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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

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An Unpublished *Madonna and Child* by Fra Filippo Lippi

Laurie Fusco

INTRODUCTION

There are few paintings by Fra Filippo Lippi that survive,¹ and every addition to his oeuvre is important. The discovery of a much overpainted *Madonna and Child* by Lippi (fig. 1, p. 18) in the basement of the Utah Museum of Fine Arts in Salt Lake City is thus of significant interest. The director of the Utah Museum, Mr. E. F. Sanguinetti, agreed to lend the panel to the Getty Museum for conservation and study purposes.² At the beginning of its six-year stay in Malibu, the panel was x-rayed, and the radiograph revealed serious damage: large losses and a wooden insert (see conservation report by Elisabeth Mention, pp. 17–20). The choice, as for many such damaged and restored paintings, then became to leave the panel as it was, which would preclude exhibiting it since there was very little on the surface of the original painting, or to remove the modern overpaint and reveal what remained of Lippi's work. Mr. Sanguinetti agreed to have the Getty painting laboratory remove the restorations; a photograph of the panel in a cleaned state shows the remaining original areas (fig. 2, p. 19). The purpose of the two articles is to place the panel in Lippi's oeuvre and the art of his time and to

report on the cleaning and restoration. Beyond this, since the top layers of paint in many areas have been abraded, a precious opportunity was available to examine Lippi's underpaint and to study his painting technique.

ATTRIBUTION

Although the many staff members and visitors who studied the Utah *Madonna* in the process of its cleaning and restoration had no thoughts other than that it was an autograph Lippi, the attribution should be secured before proceeding to other issues. The forms of the figures show Lippi's conception (compare fig. 1 with figs. 2–10). The Madonna has an extremely round, smoothly modeled head, with a high, wide forehead and the face tapering to a firm chin. This head tilts gently, a gesture that combines with a far-off glance to the side to give her a pensive, mournful expression.³ Because the Child's face is the best preserved part, it is here that Lippi's style is truly revealed. He is a tousle-haired, full-cheeked baby with button eyes and a snub nose, typical of all Lippi babies.⁴ The head in a three-quarter view is strangely foreshortened, as if the face were slightly stretched to reveal more cheek (figs. 2, 6,

*The work on the Utah *Madonna* had indeed been a family affair, and there are many people to thank. We are grateful to Mr. Sanguinetti, the Director of the Museum of Fine Arts, Salt Lake City, for entrusting the restoration of the painting to the Getty Museum. Several visitors and staff members made useful suggestions about its art historical placement, including Carol Mancusi-Ungaro, Andrea Rothe, Federico Zeri, Elizabeth Gardner, Miklos Boskovits, and Jeffrey Ruda. I would like to thank a student intern in my office, Ann Woods, for her help. Finally, it is due to the initial insight of Burton Fredericksen that the authorship of the panel became clear, and it is an indication of his constant generosity that he allowed other staff members to publish his discovery.

For the dating of works by Lippi used in this essay, see footnote 9. The following is a list of the major literature on the artist: E. Strutt, *Fra Filippo Lippi*, London, 1901; I. Supino, *Fra Filippo Lippi*, Florence, 1902; H. Mendelsohn, *Fra Filippo Lippi*, Berlin, 1909; G. Gronau, entry in Thieme-Becker, *Künstlerlexikon*, Leipzig, XXIII, 1929, 271–274; R. Oertel, *Fra Filippo Lippi*, Vienna, 1942; M. Pittaluga, *Filippo Lippi*, Florence, 1949; M. Pittaluga, entry in *The Encyclopedia of World Art*, IX, New York, 1964, 257–266; G. Marchini, *Filippo Lippi*, Milan, 1975. It should be noted that the doctoral dissertation by Jeffrey Ruda, *Filippo Lippi Studies: Naturalism, Style and Iconography in Early Renaissance Art*, Harvard University, 1979, was not available and may provide interesting material to apply to the Utah *Madonna*. Literature before B. Berenson's innova-

tional essay ("Fra Angelico, Fra Filippo e la cronologia," *Bollettino d'Arte*, XXVI, 1932, 1–22, 49–66) is unreliable for undocumented works, since this older literature dated works on the basis that Lippi evolved from a style reflecting that of Fra Angelico towards a more robust, realistic style reflecting the art of Masaccio; Berenson showed the opposite was the case; the essay was reprinted in *Homeless Paintings of the Italian Renaissance*, London and Bloomington, 1970, 199–234 and is the one cited here.

1. There are about thirty paintings on wood surely by his hand and three frescoes (the *Carmelite Rule* in Chiesa del Carmine, Florence; the great cycle of the *Lives of SS. John the Baptist and Stephen* in the Prato Duomo; and the *Stories of the Virgin* in the Spoleto Duomo which was continued by Fra Diamante after Lippi's death).

2. Mr. Fredericksen (with F. Zeri) had previously listed the painting as by a follower of Lippi in the *Census of Pre-Nineteenth Century Italian Paintings in North American Public Collections*, Cambridge (Mass.), 1972, 107. It entered the Utah Museum of Fine Arts in 1951, donated by Mrs. Winifred Kimball Hudnut, and was formerly in the collection of Baron Raoul Kuffner from Dioszegh, Hungary.

3. See also the *Madonna and Child*, Palazzo Medici-Riccardi, Florence (ill., Marchini, *op. cit.*, pl. 74).

4. See also the child in the painting mentioned in footnote 3.



Figure 1. Lippi, *Madonna and Child*. Salt Lake City, Utah Museum of Fine Arts (51–16).

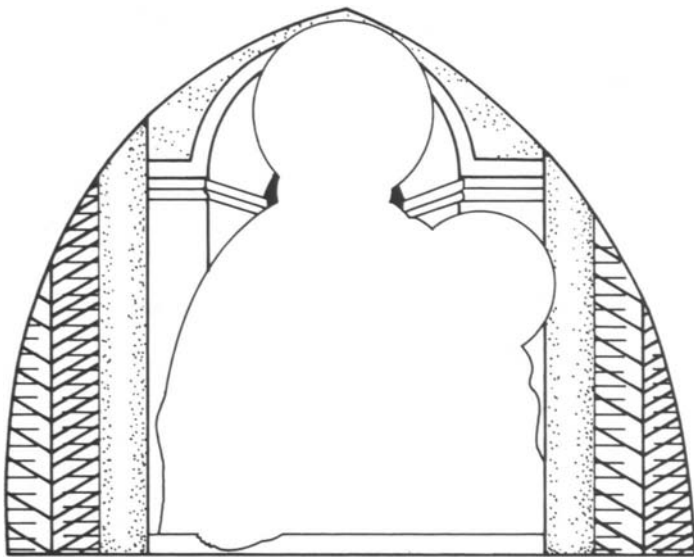


Figure 1a. Diagram of architectural elements in Lippi, *Madonna and Child*. Salt Lake City, Utah Museum of Fine Arts. (drawing by Patrick Dooley)

8–10). The hands of the Madonna and the hands and feet of the Child are simple in form, standard in Lippi's work. A hallmark of Lippi's style is his foreshortening of a hand or foot so the fingers or toes have a contour of very abstract-looking bumps (figs. 3, 4, 7).

The coloring is typical of Lippi's style. More than any other fifteenth-century painter Lippi did fanciful marble architecture in an enormous range of design in swirls, as here, or splotches or dots (figs. 2–8).⁵ His use of color combinations is unique, and once one has experienced them, they are unmistakable. For draperies, he uses not just blue, red, or green but mixes them for a green-blue, grey-blue, blue-vermillion, yellow-crimson, violet, green-violet, olive-

5. See also *Annunciation*, S. Lorenzo, Florence; *Coronation of the Virgin*, Pinacoteca, Vatican; *Annunciation*, Frick Collection, New York; *Annunciation*, Palazzo Doria, Rome; *St. Lawrence Enthroned with Saints and Donors*, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; *Annunciation*, Pinakothek, Munich; *Annunciation and Seven Saints*, National Gallery of Art, London; and *Madonna and Child*, Palazzo Medici-Riccardi, Florence (ill., Marchini, *op. cit.*, pls. 26, 34, 42, 51, 53, 54, 57, 65 and 74).



Figure 2. Lippi, *Madonna and Child (Tarquinian Madonna)*. Rome, Galleria Nazionale, Palazzo Barberini.



Figure 3. Lippi, *Madonna and Child*. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

green, and grey-green. Whites are not flat whites but have tints of blues, lavenders, greys, greens, or yellows. Landscape ranges among olive-browns, grey-greens, and red-browns. Even the architecture, instead of being the brown-grey-terracotta colors of stone or tile, is given a wide range by mixing in green, lavender, red, and yellow. Very particular to Lippi is the use of a lavender-grey for architectural elements, a predominant hue in the *Utah Madonna*.⁶

The architectural setting and the placement of the figures within it reveal Lippi's design and touch. In several

other paintings Lippi puts the Madonna close to the viewer, almost against the frontal plane (figs. 2, 3, 7–10). She is often locked into the edges of the panel by flanking architectural elements (figs. 2, 3, 7, 9).⁷ The Madonna has very little room in which to move. The flanking architectural elements rest on a ledge, and this ledge makes, with the columns and piers, a squared-off "U" that brackets the figures for close attention. In strong opposition to the forward thrust and containment, the architectural lines quickly plunge into depth. The resulting tension between

6. Also in figs. 3, 5, 6 and 9; see in addition *Coronation of the Virgin*, Pinacoteca, Vatican; *Annunciation*, Frick Collection, New York; *Annunciation*, National Gallery of Art, London (ill., Marchini, *op. cit.*, pls. 34,

42, 54).

7. See also *Madonna and Child*, Palazzo Medici-Riccardi, Florence (ill., Marchini, *op. cit.*, pl. 74).



Figure 4. Lippi, *Madonna and Child with Saints and Angels*, detail. Paris, Musée National du Louvre.

surface and space is a typical Lippi feature. Scholars have not spoken enough about the opposition between the forward and backward motion which exists both in representations of the Madonna (figs. 2–4, 7–10) and also in other scenes and whether they are small devotional panels or large complex altarpieces (fig. 5).⁸ The opposition in the *Utah Madonna* is made playful with the roundness of the Madonna's head placed against round arch shapes, a

8. See further, *Annunciation*, S. Lorenzo, Florence; *Annunciation*, Alte Pinakothek, Munich; and *Madonna and Child*, Palazzo Medici-Riccardi, Florence (ill., Marchini, *op. cit.*, pls. 26, 57, 74).

9. The dating of these nine paintings depends on the following literature:

1. *Tarquianian Madonna*—dated 1437.
2. *Metropolitan Madonna*—c. 1437–8: F. Zeri (with E. Gardner), *Italian Paintings, Florentine School, A Catalogue of the Collections of the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, New York, 1971, 83 (c. 1437–8; between the *Tarquianian Madonna* of 1437 and the *Louvre Madonna* commissioned in 1437); Marchini, *op. cit.*, 95 (similar to the *Tarquianian*



Figure 5. Lippi, *Annunciation*. Rome, Museo Nazionale, Palazzo Barberini.

design which is repeated elsewhere (figs. 2–7). Most of the tension in the *Utah Madonna* has been lost because of damage. The viewer sees only the dark and light planes of each pier at the edges and must mentally diagram them out with the attached columns (fig. 1a) to regain sight of these massive blocks which constitute almost half the width of the panel. Originally they would have anchored the Madonna even more firmly to the frontal plane, mak-

ian Madonna of 1437 and the *Louvre Madonna* of 1437–8); Pittaluga, *Encyclopedia of World Art*, *op. cit.*, 259 (belonging to the works of 1437–40 following the *Tarquianian Madonna* of 1437); Pittaluga, *Filippo Lippi*, *op. cit.*, 47, 210 (similar to the *Louvre Madonna* of 1437–8; close to but different from the *Tarquianian Madonna* of 1437); Oertel, *op. cit.*, 18–9, 22 (similar to the works following the *Tarquianian Madonna* of 1437); G. Pudielko, "The Early Works of Fra Filippo Lippi," *Art Bulletin*, XVIII, 1936, 108 (1437–1441); G. Pudielko, "Per la datazione delle opere di Fra Filippo Lippi," *Rivista d'Arte*, XVIII, 1936, 58: (almost contemporary with the *Louvre Madonna* begun in 1437 and being worked on in 1438); M. Salmi, "La giovinezza di Fra



Figure 6. Lippi, *Madonna and Child with Saints*, detail. Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi.



Figure 7. Lippi, *Madonna and Child*. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art.

ing her loom large. In addition the plunge into the hollow of the arch behind the Madonna would also have read more clearly; the mouldings, which direct the viewer into depth, are partially missing, due to burn-holes to the left and right of the Madonna's head. The marble of the columns (still visible) and that of the piers (almost totally lost) would have sparkled against the marble of the arch's spandrel, mouldings, and back (the last-mentioned barely visi-

ble in the arc to the Madonna's left). All the use of marble would have brought the Madonna into a strong surface design in opposition to the abrupt recession, producing a tension which is lacking in the present state.

DATING

Nine paintings by Lippi can be brought in relation to the *Utah Madonna* in order to place it in his oeuvre.⁹

Filippo Lippi," *Rivista d'Arte*, XVIII, 1936, 21, n. 1 (c. 1440); Berenson, *op. cit.*, 215-6 (just before or after the *Louvre Madonna* begun in 1437; at the same time as the *Tarquinian Madonna* of 1437 and veering towards the *Louvre Madonna*).

3. *Louvre Madonna*—commissioned in 1437 and known that still working on it in 1438, therefore 1437/8 and the years following: *Gli Uffizi, Catalogo Generale*, Florence, 1979, 334, no. P874; Marchini, *op. cit.*, 231; Pittaluga, *Encyclopedia of World Art*, *op. cit.*, 258, 260; Pittaluga, *Filippo Lippi*, *op. cit.*, 159-60, 195, Oertel, *op. cit.*, 18, 53; Pudelko, *Art Bulletin*, *op. cit.*, 108; Pudelko, *Rivista d'Arte*, *op. cit.*, 58; Berenson, *op. cit.*, 216; Gronau, *op. cit.*, 271; Mendelsohn, *op.*

cit., 9-10, 26, 80-83, 227-9, 247; Supino, *op. cit.*, 55-7; Strutt, *op. cit.*, xxi, 57-8, 60, 179.

4. *Barberini Annunciation*—c. 1441-7: Marchini, *op. cit.*, 97, 204 (close to the *Uffizi Coronation of the Virgin* of 1441; leaving the Masacciesque period and approaching the Angelesque period); Pittaluga, *Encyclopedia of World Art*, *op. cit.*, 259 (belonging to works of 1442-7 including the *Vatican Coronation of the Virgin*, the *Metropolitan Alessandri Triptych*, the *Munich Annunciation*, the *Washington National Gallery Tondo*, and the *London National Gallery Vision of St. Bernard*); Pittaluga, *Filippo Lippi*, *op. cit.*, 69, 190 (about the time of the *Uffizi Coronation of the Virgin* of 1441; first years of



Figure 8. Lippi, *Madonna and Child with Stories of the Life of St. Anne* (Pitti Tondo). Florence, Galleria Pitti.

1. *Madonna and Child* (Tarquinian Madonna) (fig. 2)
Rome, Galleria Nazionale, Palazzo Barberini.
2. *Madonna and Child* (fig. 3)
New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art.
3. *Madonna and Child with Saints and Angels* (fig. 4)
Paris, Musée National du Louvre.
4. *Annunciation* (fig. 5)
Rome, Galleria Nazionale, Palazzo Barberini.
5. *Madonna and Child with Saints* (fig. 6)
Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi.
6. *Madonna and Child* (fig. 7)
Washington D.C., National Gallery of Art.
7. *Madonna and Child with Stories of the Life of St. Anne* (Pitti Tondo) (fig. 8)
Florence, Galleria Pitti.
8. *Madonna and Child with Two Angels* (fig. 9)
Florence, Gallerie degli Uffizi.
9. *Madonna and Child* (fig. 10)
Munich, Alte Pinakothek.

1440's); Oertel, *op. cit.*, 25 (belonging to works 1442–1453; belonging with the Uffizi *Madonna and Child with Saints* of c. 1445, the Vatican *Coronation of the Virgin*, and the Munich *Annunciation*); Pudelko, *Rivista d'Arte*, *op. cit.*, 67–8 (after the S. Lorenzo *Annunciation* of the late 1430's and before the Munich *Annunciation* commissioned in 1443; similar to the Uffizi *Coronation of the Virgin* of 1441 and the Munich *Annunciation* commissioned in 1443); Berenson, *op. cit.*, 224, 226, (similar to the Uffizi *Coronation of the Virgin* of 1441 and the S. Lorenzo *Annunciation* of c. 1437/8–1441; just after the Uffizi *Coronation of the Virgin* of 1441; belonging with the works of 1442–7 including the Munich *Annunciation*, the Vatican *Coronation of the Virgin*, and the Metropolitan *Alessandri Triptych*).

5. Uffizi *Madonna and Child with Saints*—c. 1440–5: Gli Uffizi . . . , *op. cit.*, 334, no. P875 (literature dates it c. 1440/2/5); Marchini, *op. cit.*, 97, 204 (c. 1442 and in the direction of 1450); Pittaluga, *En-*

cyclopedia of World Art, *op. cit.*, 259 (1440–2); Pittaluga, *Filippo Lippi*, *op. cit.*, 63, 176 (c. 1442); Oertel, *op. cit.*, 24, 66–7 (after 1439 when the chapel built and c. 1445 at the time of a Medici gift; c. 1445; goes further along the direction shown in the Uffizi *Coronation of the Virgin* of 1441); Pudelko, *Rivista d'Arte*, *op. cit.*, 66, n. 1 (c. 1442); Berenson, *op. cit.*, 210 (earlier than the Uffizi *Coronation of the Virgin* of 1441).

6. Washington *Madonna*—c. 1445: Marchini, *op. cit.*, 98, 208 (dated by scholars between 1437 and 1445; points towards the Pitti Tondo of 1452); F. R. Shapley, *Paintings from the S. H. Kress Collection*, London, 1966, 107 (c. 1440–5); Pittaluga, *Filippo Lippi*, *op. cit.*, 214–5 (many say 1440's but more mature, like Botticelli to whom it may be attributed); Oertel, *op. cit.*, 75 (from the time of the Barberini *Annunciation* and the Uffizi *Madonna and Child with Saints*, c. 1445); Pudelko, *Rivista d'Arte*, *op. cit.*, 68 (belonging with works of 1442–7).



Figure 9. Lippi, *Madonna and Child with Two Angels*. Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi.



Figure 10. Lippi, *Madonna and Child*. Munich, Alte Pinakothek.

Although in some of these Lippi depicted a full or half-length Madonna or Virgin similarly placed before an arched structure, there is not a single work to which the *Utah Madonna* resembles so closely that the dating is obvious. Rather one must make a very close examination of various details to find its nearest relative. A comparison of the Madonna's head, Child's head, and hands and feet

provides some clues, and a discussion of color and composition provides others.

In comparing the head of the *Utah Madonna* with other Madonnas, one must be aware that only the underpaint is left and, of course, there is a great loss in the center of the face. Consequently there is neither the plastic nor the linear strength that one finds elsewhere in Lippi's figures. The

7. *Pitti Tondo*—c. 1452–3: commissioned in 1452 and some scholars include the year 1453: Gli Uffizi . . . , *op. cit.*, 335, no. P878; Marchini, *op. cit.*, 223; Pittaluga, *Encyclopedia of World Art*, *op. cit.*, 258; Pittaluga, *Filippo Lippi*, *op. cit.*, 162; Oertel, *op. cit.*, 70; Pudleko, *Rivista d'Arte*, *op. cit.*, 51; Berenson, *op. cit.*, 213; Gronau, *op. cit.*, 271; Mendelsohn, *op. cit.*, 29–30, 232–3, 247–8; Supino, *op. cit.*, 80–1; Strutt, *op. cit.*, xxi, 89–90, 188–9.

8. *Uffizi Madonna and Child with Two Angels*—late 1450's—c. 1465: Gli Uffizi . . . , *op. cit.*, 335, no. P879 (literature dates it 1455/7); Marchini, *op. cit.*, 103, 214 (c. 1465); Pittaluga, *Encyclopedia of World Art*, *op. cit.*, 260 (shows late style of works late 1450's and early 1460's including the Berlin *Adoration of the Child*, the London National Gallery lunettes of the *Annunciation* and *Seven Saints*, and the Munich *Madonna*); Pittaluga, *Filippo Lippi*, *op. cit.*, 127, 173 (c. 1465); Oertel, *op. cit.*, 75 (c. 1465); Pudleko, *Rivista d'Arte*, *op. cit.*,

51, 52 (mid 1450's but could be mid 1460's because of the color and because of links with Botticelli).

9. *Munich Madonna*—c. 1460–7: *Alte Pinakothek München V, Italienische Malerei*, Munich, 1975, 63 (c. 1460–5 along with *Uffizi Madonna and Child with Two Angels*); Marchini, *op. cit.*, 103, 214 (a little after the *Uffizi Madonna and Child with Two Angels* of c. 1465); Pittaluga, *Encyclopedia of World Art*, *op. cit.*, 260 (late style of late 1450's and early 1460's including the Berlin *Adoration of the Child*, the London National Gallery lunettes of the *Annunciation* and *Seven Saints*, and the *Uffizi Madonna and Child with Two Angels*); Pittaluga, *Filippo Lippi*, *op. cit.*, 130, 200 (immediately after the *Uffizi Madonna with Two Angels* of c. 1465); Oertel, *op. cit.*, 75 (c. 1465–7); Pudleko, *Rivista d'Arte*, *op. cit.*, 51–2 (a little after the *Uffizi Madonna and Child with Two Angels* of the mid 1450's or mid 1460's).

forms are still “sculptural,” but it is as if one were looking at a rough, pitted marble damaged by weather, with neither the sheen of polished round surfaces nor the sharpness of line from chiseled edges. A comparison with the *Tarquian Madonna* (dated 1437) (fig. 2) shows a similar global head with high forehead and firm chin and jaw. The lips of the *Tarquian Madonna* are not so full and, because she glances down, large portions of the eyelids are exposed. In the full lips and distant glance, the *Utah Madonna* is closer to the *Metropolitan Madonna* (c. 1437–8) (fig. 3). Although the *Louvre Madonna* (1437/8 and the years following) (fig. 4) differs in glance, the lips are also full. Two other figures are related and share features with these early types, the Virgin in the *Barberini Annunciation* (c. 1441–7) (fig. 5) and the Madonna in the *Uffizi Madonna and Child with Saints* (c. 1440–5) (fig. 6). They are all “sisters” and range in date from 1437 to c. 1447. The *Utah Madonna* is more similar to the *Tarquian Madonna* than to the others since the noses of both are broad and terminate in a distinctive triangular form, and the faces taper to a short, angular jaw instead of a more rounded one. Therefore, although the *Utah Madonna* is a member of a whole family of “early” matronly types, there are hints that the panel may be closest in date to the *Tarquian Madonna* (1437). In 1452 and the years following until Lippi’s death in 1469, the Madonna becomes a sophisticated, pretty type with delicate features such as a thin, turned-up nose, slightly pursed mouth, and pointed chin (figs. 8–10). These are only “distant relatives” of the earlier matronly women, and they herald Botticelli’s winsome, elegant types. Transitional is the *Washington Madonna* (c. 1445) (fig. 7) who shares features with both the early and late groups.

Because the Child’s face is well-preserved, one is on firmer grounds in comparing him to other babies by Lippi. There is a real kinship between children of the *Utah Madonna* and the *Tarquian Madonna* (dated 1437) (fig. 2), and the closeness would be even more apparent if they were turned at the same angle. Both have button eyes popping from their sockets and snubbed noses with bulbous ends. The hair is a mass of curls, each going its own direction and made into tufts by the placement of dark strokes next to light ones. However, in the *Tarquian* panel the cheeks are fuller (indeed, the child has almost no neck at all), the eyeballs bulge more, and the hair is slightly agitated, with each lock taking a serpentine curve back on itself. This is a brute of a child, made more so because of his active pose of charging at his mother. The child in the *Utah* painting is tamer in form and pose. In some ways he fits better with the babies in the *Metropolitan Madonna* (c. 1437–8) and the *Louvre Madonna* (1437/8 and the years following) (figs. 3 and 4). Older “brothers” of the *Utah*

child are found in some of the heads of angels in the *Louvre Madonna* (the one to the left of the throne, fig. 4) and in the *Uffizi Coronation of the Virgin* (1441–7) (first row left side, second from edge).¹⁰ The child in the *Uffizi Madonna and Child with Saints* (c. 1440–5) (fig. 6) is still similar, and although the hair has lost some of its plastic strength, the face has the same rounded features. In all these children there is an additive quality to the forms, as if each rounded element were slightly separate from the others. The cheeks bulge out from the face, the round iris seems to float up from the eyeball, and the eyeball is encircled by the curved segments of the lids. These tough little urchins are all “brothers” and range in date from 1437 to 1447, although there may be hints that the *Utah* child fits closest to the children of the *Tarquian Madonna* and the *Metropolitan Madonna*, thus 1437–8. In 1452 and the years following the children change, a change which is equivalent to the change of the Madonna into a pretty woman. They are sweeter, with dainty features and soft, downy hair. Transitional and like a “cousin” to both the early and the late groups is the child in the *Washington Madonna* (c. 1445) (fig. 7).

Because of a burn hole in the lower center of the *Utah Madonna*, the Madonna’s right hand is almost totally lost. Enough of the original contour of the fingers is visible to reconstruct the position of the hand which hangs down, with a few fingers curled in—not like the hand in the restoration which was placed laterally, as if steadying the child (fig. 1, p. 18). The other hand is badly abraded, and one sees only the brownish underpaint. The contour, however, is very readable and this hand is a large “mitt,” with splayed pointed fingers, slightly bent at the knuckles. Similarly-formed hands appear in the *Tarquian Madonna*, the *Metropolitan Madonna*, the *Louvre Madonna*, the *Barberini Annunciation*, the *Uffizi Madonna and Child with Saints*, and the *Washington Madonna* (figs. 2–7). By 1452 and in the years following, the hands are much better articulated, with a sense of bone structure and tendons (figs. 8–10), particularly apparent in the *Uffizi Madonna and Child with Two Angels* (fig. 9). The hands of the child in the *Utah* panel are short and pudgy, with the mitt-like quality of the hands of his mother; and they find their counterparts in the *Tarquian Madonna*, the *Metropolitan Madonna*, *Louvre Madonna* and the *Uffizi Madonna and Child with Saints* (figs. 2–4, 6). Like the Madonna’s hands, the extremities of the child become progressively finer and better articulated over time (figs. 8–10). In the *Uffizi Madonna and Child with Two Angels* (fig. 9), the two angels make a veritable flutter of little digits. The portrayal of hands and feet puts the *Utah Madonna* within the early group, 1437–c. 1447.

Through a comparison of figural style in Lippi's work one arrives consistently at a range of possible dates 1437–1447, although through comparisons there are often hints that the *Utah Madonna* clings more closely to the *Tarquianian Madonna* and the *Metropolitan Madonna*, thus c. 1437–8. One can narrow the date to precisely 1437–8 by a discussion of color and composition—although speaking about color is hard because of the loss of glazes in the *Utah* panel, and a consideration of composition is difficult because of the indistinctness of the architectural elements (see p. 4).

The underpaint of the draperies of the *Utah Madonna* is warm red, and although the missing glazes might have differentiated the mother and child (see Conservation Report, pp. 17–20), they are basically bound by hue. This binding together through color occurs in only two works. All are early and all use a red hue: the *Madonna of Humility with Saints and Angels*, Museo del Castello Sforzesco, Milan (c. 1432)¹¹ and the *Metropolitan Madonna* (c. 1437–8) (fig. 3). Considering the color of the *Utah* panel in the most general terms, one sees a massive block of blue and red drapery placed against a cool grey architecture and surrounded by busy marble elements of ochre, rose, lavender, and white. There is only one striking parallel in Lippi's work, the *Metropolitan Madonna* (fig. 3).

The tension resulting from the opposition between forward and backward motion in the *Utah Madonna* is similar to that in the *Tarquianian Madonna* and in the *Metropolitan Madonna* (figs. 2 and 3). The tension in the *Tarquianian Madonna* is the most extreme of the three because the figures are bigger and the depth more ample; however, the bulk of the architecture flanking the *Utah Madonna* and its vibrant overall marble architecture (now lost) ties it firmly to that early masterpiece dated 1437. Still, the *Utah Madonna* is also close to the slightly later *Metropolitan Madonna* (c. 1437–8), although there the surface area of architectural members is less and the arms of the throne seem somewhat behind the Madonna instead of truly engulfing her and locking her to the edges of the panel. Even the swirls in the marble architectural elements of the *Utah Madonna* are closest in design to these early works. There is a lessening of tension between the surface and the space in the *Washington Madonna* (c. 1445), (fig. 7) since she is clearly seated before the niche. And, even though the figures in the *Pitti Tondo*, the *Uffizi Madonna and Child with Two Angels*, and the *Munich Madonna* (figs. 8–10) are jammed up against the frontal plane, there is a sense of release in the vastness of the spatial depth and the potential that the Madonna could swing on her knee out



Figure 11. Masaccio, *Madonna and Child* (Pisa Altar). London, National Gallery of Art.



Figure 12. Lippi, *Adoration of the Child*. Berlin (Dahlem), Staatliche Museen.

10. Ill., Marchini, *op. cit.*, pl. 21.

11. Ill., Marchini, *op. cit.*, pl. 7.



Figure 13. Luca della Robbia, *Tambourine Players, Cantoria*. Florence, Museo dell'Opera del Duomo.



Figure 14. Donatello, *Madonna and Child and Angels*. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts.

of the confines of the painting. The Utah *Madonna* fits well with the early works, and one only has to make the mental effort to fill in the architecture to appreciate the balance-through-tension which gives this early work its breadth and power, a tough aesthetic very different from the serene art of a contemporary like Fra Angelico.

LIPPI'S FIGURAL TYPES IN RELATION TO MADONNAS BY OTHER ARTISTS

During the second half of the fourteenth century and the first half of the fifteenth century, some painters portrayed Madonnas with a melancholic far-off glance similar to that of the *Madonna* in the Utah panel. There were

painters both outside and in Florence such as Cennino Cennini, the *Maestro del Bambino Vispo*, Masolino, and Fra Angelico. While Masolino (fig. 19) and Fra Angelico depict children who are usually stiff little adults, often in the act of blessing and/or holding the globe of the world as the *Salvator Mundi*,¹² other painters contrasted a melancholic *Madonna* to a human-acting child, and there are a few examples where the child, like Lippi's, sucks his fingers.¹³ These examples might make one think that Lippi could only look to painting outside his native town¹⁴ or to second-rate painting by his fellow Florentines except for a major monument finished in 1426, Masaccio's *Pisa Altar* (fig. 11).¹⁵ Masaccio, Vasari writes, was so influential on

12. For examples by Fra Angelico, see J. Pope-Hennessy, *Fra Angelico*, Ithaca, 1974, 2nd ed., pls. 1, 11, 15, 25, 36, 38, 39, 48, 90, 96, 126 and fig. 17.

13. This gesture appears in some fourteenth-century examples. See Van Marle, *op. cit.*, II, 1924, fig. 278; D. Shorr, *The Christ Child in Devotional Images in Italy during the XIV Century*, New York, 1954, 186-7; and R. Fremantle, *Florentine Gothic Painters*, London, 1975, fig. 700. For some fifteenth-century examples done outside Florence, see Van Marle, VII, 1926, figs. 147, 227; VIII, 1927, figs. 151, 155; IX, 1927, figs. 203, 218, 343. For fifteenth-century examples done in Florence, see Fremantle, figs. 1043, 1050, 1136, 1096 and *Gli Uffizi, catalogo generale*, Florence, 1979, 488, no. P1484.

14. See Domencio di Bartolo's *Madonna*, Pinacoteca, Siena, dated 1433

which has been thought to influence other early works by Lippi (ill., Van Marle, *op. cit.*, IX, 1927, fig. 338). However, it is possible that Lippi influenced him or that the two artists arrived at similar images simultaneously, perhaps because they were drawing on a common source, Masaccio. For varying opinions about their relation, see Salmi, *op. cit.*, 14-16; G. Fiocco, "Filippo Lippi a Padova," *Rivista d'Arte*, XVIII, 1936, 32ff.; Pudelko, *Art Bulletin*, *op. cit.*, 108, 111; Oertel, *op. cit.*, 14-15; Pittaluga, *Filippo Lippi*, *op. cit.*, 32; and Marchini, *op. cit.*, 198-99.

15. Although Masaccio's *Altar* was commissioned for the Church of the Carmine in Pisa, parts of it could have been worked on in Florence, as suggested by Berti in P. Volponi and L. Berti, *L'opera completa di Masaccio*, *Classici dell'arte*, Milan, 1968, 84. Lippi was also in Pisa at some date, for Vasari attributes to him a figure in fresco in the Church of



Figure 15. Donatello, *Cantoria*, detail. Florence, Museo dell' Opera del Duomo.



Figure 16. Donatello, *Pazzi Madonna*. Berlin (Dahlem), Staatliche Museen.

Lippi “that many said the spirit of Masaccio had entered into the body of Fra Filippo.”¹⁶ It is not only in the Madonna’s expression and the child’s gesture that the two panels are related. In his early works Lippi consistently emulated Masaccio in the sculptural quality of his figures and drapery folds, and in this respect the Lippi is closer to Masaccio’s Madonna than to the Madonnas of other painters.

Two additional artists, sculptors both, were important influences on Lippi’s art in general and may relate in particular to the *Utah Madonna*. Before the date of the *Utah Madonna* (c. 1437–8), Luca della Robbia created two melancholic Madonnas with children who behave like real

babies, and Michelozzo made two others. Interestingly, two of the four babies put their fingers in their mouths.¹⁷ Although one cannot say that the Lippi surely relied on any of these Madonnas by Masaccio, Luca, or Michelozzo, the meaning of the painting becomes clear via the Masaccio: the child is eating grapes, an established sacramental reference to the blood Christ shed to save mankind; while the child acts like a normal baby stuffing the grapes in his mouth, the mother is sadly contemplating his future sacrifice. The contrast between the spiritual state of the Madonna and the unaware child occurs throughout Lippi’s Madonnas, although in only one is the meaning as overt as in the Masaccio. In the *Pitti Tondo* (fig. 8) the Child is

the Carmine which had been thought to be by Masaccio (Vasari-Milanesi, *op. cit.*, III, 292–3).

See also the *San Giovane Triptych*, attributed by most critics to Masaccio and dated 1422. Here the Madonna’s expression and the child’s gesture are similar, although the plasticity is less strong than that in the *Pisa Altar*: Berti in Volponi and Berti, *op. cit.*, no. 1 (with further bibliography).

L. Berti discusses the particular motif of the child eating grapes present in both of Masaccio’s paintings: “Masaccio, 1422, *Commentarii*, XII, 1961, 86, n. 4; *Masaccio*, University Park and London, 1967, 44, 63; and in Volponi and Berti, *op. cit.*, no. 1.

16. G. Vasari, ed. G. Milanesi, *Le vite de’ più eccellenti pittori scultori ed architettori*, Florence, 1906, II, 613.

17. For Luca della Robbia, see his Madonnas, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, before 1428 and Bode Museum, East Berlin, c. 1430–4 (J. Pope-Hennessy, *Luca della Robbia*, 1980, Ithaca, cat. nos. 22 and 24 and pls. 90A and 92). For Michelozzo, see his Madonnas in the *Tomb of Pope John XXIII* (by Donatello and Michelozzo), Baptistry, Florence, c. 1421–c. 1428 and portal lunette, Sant’Agostino, Montepulciano (R. W. Lightbown, *Donatello and Michelozzo*, London, 1980, I, 323 and II, 322, 329, pls. 140 and 70). For similar but later Madonnas by Luca, see Pope-Hennessy, *Luca della Robbia*, *op. cit.*, pls. XXV–XXIX and figs. 84 A and B, 96, 97, 102, 103 (one of which has the motif of the child sucking his fingers). For further examples of the motif in fifteenth-century sculpture, see J. Pope-Hennessy, *Catalogue of Italian Sculpture in the Victoria and Albert Museum*, London, 1964, III, figs. 68, 87, 88 and A. Venturi, *Storia dell’arte italiana*, VI, Milan, 1908, figs. 295, 296.



Figure 17. Anonymous Florentine, *Madonna and Child*. Florence, Duomo, Campanile.



Figure 18. Andrea della Robbia, *Madonna and Child (Via dell'Agnolo Lunette)*, enameled terracotta. Florence, Museo Nazionale.



Figure 19. Masolino, *Madonna and Child*, fresco. Empoli, Chiesa di Santo Stefano degli Agostiniani.



Figure 20. Fra Angelico, *St. Peter Martyr*, fresco. Florence, S. Marco.

about to eat a pomegranate, an alternate symbol for the blood of Christ, and the Madonna stares out at the viewer, her all-seeing eye in the dead center of the painting. In addition, in two of Lippi's three representations of the *Adoration*, the Utah Child's gesture recurs (fig. 12). Set in an exotic, otherworldly landscape, and accompanied by

18. The second *Adoration*, Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence, no. 8350, is from the nuns' convent of Annalena, c. 1452–55 or soon afterwards. In the third *Adoration*, Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence, no. 8353, from the hermitage monastery of Camaldoli c. 1463, the child has his hand near his mouth. It should be noted that although the figures in these three *Adorations* were not used in the stylistic analysis of this essay (pp. 7–8) since the evidence of workshop participation is apparent, especially in the main figures, the design as well as much of the surface is surely by Lippi and the paintings are documented by early sources to him.

saints and heavenly beings, the Madonna is rapt in her own thoughts while she worships her son. All figures share a highly mystical state of awareness but in contrast the child sucks his finger—an unknowing, helpless babe isolated on the ground.¹⁸

Although the figural types in the Utah *Madonna* are

19. However, in one instance a Lippi Madonna comes very close to that by a sculptor. The undated Medici-Riccardi *Madonna* (ill., Marchini, pl. 74) differs somewhat from any of Lippi's *Madonnas* discussed in the course of the essay and this might be explained by its derivation from a *Madonna* by Michelozzo (Lightbown, *op. cit.*, I, 323 and II, 322, pl. 140), who shares with it an unusually long face, slender and straight nose, and wide but thin lips (the architectural shell is also similar). Because the Michelozzo dates c. 1421–c. 1428, it does not help place the Lippi Medici-Riccardi *Madonna*, variously dated c. 1440–1465; Marchini, *op. cit.*, 98



Figure 21. Giovanni del Biondo, *Madonna and Child*. Siena, Pinacoteca.



Figure 22. Giovanni di Milano, *Madonna and Child with Donors*. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art.



Figure 23. Giovanni Toscani, *Madonna and Child*. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio.



Figure 24. Lippi, *Annunciation*, Washington, D.C., National Gallery.

uniquely Lippi's (see pp. 1–2), writers have often mentioned various artists when discussing the figural types in his Madonnas: Lorenzo Monaco, Gentile da Fabriano, Masolino, Masaccio, Fra Angelico, Donatello, and Luca della Robbia. For the most part these writers are making general comparisons and not citing specific precedents for

(points towards *Pitti Tondo* c. 1452), cat. no. 40, 208 (middle phase of his style and hard to date); Pittaluga, *Encyclopedia of World Art*, *op. cit.*, 259 (c. 1442–3); Pittaluga, *Filippo Lippi*, *op. cit.*, 177 (c. 1442–3); Oertel, 42 (time of Prato Duomo fresco cycle and not until after 1460), cat., 75 (similar to *Adoration of Child*, Uffizi no. 8353 c. 1463); Berenson, *op. cit.*, 223 (c. 1441); Pudelko, *Rivista d'Arte*, *op. cit.*, 64 (c. 1441); and Pudelko, *Art Bulletin*, *op. cit.*, 108, n. 10 (c. 1445). The dating of the Medici-Riccardi *Madonna* is also not helped by comparison with Masolino's *Madonna* dated 1423 (see Fremantle, *op. cit.*, fig. 1014) which is similar in

Lippi's figures.

The Madonna in the Utah panel does not have a striking parallel with a Madonna by any other artist, and indeed, the majority of Lippi's Madonnas do not seem inspired by others' types.¹⁹ Nor does the Child in the Utah panel find a striking parallel with a child by another artist,

the glance of the child, his position of striding and reaching towards his mother, and his little shirt. The Medici-Riccardi *Madonna* can also be compared with one by Luca della Robbia where the pressing together of the faces, the grasping of the mother's veil, and the placement of the child on a ledge is similar. Luca's *Madonna* has recently been dated c. 1460 instead of a previously suggested dating of c. 1450 (Pope-Hennessy, *Luca della Robbia*, *op. cit.*, cat. no. 40, 255, colorpl. XXIX). In either case, a possible dependence of Lippi on Luca would place the work in the 1450's or 1460's, during the second half of his career.



Figure 25. Maestro della Misericordia, *Vision of St. Catherine*, detail. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art (Lehman Collection).

but he does come somewhat close to a few of the heads of Tambourine Players in Luca della Robbia's *Cantoria*, 1431–1438 (fig. 13).²⁰ As well as sharing a general roundness of forms, the eyes look up, creating a similar floating effect of the iris, typical of Lippi's children. The importance of Luca's *Cantoria* for other Lippi children has been pointed out by Del Bravo who compares heads in Lippi's *Uffizi Coronation* with heads in two of the reliefs and by Marchini who says that youths in Lippi's *Castello Sforzesco*

20. For the dating, see Pope-Hennessy, *Luca della Robbia*, *op. cit.*, 226–8. The child's head is also similar to one at the left of a relief of dancing putti by Donatello, Michelozzo and Workshop in the *Outdoor Pulpit*, Duomo, Prato, 1433–8; see Lightbown, *op. cit.*, II, 323 and pl. 86 and H. W. Janson, *The Sculpture of Donatello*, Princeton, 1963, 108 and pl. 48b.

21. C. Del Bravo, "L'Umanesimo di Luca della Robbia," *Paragone*, CCLXXV, 1973, 12–13 (he also compares the poses of the children in the *Tarquianian* and *Louvre Madonnas* to figures in the *Cantoria*) and Marchini, *op. cit.*, 21. See also J. Pope-Hennessy, "The Interaction of Painting and Sculpture in Florence in the Fifteenth Century," *Journal of the Royal Soci-*



Figure 26. Sodoma, *A Priest Brings Food to St. Benedict*, fresco, detail. Monteoliveto, Monasterio.

Madonna of Humility owe their "di sott'in su" presentation to the *Cantoria*.²¹ It is indeed possible that the foreshortening peculiar to Lippi, evident in the Utah Child's head (see p. 2) resulted from Lippi's looking at relief sculpture. This is suggested by a further comparison. In Lippi's *Uffizi Madonna and Child with Saints*, c. 1440 (fig. 6), and Donatello's *Boston Madonna*, c. 1425–8 (fig. 14)²², done in low relief, the distant cheek is pulled into too full a view. In another instance Lippi also seems to depend on Donatello. The

ety of Art, CXVII, 1969, 420.

22. For the dating, see Janson, *op. cit.*, 86.

23. For the dating, see Lightbown, *op. cit.*, II, 324; Janson, *op. cit.*, 119.

24. Ill. Pope-Hennessy, *Fra Angelico*, *op. cit.*, figs. 3, 7, 8, 21, 22, 59, 60 and pls. 15, 18, 56b, 96, 126, 127.

25. See Freemantle, *op. cit.*, figs. 1012 and 1014 and Berti, *Masaccio*, *op. cit.*, 109 and fig. 62.

26. See R. Ghiotto and T. Pignatti (catalogue), *L'opera completa di Giovanni Bellini*, *Classici dell'arte*, Milan, 1969, *passim*.

27. For the dating, see E. Micheletti, *Masolino da Panicale*, Milan, 1959, 21 and for a fourteenth-century precedent by Taddeo Gaddi, see

brutish baby in Lippi's *Tarquian Madonna*, dated 1437 (fig. 2), is similar to a putto who puffs his cheeks as he blows a trumpet in Donatello's *Cantoria*, 1433–1439 (fig. 15).²³ The heads are depicted at the same angle, the bulging eyes are set close together, and the cheeks are so fat there is almost no neck at all. About mid-way through his career, c. 1450, Lippi came under the sway of Fra Angelico, and his style shifted from its robust beginnings into a softer, more lyrical vein. The above comparisons underline the impact of sculpture on his early art—both the example of the sculptural style of Masaccio and the example of sculpture itself.

ARCHITECTURAL DETAILS AND FORMAT OF THE UTAH MADONNA

The sources of some of the architectural details of the Utah *Madonna* and its format as a pointed lunette are difficult to determine, and it seems that in several of these aspects Lippi is unusual or unique.

The marble architecture evident in the Utah panel and many other paintings by Lippi is shared with Fra Angelico.²⁴ It is not a common fourteenth-century device, despite its appearance in works by Giotto and a few followers. Fra Angelico first uses marble in the late 1410's, and Masolino and Masaccio use it in the 1420's.²⁵ The earliest work securely by Lippi that has marble architecture is the *Tarquian Madonna* dated 1437 (fig. 2); here he employs this pictorial device with abandon. Therefore, Lippi might have been influenced by Fra Angelico, Masolino, or Masaccio. Marble architecture is relatively rare in the first half of the fifteenth century except in the work of Lippi and Fra Angelico; and when it appears at mid-century, it does so in works by their studio and followers.

The ledge in the Utah *Madonna*, on which the child rests his foot, is also rare until the second half of the century where it becomes a favorite motif of Giovanni Bellini, c. 1450–1510.²⁶ In painting it seems to occur first in Masolino's *Empoli Madonna*, 1424 (fig. 19),²⁷ which is followed by Lippi's Utah *Madonna*, his *Washington Madonna*, c. 1445 (fig. 7), his *Medici-Riccardi Madonna*, c. 1450–1460's, Domenico Veneziano's *Madonna*, Settignano, c. 1432–7,²⁸

and Uccello's *Madonna*, Dublin, c. 1445.²⁹ These are the few examples in painting in the first half of the fifteenth century. The stimulus to use a ledge and, in addition, to join the ledge with a frame, might very well be due to sculpture where there are earlier and more numerous examples. Donatello's *Pazzi Madonna*, c. 1422 (fig. 16),³⁰ predates the Masolino, and Luca della Robbia made use of the ledge combined with a surrounding frame, beginning in the *Madonna*, Jacquemart-André Museum, c. 1428.³¹ Therefore, Lippi might have been inspired by Masolino, Donatello, or Luca della Robbia, but it is significant that he used the motif more than other painters and went further than sculptural examples by combining the ledge not just with a frame but with flanking architectural elements. It is by this ledge and architecture that he creates a tension between the frontal plane and the depth of the background architecture—something which is unique to his art, for in no other prototype or contemporary example in painting or relief sculpture is the conflict between surface and space even suggested.

The last item under consideration is undoubtedly the hardest to unravel, the pointed lunette format of the Lippi Utah *Madonna*. There are three media from which Lippi might have drawn. The format of a pointed or round lunette for a half-length Madonna (or saint, Man of Sorrows, or God the Father) occurs in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, but it seems to become less frequently used in the fifteenth century. For relief sculpture the pointed "Gothic" lunette was popular in the older period (fig. 17), while the round lunette appears to be more typical of the fifteenth century (fig. 18). Frescoes with half-length Madonnas (or other figures) use either a round or pointed lunette (figs. 19 and 20).³² In panel painting there are many older examples of polyptychs with the half-length Madonna in a rectangular vertical format terminated in a round or pointed arch; the Madonna image was then occasionally isolated as an independent altar (fig. 21). However, there are very few examples of half-length Madonnas without the rectangular vertical shape and thus equivalent to the sculpted reliefs and frescoes. There are only a handful, including round lunettes by Taddeo Gaddi and Gio-

Boskovits, *op. cit.*, fig. 2.

28. Ill., H. Wohl, *The Paintings of Domenico Veneziano*, New York and London, 1980, pl. 24 (the ledge is implied).

29. Ill. E. Flaiano and L. Tomasi (catalogue), *L'opera completa di Uccello*, *Classici dell'arte*, Milan, 1971, cat. no. 33.

30. For the dating, see Janson, *op. cit.*, 44, and for another example, see J. Pope-Hennessy, *An Introduction to Italian Sculpture*, II, London and New York, 1971, fig. 28.

