*, since the latter is presumably speaking to the former.[12] Though πυλών usually refers to a "gate," an important citation of Semus of Delos (*FHG* iv. 496) in Athenaeus 14.622B shows it was a stage door through which mimic actors passed.[13]

C.

1. We read in this line κύρι᾽ ὧδε κέκλη|μαι . . . . On the vocative see the note on the prose mime, *P. Oxy.* 413, p. 45 (line 117).[14] The *kappa* and *lambda* in κεκλημαι look like a *mu* because of the nearness of the *lambda* with the cursive form of the so-called "u"-shaped *kappa*.

2–3. After εκκ . . . the letters are indistinct, so how many of them were originally written is not certain. The same holds true for the end of line 3. What appear to be traces of indistinct letters rest upon the out-stretched arm of speaker C; however, on the original cup these etchings seem too short to represent letters and may represent stray marks caused by the engraver as he traced onto the glass the outline of the figure. On the cup the etchings made for the outlines of figures and those made for the letters show that the same stylus was used. The whole part may be read thus: Κύρι,᾽ ὧδε κέκλη|μαι καὶ ἐκ κ . ω (? τοῦ δεῖνα) σὺ μ᾽ ἐκ[καλεῖς (?)], i.e. "Sir, I'm summoned here, but you're calling me away from (NN)!"

D.

1. The letters are almost completely worn away, with only the *omicron* (or *theta* ?) and *upsilon* fairly certain. Towards the end of the line one recognizes what appear to be two *phi*'s. Eight or nine letters can be counted, depending on whether the third represents one or two letters: at this point a crack intersects the letter(s), making it difficult to read accurately. Conceivably we have a *mu*, but more likely αι, hence, οὐαί. The peculiar φφ combination (= πφ) probably contains part of a proper name (cf. Σαφφώ| Σαπφώ), the most likely candidate being πάφφυς, a possible equivalent to the stock character of Atellan farce, "Pappus."[15]

2–3. Here ἔλεγον (line 3) and ἔγειρε (line 4) seem clear. Following ἔλεγον we read αυπ or αυτι; if the latter, then the final letter can be restored: αὐτιϰ᾽. It is not clear whether one should read in ἔγειρε the third person, as the imperative usually shows a reflexive pronoun.

3–4. Towards the end of the line only the *alpha* is distinct; then two blurred letters follow. The αυτος at the beginning of line 4 helps provide a possible restoration: ἄ[βλ]|αυτος, "unslippered," i.e. "without *blautai*."[16] One can see, in fact, that this appears to be what the speaker is holding.

4–5. The presence of the non-Attic τῆμος again shows the peculiar intrusion of formal and poetic words in a text not characteristically poetic throughout. Here the *mu* looks somewhat like a *nu*; however, it appears that the

8. The report comes from a certain Gorgias cited in Athen. 13.596F. Plutarch, *Demetr.* 11 also mentions Stratocles and his courtesan, naming her *Phylakion*.

9. The sure fragment is *CAF* ii 358, 164. On the identification of a proverb as one of Alexis' fragments, see note 11, below.

10. On the name in general, see W. Pape & G. Benseler, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen* (Braunschweig 1911) 1078.

11. One of the two surviving fragments (*CAF* ii. 358, 165) of Alexis' lost play is actually an anonymous proverb identified by meter and content to belong to him; see also H. van Herwerden, *Collectanea critica, epicrita, exegetica sive Addenda ad Theodori Kockii opus CAF* (Leiden 1903) 126 on the meter. The proverb, ἐρρέτω μέλαιν᾽ Ὀπώρα· πᾶσι γὰρ χαρίζεται, "Away with wicked Opora; she treats everyone," is used of a thankless, wanton woman. If the name became so well-known, presumably because of Alexis' literary treatment or for historical reasons, it seems likely that subject matter or anecdotes peculiar to Opora could have been borrowed by writers of other dramatic pieces. The borrowing of themes and personalities from more achieved Attic comedy by writers of mime, by Latin comics (notably Terence and Plautus), and even by other Attic play-writers is widely attested. See Lucian's use of New Comic material about courtesans in Karl Mras, "Lucian und 'Neue Komodie,' " *Wiener Eranos* (1909) 77f.

12. The design on the cup is continuous and otherwise shows little indication of the scene's beginning and end.

13. If indeed the speaker does speak of the "stage-door" in front of his audience, this heightened consciousness of stage props suggests the piece is a light sketch, as he is not embarrassed to let the audience recognize the makeshift scenary.

14. See also the discussion on *P. Teb. 2 fr. d.*

15. Cf. *LSJ* s.vv. πάππος, πάππας, ἀπφῦς and especially *LSJ* s.v. πάππος,

right, vertical stroke ran into or is obscured by the speaker's head. Reading the Doric pronoun τῆνος is dialectically incongruous since the verbs and other forms in this fragment are distinctly non-Doric. Like some of the Hellenistic mimic texts discussed below, this inscription shows a characteristic blend of prose *koinē* and poetry. It is difficult to detect any meter at all in the lines.

Having presented the text of the Cohn beaker and having suggested tentative restorations, we examine the text as a composition and propose a reconstruction of the dialogue as it applies to the scene.

A. Ἀφε[ιδὴς δὲ] φαί- νεται· οἰ[νο]- πότης δε[ιλ]ὸς Δίδραχμον [ἂν] ἔχοι.	A. She seems unsparing! A 'poor' wine-drinker could have 'Didrachmon.'
B. Ἔρχου, ἴσ[ως ἂν ἐρῷς] ταυτήν, [τὴν Ὀπ]- ώραν· τὶ κεῖθι πα- ρὰ πυλῶνα;	B. Come back! Perhaps you'd love this one, 'Opora.' Why are you there at the door?
C. Κύρι', ὧδε κέκλη- μαι καὶ ἐκκ.ω.. σὺ μ' ἐκ....	C. Sir, here I'm summoned, but you've called me away from (so-and-so)! .....
D. 'Οὐαί, πάφφυς,' ἔλεγον, 'αὐτίκ' ἔγειρε ἄβλ- αυτος δὲ τῆμος.'	D. "Oh, 'pappy!' " they were saying, "immediately arise,[17] though unslippered at this time!"

The setting for this brief portion may have been a fashionable bordello, as seems likely from the reconstructed text. The individual roles of the *dramatis mimi* can be hypothesized as follows: A *Wine-drinker* (*A*) appears barefoot near the door, perhaps carrying a jug of wine. As he attempts an exit—saying to himself (or in response) his gnomic pronouncements against the brothel's expensive courtesans—the *Brothel-keeper*[18] (*B*) beckons him back. He offers him a different *Courtesan*, "Opora" (C), for his taking, but she protests that her master has called her from another customer. A *Slave* or *Attendant* (*D*) may serve as a type of narrator for the audience. Although his role remains unclear, he perhaps declares what the other women in the bordello have said (ἔλεγον) "off-stage." They seem to refer to the wine-drinker who in his haste to leave may have left his shoes behind.

The reconstructed scene is reminiscent of New Comedy with its frequent adaptation of anecdotes and episodes associated with the life of the bordello. Though little can be asserted regarding the plot or sequence of events in this scenario—or how much of this skit is contained on this single cup—the text and action provide the reader with a hint of what role the characters might have played. A more positive identification of the characters, however, depends upon a technical analysis of the painted figures themselves, a task we leave to art-historians.

Can analogies to this type of composition be adduced? Indeed, a number of illustrative texts have survived on papyrus, texts which show a generic similarity to that which we find on our cup. An inventory of some of the more important examples of this class of stage productions seems in order.

The fragments of these anonymous mimes from the late Hellenistic and early Roman periods have been collected by Manteuffel,[19] and part of them appears in Page's edition of the *Literary Papyri* in the Loeb Library.[20] More recently, Helmut Wiemken[21] has edited and studied these fragments. The more important of these pieces are the following:

a. *P. Lit. Lond. 50* (II^a). The so-called "Alexandrian Erotic Fragment," this monologue presents a woman who has argued with her lover. The text shows a simple style of prose *koinē* with some verse. Crusius and others have identified the piece as an example of *hilarōdia* (Mant. no. 18).

b. *P. Teb. 2 fr. d* (ca. 100 B.C.). This text is similar to *P. Lit. Lond.* 50, but is written entirely in prose. A girl is the

def. I.2: "a character in Comic dramas, *Pantaloon*, Poll.4. 143." Cf. also *LSJ Suppl* s.v. πάπος. The spelling on the Cohn Beaker may be analogous to ἀπφῦς, namely (π)άπφυς>παφφυς. In the Latin *Atellana fabula*, *Pappus* represents one of the four stock characters who can be depicted in various roles. See Paulo Frassinetti, *Atellanae Fabulae* (Roma 1967) 2, 14ff.; *idem*, *Fabula Atellana. Saggio sul teatro popolare Latino* (Genova 1953) 17, 34, 67–69. Originally the Latin name comes from Greek πάππος, as Atellan farce itself ultimately derives from Greek mime in Magna Graecia. The character probably refers to an older man, "stupid and wandering in his mind, who is gulled by more youthful companion" (Allardyce Nicoll, *Masks, Mimes, and Miracles. Studies in the Popular Theatre* [New York 1968] 73). On other characteristic traits of *Pappus*, notably that of drunkenness, see I. Hilberg, "Tiberius-Pappus und Atellana," *WS* 43 (1891) 74–85. It is not inconceivable that our speaker *A* (if it is he to whom speaker *D* refers) is modeled after this Pappus, especially since we know of Greek Ἀτελλάνη κωμῳδία; note in particular the Greek fragments in Suetonius, *Nero* 39; Cicero, *ad Quint.* 2, xvi. 3, and see on this Frassinetti, *Fabula Atellana*, 60f.; Nicoll, 75.

16. On these "common shoes," see the comment on its occurrence in Herodas: W. Headlam & A.D. Knox, *Herodas. The Mimes and Fragments* (Cambridge 1922) 345.

17. Or, "he arises" (?).

18. Several comic titles bear this title as well as Herodas' mime *Pornoboskos*.

19. G. v. Manteuffel, *De opusculis Graecis Aegypti e papyris ostracis lapidisque collectis* (Warsaw 1930).

20. D.L. Page, *Select Papyri*, III (Cambridge/Harvard 1962).

21. H. Wiemken, *Der griechische Mimus* (Bremen 1972). In part, I follow the helpful summary of I.C. Cunningham, *Herodas Mimiambi* (Oxford 1971).

main speaker, and a drunkard seems to take part. Like the text of the Cohn beaker, the address κύριε occurs (line 18), as also in *P. Lit. Lond.* 50, III 25; V 39; VI, 45, 47. The text is rather fragmentary (Mant. no. 20).

c. *P. Sorb. inv. 2223* (II^a–I^a). A dialogue takes place between a drunken man in love and one who is restraining him from going to a *kōmos*. The lines spoken by the drunken man are more poetic (Mant. no. 22; Page, no. 74).

d. *P. Oxy. 413 recto and verso, col. 4* (II^P). A vulgar farce takes place in India where a young Greek woman is held captive. The language is *koinē* and in prose, except for an occasional Sotadean verse and perhaps some trochaic tetrameters towards the end of the piece. Four speakers are indicated by the letters **A**, **B**, **Γ**, **Δ**, and lesser characters have lines indicated by abbreviations. Of interest are the notations for stage directions and indications for a chorus. The principal characters are Charition (A), the *stupidus* in the role of a slave (B), Chariton's brother (C), and the captain (D). Page notes that the plot is derived from Euripides' *Iphigenia in Tauris*, with elements taken from *Helena* (Mant. no. 13; Page, no. 76; cf. Wiemkin, p. 48).

e. *P. Oxy. 413 verso*, cols. 1–3 (II^P). Though the plot is obscure, the fragment begins with an adulterous woman who summons a slave for sexual purposes. Later the two connive to poison her husband. Page detects the influence of Euripides' *Medea* and of Herodas, *Mimiamb.* 5. The fragment contains marginal designations for several parts. The language is *koinē* and prose throughout (Mant. no. 14; Page, no. 77; cf. Wiemkin, p. 81).

f. *P. Lond. 1984* [*P. Lit. Lond. 97*] (II^P). This short fragment has four speaking parts, which can be identified as that of an hetaira, a *stupidus*, Father Ion, and a judge. The language and style, notably the terse sentences in the dialogue, remind one of the overall temper of the text on our beaker (Mant. no. 15; cf. Wiemken, p. 111).

g. *P. Berol. 13927* (V/VI^P). An important document that gives a list of mimic parts and the equipment necessary to stage the mime (Mant. no. 16; cf. Wiemkin, p. 191).

h. *P. Berol. 13876* (II^P). A fragmentary dialogue between two characters is marked out in the text along with a third part (a choral part designated by three letters). The dialogue seems to deal with a love-affair (Mant. no. 16; cf. Wiemken, p. 127).

i. *P. Varsov. 2* (II^P). A fragmentary piece identified as mimic because of the listing of the speaking part of a character "B" in line 8. Portions of only eight lines are preserved (Wiemken, p. 135).

j. *P. Lit. Lond. 52* (II^P). This fragment contains a dialogue with a girl who has been assaulted, a nurse, and a brother or sister who is drunk. The plot is typical of New Comedy and is reminiscent of Menander's *Epitrepontes*. The text is *koinē* with some poetic terms (Mant. no. 21; Page, no. 79).

A comparison between the texts of these mimes and that of the Cohn beaker shows that our inscription belongs to the category of literary, but for the most part anonymous, mimic compositions. With pieces such as these it would not prove wise to hazard a guess as to who would have authored these light and often ribald compositions. A handful of names of Latin *mimographi* have survived, but they remain little more than names. Of writers of Greek mimes during the Roman empire even less is known, though the name of Philistion[22] has stood out above the rest. Although the date of his *floruit* is not known and the character of his compositions obscure, it *is* known that his works became popular in Roman times.

More can be said concerning what audiences came to appreciate this "sub-literary" form of composition, assuming of course that the texts were widely read if not often performed. In addition to its popular appeal, the *mimos* from the earliest stage arrested the attention of dignitaries, princes, and emperors, although performances always fell victim to the calumny of orators and Church Fathers. Unlike the texts written on papyrus, that of the Cohn beaker offers the unique instance of presenting the mimic composition with an illustration of the scene. The elegance of the cup's painted figures might suggest to some an incongruity with a text that lacks the poetic qualities of a Menander or other famous playwright. However, with a lack of comparable pieces to study, we can only guess what sort of dignitary might have owned such a glass or whether indeed it was accompanied by a complete dinner-set upon which the rest of the scene was engraved and painted.

University of Chicago

POSTSCRIPT

While this article was in press, a variant interpretation of the cup appeared in Erich G. Turner, *AK* 24 (1981) pp. 50 ff.

22. See E. Wüst, "Philistion (3)," *PW* 38 (1938) 2402–2405.

A New Attic Club (*ERANOS*)

A.E. Raubitschek

We know a great deal about Greek Clubs and Associations, private and semi-public, professional, social, or beneficial, mainly from inscriptions. The material has been carefully collected and critically analyzed by Franz Poland in his *Geschichte des griechischen Vereinswesens* (1909); it has been significantly augmented by Mariano San Nicoló in his *Ägyptisches Vereinswesen zur Zeit der Ptolemäer und Römer, Münchner Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung*, 1 (1913) and 2 (1915). One of the Clubs was called *ERANOS*, and a new inscription from Attica, now in the J. Paul Getty Museum, adds considerably to our knowledge of its organization. The *Eranos* in general has been briefly discussed by Poland (pp. 28–33) and by San Nicoló (1, pp. 212–225, and 2, pp. 188–191), and J. Vondeling has treated it fully in his *Eranos* (1961).

The main function of an *Eranos* has been stated by Aristotle (*Ethics* 1160a): some of the associations seem to exist for the enjoyment (δι'ἡδονήν) [of their members], for the sake of sacrifices and companionship (θυσίας ἕνεκα καὶ συνουσίας). Centuries later, the Emperor Trajan offered another equally valid characterization (Pliny, *Ep.* 93): they serve not to promote disturbances and illegal associations (*ad turbas et inlicitos coetus*) but to alleviate the indigence of the poor (*ad sustinendam tenuiorum inopiam*). The new inscription illustrates these points very well.

The almost completely preserved text is engraved on two joining fragments constituting a completely preserved stele of Pentelic marble (h. max. 75 cm., w. max. 44.7 cm., th. max. 6 cm.—78.AA.377), crowned by a pediment with an akroterion; within the pediment is a shield (*hoplon*) in relief on which a portrait (*eikon*) may have been painted. At the bottom, there is a broad and roughly picked tenon with which the stele was inserted into a stone base or into the living rock. During the last two decades the stone passed through several hands before it was acquired by a New York collector, who generously offered it to the Getty Museum. It is said to come from Liopesi, a village in central Attica, the site of the ancient deme Paiania; this location is of great significance, as will be seen.

In the reading, restoration, and explanation of the text I have been aided by a number of friends to whom I should like to express my gratitude: W. Burkert, A. Dihle, J. Frel, D. Geagan, Ch. Habicht, E. Kapetanopoulos, D.M. Lewis, R. Merkelbach, †J.H. Oliver, F. Sokolowski, R.E. Wycherley; also to E. Handley, L. Pearson, and S. Stephens for their suggestions.

The lettering is uneven, irregular, and crowded, and belongs to the period after 100 A.D. The text was inscribed by two hands: The first engraved lines 1–36, the second begins with the line 37 and corrected passages in lines 3, 13, 21, 24, 32, and 35; it is characterized by using Σ instead of [, by using the punctuations ⟩ and = instead of)(, by writing I instead of EI, and by observing the line divisions of words more carefully. The two hands are, of course, contemporary.

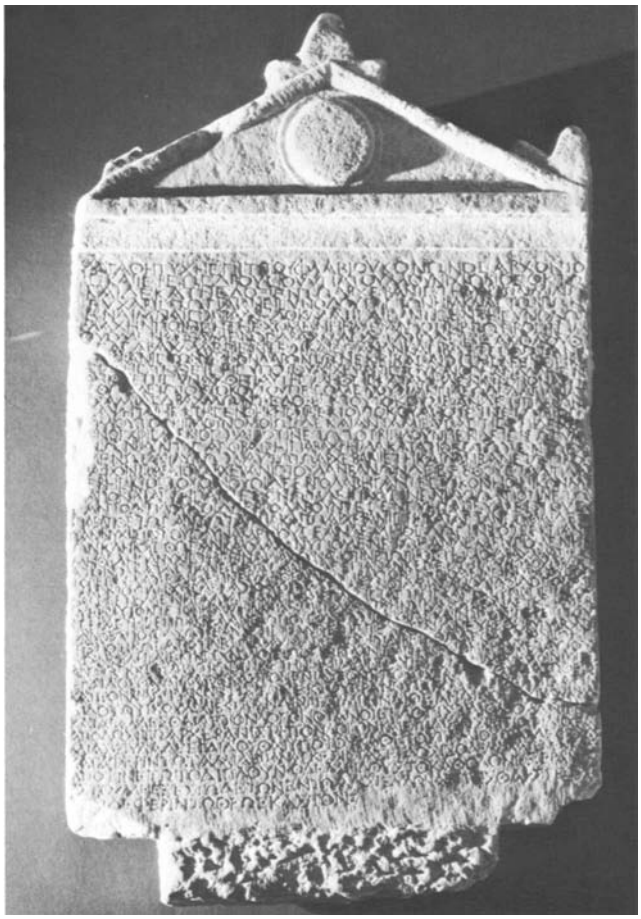


Figure 1. Inscription from Attica. Getty Museum, 78.AA.377.

Figure 2. Inscription in figure 1 under different lighting.

Ἀγαθῇ Τύχῃ. Ἐπὶ Τίτου Φλαβίου Κόνωνος ἄρχοντος καὶ ἱερέως Δρούσου ὑπάτου, Μουνιχιῶνος ὀκτὼ καὶ δεκάτῃ· ἔδοξεν τῷ ἀρχερανιστῇ Μάρκῳ Αἰμιλίῳ Εὐχαρίστῳ Παιανιεῖ συνόδου τῆς τῶν Ἡρακλιαστῶν τῶν ἐν Λίμναις)(τάδε δοκματίσαι· ἐάν τις ἐν τῇ συνόδῳ μάχην ποιήσῃ, τῇ ἐχομένῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἀποτινέτω προστείμου ὁ μὲν ἀρξάμενος δραχμὰς δέκα)(ὁ δὲ ἐξακολουθήσας δραχμὰς πέντε)(καὶ ἐξάνανκα πραττέσθω τῶν ϙ-[υ]νερανιστῶν ψῆφον λαβόντων ἐκβιβάσαι)(τῆς δὲ ἐνθήκης τῆς τεθείσης ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀρχερανιστοῦ καὶ ὅση ἂν ἄλλη ἐνθήκη ἐπισυναχθῇ, ταύτης μηθεὶς κατὰ μηδένα τρόπον ἀπτ-[έ]σθω πλείω τοῦ τόκου τοῦ πεσομένου)(μὴ πλέω δὲ δαπανάτ-[ω] ὁ ταμίας δραχμῶν Τ· ἔδοξε ἐκ τοῦ τόκου)(ἐὰν δέ τι πλείων-[ο]ς ἄψηται ἢ ἐκ τῆς ἐνθήκης)(ἢ ἐκ τοῦ τόκου ἀποτεινέτω προσ-[τ]είμου τὸ τριπλοῦν· ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ἂν ταμιεύσας τις ἐπιδειχθῇ [ν]ενοσφισμένος)(ἀποτινέτω τὸ τριπλοῦν. περὶ δὲ ἱερεωσυν-[ῶ]ν ὧν ἄν τις ἀγοράσῃ παραχρῆμα κατατιθέστω)(ἐν τῷ ἐχ-[ο]μένῳ ἐνιαυτῷ)(αὐτῷ τῷ ἀρχερανιστῇ καὶ λανβανέτω πρόσ-[γ]ραφον παρὰ τοῦ ἀρχερανιστοῦ, λαμβάνων δὲ ἐξ ἔθους τὰ διπλᾶ [μ]έρη ἐκτὸς τοῦ οἴνου· οἱ δὲ ἐργολαβήσαντες ὑϊκὸν ἢ οἰνικὸν μ-[ὴ] ἀποκαταστήσαντες ἐν ᾧ)(δειπνοῦσιν ἐνιαυτῷ ἀποτινέτωσαν τὸ διπλοῦν. οἱ δὲ ἐργολαβοῦντες ἐνγυητὰς εὐαρέστους παρατιθέτωσαν τῷ ταμίᾳ καὶ τῷ ἀρχερανιστῇ. καταστάνεσθαι δὲ Γ̄ παννυχιστὰς τοὺς δυναμένους· ἐὰν δὲ μὴ θέλωσιν τότε ἐκ πάντων κληρούσθωσαν καὶ ὁ λαχὼν ὑπομενέτω· ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ὑπομένῃ ἢ μὴ θέλῃ παννυχιστὴς εἶναι λαχών ἀποτινέτω προστείμου δραχμὰς ἑκατόν)(καταστάνεσθ{ωσαν}αι δὲ ἐπάνανκες ἐκ τῆς συνόδου πράκτορες δέκα)(ἐὰν δέ τινες μὴ θέλωσιν πράκτορες ὑπομένειν κληρούσθωσαν ἐκ τοῦ πλήθους δέκα)(ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ἐὰν ὁ ταμίας ἀποδιδοῖ λόγον ἀγορᾶς γενομένης καταστάνεσθαι ἐγλογιστὰς τρεῖς καὶ τοὺς ἐγλογιστὰς ὀμνύειν αὐτόν τε τὸν Ἡρακλῆν καὶ Δήμητρα κα[ὶ] Κόρην)(κληροῦσθαι δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας ἑκάστης ἐπὶ τὰ κρέα ἀνθρώπους δύω)(ὁμοίως καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς στρεπτοὺς ἀνθρώπους δύω)(ἐὰν δέ τις τῶν πεπιστευμένων εὑρεθῇ ῥυπαρόν τ-[ι] πεποιηκὼς ἀποτινέτω δραχμὰς εἴκοσι)(αἱρείσθω δὲ ὁ ἀρχερανιστὴς οὓς ἂν βούληται ἐκ τῆς συνόδου εἰς τὸ συνεγδανίσαι τὴν ἐνθήκην μετ' αὐτοῦ ἀνθρώπους Γ̄. διδότωσαν δὲ τὴν σιμίδαλιν πάντες τῇ δημοσίᾳ χοίνικι[.]. ἐγδιδόσθαι δὲ καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ ταμ[ίο]υ θῦμα τῷ θεῷ κάπρον $\overset{N}{M}$ ϰ‹ / ἐὰν δέ τις τῶν ἐκ τοῦ ἐράνου τέκνον [τ]ίσι θέλῃ ἰσάγιν διδότω ὑϊκοῦ $\overset{N}{M}$15ϰ',ἐὰν δέ τις ἐμβῆναι θέλῃ διδότω ὑϊκοῦ $\overset{N}{M}$ΛΓ. καταβάλλεσθαι δὲ τὸν λόγον ὅταν οἱ ἐγλογισταὶ ὁμόσαντε[ς] ἀποδῶσι τῷ ἀρχερανιστῇ τὸν λόγον καὶ ἐπιδίξωσι εἴ τι ὀφίλι ὁ ταμίας. ξύλα δὲ ἐγδιδόσθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ καθ' ἔτος ταμίου‹ τὰς δὲ φορὰς καταφέριν τῷ ταμίᾳ ἐπάναγκες ἰς τὰς ἐγδόσις· ὁ δὲ μὴ κατενένκας ἀποτινέτω τὸ διπλοῦν‹ ὁ δὲ μὴ δοὺς τὸ κάθολον ἐξέρανος ἔστω' μὴ ἐξέστω δὲ τῶν ἐν τῷ ἄλσι ξύλων ἅπτεσθαι‹ στέφα-[νο]ν δὲ φέριν τῷ θεῷ ἕκαστον‹

Translation:

Good luck. When Titus Flavius Konon was archon and priest of consul Drusus, on the eighteenth of Mounichion, the archeranistes of the association of the Herakliastai in the Marshes, Marcus Aemilius Eucharistos of Paiania, decided to lay down (or to have laid down) the following order: If anyone during a meeting enters a fight, let him pay on the following day a fine of ten drachmai if he started it and of five drachmai if he participated in it, and without fail let him be (made to be) expelled after his fellow eranistai have cast a vote. With respect to the endowment deposited by the archeranistes and any other that may be added, no one in any way shall touch it beyond the amount of the interest which will fall due. The treasurer shall not spend more than 300 drachmai (this was ordered) from the interest. If he draws upon more either from the endowment or from the interest, he shall pay a threefold fine. Similarly, if someone who has been treasurer shall be found guilty of touching the fund, let him pay threefold. Concerning priesthoods, if someone buys one at once, let him make the payment during the following year to the archeranistes, and accept a receipt from the archeranistes; let him receive, as is customary, double portions except for the wine. The contractors of the pork and wine supplies who do not restore the funds during the year in which they provide the dinner are to be fined the double amount. The contractors are to provide acceptable sureties to the treasurer and to the archeranistes. Let them establish three powerful men as nightwatchmen; if they should refuse the assignment, then let three be chosen by lot out of all members, and he who is chosen must accept the task. If he will not consent or if he does not want to be a nightwatchman although he has been chosen by lot, let him pay a fine of one hundred drachmai. It shall be compulsory to establish from the association ten paymasters, but if some are unwilling to serve as paymasters, ten shall be chosen by lot out of all. Similarly, when the treasurer renders his account after a transaction has taken place, three auditors are to be appointed, and they are to give an oath by Herakles himself and Demeter and Kore. They shall choose by lot every day two persons in charge of the meat and similarly two persons in charge of the rolls. If anyone of those entrusted should be found having done something dishonest, let him pay a fine of twenty drachmai. The archeranistes shall select three people of his choice from the association for helping him to lend out the endowment. Let all contribute the wheat flour according to the public measure of a choinix. Let there be made annually by the treasurer a sacrifice to the god of a boar weighing twenty minai. If a member of the eranos wishes to introduce a child by making a payment, let him contribute 16½ minae of pork; and if somebody wishes to enter himself, let him give 33 minae of pork. Let the account be closed when the auditors after having given an oath render the account to the archeranistes and indicate if the treasurer owes something. Firewood should be issued by the annual treasurer. The dues are to be brought to the treasurer without fail for the (expenditure or for the) making of loans. He who does not bring his dues is to pay as fine double the amount. He who does not pay at all is to be expelled. No one is permitted to touch the firewood in the grove. Everybody is to wear a wreath in honor of the god.

COMMENTARY

Lines 1–2

The document is dated by the archon, Titus Flavius Konon, whose family tree I have reconstructed in *Jahreshefte des Österr. Arch. Institutes*, XXXVI (*Beiblatt*, cols. 35–39). Accordingly, his demotic was **Σουνιεύς**, and he may have been the brother of Titus Flavius Sophokles of Sounion who was archon in 121/2 A.D., and his archonship may fall in the same period because "the archon eponymos was also the priest of the consul Drusus from the time of the death of Drusus until the reign of Hadrian"; see D.J. Geagan, *The Athenian Constitution after Sulla* (1967), p. 8; Geagan also supplied me with a list of the priests the last of whom (*IG*, II², 3589) is dated 122/2 A.D.

Lines 2–3

The date within the month, the eighteenth of Mounichion, is significant for two reasons. Another document which was also found in Liopesi (*IG*, II², 1369) and also contains a **νόμος ἐρανιστῶν**, is also dated on the eighteenth of Mounichion, probably the date of the annual meeting of the association. Unfortunately, this document is no longer preserved but both A. Wilhelm (*Serta Harteliana*, 1896, pp. 231–235) and L. Robert (*AJP*, 100, 1979, pp. 153–157) have contributed to our better understanding of it. It is puzzling to find so many meetings of thiasoi, orgeones, and eranoi to take place in the month of Mounichion; this is especially true for the documents of the worshippers of **Μήτηρ** (Magna Mater), *IG*, II², 1314/5, 1327/8/9. Unfortunately, I could not find any special significance in the choice of the eighteenth of Mounichion.

Lines 3–4

The name **Μάρκῳ** is entered *in rasura* by the second hand; see p. 93. The archeranistes Marcus Aemilius Eucharistos of Paiania is not otherwise known, but the fact that this inscription and *IG*,II², 1369 were both found in his home deme is significant. One would like to assume that the Association, founded or at least controlled by Eucharistos, was located in Paiania, were it not for the fact that it is expressly stated that its location was **ἐν Λίμναις** (line 5). Under these circumstances it may be best to assume

that the two inscriptions were set up in Paiania because Eucharistos was at home there. This would mean that *IG*, II², 1369 should also be connected, if not with him, then at least with his son or grandson.

Lines 4–5

The official title of the Association was σύνοδος ἡ τῶν Ἡρακλιαστῶν τῶν ἐν Λίμναις. Eucharistos was the archeranistes of this synodos, and the members were called Herakliastai. This is not surprising, because we find the same kind of organization in other, similar, earlier associations: *IG*, II², 1292 (Serapiastai with proeranistria), 1322 (Amphierastai with archeranistes), 1335 (Sabaziastai with eranistai), 1339 (Heroistai with archeranistes), 1343 (Soteriastai with synodos and archeranistes); all these inscriptions are honorary decrees of the Hellenistic period. The crux is the localization ἐν Λίμναις because I have not been able to find any place by that name except the famous one with the sanctuary of Dionysos, the location of which "still remains an insoluble riddle"; see R.E. Wycherley, *The Stones of Athens* (1978), p. 172; G. Neumann, **ΣΤΗΛΗ** (in honor of N. Kontoleon), 1980, p. 617: "immer noch ein Rätsel." Wycherley suggests, "maybe these Herakliastai had something to do with Kynosarges," (which was a gymnasium connected with a shrine of Herakles; see Wycherley, *op. cit.*, pp. 229–231), but it may be remembered that W. Judeich (*Topographie von Athen*, 1931, pp. 291–293) placed it on the west slope of the Acropolis and the Iobakcheion in it; see lines 5–7.

Line 5

The combination of ἔδοξεν . . . δοκματίσαι (in classical Greek it would have been δογματίσαι) shows clearly that the Archeranistes decided to make this proclamation or caused it to be made. He was probably entitled to do so because of his personal share in the founding and maintenance of the synodos.

Lines 5–9

It is surprising that the first point of the edict concerns the prohibition of physical disturbances during a meeting of the association, but it will be noticed that the two most similar documents, *IG*, II², 1368 (concerning the Association of the Jobacchai, the charter of which was discovered in a house that was thought to be located ἐν Λίμναις; see on lines 4–5) and *IG*, II², 1369 (concerning the same Association of the Herakliastai but being perhaps of a later date) also have long passages dealing with μάχαι, πληγαί, θόρυβοι. In *IG*, II², 1369, lines 40–44, expulsion and a fine of 25 drachmai is threatened to the person who μάχας ἢ θορύβους κεινῶν (κινῶν) φαίνοιτο, while in *IG*, II², 1368 there is a long passage (lines 72–102) dealing with these and similar offenses; here there has to be a sworn testimony on the part of the injured, and the punishment of a fine of 25 drachmai which is levelled also against the instigator and not only against the perpetrator, and exclusion from meetings until the fine is paid. If it comes actually to blows, the victim has to appeal to the priest who has to call an assembly which is to decide by vote for how long the culprit is to be excluded from meetings and how much he has to pay (up to 25 drachmai). The victim himself is to be fined if he does not communicate with the priest or the archibakchos but denounces the attack in public (*i.e.* appeals directly to a court of justice). The members of the association are held responsible, under the threat of a fine, to remove people who are fighting, to attend the assembly voting on the expulsion of perpetrators of violence, and to carry out the verdict of the assembly. All this throws a significant light not only on what may have been going on at the meetings but also on the high moral tone of the charters of the associations. It may also be noted that the fine mentioned in our inscription (10 drachmai for starting a fight, 5 drachmai for joining in it) is comparatively small, while the threat of expulsion is greater than on the later documents. The word ϙ[υ]νερανιστῶν (lines 8–9) is attested by Poland (*op. cit.*, p. 32) and *I.G.*, II², 2721.

Lines 9–16

This passage about the endowment and its use is not only most important but also most informative since it spells out details which are quite new. In general, one gets the impression, which Poland and others expressed before, that the association's main purpose was the lending of money to its members, presumably without the collateral that a banker may have required. We do not know whether the founder of the endowment, the archeranistes, made money out of his investment; if so, this is not stated. The principal (which consisted probably of real estate) was not to be spent under any circumstances, and of the interest not more than 300 drachmai. The interest accrued of course from the payments of members who borrowed money. It is not easy to understand the word ἔδοξε (written in rasura) in line 13; Merkelbach suggested that it was a later insertion into the proposal, originally prepared by the archeranistes, and referred to the fact that it was "decided" to put a limit of 300 drachmai (to come from the interest) on expenditures made by the tamias.

Lines 16–20

About the sale of priesthoods, about the quick payment of the price, about the receipt issued by the archeranistes, and about the double portions (except for wine) to be given to the priests.

Lines 20–23

The question is here whether the contractors (ἐργολαβοῦντες) receive money from the treasurer (ταμίας) in order to provide pork and wine for the dinners during a

year, sell these dinners to the member guests and return the original funds to the treasurer, or whether they use the funds in order to provide free meals to the members. The provision under discussion makes sure that they do either one. Merkelbach opts for the second possibility, I for the first. The OY in δειπνοῦσιν is *in rasura* by the second hand.

Lines 23–27

The παννυχισταί must have been watchmen whose duty must have been very important, considering the careful way they were selected and the fine they had to pay in case they neglected their duty. They were to protect the property and the safety of the association and of its members, and I presume that they served only when there were meetings; nothing is said about their receiving any compensation. The otherwise unattested word παννυχιστάς is written *in rasura* by the second hand.

Lines 27–29

It is not clear what the duty of the πράκτορες was. It could have been the collection of the membership fees, but it appears from lines 43–44 that the treasurer received the φοραί directly from the members. It is therefore better to assume that the πράκτορες collected the various and many fines, since in no case is any mention made how and by whom the fines are to be collected.

Lines 29–31

The ἐγλογισταί were controllers and auditors who assisted the treasurer when he prepared and presented his account to a formal assembly (ἀγορά) and they had to give an oath, presumably to conduct their business properly, to Herakles, to Demeter and to Kore. We wish we knew why Demeter and Kore were included because their presence may give us a clue to the location of the meeting house of the Herakliastai.

Lines 31–34

'Every day' may refer to every feast day, and it would be natural to have two men in charge of the meat and two in charge of the twisted bakery (στρεπτοί). Since these men are threatened with fines of 20 drachmai each if they conduct their work dishonestly, they were probably members of the association. The letters TPE of στρεπτούς are written *in rasura* by the second hand.

Lines 34–36

The three men chosen by the archeranistes to assist him in making loans from the endowment were surely members of the association. This shows how the endowment could earn interest (lines 12–13); this may have been the main purpose and attraction of the association. The letters εἰς τὸ συνεγ are written *in rasura* by the second hand.

Line 36

σιμίδαλις is the fine wheat flour used to make the pastry. Every member was to contribute one choinix according to the public measure. For σιμίδαλις, see Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae* III 109a and b, 112b, 115c and d. The phrase τῇ δημοσίᾳ χοίνικι is not quite clear in its meaning; the missing letter at the end of the line may have been a numeral. I assume that each member was to contribute one choinix of fine wheat flour, according to the public standard. The use of πάντες is puzzling; one would expect ἕκαστος. The last letter of this line may have been erased; it may have been a Γ̄ (3).

Lines 37–38

The boar of twenty pounds, which the treasurer was to provide for an annual sacrifice, was not a "wild" but just a male piglet.

Lines 38–39

The text of this sentence is not certain since I am not at all confident that [τ]ίσι(=τίσει) is the right restoration. It is only natural that the association should receive new members from the ranks of the sons (there is no mention made of women) of the members, and the distinction between σύνοδος (the name of the association) and ἔρανος may be significant. The phrase occurring at the beginning of the νόμος ἐρανιστῶν (*IG*, II², 1369, lines 30–34), referring to the same association, is significant: [μη]δενὶ ἐξέστω ἰσι[έγ]αι ἰς τὴν σεμνοτάτην | σύνοδον τῶν ἐρανιστῶν . . . The synodos consists of eranistai who are called Herakliastai and are also called οἱ ἐκ τοῦ ἐράνου. It is puzzling that the initiation fee consisted of meat; we may presume that it could be presented in the form of an amount of money with which the meat could be purchased.

Lines 40–42

This phrase refers back to lines 29–31 and may have to be added to the original statement on the auditors.

Line 42

The ξύλα are obviously firewood which is to be supplied by the treasurer (tamias) who held office for one year, as presumably all officials did, with the possible exception of the archeranistes.

Lines 42–4

The membership dues, the contributions φοραί, are to be brought to the treasurer; it is not clear what the necessary connection with the ἐκδόσεις is, since ἔκδοσις seems to mean lending money rather than paying it out. The emphasis is on the payment of the dues, and the phrase ἐπάναγκες εἰς τὰς ἐκδόσεις may indicate the time when the members had to pay their fees. Delayed payments had to be double, and nonpayment resulted in automatic expulsion.

Line 45

It is not clear whether the ξύλα is firewood which was kept in the ἄλσος, the grove, or whether the word refers to the

trees of the grove which must not be cut down. The location of the grove is of course unknown, but Judeich pointed out (see on lines 4–5) that there was a grove in the Kynosarges (*op. cit.* pp. 423–424).

Lines 45–46

It is not clear whether every member has to wear a wreath in honor of Herakles, or whether he had to bring a wreath to the god.

This inscription does not record the foundation of the Synodos of the Herakliastai in the Marches but a significant event in the history of this Association. The Synodos may have begun in the Hellenistic period, and it did continue later, since we possess one of its documents of the second half of the second century. The first clause concerning the maintenance of peace and order may have been required by the Roman government, but the second item, concerning the endowment and its use must have been the main cause for publishing the edict. Eucharistos, the archeranistes, is otherwise unknown; he or his family may have received Roman citizenship through the intervention of one of the famous Aemilii (Lepidus or Juncus) who were active in Athens. This means that he was not only rich but also respectable. It was his endowment (the size of which is unknown) that put the Synodos into business and ensured Eucharistos' position in it as archeranistes. The important thing was to ensure that the endowment would be increased, and virtually all the measures point in this direction. The ways the endowment was to be increased were these: interest payments on loans, membership dues, fines, sales (of offices and perhaps of services and food). Expenditures were severely restricted. It is possible that the members got free meals, but nothing is said of salaries or remunerations for services rendered; in fact, they even had to contribute flour for the baked goods. All that the treasurer was expected to issue was an animal of small size for an annual sacrifice and firewood. There is not much said about religious and social activities, but these may not have required specific regulations. It may be assumed that the members were devoted to Herakles and that they enjoyed each other's company.

Stanford University

Notes

Two Inscribed Bronze Dedications in the J. Paul Getty Museum

Stanley M. Burstein

I

In 1977 the J. Paul Getty Museum received as a donation a bronze *tabula ansata* measuring 5.9 cm. in width and 11.8 cm. in length, said to come from Asia Minor. The *tabula ansata* contains a six-line Greek inscription done in *poussée* technique. The lettering is small, with a tendency toward rounded forms,[1] and is carelessly inscribed with irregularities in both the shape and spacing of letters.[2] The content of the inscription permits it to be dated to the third century A.D.

Αὐρήλιος Μα-
ρῖνος κορνικου-
λάριος[3] σέξ[/]τα δε-
κίμανος εὐξά-
μενος ἀνέθη-
κεν

Aurelius Marinus, cornicularius sixteenth, having made a vow, dedicated.[3]

Despite its formulaic character, the inscription makes a useful contribution to the history of the Roman imperial army in the east. The dedicator, Aurelius Marinus, was a *cornicularius*, a senior staff officer ranking just below a *centurion*, in charge of the *tabularium* of a legion.[4] He was attached to Legio XVI Flavia Firma, a legion first raised by Vespasian in A.D. 69 and stationed in the third century in Commagene, first at Samosata and then at Sura.[5] The dedicator's *nomen*, Aurelius, points to his having been enfranchised under the Lex Antonina of 212 A.D. His *cognomen*, Marinus, indicates an east Mediterranean *origo*, most likely in the Syria-Palestine area.[6] The Getty *tabula ansata*, therefore, provides the first example of a locally recruited legionary for Legio XVI Flavia Firma[7] and adds to the growing body of evidence documenting the rise of provincials into the officer ranks of the Roman army during the principate.[8]

II

In 1976 the J. Paul Getty Museum received as a donation a handsome inscribed bronze statue base also said to be from Asia Minor. Overall the base measures 19 cm. in height. It consists of two separately cast elements joined with lead solder, a nearly square two-step pedestal (21.5 cm. wide by 20 cm. in length and 5 cm. in height) and a hollow bronze cylinder (12.5 cm. in diameter and 14 cm. in height). The cylinder is decorated with moldings on top and bottom and bears on the top five holes marking the points of attachment of a group of statuettes, most likely Artemis and another figure, presumably an animal.

The workmanship of the piece is good but not fine. A large excrescence on the left side of the cylinder was not removed after casting; a gap in the rear of the lower molding of the cylinder was repaired in antiquity with lead solder; and the footing for another ancient repair is visible on the front of the first step of the pedestal. In addition the base has suffered secondary damage in the form of a six-centimeter horizontal crack along a thin section of the lower side of the top left molding of the cylinder.

I should like to take this opportunity to express my gratitude for their assistance in the reading and interpretation of these inscriptions to Professors Georges Daux, R. Mellor, M. Haslam, A.T. Raubitschek and M. Speidel. I am grateful to Professor Jiří Frel, curator of antiquities at the Getty Museum for permission to publish the two objects and for his assistance with them.

1. Note especially the lunate forms of *epsilon* and *sigma* and the curved verticals of *mu*. Height of *epsilon* 6 mm. Diameter of *omicron* varies from 3 to 8 mm.

2. Particularly striking is the variability of *omicron*—round in lines 1, 2, and 5, flattened oval in line 2, and diamond shape in lines 3 and 4. Careless spacing has resulted in the ligature of *sigma* and *epsilon* in line 3 and *xi* and *alpha* in line 4.

3. Retention of the Latin *terminus technicus* is normal (cf. Hugh J. Mason, *Greek Terms for Roman Institutions: A Lexicon and Analysis*, American Studies in Papyrology, 13 [Toronto, 1974] 4).

4. For the duties and rank of *cornicularii*, see now Manfred Clauss, *Untersuchung zu den principales des römischen Heeres von Augustus bis Diokletian. Cornicularii, speculatores, frumentarii* (Diss. Ruhr-Universität Bochum, 1973) 17–40.

5. For the history of Legio XVI Flavia Firma, see Ritterling, "Legio," *R-E*, 12 (1925) 1766–1767; and H.M.D. Parker, *The Roman Legions* (London, 1928) 145, 148 and 159.

6. Isolated examples are found throughout the Roman empire, but they seem to cluster in the Syria-Palestine area (W. Pape, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen*, 3rd ed. Gustav Eduard Benseler [Braunschweig 1911] s.v. **Μαρῖνος**; cf. *CIL* 5.2390 for a veteran *natio Syria* living in Italy.

7. For legionary recruitment in general, see G. Forni, *Il reclutamento della legione da Augusto a Diocleziano* (Milan-Rome, 1953). I am indebted to Professor M. Speidel of the University of Hawaii, whose study of the recruitment of the eastern legions is in press, for the information concerning Legio XVI Flavia Firma.

8. Erich Birley, "The Origins of Legionary Centurions," *Laureae Aquincenses*, 2 (Leipzig, 1941) 47–62.

Figure 1. Bronze *tabula ansata*. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum, 77.AC.119.

Figure 2. Bronze statue base. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum, 76.AE.23.

The front of the second step of the pedestal bears a two-line, Greek inscription identifying the base as a dedication to Artemis by an otherwise unknown Hermaios.

Ἑρμαῖος ΔΗ[9]Ἀρτέμι-
δι

Hermaios to Artemis

The inscription is carefully engraved in an ornamental style marked by a preference for elongated forms, *alpha* with a broken cross bar, and the employment of such decorative elements as apices on the horizontal strokes of *epsilon* and *tau* and a liberal use of serifs. Cursive influence is apparent in the form of *mu*, and this together with the overall style of the lettering points to a date in the second century A.D. for the inscription and the base as a whole.

California State University
Los Angeles

9. These two letters are probably the result of an error by the engraver, but no satisfactory explanation of the nature of his mistake has been found.

Un bronze gallo-romain au J. Paul Getty Museum

Stéphanie Boucher

L'objet, selon les premières informations, aurait été trouvé en Syrie. Des informations plus récentes font état d'une acquisition (à Londres) ce qui est plus vraisemblable: en tout état de cause, il ne peut s'agir d'une production orientale. Ce type de bronze est en effet bien connu maintenant, et les ateliers producteurs de ces poignées *"métroaques"* sont localisés dans le Nord de la Gaule. Nous y reviendrons plus loin.

Il s'agit en effet d'une poignée de coffre ou de tout autre meuble, en bronze coulé, creuse à l'arrière. Les deux crochets cavaliers d'attache sont en place, celui de gauche complet, celui de droite déformé à son extrémité. Tous deux sont constitués d'une lame de bronze repliée, s'arrondissant au niveau des supports, et présentant deux moulures extérieures. Les dimensions sont les suivantes: largeur, 18,5 cm; hauteur, 9,2 cm. La patine verte est écaillée par endroits.

Le motif central est constitué par un buste de *Mater*, ou *Déméter* ou *Cybèle*. La déesse, au visage ovale, est coiffée en trois bandeaux superposés, séparés par une raie médiane; le bandeau inférieur se retourne pour former un rouleau au-dessus des oreilles. Cette chevelure est détaillée en stries grossières. Les traits de la physionomie manquent de finesse: front court, yeux cernés de lourdes paupières (primitivement incrustés d'argent), arcades sourcilières projéminentes, nez élargi à la base, bouche maussade, menton lourd, cou épais. La divinité porte une couronne à trois pointes, bordées d'une moulure ornée de stries; l'élément central porte de petits cercles. Le vêtement, sur le buste, s'organise en plis courbes superposés au-dessous du cou; les détails, là encore, manquent de précision. Le buste s'appuie en bas sur quatre feuilles nervurées. Sur les côtés s'épanouissent les extrémités arrondies de deux corolles composées chacune de trois longues feuilles lisses, légèrement concaves, et séparées par des ressauts pointillés (cornes d'abondance?). Ces corolles se recourbent en se rétrécissant vers le haut de l'objet, et se terminent par une épaisse tige, ornée de deux moulures transversales, qui s'incurve ensuite en forme de crochet; sur chacun de ces crochets sont passées les attaches mentionnées plus haut. De part et d'autre, à l'extérieur, est soudé un petit buste d'*Attis*, portant le bonnet phrygien, et coiffé en boucles simplifiées, quadrangulaires (bien visibles à gauche, la chevelure restant plus indécise à droite); la encore, les traits du jeune dieu sont traités sans beaucoup de soin: paupières circulaires, globes incrustées (d'argent?), nez aplati. Nous noterons que le buste de gauche, qui prend des aspects presque archaïsants, est de meilleure qualité que celui de droite. Ces pièces rapportées sont de valeur inégale, comme si elles provenaient de moules inégaux, eux aussi. La base de chacun des bustes est soulignée d'une moulure lisse en *V* très écarté, s'épanouissant vers les épaules. Sous une tige courte, deux pommes de pin supportent ces bustes; elles sont tronconiques, pointe vers le bas, et simplement détaillées de lignes entrecroisées formant des carrés décorés de cercles incisés. Entre la tête de la déesse et la tige des corolles sont figurés deux lions au corps court et très mince, l'arrière-train appuyé contre la tête divine, la tête, énorme, se retournant vers l'extérieur. Les pattes avant, gauche et droite selon le côté, s'appuient à la corolle, les pattes arrière aux plis du vêtement de la divinité. La tête des deux animaux présente des caractères simplistes: lourde crinière détaillée en mèches épaisses soulignées d'incisions, mufle au nez épaté, yeux circulaires encore (incrustés d'argent à l'origine?). Deus orifices ronds, entre la queue des animaux et les oreilles de *Mater* indiquaient peut-être l'emplacement d'un décor, éventuellement des boucles d'oreilles, maintenant disparues.

Il y a là un mélange de soin et de négligence, soin dans les incrustations, négligence dans l'ensemble des traitements de détail. Tous caractères qui définissent une production industrielle de niveau moyen, destinée à un mobilier d'une certaine richesse, mais aussi d'une médiocrité évidente.

Cette poignée doit être comparée directement avec toute une série de bronzes qui ont été découverts dans le Nord de la France et en Belgique.[1] La forme est la même, et tous les thèmes signalés s'y retrouvent: tête de la déesse-mère, lions (parfois inversés), bustes d'*Attis*, pommes de pin, cornes à côtes concaves. Les proportions sont comparables. Même si les détails d'exécution sont différents, il est évident que nous nous trouvons face à des objets fabriqués selon une *formule* qui a pris son implantation dans cette région. Aucune autre poignée équivalente n'a été découverte

1. Voir essentiellement G. Faider-Feytmans, *Recueil des bronzes de Bavai*, VIIIe suppl. à *Gallia*, Paris 1957, nos. 195–198. Eadem, *Les bronzes romains de Belgique*, Mayence, 1979, nos. 183–188. Mme Faider-Feytmans donne une bibliographie exhaustive sur le sujet. Nous signalerons cependant l'article de F. Cumont, Poignées de bronze décorées de bustes de Cybèle et d'Attis, dans *Annales de la Société archéologique de Belgique, 22, 1908, p. 225*; M.J. Vermaseren, La pénétration des cultes orientaux dans les Pays-Bas romains, *Revue archéologique de l'Est et du Centre-Est*, 5, 1954, p. 195 s.; G. Faider-Feytmans, Poignées dionysiaques découvertes aux environs de Courtrai, (Belgique), dans *Mélanges offerts à J. Heurgon*, Collection de l'Ecole française de Rome, 27, Rome, 1976, p. 275, carte 2, p. 283.

Figure 1. Poignée "*métroaque.*" Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum, 71.AC.356.

ailleurs, sauf en Gaule encore, à Alesia,[2] à faible distance, en raison sans doute d'un déplacement fortuit. S'agit-il d'un atelier bien défini? On a supposé qu'il s'agissait de Bavai (*Bagacum*) et de sa région.[3] Nous pensons que plusieurs officines ont pu, d'après des dessins très voisins, produire différentes séries qu'une étude plus approfondie permettra de définir. Avec leurs défauts et leurs qualités, ces petits bronzes sont d'une originalité indéniable, par rapport à bien d'autres compositions romaines qui sont, dans le domaine des bronzes surtout, souvent simplement imitatrices des schémas gréco-romains. Ici, nous avons du *nouveau*, dans ce goût d'une organisation inattendue des thèmes. Certes *Cybèle*, ses lions, *Attis* constituent un ensemble cohérent, mais fondé sur une forme inattendue, qui témoigne de l'esprit créatif des artisans galouis.[4]

Maître de recherche au CNRS
Lyon

2. S. Reinach, Une poignée de coffre en bronze découverte à Alesia, dans *Bulletin archéologique du Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques*, 1917, p. 79 s et pl. XIX.

3. F. Cumont, Poignées... *l.l.*—G. Faider-Feytmans, La Mater de Bavai, dans *Gallia*, 6, 1948, p. 393, qui pense à une production située "à Bavai et le long des voies qui en rayonnaient." Cf aussi, beaucoup plus tôt S. Reinach, *Description raisonnée du Musée de Saint-Germain-en-Laye, Bronzes figures*, Paris, 1894, no. 431, p. 355, qui parle de fabrication "belgo-romaine". Tous les auteurs qui se sont intéressés à ce sujet sont d'un avis semblable.

4. Les spécialistes des religions orientales insistent sur le sens "*métroaque*" de ces poignées. Cf J. Vermaseren, *l.l.*; F. Cumont, *l.l.*; H. Graillot, *Le culte de Cybèle à Rome et dans l'Empire romain*, 1912, p.. 450 et 465; G. Faider-Feytmans, *l.l.*—Nous comptons revenir prochainement sur le problème que posent ces objets.

The Conservation of Two Marble Sculptures in the J. Paul Getty Museum

Jerry Podany

During the conservation of ancient marble sculpture it is often necessary to remove restorations applied to the object in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Preservation and aesthetic judgment play equally important roles in such decisions. To understand the aesthetic considerations, one has only to view an ancient portrait whose character has been changed by the addition of an ill-sized nose or a life-sized statue whose pose or activity were misjudged and, as a result, misrepresented by irrelevant and inappropriate additions.

Restorations may also need to be removed for the safe preservation of the work. Marble additions to "complete" a fragmentary sculpture were in most instances attached with iron pins or braces. Iron rusts, and its corrosion is accompanied not only by a change in color and composition of the metal but also by a dramatic increase in volume. An iron pin may increase considerably in volume over a period of time. This increase causes great stress within the join. Eventually, structural cracking of the marble results. Rusting elements have been known to crack large marble sculpture apart.[1] Less structurally severe but equally as defacing and irreversible is the damage done by the migration deep into the marble of the iron oxide (rust) from the metal support.[2] This migrating rust permanently stains the crystals of the marble orange to dark brown.

While molten lead was normally used to set and hold the iron joiners in place, unbleached shellac was not uncommon for this purpose as well.[3] It, too, can cause undesirable and, in time, possibly irreversible staining.

Figure 1. Lansdowne athlete. From *Ancient Marbles . . . marquess of Lansdowne,* Christie's, London, 5 March 1930, lot 103, illus. p. 66.

1. We had in Malibu an unfortunate experience with two marble pieces in 1974. Thanks to the aggressive ocean air with its salt and humidity, four months after the opening of the museum an ancient iron pin repairing the right big toe of the boy with grapes (73.AA.6) was ruptured. Even though the fragments were collected and replaced an inevitable loss of approximately 1.5 mm of marble resulted. Some weeks later the same thing happened to the left little finger of the under life-size statue of Artemis (73.AA.5). However, even in our century iron clamps have been used to repair ancient marbles. The reassembled marble blocks of the Parthenon walls had to have their iron pins quickly replaced. (JF)

2. See for example the rust spots on the torso of the seated Marbury Hall Jupiter (73.AA.32; C.C. Vermeule, Getty *MJ* 5 [1977] 43–44). (ed.)

3. Large amounts of shellac, partially discoloring the marble, were used in the eighteenth century restorations of the Lansdowne Artemis, Hope Hygeia, and Hope Athena (on loan in the J. Paul Getty Museum from the Los Angeles County Museum of Art) which were removed in 1974 by David Rinne who conserved the pieces, removing the shellac and replacing the old iron pins. (ed.)