31. Ill. Pope-Hennessy, *Luca della Robbia*, *op. cit.*, cat. no. 23, 249, pl. 90B. For other examples by Luca and one by Buggiano, see pls. XXV, 91A, 94A, and figs. 26, 27.

32. For more fifteenth-century examples of a half-length Madonna in relief sculpture in a lunette, see Pope-Hennessy, *An Introduction . . .*, *op. cit.*, II, fig. 58; Lightbrown, *op. cit.*, II, pls. 21, 70; Venturi, *op. cit.*, VI, figs. 227, 260; Pope-Hennessy, *Luca della Robbia*, *op. cit.*, pls. 96, 97 and figs. 24, 26. For a fifteenth-century example of a fresco, see one by Pseudo Ambrogio di Baldese, Florence, Carmine and for some fourteenth-century ones, see Boskovits, *op. cit.*, figs. 2, 544; Venturi, *op. cit.*, V, Milan, 1907, fig. 397; and C. Volpe, *La pittura Rimanese del Trecento*, Milan, 1965, fig. 293; P. Toesca, *Storia del arte italiana, Il Trecento*, Turin, 1971, fig. 648.

33. For the Taddeo Gaddi, see Shorr, *op. cit.*, 25. For the Giovanni da Milano, see Zeri, *op. cit.*, 33, who says the shape is "unusual."

vanni da Milano from the fourteenth century (fig. 22)³³ and pointed lunettes by an anonymous Florentine c. 1450 and Giovanni Toscani (c. 1370/8–1430), from the fifteenth century (fig. 23).³⁴ Several of the examples cited date after the Utah *Madonna* and could not have served as a prototype. Furthermore, if Lippi was inspired by any of the earlier examples in sculpture, fresco, or panel painting, he, more than any other artist, was inventive in his use of odd formats; the Utah *Madonna* is an instance of this experimental zeal. He also used a rectangular horizontal panel with a rounded arch (later cut off at the top) (fig. 24),³⁵ a rectangular horizontal panel with a pointed arch,³⁶ a rectangular horizontal panel with a very slowly rounded arch,³⁷ and a tondo (fig. 8).

THE FUNCTION AND THE POSSIBLE ORIGINAL LOCATION OF THE UTAH MADONNA

The function of Lippi's Utah *Madonna* is extremely difficult to determine. It is clear that it is an independent panel, not joined to other panels to the side or below. It might have served as an altarpiece³⁸ or have been placed in an arch in a wall (fig. 25) or have been raised above in a wall arch or have been placed in an arch over a door (like the empty wall arch or overdoor arch in fig. 5). In any of these cases the candle burns are explicable, since candles

were not only put on altars but might have flanked wall arches, low or high, or an overdoor; an image from the sixteenth century shows a candle not screwed into the wall which would have been one possibility, but placed on the lintel of the door where it illuminates a piece of sculpture (fig. 26).

Vasari writes about a now-lost work by Lippi done for the Magistrato degli Otto in the Palazzo Vecchio: “. . . in mezzo tondo dipinto a tempera, una Nostra Donna col Figliuolo in braccio.”³⁹ The Utah *Madonna* might possibly be this “mezzo tondo.”⁴⁰ In scanning Vasari for another use of the term “mezzo tondo,” one finds it applied to Fra Angelico's frescoes of half-length figures which are overdoors in San Marco, all in the shape of a pointed lunette (fig. 20 is one example) and to Andrea della Robbia's relief in the shape of a rounded lunette (fig. 18).⁴¹ “Mezzo tondo” therefore means “lunette,” whether rounded or, like the Utah *Madonna*, pointed. The extreme rarity of this shape in the fifteenth century, particularly in panel painting, may very well argue that the Utah *Madonna* is the painting by Lippi in the Palazzo Vecchio to which Vasari referred, where it may have functioned as an altar, or set in a wall arch, or placed high in a wall arch, or fitted as an overdoor, in the very seat of the government of Florence.⁴²

Malibu

34. For the anonymous Florentine, see *Gli Uffizi . . .*, *op. cit.*, 506, no. P1577.

35. The *Vision of St. Bernard*, National Gallery, London (ill. Marchini, *op. cit.*, pl. 36), a normal rectangle, was also cut later, at the corners.

36. See the Castello Sforzesco *Madonna of Humility* (ill., Marchini, *op. cit.*, pl. 7).

37. See the *Seven Saints* and the *Annunciation*, National Gallery of Art, London (ill., Marchini, *op. cit.*, pls. 53 and 54).

38. See, for example, Agnolo Gaddi, *Miracle of St. Nicholas*, Cappella Castellani, Santa Croce, Florence (ill., Boskovits, *op. cit.*, fig. 129).

39. Vasari-Milanesi, *op. cit.*, II, 265.

40. Two other paintings by Lippi are documented in The Palazzo Vecchio. They function as overdoors, and they have been identified as extant works, both with odd formats. One is the *Vision of St. Bernard* (n. 35) and the other is the *Washington Annunciation*, for which see figure 24. For documents and discussion of both panels, see *Il codice Anonimo magliabechiano*, ed. K. Frey, Berlin, 1892, 97; Vasari-Milanesi, *op. cit.*, II, 617; F. Baldinucci, *Notizie dei Professori del disegno da Cimabue . . .*, Florence, III, 1728, 101; Marchini, *op. cit.*, cat. no. 16, 203, 232; Pittaluga, *Encyclopedia of World Art*, *op. cit.*, 258; Pittaluga, *Filippo Lippi*, *op. cit.*, 161, 227–8; Oertel, *op. cit.*, 67; Gronau, *op. cit.*, 271; Mendelsohn, *op. cit.*, 10, 247; Supino, *op. cit.*, 70; Strutt, *op. cit.*, XXI, 71, 193. See also M. Davies, *The Earlier Italian Schools, National Gallery Catalogues*, London, 1961, cat. no. 248, 292 and Shapley, *op. cit.*, 107.

41. For the Fra Angelico lunettes, see Vasari-Milanesi, *op. cit.*, II, 508; for the Andrea della Robbia, see Vasari-Milanesi, II, 175 and for its attribution and dating (Andrea della Robbia, not Luca della Robbia as Vasari says and c. 1470), see Pope-Hennessy, *Luca della Robbia*, *op. cit.*, cat. no. 69, 269.

42. There are two items to consider in this suggestion. The first is the possibility that Vasari mistook the Giovanni Toscani panel in the Palazzo Vecchio (fig. 23) for a Lippi (he sometimes made mistakes in attribution,

see footnote 41). However, Vasari knew Lippi's style well and does not make other errors in attributing works to him. Conclusive against this possibility is the date when the Giovanni Toscani entered the collection of the Palazzo Vecchio. It is due to the generosity of Serena Padovani who called on her colleague, Dr. Silvia Melone Trulija of the Soprintendenza of Florence to ferret out the provenance of the Giovanni Toscani. Dr. Trulija found in the inventory of the Palazzo Vecchio of 1918 that the Giovanni Toscani entered the collection in 1913 “from the tribunale,” and clearly it was not in the Palazzo Vecchio before this time. My thanks goes to both scholars for their spontaneous help.

The second item to consider is a long shot but a plausible one. If future scholarship proves that the Utah *Madonna* is not the one seen in the Palazzo Vecchio, it might be from Lippi's Paduan period (documented to 1434). There are two versions of a *Madonna* in half-length (location unknown and Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore) sometimes attributed to Giorgio Schiavone (d. 1504), a Dalmatian who worked in Padua. Although F. Zeri (*Italian Painting in the Walters Art Gallery*, Baltimore, 1976, 204–5, pl. 102, with a full bibliography) does not give the composition to Schiavone but calls it “school of Padua,” he agrees with the previous literature that suggested that the composition reflects a Lippi precedent. Indeed, the composition shares several features with the Utah *Madonna*: a mournful Madonna, a laterally-placed child who sucks his fingers, the positioning of the hands of the Madonna, the veil of the Madonna, the tunic of the Child made from a substantial cloth and a transparent veil, and a ledge on which the Child rests his feet. If the Paduan artist was inspired by the Utah *Madonna*, then the problem is where did he see it. Either he made a trip to Florence or he saw it at home in Padua, where early sources describe some works by Lippi but none remain. One has to conclude with a question: if the Utah *Madonna* is not the one seen by Vasari in the Palazzo Vecchio, could it be a product of Lippi's stay in Padua and therefore before the *Tarquinius Madonna* of 1437?

Conservation Report on the *Madonna and Child* by Fra Filippo Lippi

Elisabeth Mention

Support: Poplar panels vertically joined. Modern cradle, 3 cm. on reverse.
Medium: egg tempura, est.
Shape: lunette
Dimensions: Height: 81 cm.; Width: 1 m.; Depth: 1cm.

The conservation of the Utah *Madonna and Child* has provided an unusual opportunity to investigate the techniques and materials employed by an exceptional artist. Work on the panel began in 1977 and has been carried out intermittently to the present. Because of changes in the conservation staff, the project was undertaken in essentially three separate stages. Carol Mancusi-Ungaro was responsible for the initial investigations and removal of the majority of restorations in the paint layers. Three years later, Bettina Jessell completed the cleaning of paint layers, and filled the losses with gesso. A year later, the author removed the modern gesso covering the border and carried out the inpainting. At the suggestion of Andrea Rothe, some restored areas were slightly reworked to make them more legible; John Twilley, Conservation Scientist, was responsible for paint analysis at the initial stage and again in 1980 during the second cleaning.¹

When the Lippi painting arrived at the museum conservation laboratory, preliminary examination showed it to be heavily restored (figure 1). Viewed in natural light large areas of overpainting and faked craquelure appeared throughout the picture, most notably on the Madonna's face and hands and in the marble pillars and niche behind her. In addition, gesso on the entire border of approximately 3.5 cm appeared to be a later addition.

To determine accurately the condition of the panel and the extent of its damages, further investigations using radiographs, ultra-violet, and infra-red light were carried out. The ultra-violet and infra-red examination confirmed the presence of heavy inpainting over virtually all of the

picture which was also covered with discolored, thick varnish. Radiographs showed that areas of heaviest restoration had suffered severe damage in the form of large, flame-shaped losses. These are characteristic of burns caused by candles being placed close to the painting, and the presence of which point to the panel's possible function as an altar piece or overdoor. The radiographs also reveal a long vertical loss running through the painting where the two poplar panels were joined. The gesso on the border of the picture revealed itself as an obvious later addition, having a distinct craquelure and density from the gesso ground under the remainder of the painting.

Despite the severity and extent of the damages to the majority of the composition, the figure of the Christ child appeared remarkably well-preserved. In addition, significant elements in Lippi's architecture, such as the column on the left side of the panel and the marble molding and detail on the right were in relatively good condition. After consultation with Burton Fredericksen and with the Utah Museum of Fine Arts, a decision was made to remove all restorations in order to reveal, however fragmentary, the remains of Lippi's original painting.

The initial cleaning showed that the previous restorer had taken major liberties in his reconstruction of the composition (figure 2). The architectural setting had been altered by overpainting the ledge on which the child rests his foot. In its place on the left, a pillow was painted which disappears behind the column. On the right, the Virgin's cloak was brought down to cover the ledge and to bring her figure in front of the marble column. Further changes were made in the position of the Madonna's right hand. In the restored version her hand curves upward, while Lippi positions it curved downward with fingers curled under, supporting the child. The Virgin's veil had been altered by the addition of a very fine, lace-like second veil painted under the original, heavier cap-like veil.

1. Mr. Twilley's analysis involved s-ray fluorescence spectroscopy, polarized light microscopy, and the use of x-ray fluorescence spectroscopy in conjunction with electron microscope.



Figure 1. Lippi, *Madonna and Child* (before restoration). Salt Lake City, Museum of Fine Arts.

The cleaning at the first stage also uncovered severe damages which appear to have been caused by scraping with a sharp instrument on the columns (figure 3). These damages, however brutal, offer a unique opportunity to see how the artist built up his paint layers to create his marbled effect.

John Twilley's analysis shows that the bottommost layers contain lead white and charcoal and are followed by layers of a coarse yellow ochre, a pale pink lake, and a thin, fine lead-tin yellow. To build up the volume of the column, the artist painted first a flat stripe of light color

(corresponding to the side of the light source) juxtaposed next to a darker stripe (corresponding to the shaded side of the column). Over these flat bands of color he applied his successive paint layers, working the light side gradually into the dark side.

Further analysis at this stage included a cross-section of the Madonna's blue robe, which showed an underlayer of charcoal and white lead covered by ultramarine followed by a layer of azurite. This uppermost layer was very likely restoration, as it was separated from the ultramarine by a layer of discolored varnish. The Madonna's red dress and



Figure 2. Lippi, *Madonna and Child*, after first cleaning. Salt Lake City.

the Child's wrap consisted of a first layer of red ochre and lead white followed by a layer of crimson lake and a pale red lake. The Child's wrap differed from that of the Madonna only by the addition of a fine cinnabar in the top layer.

Perhaps the most fascinating discoveries in the conservation of the painting were to be found in Lippi's creation of flesh tones. He treated the Madonna's face, her hands, the Child's face, and the Child's body each in a distinct manner. The Madonna's face began with an underlayer of charcoal and lead white over which he painted terre verte

mixed with yellow ochre. This was followed by a pink layer estimated by Ms. Jessell to be red lake and lead white. Lippi created her right hand with terre verte and hematite. Unfortunately, virtually nothing remains of the flesh tones of her left hand. The pigments used in the body of the Child consist of, from the bottom layer, lead white, raw sienna, and vermilion, followed by a pale pink lake on the surface. The face of the Child has not been conclusively analyzed, but is visually distinct from the body, having a light opaque pink layer on top.

Also of special interest are the color changes which took

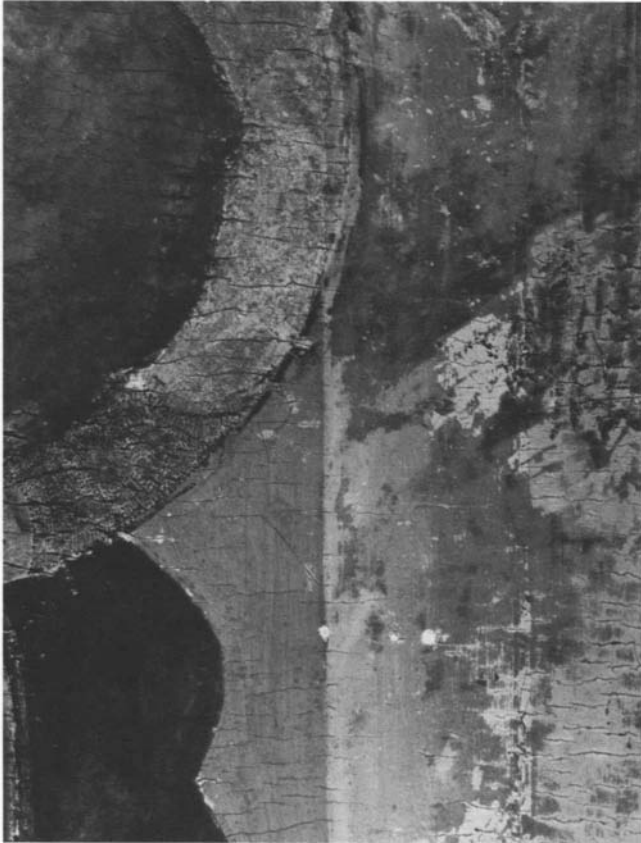


Figure 3. Lippi, *Madonna and Child*, detail of scraped column. Salt Lake City.

place in the Madonna's right hand and the Child's foot. In both places the underlayers have darkened to such an extent that they appear almost black. A possible explanation might be the conversion of mercuric sulfide to metacinnabar. An unusually high percentage of sulfur in the medium may be another explanation for such a color change.

Although much has been discovered about the painting, there are a number of questions which remain unanswered. Specifically, the precise layer structure of the flesh tones where they have not been fully explored. Another important question is the nature of the medium, which varies tremendously from one sampled area to another. Perhaps Lippi's known use of additives to his tempera such as honey or wax with glutinous ingredients² are responsi-

ble for this variation.

Figure 1, p. 2, shows the completed conservation of the *Madonna*. The false gesso covering the border has been removed to reveal the raw wood which originally would have been covered by either its own frame or the framework of an altarpiece or overdoor. In restoring the pictorial elements, the approach was to inpaint the losses in a manner distinct from the original yet which would allow the viewer to reconstruct the composition visually. No attempt was made to reconstruct those areas for which there was any uncertainty. By minimizing the damages in this way, the actual condition of the panel is not masked, yet a unity of the pictorial elements is achieved.

Malibu

2. Sir Charles Eastlake, *Methods and Materials of the Great Schools and Masters*, vol. 1, New York, Dover, 1960, p. 219 n.

E COSI DESIO ME MENA

Burton B. Fredericksen

Even in this day of proliferating art historical literature, many well-known and important paintings remain poorly understood, and some works seem to escape successful interpretation no matter how much attention is given them. At the same time, there can be little doubt that one of the attractions of working in the history of art—as opposed to the critical study of literature—lies in the fact that there is more to be discovered. At the very least, almost all works of literature are still known by their original title, though one may interpret and reinterpret their meaning. One does not identify a new work by Ariosto or Schiller; at best one might find an unknown letter. But what a luxury to have so many paintings that carry no title at all! Not to mention all of those whose author remains unknown, or uncertain. Seen in this light, yet another incompletely understood painting will only serve to improve our lot. I have very little doubt that the next few years will reveal more about the function as well as about the author of the painting I intend to introduce here, but at the same time it does not seem premature to discuss it now, to relate the progress of initial research, and to voice the hope that we are at least on the right track.

THE PAINTING

The painting is a small (45 cm., 17 in. square) lozenge-shaped panel—patently from the sixteenth century—depicting a scantily clad man riding bareback on a white horse (fig. 1).¹ He wears a red cloth around his waist and over one shoulder which flies out behind him as a fluttering cape. Around his head is tied a thin, white ribbon, also whipped by the wind and suggesting the speed with which he rides. His lower legs are covered by golden leggings with a cord at the top that also flies free. He sits on a dark, yellow cloth or blanket that is fastened under the neck of the horse and is cinched with a gray strap that goes com-

pletely around the horse's belly. The horse itself is seen in full stride—or at least what the sixteenth century conceived to be full stride—with his two front legs extended and the two rear hooves firmly planted on the ground. Thanks to the benefits of photography, we now know that horses do not run this way, but it was a convention of the time—and also perhaps an expression of the allegorical function of the animal—to show them with the two rear legs in virtually the same position.²

Under the horse is a patch of bright green grass. The background is of azurite, originally very bright but now thin from cleaning and therefore more grayish and subdued in tone.³ A tondo of gold leaf encircles the painting; the inner edge is recessed, giving it some relief, and the outer edge casts some shadow. The corners of the lozenge are red with gold filigree. This ornament is highly delicate in character and very skillful, clearly the work of someone with experience in this genre and with a very strong decorative sense.

Over the patch of grass, just under the hooves of the horse, is a large gold cartouche with an inscription in gold letters on a black field. The words read simply: *E COSI DESIO ME MENA*.⁴ The sense of the allegory derives from this inscription, and with some license it can be interpreted in English as, “And so desire carries me along.”⁵ This fits well the image of the horse and rider: a white horse—traditionally a symbol of passion—in full stride with a half-naked man barely holding on to the mane. The rider himself fixes his gaze on the viewer; he is not frightened nor “impassioned,” but almost bemused; intent upon his goal, but under control.

The sentiment itself is very beautiful. It is, however, a motto that does not seem to have achieved any sort of currency; I am not aware of its having been used on other occasions, and so far I have not found any record of its

1. Acc. no. 80.PB.72.

2. The tradition of showing galloping horses with their two rear legs planted on the ground is found already in Greek and Roman art and is maintained throughout the Renaissance and into the nineteenth century. One interesting parallel in Italy, pointed out to me by John Fletcher, is the relief of a man on a horse by Andrea Pisano on the Florentine campanile. He also wears a cape such as worn by the man in the Getty painting.

3. The color was analyzed by the McCrone Laboratories in Chicago and determined to be azurite.

4. In the sale catalogue of 1979 at Christie's, the inscription was read as *E COSI DESIO MARFISA* which was in turn related to Boiardo's *Orlando Innamorato* or Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*. The misreading was due to the fact that part of the inscription was obscured by dirt and there is also a loss of paint between the last two words.

5. Variations on this reading would be “And so desire carries me away,” or even “And so desire leads me on.”



Figure 1. Hans Holbein the Younger (attributed to), *Allegory of Passion*. Malibu, the J. Paul Getty Museum.

connection with any individual or group. A possible source of the motto has been identified, however, and it should come as no great surprise that it is from Petrarch's writings.⁶ The phrase, or one very nearly the same, is found in his *Canzoniere* (or *Rime*), and specifically the one hundred twenty-fifth canzone which begins with the line: "Se 'l pensier che mi strugge. . ." The complete stanza in which one finds the motto reads as follows:

Come fanciul ch'a pena
 volge la lingua e snoda,
 che dir non sa ma 'l più tacer gli è noia,
 così 'l desir mi mena
 a dire, e vo' che m'oda
 la dolce mia nemica anzi ch'io moia.
 Se forse ogni sua gioia
 nel suo bel viso è solo,
 e di tutt'altro è schiva,
 odil tu, verde riva,
 e presta a' miei sospir sì largo volo
 che sempre si ridica
 come tu m'eri amica.

This can be translated as follows:

Like a child who can hardly
 move his tongue to form a word,
 who cannot talk but finds it still more trying
 to be silent,
 so my desire leads me
 to speak, and I want my sweet enemy
 to hear me before I die.
 If perhaps all her joy
 is only on her beautiful face,
 and she is averse to all else,
 listen, green embankment,
 and lend my sighs such lengthy flight
 that it will always be repeated
 how you were my friend.

This particular canzone is generally thought to have been written by Petrarch (1304–1374) between the years 1337 and 1341 while the author was still in his early to mid thirties and living in the *Vaucluse* in southern France. It is typical of the love poems written in adoration of Laura, the girl whom he saw when young and to whom he dedicated a lifetime of poetry. It must be noted that the phrase

6. The connection with Petrarch was first made by Prof. J.H. Whitfield of Birmingham, and it was also he who eventually identified the exact source.

7. It has been suggested—by Maria Chiara Arese Lucini of our staff—that the phrase *E COSI DESIO ME MENA* was and is a colloquialism in common usage in Italy. Dr. Nicholas Mann of Pembroke College, Oxford, has confirmed this possibility, and so it is not to be excluded that

"*E così desio me mena*" is only a portion of the complete sentence, and by dropping off the final words of the phrase—"a dire"—its meaning has been changed. In fact Petrarch said that desire led him *to speak*. The omission of the last words lends the phrase a more general character, one more suitable for a motto. It is also more personal.⁷

That a Petrarchian phrase should appear on an allegory from the sixteenth century is not surprising. Petrarch exercised a strong influence on the art and literature of both the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. He was considered all over Europe to have been the person who most contributed to the rebirth of poetry in the Renaissance, and he was generally honored as one of the founders of the humanistic movement, a man whose writings inspired imitators in virtually every country in Europe. Numerous editions of his works, including the *Canzoniere*, appeared throughout the sixteenth century in a variety of languages, and his poems were current among the educated class.

The presence of an Italian motto would naturally point toward an Italian patron and an Italian artist, and when the painting was auctioned in 1979 at Christie's it was in fact connected with the name of Giulio Romano, that passionate devotee of classical lore.⁸ Giulio did not commonly use such inscriptions on his pictures, and I know of nothing he did that relates directly to Petrarch; he was much too intent on the Latin sources. The style of the panel is also clearly not related to that of Giulio, who loved fleshy figures that derived from Roman sarcophagi. The wiry little man on a horse in the Getty panel, with his thin and very individualized features, also does not correspond in any way to the canon of an artist whose classicizing tendencies led all of his figures to approximate those of Roman statuary. Indeed, no Italian painter could have painted such a figure.

It will save further debate on this point if one detail is introduced here that should settle the question of whether the picture could have been painted in Italy. The artist painted it on an oak panel, a support found primarily in the low countries and Northern Germany, and this implies that the painting also originated in the north.⁹ Exceptions could be found, but since the style of the painting is obviously northern, there does not seem to be any reason to search for exceptions.

A second detail that should be mentioned here is a small stamp on the reverse of the panel. This stamp takes the

the phrase did not come via Petrarch. In any case the sentiment is very Petrarchian in nature.

8. Christie's sale, February 9, 1979, lot no. 24.

9. Oak trees are found in England, the low countries, northern France to a point somewhat south of Paris, and in most of northern and central Germany.



Figure 2. Stamp on the reverse of the panel of fig. 1.

form of an elaborated figure eight (fig. 2), and its significance is still unknown. It was at first assumed¹⁰ that this was a panel-maker's stamp such as is often found on the reverse of panels made in Antwerp. Other examples of this particular stamp are unknown, but the explanation remains a very tempting one. Unfortunately, very little is recorded about panel stamps of any kind. It may be, for instance, that certain collectors used such stamps, but if they did, they must be very rare. The more famous marks, such as those of Charles I, were not stamped but rather branded. Indeed, virtually all stamps on the back of panels have traditionally been assumed to be panel-makers' stamps such as are often found on the reverse of panels from Antwerp.

However, the overwhelming majority of such panel marks are from the seventeenth century and not before.¹¹ According to John Fletcher only one other sixteenth century panel has so far been identified with a stamp on the reverse, the *Portrait of Elizabeth of York* in the Queen's collection at Holyrood House in Edinburgh, which has on the back a stamp in the form of petals.¹² The significance of this stamp is not yet understood, and it is, therefore, of very little help in identifying that on the Getty panel. It is known that sixteenth-century Flemish sculptors commonly stamped their finished works: in Antwerp they sometimes utilized a stamp in the form of a hand and sometimes of a castle; in Brussels a hammer was employed,

10. John Fletcher has published this stamp as a panel-maker's stamp in an article in the *Antiquaries Journal*, v. 61, ii, 1981.

11. I have not been able to find any substantive material on this subject. The only article, very brief in nature, known to me is by Rene van de Broek in the *Gazette Nationale l'Antiquaire*, no. 33, August, 1972, pp. XII-XIII. In a letter to John Fletcher of December, 1981, M. van de Broek, a restorer active in Brussels, says that marks from the sixteenth century are rare, and he could find no record of any. Since the subject has been studied so little, however, it is always possible that more such stamps exist without having been noticed.

12. This stamp is apparently not published, and I know of it only from John Fletcher, who kindly volunteered the information

and in Mechelen, a coat of arms.¹³ But so far, no similar practice is known for painted panels, at least not until the seventeenth century, and the stamps from the seventeenth century do not much resemble the two mentioned above. Therefore one should probably resist the temptation to assume that the Getty stamp and that on the painting in Holyrood Palace are simply very early examples of Flemish, and particularly Antwerp, panel-makers' stamps.

There may be other reasons, however, for thinking that the panels come from Antwerp. John Fletcher believes that panels of the quality used for the Getty painting were produced only in the major Flemish cities and not in England.¹⁴ This has yet to be demonstrated conclusively, in my opinion, but certainly Antwerp, because of its preeminent importance as a center of art activity in the sixteenth century, was a much more likely place to find good oak panels at this time than any other major city in northern Europe.

THE PROVENANCE

The next important bit of information that can be derived from an examination of the painting is provided by a somewhat larger mark branded on the back of the panel, a monogram "HP" beneath a coronet. This monogram is well known as that of Henry Prince of Wales and is our earliest clue to the provenance of the painting. Henry Frederick, the eldest son of James VI of Scotland (James I of England), was born in 1594 and is rightly famous as a patron of the arts, in spite of the fact that he died at the age of eighteen and never attained the throne.

Not a great deal has been written about Henry's activities as a collector, and a certain amount no doubt remains to be gleaned from the English royal archives.¹⁵ No inventory of the prince's collection has yet been found; and though some of the sources of his possessions have been identified, it is also obvious that the list is far from complete. The bulk of the prince's collecting apparently took place between 1610 and 1612, the year of his death, but there is reason to think that James I acquired some pieces on Henry's behalf and gave them to him before 1610, the year he was made Prince of Wales.¹⁶ In that year Henry

13. This information comes from J. Lambrechts-Douillez, Associate Curator at the Museum Vleeshuis in Antwerp, in a letter to John Fletcher of December, 1980.

14. Dr. Fletcher's opinion on this subject is contained in the following article, pp. 39-44.

15. The definitive study of this subject must await publication of Sir Roy Strong's book. In the meantime, the best summary of Henry's collecting is found in Oliver Millar, *The Queen's Pictures*, 1977, pp. 25-28. See also Roy Strong, *The English Icon: Elizabethan and Jacobean Portraiture*, 1969, pp. 20, 55-57.

16. James I is credited with having bought the Lumley Library for Henry in 1609 when the prince was just fifteen years old. See T. Birch,

also received a gift of some marine pieces by Hendrik Vroom and Jan Porcellis from the Dutch ambassadors.¹⁷ There are records of his buying paintings from Dutch dealers who carried their offerings across the channel, and from a variety of unidentified persons in England.¹⁸ But it is also known that Henry asked for gifts of paintings as part of the negotiations connected with his projected marriage to Caterina de' Medici, and he is also said to have bought paintings through agents in Venice and probably other cities on the continent.¹⁹ In addition to artists already in England whom he patronized, such as Isaac Oliver, Nicholas Hilliard, and Inigo Jones, Prince Henry attracted to England Dutch painters such as Michel Miereveldt and the carver cum keeper Abraham Van der Doort, as well as an Italian architect. None of these has yet proved to be the source of the Getty panel. The number of paintings known still to carry Henry's mark is hardly more than a half dozen; Van der Doort's catalogue of the paintings belonging to Charles I lists a few more.²⁰ However, although no clear picture is yet available, the weight of evidence makes it probable that the prince would have acquired a painting such as the Getty panel in England between 1610 and 1612, though it could easily have been imported from somewhere else.

A similar painting has recently appeared that might eventually lead to the source of the Getty picture. This is the *Allegory of Painting (?)* by Hendrick Goltzius that passed through an auction at Christie's in 1981 (fig. 3).²¹ Although larger than the Getty panel, it is also lozenge-shaped and has the monogram of Henry Prince of Wales on the reverse. The significance of lozenge-shaped panels will be dealt with below (p. 27), but lozenge-shaped pictures are rare, and two of them in the same collection, both with allegories, implies—though it does not prove—that they had a common origin. The artist of the Getty panel cannot have been Goltzius, because its style is very different from his, but the panels may well have had a similar function—assuming that their shape implies a particular function—and could therefore have performed this function for the same owner, or owners. The Goltzius panel is datable probably around the end of the century.²²

The Life of Henry Prince of Wales, 1760, pp. 161 ff.

17. See J.G. van Gelder, "Notes on the Royal Collection, IV: The 'Dutch Gift' of 1610 to Henry, Prince of 'Whalis', and some other Presents," in *Burlington Magazine*, CV, December, 1963, pp. 541 ff.

18. Some of these are mentioned by O. Millar, *op. cit.*, p. 28. Further notices were kindly relayed by Sir Roy Strong who has found reference in the Public Record Office of pictures bought from "Vandellivell Duchman" in 1611–12.

19. See for instance, *Calendar of State Papers, Venetian*, v. XII, 1905, p. 106, quoted in Millar, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

20. Margaret Toynbee (in a letter of January, 1981) has identified six additional paintings with the mark of Henry: the well-known *Battle of*



Figure 3. Hendrick Goltzius, *Allegory of Painting*. Art market, Germany.

Goltzius was active in Haarlem, but there is no way of knowing for whom he might have painted the allegory. Presumably it remained in the Lowlands until roughly the time Prince Henry bought it, implying perhaps that the Getty panel was also there at that time.

The collection of Henry Prince of Wales is generally assumed to have passed upon his death in 1612 to his twelve-year-old brother Charles, later to become Charles I. A few panels survive with the marks of both Henry and Charles on them, and Van der Doort also records a few that belonged to both men. In fact, it appears that the collection remained intact for at least a few years, but eventually the paintings did pass to Charles. Some of them have remained in the British royal collections until the present; others were apparently traded by Charles during his lifetime, and some were dispersed after his execution. The Getty panel must have been one of those traded.

The Getty painting does not have the monogram of Charles on the reverse, but not all of his paintings bore it,

Pavia at Hampton Court, *Christ in the House of Martha and Mary* by Hans Vredeman de Vries, *Youth Looking Through a Window* by an anonymous Italian (?) artist, *Shipwreck by Moonlight* by Porcellis, and the *Old Woman Blowing Charcoal*, also anonymous, all in the Royal collections. In addition there is a *Parable of the Tares* attributed to Bloemaert in Somerville College, Oxford. In Van der Doort's catalogue of Charles' collection, mention of pictures coming from Henry are given (ed. Millar, 1960) on pp. 8, 17, 185.

21. Sold at Christie's, October 30, 1981, lot 33, the property of a lady. It has passed to a private gallery in Germany.

22. See E. R. J. Reznicek, "Het begin von Goltzius's loopbaan als Schilder," *Oud Holland*, 1960, pp. 42–43.

and it is furthermore possible that some were disposed of before the brand was applied. Our painting cannot be identified in Van der Doort's inventory of 1639, though this does not necessarily mean that the painting had already left the royal collections. It is known that other paintings in Charles' collection, that were certainly present at the time of inventory, were not included. But there remains the possibility that our panel left the royal collections early in Charles' reign, or perhaps even before his ascent to the throne in 1625.

The next certain record of the painting is in 1653 when it is recorded in the notebook of Richard Symonds among the pictures in the quarters of Lady Anne Mary Howard at Arundel House in London.²³ The description reads:

"a fellow on horseback flying almost. with this costi. desio. mi mena."

Unfortunately no artist is given; apparently his name had been forgotten by this time.

Symonds describes the painting among those "in the Closett of the Lady Anne Mary Howard," perhaps a kind of dressing room. With it were some other pictures, apparently mostly small, including a large Madonna by Raphael, a portrait by Dürer, a self portrait by Holbein dated 1543, two portraits of Michelangelo and Giulio Romano, and a Madonna and Child in miniature by "E Oliver" (Isaac Oliver?). None of these can be identified in the 1639 Van der Doort inventory of Charles I's collection, and none of them can be connected with Henry Prince of Wales. Two of the pictures, the Raphael and the Dürer, are described as having belonged to a "Mr. Fox" about whom nothing is known; the miniature by Oliver is not known to exist, and the others are not described in enough detail to be traceable.

Only the Holbein self-portrait may be identifiable, since a miniature in the Wallace collection, which has long been called a self-portrait, does in fact carry the date 1543 and is thought to have belonged to Lord Arundel.²⁴ This miniature is traditionally identified as the same that was seen by Karel van Mander in the collection of Jacques Razet (or Raset) in Amsterdam in 1604.²⁵ It is worth noting that Razet displayed a taste for erudite allegories of the sort found on our panel; in particular he owned at least three by Cornelis Ketel, all of which are now lost. One might hope therefore, that the Getty panel came from there also,

23. Symonds' notebook is in the British Museum, Department of Manuscripts. The text was copied by Vertue and is found in his manuscript (Brit. Mus. MS. 23.081). The text of Vertue's transcription is in turn given by Mary Hervey, *The Life, Correspondence and Collections of Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel*, 1921, p. 521. I am indebted to Susan Foister of the Warburg Institute who was the first person to notice this entry.

but of the various allegorical paintings mentioned by Van Mander that belonged to Razet, none of them can be our panel. It remains possible that Razet owned the Getty panel and that it was simply not mentioned in Van Mander's book. The Arundel inventory of 1653, however, simply describes the portrait as an "oil" without calling it a miniature or round which is a strong indication that it may not be the same painting. If so, this would suggest that the Arundels had two self portraits by Holbein dated 1543, and this is, of course, not impossible.

Lady Anne Mary Howard was the eldest daughter of Edward Somerset, second marquis of Worcester, and in 1652 married Henry Howard, a grandson of Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel. Henry succeeded to the title of the Earl of Arundel and Surrey and became sixth Duke of Norfolk upon the death of his elder brother in 1677. Anne Mary Howard had thus been married only one year at the time of the inventory of 1653, and her husband would not succeed to the title for another two and one half decades. It remains possible, therefore, that she had the allegory panel from her own family; but it is more likely that it was a gift from her new spouse and that it came to them from the collection of his grandfather, the famous and powerful Thomas Howard, second Earl of Arundel, who had died in 1646. Thomas Howard was close to both Charles and his elder brother, Henry Prince of Wales, and is known to have owned paintings formerly in the collection of Charles I, with whom he made various exchanges. We know, for instance, that the album of portraits by Holbein that is now in the royal collections at Windsor Castle followed this path. This album is first recorded in the collection of Edward VI who probably had it from his father Henry VIII. From Edward it passed to Henry Fitzalan, first Earl of Arundel, and upon his death in 1580 to his son-in-law, Lord Lumley. Lumley died in 1609, and the album apparently passed to Henry Prince of Wales. When Henry died in 1612, the album went to his younger brother, Charles I, who then gave it to Lord Pembroke in an exchange. Finally, Pembroke gave it to Thomas Howard, second Earl of Arundel.

It is not known how the Getty panel left the collection of Lady Anne Mary Howard and her husband. The latter died in 1684, and Arundel House and its collections passed to Henry, the seventh Duke. It was evidently he who disposed of this portion—roughly a third—of the Arundel in-

24. For the most complete discussion of the history of this miniature, see Graham Reynolds, *Catalogue of Miniatures* (Wallace Collection), 1980, pp. 33-39. It is now attributed to Lucas Horenbout.

25. K. van Mander, *Schilderboek*, 1604, folio 223v, quoted by P. Ganz in *Burlington Magazine*, LXXI, August, 1937, p. 67.

26. Two such sales are mentioned by John Evelyn in his *Diary*. See D.

heritance. Two sales are supposed to have taken place, in 1686 and 1691, but neither catalogue survives.²⁶ Sir Peter Lely is supposed to have acquired a great many things from him, but Lely's sale catalogue of 1682 does not include the Getty panel.²⁷ Norfolk's wife divorced him in 1700 and then married Sir John Germain, taking with her some elements of the Arundel collection; these were eventually sold in 1770 by a descendant, but this sale also does not include the Getty panel. Most probably our panel was among those included in the sales of 1686 and 1691, whose contents are not recorded.

The modern provenance of the painting is also confused and unclear. The painting first definitely reappears in a country sale in 1978, that of the contents of Spetchley Park, sold on July 11/12. The Getty panel was lot no. 281, and it is described as follows:

A square hatchment, painted and inscribed, the oak panel bearing a former owner's initials—HP and Coronet framed 21 in. square.

Spetchley Park was the property of the Berkeley family, but according to Bruton Knowles, the firm of auctioneers that managed the sale, lot 281 did not come from Spetchley but was added to the sale by Mr. T. G. Burn of Rous Lench Court, near Hereford.²⁸ It was the only painting in the sale from Mr. Burn's collection. Further enquiries with Bruton Knowles and Mr. Burn produced the information that the picture was bought by Mr. Burn, along with other effects, from the widow of the Rev. E. W. M. de la Hay, rector at North Cerney, where he lived until his death in 1936. According to a resident of North Cerney who knew him, Hay paid visits to Northern Italy with local companions from 1912 onwards and bought works of art there;²⁹ the strong implication was that he would have acquired our panel there. This does not, however, bring us very close to the Norfolk provenance, and it would seem much more likely that Hay would have bought the panel somewhere in England. In any event we are as yet unable to bridge the gap of approximately 250 years in its provenance.

In 1978 the painting was bought by a small dealer from Coventry, Anthony Haynes. He in turn gave it to Christie's to sell, and it was put into a sale on February 9, 1979 as a work from the circle of Giulio Romano. The buyers in 1979 were a group of dealers, including Anthony Speel-

man, Colnaghi's, and David Carritt; the museum acquired the painting from Speelman a year later.

THE FUNCTION OF THE PANEL

One of the most puzzling aspects of the Getty painting has been its original function. It has been suggested that it might have been a portrait cover, or the cover of a box, part of a paneled room, or a "hatchment," as it was called in the sale in 1978. Although these are all possibilities, some are less probable than others. To be a portrait cover, for instance, the Getty panel, because of its shape, would have had to fit over a round portrait. Circular portraits do exist, and a circular portrait in a lozenge-shaped format is not inconceivable; but I do not know of any, and the idea seems unlikely.

David Carritt has suggested that it could have been the lid of a box, such as the two allegories by Lorenzo Lotto in Washington.³⁰ The same objections would pertain in this instance, I believe, because one must then assume that the box contained something in lozenge form since the contents could hardly have been aligned differently from the lid.

The idea of a hatchment, or some variation of a hatchment, seems the most likely. The word "hatchment" is not a familiar one to American readers, but in England it is used to signify a panel, or tablet, with the coat of arms of an individual. Originally it was utilized to announce a death and was hung in a public place, normally on an outside wall of the home of the deceased. And, most importantly, it was hung by the corner and was designed generally with a lozenge form. The Getty panel cannot have been a "hatchment" because it does not depict anyone's arms. The subject is an allegory with a motto, and it may be a personal motto, but the subject cannot possibly be a coat of arms.

Nevertheless, the function of the panel may be in some way related. Egbert Haverkamp-Begemann has suggested a very plausible solution.³¹ He has pointed out that lozenge-shaped panels were used by the Rederijkers (rhetoricians) in the Lowlands as blazons, and that they normally depict allegories with mottos. A group of five such blazons exists in the Vleeshuis Museum in Antwerp, and others have been published. A fairly typical blazon is that of the Rederijkers van de Groeiende Boom (growing tree) from the town of Lier painted by Crispin van den Broeck in 1561

Sutton in *Burlington Magazine*, 89, March 1947, p. 75, n. 81.

27. The sale was on April 18, 1682.

28. Letter from Bruton Knowles dated September 16, 1980, in the museum files.

29. All of this information about the Rous Lench collection is due to John Fletcher, who made enquiries with all of the principals and also

travelled to Cerney to speak to residents. I am very much indebted to Dr. Fletcher for his enterprise in this matter.

30. Mr. Carritt's opinion was given to John Fletcher.

31. Professor Begemann's suggestion was made to me in January of 1981 when he was a guest scholar at the Getty Museum, and his discussions with me on this matter have been very rewarding.



Figure 4. Crispin van den Broeck, *Blazon of the Rederijkers van de Groeiende Boom*, Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten.

(fig. 4).³² It depicts Saint Gommaire holding a staff with a flourishing oak at the top. It does not have a motto, but the mottos were often put on the frame. Others exist with a rebus as a theme.³³ Although such blazons are now fairly scarce,³⁴ there must have been many in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Most large- and middle-sized Flemish and Dutch towns had chambers of rhetoric, sometimes more than one—Antwerp, for instance, had three—and all of them produced such blazons. Moreover, they held festivals at which representatives of many groups gathered together. The most famous of these, in 1561, included fourteen different groups, and special blazons were made for the occasion.³⁵ The blazons were displayed at the festivals, and prizes were awarded for the best ones. Normally a blazon was simply hung by its corner on a wall while the chamber was in session. The well-known painting by Jan Steen from the next century shows some drunken rhetori-

32. Antwerp cat. no. 553, presently on loan to the Vleeshuis Museum in Antwerp. It is discussed briefly in P. Wescher, "Crispin van den Broeck as Painter," in *Jaarboek van het Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten*, Antwerp, 1974, pp. 175–6.

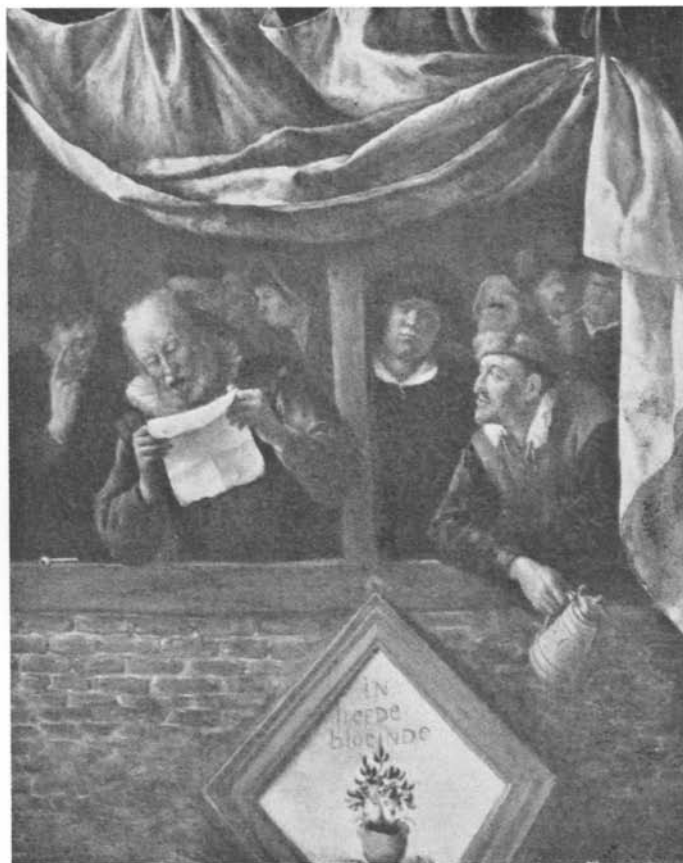


Figure 5. Jan Steen, *The Rederijkers*. Brussels, H. Stokvis collection.

cians with the blazon prominently displayed in the foreground (fig. 5). Because they were considered heraldic devices and prominently shown, the groups may have modernized their blazons from time to time regularly producing new versions in the more current taste, and discarding the old ones. Whatever the reason for their relative rarity now, they were clearly considered valuable at the time they were painted.

The Rederijker groups were also significant for the art of their time because of their close association with the artists' guilds. In Antwerp the guild known as *De Violieren* included both artists and rhetoricians. Many well-known painters were also famous as performers, and no doubt this contributed to the quality of the blazons.

The Getty panel, unfortunately, does not precisely fit the pattern of other blazons. For one thing, it would be the only such blazon with an Italian inscription.³⁶ This does

33. See for instance the rebus blazon sold at Christie's on July 11, 1980, lot 122, as by Hans Jordaens. Others are discussed in Aug. A. Keersmaekers, "Drie Rebus-Blazoenen van de Antwerpse Violieren," in *Verslagen en Mededelingen van het Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie voor Taal- en Letterkunde*, 1957, pp. 343 ff. There is a particularly good reproduction



Figure 6. Emmanuel de Witte, *Church Interior*. Oberlin, Allen Memorial Art Museum, Oberlin College, R. T. Miller, Jr. Fund, 43.279.

not, perhaps, exclude it, but since the Rederijkers were very much involved in the use of their own language as their dramatic medium, the appearance of an Italian motto seems definitely out of place. Moreover, the motives found in the majority of blazons are religious in nature. This is not true in all cases, especially those done as a rebus where mythological figures are utilized at times; but most often the mottos reflect a pious sentiment very much at odds with the Petrarchian phrase found here. At the same time, it must be emphasized that Petrarch was an important figure for the Rederijkers who considered him the founder of modern poetry, the man who most brought about the Renaissance in letters, and his works were brought out in a variety of editions in the North. His name is often found in literary works published during the fifteenth and especially the sixteenth centuries in the Netherlands. It would be completely in character for the Rederijkers to pay him homage.

of one in S. Speth-Holterhoff, *Les Peintres Flamands de Cabinets d'Amateurs au XVIIe siècle*, 1957, fig. 1.

34. Dr. E. van Autenboer, an authority on Rederijkers blazons, has kindly written to me (September 17, 1981) that he has studied 200 blazons, both heraldic and rebus style, but many of these are only known

There is one further objection to thinking the Getty allegory was the emblem of a Rederijkerskamer. The motto seems somewhat too personal to be that of a group. Indeed, the reflexive verb *menarsi* is used in the first person, *me mena*; and this seems to exclude its use as a club slogan. The Getty panel seems more likely to have been the personal sentiment of someone very much aware of Italian culture and literature, perhaps one of many writers in the Netherlands or England who emulated Petrarch and would have been proud to feature one of his phrases on his blazon.

It seems likely that the Getty panel had a heraldic function. The motto and the lozenge shape are enough to allow us at least this assumption. The lozenge shape seems to have traditionally served for heraldic devices, like the hatchment in England, the origin of which comes from the continent. One need only recall the use of lozenge-shaped panels in Dutch churches where they grace the pillars in so many paintings of church interiors (fig. 6).