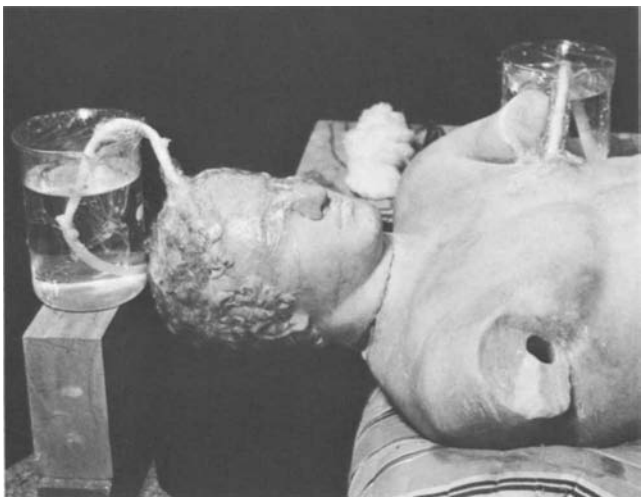


Figure 2. Lansdowne athlete with solvent being wicked into joins at head and left side. Note the eighteenth century hole for attaching new forearms. The cut surface under the right arm may be the source for the restored nose and testicle.

Figure 3. Head of Lansdowne athlete with eighteenth century crown and nose removed. Note iron pin and square hole for attaching restoration.

Figure 4. Feet and base of the eighteenth century restorations in the process of being chiselled for reuse as modern base.

There are no simple rules concerning when or how much previous restoration should be removed. Certainly if the preservation of the piece is threatened, such dangers must be altered or eliminated. It is possible, however, to subsequently reapply the "modern" restorations with inert and more easily reversible materials.

A good example of these considerations is the life-sized marble Lansdowne athlete which is displayed at present in the J. Paul Getty Museum. When first received by the Los Angeles County Museum of Art from the Hearst collection it carried restorations done in Italy in the second half of the eighteenth century. At that time the athlete was presented as a boxer (fig. 1) with restored arms with caesti boxing gloves. The arms, as well as the fig leaf, were removed at the Los Angeles County Museum, and in 1979 the sculpture was brought to the Getty Museum under a loan agreement where it received further treatment.[5]

4. The Lansdowne athlete is, in spite of the eighteenth century mistreatment including cleaning with acid and abusive restoration, an excellent copy of an athlete by Lysippos at a well-advanced time in the master's career, not too far from the Apoxyomenos. The copy must be Hadrianic: It has been compared on the basis of an inadequate older photograph with a torso in Athens (here fig. 6; J. Dörig, "Ein Jugendwerk Lysipps," *AntPl* 4 [1965] 37–42) which as a matter of fact is a second replica of the same original, more summary especially in the rendering of the back.

The piece subsequent to the Lansdowne sale passed through several hands to end in the collection of William Randolph Hearst who presented it in 1949 to the Los Angeles County Museum of Art (inv. no. 49.23.12). Its loan to the J. Paul Getty Museum has a special relevance given our interest in the master of the Getty Bronze. Thanks to conservation all the qualities of the piece are again evident.

Bibl: Clarac, *Musée de sculpture*, 1841, 2180A, pl. 856; Cavaceppi, *Racc.* I, pl. 21; A. Michaelis, *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain*, 1882, p. 446, no. 36; *Ancient Marbles . . . Marquess of Lansdowne*, Christie's, 5 March

Figure 6. Torso of an athlete. Athens, National Museum, 1926. Photo: *AntPl* 4 (1965) pl. 16.

Careful examination revealed a number of additional restorations also done in the eighteenth century. The base (including both feet and the lower part of the tree-trunk support) and the top of the head were of modern cutting and of Carrara marble. The nose and left testicle were also additions in modern times but were carved from the same marble as was the ancient statue. The source of this marble for the nose and testicle was probably an area under the arms (see fig. 2). This technique of using marble from one area of an ancient work for a restoration to be applied to another area of the same sculpture is not uncommon in eighteenth and nineteenth century restoration. Compare the restored noses of the heads of Achilles in the Getty Museum and of Penthesilea in the Basel Museum belonging originally to the same replica of the famous group,[4] clearly done in the same way. Such a procedure provides a color and textural match impossible when using marble which differs from the ancient original.

Damage to the lips of the athlete was repaired with a pigmented plaster, and the head, lower left calf and ankle were reattached. All joins were made with shellac and iron pins of various sizes and shapes. Seams and spaces around the joins were camouflaged using either pigmented wax or plaster. The surfaces of both the ancient statue and the restorations had since become stained and very soiled.

It was decided that all the restorations would be removed and the statue cleaned of grime. Solvent was "wicked" into the joins

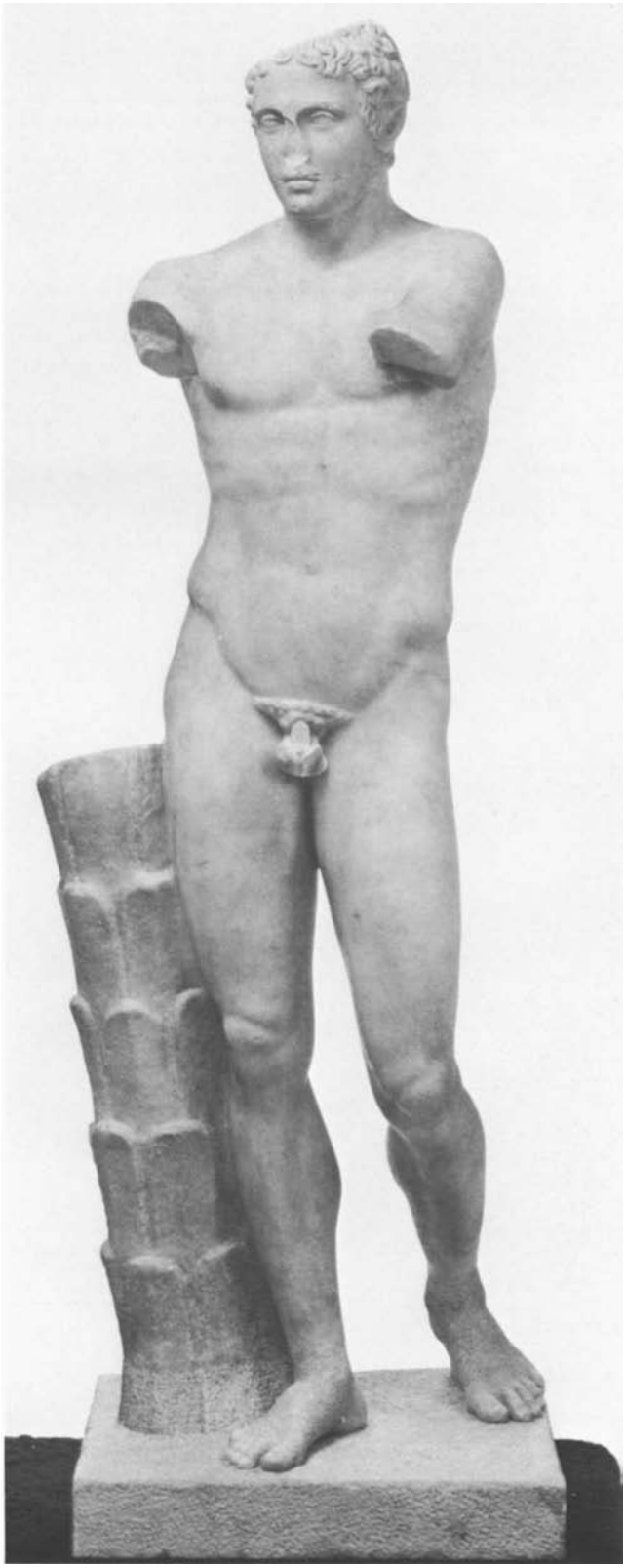


Figure 5. Lansdowne athlete as displayed today.

1930, lot 103, illus. p. 66; J. Dörig, "Ein Jugendwerk Lysipps," *AntPl* 4., 1965, 39, fig. 5.; C.C. Vermeule, *Greek and Roman Sculpture in America*, forthcoming 1981, No. 58. (JF)

5. 78.AA.62. For both heads used in a modern reconstruction of the group, see E. Berger, *Festschrift Schefold*, *AntK* (1967) 69–75, pls. 27, 28.

Figure 7. Portrait head of an Antonine woman with nineteenth century restorations.

Figure 8. Back of figure 7, showing discoloration of wax-filled joins.

Figure 9. Portrait head of an Antonine woman with all restorations removed.

Figure 10. Profile view of figure 9.

Figure 12. Back of head with all restorations removed, showing the rather crude attempt at recarving the hair braids on the original surface.

Figure 13. Nape, showing head and bust joined by an iron staple.

Figure 11. Top of head removed, showing smooth cut and shellac on both surfaces.

to soften the shellac (fig. 2). Through a combination of this solvent action and gentle mechanical prodding, the additions were loosened and removed. The ancient head with the restored top portion and iron pin can be seen disassembled in figure 3. All iron pins were removed from the work. After the piece had been cleaned, the head was reattached using a stainless steel pin and an acrylic adhesive (methyl methacrylate). The lower left calf and ankle were reattached in the same manner. Old pinning holes and seams of joins were filled with an inert material composed of marble dust and an acrylic emulsion tinted to match the color of the original marble.

After some discussion, the "modern" base was reattached as it offered a stable and secure support for the ancient statue. To clarify this function and to differentiate it from the ancient work, its entire surface was roughened with a point chisel (fig. 4).

The Lansdowne athlete as it is currently exhibited (fig. 5) offers a good example of a decision to remove "modern" restorations for aesthetic reasons as well as those concerning preservation.

Another example of modern restoration being retained for historical references is the portrait head of an Antonine woman on a restored bust (figs. 7–8).[6] Cursory examination revealed several

6. The originally outstanding female Antonine portrait (71.AA.265) was completely ruined by Italian restorers who worked for English clients visiting on the Grand Tour. As pointed out by Jerry Podany, the aim of the 1980 conservation was to clarify the piece and show the nineteenth century presentation which cared more for the complete than for the original.

obvious additions: the bust, of Carrara marble, was worked with a much cruder sense of craftsmanship than the ancient head. The same can be said for the top one-third of the head, also of Carrara marble. The nose and left ear lobe are immediately noticeable as restorations due to the discoloration and condition of the pigmented wax fills originally intended to hide the seams where the additions joined the original.

A closer examination of the entire piece revealed that the head was broken from its original bust or statue and suffered severe damage to the right upper area as well as to the nose and left ear. These areas were cut and chiseled flat in the nineteenth century to receive restorations. Prior to the attachment of the newly carved elements (and possibly afterward as well) much of the original surface area of the head was recut and polished. The purpose of this treatment was to reduce the apparent minor damage suffered before restoration. Such drastic measures are especially noticeable in the mouth and hair areas. Figures 9, 10, and 12 show the head with all restorations removed and traces of recarving on the face and hair. When recutting was finished, the flattened areas of severe damage were roughened with a chisel and holes were drilled to fit pins where necessary. The head was attached to the new bust with two methods. One used an interior iron pin and shellac as an adhesive (although the two joined surfaces were not chiseled flat). The other can be seen partially uncovered in figure 13. Here an iron staple was used, one end embedded in the head and the other in the bust. Note the carved channel to accommodate the staple.

Using processes similar to those for the Lansdowne athlete, the restorations to the portrait were disassembled and cleaned. Figure 11 shows the head with the top element of restoration removed, exposing the thick layer of brown shellac on both joining surfaces. Cleaning also removed a layer of pigmented wax which had been applied by the restorer over the entire assemblage to mask the differences between the marble of the ancient head and that of the restorations. Its removal made such differences more obvious and clear. Ancient and modern components of the piece were reassembled with an acrylic adhesive and, when necessary, brass pins. None of the seam lines were filled, nor were the differing tones and textures of the two marbles reduced. The bust now serves as an example of eighteenth century restoration work made obvious for the viewer's study.

The J. Paul Getty Museum
Malibu

The portrait comes from the collection formed by William, second earl of Lonsdale at Lowther Castle, from about 1848 until his death in 1868. Michaelis (*Ancient Marbles in Great Britain*, 1882) probably includes it in a list of 31 portrait busts in the East Gallery that he knew almost entirely from a catalogue of the castle collections. It may be one of three busts of Faustina mentioned on page 491, "all three from the collection of the marquis of Hertford."

Bibl: Sotheby's, 1 July 1969, no. 263: C.C. Vermeule and N. Neuerburg, *Catalogue of the Ancient Art in the J. Paul Getty Museum*, 1973, 31–32, no. 67; J. Frel, *Greek and Roman Portraits in the J. Paul Getty Museum*, exhibition catalogue, California State University at Northridge, 16 October–11 November 1973, 26–27, No. 34; J. Frel, *Roman Portraits in the J. Paul Getty Museum*, exhibition catalogue, Philbrook Art Center, 26 April–12 July 1981, 71, 127, no. 54. (JF)

All work was done under the guidance of Zdravko Barov, head antiquities conservator at the J. Paul Getty Museum.

Note on Ny Carlsberg head no. 117

Zdravko Barov / Jiří Frel

In the most recent issue of the J. Paul Getty Museum Journal, Dr. Phyllis Lehmann (volume 8, pp. 115–116) considers the under life-size, marble head of a youth from the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek as a modern forgery. The piece was on loan for one year in the Getty Museum where it was studied in connection with the Getty Bronze.

From the point of view of conservation, the head appears perfectly genuine. It may appear a forgery at first glance, because part of the surface was overcleaned in the nineteenth century, giving the modeling an unpleasant, soapy aspect. However, the technical aspects of the Hymettan marble (hardly ever used in the last century for fakes) appear completely authentic. In addition there are traces of ancient red paint on the hair over the forehead and on the occiput under the incrustation. The inset eyes are from the same marble as the head, though the irises are carved in a volcanic stone. They give the head an unusual aspect, of course, but the unusual is easily confused with the non-genuine.

During the nineteenth century cleaning the damaged ears were considerably recarved so that the helixes lost part of their volume and original contours. This was misinterpreted in original notes (J. Frel, *The Getty Bronze*, 1978, p. 24) as deformation, like the "cauliflowered" ears of ancient Greek and modern boxers. The upper lip was also recut. The incrustation was brutally removed from the face with acid and mechanical cleaning with an abrasive material, taking off the incrustation, the original dark patina under it, and even a layer of the marble.

The remaining incrustation surviving on the back of the head and the broken bottom of the neck consists of calcium carbonate and dirt and cannot have been applied so recently as the last century. In order to check the incrustation of the eyes, Dr. Flemming Johansen agreed that the left eye be removed mechanically. It was discovered that the eye had been fixed in place with ancient cement made of lime, marble dust, and powdered terracotta, thus confirming the authenticity of the piece. The surface inside the orbit is perfectly ancient, while the eyelids, especially the lower one, were cut down.

The two parts of the head were attached to each other during the nineteenth century restoration with plaster mixed with carbon powder, and the surface of the crack is filled with more plaster and colored to match the incrustation.

The head reproduces the same original as the piece from Smith College called Demetrios Poliorcetes by Dr. Lehmann, which appeared on the art market and in Smith College considerably later. Thus the forger would have to have been some kind of prophet, as the connection between the two pieces was aptly recognized by Sidney N. Deane in the initial publication of the Smith head in 1927.

—Malibu

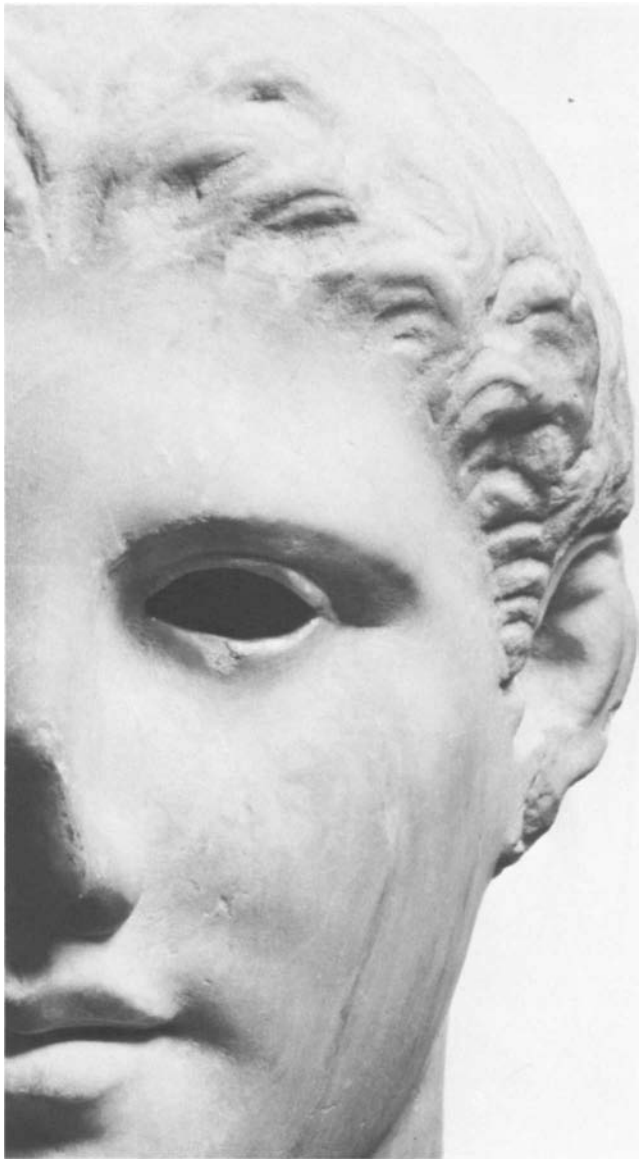


Figure 1. Head of a youth, detail with left eye removed. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek. Photos Donald Hull.

Figure 2. Profile of figure 1.

Figure 3. Profile of figure 1.

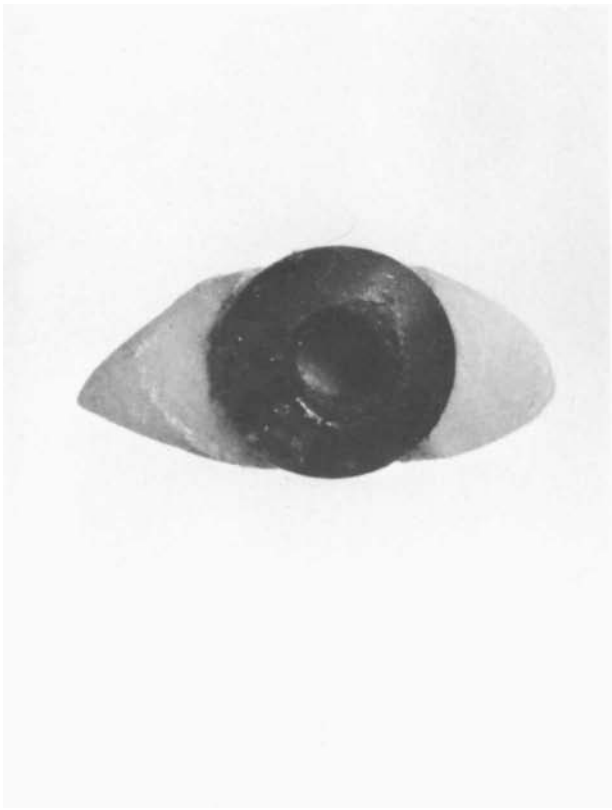


Figure 4. Eye removed from the head.

Figure 5. Back of figure 1.

A *Baptism of Christ* by Veronese in the Getty Museum

George R. Goldner

Figure 1. Baptism and Temptation of Christ. Paolo Veronese. Milan, Brera. Photo: Brogi.

The late style of Paolo Veronese, like that of his Venetian contemporary Titian, reflects a newly strengthened commitment to the dramatic content of narrative painting. Paintings such as the *Crucifixion* in San Lazzaro dei Mendicanti in Venice, the *Lucretia* in Vienna, and the *Baptism and Temptation of Christ* (fig. 1) in the Brera are touchstones of his rich involvement in the passionate expressiveness of profound themes.[1] Equally, during this stage of Veronese's career one finds a powerful dramatic reinforcement of subject matter in the depiction of landscape. These values of the late years of Veronese's life are clearly illustrated in a recent acquisition of the J. Paul Getty Museum, a *Baptism of Christ* (figs. 2 and 3). The painting is of relatively modest scale within the context of Veronese's *oeuvre*, measuring 103 x 83 cm. This excludes later, presumably modern, additions on all four sides which have brought the painting to its current measurements of 114 x 91 cm.[2]

The original destination of the *Baptism* is not known. Its relatively modest size suggests that it was made for a private chapel. The earliest references to the painting may well be notes in Ridolfi's *Le Maraviglie dell'Arte* and Campori's 1870 inventory of the Muselli collection in Verona. In the Muselli collection Ridolfi cites a painting by Veronese in the following terms: "Il Salvatore al Giordano con Angeli vaghissimi, che tengono le vestamenta."[3]

1. For Veronese's late period see S.J. Freedberg, *Painting in Italy 1500 to 1600*, Harmondsworth, 1971, pp. 381–3, and T. Pignatti, *Veronese: L'Opera Completa*, Venice, 1976, I, pp. 86–99.

2. The discovery and analysis of these later additions is due to David Bull, who has kindly reviewed matters concerning the condition of the Getty *Baptism* with me

3. C. Ridolfi, *Le Maraviglie dell'Arte*, (ed. by D. von Hadeln), Berlin, 1914, I, p. 320.

Figure 2. Baptism of Christ (with modern additions). Paolo Veronese. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum.

Figure 3. Baptism of Christ (without modern additions). Paolo Veronese. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum.

Figure 4. Baptism of Christ. Paolo Veronese. Raleigh, North Carolina Museum of Art. Photo: National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., Samuel H. Kress Collection.

Similarly, Campori describes a painting showing, "S. Gio: Battista che batteza al Giordano N.S.: vi sono tre Angeli assistenti, nell'aria che s'apre molti Cherubini, che formano una gloria, con paesi con arbori, d'altezza di b:[a] 2, uno ½ in largezza, di Paolo Veronese."[4] Although there are a fairly large number of paintings of the Baptism by Veronese and his workshop, the Getty version is the only one which corresponds to these measurements of 2 by 1½ *braccie*. Equally, it is the only one which includes a group of cherubim and three angels, one of whom is shown holding a cloak. Therefore, while the identification of the Getty painting with the one described by Ridolfi and Campori remains supposititious, there is much to support it. The Muselli collection was bought by a man named Alvarese who took it to France, where, in turn, it was purchased by the Orléans. Unfortunately, no *Baptism* by Veronese appears in the published Orléans records.[5] The connection to the Orléans collection is significant since a *Baptism* by Veronese was in the Sir Richard Sullivan Sale of 1808 with a stated provenance of the Orléans collec-

4. G. Campori, *Raccoltà di Cataloghi ed Inventarii Inediti*, Modena, 1870, p. 186. Campori also gives a brief history of the Muselli collection on pp. 175–8.

5. G. Waagen, *Galleries and Cabinets of Art in Great Britain*, London, 1857, Supplement Volume, p. 451.

6. Sir Richard Sullivan Sale, Christie's London, April 9, 1808, Lot 7. The painting is described as having, ". . . a concert of Angels above." Strictly speaking, since the Getty *Baptism* has cherubim and not angels, one should disallow any connection. Nevertheless, it is possible that the description was imprecise on this point. No Veronese *Baptism* with a concert of angels above exists.

7. The identification of the Getty *Baptism* with the *Baptism of Christ* by Veronese in the Andrew Geddes Sale, Christie's, London, April 12, 1845, Lot 656 is due to information supplied by P. & D. Colnaghi, through whom the Getty Museum bought the painting. According to Christie's records, Lot 656 in the Geddes Sale was bought in. The sale catalogue itself does not provide sufficient information to identify the painting referred to in it. On the other hand, the catalogue of the George Hibbert Sale, Christie's, London, June 13, 1829, Lot 39 is quite elaborate in its description. The entry reads: "The Baptism of our Saviour in a branch of the River Jordan, where the Stream narrowed, admits a group of three Angels on the Banks to assist in the ceremony; they are kneeling

Figure 5. Baptism of Christ. Paolo Veronese. Braunschweig, Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum. Photo: B.P. Keiser.

tion.[6] The Sullivan painting was bought in and its later history is not known.

The more recent history of the painting is clearer, going back to the second quarter of the last century. It was bought by the Getty Museum from the collecton of Lady Duffield and was previously in the collections of Lt. Colonel William Stirling and Sir William Stirling, where it was seen by Waagen in the mid-nineteenth century.[7] Before mid-century it was probably in the collection of Andrew Geddes and of Woodin, who had bought it at the Hibbert Sale of 1829.[8] It is at this point that serious difficulties arise in tracing its history. There were two paintings by Veronese of the Baptism in the Hibbert Sale, Lot 39 which is almost surely identical with the Getty *Baptism* and Lot 49 which cannot be tied together with any extant version of the subject by him. Lot 49 is described as having come from a Barnard sale. It may therefore be the *Baptism* by Veronese which was in a Bryan sale of 1801 (where the painting is described as from Barnard), the Hankey Sale of 1799 (again noted as being from Barnard), and the Barnard collection.[9]

in adoration. Some Cherubs appear above, from which a stream of light descends into the center of the Woody Scene." A note in the sale catalogue identifies the buyer as Woodin.

8. The entry for Lot 49 at the Hibbert Sale reads as follows: "St. John baptizing Christ in Jordan, three Angels assisting—a multitude seen in the distance—Infant Angels and Cherubim are descending in a cloud of light above. This picture was purchased at the Sale of John Bernard, Esq. in Bedford-square." The sale held by Bryan, London, took place on November 6, 1801. The Veronese *Baptism* was Lot 133. The sale included many Robit paintings (see also W. Buchanan, *Memoirs of Painting*, London, 1824, I, p. 79 for a Veronese *Baptism* in the Robit collection—kindly brought to my attention by Carol Dowd). The Thomas Hankey Sale was at Christie's, London, June 8, 1799; the Veronese *Baptism* was Lot 31. A marginal note in the catalogue states that it was bought by Bryan. Since these *Baptisms* by Veronese are all said to have come from Barnard, it is possible that they refer to one painting. On the other hand, more than one *Baptism* might be involved. Lot 53 in the Clarke/Hibbert Sale, Christie's, London, May 14, 1802 (a cabinet size Veronese *Baptism*) could possibly be identical with either Lot 39 or 49 at the Hibbert Sale of 1829.

9. For the Muselli collection see Campori, *op. cit.*, pp. 175–8. Professor Francis Haskell informed me that the published Orléans records are incomplete; it is, therefore, not impossible that there was a *Baptism* by Veronese in that collection.

The problem of the provenance of the Getty *Baptism* (and other versions) is aggravated by the quantity of references to Veronese *Baptisms* which give insufficient information to allow clear identification with any specific painting. These include *Baptisms* in the Reynolds collection (sold in 1795), in Sir William Hamilton's collection (sold in 1761), and in the Borri sale of 1759.[10] To summarize: we can almost certainly identify the seventeenth century provenance of the Getty *Baptism* and also its history for the last century and a half, but the intermediate period remains problematic, though not without hope of eventual resolution.[11]

The theme of the Baptism of Christ is one which recurs with considerable frequency throughout Veronese's career. The versions in Raleigh and Braunschweig seem very likely to be the earliest surviving *Baptisms* by him[12] (figs. 4 and 5). The former painting was correctly understood by Fiocco as stylistically related to the Bevilacqua-Lazise altarpiece of about 1548 in Verona.[13] The highly mannered poses of Christ and the Baptist, as well as the rather awkward interrelationship of the two, clearly mark this as a very early work. A date of approximately 1550 would seem appropriate for it. The Raleigh *Baptism* has been alternately considered as a relatively early autograph work and as a late workshop production.[14] It seems to me to be entirely by Veronese and to date from approximately 1560. It shows a surer and more integrated composition than the Braunschweig painting and is more classical in temper. Equally, the thorough commitment to naturalism visible throughout relates it to the period of the Maser frescoes. Some confusion has been created by the suggestion that the Raleigh *Baptism* is connected to a drawing by Veronese in the Fogg Art Museum of 1587 (fig. 6).[15] The relationship is not without interest, but it is not close enough to sustain the idea that the drawing was made in preparation for this painting, which cannot reasonably be dated at the latter part of Veronese's career.

The decade of the 1560s begins with the first of Veronese's paintings of the Baptism for which there exists strong documentary evidence (fig. 7). Painted for the newly consecrated (1561) church of the Redentore (now in the Sacristy) under the commission of Bartolomeo Stravazino, it must certainly date in or very close to 1561. It reveals Veronese's growing command of figural movement and of complex spatial relationships. In these respects it it closely analogous to the *Preaching of the Baptist* in the Borghese Gallery. Of similar date is the poorly preserved *Baptism* in San Sebastiano in Venice (fig. 8). This painting has been assigned to the workshop by most scholars, but Pignatti is correct in stressing its high quality and overall similarity to the *Baptism* in the sacristy of the Redentore.[16]

The only fully documented version of the Baptism by Veronese is the one in the Piave Abbaziale at Latisana (fig. 9). Painted in 1566/7, it is in the grand rhetorical key of several of the major religious narratives of this period by Veronese, such as the *Martyrdom of Saint George*, Verona, San Giorgio in Braida, of the same date.[17] In addition, it reflects Veronese's growing use of landscape to underscore the mood of a theme. The execution of the Latisana *Baptism* probably involves very considerable studio participation, but this should not obscure the vitality and creativeness of the overall concept.