However, it is a mistake to assume that every lozenge-shaped panel is heraldic in character. Two pictures by Goltzius, one depicting the *Dying Adonis* (Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum) and the other showing the figure of *Christ Crowned with Thorns* (in the Marienkirche in Ulzen in Germany) are enough to show that these panels were not always intended to be heraldic. We simply do not know why Goltzius painted these pictures to be hung from the corner. The panel in Ulzen may simply have been meant to hang from a pillar, since it is difficult to have more than one point on a round column from which to hang the painting. But certainly the *Dying Adonis* does not come from a church.

THE DATE AND THE ARTIST

The appearance of the Getty panel for sale at Christie's in 1979 as the work of a member of Giulio Romano's circle marked the first time that an opinion has been given about its authorship. In the inventory of 1653 the panel was already an anonymous work, and it seems to have remained anonymous after that. The attribution to the circle of Giulio (died 1546) implies that the compilers of the 1979 sale thought it was to be dated during the first half of the sixteenth century, but since the painting clearly has nothing to do with Giulio, this inference is of little value. At the time of the sale, however, a series of people, mostly dealers, thought of Hans Holbein as a possibility, and attention has centered on this artist since that time. The pre-

from prints and do not exist in panel form.

35. For a recent overview of the subject of the Rederijkers festivals, see E. van Autenboer, *Het Brabants Landjuweel der Rederijkers (1515-1561)*. He also gives extensive bibliography.

36. According to Dr. E. van Autenboer, see note 34.



Figure 7. Isaac Oliver, *Edward Herbert, 1st Baron Herbert of Cherbury*. Earl of Powis collection.

sent author was one of those to whom the name occurred, and the attribution was also suggested independently by Richard Herner, Anthony Speelman, David Carritt, and Michael Simpson. Subsequently the first two had serious doubts about this idea, and only Carritt continued to believe in it. Indeed, the suggestions made during the following year while the painting was studied by its new owners ranged very late into the century to include even such artists as Marcus Gheeraerts the Younger (active 1561–died 1635).

It must be admitted that the theme of the Getty panel is just as well suited to the taste of the second half of the sixteenth century as to the first. It coincides perfectly with the allegories fashionable in Elizabethan England and also in the Lowlands of the same period. One must only recall the allegories described by Van Mander that were painted by Cornelis Ketel—now all lost—or the paintings and miniatures from the court of James I and even Henry Prince of Wales. Indeed, the famous melancholy picture of Edward Herbert lying by a stream painted by Isaac Oliver (fig. 7) would perfectly embody the theme of the 125th canzone of Petrarch:

37. See J. Rowlands, "Terminus. The Device of Erasmus of Rotterdam," in *Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art*, February, 1980, pp. 50 ff.

38. Ganz, *Die Handzeichnungen Hans Holbeins des Jüngeren*, 1911–37,



Figure 8. Hans Holbein the Younger, *Erasmus' Terminus*. Cleveland, The Cleveland Museum of Art, Gift of Dr. and Mrs. Sherman E. Lee in memory of Milton S. Fox.

“. . . odil tu, verde riva, e presta a'miei sospir si largo volo . . .”

Nor is the pictorial style of the Getty picture radically different from that of the Jacobean and Elizabethan periods.

And yet the Getty panel is not as “mannered” as the work of any of the artists from the later part of the century. The anatomy is not as “pinched” as the work of Hilliard or Oliver. The style is less refined in character. Its mannerisms are much more modest in nature, pointing to a time when the elaboration of classical motifs into something we now call anti-classical had not yet begun in earnest. But of course Holbein was the principal font of Elizabethan and Jacobean style.

It is difficult to compare the Getty panel to the accepted works of Holbein. If by him, it would be very unusual in his oeuvre. For one thing, there are virtually no other paintings with secular allegories by his hand. The only work that could fit that description is the recently discovered depiction of Erasmus' *Terminus* (fig. 8), which is also heraldic in general character, in a tondo, and similarly small in scale.³⁷ It does not otherwise offer any obvious

nos. 263 and 266. The former is in the British Museum (Holbein 35d) and is illustrated by Chamberlain, *Hans Holbein the Younger*, 1913, v. 2, pl. 50, no. 1. The second is in Basel.

39. Ganz, *op. cit.*, no. 257, at Chatsworth. Reproduced in *Old Master*



Figure 9. Hans Holbein the Younger, *Allegory of Time*. Chatsworth, Duke of Devonshire.



Figure 10. Hans Holbein the Younger, *Allegorical Design for a Medallion*. London, British Museum.

points of comparison. One should not forget also the two lost paintings of the *Triumph of Riches and Poverty*.

However, one does find a number of drawings by Holbein, notably those with decorative designs, that are allegorical. These generally date from the time of Holbein's employment by Henry VIII in England. An example is the depiction of *Time Extracting Truth from the Rock*, of which there are two versions in medallion form.³⁸ Some also utilize Italian mottoes. At least two can be mentioned: a design, perhaps for the back of a watch, which depicts a young man sleeping under a tree with a putto striking the bell on a large clock (fig. 9).³⁹ The motto reads: *ASPETTO LA HORA*. The other is a design, perhaps for a medallion, depicting a hand extended from the clouds and resting on a book which lies on the peak of a mountain (fig. 10)⁴⁰ The inscription says: *SERVAR' VOGLIO QVEL CHE HO GVIRATO*. The original purpose of the medallion is not certain, but apparently many of these medallion designs were intended to be worn either on a cap or hanging from a chain. Such medallions often had a personal emblem, or *devise*, and it was fashionable to accompany them with either a Latin or an Italian motto, probably to some extent

because many of the jewelers who made them were Italians. The emblem usually expressed some sentiment particularly beloved of the wearer, often fairly obscure, and allowing the observer some latitude in his interpretations. Seen in this context, the Getty panel fits very well, except that it is not for jewelry.

In spite of the fact that the oeuvre of Holbein does not present an abundance of similar themes, the individual parts of the painting can, nevertheless, find parallels. The figure of a man riding on a galloping horse can be found in a variety of compositions. The earliest comparable representation of a horse occurs in the *Portrait of Benedikt von Hertenstein*, now in the Metropolitan Museum.⁴¹ At the top of the painting is a sculptural frieze with a triumphal procession (fig. 11). The rearing horse has certain affinities with that in the Getty painting; it is much simplified and is not so carefully defined, but this portrait is an early work of 1517, and Holbein was hardly twenty years old.

Much closer is a drawing in Berlin⁴² for a stained glass window which also has at the top a frieze with galloping horses (fig. 12). The horse and rider in the center are in reverse, and running through water, but the parallels with

Drawings from Chatsworth, National Gallery, etc., 1962/63, no. 107.

40. Known in two versions, Ganz, *op. cit.*, nos. 388 and 389, both British Museum (Holbein 29b and c). The former is illustrated in Chamberlain, *op. cit.*, v. 2, pl. 50, no. 7.

41. Metropolitan Museum acc. no. 06.1038.

42. Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett Inv. no. 3103, Ganz, *op. cit.*, no. 189. Included in *Die Malerfamilie Holbein*, exh. Basel, 1960, no. 263, illus. in C. Glaser, *Hans Holbein d. J., Zeichnungen*, 1924, pl. 31.



Figure 11. Hans Holbein the Younger, *Portrait of Benedikt von Hertenstein* (detail). New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund.

the Getty painting are very obvious: a naked soldier with a cape that billows out behind him and with his arms around the neck of the horse. The saddle-blanket is fastened in the same manner. The structure of the horse's head and its swept back ear, are very nearly the same. This drawing must date from 1523/24 because one of the figures appears in a window dated 1524 that is copied after this design.

The most striking comparisons appear in ornamental drawings done by Holbein in England after 1526. Especially close is the rearing horse seen in the midst of a battle scene, part of the design for an elaborate chimney piece apparently commissioned by Henry VIII.⁴³ A detail of this portion of the drawing (fig. 13), though very quickly drawn, very small in scale, and lacking the elaboration of the painting, is remarkably similar to the Getty horse. The horse is in a slightly different position, but the tail has the same flourish, and the head as well as the hooves have the same structure we saw in the Getty panel. There is also a half-naked rider. Though only sketchily drawn, he is clothed in almost exactly the same manner as our rider

43. Ganz, *op. cit.*, no. 123, British Museum Holbein no. 16, illustrated in G. Davies, *op. cit.*, 1903, pl. preceding p. 225. It is formerly from the Arundel collection and supposedly was a design for a chimney piece in Henry's new palace at Bridewell.



Figure 12. Hans Holbein the Younger, *Design for stained glass* (detail). Berlin Kupferstichkabinett.



Figure 13. Hans Holbein the Younger (attributed to), *Design for a Chimneypiece* (detail). London, British Museum.



Figure 14. Hans Holbein the Younger (attributed to), *Allegory* (detail). Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum.

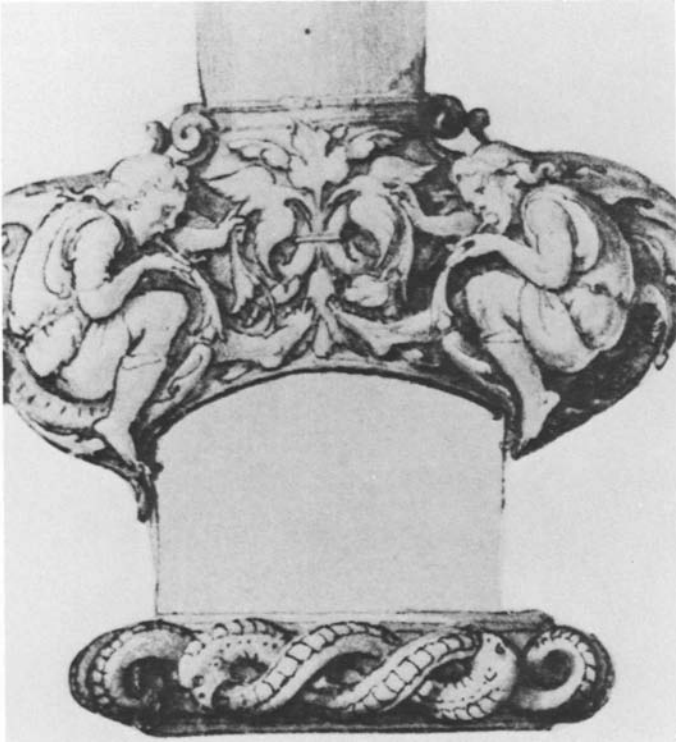


Figure 15. Hans Holbein the Younger, *Design for a dagger hilt*. London, British Museum.

(fig. 14), with a cape that catches the wind and which wraps around his waist and then flows out behind. The rider however, wears a helmet and is intent on an entirely different feat. Otherwise, the two figures are nearly identical.

Other similar figures can be identified, though not always riding horses. A design for a dagger hilt in the British Museum⁴⁴ shows a kneeling figure blowing a horn who has certain characteristics in common and the same leggings (fig. 15). Lastly, there are the two ornament figures at the top of a stained glass window design in Basel (fig. 16)⁴⁵ These figures wear the same capes that billow out behind, although the figures are not in motion and not riding horses; they also crouch and stretch out their arms in the same pose as the Getty panel. Finally there is a design for an enameled mount with two very similar satyrs (fig. 21).⁴⁶

All of these details do not, of course, conclusively prove that the Getty allegory is by Holbein, but there is another bit of evidence. The ornamental work traced in gold on red in the corners of the Getty panel (fig. 18) have a nearly exact counterpart in some arabesque designs by Holbein

44. Ganz, *op. cit.*, no. 442, British Museum Holbein no. 20e, illustrated in Chamberlain, *op. cit.*, v. 2, pl. 47, no. 4.

45. Ganz, *op. cit.*, no. 199, Basel, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. 1662.157, illus. in C. Glaser, *op. cit.*, pl. 21, and included in *Die Malerfamilie Holbein in Basel*, exh. Basel, 1960, no. 202.

46. Ganz, *op. cit.*, no. 376, Brit. Mus. Holbein no. 63h.



Figure 16. Hans Holbein the Younger, *Design for stained glass (detail)*. Basel, Kupferstichkabinett.



Figure 17. Hans Holbein the Younger, *Design for metal work (?)*. London, British Museum.



Figure 18. Detail of fig. 1. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum.



Figure 19. Hans Holbein the Younger, *Arabesque designs*. London, British Museum.



Figure 22. Hans Holbein the Younger, *Design for a portable tablet (?)*. London, British Museum.



Figure 20. Hans Holbein the Younger, *Design for a button*. London, British Museum.



Figure 21. Hans Holbein the Younger, *Design for an enameled mount*. London, British Museum.

now in the British Museum (fig. 19).⁴⁷ These designs are generally assumed to have been intended for execution in enamel, but virtually every detail of the Getty spandrels can be found there, including the pierced tendril-like leaves and the two vines that come together to produce a single leaf, also pierced by a round hole. Though the British Museum design is not the one used for our painting, the style and character of the two are certainly the work of a single person. Other arabesque designs by Holbein show exactly the same decorative sense: one for a button (fig. 20)⁴⁸; another of unspecified function, perhaps for metal work (fig. 17);⁴⁹ and two sometimes identified simply as “tablets” or book covers (fig. 22).⁵⁰

The close similarities between these designs excludes a date for the Getty panel later than the 1550s and implies a date in the 1530s or 1540s. Other ornamental designs by artists such as Peter Flötner (died 1546) and Virgil Solis (died 1562) exist with the same general type of arabesquerie,

47. Ganz, *op. cit.*, nos. 409–411, Brit. Mus. Holbein 33a, b. and h., illustrated in Chamberlain, *op. cit.*, v. 2, pl. 52.

48. Ganz, *op. cit.*, no. 307.

49. Ganz, *op. cit.*, no. 231, Brit. Mus. Holbein no. 34o.

50. Ganz, *op. cit.*, no. 403, Brit. Mus. Holbein no. 31d. Illustrated in G. Davies, *op. cit.*, preceding p. 227. Other similar designs are Ganz nos. 231 and 307.



Figure 23. Hans Holbein the Younger, *Portrait of an Unknown Woman*. Detroit, The Detroit Institute of Arts, Bequest of Eleanor Clay Ford.

but by the second half of the century the taste in ornament was more mannered.⁵¹ The graceful design seen on our panel is fairly typical for a period during the second quarter of the century. It is also noteworthy that the artists who developed and used it were German, and Holbein may have carried the tradition with him to England.

Although it is not easy to compare the Getty allegory to existing paintings by Holbein, there are some in which one senses a kindred technique. Not wanting to belabor these comparisons, there are at least two portraits in which one

finds some of the features of the rider in our panel, though on a very different scale. One is the drawing of Sir John Godsalve at Windsor. The other is the *Portrait of an Unknown Woman* (fig. 23) now in Detroit.⁵² These three faces may have no more in common than the fact that they are seen from slightly above and that they have similarly pointed features, but the artist has rendered them in a very similar way. In particular, the head of the woman in Detroit, though much larger, is modeled and structured in very much the same manner.

51. See for instance J. Byrne, *Renaissance Ornament Prints and Drawings*, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1981, figs. 19 and 114. For Flötner in particular, see F. Reimers, *Peter Flötner nach seinen Handzeichnungen und Holzschnitten*, 1890, pp. 25–36. A series of 40 sheets by Flötner published

in Zurich in 1549 is very similar in character to those by Holbein.

52. Detroit Institute of Arts, acc. no. 77.81; for a discussion see K. Baetjer, "A Portrait by Holbein the Younger," in *Bulletin of the Detroit Institute of Arts*, v. 51, no. 1, 1979, pp. 24ff.

Finally, there are three other paintings, all very different in nature, that have stylistic parallels with our painting. Two of them are the pictures in Basel which depict a single woman, Magdalena Offenburg as *Venus* and *Lais Corinthiaca*, both dated 1526. A close look at the originals reveals a similar stage of Holbein's development and a parallel rendering of form. The third parallel is the *Noli Me Tangere* at Hampton Court which is merely the most convenient painting to use to demonstrate the way that Holbein renders a leg and his proclivity for sandals and leggings. There are many other examples, too, often with the same prominent buckle at the top in the front and with a button between the first and second toe.

Also significant is Holbein's tendency to paint his figures, no doubt under the influence of Italian artists, as if they were dancing. Again and again one sees how he likes to paint the full sweep of the leg, from the knee to the toe, with a single easy arc. He often points the foot in such a way as to emphasize this motion; and the outside contour of the foot, as well as the heel, is simplified in order to give a graceful whole. To my eye this is characteristic of Holbein's figures from the 1520s until the end of his life. It is one of the artist's most prominent idiosyncracies, and the Getty rider shares it, though he is not standing on the ground.

It should also be pointed out that the azurite blue background of the Getty painting was a color favored by Holbein for many of his portraits and is more commonly used by him as a background than any other color. In addition, the drawing revealed by infra-red photography underneath our picture (fig. 24) corresponds very well to what we know of his style.

If the Getty painting is by Holbein, it can also be dated with reasonable accuracy. All of the drawings and paintings that I have mentioned fall within a relatively short period of the artist's life. The painting of Benedikt von Hertenstein of 1517 with the rearing horse above is much less developed than the others and is rather dissimilar in technique. It shares few stylistic parallels with our painting. The two drawings for stained glass windows are datable about 1518 and before 1524. The earliest painting with which we can compare our own would be the two of Magdalena Offenburg dated 1526, when Holbein was still in Basel. The *Noli Me Tangere* has been dated as early as 1524 and as late as 1532, with the general consensus placing it during the late 1520s; it is probably to be dated after 1526 when Holbein went to England. The Detroit portrait is normally dated about 1534. The *Portrait of Sir John Godsalve* is placed during the mid 1530s. The various designs for daggers, chimney pieces, etc. are impossible to date, though they were certainly done in England and generally between 1536 and 1543.

In the article below, pp. 39–44, John Fletcher will present his arguments in favor of a date of 1526. Briefly, his technical analysis of the panel leads him to believe that the tree was felled in a period between 1515 and 1530. The execution of the painting would have followed this within a very few years. He also feels that the quality of the panel itself and the presence of a stamp that might be from Antwerp indicate that it is likely to have come from that city. His measurements of other panels have led him to believe that Holbein's painting of *Noli Me Tangere* and three other paintings by Holbein (two of them dated 1527 and 1528) were all painted on panels cut from the same tree, or from trees from the same grove. He therefore believes that all of those panels originated in Antwerp, although some, if not most, of them were used in England. Since the Getty panel has the same source and is stylistically compatible with the others, it, too, can be assigned to Holbein.

It is known that Holbein passed through Antwerp on his way from Basel to London in 1526; he remained in the Flemish city for no more than six weeks, but he may well have executed one or more paintings while there. Dr. Fletcher believes that a small, relatively fragile panel such as the one used for the Getty portrait, would not have been carried across the Channel for use in England. Therefore he concludes that our panel was painted in Antwerp in 1526.

I do not find all of the details of this argument compelling. I am not capable of judging whether or not the workmanship of the Getty panel must necessarily mean it is from Antwerp, and certainly the stamp cannot yet be taken as proof. However, if we assume the dates proposed for the felling of the tree are correct and that the painting was executed during the 1520s as Dr. Fletcher suggests, then I believe that the panel could just as well have been brought to England with the others. If our panel could be connected with a *Rederijkerskamer*—which it cannot—that would be a strong reason to think that it was executed in Antwerp. But its early recorded presence in England is some reason to think that it may have been painted in England. The extensive parallels with other works by Holbein certainly executed in England also lead me to think that the Getty panel is English in origin.

It is no more difficult to imagine how the Getty painting might have come to be commissioned in England than in the Lowlands. After all, he spent most of his time there, and there was no lack of patrons. There are a number of Englishmen, and one in particular, who can be suggested as owners of the allegory. That one person is Sir Thomas Wyatt (1503–1542), the famous statesman and writer who belonged to precisely the same generation as Holbein. He was an important member of the court of Henry VIII and



Figure 24. Infra-red photograph of fig. 1.

was an accused lover of Anne Boleyn. His family commissioned much work from Holbein, and it is known that Holbein painted portraits of Sir Thomas' father, Sir Henry, as well as of his son, Sir Thomas Jr., and of Sir Thomas himself. (The latter portrait is lost and is known only in copies.)

The reason Wyatt is such an attractive candidate for the original owner of the Getty allegory is the character of his poetry. Wyatt was a writer of sonnets in the Italian style and the most prominent of the many English writers who

both translated and emulated Petrarch. The critic Puttenham, writing in 1589, describes Wyatt as one of those who

“... having travailed in Italie and there tasted the sweet and stately measures and stile of the Italian Poesie, as novices newly crept out of the schooles of Dante, Arioste and Petrarche, greatly polished our rude and homely maner of vulgar Poesie, from that it had been before.”⁵³

53. *Art of English Poesie*, 1589, reprinted in J. Haslewood, *Ancient Critical Essays*, 1811, v. 1, p. 48.

Wyatt wrote at least ten sonnets that were direct translations of Petrarch, and the bulk of his work shows the strong influence of Petrarch and “Petrarchisme.” Wyatt would have been attracted to a motto like *E COSI DESIO ME MENA*. It must be stated, however, that so far a search of his writings has not revealed any special reverence for the phrase.

As concluded above, the Getty panel seems to date between the two paintings still in Basel, of 1526, and the Detroit portrait of ca. 1534. Holbein was in England from 1526 until 1528, when he returned to Basel. In October of 1531 he was still in Basel, but by the fall of the next year he was again in London. If our painting was executed in England, it would be during the period 1526/28, or 1532/34. I am more inclined to the earlier dating.

There is one more reason, albeit not a very strong one, for believing that our emblematical panel was painted by Holbein. We have already seen that it belonged to Prince Henry and probably later to Lord Arundel. This lineage is of importance because it is well known that Arundel was eager to collect the works of Holbein; he bought them or made exchanges for them whenever he could. In a letter of 1619, he describes himself as having a “foolish curiosity in

enquiring for the peeces of Holbein.”⁵⁴ This obsession with Holbein is adequately documented elsewhere, and need not be repeated here. Suffice to say that the album of portrait drawings came to him as a result of this passion, as did a wide variety of other works by the artist. The Getty panel may also have been acquired by Arundel in the same manner as the drawings. By 1653, Arundel’s grandson—or at least Richard Symonds, who visited his grandson—no longer knew who the panel’s author was. But its presence in the Arundel collection, coupled with all of the other indications accumulated above, helps us to advance the attribution to Holbein with some conviction.

No doubt the exact purpose of the Getty panel will someday be found, and it may then be possible to learn who it was that chose the motto *E COSI DESIO ME MENA*. The sentiment embodied in the allegory can also be taken to typify the passion of later collectors who both owned it and admired it. It could stand for the desire of the Lord Arundel to possess as many works by his favorite artist, Holbein, as he could possibly buy, and it can stand for our own desire to reconstruct and understand the works of the past.⁵⁵

The J. Paul Getty Museum
Malibu

54. Letter to D. Carleton, September 17, 1619, quoted in M. Hervey, *op. cit.*, pp. 131–2.

55. Various people have been of help to me in the course of studying this painting. In particular John Fletcher of the Research Laboratory for Archaeology and the History of Art at Oxford University has made the cause his own and pursued many paths of enquiry on his own volition. Although I have not always agreed with his conclusions, I am most

grateful for his interest and assistance. Others, such as George Goldner, John Pope-Hennessy, John Shearman, and Gaby Kopelman have believed in the attribution and expressed their support. Miss Kopelman, for instance, having worked on other paintings by Holbein, had no doubts that the technique of our painting corresponded to the other works she knew. Her encouragement was especially helpful.

Panel Examination and Dendrochronology

John Fletcher

Examination of the two boards that form the support panel for the Getty Museum painting (Fredericksen fig. 1, p. 22) has provided a large amount of information regarding its date and provenance. First, the panel is made of oak. This implies that the panel and the painting on it originated in northwest Europe, although the painting is in the Renaissance style. If the attribution to the "Circle of Giulio Romano" suggested in the recent sale catalogue¹ had been correct, the wood almost certainly would have been poplar,² the tree most often used for panel paintings in northern Italy. Second, dendrochronology (*vide infra*) demonstrates with high reliability that the latest annual tree rings on the two boards that form the panel are dated 1486 and 1491 respectively. Thus it can be deduced that the painting was executed no earlier than 1515 and is likely to date from the period 1520–1530. The slow growth and exceptionally large number of rings (301) on the boards may also identify other panels derived from the same or a very similar long-lived tree. Third, the oak timber is of high quality,³ and therefore the panel is particularly suitable for the preparation of a smooth surface for painting.

Both the quality of the timber and the fine workmanship visible on the back of the panel indicate that it was made by a Netherlandish⁴—probably Antwerp⁵—panel maker rather than an English one. Further, although transport from the Netherlands to England would have been relatively easy for an unpainted, robust panel, such as the one Holbein used for *Noli me Tangere* (in the collection of the Queen), movement by land and water for this thin panel would have required considerable care; it more

likely to have been used by an artist in the Netherlands than in England, let alone Italy. Lastly, the painting is known to have been in the collection of Henry, Prince of Wales (1594–1612) because the back of the panel bears a large HP mark surmounted by a coronet (Fredericksen fig. 2, p. 23). On the back of the panel there is also a small mark (fig. 1) which was first interpreted as of the type used by Antwerp panel makers.⁶ Alternatively, the stamp could have been a contemporary collector's mark, particularly as the design is thought to be related to a symbol used in humanist circles. The facts that Holbein carried a letter from Erasmus at Basel to Peter Gilles at Antwerp on his journey there in 1526 and that the style and subject of the Getty painting are strongly influenced by the Italian Renaissance suggest that a humanist may have been the patron who commissioned this emblem at Antwerp. Other examples of emblems created by Holbein exist, e.g. for Froben^{6A} and for Erasmus.^{6B}

DENDROCHRONOLOGY

Two facts make it possible for dendrochronology to date the years during which the wood of an oak board grew. First, the oaks (*Quercus petraea* and *Quercus robur*) of northwest Europe each year produce a visible band of growth that is clearly separated from the previous year's growth. Second, the widths of the successive bands on a board form a pattern of wider and narrower annual growth which has specific features similar to those on boards not only from the same tree but also from other trees growing in a given region (say, the North Sea basin,

1. Christie's, *Catalogue of Fine Old Masters*, 9 February 1979, no. 24.

2. Jacqueline Marette, *Connaissance des Primitifs par l'Etude du Bois*, A. & J. Picard & Cie, Paris, 1961. In selecting which of local species to use, the choice would obviously fall on a wood which grew readily, could be easily worked, and would provide a smooth surface. Such criteria would have influenced the use of poplar rather than oak, available as scrub oak, in Italy.

3. J. Fletcher, "What Wooden Panels can Reveal," *The Conservator*, 1 (1979) 12–16.

4. The tree-ring research on panel paintings at Oxford has included some thirty-five well-established as being on panels of Netherlandish origin. Most of them were used prior to 1550. They include paintings by Van Eyck and Roger van der Weyden; arch-topped portraits of c. 1500 from Brussels workshops; and Antwerp paintings by Quentin Matsys and

Joos van Cleve. Panels of English origin, including those used by Holbein up to his death in 1543, were at that time more crudely made and from timber of poorer quality.

5. When the harbour of Bruges silted up shortly before 1500, Antwerp became the leading commercial city in northern Europe. Patronage from merchants and bankers who thrived there, by the 1520's had attracted artists and panel-makers from elsewhere.

6. René Van de Broek (*supra* Fredericksen n. 9) has reproduced the marks noticed on the back of Antwerp panels of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. These include both the arms of Antwerp (the castle and two hands) and the individual marks of panel-makers.

6A. The caduceus, the trademark of Froben, formed part of Holbein's earliest design of a title page for the printer, one first used in 1515.

6B. See Rowlands (*supra*, Fredericksen n. 37).

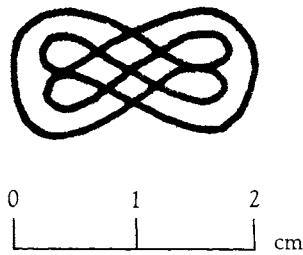


Figure 1. Drawing of cypher taken from a rubbing on the back of the panel.

or, more specifically, Flanders) would have shared the same climate for a given year. Trees in the same forest or grove would have shared almost identical rainfall and sunshine and the resulting growth patterns have been demonstrated to be alike.

As a result of progress in the science of dendrochronology at Oxford University since 1971, it has been possible to supplement the German chronologies compiled a generation ago for hilly parts of northwest Europe with two called "MC 50" and "REF 2/3" covering the thirteenth to the sixteenth centuries and each based on many trees from the lowland areas around the North Sea basin.⁷ The two differ somewhat in pattern. MC 50 is based on slow-grown Anglo-Flemish samples and REF 2/3 on faster grown samples, mainly English. Each successive value in the sequence is the mean of ring-widths on several boards. Dating of the sequence of bands measured on the edge of a particular panel is achieved by visual and computer comparisons with these and the German chronologies. The method is now so successful that eighty-five to ninety per cent of the sequences that have been measured since 1971 on 250 oak panel paintings of the fourteenth to seventeenth centuries have been dated.⁸

In almost every case each board is of radial section and was prepared from a forest oak as illustrated in fig. 2. It will be noticed that during manufacture sapwood was removed because of its susceptibility to insect attack. Its removal creates a substantial interval in years between the date of the latest ring measured on a panel and the date of use of the panel, normally the date of the painting. The interval, at least twenty years and often twenty-five years or more, includes any years of heartwood growth removed in mak-

7. J. M. Fletcher, *Oak Chronologies for Eastern and Southern England: Principles for their construction and application: their comparison with others in north-west Europe* in *Dendrochronology in Europe*, BAR International

Table 1. English and Netherlandish portraits of 1500-1540. Interval, in years, between the date of the latest ring measured on each panel and the known date of used of the panel.

	Artist	No. of Boards Measured	Date Of latest ring	Date Used	Interval years
Henry VII	Sittow	1	1476	1505	29
Erasmus	Matsys	2	1491	1517	26
Bernard van Reesen	Dürer	1	1488	1521	33
Thomas & John Godesalve	Holbein	2	1501	1528	27
Robert Cheseman	Holbein	2	1509	1533	24
Jane Seymour	Holbein	2	1506	1536/7	30/31
A Lady	AW	2	1507	1536	29
Thomas Howard	Holbein	2	1509	1539	30
Edward VI as a child	Holbein	2	1512	1539	27

Note: The intervals in the last column range from 24 to 33 years. 20 to 25 years are likely to be due to the sapwood having been removed. The sapwood has a width of about an inch and so the number of rings in it varies with their width, slow growth producing more rings than fast growth. With very slow growth, as in the final rings of *E Cosi Desio me Mena*, the number may rise to thirty rings.

ing the panel and the years needed for preparing, seasoning, and storing a panel. Estimates of the interval derived from some reliably dated portraits painted between 1500 and 1540 in England or in the Netherlands are given in Table 1. It will be seen that they range from twenty-four to thirty-three years. For panels of oak of that time and provenance, the likely date of painting therefore can be predicted to within a period of ten to fifteen years.

DATING

Of the two boards that form the panel of *E Cosi Desio me Mena*, the right and lower one is somewhat wider (24.7 cm.) than the left and top one (20.3 cm.). Both have an unusually larger number of rings; the right one has 296 on the top edge and 286 on the bottom edge. The mean of the measurements on the two edges is shown in fig. 3 as a chart of the ring-widths (in millimetres) in successive years. The mean width of the rings is much lower (0.83 mm.) than for almost all other known panels, those given in Table 1 ranging from 0.9 to 1.9 mm., with a mean of 1.5 mm.

The sequence was dated by comparison with the Anglo-

Series 51, 1978.

8. J. M. Fletcher, *Burlington Magazine* CXVI (1974) 250-8 and idem, *Proc. Royal Institution of Great Britain* 52 (1980) 81-104.

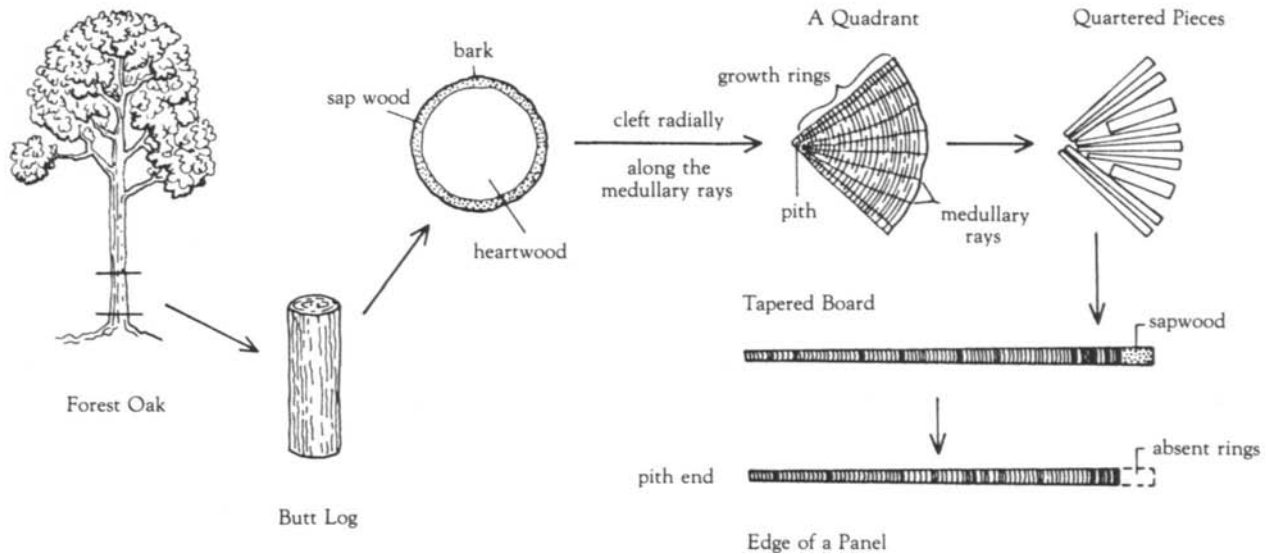


Figure 2. Stages in the making of a panel from a radial section of a forest oak.

Flemish reference chronology MC 50, which has been built up from measurements on the boards of forty-seven panel paintings and three large Oxford chests, all of the sixteenth century. Year to year variations, found to be consistent and therefore called indicators, are marked on the chart with a thick line (fig. 4). In the two fifty year periods, 1251–1301 and 1351–1401, there are a total of forty such indicators, of which thirty-eight can be matched on the curve of *E Così Desio me Mena*. This implies that the position and date are correct with a reliability of over 99.9999 per cent.

The rings on the left board of the Getty panel are in many places narrower than those on the right one. The widths of a sequence of seventy rings matches well those on the right board, the agreement ($t = 11$) almost the same as that ($t = 10.5$) between the top and bottom edges of the right board.⁹ This means that the two boards are very likely to have been made from adjacent parts of the same tree. From the date (1491) of the latest ring on the two boards and with the minimum allowance of 24 years that applies to the examples in Table 1, the earliest date for the painting is 1515. The likely period in which it was painted is 1520–1530. The end of this period, 1530, is derived by increasing the maximum value that applies to the examples in Table 1 from 33 to 39 years to allow, in this case, for the rings being narrower and the sapwood therefore covering more years than in those examples.

9. The t value obtained by the computer programme can be positive or negative. It takes account of the length of overlap between the two sequences being compared. A value of about 3.5 implies a reliability of 99° and ones over 5 are very reliable.

PANELS AND THE TREES FROM WHICH THEY WERE DERIVED

The boards of the Getty panel would have been two of several from the butt of a tall forest oak made by the series of steps illustrated in figure 2. The tree would have been selected as one of the rare ones suitable for panel making partly because it had a long, straight butt. As many as eight sections, each one-half to one metre high, might have been cut from the butt log. After quartering, each section would provide several pieces, tapered from the pith to the bark end, as the raw material for a board.

The mean width of the successive growth rings and the pattern they made would be very similar for adjacent pieces. In fact, the agreement between the growth pattern of many "two board" panels is so good (t greater than 10) that we can be certain that the pair of boards came from a single tree. Such panels are those of Holbein's *Robert Cheseaman*; and of *Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk*. The same applies to certain companion panels, e.g., the arch-topped single boards of *Louis XII* and *Philippe le Beau* in the collection of H. M. the Queen at Windsor Castle.

In 1975 the same techniques demonstrated that two panel paintings by Holbein included boards from a single tree, called Tree A.¹⁰ The two paintings are the portraits of *Archbishop Warham* (inscribed 1527, now in the Louvre, Paris) and *Niklaus Kratzer* (inscribed 1528, now in the Louvre, Paris). In addition to the good agreement ($t = 6.1$)

10. Holbein appears to have realized that he would not find on arrival in London panels of the quality and in the numbers available at Antwerp. He therefore arranged (possibly through Kratzer) for suitable unpainted panels to be brought over to London for his use there.

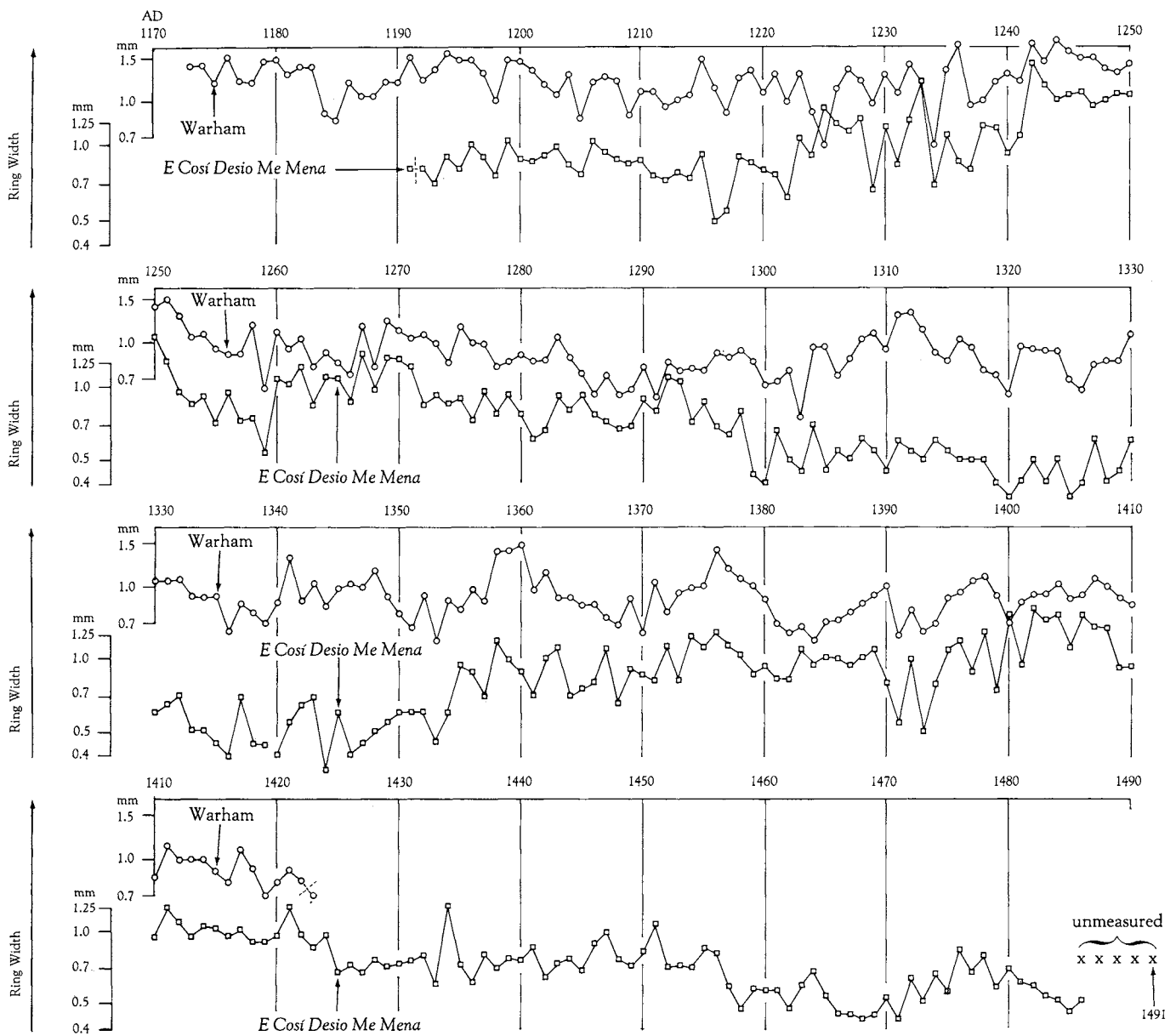


Figure 3. Chart with ring-widths (mean of two boards) of *E Cosi Desio me Mena*. It is aligned for comparison with the ring-widths (also the mean of two boards) of *Archbishop Warham*. The good visual agreement between the charts is one of the reasons for believing that the two panels were made from a common tree.

between the pattern of a board from each panel, the panel dimensions (83 x 66.5 cm.) and the panel construction (three boards, the central one being narrow) are identical. A further indication of origin from a single tree is the many rings (over 250) on each board and their indication of steady, slow growth (for *Warham*, mean width: 1.0 mm.; for *Kratzer*, 0.85 mm.). As the earliest ring (not the pith, however) on *Kratzer* is for the year A.D. 1150, and the likely felling of the tree is about A.D. 1520, Tree A must have been well over 350 years old when cut. Small differences in the mean width of the rings and the t between the *Warham*

and *Kratzer* sequences being 6.1 imply that the boards for the two panels came from different parts of Tree A.

It is our conclusion that the boards of *E Cosi Desio me Mena* were derived from Tree A on account of 1) the narrowness of their many rings, 2) the tree-ring evidence for the date of use of the panel also being in the 1520's, 3) the visual agreement between the charts of the two panels (fig. 3 and 4) the high t value (7.5) between the ring-widths of the *Warham* boards and the boards of the Getty panel over a common period of 230 years.

Two other Holbein panel paintings were studied closely

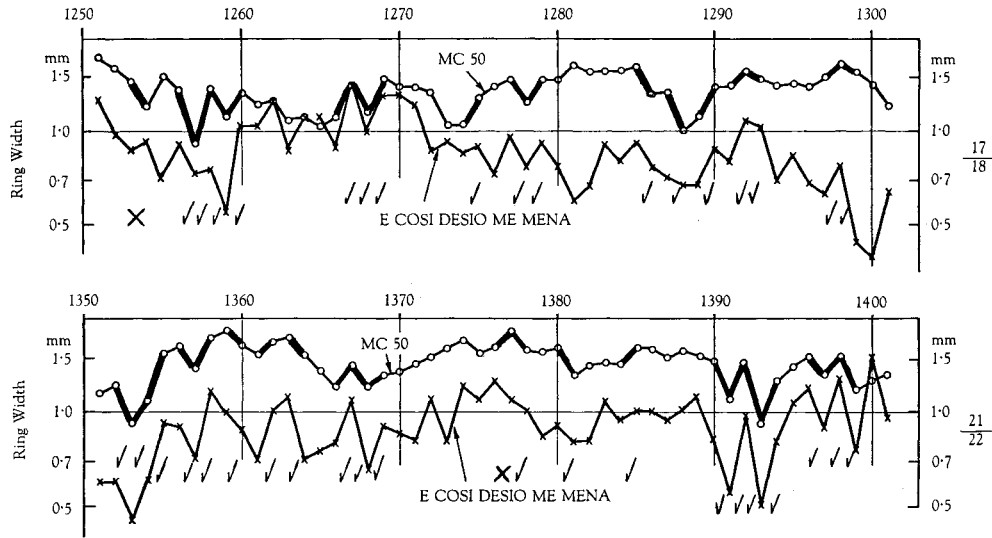


Figure 4. The ring-width charts of *E Cosi Desio me Mena* and the Anglo-Flemish reference chronology MC 50 for the periods 1251–1301 and 1351–1401. The agreement of *E Cosi Desio me Mena* with the indicators (thicker lines) on the chronology are marked. From 1257–1301, the score is 17/18; for 1351–1401, 21/22. Note: in the years 1301–1351, the rings of *E Cosi Desio me Mena* are very narrow (see fig. 3).

with reference to the Getty painting: *Noli me Tangere*¹¹ and *Allegory of the Old and New Testament*.¹² The *Noli me Tangere* has been accepted as by Holbein for a century, and Holbein has more recently been proposed as the artist of the *Allegory*. On stylistic grounds, both have been assigned to the period shortly after the artist's visit to France in 1524, and both are on oak panels of unknown provenance. For paintings by Holbein at that time, Antwerp seemed a possible origin for the panels, so permission was obtained to take tree-ring measurements on them. The *Allegory* may also have been painted in the mid 1520's on a panel made in Antwerp because the latest ring on its two boards (1492) is almost the same as that (1491) on the *E Cosi Desio me Mena* panel; the sequence of rings is nearly as long and the panel itself is typical of Netherlandish quality. However, its *t* values versus *E Cosi Desio me Mena* and *Warham* are somewhat lower (3.5 and 4.1) than the values of 6 and upward that we found between other boards from Tree A.

The panel of *Noli me Tangere* is, however, exceptional both in being made of thick, sawn boards and in being of tangential, rather than radial, section. The sequence of rings that could be measured (1240–1458) therefore provide little information about the date of the pith and the date of felling. It could well have been sawn from the trunk, but above the butt, of a 300–350 year old tree. The *t* values of 4.4 with *E Cosi Desio me Mena* and with *Warham*

suggest that the timber was Netherlandish and that it might have been from Tree A. The thickness of the panel and the fillet, probably original, that is dowelled on both sides to prevent movement of the boards were at that time common to Antwerp practice for making a thick panel. It would have been suitable for Holbein to take, painted or unpainted, from Antwerp to England.

To help resolve whether the boards of the *Allegory* and *Noli me Tangere* came from Tree A or a different tree, Table 2 assembles information from other panels used in the period 1500–1540 and likely to have been painted in Brussels or Antwerp. The panels fall into two categories. First are those having boards with not less than 200 rings and with ring-widths similar or only slightly greater than those of *E Cosi Desio me Mena*, *Warham*, and *Kratzer* but unlikely to be from Tree A because the paintings are dated some five years before or after 1526–1528. Their timber, however, is likely to have grown in a similar environment to Tree A because their boards have *t* values in the range 3–4 with those of *E Cosi Desio me Mena* or *Warham*. Second are those mainly with less than 200 rings, usually wider than those in category 1. Their boards were not from Tree A or similar trees since the *t* values with *E Cosi Desio me Mena* are quite low. Holbein's painting in 1528 of the *Godsaves*¹³ is an informative example in this group, as it implies that in that year his supply of panels from Antwerp came from a different environment. Thus the conclu-

11. Oliver Millar, *Tudor, Stuart and Early Georgian Pictures in the Collection of Her Majesty the Queen*, Phaidon Press, London, 1963, no. 32.

12. F. Grossman, *Burlington Magazine*, CIII (1961) 491–4.

13. This almost square panel (35.1 x 35.7 cm.) has two boards arranged

horizontally and is a slightly smaller replica of the square panel of *E Cosi Desio me Mena*. Its workmanship is Netherlandish, yet some tree other than Tree A was used as the pattern of the rings on both boards needed the wider reference curve, REF 2/3, to date them.