Next in the chronological sequence of Veronese's interpretations of the Baptism is the painting now in the Palazzo Pitti (fig. 10). It immediately brings one into the spirit of greater solemnity and piety which typifies Veronese's late

10. The Reynolds' *Baptism* was Lot 37 in a sale at Christie's, London, March 14, 1795. Another was in the Noel Desenfans Sale, Christie's, London, April 8, 1786, Lot 246 (51 x 57 inches). The Hamilton *Baptism* was Lot 68 at his sale, Prestage and Hobbs, London, February 21, 1761. The Borri *Baptism* was Lot 40 at his sale, Langford, London, March 29, 1759.

11. There are a number of other *Baptisms* by Veronese mentioned in various sources. Ridolfi (*op. cit.*, I, p. 318) cites one in San Giovanni di Malta, Padua and another (*op. cit.*, I, p. 336) in the collection of Viscount Basil Feilding, London. A *Baptism* by Veronese was in the Jullienne collection in Paris and is described in the catalogue of his sale by P. Remy, Paris, March 30, 1767, Lot 51 as follows: "Le Baptême de N.S.; trois Anges, dont un à genoux soutient sa robe; nombre de figures se distinguent dans l'éloignement. Le Saint-Esprit, en forme de colombe, est dans un nuage tout resplendissant de lumière, jette ses rayons & éclaire la tête du Seigneur, & huit têtes de Chérubins, avec deux Anges qui tiennent une Légende portant ces mots: *Hic est Filius meus dilectus, Ec.*" According to P. Caliari, *Paolo Veronese: Sua Vita e Sue Opere*, Rome, 1888, p. 220, this lot was bought by the Duke of Praslin. Caliari, *op. cit.*, p. 221 cites a *Baptism* in the Quadreria Boschi, Bologna in 1777. Still another version is noted by L. Crico, *Lettere sulle Belle Arti Trevigiane*, Treviso, 1833, pp. 106–7 in the parish church of Noventa di Piave. This painting was destroyed in 1917. Finally, Waagen, *op. cit.*, II, 1854, p. 179, notes a *Baptism* by Veronese in the collection of Thomas Baring. At this point it is not possible to be certain which—if any—of these citations (and those mentioned above) refer to the same painting. I am grateful to Burton Fredericksen for advice with matters of provenance in connection with this article.

12. For these two paintings see Pignatti, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 103–4.

13. G. Fiocco, *Paolo Veronese*, Bologna, 1928, p. 24.

14. F.R. Shapley, *Paintings from the Samuel H. Kress Collection: Italian Schools XVI-XVIII Century*, London, 1973, p. 43, catalogues the painting as school of Veronese; see also R. Cocke, "Review of T. Pignatti, *Veronese: L'Opera Completa*," *Burlington Magazine*, CXIX, 1977, pp. 786–7. Other critics have accepted it as autograph.

15. Pignatti, *op. cit.*, I, p. 104 and Cocke, *op. cit.*, pp. 786–7.

16. T. Pignatti, *Le Pitture di Paolo Veronese nella Chiesa di San Sebastiano*, Milan, 1966, p. 94. See also A. Morassi, "Un Battesimo inedito di Paolo Veronese," *Arte Veneta*, XXII, 1968, pp. 35–6 and Pignatti, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 214–5. All further references in these Notes to Pignatti refer to his monograph of 1976.

17. Pignatti, *op. cit.*, I, p. 187.

Figure 6. Sheet of Studies of the Baptism of Christ. Paolo Veronese. Cambridge, Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University.

Figure 7. Baptism of Christ. Paolo Veronese. Venice, Il Redentore, Sacristy. Photo: Böhm.

Figure 8. Baptism of Christ. Paolo Veronese & workshop. Venice, San Sebastiano.

work and further suggests his more animated depiction of landscape. In the face of the angel between Christ and the Baptist, one already finds the expressive piety of the angel under Christ's right arm in the Getty *Baptism*. The Pitti *Baptism* has been related by Byam Shaw to a drawing of the mid-1570s, formerly in the Rudolf collection, which has a quick sketch for a *Baptism* amidst many other designs (fig. 11).[18] Although the connection would nicely fit a dating of the Pitti *Baptism* around 1575, the relationship between the two is not especially close. More readily analogous to the Rudolf drawing is a painting now in the Museo del Castelvecchio, Verona, which is universally

18. J. Byam Shaw, "Notes on Drawings: Paolo Veronese," *Old Master Drawings*, 38, 1935, pp. 22–4.

19. For this painting see Pignatti, *op. cit.*, I, p. 218. This painting may be the same as one reproduced in a print of the 18th Century by A. Nani (fig. 21). The painting in the Museo del Castelvecchio is said to have come from San Nicolo dei Frari, Venice (G. Trecca, *Catalogo della Pinacoteca di Verona*, Bergamo, 1912, p. 59), whereas Nani states in the inscription on his print that the painting he illustrates came from the

Figure 9. Baptism of Christ. Paolo Veronese & workshop. Latisana, Piave Abbaziale. Photo: Fiorentini.

Figure 10. Baptism of Christ. Paolo Veronese. Florence, Palazzo Pitti. Photo: Brogi.

regarded as a product of Veronese's workshop (fig. 12).[19] In particular, the pose of the Baptist is much closer to that in the drawing than in the Pitti *Baptism*. In any event, the Verona *Baptism* is surely of the same period as the one in the Pitti and suggests—despite studio execution—similar currents of feeling and style.

Also from this part of Veronese's career is a *Baptism* now in the Barnes Foundation, which Hadeln published as autograph Veronese when it belonged to Colnaghi in 1926 (fig. 13).[20] It bears all of the hallmarks of Veronese's work of the 1570s and may be related in overall character with both the Pitti and Verona *Baptisms*. The execution of

Scuola di San Nicoletto. The painting and print agree in all but two respects: the painting has a rounded top while the print is rectangular and the number of cherubim in the painting is much greater. Therefore, one must leave open the question of whether there were once two very similar versions or whether Nani took a degree of license in making his print. For the Nani print see P. Ticozzi, *Paolo Veronese e i suoi Incisori*, Venice, 1977, p. 35.

Figure 11. Baptism of Christ (detail from a larger sheet of sketches). Paolo Veronese. London, C.R. Rudolf Collection (formerly).

Figure 12. Baptism of Christ. Paolo Veronese (workshop). Verona, Museo di Castelvecchio. Photo: Brogi.

the painting seems to be largely by Veronese, though it apears somewhat weaker than in the Pitti version; it may be a work of collaboration with one or another member of the workshop.

Upon entering the decade of the 1580s one is confronted with what may well be the most moving of all Veronese's interpretations of the theme, the painting in the Brera which, in fact, shows the *Baptism and Temptation of Christ* (fig. 1).[21] In the midst of a highly charged group of the Baptist and Angels, Christ is seen illuminated brilliantly by light descending from the Holy Spirit, isolating Him and magnifying the profound character of His expressive vitality. Over to the right, the richness of foliage—which had served as a lush setting for the Baptism—gives way to an open vista in which the scene of the Temptation appears with secondary emphasis. This is not only one of the most inspirational *Baptisms* by Veronese, but also his most original in conception.

The very small *Baptism* in the Courtauld Institute seems surely to also date from the 1580s (fig. 14).[22] As in so many of Veronese's late works, a richness of figural movement is orchestrated within an animated landscape setting, the whole bathed in a vitalizing light. Mannerism of form is conjoined with Venetian naturalism to create a poetic interpretation of the theme. The Courtauld painting is comparable in scale and character of execution to the *Hercules and Deianira* in Vienna (fig. 15). The sensitivity of brushwork marks these as clearly autograph works by Veronese, which are among the most intimate reflections of his late style and mood. A drawing by Veronese, discovered by John Gere in the Kunstmuseum, Düsseldorf, appears to be certainly connected to this painting (fig. 16).[23]

The Getty *Baptism* is very probably the last one painted by Veronese (figs. 2 and 3).[24] It reflects the dramatic fervor of his later religious works and his ability to underscore this quality of feeling with a vital naturalistic setting and a vibrant use of light. The dynamic figure of Christ pivots in the center of the painting, serving as an axial focus for the entire composition. The Baptist gracefully moves toward Christ and lends a more restrained tone to the scene. On

20. D. von Hadeln, "Two Paintings of the Baptism by Paul Veronese," *Apollo*, IV, 1926, pp. 104–6. The painting now in the Barnes Foundation is the same as the one published by Hadeln. Pignatti, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 191 and 193 has two separate catalogue entries.

21. Morassi, *op. cit.*, p. 38 and Pignatti, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 93 and 158.

22. Pignatti, *op. cit.*, I, p. 143. Cocke, *op. cit.*, pp. 786–7, considers it as workshop. L. Crosato Larcher, "Review of G. Piovene and R. Marini, *L'Opera Completa di Veronese*," *Arte Veneta*, XXII, p. 223, suggests that the Courtauld *Baptism* was painted by Benedetto and Carletto Caliari under the supervision of Veronese and that it might be a "bozzetto" for the *Baptism* in the Redentore. There is nothing to support the notion

either side of the primary figures angels kneel, providing reference points which anchor the lateral sides of the painting. A third angel appears under the right arm of Christ, a simple devotional image, looking up with reverence at Christ and the Baptist. Behind this group of figures several large trees appear at the left and one in the right middle distance. As in the Pitti *Baptism* (fig. 10), they provide a reinforcing note with their charged emotional character and heighten the feeling of movement in the composition. The tree at the right combines with the form of the Baptist and his Cross to create a complex interwoven rhythm. The poses and gestures of Christ and the Baptist are Mannerist in their complication and grace, but this element of style is balanced by a thorough commitment to naturalism and to the evocation of religious meaning. Finally, a screen of trees in the far distance is gently reached beyond the River Jordan, while above five cherubim appear in the sky, drawing light from the Holy Spirit who is the focal point of the upper sector of the painting.

The composition is greatly enhanced by returning the painting to its original dimensions (figs. 2 and 3). The reasons for the additions to it are not known, but they cumulatively reduce the sense of compressed animation which is essential to the painting's character. A careful evaluation of the *Baptism* in its present state—with additions—reveals that all of the added elements are clumsily executed and, in the case of the lateral angels, create little more than bulk. It may seem surprising at first to note that Veronese painted the left arm of the Baptist severed at the wrist, but it is precisely this kind of dramatic motif which intensifies the mood. It is also the sort of visual idea that recurs frequently in Veronese's work, as, for example, in the Verona *Baptism* (fig. 12), where the left arm of the Baptist is "cut off" by a stone monument.

Both the general conception and freedom of execution of the Getty *Baptism* place it towards the end of Veronese's career. It is also related to the sheet of Baptism studies dated 1587 in the Fogg Art Museum (fig. 6). The different sketches on the sheet have been connected to various painted versions of the theme by Veronese and his

Figure 13. Baptism of Christ. Paolo Veronese & workshop. Merion, The Barnes Foundation.

Figure 14. Baptism of Christ. Paolo Veronese. London, The Courtauld Institute of Art.

that this small picture was painted by more than one hand and it is not especially close to the painting in the Redentore.

23. T. Mullaly, *Disegni veronesi del Cinquecento: Catalogo della Mostra*, Vicenza, 1971, pp. 64–5. Gere has kindly sent me a copy of his article, "Two Drawings by Paolo Veronese," which has unfortunately not yet been published. In the article Gere draws the connection between the drawing and the Courtauld *Baptism*. He also accepts the latter as autograph and suggests that it might have been a modello, perhaps for the Getty *Baptism*.

24. Morassi, *op. cit.*, pp. 30–8 and Pignatti, *op. cit.*, I, p. 143.

Figure 15. Hercules and Deianira. Paolo Veronese. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum.

Figure 16. Sheet of Sketches of the Baptism of Christ. Paolo Veronese. Düsseldorf, Kunstmuseum (Kupferstichkabinett). Photo: Landesbildstelle Rheinland.

Figure 17. Baptism of Christ. Paolo Veronese (workshop). Venice, Il Redentore. Photo: Böhm.

Figure 18. Baptism of Christ. Paolo Veronese (workshop). New York, Cathedral of Saint John the Divine.

Figure 19. Baptism of Christ. Jacopo Tintoretto. Venice, San Silvestro. Photo: Filippi.

Figure 20. Venus and Adonis. Paolo Veronese. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum.

workshop, but, on account of the date of 2 February 1587 on the verso (at the end of an autograph letter), one is constrained to consider only those paintings which may plausibly be understood as being in his late style. More than fifty years ago Agnes Mongan correctly associated the sketch at the upper right with the *Baptism* by Veronese's workshop in the Redentore and with the replica of it in the Cathedral of St. John the Divine in New York (figs. 17 and 18).[25] The sketch at the upper right clearly precedes the one at the upper left since the wash on the right side of the sketch at left intrudes into the right hand sketch. In this second sketch something very new in Veronese's approach to the depiction of the Baptism emerges. For the first time, the figure of Christ is shown moving forward with His arms at His sides. As was pointed out by

Figure 21. Baptism of Christ. A. Nani after Paolo Veronese. Venice, Museo Correr.

25. A. Mongan, "A Sheet of Studies by Veronese," *Old Master Drawings*, 22, 1931, pp. 21–5. She also connected this sheet with the *Baptism* now in the sacristy of the Redentore, but withdrew this latter idea in A. Mongan and P.J. Sachs, *Drawings in the Fogg Museum of Art*, 2nd ed., Cambridge, 1946, I, pp. 108–10. A drawing in the National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh appears to also be related to the *Baptism* in the Redentore (figs. 22 and 23). The connection is apparent in the principal study on the verso of the sheet (fig. 23). For this drawing see Mullaly, *op. cit.*, p. 65.

Figures 22 and 23. Sheet of Sketches of the Baptism of Christ (recto & verso). Paolo Veronese. Edinburgh, National Gallery of Scotland. Photo: Scott.

Mongan and Sachs, the poses of Christ and the Baptist were inspired by the *Baptism* painted by Tintoretto for San Silvestro in Venice early in the 1580s (fig. 19).[26] Veronese has made certain adjustments to the pose of the Baptist, tending in general to make the front of his body more nearly parallel to the picture plane. Furthermore, the Baptist's Cross is awkwardly set off to the side. The pose of the Baptist evolves from Tintoretto's painting through the Fogg sketch and finally to the Getty picture. The figure leans forward more sharply, the position of the arms is clarified, and the Cross is integrated into the composition. The pose of Christ is only at its first stages. In the sketch at the bottom right of the Fogg drawing, Veronese experiments with different ways to set the arms, at

26. Mongan and Sachs, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 108–10.

one point putting them out at the sides (gone over in wash). In addition, he tries placing the head at various angles and resets the body several times. It is only in the drawing and in the Getty *Baptism* that Veronese depicts the Baptized Christ with arms thrown out to the sides. When this fact and the relationship of the drawn and painted figures of the Baptist are considered, it becomes clear that the conception of the principal figures in the Getty *Baptism* was first generated in the Fogg drawing.

It is also of interest to note that several of the poses suggested in the Fogg drawing relate to figures in other paintings by Veronese of this period. More specifically, the Christ in the sketch at the upper left reappears as Hercules in the *Hercules and Deianira* (fig. 15) in Vienna, while the

isolated sketch of the Baptist at the lower left suggests the pose of Adonis in the *Venus and Adonis* (fig. 20), also in Vienna. It should be added that the stylistic character of these two late mythological pictures is closely analogous to that of the Getty *Baptism* and that numerous similarities may be noticed in details of landscape and brushwork. These relationships lend further support to the dating of the Getty *Baptism* near the end of Veronese's life. If one accepts the connection with the Fogg drawing, then it must have been painted in 1587/8.

The final major issue concerning the Getty *Baptism* is the degree of studio participation. Opinions on this subject have varied considerably, with Morassi, Pignatti, and Natale fully accepting the painting, Rosand criticizing its quality, and Cocke calling it a workshop painting.[27] It seems quite clear that the ideation and design of the painting were entirely Veronese's; it is a novel, imaginative, and quite personal work. The execution of the two primary figures and the landscape is of very high quality and shows scant analogy with any member of the Veronese workshop. The cherubim and surrounding sky are noticeably weaker and it is not impossible that this area of the painting was completed by an assistant. However, this only marginally diminishes the appreciation due one of the fine representative works of the last years of Veronese's career.

The J. Paul Getty Museum
Malibu

27. Morassi *op. cit.*, pp. 30–8; Pignatti, *op. cit.*, I, p. 143; M. Natale, *Art Vénetien en Suise et au Liechtenstein*, Milan, 1978, p. 113. R. Cocke, *op. cit.*, pp. 786–7, considers it a workshop painting. His list of rejected attributions also includes the *Hercules and Deianira*, the *Venus and Adonis* (both in Vienna) and other autograph paintings. D. Rosand, "Review of T. Pignatti, *Veronese: L'Opera Completa*," *Art Bulletin*, LXIII, 1981, p. 164, refers to the Getty *Baptism* as being of "questionable quality" but does not offer further details.

Del Signor Giovanni Battista Crescentij, Pittore

Maurizio Marini

La 'natura morta' italiana e, in particolare, il suo esordio, in riferimento ai primi nomi della cerchia del Caravaggio in Roma (dallo scorcio del '500 ai primi decenni del '600) necessitano, a tutt'oggi, di una approfondita indagine filologica. E' chiaro come la visione realistico-concettistica del Caravaggio sia all'origine del suo sviluppo in senso dinamico e provocatorio, per cui 'fiori e frutta' non sono più il corredo decorativo espresso in tralci e festoni, ma veri protagonisti pittorici. Si pensi non solo alle opere conosciute di Tommaso Salini,[1] ma a quanto è deducibile dai dipinti di Giovanni Battista Crescenzi,[2] allievo del Pomarancio[3] (pittore di Casa Crescenzi), che svolge anche una qualificata attività d'architetto, soprattutto, in Spagna, alla corte di Filippo III (dove, nel 1617, reca con sé Bartolomeo Cavarozzi), da cui è eletto Marchese della Torre (dalle sedute pittorico-naturalistiche dell'accademia, istituita nel suo palazzo nobiliare romano—e di cui ragguaglia il biografo Giovanni Baglione—, esce uno specialista come Pietro Paolo Bonzi, detto anche 'Gobbo dei frutti' o, per la sua facoltà d'imitare i paesaggi carracceschi, 'Gobbo dei Carracci' o, ancora, 'Gobbo de' Crescenzi').

Recenti scoperte documentarie, relative agli anni 1624 e 1626, hanno portato al recupero di un quadro di figura, la *Lapidazione di Santo Stefano* (olio su tela, cm. 275 x 195), oggi nel Duomo di Monterotondo/Roma,[4] erroneamente attribuito al Savonanzio. I caratteri stilistici, affini al Pomarancio e al Cavarozzi (ma, anche, in certi dettagli, all'*Incredulità di San Tommaso* del Bonzi, conservata nel Pantheon di Roma, connotando, in tal modo, polivalenza ed eletto dilettantismo), nonché, nella figura del santo, al Gentileschi, l'avvicinano, inequivocabilmente, al *San Giovanni Battista* della Cattedrale di Toledo (attribuito al Caravaggio—com'è ovvio—e al Cavarozzi).[5] La presenza d'identici tratti formali, nelle muscolature, nel volto, nei piedi e nei panneggi delle figure comprimarie, prospetta altre due aperture.

La prima, che al Crescenzi si debba la *Cena in Emmaus* (olio su tela, cm. 139,6 194,3), del J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu (Cal., U.S.A.), in prevalenza attribuita ad artisti d'orbita ispano-napoletana,[6] ma la cui esecuzione su tela romana (di canapa, a trama e ordito rilevati, di un genere usuale nel primo trentennio del '600) colloca in Roma (o, quanto meno, nel Lazio). I particolari somatici, coloristici e delle pieghe—relativamente arcaizzanti—appartengono alla stessa mano della *Lapidazione di Santo Stefano*, con, in più, lo stesso modello dalla barba sfioccata di bianco e dai capelli più scuri, in entrambe, di profilo, a sinistra (identico parrebbe anche quello che nell'*Emmaus* funge da oste e nella *Lapidazione* da manigoldo, al centro) e, mentre la costruzione si adegua a una ibridazione delle due versioni

Ringrazio, per la fondamentale collaborazione alla messa a fuoco della personalità pittorica del Crescenzi, il prof. Federico Zeri, nonché l'arch. Piernicola Pagliara e l'ing. Alfredo Muratori. Un grazie particolare al prof. Burton B. Fredericksen, che, pure, aveva collegato l'*Emmaus* Getty a Giovanni Battista Crescenzi e mi ha invitato a puntualizzare il comune convincimento in queste note.

1. Roma, 1575 c.–1625. Sul Salini si veda la recente puntualizzazione di F. Zeri, "Nota a Tommaso Salini", in *Diari di lavoro* 2, 1976, pp. 104–108, figg. 102–105.

2. Roma, 1577 c.–Madrid, 1660. Cfr. G. Baglione, *Le vite de' pittori, scultori et architetti etc.*, Roma, 1642, "Vita del Signor Gio. Battista Crescentij. Pittore", pp. 364–367 (un panegirico di relativa utilità). V. anche A. Grelle, "I Crescenzi e l'Accademia di via Sant'Eustachio," in *Commentari*, 121, pp. 120–138.

3. Cristoforo Roncalli detto il 'Pomarancio', Pomarance/Pisa, 1552–Roma, 1626.

4. Cfr. Mons. Domenico Pichi, Vescovo d'Amelia, *Descrittione della Terra di Monterotondo in Sabina*, novembre 1624, Bibl.Ap.Vaticana, Arch.Barberini, Ind. III, M.zo XLV, f.193 *v.* : *In S.Stefano vi è un S.Stefano del Crescentio.* La stessa dizione si riscontra in un'altra trascrizione, ottobre 1626, Bibl. Ap.Vaticana, Arch.Barberini, Ind. III, M.zo 616; fasc.55, fogli non numerati, cap.8 : *In S.Stefano vi è un San Stefano del Crescentio.* I due documenti sono reperiti da P.N. Pagliara—Cfr. *Storia dell'Arte Italiana*, 1980, Torino, v.8°, pp. 259–260, fig. 344—il quale mi segnala che in una 'visita pastorale' è ulteriormente precisato : *Giovanni Battista Crescentio.*

5. Cfr.M.Marini, *Michelangelo da Caravaggio*, Roma, 1973–74, R-11, p. 468. Già Nancy (Lorena/Francia), collezione privata, Heim Gallery, Parigi-Londra, acquistato dal J. Paul Getty Museum nel 1972.

6. Cfr. *Fourteen Important Neapolitan Paintings*, Summer Exhibition, Londra, 1971, Heim Gallery, n.4 (attribuito ad Aniello Falcone da C.Volpe); R.E. Spear, *Caravaggio and his Followers*, The Cleveland Museum of Art, 1971, n.25 (Falcone); R.Causa, *La pittura del Seicento a Napoli dal Naturalismo al Barocco*, in *Storia di Napoli*, Napoli, 1972, pp.933,975 nota 66 (Alonzo Rodriguez); R.Causa, *cit.*., *La Natura Morta a Napoli nel Sei e nel Settecento*, pp.1004–1005, fig.369. (V. anche M.Marini, *cit.*, 1973–74, pp.310, 316; H.Potterton, *Painting in Focus N.3 / Caravaggio / The Supper at Emmaus*, Londra, National Gallery, 1975, fig.9; B.Nicolson, *The International Caravaggesque Movement*, Oxford, 1979, p.38, fig.76 (Caravaggesque Unknown—Neopolitan).

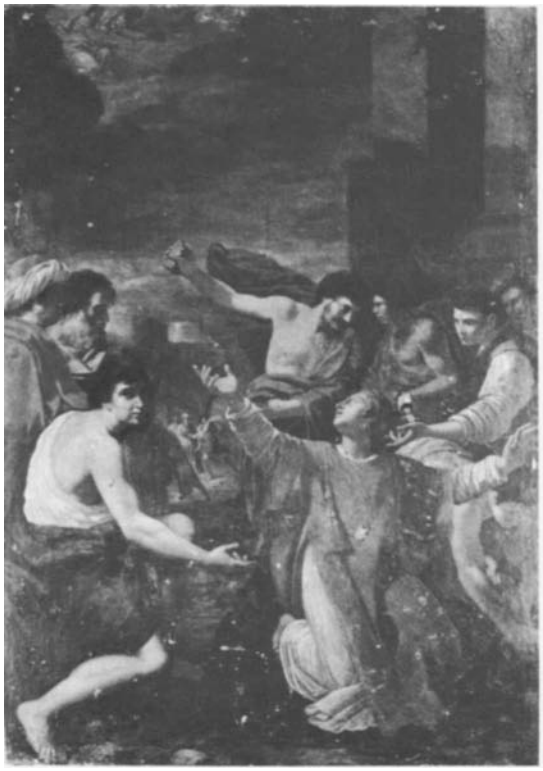


Figure 1. Giovanni Battista Crescenzi, *Lapidazione di Santo Stefano*, Monterotondo (Roma), Duomo.

Figure 2. Giovanni Battista Crescenzi, *San Giovanni Battista*, Toledo (Spagna), Cattedrale.

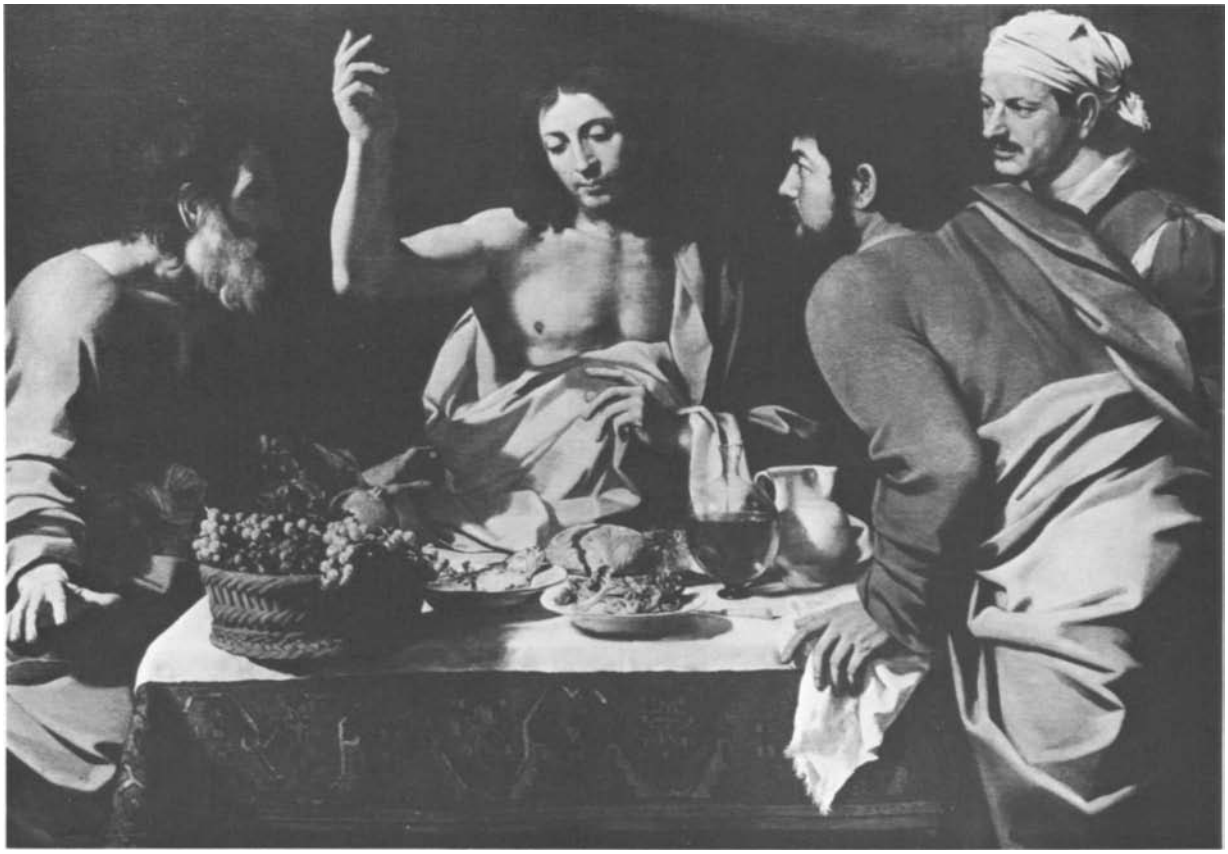


Figure 3. Giovanni Battista Crescenzi, *Cena in Emmaus*, J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu (Calif., U.S.A.).

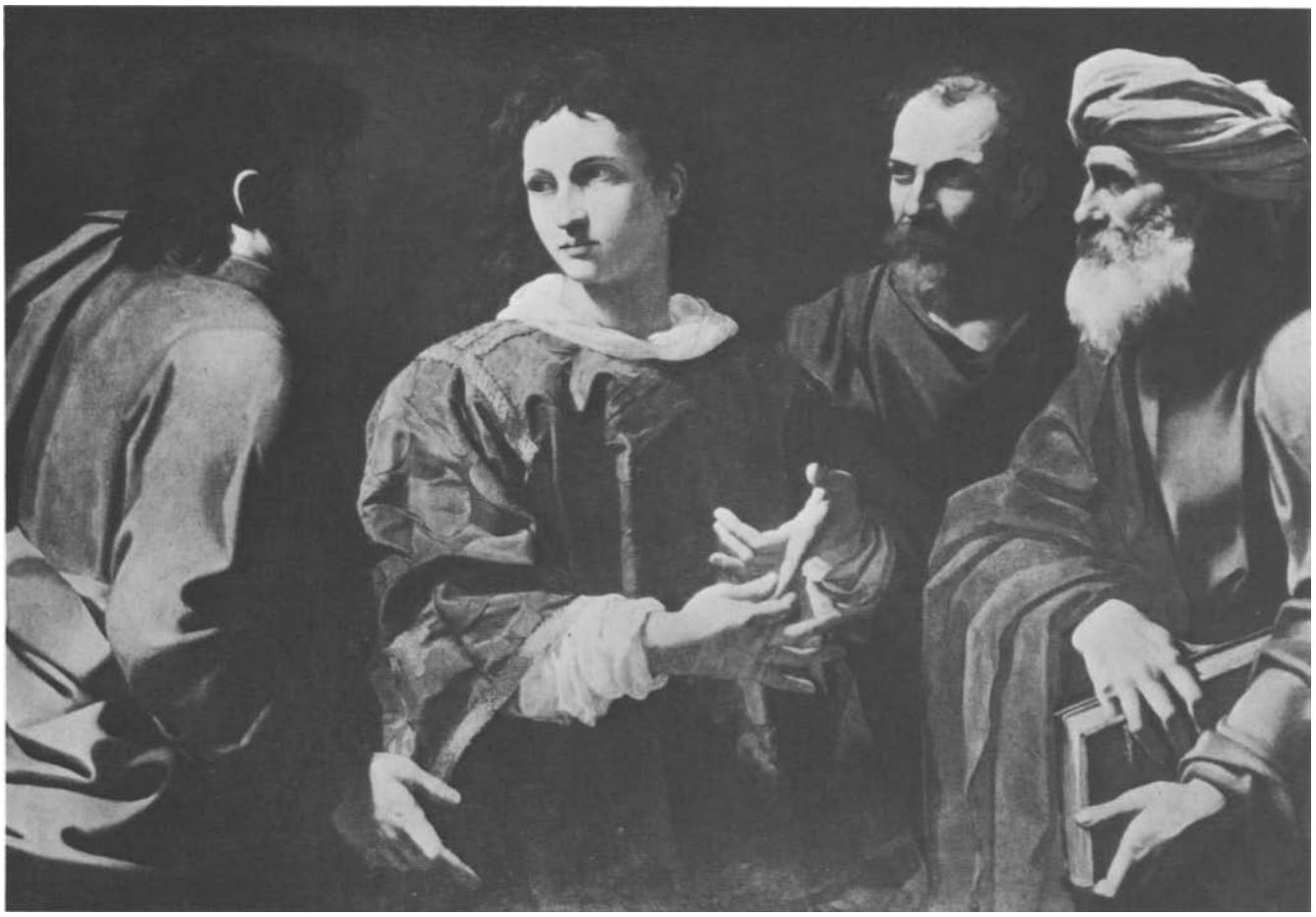


Figure 4. Giovanni Battista Crescenzi, *San Lorenzo (?) disputa con tre filosofi*, già New York (N.Y., U.S.A.), Historical Society.

dello stesso tema offerte da Caravaggio (1599—Londra, National Gallery; 1606—Milano, Brera), il colore esprime una dichiarata preferenza per la più antica.

Per analoghe premesse somatiche e stilistiche a Crescenzi 'figurista' è da riferire un dipinto avente a soggetto *San Lorenzo (?) che disputa con tre filosofi* (olio su tela, cm. 96 x 134,5), già New York, Historical Society, con l'indicazione di "follower of Caravaggio".[7] Vi compaiono gli stessi modelli, dal vecchio, che si vede di profilo, anche nei due quadri precedenti, al diacono, che, forse, è il giovane a sinistra nella *Lapidazione di Santo Stefano*, alla figura, a sinistra, del San Lorenzo, identificantesi nell'apostolo, a destra, nell'*Emmaus*. La stessa metrica compositiva rammenta (come la tela Getty) opere del Caravaggio, degli anni 1597–1600, quali la *Marta e Maddalena* del Detroit Institute of Art e la *Vocazione dei SS.Pietro e Andrea* di Hampton Court e, naturalmente, la *Cena in Emmaus* di Londra e il ciclo di San Luigi dei Francesi, ma scopre anche il gusto individuale per un colorismo più chiaro, un disegno più nitido, con ombre meno intense.

La seconda apertura si riferisce ai tralci di vite e ai rovi, pendenti dal muro, a sinistra, nel quadro di Toledo (in origine, forse, soggetto profano: "Narciso alla fonte"?, come si deduce dalle radiografie), che portano, anche, attraverso l'imponente natura morta del quadro Getty, alle nature morte (fin qui incognite) del Crescenzi, ma identificabili in quelle riunite sotto il nome catalogico di 'Maestro della natura morta Acquavella', dal quadro-base (già nella collezione Acquavella, New York, oggi nella raccolta Sangalli di Bergamo).[8]

7. Cfr.B.B.Fredericksen/F.Zeri, *Census of Pre Nineteenth-Century Italian Paintings in North American Collections*, Cambridge (Mass., U.S.A.), 1972, pp.44, 610. Passato per una vendita Sotheby's, New York (n.94, giov. 9 ott. 1980), con una attribuzione insostenibile a Giacomo (*sic!*) Galli, detto lo 'Spadarino'.

8. Olio su tela, cm. 84 x 130 (figure di Bartolomeo Cavarozzi), già New York (N.Y., U.S.A.), coll.Acquavella, oggi Bergamo, coll.Sangalli. Un'ipotesi in tal senso è avanzata da C.Volpe, in *Mostra della Natura Morta Italiana*, Napoli, 1964, nn.30–31, pp.32–33 e ripresa in altra sede. V. anche M.Marini, "San Pietro Nolasco trasportato dagli angeli', Bartolomeo Cavarozzi e Cecco del Caravaggio", in *Antologia di Belle Arti*, nn.9–12, 1979 (1980), pp.72, 75 nota 25, 76. Noto per inciso che il Causa (*cit.*, 1972, p.1005, fig.370) riproduce come del 'Maestro di Palazzo San Gervasio' un quadro con *Polli e piccioni*, Parigi, coll.Fleurville, in realtà di Cecco del Caravaggio. Quasi un'indiretta conferma dei rapporti Crescenzi-Cecco, da me ipotizzati.

Figure 5. Giovanni Battista Crescenzi (e Bartolomeo Cavarozzi), *Natura morta con cesto di frutta e due fanciulli*, già New York (N.Y., U.S.A.), coll. Acquavella (Bergamo, coll. Sangalli).

Figure 6. Giovanni Battista Crescenzi, *Natura morta con frutta, fiori e una colomba che spicca il volo*, Palazzo San Gervasio (Potenza), Pinacoteca Civica.

Figure 7. Giovanni Battista Crescenzi, *Brocca di fiori su cesto rovesciato*, ubicazione ignota.

Figure 8. Giovanni Battista Crescenzi, *Natura morta con frutta diversa e una caraffa di fiori*, già New York (N.Y., U.S.A.), coll. F.Mont.

Figure 9. Giovanni Battista Crescenzi, *Natura morta di frutta, con una chiocciola.* Roma, coll. privata.

Figure 10. Giovanni Battista Crescenzi, *Uova, polli, piccioni, fiasche, formaggi e salumi su un'ara.* Roma, coll. privata.

Da una simile 'consecutio' figurativa appare logico restituire al Crescenzi la *Natura morta con frutta, fiori e una colomba che spicca il volo* (capolavoro assoluto nel genere), della Pinacoteca Civica di Palazzo San Gervasio/Potenza (olio su tela, cm. 170 x 245), per la quale si è, pure, tentata una denominazione catalogica anonima, dopo le più disparate attribuzioni ai più vari generisti partenopei e l'avvicinamento di R. Causa alla natura morta nell'*Emmaus* Getty, che permette, in tal senso, d'identificarvi la medesima mano.

Che il quadro di Palazzo San Gervasio rappresenti il Crescenzi all'apice delle sue possibilità è certo, allo stato attuale della conoscenza della sua produzione, come è altrettanto palese che non si tratti di una semplice esposizione di brani vegetali, su cui si leva in volo (sintomatica consonanza con l'attimalità del Caravaggio) una colomba. In realtà, in tale virtuoso emblematismo (e non'repertorio' come quelli redatti nella bottega del Cavalier d'Arpino), dominano (oltre ad altre frutta allegoriche) i simboli del peccato originale (le mele) e quelli mariani (gigli, rose, etc.), sul cui contesto domina la colomba, indubbio sottinteso dello Spirito Santo.[9]

L'originalità e la complessità della concezione tecnica crescenziana viene così ad affiancarsi alla ricerca naturalistica dei più antichi 'caravaggeschi', ma con la codificazione del 'pezzo di bravura', il cui sottofondo pittorico-iconologico, nell'ottica schiarita gentileschiana, è desunto dalle idee stesse di Caravaggio e dalle sue opere. Che, essendo conservate nelle raccolte più riservate, egli per il privilegio del censo, può conoscere più facilmente di altri (i Crescenzi sono anche i curatori dell'eredità Contarelli, nel periodo in cui, nei lavori della cappella di San Luigi dei Francesi, interviene Caravaggio),[10] avvalendosi, come è nella prassi, di collaboratori (p.es., nel quadro ex Acquavella, del giovane Cavarozzi), tratti dal suo entourage (Bartolomeo Cavarozzi, che si ebbe anche il soprannome di Bartolomeo 'del Crescenzi' e, forse, Cecco del Caravaggio e Fiasella—tutti Caravaggeschi nel segno adamantino di Orazio Gentileschi).

La virtuosistica natura morta di Crescenzi e il suo interessante ruolo di figurista acquisiscono così caratteri linguistici definiti, che si aggiungono a quelli già noti dell'architetto di Filippo III. Le sue figure risentono, nelle soluzioni formali, della prevalente educazione manieristica. Il 'ductus' materico dei suoi potenti inserti naturalistici è fra gli episodi più felici di 'mimesis' *pittura-natura.*

Rome

9. Al Crescenzi è da riconoscere anche la *Brocca di fiori su cesto ro vesciato* (olio su tela, cm.51 x 76), ubicazione ignota, da me pubblicata come del 'Maestro di Palazzo San Gervasio' (Cfr.M.Marini, *cit.*, 1973-74, p.316, fig.69). Al 'corpus' che si viene ricostituendo reputo siano da aggiungere tre stupendi esempi : il primo, strettamente connesso all'*Emmaus* Getty e alla tela di Palazzo San Gervasio, è una stupefacente *Natura morta con frutta diversa e una caraffa di fiori,* già nella coll.Frederick Mont di New York—segnalatomi da F.Zeri—;il secondo, Roma, collezione privata, *Natura morta di frutta, con una chiocciola, sparsa su un frammento architettonico* (olio su tela, cm.96 x 133), in cui, pure, sussistono valori allegorici di bene-male-sacrificio; il terzo, Roma, collezione privata (olio su tela, cm.97 x 127), con *Uova, polli, piccioni, fiasche, formaggi e salumi su un'ara col rilievo di una battaglia,* che presenta valenze utili per l'ambiente ispano-napoletano, ma, anche, per una certa cultura di Giovanni Serodine. Per ulteriori ricerche, in merito al Crescenzi, segnalo C.Volpe, "Una proposta per Giovanni Battista Crescenzi", in *Paragone,* n.275, 1973, pp.25-36, nonché M.Gregori, *Notizie su Agostino Verrocchi e un'ipotesi per Giovanni Battista Crescenzi,* in *Paragone,* n.275, 1973, pp.36-56.

10. Cfr.M.Marini, *cit.*, 1973-74, nn.33, 35, 40, 45, 47, pp.379-398, Appendice I.

RESUME

In the last decade of the sixteenth century, still life painting in Italy began to develop a more independent role in art, as a result of Caravaggio and his realistic style of "nature painting." Fruit, flowers, birds, vegetables, etc. were no longer subordinated to merely decorative schemes in the form of festoons and vines but became pictorial protagonists within the picture itself. Giovanni Battista Crescenzi (1577–1660), a pupil of Pomarancio and active also as an architect at the court of Philip III of Spain, was one of the closest late followers of Caravaggio and gained fame particularly for his execution of still lifes. Marini discusses several paintings (including the Getty *Supper at Emmaus*), which have traditionally been attributed to other Caravaggisti, and demonstrates how they can probably be attributed to the same hand—that of Crescenzi—by means of their figural similarities as well as the undeniable "virtuosity" of his still lifes.

A Flemish *Deposition* of ca. 1500 and Its Relation to Rogier's Lost Composition

Burton B. Fredricksen

Rogier van der Weyden continued to influence Flemish painting during the last half of the fifteenth century in spite of the fact that he did not himself live beyond the year 1464. Various of his followers survived him, but his compositions were also copied for many decades by artists who cannot have had any direct contact with him. Especially in Brussels, but also in scattered other cities of Flanders and Germany, Rogier's pervasive influence yielded only very gradually. Even after the turn of the century he was still being imitated, long after his style would have seemed very old-fashioned.

The Getty Museum has recently acquired a painting that plays a crucial role in the understanding of a lost work of Rogier's and also in the understanding of a series of works that span more than a century but which all owe their inspiration to Rogier. The painting is a *Deposition*[1] (figs. 1–3) known since the turn of the century and mentioned in such basic surveys of Flemish fifteenth-century painting as Friedländer's,[2] but never discussed in much detail because of its relative inaccessibility. The picture was not reproduced by Friedländer and has apparently never been studied first-hand by any scholar working in the field. As a result scholars have not been able to gain much idea of the picture's quality, nor have they had an opportunity to notice some details that reward a careful study of it. This article is meant, therefore, to rectify this oversight and to introduce the panel to a wider audience. It is also possible now to discuss who its author might have been and to attempt to place it in its proper historical context rather than continuing to see it only as a variation of a Rogierian composition and nothing more.

HISTORY

The first notice of the Getty painting dates from the time of the sale of the Josef Carl Ritter von Klinkosch collection in Vienna in 1889.[3] It was sold with that collection as the work of Dirck Bouts, and it was engraved in the catalogue, leaving no doubt about its identification. Klinkosch—who was court jeweler in Vienna—apparently collected his paintings between the late 1860's and the end of the next decade.[4] It is not yet known where he acquired the *Deposition*. Klinkosch died in 1888, and at the 1889 sale the *Deposition* was sold to another Viennese collector, Dr. Alois Spitzer.[5] Subsequently it appeared in the 1906 sale of Spitzer's collection.[6] I do not know who acquired the painting at this sale, but because of the only other record of its ownership—in the Ehrendorfer collection in Vienna[7]—it seems likely that it stayed in that city until the 1970's.

Its recent history begins with its sale in London at Sotheby's on December 13, 1978 as the work of a "follower of Rogier van der Weyden."[8] It was bought jointly by Colnaghi's and David Carritt bidding against an American collector who was advised by Mr. Daan Cevat, the Dutch dealer. Both potential buyers had recognized elements of North-Netherlandish style in the painting; one thought it was an early work by the Master of the St. Bartholomew Altarpiece, and the other thought it was an unrecognized work by Geertghen tot Sint Jans.[9]

Subsequently the painting was purchased from Colnaghi's by the Getty Museum. Dr. Paul Pieper, an authority on the Master of St. Bartholomew, and former director of the Landesmuseum at Münster, was asked his opinion,

1. Acc. no. 79.PA.20, 61 x 99.7 cm. (24 x 39¼ in.) including the unpainted margins. The panel has two horizontal cracks—now restored—that roughly divide the surface into three equal pieces. The back of the panel has two batons inserted quite some time ago for support, but otherwise the panel is unaltered. The paint loss along the cracks is very slight, and the only significant damage is on the lower arm of the dead Christ, which has suffered some scratches. Otherwise the condition is nearly perfect.

2. M.J. Friedländer, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, II, 1967, no. 94c.

3. Sold under the direction of Miethke in Vienna on April 2 and following days, 1889. Our painting was lot no. 16.

4. See T. von Frimmel, *Lexicon der wiener Gemäldesammlungen*, 2, Munich, 1914, pp. 400–401.

5. Frimmel, *op. cit.*, p. 403.

6. Sold on January 24, 1906, as lot no. 142. I have not been able to refer to a copy of this catalogue, and I do not know to whom the painting was attributed.

7. According to the Sotheby's sale catalogue of December 13, 1978, lot 33.

8. Lot 33. No owner is given, and I do not know who they were.

9. I want to thank Daan Cevat for having discussed the painting with me and also Richard Herner of Colnaghi's, who told me of the circumstances surrounding the firm's purchase of the painting.

and he agreed that it must be that master's earliest painting, done ca. 1470. This attribution was confirmed by others such as Alistair Smith.[10]

The opinions given above, though I believe now that they are both incorrect, clearly point in the same direction, the north Netherlands, but to two different cities. The St. Bartholomew Master is presumed to have been active in Utrecht at the time he would have painted such a picture. Geertghen was, of course, in Haarlem. There is no known connection between the two artists, but there are elements of truth in both attributions. It is at this point, therefore, that we should take a close look at the picture itself in order to form our own opinion.

DESCRIPTION AND COMPOSITION

The subject is not quite a *Deposition*, nor any of the standard phases of the passion normally depicted by fifteenth-century artists. It has been described by Nicole Veronee-Verhaegen[11] as "an intermediary moment . . . when Joseph of Arimathea, assisted by Nicodemus, carries the crucified body of Christ from the cross to the sepulchre for entombment. Mary seems to delay the mournful procession in order to embrace her son one last time, while the Magdalen also seems to arrest the progress of the group by kneeling tearfully in front of it." It is similar to Rogier's famous altarpiece painted for the Fraternity of Crossbowmen of Louvain and now in Madrid (fig. 4). The Madrid altarpiece and the Getty painting have some details in common, such as the figure of the Magdalen wringing her hands on the right, and of course the fact that both scenes take place at the foot of the cross. But the Getty composition is more obviously a procession: the figures of Joseph of Arimathea and Nicodemus are actually walking, or are about to walk, with the limp body of Christ in their arms.

There is no doubt that this composition—as distinct from the composition known in the Madrid altar—was in itself very famous in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. A larger number of copies exist of the Madrid altar, but enough remain of the one presently under discussion to allow us to assume that it was seen by and known to a large public. The original painting is now presumed lost, but it must have been one of the greatest monuments of Flemish painting during its time and—if we can assume that it was by Rogier—probably one of his most famous altars.[12]

Scholars might simply have concluded that all of the paintings that demonstrate the influence of this composition were just a distant reflection of the Louvain/Madrid *Deposition* were it not for a drawing in the Louvre (fig. 5) which almost certainly was copied directly from the lost original, wherever it was.[13] This drawing, considered by some to be the work of Vrancke van der Stockt (active 1444–died 1495), Rogier's close assistant and successor as the official painter of the city of Brussels, has all of the elements seen in the Getty composition in exactly the same positions.[14] The only important exception is the absence of the cross in the center of the drawing—though there is some smudging which could indicate that it was perhaps once there—and also the missing ladder to its left. (One might mention also that the painting includes numerous flowers and plants at both sides and in the foreground that do not appear in the drawing, but this is not so significant.) The reason for the missing ladder is fairly obvious: the drawing includes a cornice or frame which runs around the left side and over most of the top. It is indented in the center with arches rising on each side to enclose the angels seen hovering with crowns of thorns and nails of the cross in each corner. This must have been the original shape of the painting, and one can only guess at the cause of the indentation. There may have been a window or some other architectural impingement above it.[15] I cannot point to another altarpiece with the same, or similar, design, and one must conclude that its odd form was the result of having had to place the altarpiece in a constricted position. It would have been normal for the

10. In *The Burlington Magazine*, Jan. 1980, p. 91, in a review of the Brussels Van der Weyden exhibition.

11. Nicole Veronee-Verhaegen, "The Arenberg *Lamentation*" in *Bulletin of the Detroit Institute of Arts*, v. 41, 1962, p. 64. Madame Veronee-Verhaegen has written more extensively on the subject in an article "The Arenberg *Lamentation* in the Detroit Institute of Arts" in *Art Quarterly*, XXV, 1962, pp. 295 ff.

12. The bibliography connected with the lost composition by Rogier is very extensive. The first author to discuss it was Friedrich Winkler, *Der Meister von Flemalle und Rogier van der Weyden*, 1913, pp. 81 ff. The most complete bibliography is probably that given by Micheline Comblen Sonkes, *Dessins du XVe siecle: Groupe van der Weyden* (*Les Primatifs flamands*, III, v. 5). 1969, p. 136.

13. Musée du Louvre, Cabinet des dessins, inv. no. 20.666, 24 x 35.7 cm. The most thorough discussion of it is in Comblen-Sonkes, *op. cit.*, pp. 134–139, no. C23. It was also included in *Rogier van der Weyden*, exh. Brussels, 1979, no. 24, pp. 159–160.

14. The attribution to Van der Stockt was made by P. Wescher, "The drawings of Vranke van der Stoct" in *Old Master Drawings*, v. 13, 1938, p. 3; it was accepted by Winkler in *Master Drawings*, v. 3, 1965, p. 155, but rejected by others.

15. Nicole Veronee-Verhaegen (in *Art Quarterly*, XXV, p. 298) assumes that the shape of the frame indicates that the original composition (which she takes to be a carved wood group) was a "sort of predella intended to support a shrine or reliquary upon the altar." None of the sculptured examples she gives, however, support this theory, and I think her theory that the Louvre drawing is copying a piece of sculpture is erroneous. Nor do I think it very likely that any of the painted copies were made from the Louvre drawing (see note 12).

Figure 1. Flemish Master, ca. 1500. *Deposition,* Malibu.

middle of the composition to project upwards—as in the Prado *Deposition*—rather than the contrary.[16] The shape of the original is not found in the Getty panel nor in any of the other copies. In place of the indentation, our artist has extended the cross and introduced a ladder. Otherwise the space is empty.

One important detail that both paintings have in common is something that one does *not* see: a background. There is no indication on the drawing of what might have been there, but the limited amount of space would have allowed for very little. Because Rogier sometimes placed his figures in a shallow space which he closed off at the back, as if they were painted sculpture standing in a niche, one may easily conclude that is what was done here. The background of the Louvain/Madrid altarpiece, for example, is gilt but painted to look like the back of a shallow box made of wood. (The supporting beams are shown.) Some similar effect was probably created in the lost altarpiece. The background of the Getty panel may resemble the background of the lost original. It is gilt with a pattern of dots. There is no attempt to render a box or to give any other illustration of a substance beyond what it is. The same type of background is found in Rogier's *Madonna* in the Huntington Library in San Marino. The dots are larger and more prominent but have basically the same pattern.

We should not assume, of course, that any of the above proves that the Louvre drawing was made after a work by Rogier. Backgrounds such as this exist also in the work of Campin—in the Frankfurt fragments, for example, although the gold background has a pattern—and could have been found perhaps in the works of the members of his circle or among his followers. But the types seen in the drawing are so Rogierian, especially the Magdalen which nearly duplicates the one in the Louvain/Madrid altarpiece, that the original must have been a product of the Campin/Rogier tradition. Also the existence in Detroit of a version in wood (fig. 6)—attributable to the school of

16. A drawing of *Christ Carrying the Cross* formerly in the Becker collection has long been held to be a copy of the left wing of the lost altarpiece. Its cornice and molding correspond to those seen in the Louvre drawing, and it is a strong indication that the odd shape of the frame seen in the Louvre drawing was in fact its original form. It is also a reason for believing it was a painting and not a sculptured group. The Becker drawing is reproduced in the catalogue of the Brussels exhibition, *Rogier van der Weyden,* 1979, p. 76, and in M. Comblen Sonkes, *op. cit.,* 1969, pp. 121 ff., no. C17.

Figure 2. Detail of fig. 1.

Figure 3 Detail of fig. 1.

Figure 4. Rogier van der Weyden, *Deposition.* Madrid, Prado.

Figure 5. After Rogier van der Weyden (?), *Deposition.* Paris, Louvre.

Brussels[17] and dated to the third quarter of the century—helps to pinpoint the origins of the composition around the middle of the century or before and place it in the Brussels school.

Scholars have argued for the past half century about which of the two compositions—the Louvain/Madrid altar or the lost one known from the Louvre drawing—came first. I think we cannot answer such a question yet; and in any case, it is not particularly important for our discussion. Suffice it to mention that the Madrid altar is normally dated about 1434/35.

One other version, or rather partial version, of the composition exists than can also perhaps be dated prior to the end of the century.[18] That is a drawing formerly in the Ehlers collection in Göttingen and now in the Kupferstichkabinett in Berlin (fig. 7).[19] This drawing is a copy of the two women on the right side of the composition, the kneeling Magdalen and the holy woman with her cape drawn over her head who holds the jar. The drawing follows the Louvre drawing and not the Getty painting. One of the differences in details, for instance, is the form of the jar already mentioned. In the Louvre drawing—and also that in Berlin—it is a plain cylinder-shaped jar with a lid. In the Getty painting there is an ornamental ring around the middle. There are other differences: In the two drawings the Magdalen's belt is held by a simple circular buckle; in the painting this becomes a flower-shaped form with a long chain hanging to the ground. Also, her robe has an elaborate floral pattern highlighted with gold; neither drawing indicates any pattern on her clothing.

The drawing in Berlin serves to strengthen the belief that the Louvre drawing has been made directly from the original painting and that both drawings give the best indication of what it looked like. The Getty painting has included some slight variations and may be taken as beginning to deviate somewhat from its prototype, albeit in minor ways. But at this point we must also recognize that the Getty painting deviates in one important way from the Rogierian original, even if it remains faithful to most of its details: the Getty painting is no longer in the Rogierian tradition at all. Although its every figure derives from models clearly inspired by the elegance and relatively angular grace of Rogier's style, the figures in the Getty panel are shorter in proportion, fuller in breadth, and in general lacking in angularity. Whereas the drawings render the draperies with a crisp sculptural quality, the painting tends to round out all of these contours. The long, slender fingers of the drawings become a little shorter in the painting; the thumbs especially are fleshed out. The heads likewise are made larger in proportion to their bodies. The feet are subjected to the biggest alteration: the pointed thin Gothic slippers of the Louvre drawing are replaced by thick peasant-like boots in the painting. All of these details suggest that an artist outside the Brussels tradition was responsible for the Getty panel. In other words, the artist has rendered a composition of the Brussels courtly style into the more humble manner of his own region.

17. See N. Veronee-Verhaegen in *Art Quarterly,* XXV, pp. 295 ff. The sculpture is known to be from Brussels because it carries the stamp of the sculptors' guild of that city.

18. I am omitting one painting that is related to the composition, but only marginally. That is the *Deposition* attributed to Vrancke van der Stockt formerly in a Brussels private collection (cf. *Art Quarterly,* XXV, 1962, p. 307, fig. 12). It appears to have been influenced by the lost altarpiece but has almost no details in common with it.

19. Kupferstichkabinett inv. no. 17.694, 23.5 x 12.9 cm. See M. Comblen Sonkes, *op. cit.,* 1969, pp. 140–1, no. C24, for the most complete discussion.

Figure 6. School of Brussels, *Deposition*. Detroit, Institute of Arts.

Figure 7. After Rogier van der Weyden (?), *Mary Magdalen and a Holy Woman*. Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett.