PANEL Painting, Artist & Date (if known)	Likely		Number	ANNUAL RINGS		AGREEMENT (t) WITH CONCLUSION		
	Origin	Use		Years Spanned	Mean Width	Desio	Warham	
<i>E Così Desio me Mena</i>	Antwerp	1526	301	1191-1491	0.83		7.4	From same
<i>Warham</i> , by Holbein, 1527	Antwerp		255	1168-1422	1.0	7.4		tree
<i>Kratzer</i> , by Holbein, 1528	Antwerp		c. 335	1151-c. 1485	0.85	—	6.1	(Tree A)
<i>Noli me tangere</i> , by Holbein	Antwerp	Soon after	219	1240-1458	0.8	4.4	4.4	Possibly
<i>Allegory of Old and New</i>								from
<i>Testimony</i> , by Holbein	Antwerp	1524	286	1205-1492	0.85	3.5	4.1	Tree A
<i>Erasmus</i> by Matsys, 1517	Antwerp		214	1278-1491	0.95	2.7	2.4	CATEGORY (i)
<i>Van Reesen</i> by Dürer, 1521	Antwerp		213	1273-1485	1.4	4.4	1.4	From trees that
<i>Henry VIII</i> (with scroll)	Antwerp	c. 1536	266	1239-1504	1.2	2.6	3.3	grew in similar
<i>Louis XII/Philippe le Beau</i>	Brussels	c. 1500	210	1252-1504	1.2	4.0	3.9	environment
<i>Louis VII</i> , arched top	Brussels	After 1500	271	1203-1473	1.1	3.8	4.7	to Tree A
<i>Godsalves</i> by Holbein, 1528	Antwerp							
Lower board			140	1361-1500	1.3	1.5	—	
Upper board			97	1404-1500	1.7	1.6	—	
<i>Tybis</i> by Holbein, 1533	Antwerp		231	1225-1453	1.	2.7	3.1	CATEGORY (ii)
<i>St. Anne with Virgin</i>	Antwerp	1510-20	c. 153	c. 1328-1480	1.3	2.9	2.6	
<i>Man With Letter</i> , by Joos	Antwerp		152	1367-1518	2.3	0.0	2.0	
van Cleve, 1537	Antwerp	c. 1540	182	1329-1510	1.5	3.0	1.9	

Table 2. Desio me Mena and other Netherlandish Paintings of 1500-1540. Panel and Tree-Ring Evidence.

sion in Table 2 that *Noli me Tangere* and the *Allegory* possibly come from Tree A is based partly on their having the same very narrow rings that characterise Tree A and partly on their *t* value with *Desio me Mena* and with *Warham* being over 4.

SUMMARY OF TREE-RING EVIDENCE

1. The dating of the ring-widths on the boards of *E Così Desio me Mena* indicates that the panel was painted in the 1520's.
2. The panel has boards with a very similar growth pattern and of equally slow growth to those used by Holbein for portraits of *Archbishop Warham* and of *Niklaus Kratzer* (inscribed 1527 and 1528 respectively), indicating an origin from timber of the same, unusually long-lived tree and thereby suggesting that *E Così Desio me Mena* was also painted close to 1527.
3. The quality of all three panels indicates that they were from a Netherlandish workshop. Antwerp being the foremost commercial and artistic centre in the Netherlands at this time, the panels were very probably made there.
4. Boards of the panels of *Noli me Tangere* and *Allegory of the Old and New Testaments* have a similar growth pattern to the three panels mentioned above and like them show very slow growth. This suggests that they could also have come from the same tree.
5. A number of other Netherlandish panels (listed in Table 2) that were used from 1500 to 1540 have been examined and found to have a similar growth pattern to *E*

Così Desio me Mena. They are unlikely for one reason or another to be from the same tree, but their existence supports the view that panel makers in the Netherlands were relying at that time on a supply of timber from the same area.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am deeply grateful to Her Majesty the Queen for gracious permission to make measurements on the panels of *Noli me Tangere*, *Thomas Howard Duke of Norfolk*, *Henry VIII*, *Erasmus*, and *Portrait of a Woman*, and to Sir Oliver Millar for kindly arranging access to them.

I am grateful to Sir Joseph Weld for allowing me to work on the panel of the *Allegory of the Old and New Testaments*. For permission to work on other panels listed in Table 2, I am indebted to the Society of Antiquaries of London, the National Trust, the Musée du Louvre (Paris), the Staatliche Kunstsammlungen (Dresden), the Kunsthistorisches Museum (Vienna), and the National Gallery of Art (Washington, D.C.).

I am much indebted to Miss Margaret Toynbee, Dr. Jaynie Anderson, and Miss Veronica Babington Smith and to other colleagues for helpful discussions on various aspects of the painting.

Both for technical work related to matching and dating and for many discussions, I am especially grateful to Margaret Tapper who has been associated with this piece of research from the initial measurements on *E Così Desio me Mena* onwards.

Jan Lingelbach in Rome

Thomas Kren

The artistic activity of Jan Lingelbach (1622–1674) from ca. 1650/1651, when he returned to Amsterdam, is well known, but the problems surrounding the youthful Roman years, which began as early as 1644 and not later than 1647, are vexing ones.¹ More than fifty signed paintings by Lingelbach are dated 1650 or later, while several times this number may be assigned to the mature period.² In contrast not a single signed or documented painting survives from Lingelbach's Roman period.³ Rarely today, however, do *bambocciate*, the Roman subcategory of Netherlandish genre painting, bear signatures, and consequently a large number of *bambocciate* still present unresolved problems of authorship.

Thirteen *bambocciate* still in search of an author merit consideration in this context. The following paintings, arranged in approximate chronological order, are argued here to be paintings from the period shorter than a decade when Lingelbach was painting in Rome among the *Bamboccianti*:

1. An unpublished *Rest of Travelers*, formerly in the collection of the late Professor Gino Doria, Naples, fig. 1.⁴

I am grateful to Professor Linda Bauer for careful readings of several drafts of this paper and to Professor Egbert Haverkamp-Begemann, Professor George Bauer, and Maryan Ainsworth for helpful suggestions in its preparation. My research on the *Bamboccianti* in Rome from 1975 to 1977 was aided by discussion with Professor Giuliano Briganti and consultation of his large photographic archive of *bambocciate*. I am indebted to him for his kindhearted assistance.

1. A. Houbraken, *De Grootte Schouburgh der Nederlantsche Kontschilders en Schilderessen*, The Hague, 1753, p. 145; cf. C. Burger-Wegener, *Johannes Lingelbach 1622-1674*, diss. Freie Universität, Berlin, 1976, p. 9; G. J. Hoogewerff, *Nederlantsche Kunstenaars te Rome (1600-1725): Uitreksels uit de Parochiale Archieven (Studien van het Nederlandsch Historisch Instituut te Rome, III)*, The Hague, 1942, p. 118.

2. Houbraken's observation that Lingelbach departed from Rome on May 8, 1650 is likely correct, or nearly so, since he is last mentioned in the parish archives in the previous year, and because the technique of the *Dentist on Horseback* (fig. 16) of 1651 is completely unlike Roman *bambocciate*. (A. Houbraken, *De Grootte Schouburgh*, pp. 145–146.)

3. Burger-Wegener identifies about sixteen paintings with Lingelbach's Roman period. Cf. *Johannes Lingelbach, 1622-1672*, pp. 27–52, cat. nos. 2–7, 16, 17, 97, 123, 124, 125, 126, 128, 129, 237 are paintings discussed in the context of the Roman period. In this essay nos. 4–6 are considered authentic works of the Roman period. No. 3 and no. 16 have the character of Roman *bambocciate*, but the present writer is not entirely persuaded by the attribution of the former to Lingelbach; and no. 16 appears likely to be a replica or copy after Antoine Goubau. Nos. 123 and 124 are either imitations of Lingelbach or belong to a later period. No. 237 seems to me perhaps not to be by Lingelbach and certainly not from the Roman

2. *The Barber*, also unpublished and on the Roman art market early in the last decade, fig. 2.⁵
3. *The Liberation of St. Peter*, unpublished, present whereabouts unknown, fig. 3.⁶
4. *The Parable of the Sowers in the Vineyard*, Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, fig. 4.⁷
5. *The Stoning of St. Stephen*, formerly H. Shapiro Coll., Miami Beach, fig. 5.⁸
6. *The Smith*, Rome, priv. coll. fig. 6.⁹
7. *The Waterseller*, Rome, Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica, fig. 7.¹⁰
8. *The Farriers*, formerly Rome, Coll. the late Dr. Agosto Caraceni, fig. 8.¹¹
9. *The Shoemaker*, Montauban, Musée Ingres, fig. 9.¹²
10. *Il Ciambellaro*, or *The Cake-vendor*, Rome, Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica, fig. 10.¹³
11. *The Sore Foot*, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, fig. 11.¹⁴
12. *The Dentist in Piazza Navona*, Rome, Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica, fig. 12.
13. *The Streetsinger*, Rome, Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica, fig. 13.¹⁵

period. Nos. 2 and 3 are known to me only in poor reproductions; for nos. 125, 126, 128, and 129 I have seen neither the paintings nor reproductions.

4. The painting is listed in the photo archive of the Soprintendenza alle Gallerie della Campania, Naples as by van Laer. Van Laer and Jan Miel both depicted well-dressed travelers stopping to rest in a grotto or in the countryside.

5. This painting was generously drawn to my attention by Professor Briganti.

6. The dungeon, which is awkwardly rendered, is the unique interior setting among the twelve paintings. This painting was also brought to my attention through the kindness of Giuliano Briganti.

7. 40 x 48 cm., canvas; since the earliest mention of this painting, it has been attributed to Pieter van Laer. Both Janeck and Burger-Wegener consider it to be by Lingelbach; for bibliography of the painting see Burger-Wegener, *Johannes Lingelbach*, cat. no. 6; cf. also A. Blankert, *Museum Bredius: Catalogus van de Schilderijen en Tekeningen*, The Hague, 1978, under cat. no. 90. Blankert suggested from a photograph that the painting could be by Lingelbach.

8. 38 x 50 cm., canvas; Since the nineteenth century the painting has been attributed to van Laer, though Janeck omits it from his catalogue of the artist. (*Untersuchungen über den holländischen Maler Pieter van Laer genannt Bamboccio*, diss. U. Würzburg, 1968 cat. no. C11). *Katalog einer Sammlung von Original-Gemälden etc. etc. älterer und neuerer Meister aus der Hinterlassenschaft des in Cassel verstorbenen Herrn. Joh. Wilhelm Nahl welche von Auftrag der Erben zum Verkauf gestellt wird*, Cassel, 1881, no. 78. The painting is identified in *Decimal Index of Art of the Lowlands* as owned by H. Shapiro, Miami Beach. I have not been able to determine



Figure 1. *Rest of Travelers*, here attributed to Jan Lingelbach. Naples, formerly coll. G. Doria. Photo: Soprintendenza alle Gallerie della Campania, Naples.



Figure 2. *The Barber*, here attributed to Jan Lingelbach. Roman art market.

whether Shapiro is the current owner. A contemporaneous painting of the *Stoning of St. Stephen* which emphasizes the peasants as executioners was executed by Bartholomeus Breenbergh in 1645 in Amsterdam (Pushkin Museum, Moscow; Marcel Roethlisberger, *Bartholomeus Breenbergh: The Drawings*, Berlin/New York, 1981, cat. no. 213, ill.).

9. Both Janeck and Burger-Wegener have attributed it to Lingelbach. Janeck, *Untersuchungen*, under "Wrongly Attributed Works," cat. nos. C11 and C12. The *Smith* is not mentioned in the published version of the dissertation, but it is apparently no. C181 in the unpublished version, which I have not seen (cf. Burger-Wegener, *Johannes Lingelbach*, cat. no. 4). The painting was in the Zingone collection at the beginning of the 1970s, but the owner, who has been the victim of thefts, was unwilling recently to indicate whether the painting is still in his possession.

10. Janeck, followed by Burger-Wegener, has attributed the painting to Lingelbach; for bibliography see Catja Burger-Wegener, *Johannes Lingelbach*, cat. no. 5.

11. 47.5 x 37 cm., canvas; E. Samson coll., Newport, Montana, 1952 followed by Dott. A. Caraceni coll., Rome (G. Briganti, *Ventidue Dipinti d'una Raccolta Privata*, Rome, 1958, pl. III); then Galleria Mario de' Fiori, Rome, 1975. The painting has been attributed to van Laer by Briganti but Janeck suggested a stylistic relationship to paintings by Jan Miel (*Untersuchungen*, cat. no. C16). The depiction of a horse in profile was a favorite motif of van Laer, but the acute realism in execution of the horse in the *Farriers* suggests a sensibility distinct from van Laer's, whose paintings are carefully observed but more spirited and playful.

12. 43.5 x 61 cm., canvas; the painting has been attributed to Jan Miel since its purchase by the city of Montauban in 1881. Miel treated the shoemaker theme frequently, and this painting perhaps derives from one

of his compositions, but the figure types show little in common with his art. I am grateful to Pierre Barousse, curator of the Musée Ingres, for providing the basic date on the painting. See also Thomas Kren, *Jan Miel (1599-1604), a Flemish Painter in Rome, II*, diss. Yale U., 1978, cat. no. D1.

13. 33 x 42 cm., canvas; *Mostra di Capolavori della Pittura Olandese*, ex. cat., Rome, Galleria Borghese, 1928, no. 63. The painting is possibly identical with *A Game outside the Porta San Paolo*, 1634, attributed to Jan Miel in *Picture Galleries of Rome*, Rome (Wyndham), 1892-93, pp. 166-67. However, as far as I have been able to ascertain, the painting under consideration is not dated. For further bibliography see under note 17 below.

14. The painting appears to have been in the collection of Archduke Leopold Wilhelm in the seventeenth century, and at least since the time of Parthey it has been attributed to van Laer: *Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses, Die Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister*, Wien, 1907, no. 1241; Parthey, *Deutscher Bildersaal*, I, Berlin, 1863, no. 34; Briganti, "Pieter van Laer e Michelangelo Cerquozzi," p. 197. The one exception is Hoogewerff who attributed the painting to Jan Ossenbeck (*Oud Holland*, 1933 [L], pp. 250-262). The painting is a variation on a theme in a signed painting by van Laer (Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum). A close variant in horizontal format was formerly in a private collection in Stuttgart. (Photograph in RKD, The Hague, under Miel, formerly Stange collection.)

15. The authorship of this painting and no. 12 has been widely debated in modern scholarship; the two have been ascribed to Cerquozzi, Sweerts, and Reuter at different times. Cf. under *Michael Sweerts e i Bamboccianti*, Rome, Palazzo Venezia, 1957, cat. no. 61 for the history of attributions and literature. In my view the attribution to Reuter is not convincing (cf. also Burger-Wegener, *Johannes Lingelbach*, no. 138).



Figure 3. *The Liberation of St. Peter*, here attributed to Jan Lingelbach. Roman art market.



Figure 4. *The Parable of the Sowers in the Vineyard*, attributed to Jan Lingelbach. Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen.
Photo: Deutsche Fotothek Dresden.



Figure 5. *The Stoning of St. Stephen*, here attributed to Jan Lingelbach. Miami Beach, Florida, coll. H. Shapiro (?). Photo: Netherlands Institute for Art History, The Hague.

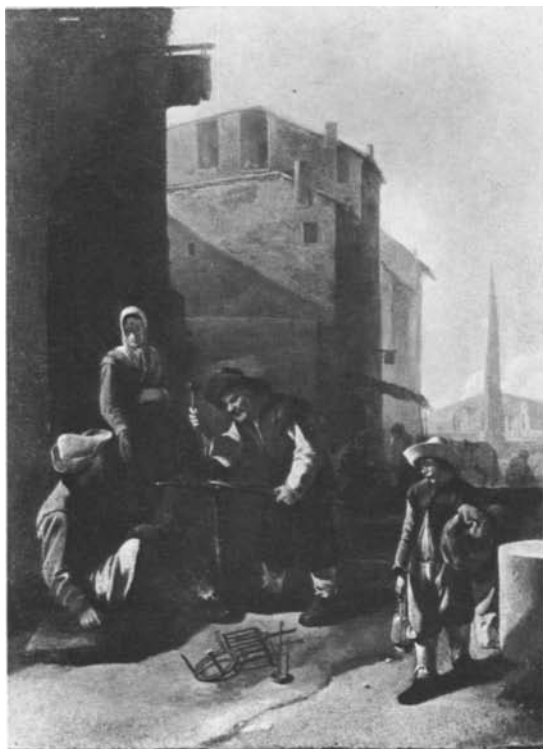


Figure 6. *The Smith*, attributed to Jan Lingelbach. Rome, priv. coll. Photo: Gabinetto Fotografico Nazionale, Rome.



Figure 8. *The Farriers*, here attributed to Jan Lingelbach. Formerly Rome, coll. Caraceni. Photo: Netherlands Institute for Art History, The Hague.



Figure 7. *The Waterseller*, attributed to Jan Lingelbach. Rome, Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica. Photo: Istituto Centrale per il Catalogo e la Documentazione, Rome.



Figure 9. *The Shoemaker*, here attributed to Jan Lingelbach. Montauban, Musée Ingres. Photo: Albert Ferlin, Montauban.

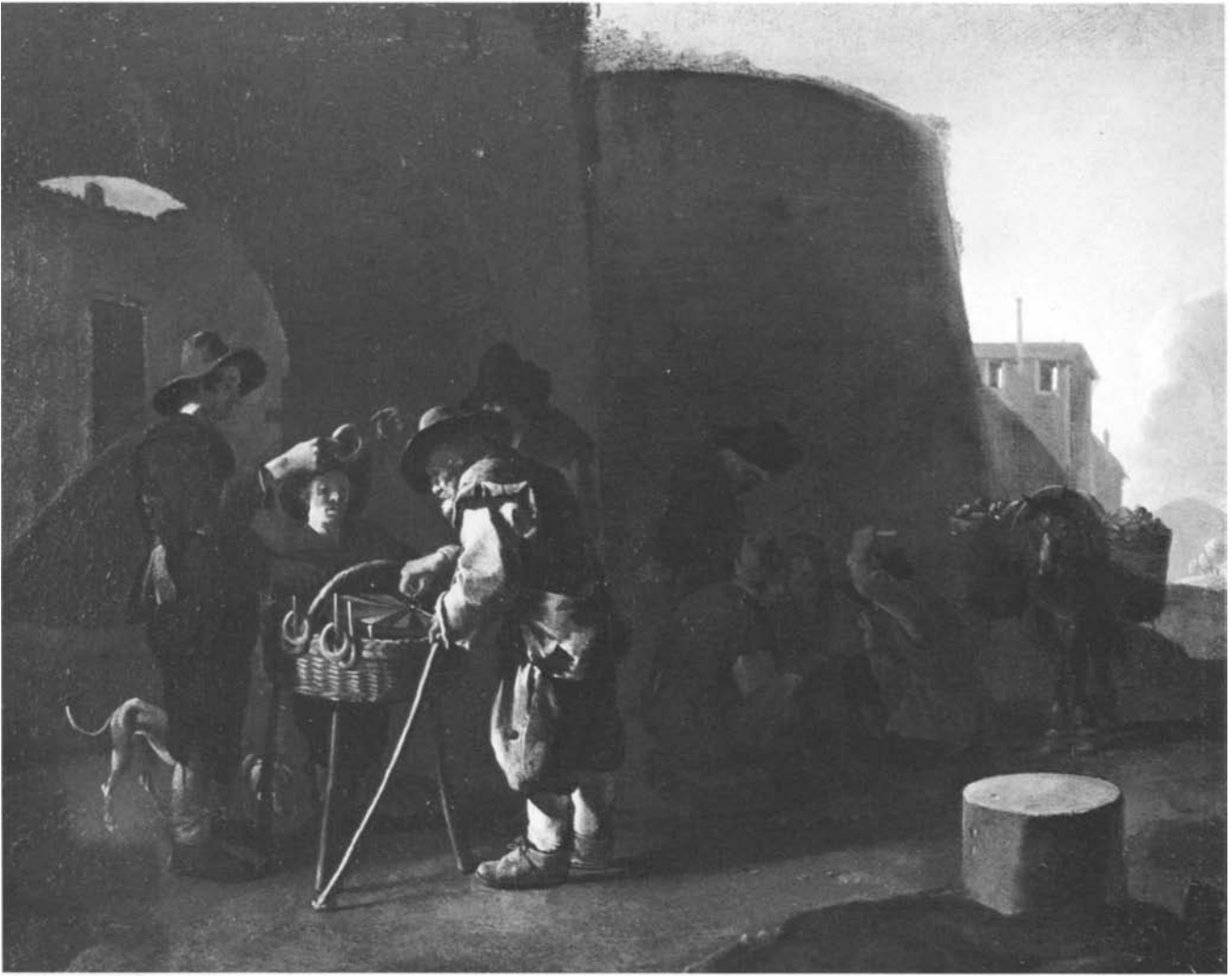


Figure 10. *Il Ciambellaro*, here attributed to Jan Lingelbach. Rome, Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica. Photo: Gabinetto Fotografico Nazionale, Rome.

Although three paintings on this list (nos. 4, 6, and 7) have already been attributed to Lingelbach by Catja Burger-Wegener, *Il Ciambellaro* (fig. 10) merits special attention. Often discussed in the literature in conjunction with them, these four paintings have until recently been considered the work of Pieter van Laer, the brilliant painter from Haarlem who established *bambocciate* painting during his years in Rome from ca. 1626 to 1637.¹⁶ However, *Il Ciambellaro* may be proven to be the greatest

achievement of Lingelbach's Roman period. In mood, color, setting, number of figures, even dimensions, this painting is generally unlike the paintings from his subsequent northern period, but it is both representative of his Roman style and a key to understanding it. One of the most celebrated Netherlandish paintings executed in Italy, it is appropriate to examine first the reasons the traditional and widely held attribution of *Il Ciambellaro* to Pieter van Laer is no longer tenable.¹⁷

16. *Il Ciambellaro*, nos. 6 and 7, were exhibited as by Pieter van Laer in the *Bamboccianti* exhibitions of 1950 and 1957 (*I Bamboccianti*, Rome, Palazzo Massimo alle Colonne, nos. 1, 9, and 2; and *Michael Sweerts e I Bamboccianti*, nos. 79, 81, and 80, resp.)

17. After Hoogewerff the painting has been attributed with little dissent to the Roman period of Pieter van Laer, i.e., from ca. 1626 to 1637. G. J. Hoogewerff, "Quadri olandesi e fiamminghe nella Galleria nazionale d'arte antica in Rome," *L'arte*, 1911, p. 361; *I Bamboccianti*, no. 1, and "Pieter van Laer e Michelangelo Cerquozzi," *Proporzioni*, III (1950), p.

190; R. Longhi et al, *Mostra del Caravaggio e dei Caravaggeschi*, Milan, 1951, no. 123; S. Slive, J. Rosenberg, and E. H. ter Kuile, *Dutch Art and Architecture, 1600 to 1800*, Baltimore, 1966, p. 173, pl. 152A and 3rd. rev. ed., 1977, p. 302, pl. 240; Albert Blankert, *Nederlandse 17e Eeuwse Italianiserende Landschapschilders*, ex. cat., rev. ed., Utrecht, 1978, pp. 23–24, fig. 191; L. Salerno, *I pittori di paesaggio a Roma nel seicento*, I, Rome, 1976, p. 311. The only dissenting opinion has been that of Axel Janneck, *Untersuchungen*, cat. no. C11 (see no. 20).



Figure 11. *The Sore Foot*, here attributed to Jan Lingelbach. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum.



Figure 12. *The Dentist in Piazza Navona*, here attributed to Jan Lingelbach. Rome, Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica. Photo: Gabinetto Fotografico Nazionale, Rome.



Figure 13. *The Streetsinger*, here attributed to Jan Lingelbach. Rome, Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica. Photo: Gabinetto Fotografico Nazionale, Rome.



Figure 14. Pieter van Laer, *Riders at an Inn*. Paris, Musée du Louvre. Photo: Musées Nationaux, Paris.

Il Ciambellaro depicts two groups of peasants outside a massive city wall. At the right, before a gate, a vendor offers a customer a *ciambella*, or pastry ring,¹⁸ and another man at the stand spins a multi-colored disc, possibly a roulette wheel, with a youth. Further back on the right, three men play cards while a fourth looks over their shoulders. Lighting from the left draws the figures from the darkness

18. "A ring-shaped cake," according to *The Cambridge Italian Dictionary*, ed. Barbara Reynolds, I, Cambridge, 1962, p. 156.

19. J. Hess, ed., *Die Künstlerbiographien des Giovanni Battista Passeri*, Vienna-Leipzig, 1934, p. 74.

20. *Untersuchungen*, cat. no. C11. Janeck's revisionist catalogue of van Laer's *oeuvre* together with subsequent studies by Albert Blankert ("Over Pieter van Laer als dier—en Landschapschilder," *Oud Holland*, 1968 [LXXIII], pp. 117–134), and Janina Michalkowa ("Quelques remarques sur

and vividly illuminates their coarse clothing. The effects of chiaroscuro lend the small figures an imposing scale, and the quiet gathering of peasants has the character of a "window onto life," the phrase which Passeri introduced to extoll the naturalism of Pieter van Laer.¹⁹

Axel Janeck has already observed that the painting offers meager visual support for an attribution to van Laer himself.²⁰ A picture such as the Louvre *Riders at an Inn* (fig. 14), which is securely attributed to van Laer, and like *Il Ciambellaro*, contains both architecture and landscape, may serve to demonstrate that *Il Ciambellaro* is by a different artist.²¹ The handling of light contrasts strikingly in the two paintings. In the *Riders*, as elsewhere in van Laer's work, it is soft and even. In *Il Ciambellaro* chiaroscuro is pronounced and results in sculptural figures, closer to those of Michael Sweerts (fig. 15) who worked in Rome from 1646 until 1654, than they are to figures by van Laer.²² The landscape in *Il Ciambellaro* contains simplified forms and flat lighting that contrast with the acute naturalistic detail and extraordinary sensitivity to the effects of light, atmosphere, and space evident in landscapes by van Laer. Finally, the proportions of the figures in the *Riders* are more delicate and their postures more inventive. Throughout his career van Laer explored the expressive possibilities of people in motion—twisting, turning, and bending in space. These artistic concerns are lacking in the stolid figures in *Il Ciambellaro*.

Janeck suggested that the frozen action, the profile views, and the handling of architecture in *Il Ciambellaro* offer parallels with signed paintings by Jan Lingelbach such as the *Dentist on Horseback* (Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, fig. 16) of 1651.²³ Other similarities are evident in the facial types and costumes, particularly the predilection for floppy, wide-brimmed hats found in both paintings, though the *Dentist* decidedly lacks the scale, concentration and dark tonalities of *Il Ciambellaro*. However, Janeck also discussed similarities between *Il Ciambellaro* and the work of Jan and Andreas Both, and Burger-Wegener omitted *Il Ciambellaro* from her recent catalogue of Lingelbach's paintings.²⁴ In light of the dozen other paintings under consideration here, *Il Ciambellaro* assumes a key position within the Roman activity of Jan Lingelbach.

In the following discussion it will be argued that *Il Ciambellaro*

Pieter van Laer," *Oud Holland*, 1971 [LXXXVI], pp. 188–195) provides a working definition of van Laer's activity.

Professor Briganti originally attributed *Il Ciambellaro*, the *Waterseller*, the *Smith*, the *Farriers*, and the *Smokers* (fig. 26) all to van Laer, and, subsequently, privately agreed with Janeck that none are by the Dutch painter (see also under no. 16). Briganti pointed out to me in discussions held in 1975/76 that he considered them and the *Barber* to be by an artist he named the *Master of the Mestiere*, i.e. a specialist in street tradesmen themes.

bellaro and the twelve *bambocciate* here listed are of Roman origin, that several may be dated to the late 1640s, and that the others seem to be contemporaneous with them; and finally that they not only appear to be by the same hand, but that they also anticipate the mature manner of Jan Lingelbach so strongly that they are in all probability by him.

A number of technical characteristics suggest that *Il Ciambellaro* was most probably executed in Rome.²⁵ The relatively loose weave and coarse threads of the canvas support are typical of seventeenth-century Italian paintings. Both the economical preparation, which consists of a thin priming of red bole, and the rapid execution seem to have been the practice of a number of artists in Rome at this time, including the *Bamboccianti*. Their painting materials and technique occasionally resulted in sunken pigments and discoloration. They are found, for example, in Miel's paintings of the 1630s and 1640s as well as Roman paintings by Van Laer, Sweerts, and Cerquozzi.²⁶ The thin paint films in *Il Ciambellaro* also show a characteristically Italian physical trait, a blanching-like effect on the knobs of the canvas weave. This is evident in the area of the rampart behind the laden donkey. Since documents and other seventeenth century sources suggest that except for brief sojourns painters of *bambocciate* confined their activity to Rome, it seems reasonable to assume on the basis of the materials and technique that *Il Ciambellaro* was also painted in the papal city.

Similar technical characteristics are found in the other twelve paintings. Though the quality of weave varies from canvas to canvas, the threads are generally coarse and the weave is open. Red bole priming is apparent in most of the paintings, notably figs. 4, 8, 12, and 13. Moreover, many of the paint layers in these examples have become transparent so that the priming is visible. Apparent to some degree in nearly all twelve paintings, this transparency reflects the same economical technique evident in *Il Ciambellaro*.

Some of the paintings may also be localized and dated on the basis of motif or influence. For example, Bernini's *Fountain of the Four Rivers*, which was begun in 1648 and completed in 1651, is shown under construction in the *Dentist on Horseback* (fig. 12). This suggests that the

21. *Le siècle de Rembrandt*, ex. cat., Paris, Musée du Petit Palais, 1970, no. 129.

22. The sturdy peasants in the *Ciambellaro*, their imposing scale, their restrained gestures, and the strong chiaroscuro recall paintings executed by Sweerts in Rome such as *The Artist Drawing a Peasant*, which was identified in the exhibition of 1958 as in the collection of A. van Hees, Reeuwijk (fig. 15).

23. Janeck, *Untersuchungen*, cat. no. C11.

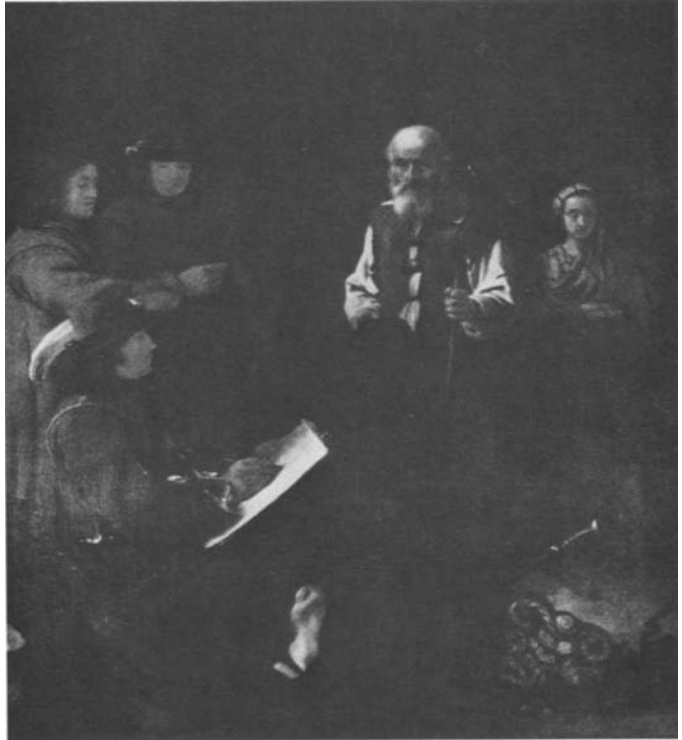


Figure 15. Michael Sweerts, *Artist Drawing a Peasant*. Reeuwijk, coll. A van Hees (?).



Figure 16. Jan Lingelbach, *The Dentist on Horseback*, 1651. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum.

24. Johannes Lingelbach.

25. I am grateful to Andrea Rothe for his assistance with the technical analysis of the painting materials under discussion.

26. Examples include Miel's *Shoemaker* (Munich, Alte Pinakothek) and the *Bocci Players* (Paris, Louvre); van Laer's *Riders Before an Inn* (Rome, Galleria Spada) and the *Smith in Roman Ruins* (Schwerin, Staatliche Museen); Sweerts' *Cardplayers* (Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum) and the *Wrestling Match* (Karlsruhe, Staatliche Kunsthalle).



Figure 17. Jan Miel, *Hunters Resting*. Stockholm, Nationalmuseum.



Figure 18. Jan Miel, *Peasants Gathered Near a River*. Madrid, Prado. Photo: Foto MAS, Barcelona.

painting and probably the *Streetsinger* (fig. 13), its pendant, were executed during those years.²⁷ Other paintings show the influence of artists active in Rome in the same period. The imprint of Michael Sweerts, who arrived in Rome in 1646, on the strongly modelled figures of *Il Ciambellaro* deserves mention. The imposing scale and the harmoniously balanced and integrated composition in the *Shoemaker* (fig. 9) and the *Waterseller* (fig. 7) likewise seem to reflect new classicizing values that were introduced to *bambocciate* by Sweerts. Other paintings reveal an awareness of the mature manner of Jan Miel from the late 1630s and 1640s. Along with Michelangelo Cerquozzi, Miel was then the leading painter of *bambocciate* in Rome. The scale of the figures and their relationship to the setting in the *Rest of Travelers* (fig. 1) can be compared to Miel's numerous in-

terpretations of the theme, in particular to a version in the Nationalmuseum, Stockholm (fig. 17), which is datable to the 1640s.²⁸ The central figures in the *Barber* (fig. 2) recall those in Miel's *Peasants Gathered near a River*, datable ca. 1640 (fig. 18). The *Shoemaker* (fig. 9) may derive from paintings of the subject executed by Miel in the 1640s and earlier.²⁹ For the remaining paintings there are fewer indications to suggest their date, but on the basis of brushstroke, coloring, and composition they all seem to be closely contemporaneous.

Indeed the range of subject matter and the inventiveness of the twelve paintings and *Il Ciambellaro* do not conceal the personal artistic vocabulary that they share. For example, in *Il Ciambellaro* the urban rampart recedes along a short diagonal into the distance at the right. This side of the painting is completed by distant mountains bathed in a hazy blue light, and the figures of the foreground are lit sharply from the left. Related handling in both the setting and chiaroscuro is discernible in the *Streetsinger* (fig. 13), where the architecture recedes diagonally from right to left (though here the light still enters from the left); the *Stoning of St. Stephen* (fig. 5), where an urban rampart once again describes the diagonal recession; the *Smith* (fig. 6); the *Parable of the Sowers* (fig. 4); and the *Waterseller* (fig. 7). Similar relationships between figures and their settings are apparent with only minor variations in the *Barber* (fig. 2), the *Rest of Travelers* (fig. 1), the *Sore Foot* (fig. 11), and the *Shoemaker* (fig. 9). Jan Lingelbach elaborates upon the same conventions in his signed paintings. In the *Dentist on Horseback* (fig. 16), architecture provides a backdrop for figures at the left while a hazy vista opens up on the right. As in this example in paintings by Lingelbach dating after 1650, the number of figures and buildings is generally greater and the space more complex.

A number of distinctive physical types appear throughout the paintings under consideration here as well as in signed paintings by Jan Lingelbach. Just as van Laer depicted certain women with smooth, round faces and rosy cheekbones, and Miel, adolescents with deep-set eyes, broad foreheads, and tapering jaws, Lingelbach seems to employ a repertory of physical types. For example, the short, stoop-shouldered old man with a trim white beard, hook nose, and protruding forehead in *Il Ciambellaro* resembles the slightly thinner man seated at the center of the crowd in the *Dentist in Piazza Navona* (fig. 12), the somewhat younger *Smith* (fig. 6), and the *Shoemaker* (fig. 9). A similar though more youthful facial type is seated on the

27. G. Briganti, *I Bamboccianti*, no. 32.

28. Thomas Kren, *Jan Miel (1599-1604), a Flemish Painter in Rome*, I, diss., Yale U., 1978, cat. no. A62.

29. *Ibid.*, cat. nos. A26, A1 and A2.

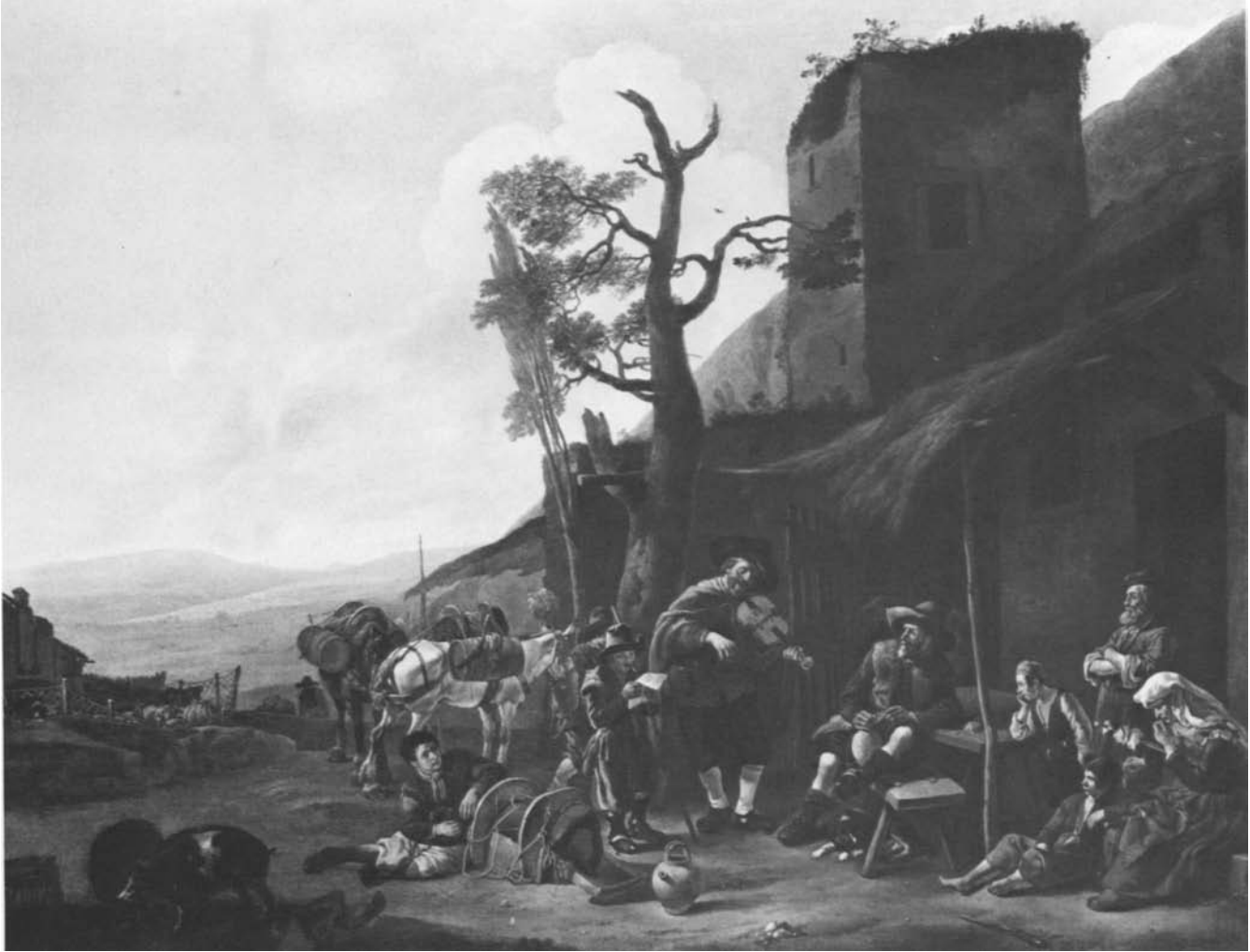


Figure 19. Jan Lingelbach, *The Fiddler*. Formerly London art Market. Photo: Cooper, London.

ground scrutinizing the dentist in Lingelbach's painting of 1651 (fig. 16) and still another is seated at a table in the *Fiddler*, a signed Lingelbach, datable to the 1650s (fig. 19).³⁰ The sleeveless jerkin of the old man, his broad, round shoes, white stockings, and baggy pantaloons reappear throughout these paintings. They resemble closely the attire of the *Shoemaker*, the helmeted soldier asleep in the *Liberation of St. Peter* (fig. 3), the weary traveler in the *Sore Foot* (fig. 11), and the elder of the two *Farriers* (fig. 8).

Also part of the repertory of physical types is a younger man with prominent cheekbones, a thin dark moustache and goatee, and a distinctive sloping nose with a bulbous end. This figure appears in the *Waterseller* (fig. 7), and as the sleeping soldier at the far left in the *Liberation of St. Peter* (fig. 3). One of the attacking mob to the left in the *Stoning of St. Stephen* shows similar features, as does the man seated on the ground to the right of center in the *Dentist in Piazza Navona* (fig. 12). Finally the same type, now without goatee, is shown speaking to one of the labor-

ers in the *Parable of the Sower* (fig. 4). The *Waterseller* himself makes an appearance at the right in the *Dentist* (fig. 12) of 1651 with only slight variation in the long forehead, dark moustache, and dark beard. Another favorite type is a youth or boy with smooth flesh, narrow eyes, and thin lips. He takes the role of the *Streetsinger* (fig. 13), the boy attending the weary traveler (fig. 11), and a shoemaker's young assistant (fig. 9). A youthful passerby in the *Smith* (fig. 6) is similar to him, and, more importantly, the prominent pug nose of this figure and the sweeping contour of his hat anticipate a boy playing morra in the foreground of the *Dentist on Horseback* (fig. 16).

For the most part the thirteen paintings under consideration concern male peasants engaged in street occupations. Such themes were common among painters of *bambocciate*. For example Miel depicted shoemakers, barbers, and dentists, and van Laer farriers, barbers, and kiln

30. Burger-Wegener, *Johannes Lingelbach*, cat. no. 108.



Figure 20. Jan Lingelbach, *View of the Piazza del Popolo*. Vienna, Gemäldegalerie der Akademie der bildenden Künste.

workers. Yet in comparison to their paintings, the concentration on street-tradesmen themes within the thirteen paintings here ascribed to Lingelbach is pronounced. Not only these artisans but also *ciambellari*, street performers, and a waterseller appear, marking a significant development in *bambocciate* subject matter in the area of both trades and urban themes.

A predilection for street tradesmen themes is strikingly evident in Lingelbach's bustling urban *capricci* of the 1650s and later. Shoemakers and smiths as well as *ciambellari*, equestrian dentists, street musicians, and watersellers frequent the streets and piazzas depicted in these paintings. Lingelbach's large *View of the Piazza del Popolo* (fig. 20) of 1664(?) depicts a smith, a dentist, and a *ciambellaro* while the aforementioned *Dentist* of 1651 shows the equestrian subject, another *ciambellaro*, and, as previously noted, a waterseller. The shoemaker is also one of the more familiar characters in paintings by Lingelbach. In the signed *Street Scene near Trinità de' Monti* of 1651, the full white beard of the shoemaker brings to mind the *Shoemaker* in Montauban. (fig. 21)³¹ The subject matter of Lingelbach's signed paintings not only reflects the innovations of van Laer and Miel, it incorporates even further themes from the *Ciambellaro* and the dozen paintings by the same hand.

Although the signed paintings of Jan Lingelbach seem to share numerous characteristics with the Roman *bambocciate* here attributed to him, some striking differences between them merit acknowledgement. Until now Lingel-



Figure 21. Jan Lingelbach, *Street Scene near Trinità de' Monti*. Formerly London art market. Photo: Cooper, London.

bach's achievement has been assessed largely on the basis of anecdotal paintings, often quite large, with a colorful cross-section of street life gathered in settings freely interpreted after the buildings, monuments, and ruins of Baroque Rome. Only a handful of paintings by Lingelbach's Roman predecessors anticipates to any reasonable degree this type of painting. One, Miel's *Carnival in Piazza Colonna* (Hartford, Wadsworth Atheneum, fig. 22), Lingelbach probably knew, as it seems to have been executed during his Roman sojourn.³² Paintings of the familiar *bambocciate* type with small dimensions, relatively few figures, and settings consisting of anonymous urban streets and tavern courtyards occupy a minor place in Lingelbach's oeuvre after 1650. Even the technique of the Amsterdam paintings is different. The *Dentist on Horseback* (fig. 16) and *A Market Scene in a Roman Piazza* (fig. 23) not only feature monuments and buildings fashioned after known Roman ones, they show fatter paint films, more fluid handling, and lighter, brighter colors weighted to the cool end of the spectrum.

If Jan Lingelbach may be considered responsible for the thirteen Roman *bambocciate*, then these differences reveal a discontinuity in his artistic development. The transition from his Roman work, as defined here, to his later style, requires elucidation. The later manner of Lingelbach is already anticipated by at least one of the *bambocciate* under consideration. This painting is the *Dentist in Piazza Navona* (fig. 12), which bears detailed comparison with Lingelbach's *Dentist* of 1651 (fig. 16).³³ The painful extrac-

31. Sold at Christie's, London, November 29, 1974, lot 71, purchased by Bourne Gallery. The painting is not included in Burger-Wegener.

32. He derived at least one painting from it: Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, inv. no. 776, Burger-Wegener, *Johannes Lingelbach*, pp. 58-59.

33. Burger-Wegener also discusses these two paintings in relationship to one another but without concluding that they are from the same hand, *ibid.*, p. 55 and no. 138.



Figure 22. Jan Miel, *Carnival in Piazza Colonna*. Hartford, Wadsworth Atheneum.



Figure 23. Jan Lingelbach, *A Market Scene in a Roman Piazza*. Karlsruhe, Staatliche Kunsthalle.



Figure 24. *The Purgative Source*, here attributed to Jan Lingelbach. Montpellier, Musée Fabre. Photo: Claude O'Sughrue.



Figure 25. Jan Lingelbach, *Peasants near the Colosseum*. Formerly Zurich, Gallery David Koetser. Photo: Vito e Damiano, Rome.

tion of a tooth by a quack on horseback is their shared theme. The dentist, with a wide moustache and tall hat, is nearly identical in both, and the patient's discomfort is indicated by the same physical signs: a raised, flexed leg and tightly clenched fist. Physical similarities in several other characters shared by the two paintings have already been noted. Finally, both paintings contain fragments of ancient architecture lying in the foreground. Although the *Dentist in Piazza Navona* has technical characteristics of a Roman *bambocciate*, its anecdotal quality and densely populated setting look forward to the mature paintings of Lingelbach. Some of the fluidity of handling visible in 1651 is already apparent in the garments of the earlier dentist and in the face of his patient. The *Dentist in Piazza Navona* marks a move away from the conventional *bambocciate* of Miel, van Laer, and Cerquozzi toward the mature style of Lingelbach. Moreover, while the small format of the *Dentist on Horseback* recalls *bambocciate*, it introduces still other features of Lingelbach's mature manner, including more spatial complexity and the kind of architectural backdrop already described. The two paintings appear to represent successive phases of Lingelbach's artistic development.

The *Purgative Source*, Montpellier, Musée Fabre (fig. 24), which has been attributed to Jan Miel, is another painting of transitional character.³⁴ It depicts aristocratic riders and peasants at a well where they fill their jugs and drink to enjoy the water's purgative effects. This subject seems to have originated with Pieter van Laer; in all probability Miel also treated it (Bordeaux, Musée des Beaux-Arts), but the version in Montpellier is not from his hand.³⁵ Like the thirteen *bambocciate*, the crowded gathering of figures is concentrated in the foreground and the architecture recedes along a diagonal from the front left. The distant low hills and mountains at the right are treated with even coloring and flat light in the manner of the vista in the *Smith* (fig. 6). The dress, especially the costume of the lady on horseback, is virtually identical to the attire of the aristocratic young woman in the *Rest of Travelers* (fig. 1). The brighter colors, fatter paint films, larger number of figures, and their loose spacing approach the execution of the *Dentist on Horseback* of 1651 (fig. 16). A similar handling of light, the smooth textures of the drapery, and numerous motifs of costume such as the white headdress also link the two paintings. The fluid brushwork in the jerkin of the standing peasant who has dropped his pantaloons resembles the handling of the seated *ciambellaro's* garments in

34. No. 825-1-153; 71 x 103 cm., canvas, *Catalogue des Peintures et Sculptures, exposées dans les Galleries du Musée Fabre de la Ville de Montpellier*, Paris, 1926, no. 243. See also T. Kren, *Jan Miel*, cat. no. D61.

35. J. Hess, ed., *Die Künstlerbiographien des Giovanni Battista Passeri*, pp. 73-74; and Thomas Kren, *Jan Miel*, cat. no. A84.