LATER COPIES AND VARIATIONS

A series of paintings exists that repeats this same composition either entirely or in part. The date is generally somewhat uncertain, but all but one would seem to be from the early decades of the sixteenth century. They are important for what they can tell us about the later influence of the composition. The copies are as follows:

1. France, Private collection (fig. 8)
   A triptych, with the *Deposition* in the center and *Christ Carrying the Cross* and the *Resurrection* on the wings. (The reverse sides of the wings show *Christ before Pilate*.) The center section measures 116 x 76 cm.[20] This altarpiece has been attributed to the Master of Frankfurt, but it has also been called a copy after that master.[21] I have not seen the original, but to judge from the reproduction available to me, its style is that of the Frankfurt Master, and it may well be an original.[22] The composition of the *Deposition* corresponds very closely to that of the drawing and the Getty panel except for the addition of a landscape in the background. For reasons explained below, I believe that it, or the lost original from which it derives, served as the model for the following painting.
2. Watervliet (Province of Oostvlaanderen, Belgium), O.L. Vrouwkerk (fig. 9).
   A triptych of which the central section with the *Deposition* measures 238.5 x 236 cm. As above, the wings show *Christ Carrying the Cross* and the Resurrection, with *Christ before Pilate* on the reverse. This large altarpiece was formerly attributed to the Master of Frankfurt like the preceding work, but more recently to a so-called Master of Watervliet.[23] It is very beautifully painted and has been the subject of much discussion. The composition corresponds both to the Louvre drawing and to the Getty panel insofar as the figures are concerned. But two or three heads have been changed, and a figure, probably a self-portrait of the artist, has been added on the right. Moreover, the composition has been extended to the top, allowing the cross to be included in its entirety. The figure of a young man has been placed on the ladder bringing down the crown of thorns. An extensive landscape has been added in the background, and a pile of bones is found in the foreground. Because the wings, both front and back, appear to be free variations of

20. Published in *Chefs-jd'oeuvre de la curiosite du monde*, 2e exp. int. de la C.I.N.O.A., Paris, Musée des Arts Decoratifs, 1954, no. 25. It is supposed to have come from the collection of Miss Venetia Buddicom, Pendehew Hall, Flintshire. In 1954 it belonged to Colnaghi's.

21. For a discussion of the attribution and its relationship to the Watervliet triptych, see Paul Vanaise, "De Meester van Watervliet en zijn Nood Gods" in *Institut Royal du Patrimoine Artistique, Bulletin*, IX, 1966, pp. 24–25, and N. Veronee-Verhaegen, "Iconographie", pp. 43–46.

22. A further proof of this is given by a painting in Antwerp (no. 568), which is definitely by the Master of Frankfurt and which also depicts *Christ Carrying the Cross*. It is very similar in character to the left wing of the triptych in France and was itself the left wing of a now dismembered and unidentified triptych. That lost triptych probably was composed in a manner similar to the one in France.

23. The Watervliet triptych has been published at considerable length in the *Bulletin* of the *Institut Royal du Patrimoine Artistique*, IX, 1966. A series of articles there discussed every aspect of the altarpiece and its possible author as well as giving its bibliography.

Figure 8. Master of Frankfurt (?), *Triptych with the Deposition.* France, Private Collection. (From *Burlington Magazine,* 1956)

Figure 9. Master of Watervliet, *Triptych with the Deposition.* Watervliet (Belgium), O.L. Vrouwkerk.

the wings on the preceding triptych, I believe it is probable that the Watervliet version was based on that triptych or a lost variation of it. It would be illogical to reverse the order because the composition of the smaller French *Deposition* is still very close to the source in detail.[24]

3. New York, Ernst Schwartz collection (formerly) (fig. 10)
   Sold at Christie's in London on June 26, 1959 and later on November 24, 1961. It measures 109 x 71 cm.[25] At one time in the collection of Sir John Twisden, Bradbourne, East Malling, Kent. The composition is loosely based upon the altarpiece at Watervliet (no. 2) above, but the figures are extensively altered and the landscape is very different. It has likewise been attributed to the Master of Frankfurt, but this is surely wrong. It seems to be very well painted, however.
4. Naples, Capodimonte, no. 8 (fig. 11)
   The dimensions are 82 x 82.5 cm. It was acquired with the collection of Domenico Barbaia in 1841 as by "Luca d'Olanda," i.e. Lucas van Leyden.[26] All of the figures correspond to those in the Getty painting, and the composition differs only in the addition of a landscape background and an increased height, allowing for the top of the cross to be included and causing the two angels to be raised. Its quality is not high.
5. Schwerin, Mecklenburgisches Landesmuseum, no. 253 (fig. 12)
   Dimensions: 74.5 x 88.7 cm.[27] Very much like the preceding composition but lacking the top of the cross and with the angels lower. The landscape is not the same as in any of the above versions.
6. Strasbourg, Musée des Beaux-Arts, no. 188 (fig. 13)
   Dimensions: 49 x 47 cm.[28] Acquired in Vienna from the dealer Miethke in 1890. Destroyed by fire in 1947. All of the figures on the right side are changed from the original, and the cross is now placed further back into the landscape. The landscape does not correspond to any of those above, and the entire painting is more spatial.
7. Bruges, A. van Acker collection (fig. 14)
   Dimensions: 64 x 90 cm.[29] This is a later copy of medi-

24. P. Vanaise (*op. cit.*, pp. 24–25, especially note 1) had already come to the same conclusion.

25. In the 1959 sale it was lot 34, and in the 1961 sale it was lot 132, in both cases sold as by the Master of Frankfurt. It was first attributed to the Frankfurt Master by W.R. Valentiner in 1940, and published by him in *Art Quarterly*, v. 8, 1945, pp. 207, fig. 4.

26. See A. Filangieri di Candida, "La Galleria Nazionale di Napoli" in *Le Gallerie Nazionali Italiane*, V, 1902, p. 254, no. 2.

27. Called Flemish school, ca. 1500 in the museum. Published by N. Veronee-Verhaegen in *Art Quarterly*, 1962, p. 303, fig. 8.

28. M.J. Friedländer, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, II, 1967, no. 94d. It appears in the 1909 Strasbourg catalogue as no. 63, south Netherlandish master, early sixteenth century.

29. Published by N. Veronee-Verhaegen in *Art Quarterly*, 1962, p. 305, fig. 10, as by a "follower of Pieter Coecke van Aelst."

Figure 10. Flemish early sixteenth century. *Deposition.* New York, Schwarz Collection.

Figure 11. Flemish early sixteenth century. *Deposition.* Naples, Capodimonte.

Figure 12. Flemish early sixteenth century. *Deposition.* Schwerin, Staatliches Museum.

Figure 14. Flemish early sixteenth century. *Deposition.* Bruges, Van Acker Collection. (From *Art Quarterly*, 1962)

Figure 16. Ambrosius Benson (?), *Deposition.* Spalding, Turner Collection. (From Marlier, *Ambrosius Benson*, pl. XII)

Figure 13. Flemish early sixteenth century. *Deposition.* Strasbourg, Musee des Beaux-Arts.

Figure 15. Ambrosius Benson (?), *Triptych with the Deposition.* Formerly London, Spanish Art Gallery. (From Marlier, *Ambrosius Benson*, pl. XII)

Figure 17. School of Martin Schongauer, *Deposition.* Ulm Münster. (From *Oud-Holland,* 1939)

ocre quality in which all of the figures correspond to the original, but the crosss and the flying angels have been removed. It also has a landscape.

8. London, Spanish Art Gallery (formerly) (fig. 15)
   Dimensions: 61 x 89 cm. including frame.[30] It was painted perhaps by Amrosius Benson and is dated 1538. It is a very liberal copy only loosely based on our composition.
9. Spalding, C.F. Turner collection (fig. 16)
   Dimensions: 92.5 x 67.5 cm.[31] Possibly by Ambrosius Benson and perhaps datable in the 1530's. As with the previous painting, it is a very free version with very few details in common with the original.
10. Ulm, Münster (fig. 17)
    Dimensions: 20.2 x 44 cm.[32] This copy is found in the predella of a small sculpted altarpiece whose stylistic origins are apparently from the area of the upper Rhine. The central sculpture group depicts the *Crucifixion* with three crosses, Mary, John, and the Magdalen. On the left wing are *Christ at Gethsemene* and *Christ before Pilate,* copied after Schongauer's engravings B.9 and B.14. The right wing includes the *Ecce Homo* and *Christ Carrying the Cross,* likewise copied after Schongauer's engravings B.15 and B.16. All of the paintings, including the predella, can be presumed to have been painted by a member of Schongauer's circle because the technique much resembles his. It is, in fact, possible that its author was Ludwig Schongauer, Martin's younger brother, who was a resident of Ulm between 1479 and 1486. This must remain just speculation, however, since no documented paintings by Ludwig Schongauer are known.

The importance of the painting does not lie in its quality but in its presumed date, origins, and some stylistic details. It has often been stated that the altarpiece was dedicated in 1484, a fact that remains to be proven.[33] However, it seems fairly certain that it dates at least from the 1480's—probably within a few years of Schongauer's engravings—and therefore is almost certainly the earliest of the copies listed here. As will be seen, it probably also predates the Getty panel.

Having noted this, and knowing how much Schongauer was influenced by Rogierian prototypes which he must have seen while traveling in Burgundy during the late 1460's, one might expect that the Ulm copy would be particularly faithful to Rogier's original. However, it does not correspond particularly closely to the Louvre drawing. The heads of John and Mary, the headdress of the man (Joseph or Nicodemus) next to John, and many other details differ from the drawing. Nevertheless, they do have one important detail in common: the pointed shoes. Of all the painted versions, the Ulm predella is the only one to retain this remnant of courtly style. The entire composition, of

30. See Georges Marlier, *Ambrosius Benson,* 1957, no. 7, pp. 282–3, pl. XII, with provenance and bibliography. It was later sold at Christie's, Feb. 1, 1952, no. 62, bought by Evans.

31. See Marlierk, *op. cit.,* 1957, no. 47, p. 294, pl. XII.

32. Winkler in 1913 (*Der Meister von Flemalle und Rogier van der Weyden,* p. 85) was the first to connect the predella with Rogier's lost original. It is discussed in various places, the most relevant being J. Baum, "Niederländische Einwirkungen auf die Ulmer Malerei des späten 15. Jahrhunderts" in *Oud-Holland,* LII, 1935, pp. 30–31. See also note 29.

33. Beginning with R. Pfleiderer, *Das Münster,* 1890, p. 89, this date is mentioned. He says "angeblich 1484 gestiftet." This is repeated in various books such as J. Baum, *Die Ulmer Plastik um 1500,* 1911, p. 43; G. Otto, *Die Ulmer Plastik der Spätgotik,* 1927, p. 16; and most recently by Hermann Tüchle, "Die Münsteraltäre des Spätmittelalters" in *600 Jahre Ulmer Münster, Festschrift,* 1977, pp. 126 ff. None of these books give a source, however, and it seems to be an undocumented tradition. It is not even known when the altar entered the Münster.

Figure 18. Detail of fig. 1.

course, reflects Schongauer's sense of proportion and does not finally strike one as much more Rogierian than the Getty panel, but it stands apart from the previous versions in other ways. The woman with a jar at the right wears red, for instance; in all of the other versions she is dressed in deep blue.

11. Germany, E. Brandts collection (formerly)
Dimensions: 50 x 44 cm. Winkler[34] in 1913 referred to this picture which had been exhibited in Wiesbaden in 1910 and mentioned by W. Cohen in a review of that exhibition.[35] They describe it as corresponding to the Naples version (no. 4) in composition, but so far as I know it has never been reproduced and I have not traced it. The dimensions indicate that it was slightly vertical in format and of about the same proportions as the Strasbourg version (no. 6), the smallest of the group. It cannot be identical with any of the versions listed above.

Other copies, or partial copies, may well exist, but the above list is enough to help us generalize somewhat about the influence of the composition.[36] The most important revelation, and one that has been overlooked until now, is the fact that virtually all of the copies above follow the composition as it is known in the Getty panel and not the Louvre drawing. We have already noted some of the discrepancies between the two, but beyond the differences in detail, there is a basic divergence in style. The faces of the participants, as we have seen, are not Rogierian; and the copies listed above, with only a few exceptions, repeat those in the Getty painting. Those that do not certainly copy the types of the Getty version are so free in their interpretation that it is difficult to say from whence they take their inspiration. Only the Ulm version breaks this pattern. At the same time, the Ulm version was not painted in the Netherlands—in the group it is probably unique in this respect—and it obviously did not serve as a source for the others.

It must be emphasized here that one should not assume that all of the copies were taken directly from a single source. Some of them borrowed from each other. As mentioned above, the Schwarz version (no. 3), which is also the most mannered, or Italianate, is derived from the one at Watervliet (no. 2), and the one at Watervliet in turn derives from the one in France (no. 1). But this detail is relatively unimportant. The fact is that none of the paintings, excepting perhaps the Ulm predella, obviously follows the Rogierian prototype.

It becomes, therefore, of some importance to ascertain whether the Getty version is the earliest of the Netherlandish versions. This point may prove to be worthy of lengthier debate, but it would seem fairly likely nevertheless. The Getty version is, most importantly, the only version with a gold background; all of the others have landscapes. At the very least this makes it the most archaizing. For reasons that will be given in more detail below, I believe the Getty panel must date about 1500, or perhaps during the 1490's. None of the Flemish copies has ever been dated before 1500, and it is likely that none is earlier than 1510. Nor is any of them, with the possible exception of the Watervliet version, of better quality; that version has been recently dated ca. 1515.

Some further support for the primacy of the Getty version is lent by infrared photography which indicates that the artist made a number of changes in the placement of the figures. The majority of the faces have been substantially altered or moved—the exceptions being those of Christ, Nicodemus, Joseph of Arimathea, the unknown

34. Winkler, *op. cit.*, p. 86.

35. Cohen in *Cicerone*, 1910, p. 222. The painting was no. 46 in the exhibition (a copy of the catalogue is in the Victoria and Albert Museum in London), and it was attributed to a Netherlandish master of the sixteenth century.

36. Winkler (*op. cit.*, p. 86) refers to a painting in the Provinzialmuseum in Bonn that should be related to the composition in question, but he does not give its number or any details. He was probably referring to the picture later attributed to the Master of Frankfurt in the 1927 catalogue as no. 132. Its relation to the Van der Weyden composition, however, is hardly worth mentioning.

man on the right, and the angels. The others, such as John (fig. 30) and Mary (fig. 33) show considerable change. All three of the females on the right side (figs. 34–35) have likewise been altered between the time of the underdrawing—which is exposed by the infrared—and the execution in paint. There is also a prominent *pentimento* in the hands of the Magdalen (fig. 35).

There are also two very striking changes in the lower part of the picture. The skull on the ground has been much enlarged by the artist, and the boot furthest to the left of the skull has been revised (fig. 31). This latter detail, as will be seen later, is of some importance; it is unfortunately rather difficult to see exactly what change has taken place, but it would appear that the artist painted the entire leg red, the same color that is exposed at the thigh, and then decided to paint a light-colored legging, or stocking, over it. This much is apparent to the naked eye, but the x-ray (fig. 31) suggests that this foot once had a pointed toe. It is not possible to be certain about this detail, but the shape was clearly thinner at one time and closer to the form seen in the Louvre drawing. None of these *pentimenti* are so large as to prove that the Getty panel is the first of the versions to deviate from Rogier's original. They might also be seen as nothing more than "adjustments." We do not know whether any of the other versions, such as the one at Watervliet, have any comparable alterations. But they imply something more than a copyist at work.

If we accept the argument that the Getty version is the earliest of the painted copies, it becomes therefore the best candidate for being the source for the others. It is conceivable that there was a missing painting—one other than the one by Rogier—that served as a model for all of them, including the Getty panel. Nevertheless, it seems to me equally, if not more, plausible that the Getty painting was that source. The strong implication is that the Rogierian original was either moved or destroyed already by the end of the fifteenth century.

THE ARTIST OF THE GETTY PANEL

The conclusions drawn above may take on more substance in the course of trying to determine more exactly both where and when the Getty panel originated. As noted above, the initial opinions pointed toward the north-Netherlands, and it would be perhaps most convenient to begin the search there.

The principal center of North-Netherlandish—or "Dutch"—painting in the late fifteenth century was Haarlem, but to my mind, there are only a few details in the Getty panel that support a connection with the school of Haarlem. They deserve, however, some discussion. One of these details is the figure on the right, the holy woman with a carefully pressed wimple and a black cape pulled over her head, who delicately holds a jar in her hands (fig. 18). Her features are remarkably like those painted by Geertghen, round, smooth, and simplified. She is especially reminiscent of Geertghen's *St. John* in Vienna (fig. 19). Her hands also resemble those of John. Another stylistic detail in the Getty panel that reflects the art of Geertghen are the profiles seen on John the Evangelist, Mary, and the Magdalen. Such profiles, with long sharp noses, occur often in Geertghen's paintings such as the *Raising of Lazarus* in the Louvre.

Figure 19. Geertghen tot Sint Jans, *St. John in the Wilderness.* Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum.

Geertghen's figure of St. John has one more anatomical detail found in the Getty panel: his feet are like those found on the dead Christ—long, bony, and very large. One may well doubt that feet differ so much from one painter to another, but the feet painted by the artists of the north-Netherlands have a definite character. If one compares those we have mentioned above to those in Jan

Figure 20. Cornelis Engelbrechtsz., *Deposition.* Leyden, Stedelijk Museum "De Lakenhal."

Mostaert's work, or those of Engelbrechtsz' Christ in the *Deposition* in Leyden (fig. 20), one instantly sees the resemblance. Engelbrechtsz was from Leyden, but his work shows the influence of Geertghen very strongly, and all of the details mentioned above, including the oval faces with long pointed noses and the big feet, appear in his work.

Another interesting detail is the shoes worn by Joseph of Arimathea and Nicodemus. Friedländer[37] noted already a change of fashion in the work of another Haarlem artist that is relevant to this element in the Getty painting. In tracing the development of the so-called Master of the Tiburtine Sibyl, an older artist active during the last three decades of the century, he noted that the master's earliest painting, the one in Frankfurt (fig. 21) that gave him his name and which is thought to have originated in Louvain, showed the participants in shoes with a pointed shape, while his later works—done presumably in Haarlem—showed larger, rounded shoes of a very different taste. The Frankfurt painting was probably painted during the late 1470's,[38] and the style of clothing corresponds to what one would expect in the tradition of Rogier or Bouts, and most probably reflected taste in the southern Netherlands in centers like Brussels or Louvain. The later pictures by the same master—i.e. those that are thought to have been painted ca. 1485/95 in Haarlem[39] and which show the influence of Geertghen—include less elegant shoes. The best example is the *Marriage of the Virgin* in the Johnson collection (fig. 22) in which the man on the left, perhaps a donor, is wearing very bulky, though perhaps not uncomfortable, leather shoes for which I know of no parallel in southern Flemish art of the fifteenth century.[40] Snyder suggests these shoes were invented by Geertghen. I think it is more probable that they were simply the style in the northern provinces, or at least in Haarlem, beginning about 1485/90. Perhaps they could be seen already as a reflection of the difference in national character that was developing between the north and the south or at least as a sign that they were painted in a town that was basically more agrarian in nature than court-like. These shoes resemble those found on the feet of Nicodemus and Joseph of Arimathea in the Getty panel. They are not identical, but in a similar style. The Getty shoes are presumably leather slippers which are then inserted into a strap attached to wooden clogs, much like shoes worn by Dutch and Flemish farmers today. It is interesting to recall that at least one of the feet in the Getty picture, the one on the left, appears in an x-ray (fig. 31) to have been altered, possibly from a pointed slipper to the clogged boot that one sees now. This alteration might just indicate that it was painted at a time when the fashion was changing. Or perhaps the artist began to follow Rogier and then changed his mind. In any case, I believe that such shoes did not become commonplace much before 1490, and I doubt that our painting can possibly predate this year by very much.

37. M.J. Friedländer, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, III, 1968, p. 41.
38. Snyder, *op. cit.*, pp. 51–52.
39. Snyder, *op. cit.*, pp. 49–55, dates then slightly earlier than Friedländer.
40. *Ibid.*, p. 52.

Figure 21. Master of the Tiburtine Sibyl, *Augustus and the Tiburtine Sibyl.* Frankfurt, Städelsches Kunstinstitut.

None of this helps much in identifying the artist of the Getty panel. He cannot be the young Geertghen because there are too many details, such as the gold background, the impasto, and the color range, which are alien to Geertghen and Haarlem. Nor do those details that correspond to his work necessarily point directly to a connection with Geertghen; they might show merely the influence of the Haarlem style.

Traces of contact, either direct or indirect, with other north-Netherlandish artists also exist in the Getty panel. Although the three profiles and the one head on the right reflect Haarlem, the remainder do not. As mentioned above, it had been proposed at one point that we are dealing with an early work by the Master of St. Bartholomew, an artist known to have been active in Utrecht but with no known contacts with Haarlem. There are two reasons for treating this idea seriously. First, the Master of St. Bartholomew was the only artist who utilized the archaisms of the Gothic tradition, often in much the same way that Rogier did, long after the death of the great master in 1464. The activity of this anonymous painter can be firmly placed between 1475, the date of a book of hours, and the second decade of the next century. Various stylistic and topographical details allow us to assume that he was first active in Utrecht before going to Arnhem (the likely place of origin of the book of hours of 1475), and by the turn of the century he was settled in Cologne.

The most obvious archaisms in this master's paintings are the use of gold backgrounds, often with hatching or a drawn pattern. He often reduces the space available to the figures, preferring to keep them in a shallow area near the front of the composition. He utilizes a large amount of

Figure 22. Master of the Tiburtine Sibyl, *Marriage of the Virgin.* Philadelphia, John G. Johnson Collection.

simulated carved ornament on the sides and in the corners, and his figures always retain a certain sculptural quality that resembles the manner of Rogier. Indeed, many of his paintings have whole figures borrowed directly from Rogier.

Oddly, the St. Bartholomew Master becomes more archaistic later in his career rather than at the beginning. His earliest paintings, such as the *Adorations* in Munich and Paris and the *Marriage at Cana* in Brussels, are deliberately spatial in construction and seem to be devoid of any tendency to revive any aspects of the Gothic style. It is his later paintings, such as the *Deposition* in the Louvre (fig. 23), done most probably in Cologne around the turn of the century, that demonstrate this *rétardataire* element most vividly. The composition is probably inspired by Rogier's Louvain/Madrid altarpiece of sixty to seventy years earlier. Like Rogier, he puts it into a shallow gold box which he decorates with elaborate ornaments in the corners and around the sides. The poses are much more complex and contorted than Rogier, and they lack the

Figure 23. Master of St. Bartholomew, *Deposition*. Paris, Louvre.

solemnity of his work; but like the Getty panel, the Louvre *Deposition* is another instance of a northern artist adapting a Rogierian composition to his own idiom.

The St. Bartholomew Master, though active during his later years in the area of Cologne and the lower Rhine, always betrays his "Dutch" origins. He did not belong to the tradition of Haarlem that we have briefly looked at but to that of Utrecht. Instead of the somewhat simplified and oval faces that one finds in Geertghen and his circle, the Utrecht artists painted faces that are slightly doll-like, with prominent eyes and protruding chins. The foreheads are often very high. Like a drawer of caricatures, the St. Bartholomew Master exaggerates the various facets of the features and accentuates their structure. The heads are large for the bodies, as in Geertghen, but the bodies are long and thin, with large extremeties. Prominent hands and feet are placed at the end of skeletal arms and legs. The fingers are also attenuated, almost like a spider. The Bartholomew Master was a marvelous draughtsman, although no drawings by him are known to exist.

It is not difficult to see what this master has in common with the author of the Getty panel. The latter paints figures in a very similar manner; he likes to embellish every beard and bare head with large amounts of curls, and everywhere he likes to display his masterly draughtsmanship. The feet, both bare and shod, are like those of the St. Bartholomew Master, and sometimes the hands tend to grasp and curl like his. The plants at the bottom are also to be found in both artists' work.

In spite of this, I am reluctant to believe that our painting is by the St. Bartholomew Master, even as his earliest work. Though all of the basic stylistic elements are present—an inclination towards archaism and gold, a fondness for Rogier, and certain similarities of form—there are some details that are incompatible. The most noticeable are the hands. In the Getty panel they are long and relatively graceful, but those of John and the holy woman to the right of the cross are simply unlike any to be found in the Bartholomew Master's *oeuvre*. They are taken from Rogier, of course, but we already know that both artists, the Master of the Getty panel and the St. Bartholomew Master, normally altered such details as they translated them into their own manner. Nor do most of the faces match exactly those of the Cologne Master. It would appear as if we were dealing with a master with a similar outlook to that of the St. Bartholomew Master but not with the same artist. Moreover, the style of shoe that one sees in the Getty panel does not occur in the early paintings of the St. Bartholomew Master, where one sees the long pointed shoes of a more elegant kind. The bulkier shoes, or clogs, only become noticeable in his later works, and I believe they must have come into fashion rather late in the century, perhaps around 1490. This accords with what we saw in the works of the Tiburtine Sibyl Master. If so, this would exclude the Getty panel as the Bartholomew Master's earliest work, i.e. ca. 1470. One would have to try to arrange it among the artist's works done ca. 1490/1500, something not very easy to do.

If we look at other masters who were probably active in Utrecht, we find a few more similarities to the Getty panel, but nothing decisive. The best example is the so-called Master of the Amsterdam Death of the Virgin (Meester van het Amsterdamse Sterfbed Maria). This anonymous painter is thought to have been active from approximately 1495 to 1505; very few of his paintings still exist, and so our knowledge of his career is very limited.[41] The panel in Amsterdam from which he takes his name (fig. 24) is still his most characteristic work, and in one way the style is closer to that of the Getty panel than is that of the St. Bartholomew Master. It is less elaborate, less contorted. There is a certain stolidness in the figures that the Bartholomew Master never shows.[42] Moreover,

41. See Friedlander, *op. cit.*, X, 1973, pp. 65 ff., and 96 for the most recent bibliography.

42. The early works by the Master of St. Bartholomew at times come very close to those of the Amsterdam Death of the Virgin Master. For instance, the *Marriage at Cana* by the former artist in Brussels is exceptionally close to the two wings thought to be by the latter painter in the Antwerp museum (van Ertborn collection) depicting the *Assumption of the Virgin* and *Mary with the Man of Sorrows*. I believe an association between the two artists at this point is very likely.

the hands are very similar. And yet, it would not seem to be his unless it were from a phase of his work with which we are unfamiliar. We have no pictures by his hand that use gold backgrounds; all of them are very spatial and free of archaisms. He also employs a much smoother technique and a darker tonality than our painting. He seems to be an artist whose natural bent was more toward realism than ours.

Looking for parallels in the other direction—following the mature St. Bartholomew Master to the area of the lower Rhine—we find more positive clues. It is well known that the country around Wesel, Arnhem, and Calcar produced a series of artists who emigrated to the Netherlands and whose general style reflects north-Netherlandish influence. Jan Joest van Calcar was probably the senior member of this group and was born at Wesel. He worked in Brussels and late in life—from 1509 until his death in 1519—he was in Haarlem. The Master of Frankfurt, whatever his origins, had a Rhenish period and was certainly active there before landing in Antwerp. His activity is normally dated from ca. 1490 to ca. 1515. Joos van Cleve is known to have been in Antwerp from 1511 onwards, but his name indicates he came from the same general area as Jan Joest; and their styles are so similar that we must assume a lengthy contact between the two of them. Some of Joos' earliest works were painted for Cologne, and there are demonstrable connections between him and the St. Bartholomew Master.[43] Finally, there is Barthel Bruyn the Elder who must have worked under Jan Joest and who in turn shows strong similarities to Joos van Cleve. He may have gone briefly to Haarlem with Jan Joest, but he was essentially a Cologne artist, remaining there during all of his painting career. Bruyn need not occupy us in this study. And Joos van Cleve, though interesting for the reflections in his work of the north-Netherlandish school, is of a later generation. But Jan Joest and the Master of Frankfurt are both relevant.

Jan Joest is documented in Calcar in 1480, and he was again (or still) there in 1491. He painted the shutters on the high altar in Calcar between 1506 and 1508.[44] An altarpiece of 1505 is known to have been commissioned from him by a Spaniard in Brussels; he is described in the documents as "Juan de Hollanda."[45] This might signify that he had already had close contacts with the north-

Figure 24. Master of the Amsterdam Death of the Virgin, *Death of the Virgin.* Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum.

Netherlands or Haarlem, but he is not documented there before 1509, and even this documentation is questioned.[46] These dates would appear to be much too late to be of help with the Getty panel, but I believe that Jan Joest must somehow be related to it. This becomes apparent when one closely compares the few documented works by Jan—the altarpieces in Calcar and Palencia—to our painting. Remarkably, the facial types and the hands correspond precisely to ours. The most revealing comparison is between the holy woman to the right of the cross in the Getty painting with almost any of the many heads of Mary that appear in Jan Joest's two altarpieces. Moreover, Jan normally leaves the mouth slightly open, as does our master. When one compares the hands of John the Evangelist in the *Pentecost* scene at Calcar (fig. 26) to those of the same saint in the Getty panel, they are exactly the same—long but angular, with the index and second finger placed together. There are numerous parallels in both altarpieces. There are also the same plants in the foreground.