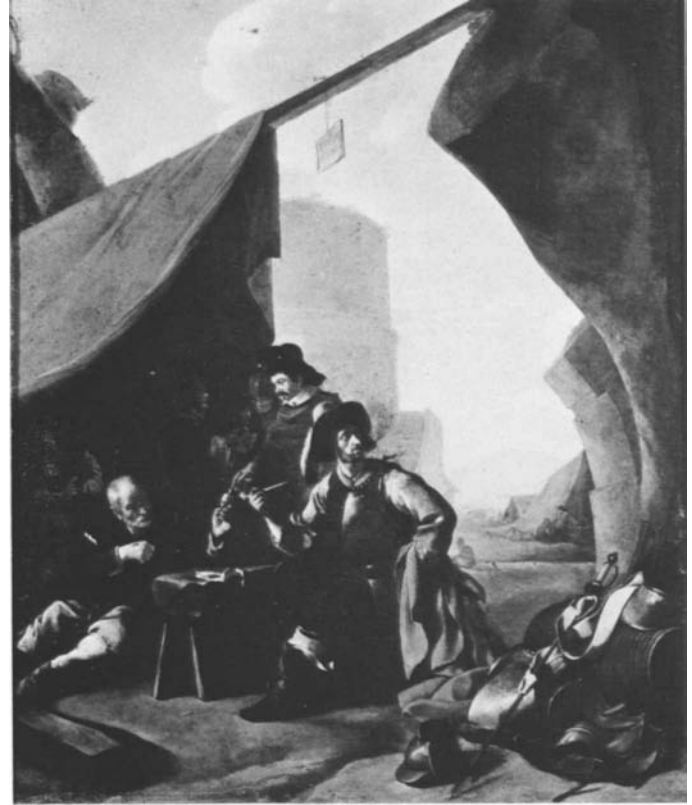


Figure 26. *The Smokers*, here attributed to Jan Lingelbach. Rome, Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica. Photo: Gabinetto Fotografico Nazionale, Rome.

the painting of 1651, where detail and the nuances of modelling are richer. Indeed the brushwork and modelling are remarkably close to the *Peasants near the Colosseum* (fig. 25), an unsigned painting now correctly accepted as Lingelbach.³⁶ Finally the pattern of light and shadow in the *Purgative Source* is further evidence of kinship with the *Dentist on Horseback* of 1651, though the former still lacks the clearly defined middle distance apparent in the latter. The *Purgative Source* would seem therefore to date before the painting in the Rijksmuseum, but not quite as early as the *bambocciate* under consideration here.

The *Smokers*, Rome, Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica (fig. 26), an encampment scene which has been attributed to van Laer, is a third transitional painting.³⁷ This one represents a group of men gathered at the mouth of a tent. A soldier seated outside is smoking, his prominent cheekbones, sloping nose, and thin beard evoking the features of the waterseller and related characters. He also wears the

36. The painting was first attributed to Lingelbach by Janeck (cf. Burger-Wegener, *Johannes Lingelbach*, cat. no. 11).

37. *I Bamboccianti*, cat. no. 3.



Figure 27. Sebastian Bourdon, *Rest of Travelers*. Paris, Musée du Louvre. Photo: Musées Nationaux, Paris.

same style of cuirass as the slumbering guard in Lingelbach's *Liberation of St. Peter* (fig. 3). Nearby to the left, the fluffy beard of a peasant seated on the ground handing something to a standing man suggests the ubiquitous white-haired type from the same artist's repertory. The relatively few figures, small format, and lighting are vestiges of the earlier *bambocciate*. More precisely, the pattern of light and dark across the smoker's cape resembles the handling of the cape held by the standing youth in the foreground of the *Rest of Travelers* (fig. 1), while the even color and flat lighting in the vista at right, as in the *Purgative Source*, are shared with the *Smith* (fig. 6). The *Smokers* looks forward to the mature Lingelbach in the fatter pigments and more painterly execution, the motif of the smoker's pose, seated with crossed legs, and the use of architecture on one side and cliffs opposite as framing devices.³⁸

Il Ciambellaro belongs to the great artistic achievements

38. The new directions suggested by these transitional paintings may have been sparked in part by the *bambocciate* of Sebastian Bourdon, whose work Lingelbach would have seen in Rome and possibly in Paris on the occasion of his return to Amsterdam. Bourdon seems to have been in Paris in 1650 and 1651. He was one of the founders of the *Académie Royale* in 1648 and did not join the court of Christina of Sweden in Stockholm until 1652.

The use of ancient monuments together with the loose organization of the visitors about the *Purgative Source* is anticipated by the anecdotal

of the 1640s when Pieter van Laer had long since departed Rome. It occupies the pinnacle in Lingelbach's youthful artistic achievement. Strikingly dissimilar from his characteristic mature work, it is the product of a brief era in the history of *bambocciate* of enormous vitality. These were likely the same years that Miel executed the *Carnival in Piazza Colonna* and Michael Sweerts, the *Seven Acts of Mercy* and other great canvases. *Il Ciambellaro*, the *Water-seller*, and the *Shoemaker* among the paintings of this period seem to show Lingelbach's absorption of the new classicizing spirit of Sweert's art. The unprepossessing dignity of the characters makes these paintings Lingelbach's most poetic works.

A glance at the body of Lingelbach's Roman oeuvre as defined here suggests the need for further reference to the creative spirit of these years among the painters of *bambocciate*. From the tentative draughtsmanship of the *Rest of Travelers* and the *Liberation of St. Peter* to the lively char-

acter and settings of such paintings by Bourdon as the *Rest of Travelers* (Paris, Musée du Louvre, fig. 27) and the *Bohemian Camp* (Caen, Musée des Beaux-Arts). Moreover, encampment subjects were a favorite of Bourdon and in one example he included a still life of soldier's armor in the right foreground just as one finds in the *Smokers* (*Plundering of a Camp*, formerly Gallerie Heim, Paris.) In this connection it bears mentioning that Antoine Goubau, the little-known painter of *bambocciate* mentioned earlier, also seems to have painted encampment scenes in Rome during the 1640s.



Figure 28. Jan Lingelbach, *Battle Scene*, Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum.

acterization of the *Stoning of St. Stephen* and to the compositional purity and bold scale of *Il Ciambellaro*, the *Waterseller*, and the *Farriers*, a strong artistic personality emerges under the impetus of diverse forces. Lingelbach explored several idioms, especially those of Miel and Sweerts, as he evolved a personal visual language. Finally, among his Roman *bambocciate* it was not *Il Ciambellaro* or the *Waterseller* that announced his future direction as fully as the *Dentist in Piazza Navona*. In this painting and for the development of Roman *capricci*, he shows a stronger debt to Miel than to Sweerts.³⁹

The *bambocciate* of Jan Lingelbach as witnessed especially by *Il Ciambellaro* display a unique spirit within his oeuvre. His peasants show a rough nobility as they silently pursue their daily labors and pastimes. However, the ulti-

mate character of Lingelbach's art is determined by a different attitude. Even before completely freeing himself from the spell of Michael Sweerts, he showed artistic concerns which are not harmonious with a classicizing manner. The floppy, wide-brimmed hats of the peasants enliven the surface design in the Roman *bambocciate*; and Lingelbach occasionally endows these characters with a particular innocence. The doll-like male figures seated flex-kneed on the ground in the *Parable of the Sower* and the *Liberation of St. Peter* lend charm and intimacy to the scenes. These paintings along with the *Dentist in Piazza Navona*, the *Purgative Source*, and the *Peasants near the Colosseum* point to the mature, picturesque manner of this beloved Dutch master.⁴⁰

The J. Paul Getty Museum
Malibu

39. The figure types of dentist and patients, the curiosity and wonder expressed by the spectators, and the handling of the brush suggest that the painting may be based upon Miel's *Dentist* at Christ Church, Oxford. Cf. James Byam Shaw, *Catalogue of Paintings by Old Masters at Christ Church*, Oxford, 1967, no. 145, and Kren, *Jan Miel (1599-1664)*, II, no. A4. The *Dentist* appears to be a characteristic painting of the 1640s.

40. The paintings discussed in this essay are the earliest known work by the artist. Until now two signed paintings have been identified as from Lingelbach's first Amsterdam period. They are the *Landscape with Ancient Ruins*, Frankfurt, Städelsches Kunstinstitut (Burger-Wegener, cat. no. 1) and a *Battle Scene* in the Getty Museum (fig. 28; B. F. Fredericksen,

Catalogue of the Paintings in the J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu, 1972, no. 103). However, Salerno argues persuasively that the signature on the former should be read as belonging to the Utrecht painter Abraham van Cuylenborch (*I pittori di paesaggio a Roma*, I, p. 288), while the signature on the latter, *J: lingelbach*, appears to be authentic. Burger-Wegener omits the Getty *Battle Scene* from her catalogue, but the coloring, especially the light ochre and the bright white of the horses, their contours, and the handling of such details as the hat on the ground, are characteristic of the artist, particularly his work of the early 1650s (cf. e.g., fig. 16), and not his earlier work.

Acquisitions Made by the Department of Decorative Arts, 1981

Gillian Wilson

1. SECRÉTAIRE

French (Paris); ca. 1777

Height: 3' 6 1/4" (107.4 cm.) Width: 3' 3 3/4" (101 cm.)

Depth: 1' 2" (35.5 cm.)

Accession number 81.DA.80

The fall front of the secrétaire is set with two rectangular plaques of Sèvres porcelain, and the front of the drawer is also decorated with three smaller oblong plaques. The frieze above and the side friezes below are set with panels of metal painted blue-black. The backs of the open shelves at the sides are veneered with marquetry of tulipwood and satinwood, engraved and filled with green and red mastic.

The piece is stamped twice beneath the drawer front "M. CARLIN" for Martin Carlin (master 1766–died 1785) (fig. 2). Carlin was the maker of a number of secrétaires mounted with Sèvres porcelain plaques. They usually carry plaques on the fall front that are round or oval,¹ those with rectangular plaques being found more rarely.²

The secrétaire closest in form to the museum's piece is in the Metropolitan Museum of Art.³ Although the New York piece has an illustrious provenance, it is of slightly lesser quality. Probably made for the actress Madame De Laguerre, it was certainly in her sale which took place at her death in 1782. Shortly after, probably in 1784, it was acquired by the Grand Duchess Maria Feodorovna, and it stood for many years in her palace of Pavlovsk outside St. Petersburg.

The museum's secrétaire is unique for two reasons. It is considerably smaller than the other secrétaires in Carlin's oeuvre, and so must have been made as a special commission for a small boudoir or *chambre du lit*. Also, the plaques

on the fall front are not painted with the traditional hanging baskets of flowers but with filled vases which resemble stone mounted with gilt bronze. They stand on marble surfaces, on one of which crawls a snail (fig. 3). Unfortunately the reverses of these plaques do not bear the symbol for a painter, but they are marked with the date letter "Y" for 1776 (fig. 4). The three small plaques below are all marked "Z" for 1777 (fig. 5) and the central plaque bears the symbol ❖❖ for the painter Jean-Charles Sioux the Elder who worked at Sèvres from 1752 to 1792 (fig. 6). The central plaque on the drawer also bears a paper label printed with the crossed "L's" of the Sèvres manufactory, inscribed in black ink with "36"—the price in *livres* (fig. 7). If we turn to the Sèvres day book, we find that in 1777 the *marchand-mercier* Daguerre bought eight plaques at this price, but no description of their shape is given. In 1776 Poirier and Daguerre, who were partners until 1778,⁴ bought six *plaques quarrés* in pairs, four being priced at 120 *livres* each and two at 132 *livres*. It is likely that the pair of plaques on the museum's secrétaire are the more expensive ones, because of their unusual design.

It is, however, possible that both Poirier and Daguerre bought plaques to keep in stock, and the date letters on the backs of 1776 and 1777 do not necessarily mean that the secrétaire was made in the latter year. The secrétaire at the Metropolitan Museum, mentioned above, has the date letter "Y" for 1776 on the large plaque of the fall front, and this could be the single *plaque quarré* sold for 216 *livres* in 1776. The smaller plaques below are not marked, but they bear price labels showing that they sold for 60 *livres* each. Four plaques were sold for this price in 1775. This could indicate that the secrétaire was made one year before the

1. See a secrétaire by Carlin already in the museum's collection, accession number 65.DA.2, and Geoffrey de Bellaigue, *The James A. de Rothschild Collection at Waddesdon Manor; Furniture, Clocks, and Gilt Bronzes*, 1974, pp. 342–347, no. 68, and C. C. Dauterman, J. Parker, and E. A. Standen, *Decorative Art at the Metropolitan Museum; The Kress Collection*, 1964, no. 26, figs. 112–117, pp. 144–149.

2. Dauterman, Parker, and Standen, *op. cit.*, no. 28, figs. 121–127, pp. 154–161 and F. J. B. Watson, *Wallace Collection Catalogue; Furniture*,

1956, F.308, pl. 91, pp. 164–165, and Gillian Wilson, *Decorative Arts in the J. Paul Getty Museum*, 1977, no. 117, p. 90.

3. F. J. B. Watson, *The Wrightsman Collection; Furniture*, vol. 1, 1966, pp. 186–190, no. 105.

4. For a discussion on the role of the *marchand-mercier*, see Pierre Verlet, "Le commerce des objets d'art et les marchand-merciers à Paris ca. XVIII^e siècle." *Annales: Economies, Sociétés, Civilizations*, vol. XIII, Jan–Mar. 1958, pp. 10–29.



Figure 1. *Secrétaire à abbatant* by Martin Carlin, circa 1777.

museum's example and was the prototype for this form.

The *secrétaire* was bought by the museum from a private collection in Paris. It had formerly belonged to Baron Guy de Rothschild, who had inherited it from his mother, Baroness Edouard de Rothschild, who died in the 1970s. Her husband, Baron Edouard Alphonse James, was born in

1868 and died in 1949. His father, Mayer Alphonse, died in 1905. The Rothschilds began to acquire French furniture in the last decades of the nineteenth century, so either Baron Edouard or Mayer Alphonse could have bought it. Its earlier provenance, as is the case with nearly all Rothschild objects, is not known.



Figure 2. The stamp of Martin Carlin, with the brand of the *juré de menuisier ébénistes* found beneath the drawer front.



Figure 3. One of the Sèvres porcelain plaques on the fall front of the *secrétaire*.



Figure 4. The mark painted on the back of one of the rectangular porcelain plaques on the fall front of the secrétaire, showing the crossed L's of the Sèvres manufactory, with the date letter Y for 1776.



Figure 5. The mark on one of the smaller porcelain plaques found on the drawer front, showing the crossed L's of the Sèvres Manufactory (partly obliterated) and the date letter Z for 1777. The painter's mark beneath is unidentified.

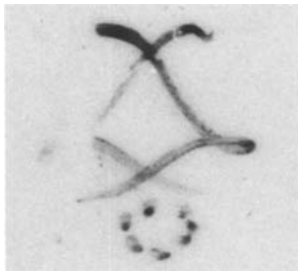


Figure 6. Detail showing the mark of Jean-Charles SiouxF the Elder.



Figure 7. The small printed paper label affixed to the back of one of the smaller Sèvres porcelain plaques, inscribed with '36'—the price in livres of the plaque.

2. WALL CLOCK (Pendule d'Alcove)

French (Chantilly); 1735–1740

Height: 2' 5 1/2" (74.9 cm.) Width: 1' 2" (35.6 cm.)

Depth: 4 3/8" (11.1 cm.)

Accession number 81.DB.81

The porcelain case is composed of interlacing floral branches amongst which are perched a winged dragon above (fig. 9), a duck to one side (fig. 10), and a monkey below (fig. 11). The case has been fired in two parts, and the lower porcelain section is attached to the metal back plate with a brass clamp. Encircling the entire clock is a sinuous gilt bronze branch with leaves, while surrounding the enamel clock face are small clusters of gilt bronze flowers and leaves.

The face of the clock is painted "CHARLES VOISIN A PARIS," and the movement is similarly inscribed (fig. 12). Voisin became a master in 1710 and died in 1760. One of the main wheels of the movement is covered with inscriptions. Most are indecipherable—the words "Nettoyez" and "Netoy" can be read and the dates "1756," "1768," "1817," and "1854" (fig. 13). These are the marks of various clock repairers, following a tradition of signing and dating their work.⁵

The clock, of the type sometimes known as a *pendule d'alcove* was perhaps intended to be hung in a bed alcove. It strikes to the nearest hour when a string, protruding from the movement through the porcelain case, is pulled—a useful device to learn the time in the dark without having to light a candle.

The porcelain case, which is tin glazed, was made at the Chantilly manufactory. The factory was set up in 1725 by Louis Henri de Bourbon, the seventh Prince de Condé. It was given a royal charter in 1735, and operated until 1800. Its first director was Ciquaire Cirou, under whose direction, the manufactory exclusively used the completely opaque tin glaze rather than the more translucent lead glaze commonly used at other French porcelain manufactories. But this practice had almost ceased by his death in 1751.

The Prince de Condé had a large collection of Japanese porcelain, and the earlier wares of the factory often copy Japanese forms and decoration, particularly the Kakiemon designs and palette. It is perhaps possible to see an oriental influence in the case of this clock, with its exotic dragon and monkey.

Only one other clock with a case of Chantilly porcelain is known to exist, and it is in the collection of Mrs. Jack

5. See also the signed works of another clock in the collection, accession number 72.DA.40. Gillian Wilson, *French Eighteenth Century Clocks in the J. Paul Getty Museum*, 1976, no. 5, pp. 26–33.

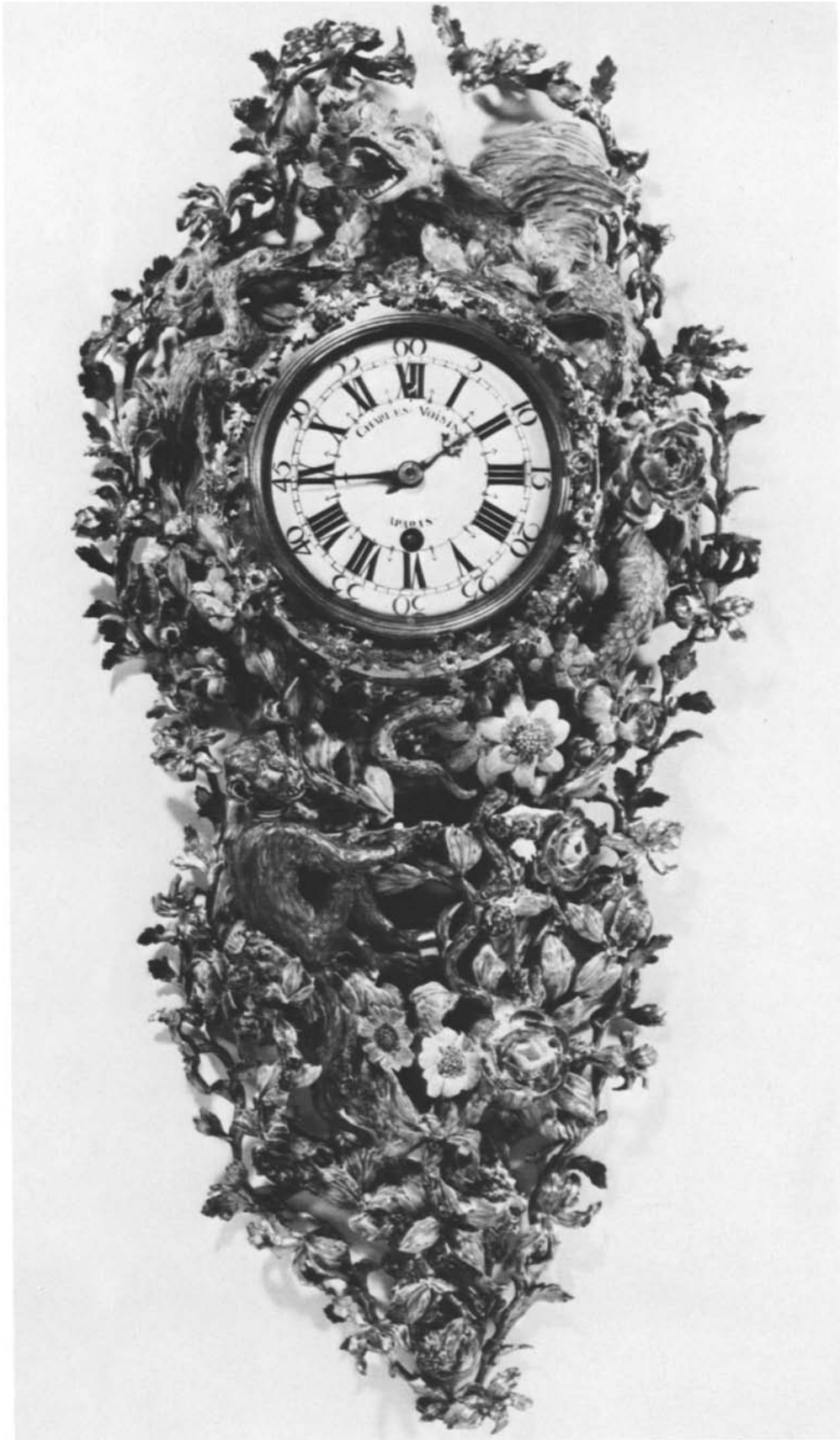


Figure 8. Wall clock with a case of Chantilly porcelain, the movement by Charles Voisin, circa 1735-1740.

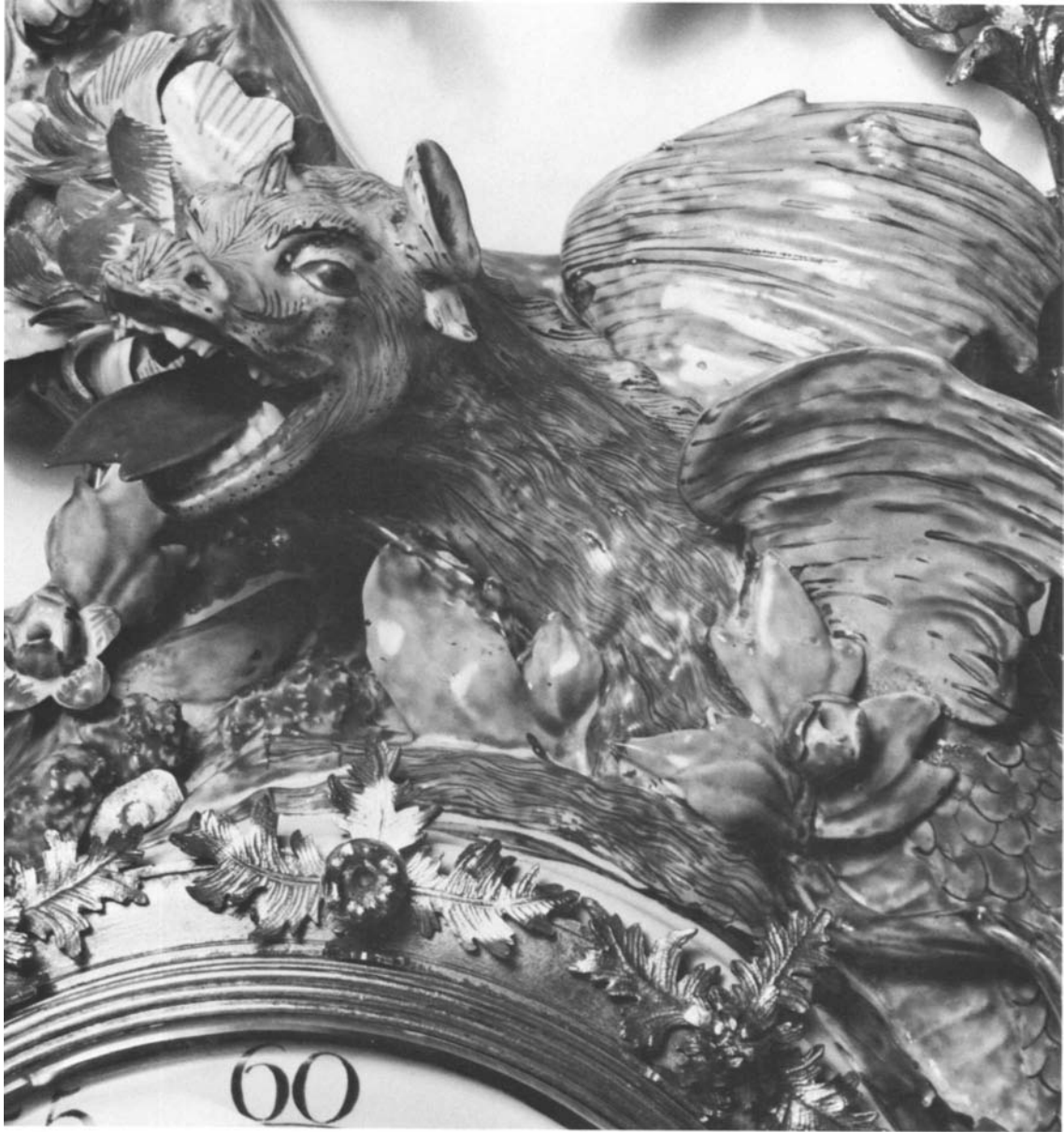


Figure 9. The winged dragon above the clock.

Linsky in New York. It has a case decorated with Chinese figures, again showing the oriental influence inspired by the Prince's collection.⁶ Other clocks made of porcelain are known, but they were produced mostly by the German manufactories. One of the earliest was produced at Meissen in 1727 where it was designed by Fritsche and Kirchner.⁷ Another, made at Frankenthal by J. W. Lanz in 1760, is in the high rococo style.⁸ The Sèvres manufactory in later decades produced a number of porcelain clocks in the neoclassical style, but in the mid-eighteenth century

6. Christie's, March 28th, 1966. Also see the cover of Tardy, *La Pendule Française*, 1ere Partie (3rd edition), p. 186. According to Tardy, the clock is dated 1740. This clock has recently been given by Mrs. Jack Linsky to the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

the use of porcelain on French clocks was often restricted to the inclusion of free standing porcelain figures (usually from Meissen) and a profusion of porcelain flowers, all set amongst gilt bronze. The museum's clock is very rare, and it must have been made as a special commission for an exotic feminine *chambre à coucher*, perhaps for a member of the Condé family.

The clock was bought by the museum from Jacques Kugel of Paris. It had earlier been in a Hungarian collection.

7. Peter Wilhelm Meister and Horst Reber, *La Porcelaine Européenne*, 1980, p. 38, fig. 201.

8. Meister and Reber, *op. cit.*, p. 138, fig. 201.



Figure 10. The duck perched to the left of the clock.



Figure 11. The monkey beneath the clock. The metal clamp seen at the monkey's feet attaches the ceramic to the metal backplate of the clock.

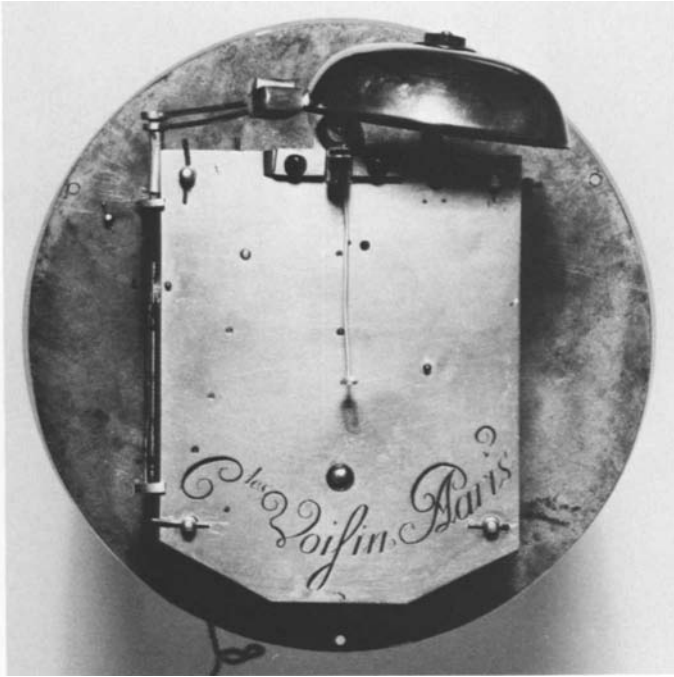


Figure 12. The movement of the clock, the backplate of which is signed "Cles Voisin A Paris."

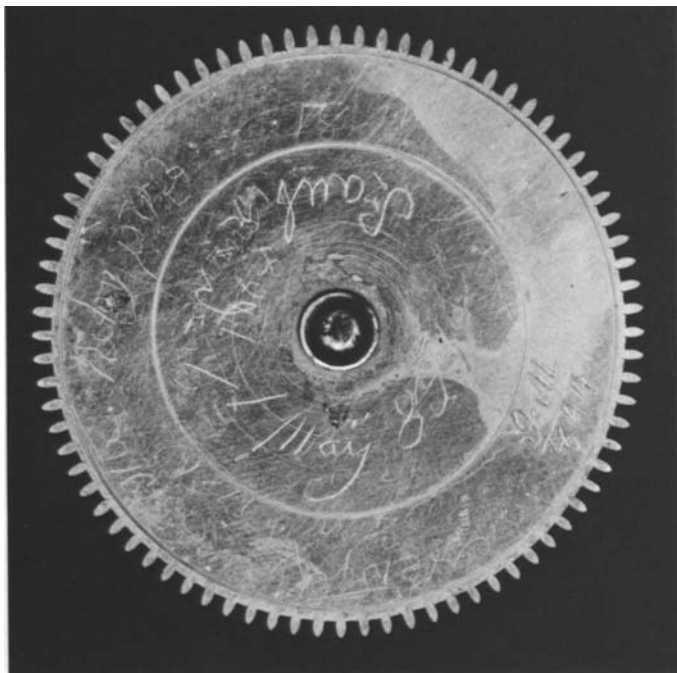


Figure 13. A wheel from the movement of the clock which has been inscribed by various clock repairers.

3. PAIR OF CORNER CUPBOARDS

French (Paris); ca. 1760-1765

Height: 4' 5 1/4" (135.2 cm.) Width: 2' (60.8 cm.)

Depth 1' 4 1/2" (41.9 cm.)

Accession number 81.DA.82

These tall narrow corner cupboards are veneered with tulipwood, amaranth, and ebony, with gilt bronze mounts and grey-veined, white marble tops. The front of each is occupied by the single door. The interior has side supports for two shelves, which are missing. Each cupboard is stamped on the carcass, beneath the marble top, "P. GARNIER" for Pierre Garnier (born ca. 1726, master 1742, died 1800) (fig. 15). Pieces stamped with Garnier's name are not overly common, and he does not seem to have had such a prolific workshop as his near contemporaries Martin Carlin and Adam Weisweiler.

Though he was trained in the rococo style, a number of his surviving works are in the early rather heavy and architectural neoclassical style, as is exhibited by these corner cupboards, with their clearly delineated rectangular forms and large gilt bronze mounts of fairly simple composition.

Garnier had the distinction of being patronized by the marquis de Marigny (1727-1781), the younger brother of Madame de Pompadour and *Directeur Général des Bâti-ments, Jardins, Arts, Académies, et Manufactures Royales* from 1751 to 1773.⁹ Garnier provided furniture for the marquis' *hôtel* on the rue Saint-Thomas-du-Louvre (the interiors of which contemporaries described as being *festonnées dans le goût antique*) and the *château de Menars*. A body of correspondence from the marquis to Garnier exists, which has been published by Svend Eriksen.¹⁰ From the letters we can see that Garnier designed many of his own mounts, a somewhat unusual practice at this date.

On November 9th, 1779 Marigny wrote to Garnier about a pair of cabinets on which he intended to place bronze sculpture. He disclaimed any intention of using them as cupboards, writing ". . . comme je ne me soucie point d'ouvrier ces bas d'armoire vous les construirez intérieurement comme bon vous semblera." It is possible that these corner cupboards were the outcome of this letter, but the date of 1779 does not fit these pieces well, as they appear to be at least ten or fifteen years earlier in style. This earlier dating is strengthened by the existence of an engraving for a piece of furniture of very similar form in the fourth volume of plates of Diderot and D'Alembert's *Encyclo-*

9. For a short biography of the marquis de Marigny, see Svend Eriksen, *Early Neo-classicism in France*, 1974, pp. 204-206.

10. Svend Eriksen, "Some letters from the marquis de Marigny to his cabinet-maker Pierre Garnier," *The Journal of the Furniture History Society*, vol. VIII, 1972, p. 84.



Figure 14. One of a pair of corner cupboards by Pierre Garnier, circa 1760-1765.



Figure 15. The stamp "P.GARNIER" for Pierre Garnier, found on the carcass beneath the marble top.

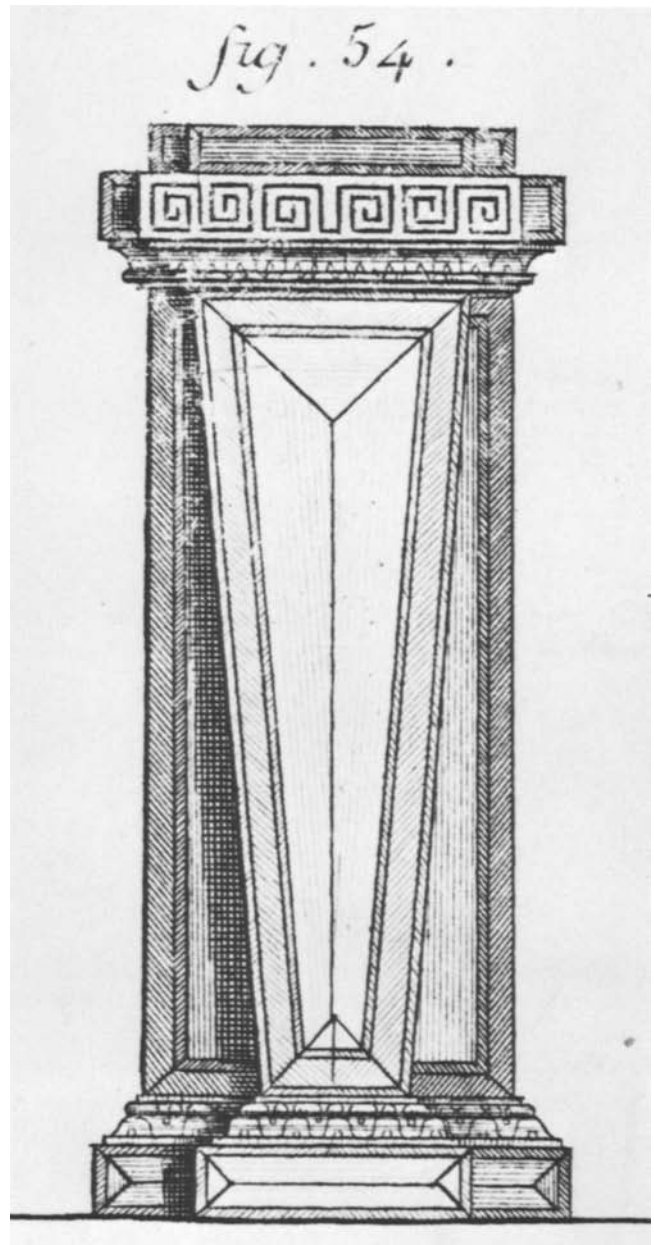


Figure 16. Detail of a plate taken from Diderot and D'Alembert's *Encyclopédie*, from the volume of plates published in 1765.



Figures 17-20. A set of four gilt bronze wall lights made by François-Thomas Germain in 1756.

pédie, which was published in 1765. It too has a narrow tall form, overlaid with a panel tapering towards the base (fig. 16). A Greek key is seen on the frieze, rather than the scrolling mount found on the cupboards.

We also find in the Marigny/Garnier correspondence some discussion concerning their mutual like of ebony, which is so prominent on these pieces.¹¹ Although the suggestion that they were made for the marquis is only tentative, he would have enjoyed their unique form, composed solidly in the newly emergent neoclassical style of which he was such a champion.

If the corner cupboards were designed to support sculpture, the objects must have been fairly small, as they are shallow, the marble slab measuring, at its greatest depth, only sixteen and a half inches. One cupboard is stamped "1" and the other "4," possibly indicating that they were once part of a set of four, one for each corner of a room.

They were acquired by the museum from the dealer Hervé Aaron, New York, who had them from his father Didier Aaron of Paris. They recently belonged to a member of the Spirito-Santo family of Portugal, but their earlier provenance is not known. (See P.S. p. 197.)

4. SET OF FOUR WALL LIGHTS

French (Paris); 1756

No. 1a: Height: 3' 3 1/4" (99.6 cm.) Width: 2' 7/8" (63.2 cm.) Depth: 1' 4 1/8" (41 cm.)

No. 1b: Height: 3' 1 1/4" (94.6 cm.) Width: 1' 11 5/8" (57.5 cm.) Depth: 1' 1 5/8" (34.6 cm.)

No. 2a: Height: 3' 4 1/2" (102.9 cm.) Width: 2' 1" (63.5 cm.) Depth: 1' 1 1/2" (34.3 cm.)

No. 2b: Height: 2' 11 1/8" (89.2 cm.) Width: 1' 10 3/8" (56.8 cm.) Depth: 1' 3 7/8" (40.3 cm.)

Accession number 81.DF.96

Each of these massive wall lights takes the form of two branches of berried laurel, tied with a ribbon bow, which divide and branch out to carry the three candle holders and to form a back plate. The wall lights are in opposed pairs, each pair being different from the other, and none of the four is cast from the same mold. The gilt bronze is either highly chased or carefully stippled. Few areas are left mat. The berries, the ribs of the leaves, and the areas

11. F. H. S., *Ibid*, p. 83, "les meubles en ebène et bronze sont beaucoup plus nobles que les meubles en acajou . . ."



Figure 19.



Figure 20.



Figure 21. Detail showing the inscription: FAIT-PAR-F.T. PAR-F.T.GERMAIN-SCULPT^T.ORF^{RE}-DU-ROY-AUX-GALLERIES-DU-LOUVRE-APARIS 1756.

of the stems which are not covered with bark are burnished. The gilding is slightly worn in places and is of a rich yellow.

Each of one pair of wall lights is inscribed in upper case letters along one side of a branch below the ribbon bow: "FAIT-PAR-F.T. GERMAIN-SCULPT^T. ORF^{RE}-DU-ROY-AUX-GALLERIES-DU-LOUVRE-APARIS 1756" (fig. 21).

François-Thomas Germain (b. 1726, *orfèvre et sculpteur du roi* 1748, d. 1791) was the son of the *orfèvre du roi* Thomas Germain. He had his lodgings and workshop in the galleries of the Palais du Louvre and is, of course, better known for his works in silver. In recent years a number of his pieces have appeared on the market.¹²

Germain's signed works in bronze are rare, and only two, apart from these wall lights, are known today. A pair of massive firedogs made for Madame Infante are in the Musée du Louvre,¹³ and a marble mantelpiece mounted with gilt bronze is in the Bernstorff Palace in Copenhagen.¹⁴ The mounts of this mantelpiece are signed in precisely the same way as the wall lights. Work had begun on the drawings and measurements for the mantelpiece mounts in 1754, and they were on their way to Copenhagen by 1757. These mounts, which are dated 1756, were

thus made at the same time as the museum's wall lights, and the candelabra which branch upwards from the mantelpiece are very similar. They too take the form of branches of laurel with berries, but the design is more cluttered. The branches themselves are almost entirely covered with leaves, and they do not possess the elegance of a certain simplicity of form seen in the lights.

The provenance of the wall lights has been assembled by Pierre Verlet, and the following information was given by him at the conference held by the Société de l'Histoire de l'Art Français in June 1980.¹⁵ The lights were made for Louis-Philippe, duc d'Orléans and were placed in the Palais Royal, which was at the time being redecorated by Contant d'Ivry. In Diderot's *Encyclopédie*, in an article by Jacques-François Blondel concerning the interior decoration of the Palais, two engravings show elevations of walls in the *Salle de Jeu* (fig. 22) and the *Chambre de Parade* (fig. 23), with the wall lights in place. The volume containing these plates was printed in 1762, only six years after the production of the wall lights.

In 1783, at the private sale of the duc d'Orléans's belongings, the wall lights were bought by the Crown through an intermediary, the *bronzier* Feuchère. They were hung three

12. See Jacques Helft; *French Master Goldsmiths and Silversmiths from the Seventeenth to the Nineteenth Century*, 1966, pp. 116–131.

13. Illustrated in *Les Merveilles du Louvre*, vol. III (Collection Réalités), p. 1989. They are inscribed: "FAIT PAR FRANCOIS-THOMAS GERMAIN ORFEVRE DU ROY AUX GALLERIES DU LOUVRE, 1757."

14. "L'enigme de la Cheminée la plus extraordinaire," *Connaissance des Arts*, March, 1959, pp. 86–88.

15. Pierre Verlet's information was used by Alexandre Pradere when he wrote the catalogue entry for the sale of the wall lights at an auction held by Sotheby's in Monaco, June 15, 1981, lots 148 a and b. The wall lights were "bought in" at the sale.

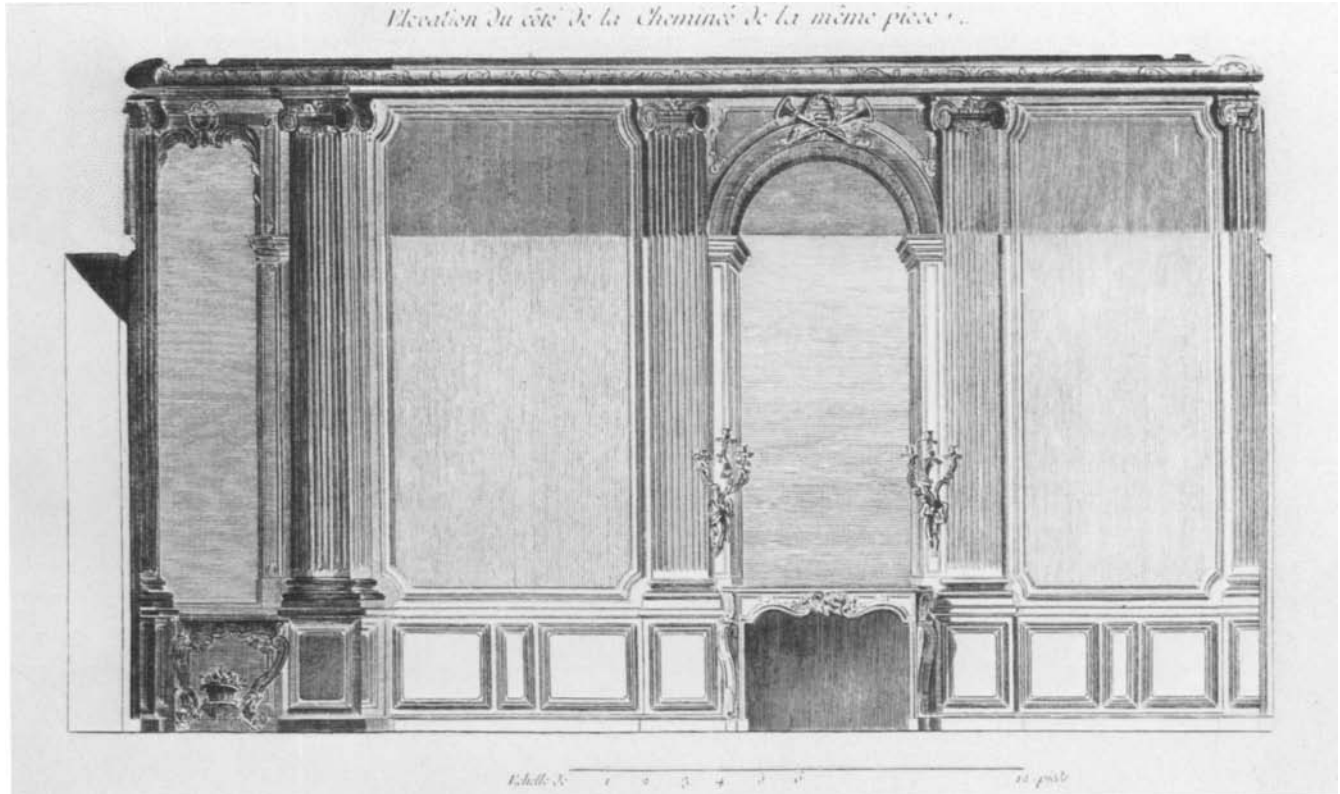


Figure 22. A plate from Diderot and d'Alembert's *Encyclopédie* showing an elevation of the *Salle de Jeu* in the Palais Royal, from the volume of plates printed in 1762.

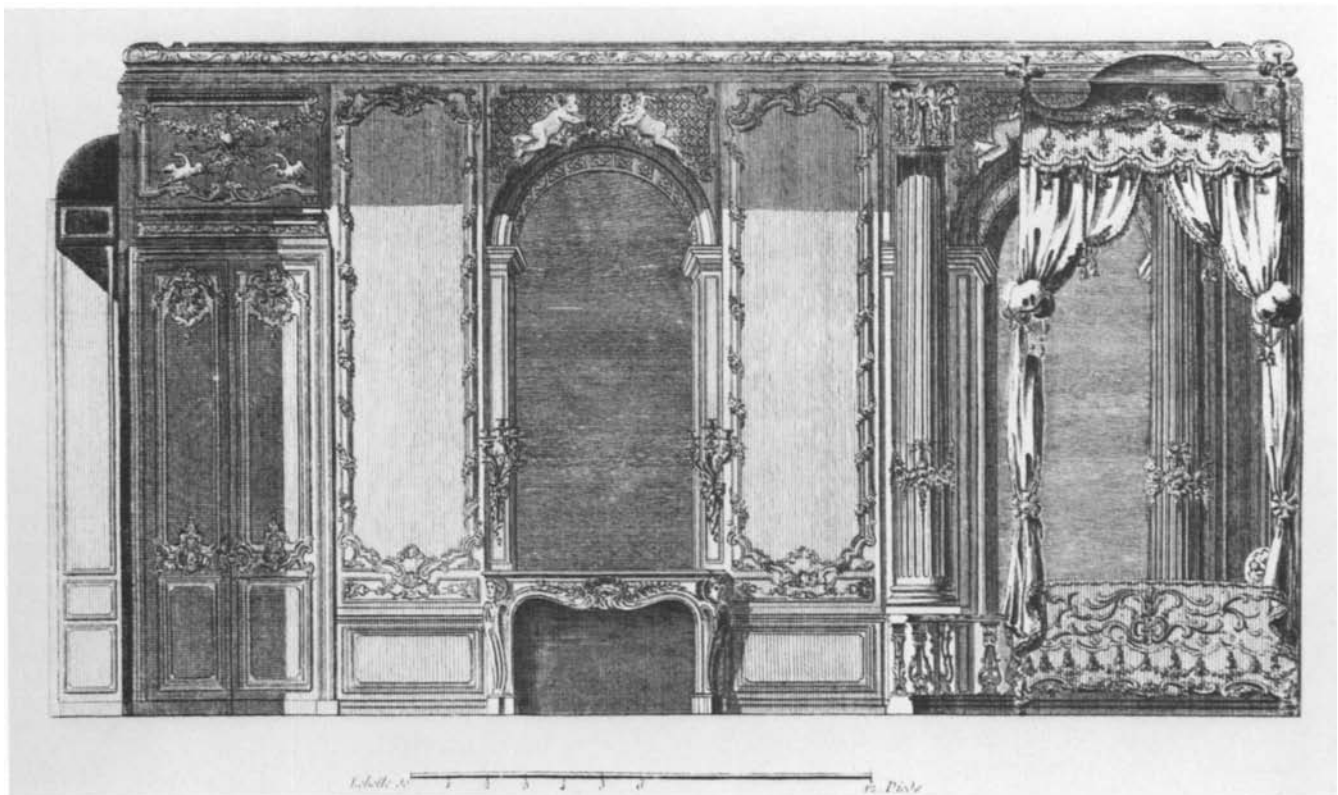


Figure 23. A plate from Diderot and d'Alembert's *Encyclopédie* showing an elevation of the *Chambre de Parade* in the Palais Royal, from the volume of plates printed in 1762.



Figure 24. The inventory mark of the Château de Compiègne, stamped on the back of each of the wall lights.

years later¹⁶ in the *Salon des Nobles de la Reine* in the Château de Compiègne, and each light is marked with a closed crown above the letters “CP,” and the inventory number “N° 28” (fig. 24). They are described as being still in that room in an inventory taken in 1791.¹⁷

At the revolution the wall lights were not included in the great public sales of the contents of the royal residences. They were reserved by the *commission du commerce*, who had the intention of offering them for sale exclusively to foreign buyers. For some reason the sale did not take place, and they were hung in the Palais du Luxembourg.¹⁸ Each light bears the letters and numbers “1051 LUX;” two with an additional “I,” and two with “2” (fig. 25).

It seems that, probably in the late decades of the nine-



Figure 25. The mark and inventory number of the Palais de Luxembourg, which is stamped on all four of the wall lights.

teenth century, they were acquired by the Rothschilds. They were hung at Mentmore, the house that was built by Joseph Paxton in 1853 for Baron Mayer Amschel de Rothschild. His daughter Hannah married Archibald Philip, fifth Earl of Rosebery in 1878, and with her went Mentmore and all its contents. In 1964 the wall lights were sold at Sotheby's.¹⁹ Surprisingly the inscription by Germain was not noticed by the cataloguer nor were the Compiègne marks; only the Luxembourg inventory marks were noted.²⁰

The wall lights were acquired by the museum from a private collector in Switzerland, whose father had bought them from François-Gerard Seligmann after the 1964 auction.

POSTSCRIPT/CONSERVATION OF THE SET OF FOUR WALL LIGHTS

The gilt bronze wall lights are remarkably fine, and the quality of the gilding, chasing, and burnishing is of the highest order. The condition of the objects is generally excellent, with only very small areas of copper corrosion and oxidation of the gilded surface.

The conservation requirements were therefore limited, and the cleaning of the wall lights was approached in a most conservative manner. As there was no coating of lacquer, it was possible to clean the entire surface with deionized water on cotton swabs. The gilt bronze was then buffed with lint-free paper towels (Kimwipes), and this process was repeated as necessary to obtain an even sheen.

The small areas of copper corrosion were removed mechanically with a scalpel, and these areas were then brush coated with benzotriazole (3%) in ethanol to prevent further deterioration.

In a few small areas where the gilded surface had worn

and the bronze had partially oxidized, a minimal amount of Goddards “Glow” on a small Q-tip was used to lighten the color. These areas were buffed with Kimwipes and rinsed off immediately with deionized water to remove any residue and then buffed again.

The various elements of the wall lights are attached with screws of differing dates, the original ones being of brass. The later screws are of steel, and these are to be replaced with brass handmade screws to prevent damage to the gilt bronze through corrosion products.

At the time of purchase two leaves had broken away from no. 2a. These had been repaired at a previous date with adhesive and have again been replaced with a reversible adhesive, for the heat of a soldering torch could have seriously damaged the surrounding areas of gilding.

Barbara Roberts

Conservator of Decorative Arts

16. Max Terrier (conservateur en chef du Musée National du Palais de Compiègne), “L’applique; sa provenance,” *Connaissance des Arts*, November 1968, in which the information is given that on the 27th April 1786 Thierry de Ville d’Avray asked Hauré to find suitable wall lights for Compiègne in the Garde Meubles of Paris and Versailles. These wall lights were found in storage at Versailles, and on the 18th of June Hauré

received the order to have them repaired. Four leaves and two small sprays needed to be re-attached.

17. Arch. Nat. O¹ 3392.

18. Terrier, *op. cit.*, (Arch. Oise 1-Q-II.298).

19. Sotheby’s, London, April 17, 1964, lot 18.

20. The inscription by Germain was first published by Axelle de



Figure 26. Mantel clock (*Pendule à cercles tournant*) attributed to Pierre-Philippe Thomire, circa 1785.

5. MANTEL CLOCK (*Pendule à cercles tournant*)

French (Paris); ca. 1785

Height: 1' 8 ⁷/₈" (53 cm.) Width: 2' 1 ¹/₈" (63.8 cm.)

Depth: 9 ¹/₄" (23.5 cm.)

Accession number 82.DB.2

On a base of white marble are two figures of patinated bronze. The standing woman (fig. 27) on the right is a

Gaigneron in *Connaissance des Arts*, September, 1968, p. 76, "Le 3ème témoin de l'art de F-Th. Germain, Bronzier." The author also published one of the plates showing the Palais Royal interior from the *Encyclopédie*, noting that the wall lights were exceedingly similar to those shown in the elevation.

21. The clock shows two Vestal virgins tending the perpetual flame in

Roman vestal virgin pouring a libation over a flame on a drum-shaped altar, while the second vestal virgin, on one knee, offers a tray supporting a jug and a bottle. Behind the second virgin stands a vase of red marble, draped with a cloth in patinated bronze, while a patinated bronze basket spills gilt bronze flowers before her (fig. 28). Behind the standing figure is a gilt bronze three legged vase, from which issues a plume of smoke in patinated bronze.²¹ The movement of

the Temple of Vesta, the goddess of the hearth. A number of clocks made in the neoclassical period show this theme, with the bronze maidens variously posed around an altar, with jugs and bottles and often musical instruments. The figures on these clocks are frequently attributed to Thomire. As most of the clocks would have been placed on the mantelpiece, the classical theme would be suitably related to the hearth below it.



Figure 28. Detail showing the basket of gilt bronze flowers.



Figure 27. Detail showing the head and shoulders of the vestal virgin on the right.

the clock, which is not signed, is housed in the white marble altar which is surrounded by a procession of gilt bronze figures in relief, one of which carries a vase, while another carries an axe and leads an ox for sacrifice (fig. 29). Above these figures are the double enameled rings of the clock dial. The upper ring is marked with the minutes, the lower with the hours, embellished with gilding and jewelery.

A spray of gilt bronze flowers serves as a pointer for the time and is attached to the removable white marble top of the clock, which also bears the gilt bronze flames carried in a brazier. Rams' heads adorn the upper edge of the altar, which rests on a *verde antique* base.

The white marble plinth is decorated at the sides with garlands of gilt bronze flowers tied with ribbon bows. On the front, a pair of griffons, with acanthus scrolls containing small trophies of the hunt, flank a central mask.

A clock of identical design is shown in a drawing in the Musée des Arts Decoratifs, Paris.²² It has been attributed to Pierre-Philippe Thomire (1751–1843) (fig. 30). The clock stands on a mantelpiece, flanked by standing candelabra, a mounted vase, and a decorative bronze statuette; below are fire dogs. Each half of the drawing differs from the other, and it seems to be intended as a scheme for alternative arrangements. This finished and detailed drawing is maybe a project, but it shows objects already made. The

22. Cliché 5193.



Figure 29. The drum of the altar, with processional figures in gilt bronze with the jewelled and gilded enamel dials above.



Figure 30. A pen and wash drawing at the Musée des Arts Decoratifs, Paris, showing a clock of the same model.

lion on the left-hand firedog very much resembles that lying on a pair of fire-dogs that were modeled by Louis-Simon Boizot (1743–1809) in 1786 for the *Salon de la Paix* at Versailles.²³ These lions were in fact chased by Thomire. The name of Boizot has been suggested as the modeler of the two figures on the clock.²⁴ However, a comparison between the figure of the priestess and a similarly posed figure of Hebe (fig. 31), included in a bronze group also attributed to Boizot in the museum's collection,²⁵ does not reveal many similarities in modeling. A close study of the plaster models by Boizot in the Archives at the Manufacture Nationale de Sèvres may lead to a firmer attribution for these figures.

To return to the drawing, each of the standing candelabra includes elements found in Thomire's known works: the rigidly standing patinated female figures on the right and the griffons which are used as supports on both lights. The writing figure, apparently seated in a lamp, is similar to that found at one side of another mantel clock, apposed by a figure reading, the model of which was made at Sèvres by Boizot. It was reproduced both in Sèvres porcelain and in bronze. When cast in bronze it is usually given to Thomire. The mounts found on the plinth of the aforementioned clock, of which a number of models exist,²⁶ include putti whose lower bodies terminate in scrolls. Similar figures can be seen on the right hand frieze of the mantelpiece in the drawing.²⁷

A close comparison can be made between the scrolls of the mount set onto the base of the clock (fig. 32), and a similar mount found on objects made at the same date by such makers as Adam Weisweiler, Bernard Molitor, and Jean-Henri Riesener. Illustrated (fig. 33) is a mount from the upper frieze of a *secrétaire* by Riesener in the collection.²⁸ The similarities both in the model and in the chasing are apparent. Traditionally these mounts have been given, with no specific documentary evidence, to the *bronzier* Pierre Gouthière (b. 1732, master 1758, d. 1813/14). It is possible that the clock was made by Gouthière and the younger Thomire in collaboration.

A clock in the Musée des Arts Decoratifs,²⁹ composed of bronze nymphs carrying poles on which is balanced a ceramic altar, can be confidently given to Thomire, as the figures repeat those on a clock signed "Thomire & Comp^{ie}." The latter clock is in the British Embassy in



Figure 31. A bronze group showing Hebe rejuvenating Aeson, attributed to Louis-Simon Boizot.

Paris.³⁰ In turn, certain elements of the clock in the Musée des Arts Decoratifs can be found on a clock that was recently on the market in New York.³¹ It has a white marble altar of approximately the same shape, resting on gilt bronze winged sphinxes of the same model, with rams' heads at the corners above. The patinated bronze female figures on the clock resemble those of the museum's clock, and the peculiarly shaped three-pointed bowl holding the flames is of exactly the same model. By these admittedly circuitous routes, it seems that an attribution to Thomire must be more than a mere hypothesis.

Four other clocks of this model are known to exist. One, belonging to Dr. A. S. Ciechanowiecki, was exhibited in the *Age of Neoclassicism* exhibition in 1972.³² It is identical to the museum's clock, with the exception that the circular dials are not gilded and jeweled, that the drum altar is made of metal and not white marble, and that the body of the tripod vase is patinated. A second clock was sold from

23. Cliché 65.DN.2038, Inv. V. 3329.

24. *The Age of Neo-Classicism*, The Royal Academy, London, 1972, no. 1620, p. 759. Entry by William Rieder.

25. Accession number 74.PB.6.

26. Château de Versailles (Inv. V. 3709), delivered by Daguerre to the Château de Saint-Cloud between 1780 and 1785.

27. A mantelpiece of similar form, decorated in a very similar fashion, was sold at Galleries Georges Petit (Paris), June 1–4, 1896, lot 171. The

decorative panels were made in mosaic. I am grateful to Adrian Sassoon for pointing this out to me.

28. Accession number 71.DA.104.

29. Cliché 1711.

30. Alvar Gonzales-Palacios, "Lecteurs," *Connaissance des Arts*, September 1976, p. 11 and 13.

31. At Dalva Bros., New York in 1982.

32. *The Age of Neoclassicism*, *op. cit.*



Figure 32. The gilt bronze mount set onto the base of the clock.



Figure 33. A gilt bronze mount set onto the frieze of a secrétaire by Jean-Henri Riesener.

the collection of the Countess Bismarck in 1980.³³ Its drum is of blue-grey marble, and floral swags replace the processional figures. It is now in a private collection in Paris. A third example is in the collection of the Marquess

of Bath at Longleat, England, and the fourth is in the Musée Municipal Massena in Nice.³⁴

The museum's clock was bought at auction in London in 1981.³⁵ It was previously in a Swedish private collection.

33. Sotheby's, Monte Carlo, May 26, 1980, lot 656.

34. See *Le Mobilier, Style du Premier Empire au Musée Municipal Mas-*

senà Nice (ed. Geurinet, 1928, Paris), pl. 28.

35. Sotheby's, London, December 11, 1981, lot 99.

6. EWER

The porcelain: Chinese (Kangxi); ca. 1680
 The mounts: French (Paris); ca. 1680–1700
 Height: 1' 5 1/2" (44.5 cm.) Width: 1' 2" (35.5 cm.)
 Depth: 5 5/8" (14.4 cm.)
 Accession number 82.DI.3

The ewer is enameled with mythical carp dragons, horned chimera, and the flying horses of Mu Wang, in aubergine, yellow, and white on a green ground. The mounts were added in Paris by an unknown *bronzier* working at the turn of the century (fig. 35).

Chinese ewers of this form are rarely found in Europe. One, unmounted, also enameled with the colors used during the *famille verte* period, is in the Musée Guimet, Paris.³⁶ It has a restored metal spout and is without a handle. It bears three small ceramic lion masks at one side, which are pierced to receive a handle. The museum's ewer still retains two of these masks. An ewer of similar form, of the Ming period and made of cloisonné enamel, was on the London art market in the late 1930s.³⁷ A pair of Chinese ewers of the same model, mounted with gilt bronze, were sold in Paris in 1979.³⁸ They were glazed with a deep violet-blue and bore mounts stylistically datable to about 1765. They reputedly had been given to the duc de Morny by Napoleon III. A similar pair, also of violet-blue color, were sold from the collection of the duc d'Aumont on December 12, 1782. They were described in the sale catalogue as follows:

161 *Deux Buires rondes, à bec de théière, de forme très-élevée, fond bleu foncé de Perse, approchant du violet; garnies de couvercle, gorge, anse en console surmontée d'un dragon, et de pied uni à moulure à godron de bronze doré d'or mat; placées sur socle de prime verte; hauteur, y compris l'anse, 18 pouces.*

Ces deux morceaux rares sont curieux par le simple de leur forme, leur ton de couleur, et par leur bon accord avec le genre sage de leur garniture. Ils viennent de M. de Gaignat. Paillet, pour le Roi..... 1,802 liv.³⁹

From the description, the mounts would appear to have been in the rococo style. The ewers were previously in the collection of M. de Gaignat, *secrétaire du roi*, and were sold

36. Madeleine Paul-David et al., *The World's Great Collections of Oriental Ceramics*, vol. 7 (1981), Musée Guimet, Paris; fig. 132.

37. Illustrated in *Apollo*, vol. XXVII, January to June 1938, p. 277. "Round the Galleries, Drinking through the Ages" held at the Ideal Home Exhibition. It was then in the possession of Spink and Sons, Ltd. London.

38. Palais d'Orsay, Paris, March 28, 1979, lot 18.

39. Baron Charles Davillier, *Le Cabinet du Duc d'Aumont et les Amateurs de son Temps*, 1870, p. 94.

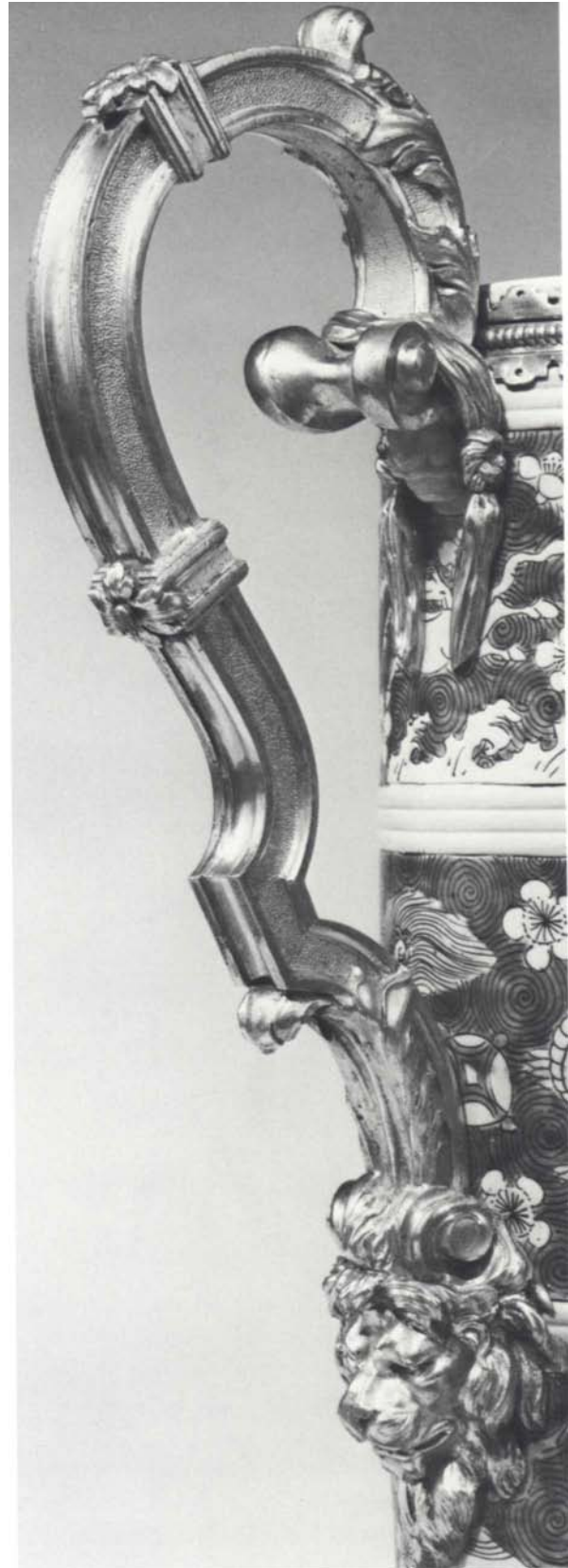


Figure 34. Detail showing the gilt bronze handle of the ewer.



Figure 35. A ewer of Chinese porcelain made in the Kangxi period, with gilt bronze mounts added in Paris circa 1680–1700.

at his sale in 1768 for 1250 *livres*. We see from the above entry that they were acquired by Louis XVI for a considerably higher price. Their present whereabouts is unknown.

The museum's ewer is fitted with gilt bronze mounts that are almost contemporaneous with the porcelain. Such ewers were not made for export, and the piece must have been highly treasured. The large and heavy handle makes the piece very unstable. Indeed it has been broken and

repaired along its upper edge.

The ewer was acquired by the museum from the sale of the famous Parisian dealer, the late Gaston Bensimon.⁴⁰ It was, in the earlier decades of this century, in the collection of the American Edward R. Bacon.⁴¹ At that time it was fitted with a gilt bronze base of nineteenth century date, that was probably removed by Bensimon.

Malibu

40. Hôtel Drouot, November 18th and 19th, 1981, lot 103.

41. John Getz, *Catalogue of Chinese Art Objects collected by Edward R. Bacon* 1919, no. 65, pl. XII, p. 31.

Two Acquisitions of Sèvres Porcelain by the Getty Museum, 1981

Adrian Sassoon

1. CUP AND SAUCER

French (Sèvres): 1781

Soft paste porcelain

Cup, H: 6.9 cm. (2 ¾") W: 9.4 cm. (3 1/16")

Saucer, H: 3.6 cm. (1 7/16") Ø: 13.5 cm. (5 3/16")

Accession number 81.DE.28

This soft paste Sèvres porcelain cup and saucer, shown in figs. 1–7, has recently been acquired by the Department of Decorative Arts. It is of a shape called a *Gobelet Litron*, which was produced at Vincennes from 1752.¹ This example is the second largest of five sizes produced in this shape. The cup and deep saucer are decorated with a brown ground color and raised foils of gilding with thick enamel drops, imitating jewelery. The cup has a painted reserve, set in a cartouche of raised gilding,² depicting a girl kneeling before a statue of Cupid with sheep and a dog in a garden. Both the cup and the saucer are also set with two ovals of porcelain painted with cameo-style profile portraits. The cup and saucer are unbroken, though some of the “jewels” are missing. One of the cameo portraits is no longer glued to its bed of raised gilding on the saucer.

The cup bears the crossed “L’s” mark of the Sèvres manufactory on its base (fig. 6) enclosing the date letters “DD” for 1781, all painted in blue. It is also incised with the two *répailleurs’* marks “36a” and “6”—one for the modeler of the cup, the other probably for the *anseur* who applied the handle. The cup bears the triangular mark of the painter Capelle,³ also in blue. The saucer is incised with the

répailleurs’ mark “44” in two places and is painted in blue with the crossed “L’s” mark enclosing the date letters “DD” (fig. 7). It also bears the triangular mark of Capelle, in blue, and the initials “LG” in gold—the mark of the gilder Etienne-Henry Le Guay.⁴ The elaborate gilding on the cup and saucer is partly composed of foils formed by steel dies.⁵ The dies were mostly designed by Jean-Baptiste-Etienne Genest,⁶ who was at that time the head of the artists’ studio at Sèvres. They were made by the Parisian engraver Le Guay. The gold foils are partly overlaid with globules of transparent and opaque enamel, in red, orange, green, and white, imitating pearls and jewels. The gold seems to have been applied to the object with a blue fixative, which one can also see on other pieces of Sèvres porcelain decorated in this manner. Figures 4 and 5 show the two sides of an oval piece of porcelain on which one of the cameo portraits is painted. It has become detached from the saucer, where it was glued over one of the elaborate gold foils. The oval is impressed on the reverse side with the pattern of the foil, so that it would fit in position more easily. This is puzzling for two reasons. Bearing in mind the cost of an elaborate gold foil, one would not expect it to be covered with an opaque plaque of porcelain. On this cup, one finds that some smaller areas gilded and tooled in this manner are overlaid with transparent enamel colors, so that the gilding is visible beneath. Even more unusual is the fact that the impressed side of the oval piece fits the shape of the gilding. The porcelain would have to be impressed with the design of the gold when wet and unfired, and it

* I would like to thank Gillian Wilson for giving me the opportunity to write this article, and for all of her encouragement and information. Also I would like to thank Rosalind Savill, of the Wallace Collection, for her continual generosity with information. I am immensely grateful to Geoffrey de Bellaigue, Surveyor of the Queen’s Works of Art, for his generosity and advice. He has allowed me to use a great deal of information of his finding from his exhibition catalogue of *Sèvres porcelain from the Royal Collection*, The Queen’s Gallery, 1979–1980, and information that he has prepared for his forthcoming book about the Louis XVI service.

1. M. Brunet and T. Préaud, *Sèvres, Des origines à nos jours*, Fribourg, 1978, p. 108.

2. An identical cartouche of gilding and enameling is on a *gobelet litron et soucoupe* formerly in the Chester Beatty Collection. The reserve is painted with a boy and a dolphin; the ground of the cup is a brown color.

Other details of the gilding and enameling are identical to the museum’s cup, including the gilded rosette in the centre of the saucer and the bands of enameled pearls. I thank Rosalind Savill of the Wallace Collection for drawing this cup and saucer to my attention.

3. Active at Vincennes and Sèvres 1746–1800. M. Brunet and T. Préaud, *op. cit.*, p. 358.

4. Active at Vincennes and Sèvres periodically 1749–1796. M. Brunet and T. Préaud, *op. cit.*, p. 371.

5. G. de Bellaigue, *Sèvres Porcelain from the Royal Collection*, The Queen’s Gallery, London, 1979–1980, p. 114. Also, G. de Bellaigue, “Sèvres Artists and their sources, I: Paintings and Drawings,” *The Burlington Magazine*, October 1980, p. 668.

6. Active at Vincennes and Sèvres 1752–1788. M. Brunet and T. Préaud, *op. cit.*, p. 366.



Figure 1. Cup and saucer (*gobelet litron et soucoupe*), French (Sèvres); 1781. Painted by Capelle, gilded by Le Guay. Brown ground.

would have contracted in the kiln, reducing the size of the impression as compared to that on the gold. It is therefore more likely that the die was engraved after the oval piece of porcelain had been prepared, to stamp the gold foil to the correct size—an extraordinary elaboration. A *gobelet litron et soucoupe*, formerly in the Chester Beatty Collection, with a *bleu nouveau* ground, also bears these profile portraits, painted as cameos on oval pieces of translucent enamel. They are set in gilded borders, two have become detached showing flat gilded surfaces underneath, rather than the elaborate gilding found on the museum's example.⁷

The origin of the painted scene on the cup has not yet been traced, but the source of design of the four profile portraits is known.⁸ In 1776 Empress Catherine II of Russia had ordered a soft paste porcelain dinner service from the Sèvres manufactory. It was not only to be a service of

extensive size but also to be decorated with new designs on specially modeled shapes. A part of the decoration was of specially commissioned hardstone cameos, which were affixed with gold bands. These were only to be placed on larger elements of the service, the smaller pieces being decorated with ovals painted with profiles in *grisaille*, imitating cameos. A sheet of twelve outline designs for these profiles exists at Sèvres, giving the names of the gods and goddesses depicted. Handwriting on the reverse of this sheet explains that the designs, printed onto paper, were placed on the porcelain in the kiln so that when the paper burnt off, the outline design would remain. This would later be filled in by a painter. On the museum's cup, these profiles depict Juno and Ammon; and on the saucer, Jupiter Capitolinus and Omphale (the latter now detached).⁹ In June 1781 one of the Le Guays working at Sèvres is recorded as receiving 18 *livres* for his work on "6

7. Sold, Sotheby's, London, November 15, 1955, lot 108. I thank Rosalind Savill for bringing this cup and saucer to my attention.

8. I thank Rosalind Savill for bringing these designs for my attention.

9. The plaque which has become unglued is displayed beside the



Figure 2. The cup shown in fig. 1.

petites camés sur émaille à 3 (livres),” and again for similar work in November of that year.¹⁰ This is interesting as it states that the cameos were painted onto enamel rather than onto porcelain directly, as in the case of the cup and saucer from the Chester Beatty Collection.

By the early 1780s, the Sèvres manufactory was producing a large variety of decorative patterns, especially on small items such as cups and saucers. These were not intended so much for use or to be a part of tea services but to be gifts or collectors' items. Thus one finds the use of many ground colors of unusual tones, such as the brown ground of this cup and saucer. We are not sure how this brown ground was described at Sèvres. The kiln registers for painted decoration¹¹ show that on July 30th, 1781 two *gobelets litron*, 2^{eme} grandeur fond boue de Paris were fired; Le Guay is named to have been their gilder. Included in the same firing was a pair of cups, their ground color

saucer in the museum so that one can see the gold foil and the impressed design on the plaque.

10. I thank Rosalind Savill for this information from the Sèvres Archives, F 23 for 1781, *Recettes et Despensés*.

11. I thank Geoffrey de Bellaigue, Surveyor of the Queen's Works of Art, for this information from the kiln registers.

12. Active at Vincennes and Sèvres periodically 1755-1806. M. Brunet and T. Préaud, *op. cit.*, p. 376.

13. I thank Rosalind Savill for this information from the *Régistres des Peintres*.

14. A further eighteenth century description for the brown ground colours used at Sèvres has been communicated to me by Sir Francis Watson. Rose Bertin, hat and dressmaker to Marie-Antoinette, apparently called these colors “*caca Dauphin*.”

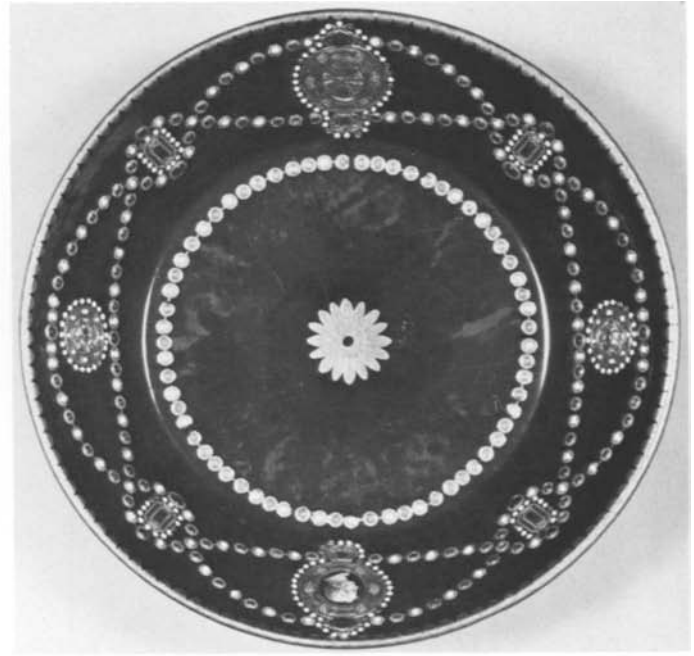


Figure 3. The saucer shown in fig. 1.

described as *fond marron*. These names may describe the brown color of the museum's cup and saucer. Alternatively there is an entry for the painter Philippe Parpette¹² in the *Régistres des Peintres* before April 3rd, 1781¹³ for a *fond merde d'oise*, which certainly implies a dark greenish brown color. The same records include a *fond noisette* in 1783.¹⁴ This illustrates the variety of brown shades in use which might be that on the museum's cup and saucer.¹⁵

Jeweled Sèvres is recorded in the factory registers from 1773, referred to as “*émaillée*” or as “*en émaux*.” This decoration was not fashionable until some years later, and it was chiefly used on vases or on small gifts. In 1784 Louis XVI gave King Gustav III of Sweden a very lavish *gobelet litron et soucoupe* decorated with jewelry and a portrait of its donor.¹⁶ The most lavish example of jeweled Sèvres porcelain was the toilet set given to Maria Feodorovna, wife of the future Czar Paul I of Russia, when she came to

15. This brown ground colour is highly uncommon. The auction of Mrs. Lyne Stephens of May 9-17, 1895 at Christie, Manson and Woods, London, includes a pair of *seaux* as lot 51. These are described as having a chocolate-coloured ground and jeweled decoration. A cup and saucer with “chocolate ground” is found as part of lot 36 in the sale of porcelain at Christie, Manson and Woods on November 29, 1901. It is described as “gilt with laurel festoons, and painted with heads in grisaille on chocolate ground in pendant medallions.” This would seem to be similar in decoration to the museum's cup and saucer. Other brown grounds referred to include two plates in the sale of the collection of Mr. W. J. Goode, Christie, Manson and Woods, London, July 17 and 18, 1895, lots 17 and 19, the former dated for 1782.

16. Illustrated pp. 232-233, *Les Porcelainiers du XVIII^e siècle français*, preface by S. Gauthier, Paris 1964.



Figure 4. Porcelain plaque, detached from the saucer.



Figure 5. Reverse of the porcelain plaque shown in fig. 4.



Figure 6. Marks on the base of the cup shown in fig. 1.



Figure 7. Marks on the base of the saucer shown in fig. 1.

Paris in 1782. It was extremely expensive, costing 75,000 *livres*,¹⁷ and is still at Pavlovsk.

The original purchaser of the museum's cup and saucer is not known. The base of the saucer bears a paper label (fig. 7) with the names of the Marchioness of Conyngham and R. M. Wood. Indeed the cup is identifiable in the Christie's auctions of their collections: the former in 1908,¹⁸ and the latter in 1919.¹⁹ Elizabeth, Marchioness of Conyngham, was a mistress of George IV, who presented her with large quantities of works of art, including Sèvres porcelains. This cup and saucer is not

17. M. Brunet and T. Préaud, *op. cit.*, pp. 207–208, nos. 249–251, illustrated.

18. Christie, Manson and Woods, London, May 4, 1908, and the three following days, lot 289. *The Property of the Marchioness of Conyngham, deceased, late of 36 Belgrave Square, S.W., and The Mount, Ascot*. Bought by Harding for 162 guineas 15 shillings.

19. Christie, Manson and Woods, London, May 27, 1919, lot 96. *The collection of porcelain formed by R. M. Wood Esq., of 12 Arlington Street, S.W.* Bought by Mallet for 152 guineas 5 shillings.

20. I thank Geoffrey de Bellaigue for this information.

recorded, however, as having been such a present,²⁰ though items of jeweled Sèvres similar to this were in George IV's collection.²¹ The cup and saucer was bought by Mallet at the Napier sale in 1919, but that firm's records were destroyed in the second World War, so we cannot tell to whom it was sold.²² It was sold in 1943 at auction in New York from the collection of the late Mrs. Henry Walters of Baltimore.²³ The cup and saucer was later in a private collection in New York and was sold at auction in 1977.²⁴ It was acquired by the museum from the New York dealer Armin Allen. (See P.S. p. 197.)

21. *Sèvres Porcelain in the Royal Collection*, *op. cit.*, see nos. 121 and 126. The Marchioness of Conyngham also owned a green ground *gobelet litron et soucoupe* of very similar decoration, which was also in R. M. Woods' collection and which was sold again in 1980.

22. I thank Francis Egerton for this information.

23. Parke-Bernet Galleries, Inc., New York, November 30, December 1–4, 1943, lot 1009. *Property from the Estate of the Late Mrs. Henry Walters*.

24. Christie, Manson and Woods, Inc., New York, December 3, 1977, lot 166.



Figure 8. Wine bottle cooler (*Seau à bouteille*), French (Sèvres); circa 1790. From a dinner service ordered by Louis XVI in 1798. Painted scene taken from engraving shown in fig. 10, attributed to C.-E. Asselin. *Bleu nouveau* ground.

2. WINE BOTTLE COOLER

French (Sèvres); circa 1790

Soft paste porcelain

Dimensions: height: 18.9 cm. (7 $\frac{7}{16}$ "
width: 25.8 cm. (10 $\frac{3}{16}$ "

Accession number 82.DE.5

In 1783 Louis XVI commissioned from the Sèvres manufactory a dinner service for his use at Versailles. It was to consist of four hundred and forty-five pieces, and the production was planned to be completed in 1803, over a period of twenty years. With the revolution, and

the execution of Louis XVI in 1793, the service was never completed, although one hundred and ninety-seven pieces were made.²⁵

The Department of Decorative Arts has acquired a wine bottle cooler from this service from the dealers Winifred Williams and Armin Allen (figs. 8, 9, and 12). It is one of nine produced, of an intended twenty four of this shape. This size, the *seau à bouteille ordinaire*, was made as a cooler for a full-sized bottle of wine,²⁶ and was probably modeled in 1753, in the studio which was at that time under the direction of Jean-Claude Duplessis (active at Vincennes from 1745²⁷). The deep circular bowl stands on a moulded

base. The Louis XVI service *seau* is of the model redesigned in about 1770.

27. M. Brunet and T. Préaud, *Sèvres, op. cit.*, p. 364.

25. M. Brunet, S. Grandjean, and P. Verlet, *Sèvres*, Paris, 1953, p. 219.
26. S. Eriksen, *The James A. de Rothschild Collection at Waddesdon Manor*; *Sèvres Porcelain*, Fribourg, 1968. Cat. no. 1, p. 36. The model underwent two slight modifications to the mouldings of the rim and the



Figure 9. Detail showing the painted scene on the opposite side of the *seau* from that shown in fig. 8. Taken from the engraving shown in fig. 11.



Figure 10. Engraving by G. Haas after J.-B.-M. Pierre entitled *Hercule et Diomède*.



Figure 11. Engraving by J.-B. Tilliard after C. Monnet entitled *Mentor propose la paix aux ennemis qui venoient assieger Salente*. Chapin Library, Williams College, Williamstown, Mass.



Figure 12. Detail of the gilded decoration of the *seau*.

footring²⁸ and has two scrolled handles. The decoration consists of two circular painted reserves set on a dark-blue ground (*bleu nouveau*) with elaborate patterns of gilding. The painted scenes on this dinner service were taken from engravings illustrating mythological stories,²⁹ including Ovid's *Métamorphoses* and François de Salignac de la Mothe-Fénelon's *Les Aventures de Télémaque*. Figure 9 shows a scene from the latter on the *seau*, entitled *Mentor propose la paix aux ennemis qui venoient assieger Salente*, which was taken from an edition ordered by Louis XVI from F.-A. Didot *l'aîné* in 1782. The engravings by Jean-Baptiste Tilliard were published from 1773 after designs by Charles Monnet (1732–1808) (fig. 11). The scene shown in fig. 8 has recently been identified by Geoffrey de Bellaigue. It is taken from an engraving entitled *Hercule et Diomède* by Georg Haas after Jean-Baptiste-Marie Pierre (1713–1789) (fig. 10). The *seau* bears no factory marks of a date letter, painter, or gilder,³⁰ but Geoffrey de Bellaigue has attributed the painted scenes on stylistic grounds to Charles-Eloi Asselin (active at Sèvres 1765–1798 and 1800–1804).³¹ The painted decorations on the pieces of this service were to be particularly lavish, and this alone accounted for a half of the cost of each plate. The painters employed at Sèvres who worked on the decoration of this service were Charles-Eloi Asselin, Charles-Nicholas Dodin, Claude-Charles Gérard (*chef des peintres* at Sèvres), Pierre-André Le Guay, François-Pascal Philippine, Nicolas-Pierre and Pierre-Nicolas Pithou, and Claude-Antoine Didier. It is not known who carried out the gilding on this *seau*, which consists of finely chased and burnished arabesque patterns with flowers and foliage, corn-husk swags, and running piastre borders to the painted reserves.³² Other pieces of this service are signed by the gilders Etienne-Henry Le Guay, Henri-Martin Prévost and Vincent *le jeune*.

Elaborate new models such as wine coolers and others of the large elements of the dinner service were not created for Louis XVI as they had been for Catherine II of Russia when she commissioned a Sèvres service in the late 1770s.³³ As mentioned above, the shape of this *seau* à

28. The footring of the museum's *seau* has at some point become detached from the bowl of the object. It has since been pinned in place. Both the base of the bowl and the inside of the footring are scratched with the monogram "WJG" for W. J. Goode. This indicates that the two pieces separated while they were in his collection (between 1877 and 1895). It is likely that they were both monogrammed at that time as a form of identification for the repairer.

29. G. de Bellaigue, "Sèvres Artists and their Sources, II: Engravings," *The Burlington Magazine*, November 1980, pp. 748–759.

30. The bowl is incised "38," and the footring is incised "5." These are the marks of the moulders (*répareurs*).

31. M. Brunet and T. Préaud, *op. cit.*, p. 354.

32. The design of the gilded decoration varies slightly on different *seaux* made for this service. One is illustrated in G. F. Laking, *Sèvres*

bouteille was modeled in 1752 at Vincennes. The museum's piece was made most probably in 1790, so that the shape was nearly forty years old, and an object designed in the rococo period. Many rococo models were still in use at Sèvres in the neoclassical period, mainly in the form of vases and the larger tableware objects. Also in the Getty collection there is a pair of *seaux à bouteilles ordinaires* of the same model under discussion. They are dated for 1792 and are the vehicle for the relatively rare and expensive black ground with platinum and gold decoration of oriental scenes on a hard paste body.³⁴ Despite this apparent economy in the choice of models, this dinner service for Louis XVI was to be the most lavish of all the services made at Sèvres in the eighteenth century. Here follows, for comparison, a selection of prices for *seaux* and for plates from some of the most famous and expensive services produced there.³⁵

YEAR	GROUND COLOUR	CLIENT	PRICE OF A SEAU	PRICE OF A PLATE
1763	Bleu Lapis	Given by Louis XV to the Duchess of Bedford	216 l.	42 l.
1771	Bleu Céleste	Given by Louis XV to the future Gustav III of Sweden	204 l.	36 l.
1772	Bleu Céleste	Louis, Cardinal Prince de Rohan	204 l.	36 l.
1779	Bleu Céleste	Catherine II of Russia	1260 l.	242 l.
1782	Green	Comte d'Artois	228 l.	60 l.
1783–93	Bleu Nouveau	Louis XVI	960 l.	480 l.

As can be seen, the plates for the King's service were much more expensive than those for Catherine II,³⁶ and more than ten times the price of plates in the lavish services made for other wealthy nobles. This was due to the very elaborate decoration on each piece. For the King's service, plainer plates were also made. These do not have painted reserves but a border of blue with gilding of scroll-

Porcelain of Buckingham Palace and Windsor Castle, London, 1907, plate 59. It does not have the swag of corn husks running beneath the circular painted reserve; this is also noticeable on other *seaux* in the Royal Collection.

33. M. Brunet and T. Préaud, *op. cit.*, pp. 198–199.

34. Accession number 72.DE.53. Illustrated: G. Wilson, *Decorative Arts in the J. Paul Getty Museum*, Malibu, 1977, p. 100, no. 131.

35. For further details of these services, see the exhibition of *Les Grands Services de Sèvres*, 1951, Musée National de Céramique, Sèvres. Catalogue by M. Brunet and S. Grandjean, preface by P. Verlet.

36. The *seaux à bouteilles* for Catherine II's service were much more expensive than those made for Louis XVI, as they were of a specially modeled shape of great elaboration and were mounted with hardstone cameos in addition to the painted and gilded decoration.

ing foliage. These were to be used for eating off, as knives would not be used over the expensive painted plates for fear of damaging them. Even these plainer plates cost the King 60 *livres*, making them more expensive than most painted and gilded plates supplied with other, even royal, services.³⁷

It would appear that there were two very practical reasons for the long production schedule of the King's service. Firstly the cost which was, to say the least, enormous—in total an account of 164,390 *livres* was anticipated, to be met by annual payments of about 7,000 *livres*. Secondly only the more experienced and skilled of the workers at Sèvres were to make these pieces, and the quantity of work split between a limited number of men necessitated a long production schedule to achieve the four hundred and forty-five pieces ordered. The most elaborate elements of the service, with four painted reserves, could take an artist twelve to fifteen months to complete, depending on the number of figures in each scene. A timetable for the production of the various elements of the service exists in the Archives Nationales in Paris,³⁸ written in the King's own hand. The major part is in pencil, written over in ink as each item was delivered, until December 1791. The last recorded payment was made on January 13, 1792, though pieces of this service exist with the date letters "PP" for 1793. A printed booklet, probably dating from 1794, also exists, listing the pieces produced between 1783 and 1790, with the details of the decoration described. This provides an incomplete record of the production, since other pieces are known to have been made between 1790 and 1793. The booklet has been shown by Geoffrey de Bellaigue to be inaccurate concerning the deliveries of certain elements in various years. The records at Sèvres of payments received on objects actually leaving the factory can surely be relied upon to be more accurate, and the two sources

do not give the same information. In this way a picture of the production of the elements of the service and their decoration has been built up by Geoffrey de Bellaigue, who will publish this information in his forthcoming book on the service, the major part of which is in the British royal collection.

A group of one hundred and twenty-five pieces from this service was auctioned at Versailles between June 28 and July 7, 1794, in the post-revolutionary sales. This group, with others made after 1790, was bought by the Prince Regent³⁹ in 1810 and 1811. The museum's *seau* was exhibited in London in 1862⁴⁰ from the collection of Robert Napier of Glasgow and was sold with his collection in 1877,⁴¹ one of five pieces from the Louis XVI service owned by him. It then entered the large collection of Sèvres porcelain belonging to W. J. Goode in London and was sold at auction in 1895.⁴² Its later provenance is not known until 1980, when it was sold at auction in London.⁴³ As stated above, there were nine *seaux* of the full size completed for this service. Of these, five are in the British royal collection⁴⁴ and one is now in the J. Paul Getty Museum. One of the remaining three *seaux* was sold in the same auction in 1877 as the museum's example⁴⁵ and was later sold from the collections of W. J. Goode in 1895,⁴⁶ of T. W. Waller in 1910⁴⁷ and of Asher Wertheimer in 1920.⁴⁸ The two remaining *seaux* are illustrated in the 1910 auction catalogue of the collection of Octavius E. Coope.⁴⁹ They came from the collection of the Earl of Kilmorey and were bought by Asher Wertheimer, but they do not appear in the auction catalogue of the latter's collection in 1920. Pieces of the Louis XVI service are still in various private collections in England, such as the three pieces at Luton Hoo⁵⁰ and others at Harewood House and Upton House. In France only one piece is known to exist—a tray for a mustard pot—acquired by the Louvre.

37. Ten of these plain plates are now at the British Royal Collection. The sales records indicate that thirty-six of this type were produced. See P. Verlet, *Le Grand Service de Sèvres du Roi Louis XVI*, Faenza, 1948, vol. 34, pp. 120–121. The present whereabouts of the remaining twenty-six of these plainer plates is not known to the author.

38. Archives Nationales K. 506. Illustrated in exhibition catalogue *George IV and the Arts of France*, The Queen's Gallery, 1966, no. 73.

39. The Prince Regent, later George IV, ruled 1820–1830.

40. South Kensington Museum, London. Special Loan Exhibition of Works of Art, June 1862, no. 1323, p. 122.

41. Christie, Manson and Woods, London, April 11, 1877, and eight following days, *Catalogue of the Celebrated Assemblage of Works of Art and Vertu, known as The Shandon Collection, formed during the last half-century by that well-known Amateur, Robert Napier, Esq., Deceased, late of Glasgow*, lot 347.

42. Christie, Manson and Woods, London, July 17, 1895, and the following day, lot 136. *Collection of Old Sèvres Porcelain formed by the late Mr. W. J. Goode, of South Audley Street*. Goode owned eighteen pieces from the Louis XVI service.

43. Sotheby Parke Bernet and Co., London, October 21, 1980, lot 207. Sold from an English private collection.

44. G. F. Laking, *op. cit.*, p. 133.

45. Christie, Manson and Woods, London, April 11, 1877, lot 346. *Collection of Robert Napier Esq.* The present whereabouts of this *seau* is not known to the author.

46. Christie, Manson and Woods, London, July 17, 1895 and the following day, lot 135. *Collection of Old Sèvres Porcelain formed by the late Mr. W. J. Goode of South Audley Street*.

47. Christie, Manson and Woods, London, June 7, 1910, and the two following days, lot 171. *Collection of Porcelain etc . . . formed by T. W. Waller, Esq., Deceased, late of 10 Westbourne Street, W.* Purchased by A. Wertheimer for 630 Guineas.

48. Christie, Manson and Woods, London, June 16, 1920, and the following day, lot 29. *Catalogue of the remaining stock . . . of Mr. Asher Wertheimer, deceased, late of 159 New Bond Street, W.*

49. Christie, Manson and Woods, London, May 3, 1920, and the two following days, lot 170, illustrated. . . . *Collection . . . formed by Octavius E. Coope, Esq. deceased, late of Rochetts, near Brentwood, Essex.*

50. In the collection at Luton Hoo, Bedfordshire, there is a pair of plates from the Louis XVI service, acc. no. E2, from the Goode sale of 1895, and a *plateau*, acc. no. E3, from the Napier sale of 1877 and the Goode sale of 1895.

Notes on Some Archaic Attic Sculpture

Jiří Frel

Study of the fragmentary Attic archaic grave relief in the J. Paul Getty Museum (details figs. 4 and 7)¹ raises several questions, including the relationship of the sculptor to the other artists of the archaic period. Hence, an attempt at a partial² review of the more or less accepted attributions is presented here as a preliminary together with some other observations. The references are kept to the indispensable minimum.³

1. A DETAIL OF THE NEW YORK KOUROS

The author's first face-to-face encounter with the statue (October 1969) instantly evaporated any misgivings instilled in Paris (1946–1948), where the doubts about the New York kouros were an article of creed.⁴ While the first glance exposed the idiosyncrasies of the hulking youth, prolonged familiarity from 1970 to 1972 helped to understand the masterpiece on its own. It has nothing to do with the Sounion colossi: the hair style is different and the back of the New York statue is more subtle, and the treatment of some details like knees and wrists is more sophisticated. The New York kouros is akin to but not by the same hand as the Dipylon head and hand to which other fragments found in the Agora seem to belong. Repeated observations also made obvious a detail which, surely observed by others, seems nevertheless to have been stated nowhere in black and white.⁵ The New York kouros has thumbs with three phalanges and the other fingers with four—one more than nature.

The next visit to Athens (December 1971) brought the eagerly expected confirmation of what can be well seen on

two plates of *Kouros* (figs. 35, 60, 62, 63, 67, 68): not only the New York statue but all other extant earliest Attic kouros exhibit the superfluous phalanges: the more complete Sounion colossus, the Kalligá hand, the Dipylon and the Agora hands.

On return to New York, the detail was told to Dietrich von Bothmer, who interrupted the report with an indulgent smile: he had known it for years.

2. THE AUTHENTICITY OF THE KOUROS FROM ANAVYSOS

The hefty youth still enjoys a very bad reputation in Paris.⁶ Disregarding various misinterpretations of his style (which he shares with the standing Berlin goddess, who is perfectly genuine but indeed not the prettiest girl the Attic soil has ever produced), the main point of accusation remains his poor behaviour under ultraviolet examination, where his surface produced a consistent dull, dark purple coloration.⁷ However, this may perhaps be explained. In some old photographs, the kouros appears considerably darker than he is today in Athens, and this previous color may or may not have been the natural patina. Anyone working in a museum has experienced a common practice of some dealers and collectors: to mask the light spots on marble, to unite and embellish the patina, they cover the surface with a thick wash of Attic red clay. This produces the purple coloration under ultraviolet light, leading to the doubts about the authenticity. A new examination of the Kouros could perhaps provide more accurate results. On the other hand, the statue is not easy to classify. It still waits for a convincing attribution to a definite sculptor.⁸

Abbreviations:

AMA: H. Payne, *Archaic Marble Sculpture from the Acropolis*, second edition (1951)

(J.) Boardman: *Greek Archaic Sculpture* (1980)

(M. S.) Brouskari: *The Acropolis Museum* (1974)

(W.) Deyhle: "Meisterfragen der archaischen Plastik Attikas," *AM* 84 (1969) 1ff.

Gravestones: G. M. A. Richter, *The Archaic Gravestones of Attica* (1961).

Korai, G. M. A. Richter, *Archaic Greek Maidens* (1968).

Kouros, G. M. A. Richter, *Kouros, Archaic Greek Youths* (revised ed., 1960).

1. To be published in a volume to the memory of Jean Deshayes. The museum is preparing a booklet about the monument.

2. For the exhaustive list, see the discussion by Deyhle with additions by G. Schmidt, *AM* 84 (1969) 65 ff. and U. Knigge, *ib.* 96ff.

3. Omitted are references to *AMA* (quoted in the second edition of Payne) and to A. Raubitschek, *Dedications*, as the questions of the associations of monuments with epigraphic signatures are not considered here.

4. But in his classes, Pierre de la Coste-Messelière always emphasized that whoever really saw the marble praised its patina, while his own skepticism lacked direct knowledge of the piece.