In another painting by Jan Joest, the undocumented but probably authentic *Nativity* formerly in the Von Bissing collection in Munich (fig. 27), one sees the hands of the Virgin are also identical, with the same length and form, and the small finger arched slightly. In the sky are musical angels with the same wavy but fan-shaped hair seen on those in the Getty picture. Having noted all of this, it be-

43. I do not believe this connection has been brought out, but one painting in particular, the *Madonna and Child with St. Bernard* in the Louvre (fig. 25), generally considered one of Joos' earliest works, shows so many anatomical details reminiscent of the Cologne master that at one time I was convinced it was by him. The fingers and facial features would seem to be very much derived from the St. Bartholomew Master, and indeed from his mature work done in Cologne; but the technique of the picture is otherwise unusual for the St. Bartholomew Master. These long fingers appear in only one or two of the early pictures by Joos.

44. See the recent exhaustive article by Friedrich Gorissen, "Meister Matheus und die Flügel des Kalkarer Hochaltars" in *Wallraf-Richartz Jahrbuch*, XXXV, 1973, pp. 149 ff.

45. Gorissen (*op. cit.*, pp. 174–5) interprets this as referring to Jan Mostaert, and proposes then an association between Mostaert and Jan Joest. There is otherwise almost no basis for such a supposition.

46. This was doubted by J. Bruyn in *Oud-Holland*, v. 81, 1966, p. 218.

Figure 25. Joos van Cleve, *Madonna and Child with St. Bernard.* Paris, Louvre.

comes apparent that the head of Christ in the Getty panel is completely in the tradition we associate with Jan Joest.

And yet no paintings by Jan Joest exist with a gold background like ours, nor with the obvious dependence on Rogier that ours has. Moreover, the painting technique is very different. Jan Joest is essentially an artist of the early sixteenth century. He borders on the mannered at times. His compositions are very elaborate, and he shows no inclination to look backward.

How then to explain the "Morellian" connection? It is conceivable—but only conceivable—that the Getty panel might be an early work by Jan Joest. After all, the only pictures we have by his hand are after the turn of the century. A period of approximately thirty years before the date of the Palencia altarpiece, 1505, is completely unaccounted for if we can believe the usual assumptions about his life span.[47] No paintings can be securely placed during this period, and one can perhaps imagine that, as a youth, Jan might have painted such a copy after Rogier. This would necessitate the assumption that Jan had been in Haarlem as a much younger man, a theory already suggested but for which there is no firm documentation. In spite of the attractiveness of this idea, the difference in character, if not of detail, between the Getty panel and Jan Joest's known pictures makes it very difficult to accept. We might instead propose that we are dealing with Jan Joest's master, whoever he was. Unfortunately, we don't even know where to look. Nothing is known about Jan Joest's training.

One last name exists: the still anonymous Master of Frankfurt. No matter where we might want to place his origins and no matter that he must have been active in Antwerp, he was quite clearly a follower or colleague of Jan Joest and at some time must have been associated with him, most probably in the Rhine area. He may have borrowed from a variety of sources, especially Hugo van der Goes, but the facial types always betray a connection with Jan Joest. The name of this master is still uncertain. He has been identified with two different Antwerp artists, but neither identification has been completely accepted.[48] One of his paintings is datable in 1493 (or earlier), and he may have been active already before that time. It is also important to recall that the large altarpiece at Watervliet has often been attributed to him, as well as one or two of the other copies that derive from the composition known from the Getty panel. It seems possible, therefore, that our painting could be an early work by this artist.

If we look closely at one of the Frankfurt Master's earlier known paintings, the *Holy Kindred* altarpiece painted ca. 1505/06 in the city that gave him his name (fig. 28), it is at first glance difficult to imagine that he could have been the author of the Getty panel. There are certain similarities in the manner in which he paints hands and faces. The figure of the man with a cap on the right side of the Getty painting is similarly posed to the man on the right of the throne in the Frankfurt altarpiece. There are similar flowers in the foreground. And the Frankfurt Master's technique more closely approximates that of our panel than does Jan Joest's. But the Frankfurt Master composes in a very dense manner, and his facial types are unmistakeable throughout his career: they derive from Jan Joest, but they typically have narrowed eyes with a slightly sinister quality. Though superficially similar to those in the Getty panel, they remain different and there are no known instances of his having used a gold background (although he does use it in a more limited way, such as in the glory around the figure of God the Father above the throne in the Frankfurt altarpiece). (We must remember, however, that the composition of our painting derives from Rogier and therefore will not correspond precisely to

47. Gorissen (*op. cit.*, p. 189) has recently attempted to alter radically the interpretation of the few dates connected with Jan Joest's life.

48. The most recent discussion of his work is found in the *Bulletin* of the *Institut Royal du Patrimoine Artistique*, IX, 1966, pp. 13 ff. The attempt to identify the Master of Frankfurt with Jan de Vos still has much in its favor. The later identification with Hendrik van Wueluwe made by A.J.J. Delen in *Miscellanea Leo van Puyvelde*, 1949, p. 78, seems to me less likely.

Figure 26. Jan Joest, *Pentecost*. Calcar, Church of St. Nicholas.

Figure 27. Jan Joest, *Nativity*. Formerly Munich, von Bissing Collection. (From Stange, *Deutsche Malerei der Gotik*, v. 6)

what we would normally expect from the copyist. Much of the detail may also represent a kind of compromise with Rogier's original.)

The other painting in Frankfurt, the *Crucifixion* (fig. 29) of ca. 1504 seems less close stylistically, but some details remain similar. The composition is again Rogierian, for instance, and the figure of John at the left has the same slightly stiff pose as he supports the Virgin that he has in our picture and in *Crucifixions* by Rogier. There are similar plants in the foreground, and a skull, but other parts, such as the figure of Christ, do not much resemble their counterparts in the Malibu panel.

As has been pointed out by Stephen Goddard,[49] one detail in particular leads to the belief that the author of the Getty panel was at least closely associated with—and may in fact have been—the Frankfurt Master. That detail is the gold brocade on the robe of the official at the right in the Frankfurt *Crucifixion*. It is not identical to the robe seen on the Magdalen in the Getty painting; but it is certainly very similar, and it is rendered in a like manner. One finds this type of brocade in a number of other works by the Frankfurt Master (for instance, that worn by St. Elizabeth on the shutter in Dresden or St. Barbara in the panel in Innsbruck). It was obviously one of the motifs favored by the artist and re-used on many occasions. One suspects that he might have had a template or at least a sample of fabric from which he—and members of his workshop—designed his brocades over the course of some years. One finds it also on at least three figures in the *Holy Kindred* altarpiece in Frankfurt, including the figure of St. Anne herself (fig. 25). One of the apostles on the right wing is likewise clothed in it.

In addition to the brocade, almost all of this master's works have the same or very similar low plants with large flat leaves such as one sees in the center foreground of the Getty panel. The examples are too numerous to mention.

I believe that all of these details indicate that the Getty *Deposition* was either painted by the Frankfurt Master or by someone working with him. It has already been noted that this artist's *oeuvre* might in fact be the work of two or more artists (see, for instance, P. Vanaise, *op.cit.*, pp. 9ff.). I believe this is likely, judging from the differences one sees between versions of the same composition that are nevertheless obviously related to his style.

The Getty panel deviates substantially enough in character from the Frankfurt Master's average production to justify hesitation in giving it to him. Indeed, some details, such as the face and figure of Christ, the profiles of John, Mary and the Holy Woman at the right, are simply too unlike him to really allow this. As a result, it seems plausible that the Getty panel reflects a moment when Jan Joest and the Master of Frankfurt were perhaps collaborating or were in some way associated. The composition is, of course, Rogier's, but is it possible that the execution was

49. Mr. Goddard's suggestions on this matter were relayed to me verbally on a visit to the museum in 1981. He is working on the Master of Frankfurt and will eventually publish some of his conclusions in greater detail elsewhere.

Figure 28. Master of Frankfurt, *Holy Kindred Altarpiece.* Frankfurt, Historisches Museum.

the responsibility of the Frankfurt Master working under the supervision of Jan Joest? Or perhaps the reverse: Jan Joest executing portions of a picture that was basically commissioned of the Frankfurt Master's workshop? It is, at this point, impossible to answer such questions. Certainly the Frankfurt Master never otherwise revealed so obviously the result of having worked with Jan Joest and never revealed any connection with Haarlem, as he does here.

We should go back a moment to look at the Frankfurt Master's earliest paintings, the *Archers Festival* of 1493 (or before) in Antwerp and the *Self Portrait with his Wife* of 1496, now also in Antwerp. Both of these pictures must have been painted in Antwerp; certainly the *Archers Festival* has been in Antwerp since its creation. If the artist began in Antwerp, therefore, he moved to Frankfurt around the turn of the century, certainly before 1504, the date of the *Crucifixion* there. The execution of both of the Antwerp pictures is much more tentative than in our picture, or in those in Frankfurt. The Getty picture, if it is to be connected with the Frankfurt Master's career, must therefore date around the turn of the century.

If the Frankfurt Master came into contact with Jan Joest —which is fairly certain—one would expect it to have happened in the lower Rhine area, since that is the only place where both artists are thought to have worked; but this is not certain. Joest is documented in Brussels in 1505, but we have no way of knowing where he was between 1491 and 1505. They might have met in many different places.

The eleven versions of the *Deposition* listed above give us our strongest clue about the approximate location of the lost painting by Rogier and about where our painting

Figure 29. Master of Frankfurt, *Crucifixion.* Frankfurt, Städelsches Kunstinstitut.

might have originated. The largest version, and the one that seems still to be in the same location for which it was painted (and also the closest to ours in character) is the one done for the church of Watervliet, far to the west, just north of Ghent. Two of the remaining copies—those by Ambrosius Benson, nos. 7 and 8 above—are possibly from Bruges, also in the west. We cannot be sure where Benson had his inspiration, but the evidence suggests that it was from a source in his own neighborhood. Indeed, excepting one in Ulm, the remaining copies—although anonymous and relatively nondescript—may have all been produced in Antwerp. As a result, the available information would seem to point towards a location in the west rather than the Lower Rhine. This must remain conjecture, of course, since any of them could have been produced in the west but then sent to another location. However, since none of them seems to have any connection with the Lower Rhine—and Rogier's original is likely to have been in the neighborhood of Brussels—it seems probable that the Getty panel should also have come from the west, perhaps Antwerp.

In spite of the uncertainties surrounding the painting's origins, however, one can say that it remains a very well preserved and splendid example of late fifteenth century Flemish art. Its vividness and dramatic strength permit us to see why it might have had such an impact in its time. Its anonymous author was certainly a painter of considerable importance and skill, and we may still venture the hope that one day his identity will be brought to light.

The J. Paul Getty Museum
Malibu

Figure 30. Infra-red detail of fig. 1.

Figure 31. Infra-red detail of fig. 1.

Figure 32. Infra-red detail of fig. 1.

Figure 33. Infra-red detail of fig. 1.

Figure 34. Infra-red detail of fig. 1.

Figure 35. Infra-red detail of fig. 1.

A Note on French Marquetry and Oriental Lacquer

Sir Francis Watson

The influence of the Orient on Europe during the eighteenth century is a familiar subject about which much has been written. Confucianism, for example, had a profound effect on philosophical and economic thought of the period.[1] In France such influences were particularly deeply felt in the area of the decorative arts. As early as 1670–71 Louis XIV built a *Trianon de Porcelaine* in the park at Versailles decorated in the style of Chinese blue and white porcelain. But the full impact of Oriental art was not felt until the arrival of the second Siamese "embassy" in Paris in 1686. The Siamese not only appeared breathtakingly exotic in their native costumes, but they came to Versailles laden with lavish gifts for the King, the Queen, and the royal family as well as the higher court officials. These presents comprised quantities of porcelain, textiles, metalwork, and lacquer from the Far East.[2] It is a measure of the effect of this influx of Far Eastern works of art on taste that before the arrival of the embassy there had been only two shops in Paris selling Eastern curiosities, while by 1692 there were twelve, and the number continued to increase for some years. Chinese costume became the most fashionable dress for *bals masqués*, and for more than a decade regular *fêtes chinoises* were held at Versailles and elsewhere.

Amongst the most popular of the gifts brought by the Siamese were lacquer screens, cabinets, and boxes. Attempts to produce lacquer in Europe had been made in several countries before this, but the arrival of the Siamese intensified these experiments.[3] In the absence from Europe of the gum produced by the *Rhus vernicifera* and a few other eastern trees, it was, of course, impossible to produce true lacquer. It could only be imitated by various types of varnish. The most successful of these was the so-called *vernis Martin* invented by the Martin brothers who obtained their first patent for its exclusive production in 1730.[4]

Another aspect of this fashion for lacquer was the practice, fostered by the *marchands-merciers*, of using lacquer for the decoration of furniture of purely European design. Panels cut from lacquer screens, either of Chinese cut lacquer (Coromandel) or Japanese painted lacquer, applied to *commodes*, *armoires*, *encoignures* etc. of western design are quite familiar. Even the peculiarly French practice of applying plaques of Sèvres porcelain to wooden furniture had its origin in Chinese examples, for it was an attempt to imitate the Chinese use of plaques of Cantonese enamel or thick slabs of porcelain on chairs and tables.[5]

Geoffrey de Bellaigue, Svend Eriksen, and others have shown that much of the pictorial imagery used by French *ébénistes* from the middle of the eighteenth century onwards was taken from contemporary, or more or less contemporary, engravings[6] just as was the decoration of Sèvres porcelain. The purpose of this paper is to draw attention to a much less familiar source, to suggest that Far Eastern lacquers were also widely used by furniture makers as sources for abstract decorative motives. The note's inception was due to the chance encounter with a miniature chest of three drawers (*kodansu*) of Japanese lacquer in a show case at the Freer Gallery, Washington (fig. 1).

When simple wood marquetry began to reappear in the

1. Both A. Reichwein: *China and Europe: Intellectual and Artistic Contacts in the Eighteenth Century* (London 1923; reprinted 1968) and H. Honour: *The Vision of Cathay* (London 1961) contain valuable information on this subject.

2. The most useful account of the "embassy" (it was, in fact, a mere trade delegation) and its gifts and their consequences are discussed in H.-D. Bélèvitch-Stankevitch: *Le Goût Chinois en France au temps de Louis XIV* (Paris 1910).

3. See H. Huth: *Lacquer of the West, the History of a Craft and an Industry 1550-1950 (Chicago and London, 1971).*

4. On *vernis Martin*, see J.-F. Watin: *L'Art du Peintre, Doreur et Vernisseur* (Paris 1787); H. Racinais: *Les Petits Appartements des Rois Louis XV et Louis XVI au Chateau de Versailles* (Paris 1950); and Huth, *loc. cit. supra.*

5. See F.J.B. Watson in *Opusculum in honorem C. Hernmärck 27.12.66* (Stockholm 1966). "A Possible Source for the Practice of Mounting French Furniture with Sèvres Porcelain," pp. 245–251. The immediate source was, of course, the Dutch but they themselves were following Chinese precedents.

6. G. de Bellaigue: *18th Century French Furniture and its Debt to the Engraver* in *Apollo* January 1963, pp. 16–23; *Engravings and the French Eighteenth-Century Marqueteur* in *The Burlington Magazine* May 1965 pp. 240–250; July 1965 pp. 357–362; and *The Catalogue of the James A. de Rothschild Collection at Waddesdon Manor* Vols. I and II, *Furniture, Clocks and Gilt Bronzes passim* (Geneva 1954). Also S. Eriksen: *Early Neo-Classicism in France* (London 1974) *passim.*

Figure 1. Miniature chest of three drawers (*kodansu*) of Japanese lacquer. Washington, D.C., Freer Gallery of Art.

decoration of French furniture soon after the end of the reign of Louis XIV (1643–1715), or even possibly a little earlier, the patterns used were of a plain geometrical character, sometimes referred to as parquetry on account of its resemblance to the patterns of wooden flooring. Such veneers were in striking contrast to the elaborate veneers of brass, pewter, tortoise-shell, and exotic woods used commonly by Boulle and his followers. Sometime in the mid- or late 1730's taste changed, and *ébénistes* began to embellish the surface of their furniture with trailing sprays of flowers and leaves generally using end-cut wood (*bois de rapport*) to enrich the effect of the veneer. This type of marquetry was superseded in its turn in the late 1740's and the early 1750's by a more pictorial type of marquetry: baskets of flowers, trophies of musical instruments or of agricultural tools, and emblems of the chase. Sometimes even architecture or landscapes appear. This realistic pictorial marquetry was of a type which had long been practiced in Southern Germany.

It was just at this time that a great influx of furniture makers from Bavaria and the Rhineland began to appear in Paris. Two things attracted them: the knowledge that they were masters of the type of marquetry now fashionable in the French capital and the possibility of earning considerably more in France than at home.[7] Amongst the earliest of these foreign craftsmen to exile himself was Jean-François Oeben. He came from the little village of Heinsburg in the Palatinate, where he was the illegitimate son of the local postmaster.[8] The precise date of his arrival is unknown, but as early as 1749 he is recorded as living in the rue Faubourg Saint-Antoine in the very heart of the furniture-making district of Paris. When, in that year, he married the daughter of another *ébéniste*, he brought with him as his marriage portion a quantity of furniture, linen, and clothes, valued at 600 *livres*, suggesting that he had been working successfully for a reasonable time, long

7. It has been said ironically that Leleu was the only distinguished French *ébéniste* of the Louis XVI period. The names of the rest—names such as Oeben, Riesener, Weisweiler, Beneman, Schwerdfeger, etc.—form a highly Teutonic catenary.

8. I am indebted to the unpublished Ph.D. thesis of Rosemarie Strattman on Oeben for some of the facts recorded here.

enough to court Marguerite Lacroix and to satisfy her father that he would make a suitable son-in-law. It seems safe to assume he arrived in Paris somewhere around 1745.

The new arrival quickly achieved success, and by 1751 he is already described as *Compagnon et Menuisier du Roi*. In the following year his name appears in the well-known *Livre-Journal* of the *marchand-mercier* Lazare Duvaux (he is, in fact, the only *ébéniste* to be mentioned by name in the entire account book). That he was a specialist in floral marquetry is made clear by an entry dated 25th June, 1752 as part of a large purchase made by the marquise de Pompadour:

> *Une petite bordure à fleurs pour une estampe faisant le pendant de celle de M. Sevin, payée au sieur OEbenne, 48 l*(ivres).

Earlier in the same month, the *marquise* had already purchased from Duvaux:

> *Une petit bordure en bois de rapport, payée au sieur OEbenne, 48. l*(ivres).

which was probably of the same floral character. Later she purchased seven more, all inlaid with flowers. She had also already employed Oeben to repair a table as another entry in the *Livre-Journal* shows:

> *Au sieur OEbenne, raccommodage d'une table, 24 l*(ivres).[9]

Mme de Pompadour was to become one of Oeben's principal patrons. We know from the inventory taken after her death in 1766 that she owned a number of pieces of furniture made by him. Amongst them was a table, item 544 of the inventory:

> *Une petitte table en écritoire, de bois satiné et de raport, à secret, garny d'encrier poudrier et porte-éponge d'argent avec ornemens de cuivre doré d'or moulu. Prisés trois cens livres.*[10]

This description fits well with a group of *bureaux-toilettes* created by Oeben. They consist of a shaped and sliding top with a deep frieze containing a drawer in front fitted for writing and toilet purposes and supported on four cabriole legs. The table-top is usually veneered with a basket of flowers framed within a border of interlacing ribbons. Examples are to be found in the Louvre, at the Getty Museum, in the collection of Mrs. Jack Linsky, and elsewhere. The last mentioned of these is fitted with corner mounts above the legs, each surmounted by a crennelated turret, the principal element in the marquise's coat of arms. It may therefore be assumed to have belonged to her (fig. 2).[11]

Figure 2. Bureau-toilette by Jean-François Oeben apparently made for the marquise de Pompadour. Note the turrets from her coat of arms incorporated into the corner mounts. Note also the pattern of the marquetry of the sides of the drawer and the floral marquetry so characteristic of Oeben's work. Collection Mrs. Jack Linsky.

Additional evidence that Mme de Pompadour possessed one or more tables of this type is provided by a painting by François Guérin[12] showing the marquise with her daughter Alexandrine seated beside her (fig. 3). In the foreground of this painting is a table of exactly the type just mentioned. Whether this is the table that Duvaux employed Oeben to repair is impossible to say. It is definitely not the Linsky table, for there is no sign of the armorial device; and we may therefore suppose that she owned several. As Alexandrine died at the age of seven on June 16th, 1754, the painting is unlikely to have been executed much later than that date. It therefore seems cer-

9. *Livre-Journal de Lazare Duvaux, Marchand-Bijoutier 1748-1755*, ed. L. Courajod, 2 vols (Paris 1873), t. 11 items nos. 1119, 1149, 1138 respectively.

10. *Inventaire des Biens de Madame de Pompadour Redigé après Son Décès*, ed. J. Cordey (Paris 1939) p. 51.

11. It is reproduced in the catalogue of the sale of the Property of Martha Baird Rockefeller, Parke-Bernet, New York, Part 11, 23 October 1971, lot 711.

12. It is illustrated and discussed in the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 1902, Part II, p. 308.

Figure 3. François Guérin, *Portrait of the marquise de Pompadour and her daughter Alexandrine*, c. 1745. Formerly belonging to baron Edmond de Rothschild, Paris. Photo: *GBA* 1902, part II, p. 308.

Figure 4. *Bureau-toilette* by Jean-François Oeben. It may be compared with the table in figure 2. Paris, Musée du Louvre.

tain that Oeben was making such tables as these at any rate by the middle of the 1750's and perhaps a little earlier. A table in the Louvre illustrated here (fig. 4) resembles the one in the Guérin painting very closely and may even be the one that belonged to Mme de Pompadour.

We have thus established that Oeben was a specialist in floral marquetry and was making *bureaux-toilettes* of the type appearing in the Guérin portrait by about the mid-1750's. It is not possible to see from the painting if the table-top was veneered with a basket of flowers framed with interlacing ribbons, but it seems likely. The marquetry of the sides of the table and of the lids of the side compartments of the drawer, however, is quite clearly of an entirely different character. It consists of a repeating design of a trellis or lattice pattern composed of linked hexagons, each enclosing a fleuron or rosette. This appears on the sides of several other writing tables by Oeben. It is not a normal classical repeating motif and differs strikingly from the typical lozenge-shaped lattice of the Louis XIV period. As far as I know, this is its earliest appearance in furniture decoration. It was to continue in use on French furniture for at least the next forty years with a variety of modifications.

In order that its appearance may be made clearer than in the painting, a detail from just such a *bureau-toilette* by Oeben is reproduced here (fig. 4). It is instructive to compare its marquetry with the repeating trellis pattern appearing on the lowest drawer-front within a small chest of drawers (*kodansu*) of Japanese lacquer from the Freer Gallery, Washington, illustrated here (fig. 5). Although there are differences, e.g., the absence of the linking bars connecting the hexagons, the comparison is suggestive; the patterns are markedly similar.

A few years later than the period assigned to the writing tables discussed above, Oeben received the most important commission of his career. In 1760 the *Bureau Louis XV*, perhaps the most prestigious piece of French furniture created during the eighteenth century, was ordered from him by the Crown. As is well known, Oeben died before the celebrated roll-top desk was completed and his *compagnon* and successor, Jean-Henri Riesener was left to finish it and put his signature on the piece. Nevertheless the design of the desk is entirely due to Oeben, and before he died a large scale model of the desk with the marquetry painted on it in watercolor was submitted to and approved by the King.[13] Some of the marquetry was already completed when Oeben died, and it is unlikely to have been modified subsequently. It was executed by one of Oeben's

13. Verlet: *Le Mobilier Royal Français*, t. 11 (Paris 1955), pp. 65 ff. and *Jardin des Arts*, May 1956, pp. 101 ff.

studio assistants—Wynant Stylen.

If we now turn to the marquetry of the drawer-fronts in the interior of the *Bureau* (fig. 6), we find the trellis or lattice pattern used is very close in design to the same drawer-front of the Japanese lacquer chest in the Freer Gallery. Linking "bars," absent in the earlier example, are present here even if they are circular rather than rectangular. The hexagons, too, are less flattened than those of the lacquer drawer. Nevertheless the resemblance is striking, even more so than with the Pompadour table. This trellis pattern was a type of veneer which Riesener, Oeben's successor, was to use with increasing frequency, especially on works for the Crown, in the two decades after the completion and delivery of the *Bureau Louis XV* in May 1769. In 1774 Riesener was appointed *ébéniste ordinaire du Roi* in place of the aged Gilles Joubert. Amongst the earliest pieces he delivered to the *Garde Meuble* was a set of four corner cupboards intended for use in the King's *Salon des Jeux* at Versailles (fig. 7). On the faces of the corner-cupboards he has used a type of marquetry very similar to the lattice pattern designed by Oeben for the interior of the *Bureau Louis XV* . The pattern is even closer to the one used by the Japanese lacquer-maker. The linking bars have become rectangular on the door of the cupboard, and they enclose a small inner rectangle just as on the lacquer. The only significant difference is the replacement of the enclosed fleuron or *mon* of the Japanese piece with a more Europeanized rosette, here given the form of a flattened water-lily. Riesener continued to use trellis patterns of this type on his furniture right down to the Revolution and even later, for instance on the drop-front secrétaire made for Marie-Antoinette's use at Saint Cloud, now in the Frick Collection, which is dated 1790. It is difficult to suppose that there is no connection here with Japanese lacquer that was entering Paris in great quantities during the eighteenth century. The lattice pattern on the drawer-front was a very common lacquer motif at this period, as were the patterns on the other two drawers appearing on the chest in fig. 1.

Let us now return to Oeben who appears to have been the first to adapt these Japanese lacquer patterns to French marquetry. Amongst the works most confidently assigned to his atelier, though it does not bear his signature, is a roll-top desk in the Palace of the Legion of Honor, San Francisco. The back of this piece (fig. 8) is veneered in the center with one of Oeben's characteristic baskets of flowers framed with interlacing ribbons. But the flanking panels enclose a marquetry pattern of a lozenge-shaped trellis design enclosing quadrilobate fleurons within the interstices. The trellis is made up of interlacing "straps" of a light wood bordered at each side by stringing

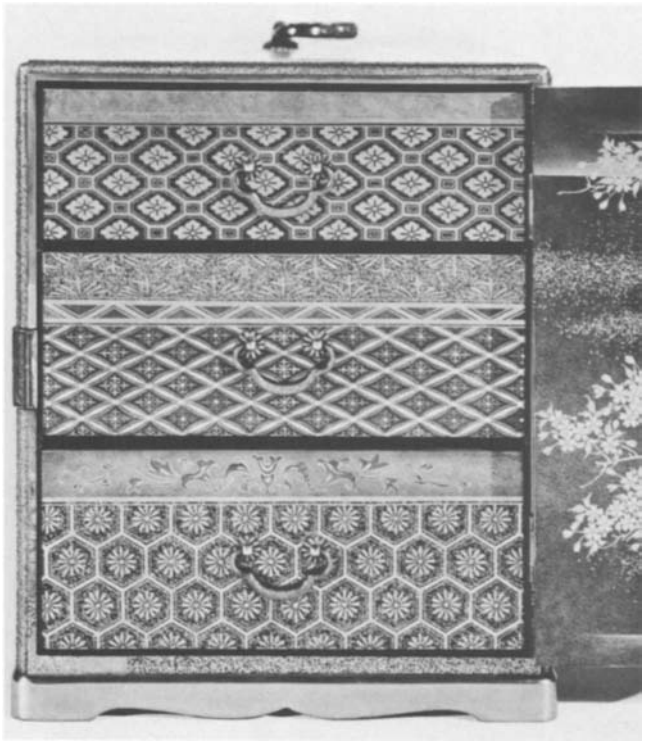


Figure 5. Front of *kodansu* in figure 1 showing the patterned drawer-fronts. Washington, D.C., Freer Gallery of Art.

of a darker wood. It is repeated at the ends of the desk and again in the interior. If we now turn once more to the Japanese chest, we see that Oeben's pattern here almost exactly repeats that on the central drawer of the chest. Once again it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the French *ébéniste* took his pattern from some example of Japanese lacquer that he had seen.

Riesener, likewise, occasionally made use of similar patterns in his marquetry but much more rarely than was the case of the trellis with linked bars already discussed. Jean-François Leleu, like Riesener, started his career as a *compagnon* in Oeben's workshop. At least as early as 1772 we find Leleu using the second of these two lacquer patterns on a *commode* delivered on November 9th of that year for use in the bedchamber of the Prince de Condé at the Palais Bourbon (fig. 9). He continued to use it intermittently down to his death.