5. E.g., not in any edition of *Kouros*.

6. See the summary by Ch. Picard, *REG* 51 (1938) 93.

7. Reported independently by three teachers of mine who attended the seance of examination and remained unanimously negative: Pierre de la Coste-Messelière, Jean Charbonneaux, and Pierre Devambe.

8. The consideration *AAA* 9 (1976) 258 sqq. is considered inoperative by its own author; various suggestions in Deyhle are tentative at best.

3. THE RAMPIN MASTER

Nothing new can be said but the satisfaction that the arduous attribution proposed by A. Rumpf⁹ fifty years ago holds firm in spite of some dissident voices.¹⁰ It remains a model of its kind, attributed not by painful comparison of many details or by typological juxtaposition but by understanding of the style of a great master, perceiving directly the *Struktur* of the work (if such a word could ever have been admitted by men like Rumpf or La Coste) and the identical sensation of a physical and magical presence both sculptures produce.

Thanks to the new photographs in Brouskari, the impression one has when the light is favorable in the Acropolis Museum can be confirmed. The female head Acropolis 654,¹¹ may be a very early work by the same hand; it must date before mid century, while the Rider¹² Rampin-Payne dates about 550, the Peplos Kore¹³ about 530.

4. TYPOLOGY AGAINST ATTRIBUTION

Here is the list:

1. "Payne"¹⁴head.
Acropolis 643. Payne pls. 70–71, 96.1; *Korai* no. 128, figs. 417–419; Deyhle pl. 6, 1; Brouskari fig. 122; Boardman pl. 154.
2. "Daughter" of the Peplos Kore.
Acropolis 673. Payne pls. 62–64; *Korai* no. 117, figs. 368, 372; Deyhle pl. 6.2; Brouskari figs. 114–115; Boardman pl. 152.
3. The Kore in "sweater."
Acropolis 670. Payne pls. 65–67; *Korai* no. 119, figs. 377–380; Deyhle pl. 7.2; Brouskari figs. 131–132; Boardman pl. 153.
4. Kore.
Acropolis 672. Payne pls. 68, 69.1–2; *Korai* no. 118, figs. 373–376.
5. Kouros from Ptoon 20.
Athens, National Museum. *Kouroi* pls. 450–457, no. 155; Deyhle pl. 71; Boardman pl. 180.
6. Head of a kore from Ptoon.
Athens, National Museum 17. *Korai* no. 143, pls. 454–455.

Everybody believes that the two korai, numbers 2 and 3, must be by the same hand,¹⁵ but even a superficial comparison of the well-preserved bodies precludes any such

thought. Number 2 descends, in a way, from the Peplos Kore, while the other, of a more juvenile appearance, is gauche to the point of being touching—she has never outgrown her puppy fat. But even the faces, the eyes, the cheeks, are different. Number 2 is more progressive, more "classic;" the other more "archaic." They both try very hard to produce the direct presence achieved by the Peplos Kore, and they both share the smile of the admirable Payne head which has even been put in the same basket.¹⁶

The relation of the masterpiece with the two korai has been carefully weighed by La Coste.¹⁷ The simplest and most convincing explanation is that the masterpiece was instantly copied by the two other sculptors who were followed somewhat later by a crowd of other imitators—*minorum gentium*. The similarities are to be explained by the same kind of typology, not by the same style and even less by the same workshop or the same hand.

The date for the Payne head must be early in the penultimate decade of the sixth century. No searching is necessary for a hypothetical lost archetype; the Payne head was from its completion considered a masterpiece, and there is a clear proof. When an accident happened, its hair was repaired by a competent sculptor, surely before 480 B.C.¹⁸

Nothing should be said about the next kore,¹⁹ but she is a rather poor companion for the kouros Ptoon 20—an Atticizing work by a solid Boeotian sculptor who also carved the head of the kore from the same sanctuary, no. 6.²⁰ Both represent a Boeotian echo of the ἀνήριθμον γέλασμα of the Payne head.

5. AKONTISTES GROUP

1. Limestone sphinx from a grave monument
Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, 1203
From Spata.
Gravestones, figs. 10–15, no. 3; Boardman fig. 225.
2. Stele of an akontistes; in predella, Gorgo in *Knielauf*
Athens, National Museum, 2687
From the Themistoklean Wall.
Gravestones, figs. 83–85, no. 27; Boardman fig. 231;
Deyhle pl. 17.3 (detail)

It would seem that both sculptures are by the same hand. The identity is confirmed by the "pearls" of the hair-style and by the treatment of the internal structure of the wings of the sphinx and the Gorgo. The date should be

9. Gerke-Norden, *Einleitung in die Altertumswissenschaft* II 3, 4th ed., 1931, pp. 17, 23.

10. See a detailed review in Deyhle.

11. Payne pl. 11; *Korai* no. 65, figs. 212–213; Brouskari fig. 103; Boardman fig. 116.

12. Payne, pls. 11a,b,c.3,4, 133.3,4 (cast of the join), 124.1; Brouskari fig. 99; Boardman fig. 114.

13. Acropolis 679: Payne, pls. 29–33; *Korai* no. 131, figs. 349–354; Brouskari figs. 100–101; Boardman figs. 115, 129 (painted cast, as pedagogical as it is ugly).

14. Its merits were recognized much earlier: an excellent photograph by B. Ashmole was chosen to figure in J. D. Beazley and B. Ashmole, *Greek Sculpture and Painting* (1932) fig. 50, (the preparation goes back to 1924, at least) alas, not mentioned in the text.

about 560 B.C., although the old-fashioned sphinx produces an impression of being earlier.

6. THE GORGO WORKSHOP AND SCULPTOR

- 1a. A head of Gorgo (in a kind of relief without background)
Athens, Acropolis 701
Payne pl. 1; Brouskari fig. 20; Boardman fig. 188.
- 1b. Her torso
Athens, Acropolis 3797
Payne pl. 13.4.
- 1c. Her thigh
Athens, Acropolis 3800
Payne pl. 13.5.
- 1d. Her wing
Athens, Acropolis 3838
Payne pl. 13.6.
- 2a. Perseus (body)
Athens, Acropolis 3799
Payne pl. 13.3.
- 2b. Foot on sima (Gorgo or Perseus?)
Athens, Acropolis 3618.
Payne pl. 13.2.
3. Two antefixes with incised sphinxes
Athens, Acropolis 232, 3709
Payne pl. 17.4, 5, 6.
4. Sphinx from a grave monument
Athens, National Museum 76
Gravestones no. 14, figs. 64–65.
5. Limestone Dionysos torso from a pediment
Athens, Acropolis 55
Deyhle pl. 19.1–2; Boardman fig. 195.

The extent of the work suggests a workshop rather than a single sculptor, especially since nos. 1–3 must have belonged to akroteria and antefixes of the same temple. The excellent head of Gorgo has often been compared with the Dipylon kouros head, but the prevailing opinion is now that it should be considered later.²¹ The protruding chin is the same on Gorgo and the incised antefixes and also on the funerary sphinx no. 4. The body of the Gorgo goes with the incised body of Perseus and the incision on the limestone Dionysos no. 5.²² The sphinx is of rather poor workmanship but must still belong just before the middle of the sixth century.

15. E.g. Boardman.

16. Deyhle 37, same hand.

17. *Journal des Savants* (1942) 59, quoted with some misunderstanding by Deyhle p. 35.

18. Cf. Payne 72, pls. 70–71.

19. Deyhle p. 38 may be right to attribute to the same hand the headless kore Akropolis 598, Payne pl. 92.2–3.

7. TRITOPATOR WORKSHOP AND SCULPTOR

1. Sphinx
Athens, Kerameikos Museum
Gravestones no. 11, figs. 34–39; Deyhle pls. 23–24;
Boardman fig. 226.
2. Kouros head, right hand, and left calf
Paris, Musée du Louvre, Ma 2173
Kouroi no. 66, figs. 221–223 (head), 224 (calf), 225–226 (right hand).
3. Kouros head
Athens, Third Ephoria
AAA 8 (1972) 657, fig. and cover.
4. Fronton (poros) with Herakles fighting Triton and “Tritopator”
Athens, Acropolis 35 and 36
Brouskari figs. 54, 55 (and the head of Herakles Acropolis 6508, found in North Slope excavations, Brouskari fig. 56); Deyhle pls. 20.3–4; Boardman fig. 193.

Kübler associated 1 and 2, Olga Alexandri attributed 3 to the sculptor of 1. I added the fronton,²³ in spite of the different stone and different technique. The figures of the fronton are rather cut than carved, but the style is identical and so is the treatment of details like the bulging eyes. The sphinx is the oldest and best member of the group (570–560?). The fronton may be the latest, even if not after mid-century.²⁴ Comparison of the orbits and of the treatment of the eyebrows confirms O. Broneer’s brilliant attribution of Herakles’ head to the fronton, which has sometimes been unjustly doubted.

8. THE SCULPTOR OF PHRASIKLEIA’S COUSIN

1. Kore
Lyon and Acropolis 2697
Payne pls. 23–26; *Korai* no. 89; figs. 275–281; Brouskari fig. 108; AAA 6 (1973) 368.2.
2. Kouros from Merenda
Athens, National Museum
AAA 5 (1972) 309.12; *ib.* 6 (1973) 367.1, *ib.* 9 (1976) 261.4.

The attribution was already published. It may just be reiterated that there is hardly any relationship with Aris- tion from Paros, certainly none with the Theseus from the pediment of Apollo Daphnephoros in Eretria.

20. Her nose was repaired in antiquity.

21. Brouskari 20 dates ca. 570 B.C.

22. Which may belong to the pediment of the *Herakles’ Introduction into Olympus*, the molding above being the same, but the workmanship is completely different from the other figures (see, for example, Brouskari p. 31).

24. Boardman advances courageously to 550–540.

9. THE SCULPTOR "FOR MEGAKLES"

1. Kouros head
Paris, Musée du Louvre, Ma 695
Kouroi no. 142, figs. 411–412.
2. Stele
New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 11.158.
Berlin A7; and two fragments in Athens, National
Museum, without inv. nos. *Gravestones* no. 37, figs.
96–109, 190, 204; idem, *Mél Mansel* (1974) 1ff., pl. 1ff.
(all pieces put together); Deyhle pl. 11 (Berlin frag-
ment); Boardman fig. 232.
3. Kore
Athens, Acropolis 678
Payne pls. 32, 35.3–4; *Korai* no. 112, figs. 345–358;
Boardman fig. 118; Deyhle pl. 1.2 (profile of head)

Nos. 1 and 2 were put together by Langlotz.²⁵ No. 3 is a creative addition of Deyhle, and it explains the peculiarities of the sculptor.²⁶ The sculptor is good without reaching the sublime, and in the Kore no. 3, inspired by the Peplos Kore, he stepped over the limits of his *geras*.

The quotation marks around the name express the fact that restoration of the inscription is not completely certain. The group also provides an important chronological frame. The kore must date after 530, the stele before 530, and the kouros may go back around 540 B.C.

10. THE RAYET HEAD,²⁷
THE THREPSIADES TORSO,²⁸
AND THE CAT-AGAINST-DOG BASE²⁹

The three elements are accepted by most as part of one monument, the attribution to Endoios is retained as probable if not certain.³⁰ Indeed, not only does the profile of the Rayet head correspond to the heads of the youths on the base but the side view of the torso also is compatible with these figures. An apparent difficulty stems from the current chronology. While the Rayet head, a radiant masterpiece, is often put as high as 530 B.C.,³¹ the reliefs of the base, of apparently inferior execution, are generally placed about 510.³² This later date seems to be confirmed by the torso, and the Rayet head also compares well with the Leagran drawings by the Pioneers, e.g. with the solid,

25. AMA 31 (unfortunately with other pieces).

26. See the severe judgment on the kore by La Coste, *Journal des Savants*, 1942 31 ff, later tempered in JS (1970) 146 after the observations of C. H. Tsirivakou-Neumann, AM 69 (1964) 114 ff.

27. *Kouroi* no. 138, figs. 409, 410.

28. *Kouroi* no. 161^{bis}, figs. 483–484; Deyhle pls. 30.2, 31–35.

29. Boardman 292; AM 78 (1963) 65.3, 66.2.

30. Cf. Deyhle and Schmidt, denied G. F. Johansen, *Meddelser fra Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek* 34 (1972) 103 ff.

31. Cf. *Kouroi*.

32. Cf. Boardman.

33. AA 1976, 485ff.

34. C. Karouzos-V. Kallipolitis, *The Athens National Museum* (1968, in

rounded heads of the arming youths on the reverse of the Sarpedon krater signed by Euphronios in New York.³³ The apparent discrepancy in style and quality between the Rayet head and the base reliefs disappears on close examination. The base reliefs were considerably altered by recarving probably soon after the erection of the monument and surely before it was included in the Themistoklean wall, while the statue must have been already torn down—the surface of the head and of the torso is very fresh. The recarving is not obvious even on very close examination of the surface, but it is revealed by the excellent and very unusual photographs of the reliefs using sharp, raking light in a Japanese publication.³⁴ The sharp light shows the scratchy recutting (fig. 1) indicating the articulation of the muscles in the arms and legs of the youths and in the limbs of the two animals. Lesser recutting flattened the lentoid eyes and schematized the hair. Mentally eliminating these changes, we can perhaps visualize the figures with hair close to the Rayet head and also to the potter's relief from the Acropolis,³⁵ where A. E. Raubitschek convincingly restores the name of Pamphaios as dedicator and Endoios as sculptor.³⁶

These observations also restore the correct relationship between the ball player seen on one side of the cat-and-dog base and its fragmentary precursor on another base in the Kerameikos Museum (fig. 2).³⁷ While the cat-and-dog relief is Leagran, ca. 510 B.C., the carving of the Kerameikos fragmentary base is more organic, with a subtle pattern of the fingers, recalling the early Phintias³⁸ paintings dated about 520 B.C. This relief is included in our next list.

11. THE SCULPTOR OF APOLLO DAPHNEPHOROS

The study of the fragment of an Attic archaic relief in the J. Paul Getty Museum must start with the extraordinary subject: a youth bandaging the wounded head of his slightly older companion-at-arms, who is on the point of dying. But as the artistic quality is outstanding to a degree which places the relief among the best works of its time, the search for the sculptor—even if anonymous for the time being—assumes a capital importance. Indeed, several pieces are from the same hand:

Japanese), pls. 32–35; pl. 34 detail reproduced here. The whole book successfully makes the Greek sculpture Japanese. The shiny surfaces change the flavor of the style, deny the typically Greek feeling for materials. The marble turns to porcelain and the bronze assumes a quite different character. The humanity of the sculptures becomes different. Once more an overwhelming demonstration is provided of how photography of sculpture means interpretation.

35. Payne pls. 129, 137; Brouskari fig. 251. The fold pattern, recalling the Athena from the Hekatompedon pediment (see Deyhle p. 23, pl. 15) is only a quotation, not an indication of the same hand.

36. *Dedications* no. 70.

37. See below 11, no. 2.

38. ARV² 24.12.

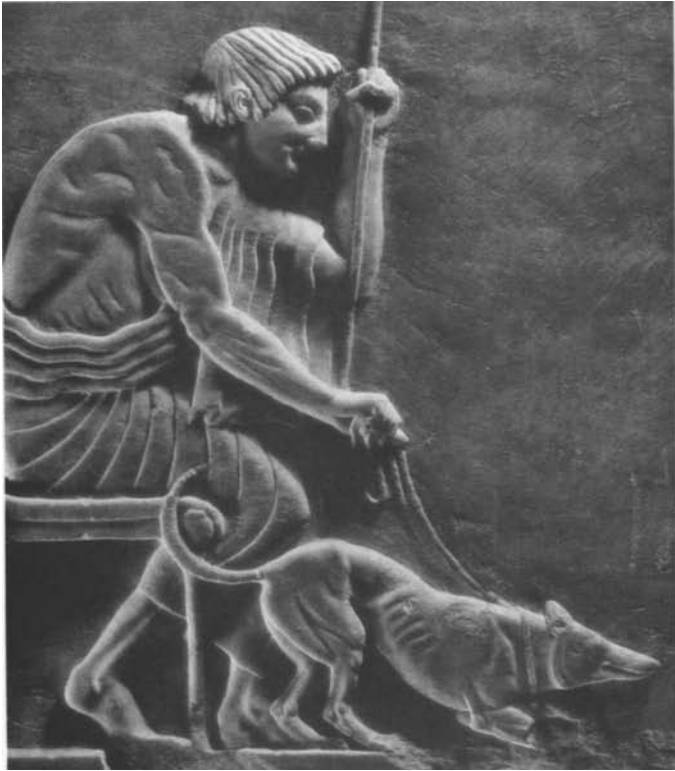


Figure 1. Detail of the cat-against-dog base. Athens, National Museum.

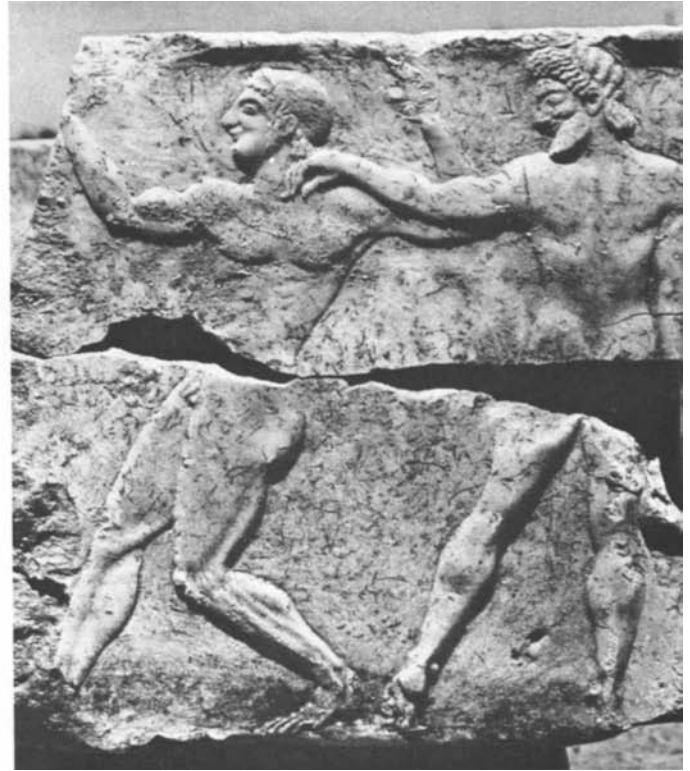


Figure 2. Detail of a base in the Kerameikos Museum. Athens.

1. Fragmentary stele with mother and child, from Anavysos (fig. 3)
Athens, National Museum 4472
Gravestones no. 53, figs. 151-153.
2. Base of a funerary monument from the Kerameikos (fig. 2)
Athens, Kerameikos Museum
AM 78 (1963) pls. 64.2, 65.1-2, 66.1; Deyhle pl. 3.1 (detail) whence fig. 2.
3. Fragmentary stele with a youth bandaging the head of his dying friend (details figs. 4, 7)
Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum, 79.AA.1
JPGM *Guidebook* (1980) ill. p. 24; C. C. Vermeule, *GARSIA*, no. 5, color pl. 2.
4. Pediment of the temple of Apollo Daphnephoros in Eretria, Chalkis, Museum
R. Lullies-M. Hirmer, *Greek Sculpture* (1957) pls. 62-64 and the figure of an Amazon, Rome, Palazzo dei Conservatori, cf. D. von Bothmer, *Amazons in Greek Art* (1957), pp. 124 sqq., pl. 47.1.
5. Engraved stele of a youth, from Anavysos (fig. 5)
Paris, Musée du Louvre, Ma 3432
Gravestones no. 57, figs. 138-139.
6. Torso of a kouros
Chalkis, Museum
Kouroi no. 168, figs. 404-406.



Figure 3. Detail of stele. Athens, National Museum 9972.



Figure 4. Detail of stele. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 79.AA.1.

The attributions are supported by the identical surface work and by some characteristic details of anatomy, recorded in the same way. It is in the first place the same shape of helix (viz. 1, 3, 4), the same contour of the chin (nos. 1, 3, 4, 5), identical lines of the noses (nos. 1–5), and identical general appearance of the faces. Two details assume the value of a signature: the peculiar shape of the mouth, with vertical depressions at its corners (nos. 1, 3, 4), and marked protrusions of the upper lip (nos. 1–5), and a very peculiar treatment of the fingers in a manneristic and still very emotive gesture (nos. 1, 2, 3, 5). The comparison of the photographs is more eloquent than any verbal analysis.

Some further comments concern the chronology and peculiar aspects of the single monuments.

No. 1 is indisputably the oldest work, ca. 530. The silhouettes are still “black figure.” The mother’s tenderness for her dead child³⁹ is the first example of how our artist is concerned with expressing the emotions involved in his representation differently, at first superficial glance, from all other art of his time. But compare, for example, the loneliness of Aias preparing for his suicide, as suggested by Exekias.⁴⁰

No. 2 is surely the precursor of the other version of the representation of the ball game, see above p. 99. The two sides of the base (lion and boar, procession of riders) may

39. This is the meaning of the closed eyes, as in no. 3 and, for example, in the figure of the dead Sarpedon drawn by Euphronios (AA 1976, 497.ii).

40. ABV 145.18.



Figure 5. Detail of stele. Paris, Musée du Louvre Ma 3432.

provide a key for other attributions. The reliefs seem to be comparable with the Andokidean drawings of ca. 525.

Another, very fragmentary relief may belong here:

- 3 bis. Fragment of a funerary stele of a youth
Athens, National Museum
Gravestones no. 74, fig. 166.

Before 510 B.C. The pointed elbows and the fine appearance of the arms are quite similar. Further study is necessary.

No. 4 dates about 510. The attribution involves the group of Theseus carrying Antiope to his chariot, while more investigation is necessary for the other figures. Some points may be emphasized. The sculptures were repaired in antiquity (the cavetto on Theseus' right shoulder, the secondary "improvements" of the drapery); the date of this intervention is yet to be determined. The deep emotions are rendered with reserve but eloquently. The two figures



Figure 6. Detail of Theseus from the pediment of the temple of Apollo Daphnephoros in Eretria. Chalkis, Museum.



Figure 7. Detail of stele. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 79.AA.1.

wear the same two hair fashions as the two youths on the Getty stele.

The modern history of the whole monument also provides an interesting background. There is a good hope that the pediment will celebrate the one hundredth anniversary of its discovery virtually unpublished.⁴¹

The sculptor is Attic, whatever may have been thought about this in the past; his name, once inscribed on the monument, is irretrievably lost.⁴² The rather free use of the folds undercut in the manner of the Antenor Kore^{42a} is a quotation providing a *terminus post quem*: the Antenor Kore is prior to the Eretria pediment. Two kouroi heads, poorly preserved, from Euboia, provide some antecedents for the pediment and for all work of the sculptor:

41. One point may be stated: Bothmer first made public his discovery that the torso of the Amazon in the Conservatori belongs to the pediment already in November 1952 in a lecture at the Students Club of the University of Chicago.

4 bis. Head of a kouros
Chalkis, Museum
Kouroi no. 102, figs. 329, 325.
Ca. 550–540 B.C.

4 ter. Head of a kouros
Chalkis, Museum
Kouroi no. 168, figs. 494–496.
Ca. 540–530 B.C.

They share a strong prognathism with Theseus and with the rest of the heads in the group.

Nos. 1–4 demonstrate how the sculptor understands the composition of his scenes as tableaux—two dimensional in the reliefs, spatial but still very pictorial including the background of the pediment in no. 4.

42. See Furtwängler, as quoted by Bothmer.

42a. Deyhle p 11.9, 10.3, p. 44. One obvious detail concerning the Antenor Kore must be mentioned. Her powerful mandible has a quasi replica in the jaw of Kritios' Boy; or, Kritios and Nesiotes are notorious followers of Antenor.



Figure 8. Detail of Theseus from the pediment of the temple of Apollo Daphnephoros in Eretria. Chalkis, Museum.

In no. 5 the artist presents himself as a painter. The incomplete sketch was intended as a guide for applied colors. The time corresponds to the latest Euphronios, after 510.⁴³

No. 6 is an incredible masterpiece, unjustly neglected. The attribution results from direct comparison with the nude of Theseus, possible only directly in the Chalkis Museum. Just before 500 B.C.

An exceptional personality, the artist is more a traditionalist than an innovator, knowing the latest trends but following his own path, unsurpassable in subtle handling of the first quality *lychnites*, with delicate sfumato in the sur-

faces, rendering the volumes masterfully; excellent draftsman and probably painter, brilliant in handling subtle movements; unsurpassable in composition, unique in the context of archaic art. In expressing emotion a traditionalist, but not in the line of the purely Athenian tradition going from the Dipylon head, peaking with the Rampin master, and continuing in the workshop of Antenor-Kritias or the Eutydikos kore; perhaps connected more with the rich gentry of the landside than with the life of the city.

Malibu

43. ARV² 15.6, 17.22.

A Portrait of the Empress Plautilla

Sheldon Nodelman

During her two and a half years as *Augusta* (Spring 202–January 205), Fulvia Plautilla¹ was a central figure in the desperate game of political intrigue within the Severan imperial court. Her father, the praetorian praefect Fulvius Plautianus,² had brought himself to a position of unparalleled power, a virtual “fourth Caesar” beside the emperor Septimius Severus and his sons. Through his extraordinary personal influence over Septimius and ruthless use of his monopoly over the normally divided praefecture, he had become more powerful and more feared, it was claimed, than the emperors themselves.³ For a time he was able to drive the empress Julia Domna herself, his only rival for personal influence over Septimius, into political eclipse and could prevail upon the emperor to choose Plautilla as bride for his elder son, Caracalla, who since 198 had shared the imperial title with his father. Like Sejanus before him⁴ (and for similar reasons), Plautianus urgently needed to attach himself by marriage to the imperial family. He surely knew the fate which awaited one so widely hated and so dangerous to a future ruler when his patron Septimius should die, and Septimius was nearly sixty and in uncertain health. From within the imperial family he would be better protected from attack—or provided with a cover of legitimacy for an eventual *coup d'état*. Plautianus pressed the advantages of his new position as *adfinis Augustorum*, *socer*, and *consocer Augusti* to the full. He was treated as a full-fledged member of the imperial family, the *domus divina*, was included in the dedications addressed to them and was represented with them upon figural monuments;⁵ and his extraordinary position was signaled with unheard-

of and adulatory titles.⁶ However, the marriage of the young couple (Caracalla was fourteen in 202, and Plautilla must have been about the same age) was not a success: Caracalla hated the overweening praefect and bitterly resented the bride who had been forced upon him. No doubt he was well aware, too, of the danger which Plautianus posed to him. In the event, Caracalla struck first. On 22 January 205 the praefect was suddenly overthrown and killed in a conspiracy in which the young emperor took a leading role. Plautilla was banished to the island of Lipari, where in 212, after Septimius' death, she was executed at Caracalla's command.

In the accounts of Plautianus' heyday, his portrait statues are given particular notice. They allegedly surpassed in numbers those of the emperors and offended contemporaries and eventually Septimius himself by their egregiousness.⁷ It seems impossible not to connect this with an extraordinary—if so far unremarked—feature of his daughter's coinage. During her brief career as *Augusta*, Plautilla's obverses display at least eleven distinct portrait types, a number unparalleled in imperial iconography.⁸ By contrast, the empress Julia Domna made do with only five types over twenty-four years (A.D. 194–217). A propaganda campaign of great intensity and obvious political intent, seeking to fortify the position of the young empress and, through her, of her father, is no doubt to be detected in the official statuary dedications which these numismatic types must reflect. As a consequence of her disgrace, Plautilla's images, like those of her father, were overthrown, her name erased from inscriptions, and her figure obliterated

1. On Plautilla see *RE* VII (Stuttgart 1910) cc. 285–288 s.v. Fulvius nr. 117 (E. Stein); *PIR* 2d ed., F 564.

2. On Plautianus see *RE* VII cc. 270–278 s.v. Fulvius nr. 101 (E. Stein); *PIR* 2d ed., F 554; F. Grosso, “Ricerca su Plautiano e gli avvenimenti del suo tempo,” *Atti del Accademia nazionale dei Lincei. Rendiconti v. 23* (1968); A. Birley, *Septimius Severus*, New York 1971, pp. 294 ff. nr. 8, and generally (see index, p. 385).

3. Dio. LXXV. 15. 2 a.

4. For Sejanus' matrimonial aspirations, see R. Seager, *Tiberius*, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1972 pp. 195 ff., 213 and n. 6; and D. Hennig, *L. Aelius Seianus (Vestigia, 21)* Munich 1975, pp. 36–40, 77 f., 98.

5. The best-known case is the so-called Arch of the Argentarii in the Forum Boarium at Rome: *CIL* VI 1035; *ILS* 426. See S. Haynes and P. Hirst, *Porta Argentariorum* (British School at Rome. Supplementary Paper, 1939); M. Pallotino, *L' Arco degli Argentari*, Rome 1946, Also,

dedications surveyed in *RE* VII s.v. Fulvius nr. 101, cc. 270, 273f.

6. *Nobilissimus* (otherwise used only of the heir to the throne): *CIL* VI. 1074; *necessarius Augg.*: *CIL* VI. 227, XI, 1337; *omnium praecedentium praef. excellentissimo*: *CIL* XI. 8050.

7. Dio LXXV. 14. 6–7.

8. On the iconography of Plautilla, see S. Nodelman *Severan Imperial Portraiture*; forthcoming, where the full range of numismatic evidence is assembled for the first time; also H. Wiggers in H. Wiggers-M. Wegner, *Caracalla bis Balbinus (Das römische Herrscherbild III.1)* Berlin, 1971, pp. 115 ff. with pl. 28. Only seven of these types are illustrated in Wiggers-Wegner and in Mattingly, *BMCRE* V, pls. 37, 38, 45, 46, 48. Given the tendency of numismatists to neglect portrait typology for purposes of classification in favor of legends and reverse types alone, it is not impossible that further numismatic portrait types of Plautilla await discovery.

ated from group representations of the imperial family.⁹ Until recently, this destruction appeared to have been carried out with unusual thoroughness: while the portraits of other imperial victims of *damnatio memoriae* (e.g., Domitian, Geta) have survived in fair numbers,¹⁰ Plautilla's seemed to have been eradicated without trace.

In 1972, the J. Paul Getty Museum acquired a marble portrait head of a young woman (figs. 1–5).¹¹ The head, of a crystalline, slightly greyish, and apparently Italian marble, is broken off at the lower neck from a statue or (less probably) a bust, and thin ridges round the neck just at the height of the break survive to indicate the drapery with which the figure was clad. Head and body were broken apart already in antiquity, for the break shows the wear which has eaten away much not only of the head's final polish but also of the detailed surface modeling. This wear is unequally distributed. It is most severe on the head's right side, especially its upper part, but almost absent over a large area of the left side of the face, particularly the left cheek and adjacent regions where the full, original finish is preserved. A clue to the origin of this weathering and its peculiar distribution is offered by the shells of minute sea-creatures, of which traces survive in a number of crevices. These can only be the remains of a heavier incrustation which has been removed by modern cleaning. The Getty head thus spent time at the bottom of the sea, its left side partly buried in sand and so protected from the erosion which more exposed surfaces suffered. A faint, greenish discoloration is also explicable by this assumption. The tip of the nose has been broken off and the area of the mouth badly abraded. A few incidental chips and scratches are of more recent origin.

The young woman seems not yet out of her teens. Her face is a long oval, with wide-opened eyes beneath strongly arched brows, a curved, low-bridged nose of moderate length beneath a rounded forehead, and a small but full-lipped mouth. She looks slightly to her right, the head tilted gracefully on its slender neck. Her hair is parted in the center and elaborately dressed in a series of bands drawn round the head to either side; behind the ear they descend vertically to the bottom of the neck and are then

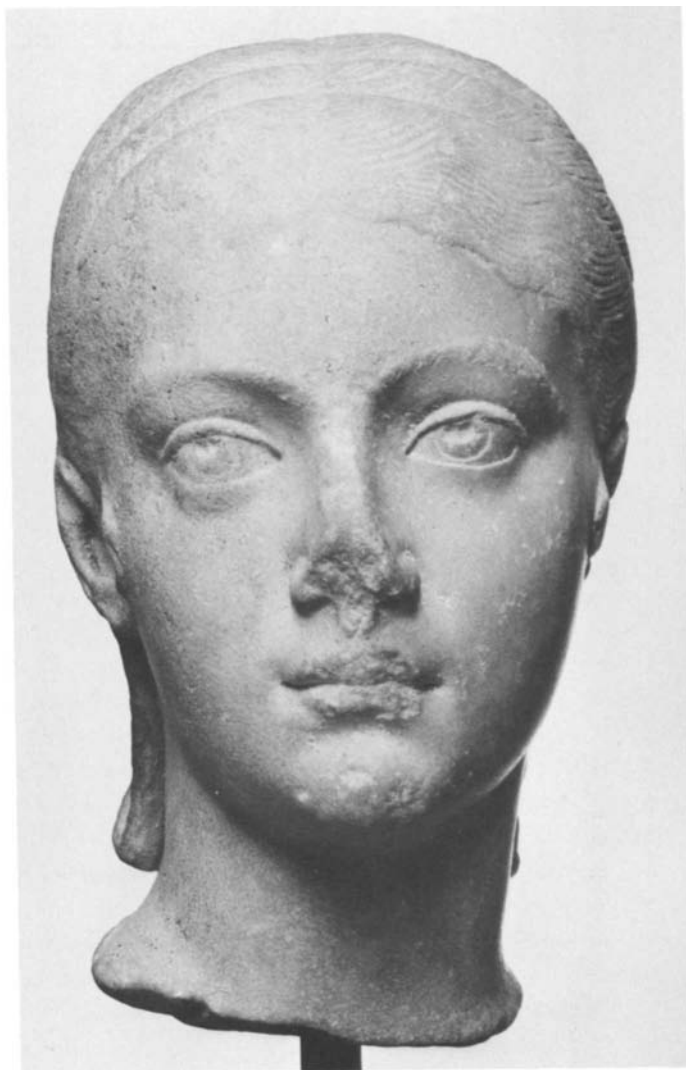


Figure 1. Portrait head of the empress Plautilla. Copy after an original of A.D. 202. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum.

folded upward in a flat chignon which follows the contour of the back of the skull almost to the height of the occiput. The first of these bands, framing the forehead, is much wider than the rest, and is gently waved in an undulating contour. From this tightly plaited arrangement, loose curls escape, one just forward of either ear and two more each side of the nape. Despite the stillness of her attitude, the

9. Plautilla's figure, for example, was removed from the left-hand relief panel of the Arch of the Argentarii, where she had appeared together with Caracalla and her father; see the works cited in n. 5 above.

10. G. Daltrop in G. Daltrop, U. Hausmann, M. Wegner, *Die Flavii (Das römische Herrscherbild II.1)* Berlin 1966, conservatively listed twenty-one surviving portraits of Domitian. Nodelman, *op. cit.*, lists twenty-three sculptured portraits of Geta in three types; the treatment of Geta's iconography in Wiggers-Wegner *op. cit.*, is vitiated by misattribution of much of Geta's portraiture to Caracalla.

11. Inv. 72.AA.118. C. Vermeule and N. Neuerberg, *Catalogue of the Ancient Art in the J. Paul Getty Museum*, Malibu 1973, p. 34 nr. 74; Greek

and Roman Portraits in the J. Paul Getty Museum, California State University at Northridge, October 16–November 11, 1975 (J. Frel and E. Buckley) nr. 41; K. Fittschen in *GGA* 230 (1978) p. 149 and n. 29; J. Inan and E. Rosenbaum, *Römische and frühbyzantinische Porträtplastik aus der Türkei*, Mainz 1979, pp. 333f., nr. 333, pl. 240, 3.4; *Roman Portraits: Aspects of Self and Society*, Sesnon Art Gallery, University of California, Santa Cruz, February 20–April 9, 1980, and Loyola Marymount University Art Gallery, October 14–November 11, 1980 (P. Erhart, J. Frel, S. Morgan, and S. Nodelman), pp. 78ff. nr. 15; J. Frel, *Roman Portraits in the J. Paul Getty Museum*, Malibu, 1981 pp. 92f. nr. 76, 130.



Figure 2. Portrait head of the empress Plautilla. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum.



Figure 3. Portrait head of the empress Plautilla. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum.



Figure 4. Portrait head of the empress Plautilla. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum.



Figure 5. Portrait head of the empress Plautilla. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum.

young woman's face is full of momentary life. She seems serene and aristocratically poised, but a closer look detects more complex psychic undertones: the expressive eyes are watchful, the mouth pursed slightly as if in doubt.

The plastic structure and expressive design of the head, as well as the distinctive form of its coiffure, suffice to identify it as a work of the opening decades of the third century A.D. Fortunately, it is possible to be more precise. The Getty portrait is not a unique original but one of a series of copies reproduced in antiquity after a common prototype. In 1971, a year previous to the Getty acquisition, the Museum of Fine Arts in Houston purchased a very fine head of a young woman from the same period (figs. 6–9).¹² Despite differences of detail to be discussed below, the similarities of overall format and design insure that the two heads cannot have been conceived independently. A third

12. Inv. 70-39, "Recent Accessions of American and Canadian Museums," *Art Quarterly* 34 (1971) p. 371, fig. p. 370; Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, *Bulletin*, November 1971, pp. 91, 109, ill. frontispiece and p. 100; *Bulletin*, February 1972: "Portrait of Julia Paula? A contribution to Severan Feminine Iconography" (J. L. Schrader), pp. 168-173; K. Fittschen, *loc. cit.*; C. C. Vermeule, *Iconographic Studies*, Boston 1980, pp. 37ff. nr. 2, fig. p. 52.



Figure 6. Portrait head of the empress Plautilla. Copy after an original of A.D. 202. Houston, The Museum of Fine Arts, Laurence H. Favrot Bequest Fund.



Figure 7. Portrait head of the empress Plautilla. Houston, The Museum of Fine Arts.



Figure 8. Portrait head of the empress Plautilla. Houston, The Museum of Fine Arts.



Figure 9. Portrait head of the empress Plautilla. Houston, The Museum of Fine Arts.

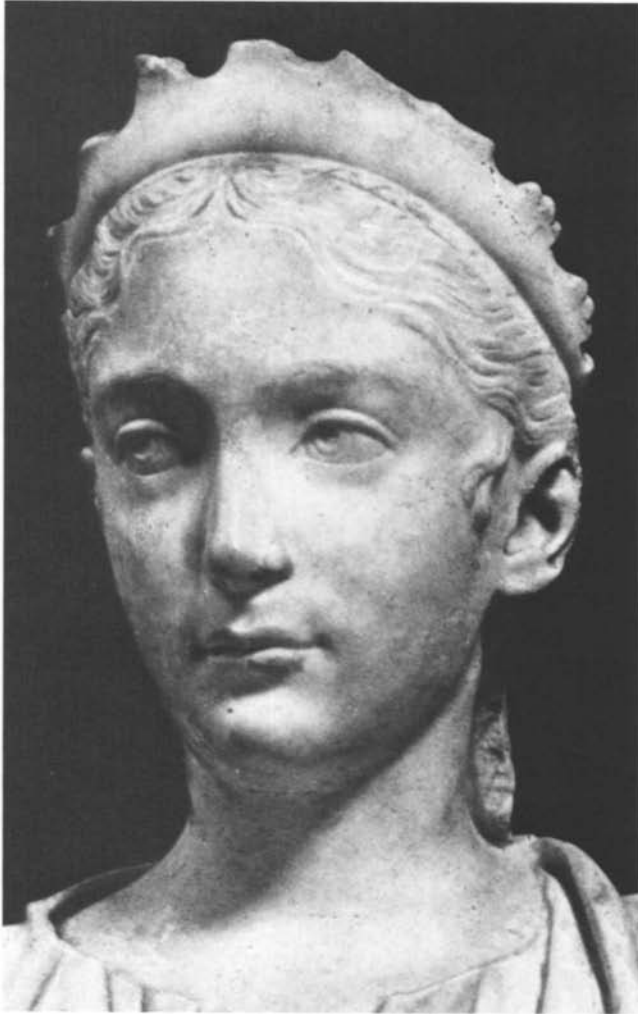


Figure 10. Portrait bust of the empress Plautilla. Copy after an original of A.D. 202. Rome, Museo Torlonia. (After *Monumenti del Museo Torlonia*, pl. CLVIII nr. 609.)

portrait which has long been part of the collection of the Museo Torlonia in Rome (fig. 10)¹³ displays the same characteristics, despite restoration and cleaning, and must also be considered a replica. Very recently a fourth replica, the face rendered nearly unrecognizable by recutting, has come to light in a private collection in Irvine, California (figs. 11–12).¹⁴ The existence of such a replica-series, while not in itself proof that the subject represented is a member of the imperial family—for private persons were sometimes honored with multiple portrait dedications¹⁵—nevertheless

13. C. Visconti, *Catalogo del Museo Torlonia*, Rome 1883, p. 305 nr. 609; id., *I Monumenti del Museo Torlonia* . . . Rome, n.d., pl. CLVIII nr. 609; J. Meischner, *Das Frauenporträt der Severerzeit*, Berlin, n.d., pp. 86f. nr. 67 I. Caruso in C. Gasparri, "Materiali per servire, allo studio del Museo Torlonia di scultura antica," *Atti del Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei*, *Memorie ser. 8*, 24 (1980), p. 228, nr. 609.

14. Published by F. Yegül, "A Roman Lady from a Southern Califor-

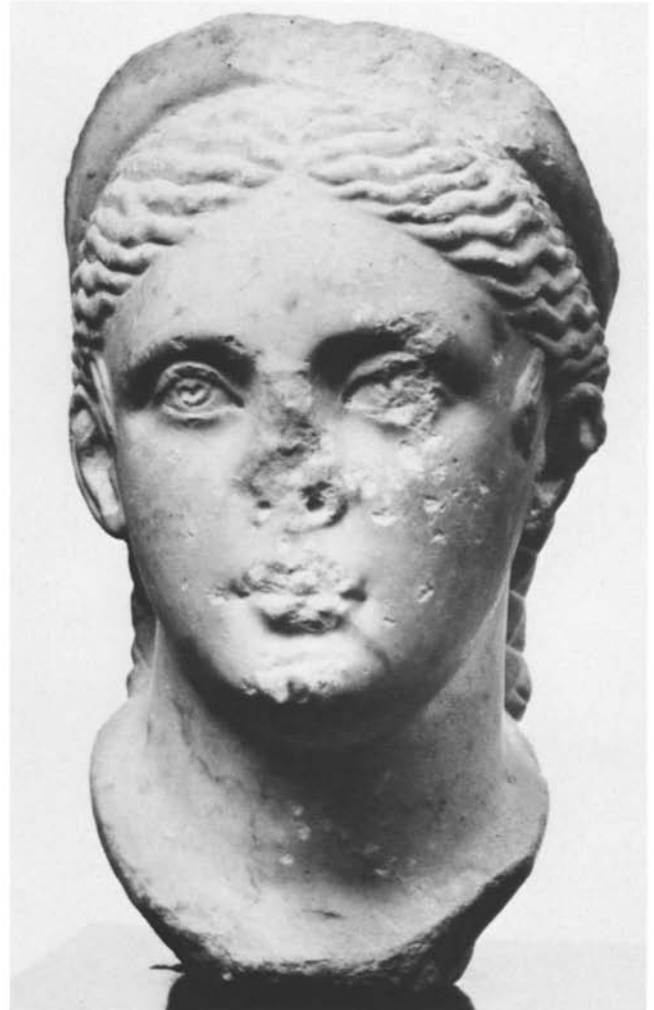


Figure 11. Portrait bust of the empress Plautilla. Copy after an original of A.D. 202. Extensively recut. Irvine, California, Collection Robert K. Martin.

is strong *prima facie* evidence for such an assumption, the more so since such a young woman, apparently still in her teens, would hardly have any other claim to civic distinction. The imperial identity is confirmed by a tell-tale attribute: both the Torlonia and the Irvine replicas are adorned with the diadem, familiar insignia of the *Augustae*.¹⁶ The identity of the young empress must be sought among the women of the Severan dynasty, which presided over the destinies of Rome during the years 193–235 A.D.

nia Collection," in the previous issue of the *J. Paul Getty Museum Journal*, 9, 1981, pp. 63–68.

15. E.g. *CIL* VI. 1540 = *ILS* 1112; *CIL* VI. 1599, 31828 = *ILS* 1326; Cf. Tacitus' Account: *Ann.* III. xiv, of the attempted destruction by the mob of effigies of Gn. Piso, accused of the murder of Germanicus. Instances could easily be multiplied.

16. A. Alföldi, *Die monarchische Repräsentation im römischen Kaiserreiche*, Darmstadt 1970, pp. 241 f.



Figure 12. Portrait head of the empress Plautilla. Irvine, California, Collection Robert K. Martin.

Before it became possible to group these heads into a type, imperial identifications had been proposed for various of the individual replicas. J. Meischner¹⁷ saw in the Torlonia portrait the image of one of two anonymous daughters ascribed to Septimius Severus by the *Historia*

17. Meischner, *loc. cit.*

18. *Vita Severi*, VIII, 1–2.

19. See especially R. Syme, *Ammianus and the Historia Augusta*, Oxford 1968, pp. 154–175, and Syme, *Emperors and Biography*, Oxford 1971, pp. 1–16. The names of Probus and Aetius, the putative bridegrooms of the anonymous daughters, have a suspiciously end of the fourth century ring to them, in accordance with the forger's familiar practice. Naturally, there is otherwise no trace of the existence of these alleged consuls. Cf. Birley *op. cit.*, p. 90 and n. 2.

20. In Neuerberg and Vermeule, *loc. cit.*

21. Schrader, *loc. cit.*

22. Vermeule, *Iconographic Studies*, *loc. cit.*

23. *In litteris*, December 1970, to Philippe de Montebello, then director of the Museum of Fine Arts, Houston. See also Schrader, *op. cit.*, pp. 170f.

24. EAA III p. 925 s.v. Giulia Paola (M. Floriani Squarciapino); H. Wiggers in H. Wiggers and M. Wegner, *op. cit.*, 167ff.

25. A head in Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek 755, whose over-life size is suggestive of imperial affiliation and whose style is markedly

Augusta.¹⁸ Given the notorious propensity of the author of the *HA* for inventing fictitious personalities and the complete silence of contemporary sources, the claim to historicity of such daughters is tenuous at best.¹⁹ C. C. Vermeule²⁰ identified the Malibu head and J. L. Schrader,²¹ the Houston head, as Julia Paula, who was briefly (A.D. 219–220) the wife of Elagabalus; each author was then apparently unaware of the existence of other replicas of the type. Dr. Vermeule has recently affirmed the same identification for the Houston head.²² I myself identified the Houston head as the empress Plautilla.²³

The portrait iconography of Julia Paula is anything but securely established.²⁴ Her coinage displays two distinct portrait types. No sculptural type existing in multiple replicas, and indeed no single sculptured portrait, corresponds satisfactorily to either of these numismatically attested types.²⁵ The numismatic portrait types exhibit an identical profile and differ only in the form of their coiffures. One is coiffed in the so-called *Helmfrisur*, a softly waved helmet-shaped hair arrangement that closely follow the contour of the skull and then is folded into a nest at the nape of the neck.²⁶ Except for its distinctive forehead locks, it is nearly identical to that worn by several other imperial ladies of the time—e.g., Julia Soaemias, Julia Mamaea, and Orbiana.²⁷ The second type is more individual (fig. 13).²⁸ Here too a row of ringlets falls upon the forehead. However, the hair is arranged in tight rows of narrow, plaited bands which are drawn backward along the sides, leaving the ear free, and descend to the neck in a thick roll which is then folded upward into a flat bun at the back of the head, rising almost to its top. It is the similarity of this unusual coiffure to that worn by the young woman of the Malibu-Houston-Torlonia type which has inspired the attempts at identification.

Nevertheless, the numismatic evidence itself precludes the identification of the Malibu-Houston-Torlonia type as

close to that of known contemporary imperial portraits, evinces a profile comparable to that of the coins, and a row of ringlets fringing the forehead which matches those which distinguish Julia's numismatic hairstyles from those of other empresses of the time. Attractive as the identification may be, it is impossible to prove in the current state of the evidence. F. Poulsen, *Catalogue* pp. 523f. nr. 755; V. Poulsen, *Les portraits romains* II pp. 146 ff. nr. 145. Proposed as Julia Paula by H. Weber, "Zu einem Bildnis der Kaiserin Julia Paula," *Jdl* 68 (1953), 124–138, figs. 1–4. Weber goes on to identify as Julia a whole series of female portraits wearing coiffures with forehead ringlets. These are typologically and physiognomically inconsistent both with the Copenhagen head and among one another; none has any serious claim to represent the empress.