Martin Carlin was another furniture craftsman who adopted this same type of marquetry pattern related to Japanese lacquer, e.g., on the elaborate traveling, work and toilet table in the Wrightsman collection (fig. 10) and on the similar piece in the Frick Collection and on pieces elsewhere. Carlin is known to have had connections with Oeben, for at the latter's death he was found to owe Carlin the not inconsiderable sum of 500 livres for work

Figure 6. Interior of the *Bureau du Roi Louis XV* by Jean-François Oeben and Jean-Henri Riesener showing the marquetry of the drawer-fronts which should be compared with the upper drawer-front in figure 5. Palais de Versailles.

Figure 7. Encoignure. One of a set of four delivered by Jean-Henri Riesener in 1774 for use in the *salle des Jeux du Roi* at Versailles. Compare the marquetry of the central panel with that on the upper drawer-front shown in figure 5. Palais de Versailles.

done. Carlin is a somewhat mysterious figure. We know little about his life and training. But we do know that for much of his career he worked almost exclusively for *marchands-merciers*. We also know that Oeben was employed by one of the leading *marchands-merciers*, Lazare Duvaux, early in his career. The *marchands-merciers* were the principal dealers in oriental lacquers in eighteenth century Paris. They were also the chief innovators in furniture design and interior decoration of the period, devising much of the mounted oriental porcelain, applying plaques of Sèvres porcelain to wooden furniture, creating new types of furniture like the *commode en console*, etc. It is impossible not to wonder whether Lazare Duvaux (or some other *marchand-mercier*) may not have been the first to encourage Oeben to adapt these Japanese patterns to French furniture.[14] But however that may be, there seems no doubt whatever that towards the middle of the 1750's, the practice of adapting repeating patterns from Japanese lacquers to the veneers used on French furniture arose in Oeben's *atelier*. It spread from there to his two *compagnons* Riesener and Leleu and thence to a host of lesser *ébénistes* too numerous to mention here.

The lacquer patterns discussed here have a very long history in Japan. They are found on lacquers of the Heian (794–1185) and the Kamakura (1185–1322) periods.[15] At least one of the patterns appears on the interior of the famous Van Dieman box in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, which can be dated securely between 1636 and 1645 and which is known to have been in Mme de Pompadour's possession. The miniature chest of drawers illustrated has been chosen for purposes of comparison because it illustrates all the patterns conveniently, even though it is a late work and may possibly date from the nineteenth century. All these patterns also appear on another similar chest in Toronto, which dates from the thirteenth century (fig. 11), and on a chest of different design in the Metropolitan Museum of a slightly later date. They were common enough on lacquer during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Until recently most Europeans described these lacquer patterns as "brocaded," for they seem to derive from certain Chinese textiles. They also appear, though exceedingly rarely, on Japanese porcelain. The possibility there-

14. Possibly for his best and most influential client, Mme. de Pompadour, who owned the earliest examples so far traced. She was herself a famous collector of Japanese lacquer (*see*: F.J.B. Watson, "Beckford, Mme. de Pompadour, the duc de Bouillon, and the Taste for Japanese lacquer in Eighteenth Century France," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, February 1963, pp. 101–127.

15. I am indebted to Mr. Harold P. Stern, Director of the Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., for this information.

Figure 8. Rear view of a roll-top desk attributed to Jean-François Oeben. Compare the marquetry of the side panels of the upper part with the pattern on the middle drawer-front shown in figure 5. San Francisco, Palace of the Legion of Honor.

fore exists that Oeben may have taken the design from some imported Chinese silk. But there is little evidence that Chinese textiles were imported into Paris in any quantity in the eighteenth century, whilst we know that the *marchands-merciers* imported lacquer in great quantities and that the material was immensely popular. It therefore seems more probable that imported Japanese lacquer was the source of these designs.

It is perhaps hardly necessary to mention here that lattice or trellis patterns are a common feature of classical and post-renaissance decorative designs in the West. But the typical European trellis differs from those discussed here in various ways. A hexagonal lattice is very rare (if indeed known at all) prior to the mid-eighteenth century and is, as far as I am aware, never used with a pierced bar or pierced circle linking the hexagons as Oeben and Riesener used it. A trellis pattern of lozenges enclosing a fleuron or rosette was, of course, used by A.-C. Boulle amongst many others. But the examples discussed here differ in various subtle ways from this. The "straps" or members bordering the lozenges are never interwoven like basket work as they are in Japanese lacquer and in the patterns used by Oeben, Leleu, and Carlin. Likewise in earlier examples the "straps" do not have a stringing of darker wood along each side to correspond with the borders of the Japanese pattern. Even the fleurons, such as Riesener's flattened water lily motif, are unknown in earlier trellis designs. On works of the type discussed here, they are often closer to the Japanese *mons* than to the typical European rosette. This striving for new variations on old themes was characteristic of the attitude of the *marchands-mercier* of eighteenth century Paris and indeed of the taste of Parisian society as a whole during the period.

Chinese lacquer, as well as Japanese, also provided a few *ébénistes* with motifs of a more pictorial character for the decoration of furniture. Cut lacquer, in the form of the so-called "Coromandel" screens came to Europe in considerable quantities in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. They were often cut up and the panels used for the decoration of furniture. In England and Germany the screens were even dismembered for use as wall paneling. A large number of Coromandel screens are decorated along the upper and lower borders with a series of domestic utensils: vases, brush pots, cups and saucers, trays, baskets,

Figure 9. Detail of the marquetry of the front of a *commode* delivered by Jean-François Leleu in 1772 for use in the bedchamber of the Prince de Condé in the Palais Bourbon. The pattern of the marquetry should be compared with that of the central drawer-front shown in figure 5. Paris, Musée du Louvre.

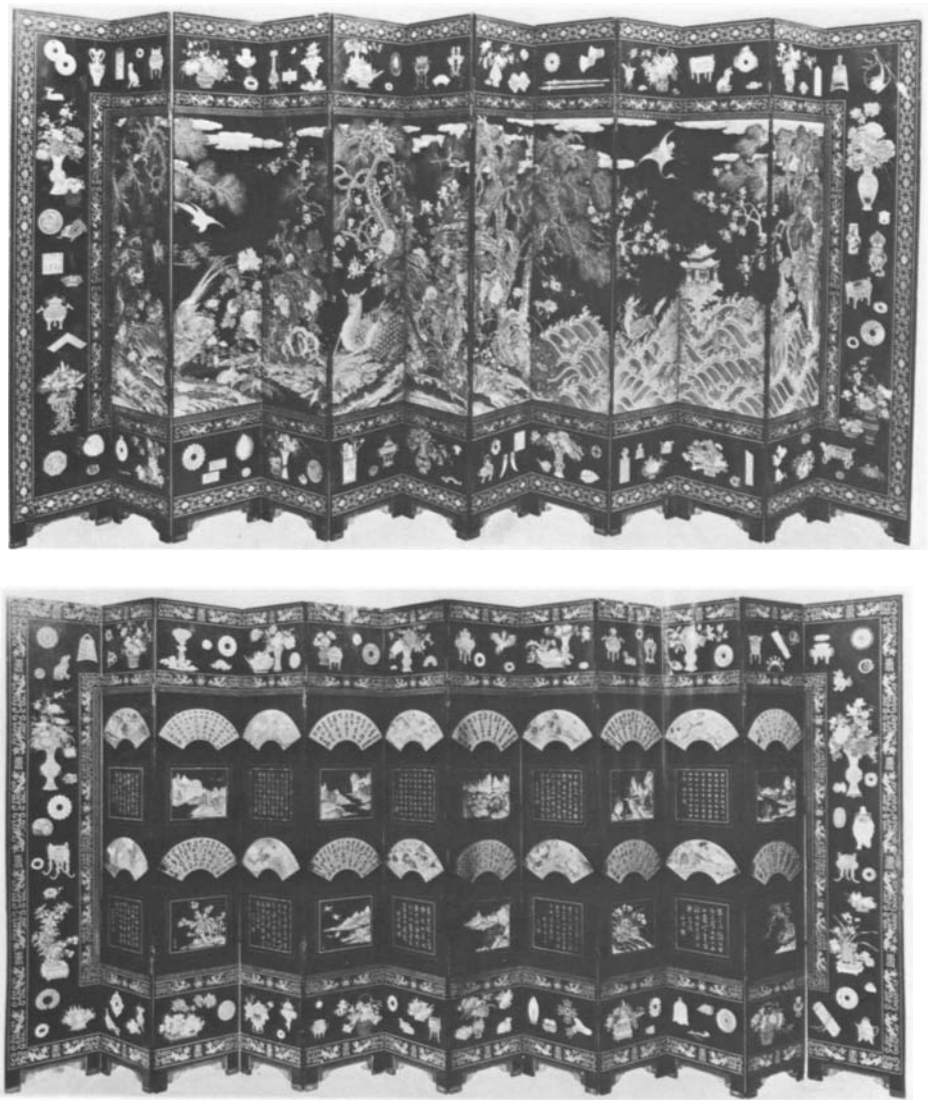
Figure 10. Traveling toilet, writing, and eating table by Martin Carlin. Compare the pattern of the marquetry with the central drawer-front shown in figure 5. Collection Mr. and Mrs. Charles B. Wrightsman.

Figure 11. Nest of boxes of coral red lacquer inlaid with mother-of-pearl and intended to hold inkstones. Sources such as this and patterned Chinese textiles provided Japanese lacquer masters with the type of pattern seen on the miniature chest of drawers illustrated in figure 1. Toronto, Royal Ontario Museum.

etc. (fig. 12), as well as Chinese jades and ritual objects, etc. (fig. 13). In the West these are sometimes referred to as "The Hundred Antiques," but there appears to be no Chinese precedent for the description.

During the latter part of the eighteenth century, a small group of French *ébénistes* began to use just such decorative motifs for the marquetry decoration of their furniture. None of these craftsmen was of the stature of Oeben, Riesener, and Carlin. Charles Topino (*maître* 1773), of whose works the comte de Salverte remarks that they are *souvent plus recommandables par l'élégance de leur aspect que par le finesse de leur facture*, very frequently made use of such marquetry.[16] More rarely it is found on the work of more

16. Comte François de Salverte: *Les Ébénistes du xvii^e^ et xviii^e^ Siècles, Leurs Oeuvres et Leurs Marques* (Paris-Brussels 1964) *s.v.* Topino.



Figures 12 and 13. Coromandel screen, front and back. London, Victoria and Albert Museum.

distinguished *ébénistes* such as René Dubois (*maître* 1775) (fig. 14).[17] The similarity of the vases, cups, brush holders, etc. to be found in the marquetry of the pieces illustrated here (figs. 15 and 16) to those displayed on the borders of Coromandel screens is clear, though exact parallels are not easy to establish in the absence of a large number of photographs of Coromandel screens. Not only is their Chinese character self-evident, but it seems clear that Topino himself considered them in the *goût chinois*. This *ébéniste* has left to us his sales ledger. Execrably written and arranged in a somewhat muddled way,[18] it nevertheless includes numerous entries like the following:

1773 du 3 juillet deux tables ovalles, sujects chinoise orné de leur fonttes non doré a 86[l] fait . . . . . *172 (l.)*

1775 du 3 fevrier plus une (table) à ovalle à la jésuite orné de ces fontes sujets chinois . . *86 (l.)*

1775 du 2 obre une table ovalle jésuite en poteries . . . . . *84 (l.)*

2 tables ovalles garnies des fonttes lune en bois violet et toute en poteries . . . . . *184 (l.)*

He also supplied to a M. Lebrund (possibly the *marchand-mercier* Lebrun):

40 poteries ombrez de differentes natures.

17. It is possible that such marquetry was supplied to Dubois by Topino himself, like the "*40 poteries*" furnished to "M. Lebrund" (*see* below p. 165).

18. I am deeply grateful to Geoffrey de Bellaigue for allowing me access to his xeroxes of the *livre-journal* kept by Topino.

Figure 14. Drop-front *secrétaire* (*secrétaire à abattant*) stamped by its maker René Dubois (*maître* 1754–1799). The marquetry panels inlaid with Chinese brush pots, hanging vases, and utensils of domestic use may be compared with objects to be seen in the borders of the Coromandel screen illustrated in figures 12 and 13. Melbourne, National Gallery of Victoria.

Figure 15. *Bonheur-du-jour* attributed to Charles Topino (*maître* 1773–1803) veneered with a series of panels of marquetry incorporating flower vases, cups, incense burners, brush-holders, etc. very similar to those found in the borders of the Coromandel screen shown in figures 12 and 13. Present location unknown.

Figure 16. *Bonheur-du-jour* attributed to Charles Topino (*maître* 1773–1803) veneered with vases of flowers, tea cups and saucers, brush pots, etc., of Chinese type and deriving from prototypes in the borders of Coromandel screens similar to the one illustrated in figures 12 and 13. Such domestic utensils are probably what Topino referred to in his *livre-journal* as *poteries ombrez de differentes natures*. Present location unknown.

Such entries occur over and over again in the sales book. The reference to "*poteries*" and "*jésuite*" seems to make it clear that it is porcelain objects of the type found on Coromandel screens which are referred to here. No doubt were a wider range of Coromandel screens available for scrutiny, it would be possible to find some direct borrowings by Topino.

1980–1981 Visiting Scholar
The J. Paul Getty Museum

New Research on a Table Stamped by Bernard van Risenburgh

Adrian Sassoon

On the 10th November 1949 J. Paul Getty wrote in his diary about a visit he had made that day to a firm of dealers in New York: "Just as I was about to leave, they brought out a small table. It is a companion to Guerault's famous table. . . . We all agreed that this table was superior . . . the top more beautiful and important, and the green lacquer is lovelier. I would have bought the table at $30,000 and thought it a bargain. I timidly inquired the price. $15,000! I bought it on the spot. . . ." The table in question (figs 1–5, 8, and 9) is today a part of the French decorative arts collection of the J. Paul Getty Museum.[1]

This small table is decorated with a patterned green *vernis Martin* surface and has a Sèvres porcelain tray forming the top. It has one drawer beneath the top and a shelf, also decorated with *vernis Martin*, set between the slender cabriole legs. It has the characteristics and the stamp (fig. 2) found on tables from the workshop of Bernard van Risenburgh, who was working in Paris from about 1730 and died in 1767. The Sèvres top is one of the more highly decorated examples (adapted from the model made with two handles called the *plateau Courteille*[2]) manufactured by that factory for mounting on pieces of furniture. It bears the crossed *L*'s of the Royal porcelain factory (fig. 3), the date letter *I* for 1761, and the letter *K* for the painter Charles-Nicholas Dodin (working at Sèvres between 1754 and 1803).[3] Elaborate gilt-bronze mounts are a further important element of the decoration (figs. 8 and 9).

Several similar tables by Bernard van Risenburgh are known of this form with a Sèvres top (and in some cases a Sèvres lower shelf) and *vernis Martin* decoration of complementary design to the porcelain. The Sèvres factory supplied porcelain plaques for these tables, sometimes in matching pairs. The plaque for the lower shelf was modeled with indented corners to fit between the legs of the table (figs 12 and 13).[4]

Mr. Getty compared his table to the one bequeathed by François Guerault to the Musée du Louvre (fig. 11).[5] This table has a Sèvres top, painted with the date letter for 1764, which is decorated with an elaborate border and cartouche of blue and gold trellis pattern set on a white ground. The carcass is painted with a matching design of *vernis Martin*, of which the blue pigment has now faded to green. This otherwise well preserved table illustrates the instability of *vernis Martin* which is susceptible to flaking as well as to color decay. Such flaking is especially common on small tables because of their function as free-standing pieces which exposes them to the passing human traffic in a room much more than a commode set against the wall. Another of these tables is to be seen in the Musée des Arts Décoratifs (fig. 14).[6] It bears a Sèvres top painted with the date letter for 1768, which is decorated with a pattern of flowers in a trellis over a white ground. The carcass of this example is plainly veneered but bears signs of having once been finished with a *vernis Martin* surface which one may assume was damaged and then replaced by veneer.[7] Another similar table by Bernard van Risenburgh was sold at Christie's in 1973 (fig. 15).[8] It bears a Sèvres top painted with the date letter for 1760

I am most grateful to Gillian Wilson, whose research forms the basis of this article and to Rosalind Savill for her generosity with many facts of her finding, regarding the Sèvres porcelain plaques.

1. Accession Number 70.DA.85.

2. My thanks to Rosalind Savill of the Wallace Collection for this information from her unpublished catalogue of Sèvres porcelain in the Wallace Collection.

3. M. Brunet & T. Preaud, *Sèvres, Des Origines à Nos Jours*, Office Du Livre, 1978, p. 363.

4. Information kindly given to me by Rosalind Savill, from the unpublished catalogue of Sèvres porcelain in the Wallace Collection, see note 2.

5. Accession number OA. 8170.

6. Accession number unknown.

7. D. Alcouffe, *Louis XV, Un Moment de Perfection de l'Art Français*, Paris Hôtel de la Monnaie, 1974. Catalogue number 433, p. 332. Also see C. Dauterman, J. Parker, E. Standen, *Decorative Art from the Samuel H. Kress Collection at the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, 1964, p. 165.

8. Sold from the collection of Sidney Lamon, Christie's, London, 29 November 1973. Bought by M. Riahi. The drawer of this table interestingly bears an ink inscription mentioning the name and address of Poirier, the *marchand-mercier* probably responsible for the commissioning of these Sèvres plaqued tables from Bernard van Risenburgh and other *ébénistes*. Poirier's name is present in this instance to remind the metalworker making the writing fittings of his orders source.

Figure 1. Table in the style of Bernard van Risenburgh. Figures 2–6, 9 and 10 are views of this table. The J. Paul Getty Museum.

Figure 2. Detail of the stamp *BVRB* and *JME* mark of the *Juré* of the *Corporation des Ebénistes* on the underside of the drawer of the Getty table.

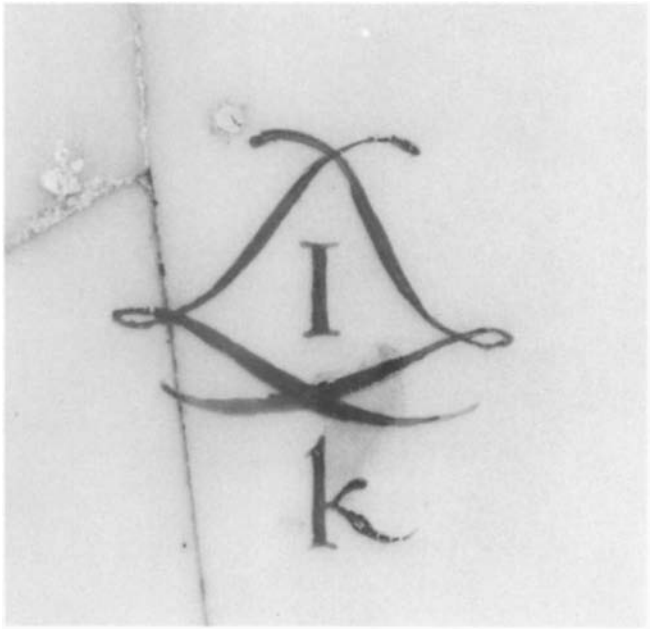


Figure 3. Detail of the reverse of the Sèvres plaque on the Getty table showing the factory mark, the date letter, and the painter's mark.

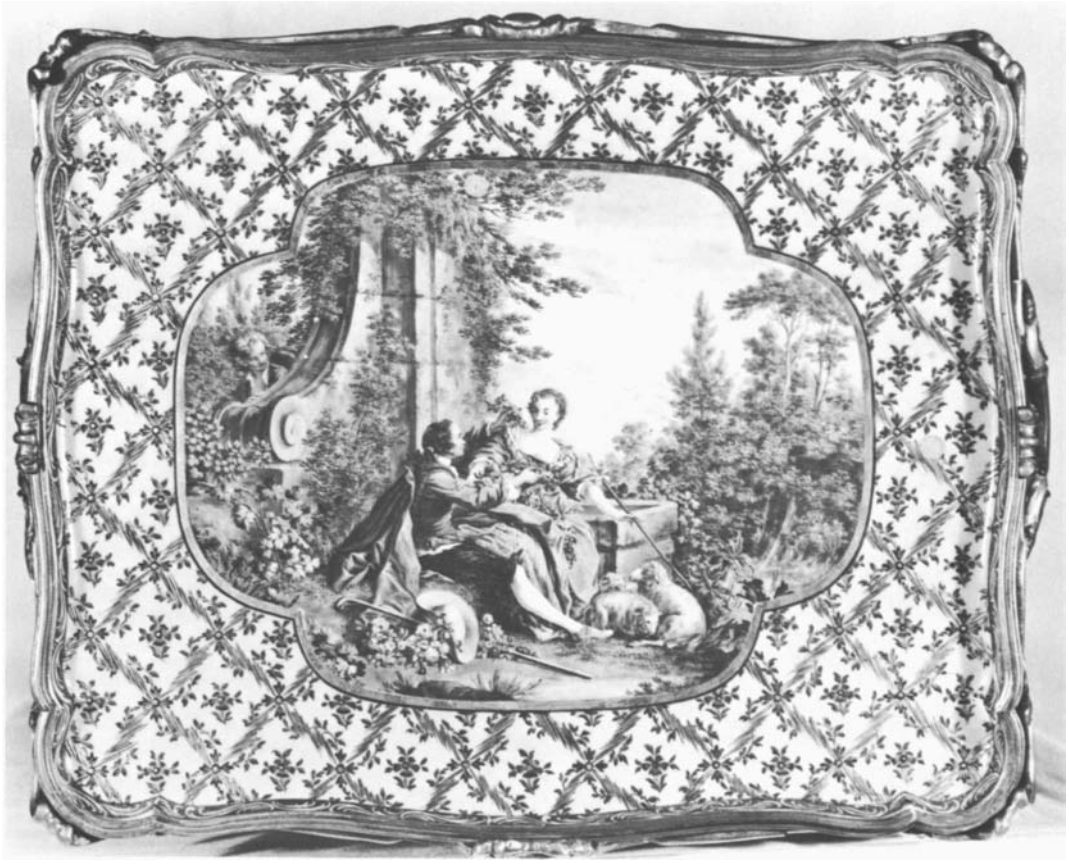


Figure 4. Sèvres plaque on the Getty table as it appears today.

Figure 5. Detail of the Sèvres plaque on the Getty table.

Figure 6. Detail of the *vernis Martin* decoration on the table shown in figure 7.

Figure 7. Table attributed to Bernard van Risenburgh, with a marble top, probably replacing a Sèvres plaque. Photo: Musée du Louvre.

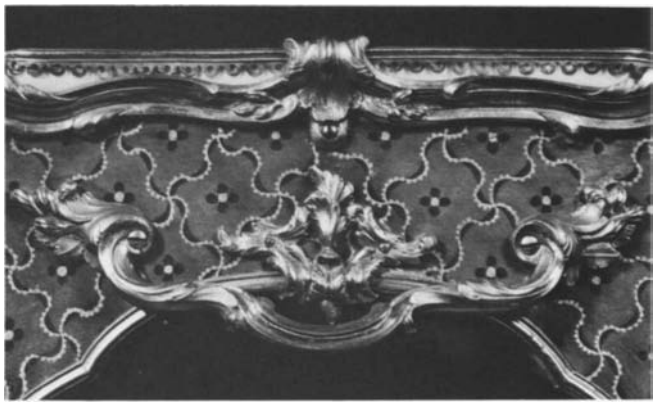


Figure 8. Detail of a gilt-bronze handle on the Getty table.

and is veneered with parquetry. This example was not decorated with *vernis Martin* on its carcass. All of these tables are further decorated with gilt-bronze rims, corner and escutcheon mounts, handles, and feet of the same model.

After consideration of these examples, the Getty table can be seen to have two unusual features. Firstly, the Sèvres top and the *vernis Martin* decoration have neither color nor design in common. Secondly, the quality of the casting and finish on the gilt-bronze mounts is considerably less fine than on comparable examples (figs. 9 and 10).[9] The Getty table's Sèvres top is decorated with flowers in a trellis on a pink ground color around a central lobed cartouche. An identical pattern is found on the *vernis Martin* decoration on the carcass of yet another table of the same model now in the Musée du Louvre (fig. 7).[10] This has a top of white marble carved in the shape of the Sèvres trays used on the other tables. For several years it has been assumed that the Getty Sèvres plaque was taken from the Louvre table to replace a broken original top and that the Louvre table was given its marble replacement at the same time. But the plaque on the Getty table is itself cracked across from side to side, and one half is broken into three further pieces. It has been repaired, but the cracks and extensive over-painting of the damaged areas can be seen under ultraviolet light.[11] Furthermore, a chemical analysis of the *vernis Martin* on the Getty table[12] has shown that the green layer is composed of whiting of calcium carbonate ($CaCO_3$) tinted green with chromium oxide (Cr_2O_3). Chromium oxide was not commercially available until 1862; indeed chromium was only discovered as an element in 1797, so it is clear that the Getty table must have had a different *vernis Martin* or veneered surface when it was made. As a result it appears most likely that the Sèvres top now in the Getty Museum was originally on the Louvre table which was formerly in a Rothschild family collection. The porcelain top was broken and replaced with the present marble one before 1922 when it

9. The mounts were regilded in 1973, but this did not compromise the quality of their casting and modeling.

10. Accession number OA.7626.

11. The repairs present when Mr. Getty purchased the table had discolored so badly that the plaque was again restored and partially overpainted in 1973.

12. The tests, carried out at the J. Paul Getty Museum by John Twilley, were by X-ray fluoresence, verified by microchemical tests.

Figure 9. Detail of a gilt-bronze corner mount on the Getty table.

Figure 10. Detail of a gilt-bronze corner mount on the table in figure 8.

Figure 12. Sèvres plaque made as the top of a table. Photo: Victoria and Albert Museum, Jones Collection.

Figure 13. Sèvres plaque originally made as a lower shelf of a table. Photo: reproduced by permission of the Trustees, The Wallace Collection.

was bequeathed to the Louvre. The Getty table must have also suffered damage to its original Sèvres top and carcass decoration and was united with the Rothschild plaque which had been salvaged and repaired for this purpose.

It is possible that porcelain plaques such as these were being remounted well before the end of the eighteenth century when the Neoclassical style had superseded the Rococo. The Wallace Collection[13] and the Jones Collection in the Victoria and Albert Museum[14] each possesses a Neoclassical table stamped by Pierre Garnier (*maître* in 1742, died c. 1800). Each bears one Sèvres plaque of matching decoration, and both are marked for the year 1759 and for the painter Jean-Pierre Ledoux. The plaque on the Jones table (fig. 12) is of identical shape to the Getty plaque (fig. 4), while the Wallace plaque (fig. 13) has indented corners, indicating that they were originally intended as the upper and lower shelves of the same table. Unfortunately one cannot be certain that the Jones and Wallace plaques were ever mounted together, and that they were not in the stock of a *marchand-mercier* for a considerable period of time. Nor can this pair be identified in the Sèvres factory sales registers.[15]

Two major flaws in the Getty table—firstly the poor quality of the gilt-bronze mounts and secondly the un-

Figure 11. Table stamped by Bernard van Risenburgh. Photo: Musée du Louvre.

13. F.J.B. Watson, *Wallace Collection Catalogues. Furniture* (1956), p. 167, no. F.310, plate 103. This table is not acknowledged as stamped in the catalogue. A record that it is stamped is in the Furniture and Woodwork Department of the Victoria and Albert Museum, file number 1069–1882.

14. Brackett, *Victoria and Albert Museum. Catalogue of the Jones Collection, Part I. Furniture* (1930), p. 12, no. 33, pl. 20. (Acc. no. 1069–1882.)

15. This information has been given to me by Rosalind Savill from the unpublished the catalogue of the collection of Sèvres Porcelain in the Wallace Collection.

Figure 14. Table stamped by Bernard van Risenburgh, formerly decorated with *vernis Martin*. Photo: Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Paris.

Figure 15. Table attributed to Bernard van Risenburgh. Photo by courtesy of Christie's.

usual construction of the base panel of the drawer—remain unexplained. A cabinetmaker of such high standards as Bernard van Risenburgh would normally make a drawer panel with the grain running across the drawer to accommodate stress caused by changes in humidity. However, in this table the grain runs the depth of the drawer, which suggests that the carcass may be of late nineteenth or of early twentieth century date with the base panel inserted, because it bears the genuine *BVRB* stamp probably removed from another piece of furniture. Thus the poor quality of the gilt-bronze mounts on the Getty table, in the comparison with those on the Guerault table (figs. 9 and 10), is explained by their perhaps having been cast from an original table, losing definition in the process.

It should be remembered that in 1949, when Mr. Getty bought this table, the Louvre was still closed after the Second World War. He could not have seen the comparable examples there for at least ten years. Furthermore it is possible that the marble-topped table was not on display. Certainly Mr. Getty did not have available the photographic resources or chemical tests now possible to assist him in formulating an opinion on the table.

The J. Paul Getty Museum
Malibu