26. Wiggers-Wegner, *op. cit.*, pl. 42 d–f; J. Bernouilli, *Römische Ikonographie* II, 3, Stuttgart 1894, Munztaf. II, 14.

27. Soaemias: Wiggers-Wegner, *op. cit.*, Munztaf. II, 19. Mamaea: Wiggers-Wegner, pl. 57 a–f; Bernouilli, Munztaf. II, 19. Orbiana: Wiggers-Wegner pl. 57 g–h.

28. Wiggers-Wegner pl. 42 a–c; Bernouilli, Munztaf. II, 13; J. Kent-M. and A. Hirmer, *Roman Coins*, London 1978, pl 117 nr. 418.



Figure 13. Julia Paula. Denarius, A.D. 219–220. Obverse. (After Kent-Hirmer, pl. 117, nr. 418.)

Julia Paula. The distinctive forehead ringlets which adorn both of Julia Paula's numismatically attested types are lacking in the sculptured portraits. In the sculptural type, the first band of hair over the forehead is markedly wider than those behind it, while in the coin portrait they are of the same width. In the comparable coin portrait the bands descending to the neck behind the ear form a fat, swelling roll; in the sculptured portraits the corresponding area is much narrower, and the chignon is folded upward at a much sharper angle. Moreover, discounting chance variations among individual dies, Julia's numismatic portraiture of both types shows a profile distinguished by a straight or even slightly turned-up nose and a small, markedly pointed chin. The sculptured portraits (figs. 3, 4, 8, 9) show a nose with downward curvature and a fuller, more rounded, chin. These disparities establish that not only does Julia's second coin portrait not correspond to the Malibu-Houston-Torlonia type but also that the individuals represented cannot be the same.²⁹

The true identity of the Malibu-Houston-Torlonia type is not hard to establish. Aside from Julia Paula, only the empress Plautilla is numismatically represented by a portrait coiffed similarly (fig. 14).³⁰ All important features, whether of coiffure or facial profile, correspond satisfactorily: the broad lowest band of hair over the forehead, the arrangement of the narrow, successive bands above, the



Figure 14. Plautilla. Aureus, A.D. 202. Obverse. (After Kent-Hirmer, pl. 113, nr. 393.)

dangling curl in front of the ear, the narrow angle to which the plaits are compressed at their lowest point upon the neck, and the sharp upward turn of the thin chignon which folds against the back of the head. So, too, the sinuous profile with its rounded forehead, smoothly curving nose, and slightly pursed mouth.

Although Plautilla's coinage is undated, the Malibu-Houston-Torlonia type can be fixed chronologically within narrow limits. It is clearly subsequent to her initial numismatically attested type, which displays markedly juvenile features and wears the "melon" hair-style favored for young girls. This type figures on those earliest issues in which Plautilla's name is as yet given in the dative, *PLAVTILLAE AVGVSTAE*,³¹ and which must date to immediately after her marriage in the spring of 202.³² In his reconstruction of the activities of the mint of Rome during these years, P. V. Hill dates the issue bearing the portrait of our type to within the year 202.³³ Support for such a date is provided by a bronze of Apamaea in Phrygia, on which Plautilla appears in this type facing the portrait of her husband in his second type, which was superseded in the mint of Rome by his third at the beginning of 203.³⁴ There is at least one other numismatically attested type of Plautilla which must be placed between, from the age suggested by its features and from its hair-style which is typologically intermediate between the melon coiffure and

29. Schraeder, *op. cit.*, pp. 171f., sees the same individual represented by the Houston portrait in the head of a young woman in the Museo Nazionale Romano (B. M. Felletti Maj, *I ritratti*, Rome 1953, p. 137 nr. 272), sometimes, though incorrectly, called Plautilla; he regards both as portraits of Julia Paula. However, the facial structure of the Rome head, with its large, beaked nose, is completely unlike that of Malibu-Houston-Torlonia, and the similarity of the coiffure is very general at best; neither facial profile nor coiffure convincingly resembles Julia's coin portraits. Cf. the frontal view in Meischner, *op. cit.*, fig. 98. The head is a contemporary private portrait.

30. H. Mattingly, *British Museum. Coins of the Roman Empire V*, p. 237 nr. 416, pl. 38.5; Kent, *op. cit.*, p. 305 nr. 39 pl. 113 nr. 393.

31. For the "melon" coiffure, in addition to works cited in note 8 above, see Mattingly, *BMCRE V* pp. 234 nr. 395, 235 nr. 400, 402, 236 nr. 407, 409, 411, pls. 37. 15, 18–20; 38.1–3.

32. Cf. Mattingly, *BMCRE V*, p. cliv; P. V. Hill, *The Coinage of Septimius Severus and his Family of the Mint of Rome, A.D. 193–217*, London 1964, p. 28 nos. 611 ff.

33. Hill, *op. cit.*, p. 28 nr. 628.

34. Naville et Cie., *Monnaies romaines antiques. Collection H.D. Levis, catalogue illustré*, Geneva 1925, p. 47 nr. 757, pl. 31; cf. *British Museum, Greek Coins of Phrygia* p. 99 nr. 72. For the dating of Caracalla's portrait types, see Nodelman, *op. cit.*

35. Mattingly, *BMCRE V* pl. 37. 17, 38. 7; Wiggers-Wegner *op. cit.*, pl.



Figure 15. Portrait head of the empress Plautilla. Copy after an original of A.D. 202. Rome, Musei Vaticani, magazzino.

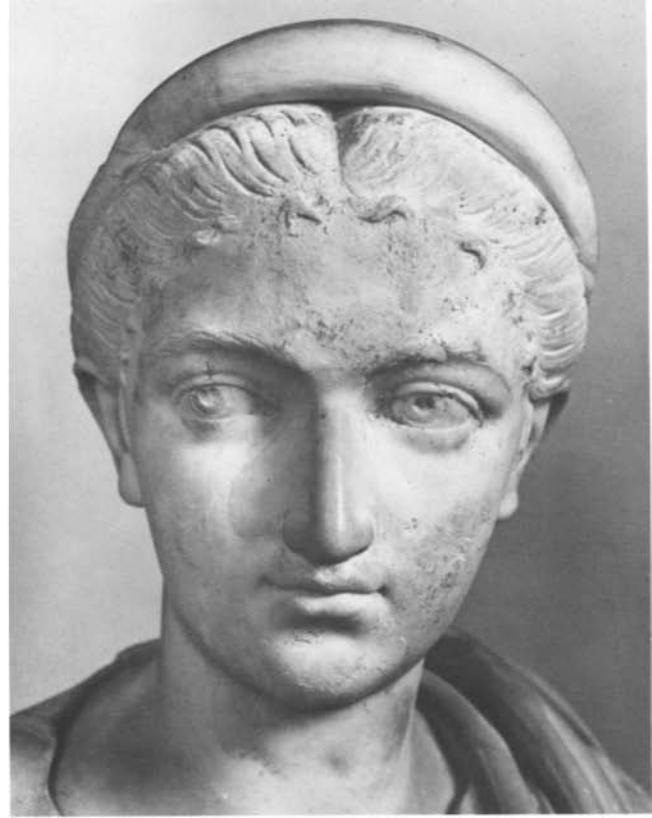


Figure 16. Portrait of the empress Plautilla. Copy after an original probably of the year 202. Rome, Musei Vaticani, Sala dei Busti.

those worn in the clearly subsequent groups.³⁵ The Malibu-Houston-Torlonia type will thus have been Plautilla's third official type and will have been introduced relatively late in 202, perhaps remaining current for some time during early 203. Its appearance is strikingly more mature than that of Plautilla's initial type, and it would seem to have been the first to characterize her as a young woman, not as a child. It may, on this account, have been widely promoted; this could explain its lopsided numerical prominence within the scanty remains of Plautilla's sculptured portraiture.

Two other sculptured portraits, each surviving in a single replica, also have good claim to represent Plautilla.

28, c; the closely related type, Mattingly *op. cit.*, pl. 38 4, Wiggers-Wegner pl. 28. d may also belong here.

36. G. Kaschnitz-Weinberg, *Sculture del Magazzino del Museo Vaticano*, Vatican City 1936, I p. 297 nr. 731, II pl. CXII. First proposed as Plautilla by myself in 1964; subsequently by C. Saletti, *Ritratti severiani*, Rome 1967, pp. 41f. and by H. Wiggers *op. cit.*, pp. 127f., pl. 29 a-b. (Wiggers, pp. 117, 124, erroneously supposes the portrait of a girl wearing the "melon" coiffure in Naples, Museo Nazionale, [Guida Reusch p. 254 nr. 6189 (1057)] to be a replica of this piece; cf. Nodelman, *op. cit.*) Portraits of young girls of this period wearing the "melon" coiffure are frequently proposed as Plautilla on the basis of casual resemblance to the coin-portrait. E.g., the three portraits cited by K. Fittschen, *GGA* 230 (1978)

The first, a badly battered head in the magazines of the Museo Vaticano, wears the melon coiffure and clearly corresponds to the earliest numismatically attested type (fig. 15).³⁶ It is much more juvenile in appearance than the Malibu-Houston-Torlonia type. Despite its childish pudginess, the as yet unformed features nevertheless correspond closely to those of the more mature portrait. There is the same long oval shape to the face, the same high, rounded forehead, low-bridged nose, wide-set eyes beneath high-arched brows, and the same small but full-lipped mouth. A diademed bust in the Vatican Sala dei Busti,³⁷ worn, heavily cleaned, and much restored, shows an older girl (fig. 16), comparable in age to the Malibu-Houston-Torlonia

p. 146 n. 23, as a possible type of Plautilla, are not replicas of one another, and none correspond in detail to the coin-portrait with "melon" coiffure: in particular the covered ear has no numismatic parallel.

37. Rome, Museo Vaticano, Sala dei Busti: W. Amelung, *Die Skulpturen des Vatikanischen Museums II* (Berlin 1908) p. 497 nr. 300, pl. 68. First proposed as Plautilla by Meischner, *op. cit.*, pp. 83f., 87, fig. 59; followed by H. Wiggers in Wiggers-Wegner, *op. cit.*, pp. 119, 128, pl. 29, c-d. Like the Torlonia and Santa Barbara replicas of the Malibu-Houston-Torlonia type, this portrait wears the diadem. Coiffure related to, but not identical with any of Plautilla's so far known numismatically attested types.

type and is no doubt close to it in date. It displays a coiffure resembling, but not identical with, ones worn by Plautilla in coin-portraits which typologically follow the melon arrangement of the juvenile portrait but precede the elaborate turban designs of which the hairstyle of Malibu-Houston-Torlonia is one. Despite a notable difference of sculptural style, the physiognomic characteristics support, or at least do not oppose, the identification. The certainty of the young woman's imperial status, her age, and the narrow range of dating possible for the portrait help to confirm the identification, despite its lack of numismatic attestation. Neither of these pieces, however, because of their poor state of preservation and their status as isolated replicas approaches the Malibu-Houston-Torlonia type in iconographic value or as a document of Severan art.

A critical evaluation of the Malibu-Houston-Torlonia type, aimed at reconstructing the design and stylistic character of the original and determining the relationship of the various replicas to it, must focus on the Malibu and Houston replicas, with the others filling a supporting role. The Museo Torlonia portrait is at present inaccessible to scholars and known only inadequately through the old photograph here reproduced (fig. 10); among its other failings it does not permit the extent of the restorations (certainly present) to be ascertained with confidence. The face of the fourth replica, in Irvine, has been so transformed by recutting, except for its lower part round mouth and chin, as to be valueless as a comparison; nevertheless most of the sides and the back of the head to the rear of the diadem, although worked over by the restorer, preserve the original design and can bear independent witness. The coarse and insensitive rendering of these areas suggests that, even in pristine condition, the piece was no rival for the Houston and Malibu heads in quality.

In stylistic orientation and in the degree and manner in which each may be taken to reflect the nature of their common original, the Houston and Malibu portraits differ pronouncedly.³⁸ These differences are not to be accounted for by incompetence, carelessness, or provincialism. Both portraits are fully metropolitan in style³⁹ and finely executed by able and scrupulous craftsmen. Much of the difference in their immediate appearance can be attributed to disparity of condition. The dazzling effect of the Houston replica owes not a little to the freshness of its beautifully

preserved and finely modeled surface. By contrast, much of the surface of the Malibu head has been dulled by the loss not only of the final polish but also of the immediate underlayer of finely nuanced modeling which, in works of this period, contributes so importantly to the overall effect. On the other hand, the eyes, nose and right cheek of the Houston portrait are scarred by chisel-strokes, not accidental damage, but surely marks of a deliberate defacement of the image of the fallen empress.

The most obvious dissimilarity between the Malibu and Houston replicas is in the attitude of the head itself. The Malibu, Torlonia, and Irvine replicas agree in presenting the head turned slightly to its right. The Houston head is swivelled upon its neck more abruptly to the left, and is turned notably downwards (a posture which the existing photographs unfortunately do not convey, but which is striking in the original). These disparities exceed what might be occasioned by the mirror-reversal which is so common a feature of the copying process;⁴⁰ they reflect, as we will see, a significant contrast in the entire sculptural conception of the two heads. Otherwise the Malibu and Houston heads differ in two principal respects: in specific details, most importantly in the organization of the elaborate coiffure, and in their specific rendering of plastic form. In the first regard, the major distinction is in the number of bands into which the hair is divided. Above the broad forehead band, the Malibu replica shows nine narrow rolls while the Houston replica displays four wider ones.^{40A} The more complicated arrangement of the Malibu head would seem to have the advantage of the *lectio difficilior*; it is confirmed by the evidence of the Irvine head which also shows nine rows.⁴¹ (At the back of the head, obviously an area of secondary interest, the details of the coiffure vary freely among the three replicas: the precise angle at which it is drawn back upon the neck, the height of the turned-up chignon and the number of plaits, not corresponding to that found at the sides, into which it is divided.) Some other refinements which are passed over in the Houston replica are preserved by the Malibu head. At the center of the first broad band over the forehead, the hair is combed upward in a contrary accent to the prevailing direction; in the Houston portrait, it is drawn uniformly downwards and to the sides. Hardly visible in

38. In the fall of 1978, the Houston portrait arrived in Malibu for a loan of several months. On that occasion, thanks to the kindness of Dr. Jifi Frel, I had the opportunity to examine the two heads side by side under optimal conditions. Subsequently, through the courtesy of the owner and of Dr. F. Yegül, I was able to inspect the Irvine head during its short stay in Malibu.

39. Inan and Rosenbaum, *loc. cit.*, include the Malibu head in their corpus of Roman portrait sculpture from Asia Minor. So far as I know,

no positive evidence of provenance justifies this. The evidence of marble and of sculptural style recommend ascription to an Italian and probably Roman workshop. The same is even more strongly true for the Houston head.

40. On mirror-reversal accompanying the copying process see in general C. C. Vermeule, *Greek Sculpture and Roman Taste*, Ann Arbor 1977, pp. 45ff. In the case of the imperial portraiture, it will often have

photographs is the trace of a flick of hair curling toward the left over the bridge of the nose from the inner corner of the left eyebrow. This subtle detail with its enlivening effect of rhythmic contrast is elided in the Houston replica but must surely have been a feature of the original. As for the curls which escape the tightly plaited coiffure on either side at the nape of the neck, there are two of these in the Malibu replica and three in that in Houston; this detail is omitted in the Irvine replica altogether, or has been recut. Here the Houston head's rendering of this felicitous detail seems visually the more cogent and the more likely to represent the original. The impression of painstaking faithfulness of transcription in the Malibu portrait is strengthened by the careful, minute rendering of the texture of the hair, in contrast to its broader, looser treatment on the Houston replica.

But this impression would seem to be reversed when one turns from the item by item enumeration of ornamental details to the overall modeling, in particular that of the facial surfaces. Here the Malibu replica appears blank and generalized when compared to the wealth and variety of accent to be found in the Houston head. Some of this is surely the result of surface wear. On the better preserved left side of the Malibu portrait (the cheek and the hollow around the eye), the original finish is preserved and evinces a delicacy of execution certainly the equivalent to that of the Houston head. And, at the corner of the mouth, barely to be discerned is a passage of differentiated muscular structure which has no counterpart in the Houston piece. Nevertheless, it is clear that despite the near identity of the general layout derived from their common original, the plastic structure of the two heads is very different. The sobriety of the Malibu portrait's registration of detail and its measured evenness of emphasis accompany a composition based upon an implied scaffolding of stable, neatly interlocked vertical and horizontal axes underlying the mobile surface forms of the facial features. The three-dimensional modeling of the head, in closed volumes whose broad, quiet surfaces are set parallel to one another in the successive planes of depth, produces the same effect of stability and containment. The Houston replica is conceived, on the contrary, in terms of dynamic oppositions of sharply defined, swelling volumes whose intersections form a network of swooping, mutually con-

trasted curves. The result is an accentuated modeling full of strong emphases, playing solids and voids against one another in vibrating interaction and, in so doing, generating effects of tremulous light and shadow. Within the major planes, local variations and contrasts of modeling are equally rich. Though the intensity and nuances of these effects are heightened by the lustrous, beautifully preserved surface of the Houston portrait, the disparity between the two by no means arise merely from the accidents of preservation. In the Houston portrait, for example, the inner corners of the eyes are extended and drawn sharply downwards, resulting in a much more complex and active configuration than the relatively static, symmetrical ovals of the Malibu head. Similarly, the mouth of the Houston portrait is turned up more strongly at the corners and simultaneously sucked inward, creating deep hollows which contrast with the pouting center; the rich expressive modeling which results has no counterpart in the Malibu replica. The same variety and differentiation of form can also be seen in the treatment of the hair in the wide forehead band which frames the face. Compare the Houston head's contrast-filled undulations with the smooth surface of the band on the Malibu head's better-preserved left side, with its evenly-spaced, repetitive striations; the same distinction can be observed in the treatment of the lower contour which outlines the band against the forehead beneath. (Here the evidence of the Torlonia replica confirms the Houston head's handling: the strongly waved lower edge of the forehead band is clearly visible in the photograph.) This dynamized modeling is entirely consonant with the more energetic, momentary effect produced by the vigorous turn of the head itself.

Since the Malibu portrait probably transmits a more accurate rendition of the coiffure and of certain other details of the original than does its Houston sister, one must ask whether this is equally true of the facial modeling and general sculptural style as well, and whether the very different modeling of the Houston head should be dismissed as a mere aberration. But it is just this modeling, since it is the more complex and fully articulated, which has the better claim, on "text-critical" grounds, to represent the intentions of the original. Here the Irvine head, entirely recut, can offer no corroboration. The Torlonia piece, so far as can be judged from the photograph, appears inter-

been motivated by the requirements of hierarchical arrangement within variously composed imperial family portrait groups.

40A. K. Fittschen, *GGA* 230 (1978) p. 149 n. 29, denies the replica relationship between the Malibu and Houston heads on the ground of this disparity; he inclines to see Plautilla in the former, Julia Paula in the latter. To ignore in favor of this single detail the overwhelming similarities in basic design (and many other details) in order to posit two distinct types representing two individuals is methodologically indefensi-

ble even without the confirmatory evidence of the Torlonia and Santa Barbara replicas.

41. Nine such bands are indeed visible in a normal profile view; in fact, as a rear view reveals, the Santa Barbara replica continues this arrangement at the very back of the head in ever-narrowing concentric rings; this in contrast to the Malibu and Houston heads, in which the bands cease at the back of the head, leaving a flat-combed wedge of hair between.



Figure 17. Portrait head of Geta Caesar, Type I. Copy after an original of A.D. 198. Munich, Glyptothek.



Figure 18. Portrait of the empress Julia Domna, Type II. Copy after an original of A.D. 196. Bloomington, Indiana, University of Indiana Art Museum.

mediate between the two in the activation of its surfaces (for example the puckers at the corners of the mouth are clearly visible). To the extent that wear and modern cleaning would surely have dulled rather than enhanced this effect, this might be taken as a confirmation of the claims of the Houston replica. But with the piece itself inaccessible, it is surely dangerous to base too much on this impression.

However, the question is not insoluble. A considerable number of other portrait types, commissioned during the same years for the Severan imperial household, survive in samplings large enough to be representative and include high quality replicas which may reasonably be supposed to convey a good idea of the stylistic character of their originals. Some of these, indeed, form a coherent and stylistically distinctive group, suggestive of the activity of a particular court sculptor.⁴² A few typical examples may suffice here: one, the first official portrait type of Plautilla's young brother-in-law Geta, created in 198 and illustrated

by its premier replica in the Glyptothek at Munich (fig. 17); another, the second type, dating to 196, of her mother-in-law, the empress Julia Domna (I illustrate the splendid replica recently acquired by the Art Museum of the University of Indiana [fig. 18]). A third, Caracalla's second type of A.D. 197, is illustrated by the fine, over life-size replica in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek in Copenhagen, nr. 728 (fig. 19), and a fourth, his famous, mature Type VIII of A.D. 212—all the more valuable as a term of comparison because of its deliberate, programmatically inspired differences, which I represent with the magnificent replica in Copenhagen, nr. 730a (fig. 20).⁴³ All these portraits exhibit the same deep modeling, the same vibrant play of chiaroscuro, the same composition in plunging, contrasted curves, and the same wealth of inner contrasts as does the Houston head. They validate its claim, as against that of the Malibu replica, more fully to transmit the fundamental stylistic character of the original.

42. An attempt is made to isolate the contributions of the leading Severan court portrait sculptors in Nodelman, *op. cit.*

43. Geta: L. Budde, *Jugendbildnisse Caracallas und Getas*, Münster

Westf. 1961, p. 37, pl. 21; H. Wiggers in Wiggers-Wegner *op. cit.*, pp. 97ff., 108, pl. 25. Julia Domna: *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* ser. 6, v. 87, 1976, *Chronique des Arts* p. 33, nr. 123. The typology and chronology of these por-

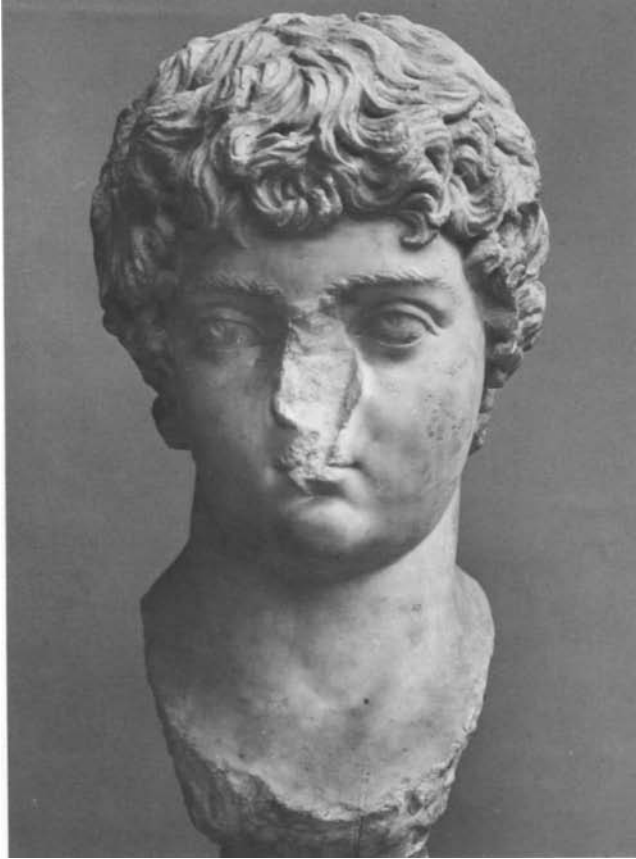


Figure 19. Portrait head of the emperor Caracalla, Type II. Copy after an original of A.D. 197. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek 728.

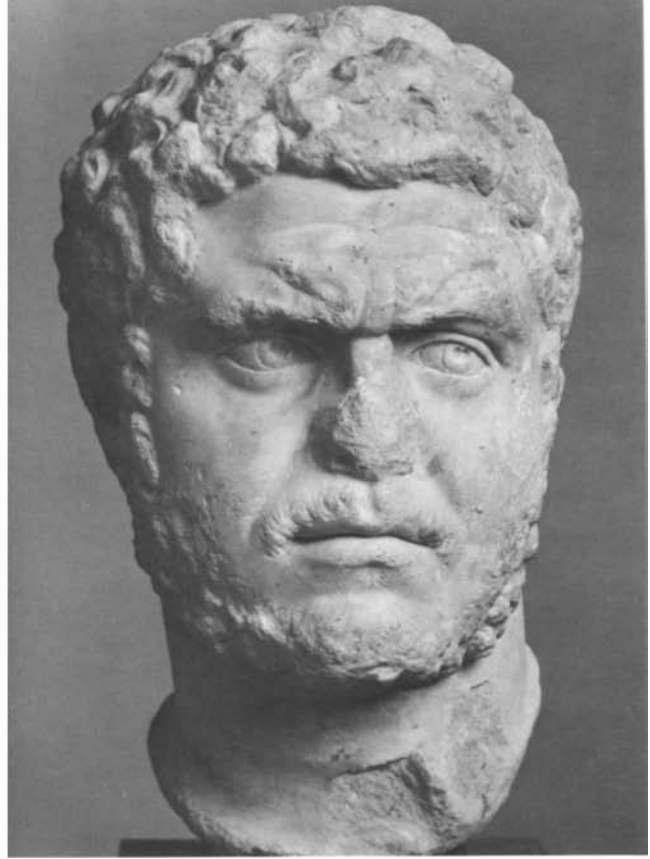


Figure 20. Portrait head of the emperor Caracalla, Type VIII. Copy after an original of A.D. 212. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek 730a.

Our comparison of the Malibu and Houston replicas throws some most interesting light upon the complexities of the copying process through which Roman imperial portraits have come down to us and upon the contemporary artistic situation within which this process was carried on. The stylistic properties exemplified in the portraits of Julia Domna and of Geta just cited, and which the original of the Malibu-Houston-Torlonia type surely shared, were the vehicles of revolutionary innovations in Roman sculpture at the beginning of the third century A.D. The reformulated plastic structure which accompanied these innovations discarded the remnants of tectonic rationality whose tradition went back to fifth century Greece and based itself instead on subjective optical effects, a kind of chiaroscuro painting in space, to which the objective three-dimensional modeling was entirely subservient. The repercussions of this new conception throughout contemporary artistic production were immediate and wide-

spread.⁴⁴ The contrast between the Malibu and Houston heads reflects this situation directly. Two very accomplished sculptors, given the task of reproducing a common model, took different approaches. The discrepancies which separate the sculptures from their original and from one another are coherent and purposeful, emphatically not the mere mechanical accumulation of random errors which usually accompanies the copying process.

The sculptor of the Houston head simplified the elaborate coiffure, reducing the number and broadening the scale of the component bands. Committed to the energetic, large-scale motion of the surface planes, he evidently felt that these tight, linear complexities would retard their rhythm and subtract from the immediacy of compositional effect. The same motive accounts for his elision of small details such as the flick of hair over the bridge of the nose. Its counter-curvature might have impeded the plunging arc of brow-line into nose whose graphic continuity is fun-

traits, and their stylistic evaluation are discussed in Nodelman, *op. cit.*

44. Full discussion in Nodelman, *op. cit.* A few preliminary remarks in

S. Nodelman, "How to Read a Roman Portrait," *Art in America*, January-February 1975, p. 32.

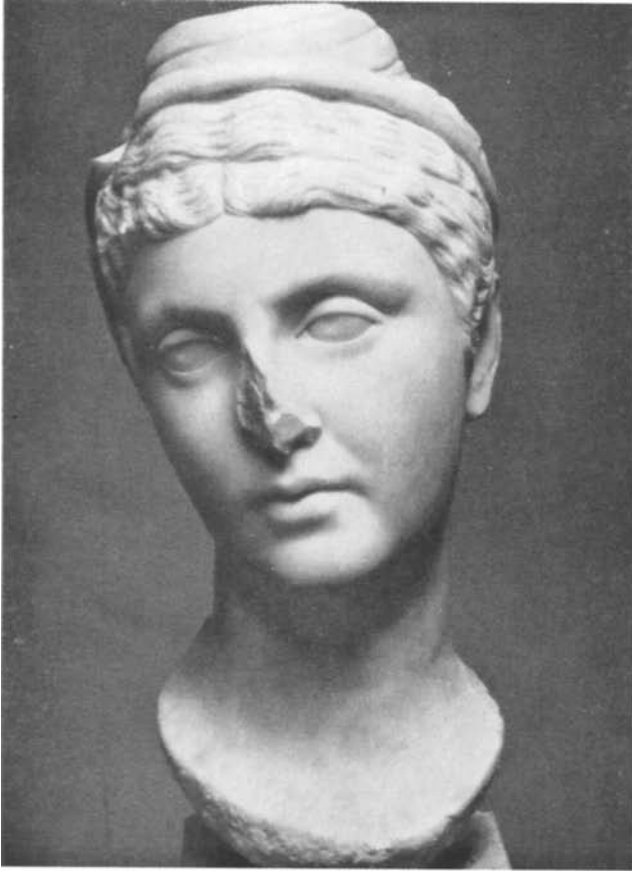


Figure 21. Portrait head of the empress Faustina Senior. Copy after an original of A.D. 138. Ostia, Museo Ostiense.

damental to the design. The exquisite care which he lavishes on variations and contrasts of modeling within the major facial planes is sufficient proof that his abbreviations elsewhere are not the result of laziness or inadvertence. The Houston sculptor shows himself to be an enthusiastic adherent of the new conception of form. Not able to accommodate the full complexity of content which the original (whose author was surely the foremost sculptor of his day) had held in synthesis, he chose to stress what he rightly took to be the essentials, maximizing the energy of the modeling, the fluency of the moving surfaces, and the hair-trigger interplay of the mobile facial organs caught in momentary psychological flux.

The Malibu sculptor proceeded differently. Painstaking in his inventory of fixed, ornamental detail, he seems to have set out to minimize the dynamic instabilities and passionate urgency of effect which had so engaged his col-

45. M. Wegner, *Das antoninische Herrscherbild*, Berlin 1940, pp. 159–160, pl. 11; R. Calza, *Scavi di Ostia. I ritratti I* pp. 90–91 nr. 144, pl. 85.

46. Wegner, *op. cit.*, pp. 34–37, pls. 14–15.

47. *Hesperia* 27 (1958), p. 155, pl. 43b; E. Harrison, *Ancient Portraits*



Figure 22. Miniature portrait head of the empress Julia Domna, Type II. Copy after an original of A.D. 196. Athens, Agora Museum.

league. Checking with implied right angles the swift curvatures of planar intersection with which the basic facial design of the original has been articulated, he sought to limit the depth and still the contrasts of the modeling, turning the vivid oppositions of highlight and shadow into a delicate *sfumato*. The troubled intensity of emotional content is likewise muted into a fragile, elegiac calm. The loyalties of this sculptor are easily discerned: he looked back to the tradition of Antonine court portraiture of half a century before. He has sought to constrain the audacities of the original of Plautilla's portrait within their limits. Portraits such as the posthumous type of Faustina the Elder, best represented by the lovely head at Ostia (fig. 21),⁴⁵ or those of the young Marcus Aurelius,⁴⁶ in their chaste, classicizing formal containment and gentle, nostalgic inwardness, could easily have been his inspiration.

The contrast between these two sculptors, divided by

from the Athenian Agora, Princeton 1960, fig. 23.

48. C. Vermeule, *Bulletin* 58 (1960) pp. 23–25, figs. 12–14; A. M. McCann, *The Portraits of Septimius Severus* (Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome, 30) Rome 1968, pp. 114, 174f. nr. 89, pl. 77; M. Com-

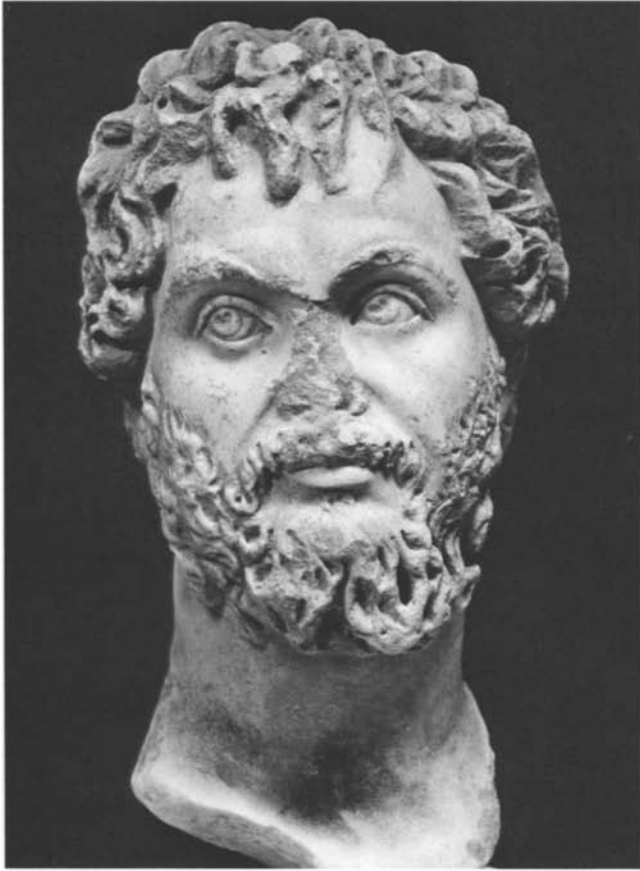


Figure 23. Portrait head of the emperor Septimius Severus, Type III. Copy after an original of ca. A.D. 200. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, Harriet Otis Cruft Fund.

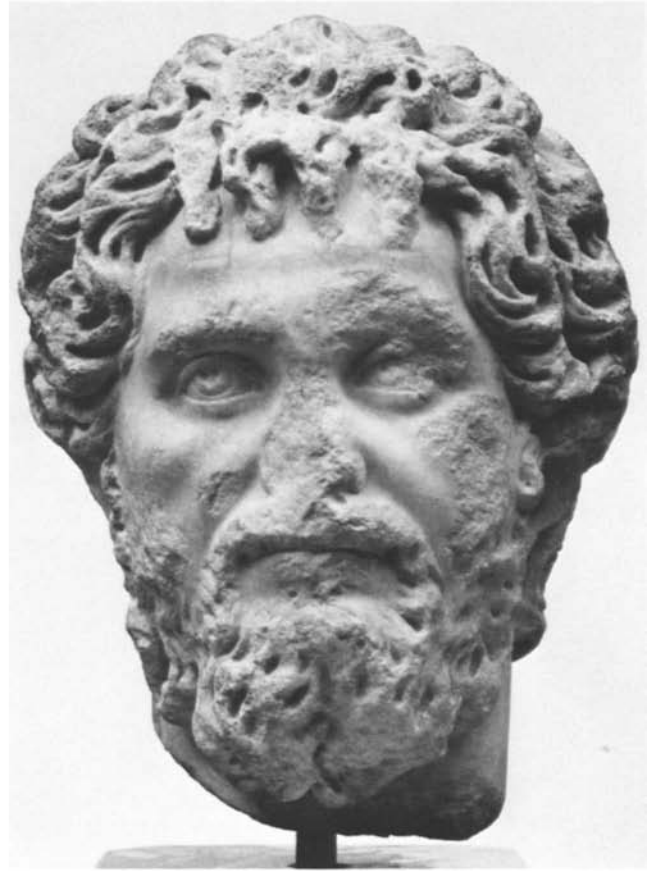


Figure 24. Portrait head of the emperor Septimius Severus, Type III. Rome, Santa Pudenziana.

temperament and perhaps by generation, in the face of contemporary artistic perturbations is most instructive. With its deft simplifications and pointedness of expression, the Houston sculptor's head has something of the quality of a sketch after its original. It is interesting that other examples of such a procedure make their appearance precisely at this time in Severan sculpture, when the tenuous link between objective plastic form and visual impression was definitively broken.⁴⁶ A sketch in this sense, and a brilliantly successful one, is the miniature head of Julia Domna found some years ago in the Athenian Agora (fig. 22).⁴⁷ It should be compared with the fine, full-scale replica of the same type in Bloomington referred to above (fig. 18). Even more remarkable, and, at full scale, more apposite, is the extraordinary head of Septimius Severus from Ostia or Portus, now in Boston (fig. 23),⁴⁸ of the emperor's third, so-called "Sarapis" type. Compare a nor-

mal replica of the type such as that in Santa Pudenziana in Rome (fig. 24).⁴⁹ The Boston head, finely executed and carefully finished, is not a "sketch" in the sense of a hasty or casual approximation of its model; rather it is a drastic reinterpretation. The complexities of facial modeling are greatly reduced and the basic scheme of contracted facial musculature exaggerated to heighten emotional pathos and immediacy of effect. The running drill is used with staccato effect to emphasize contrasts of light and dark. The sculptor of the original after which these portraits are copied was a somewhat more conservative colleague of the court portraitist responsible for the Malibu-Houston-Torlonia type and for the portraits of other members of the Severan family mentioned above. Here too, a prototype by an artist with one stylistic bent is being copied by an artist with another, markedly different one; and here too the copyist has imposed his vision upon his

stock and C. Vermeule, *Sculpture in Stone. The Greek, Etruscan and Roman Collections of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* 1976, p. 235 nr. 369.

49. McCann, *op. cit.*, p. 176, nr. 92, pl. LXXIX; *Roman Portraits. Aspects of Self and Society*, pp. 70ff. nr. 13; J. Frel, *Roman Portraits in the*

Getty Museum, Malibu 1981, pp. 80f. nr. 64. (This head found its way to the Getty Museum as a donation, after having been stolen from Santa Pudenziana in 1968. When its origin became known, the museum promptly returned the piece.—ed.)



Figure 25. Head of *Spring* from spandrel relief of the Arch of Septimius Severus. Rome, Forum, A.D. 203 (Photo: American Academy in Rome.)



Figure 26. Head of *Autumn* from spandrel relief of the Arch of Septimius Severus. Rome, Forum, A.D. 203 (Photo: American Academy in Rome.)

model. In this case the relationship is reversed: a sculptor espousing the radical trend in contemporary art has produced an edited, even transformed version of a more traditional original.

The period during which the sculptors of the Boston and Santa Pudenziana heads produced their so divergent versions of Septimius' third portrait type, narrowly delimited by the duration of the type itself, A.D. 200–205, corresponds perfectly to that in which the Houston and Malibu sculptors were producing their own profoundly opposed interpretations of Plautilla's portrait (late 202 or early 203). And it was exactly at this latter moment that the spandrel reliefs of the great Arch being raised to Septimius Severus in the Roman Forum (dedicated 203) were being carved. The startling confrontation between the heads of the allegorical figures of *Spring* and *Autumn*⁵⁰ reveals side by side on the most prestigious contemporary artistic commission for the Roman state, the same polarization of radical and conservative stylistic attitudes (figs. 25 and 26).

Our close look at the Malibu-Houston-Torlonia portrait of Plautilla is thus triply repaid. An iconographic blank has been filled, and the appealing image of a doomed princess is now clearly identified. A significant work of art has been restored to the sequence of sculpture produced for the imperial court at Rome during the first years of the third century A.D. And a glimpse has been gained into the historical reality of Roman art—in the concrete choices by which Roman artists responded to conflicting aesthetic possibilities in an age of revolutionary change.

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50. R. Brilliant, *The Arch of Septimius Severus in the Roman Forum* (Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome, 29) Rome, 1969 pp. 115 ff., pl. 40 a, c.

L'épithaphe d'Hélène

Jean-Paul Boucher

Les Romains aimaient les animaux familiers : les textes poétiques rejoignent les monuments figurés pour nous en donner de nombreuses preuves. Ainsi Martial a consacré quelques vers¹ à célébrer Issa, une petite chienne, et le tableau qui la représentait. Le maître d'Issa, Publius, aimait tant son animal favori qu'il en avait fait peindre un portrait dont la ressemblance, au témoignage du poète, était surprenante. Issa devait appartenir à la race des *canes Melitaei*, qui, d'après Pline l'Ancien, reprenant Callimaque, tiraient leur nom de l'île de Mélitè (aujourd'hui Mljet / Méléda) proche de Corcyre.² Issa portait en effet le nom d'une autre île de l'Adriatique³ (aujourd'hui Vis / Lissa) toute proche elle aussi de Corcyre.

Ces petits chiens (*catulus*, *catella*, *κυνίδιον* disent les Anciens) partageaient parfois le lit de leur maître ou de leur maîtresse⁴ et passaient pour soulager par leur contact les maux d'estomac.⁵ Souvent ils étaient l'objet d'une affection très vive que satiriques et épigrammatistes jugeaient abusive.⁶ Cette race des *canes Melitaei* jouissait d'une considération particulière, et dans ses *Caractères* (XXI) Théophraste nous montre un vaniteux qui fait aménager pour son *κυνάριον Μελιταίου* qui est mort, une tombe avec une petite stèle sur laquelle il a fait inscrire : *Κλάδος Μελιταῖος*.

Ces animaux que l'on désigne par le nom de « chiens de Malte » sont connus par des terres cuites qui ont diffusé leur type,⁷ bien déterminé. « C'est un chien de petite taille, au front assez large et au museau pointu ; les oreilles sont droites, le poil long et fourni, la queue touffue, ordinairement retournée sur elle-même. »⁸

Au Musée J. Paul Getty⁹ un couvercle de sarcophage porte la représentation d'une fillette étendue sur un lit : sa main gauche s'étend sur le corps d'un tout petit chien (fig. 1) dont la tête a disparu mais dont la queue retroussée et la

petite taille font croire qu'il s'agit encore d'un *catellus Melitaeus*, animal favori de la jeune morte qui partage son repos.

La description citée plus haut convient bien aussi à Hélène, la petite chienne figurée sur une petite stèle (comme l'animal du vaniteux chez Théophraste) qui est aujourd'hui exposée au Musée J. Paul Getty¹⁰ après avoir été conservée dans la villa Sinibaldi, puis dans la collection du château de Lowther Castle (près de Penrith, Westmoreland).

Cette stèle, haute de 0,605 m, large de 0,31 m, présente la forme d'un naiskos : un fronton triangulaire pourvu d'acrotères est soutenu par deux pilastres corinthiens ; entre eux apparaît la petite chienne qui montre un ventre pendant et des mammelles tombantes. La dédicace,¹¹ inscrite au dessous, comporte quatre lignes :

HELENAE ALVMNAE
ANIMAE
INCOMPARABILI ET
BENE MERENTI

Choisir un nom pour un chien est affaire de circonstance : la fille de Lédà, Hélène, passait pour la plus belle femme du monde et c'est pourquoi Aphrodite l'avait promise en récompense à Pâris lors du célèbre jugement. Le nom d'Hélène est symbole de beauté ; peut-être aujourd'hui aurions-nous appelé « Belle » cette petite chienne. C'était la beauté de la jeune bête qui avait incité son maître à choisir ce nom ; mais Hélène avait vieilli et la petite stèle funéraire nous présente une vieille bête dont le ventre alourdi a été déformé par de nombreuses portées. Le souci de réalisme dans la représentation contraste singulièrement avec le nom de l'animal.

« A Hélène que nous avons élevée, être incomparable et

1. *Epigrammes* I, 110.

2. « Inter quam et Illyricum Melite unde catulos Melitaeos appellari Callimachus auctor est » Plin. *N.H.* III, 152 ; cf. *RE*, *Melite*, c. 547-548. Mais Strabon (VII, 2, 12) rattache la race à l'île de Malte.

3. Sur Issa u. Plin. *N.H.*, III, 152.

4. Pl. *Curc.* 691, Prop. IV, 3, 55-56.

5. Plin. *N.H.*, XXX, 43, « Hi quoque quos Melitaeos uocamus, stomachi dolorem sedant adplicati saepius. »

6. Mart. VII, 87, « Publius exiguae flagrat amore catellae » ; Iuu. VI, 654, « Morte uiri cupiant animam seruare catellae ».

7. S. Besques, *Catalogue raisonné des figurines et reliefs en terre cuite grecs, étrusques et romains du Musée du Louvre* Paris (1972) t. III, vol. II, D 1320 s. *Das Tier in der Antike*, Arch. Inst. Universität Zürich (1974), fig. 112-115.

8. E. Cougny in *DS*, *canis*, p. 883 et fig. 1113.

9. J. Frel, *Roman Portraits in the Getty Museum* n° 50, 73.AA.11.

10. 78.AA.61 Sotheby, 1 juillet 1969, no. 135. CC. Vermeule-U. Henerby, *Cat. of the Auc. Art in the J. Paul Getty Museum* (1973), J. Frel, *Checklist 2* (1979), V 48, no. 84.

11. C.I.L. VI, 19190. Champ épigraphique h=0,15, l=0,21 ; lettres h=0,025/02.



Figure 1.

qui a bien mérité (de nous). » *Alumnus*, comme le grec, *θηρετός* s'employait pour les esclaves élevés à la maison et remplaçait le vieux mot *uerna*. En appliquant à Héléne cette qualification, son maître voulait rappeler qu'elle avait été élevée dans sa maison. Quant au mot *anima*,¹² il appartient au vocabulaire funéraire et s'emploie dans les inscriptions pour qualifier des défunts qui étaient l'objet d'une vive affection, notamment les enfants, les jeunes femmes, les êtres jeunes, tous ceux envers qui l'expression de l'affection est plus apparente et plus marquée.

Incomparabili et *bene merenti* appartiennent aussi à l'usage des épitaphes : on attribue des qualités à des personnes aimées dont la première épithète souligne la qualité irremplaçable et la seconde la conduite à l'égard de celui qui a composé l'épitaphe. *Incomparabili* rappelle le caractère unique d'un être animé et l'expression *anima incomparabilis*¹³ est fréquente. *Bene merenti* traduit habituellement la reconnaissance du dédicant envers le défunt pour ses actes, sa façon d'être, ses sentiments et c'est un témoignage rendu aux parents par les enfants, au patron par ses affranchis ; mais parfois le rapport est inversé et ce sont les parents qui soulignent les mérites de l'enfant mort.

Ici les épithètes constituent l'éloge d'Héléne et font apparaître sa personnalité, son attachement à ses maîtres. Les formules employées par le dédicant pour Héléne auraient pu être utilisées pour un enfant, une femme, un être cher.¹⁴

12. Nombreux ex. d'*anima* dans C.I.L. XIII; pour des enfants u. e.g. VIII, 7853, 16582; XIII, 794, 2510.

13. *anima incomparabilis* : C.I.L. XII, 794 pour une jeune fille, 2510 pour une fillette; XIII, 11203 pour un jeune homme de 27 ans. Cf; encore XIII, 2194, 2297, 11203.

14. Pour des épitaphes de chien, u. F. PLESSIS, *Poésie latine. Epitaphes*, Paris 1905, n° 63-66.



Figure 2.

An Etruscan Stone Winged Lion

Mario A. Del Chiaro

Earlier publication of Etruscan stone sculpture in the J. Paul Getty Museum collection, at first of three diverse pieces,¹ then of a remarkable Medusa head,² may be now—owing to recent restoration³—augmented by an additional stone sculpture (figs. 1–3). Although highly fragmentary and with much worn, scarred, and damaged surface, the work yet deserves presentation in this journal.⁴ This stone (*tufo* or *nenfro*) sculpture portrays a winged lion of characteristically Archaic Etruscan type—seated on its haunches, with gaping mouth and sickle-shaped wings (see figs. 4, 5, and 6)⁵—which, like its *sphinx* counterparts, must have originally served as a guardian figure to a tomb.⁶

Although the exposed, surprisingly well preserved underside of the wings of the Getty lion is plain and gently convex or broadly beveled in cross-section, the outer edge is so extensively damaged that it is impossible to discern whether or not the surface was originally plain, concave, or carved in two to three “longitudinal” planes as known from some specimens.⁷ The individual feathers of the wings are basically trapezoidal in shape with the narrow tapering portion nearest the inner curve of the wing.⁸ Granted that the smaller, regular teeth between the fangs and along each side of the angular mouth are fairly well defined (three at the front and four to each side), much of the fearful aspect of the Getty guardian lion is lost because of broken and missing portions of the once prominent fangs (see figs. 4 and 5).⁹ Nonetheless, a certain ferocity is achieved by means of four horizontal furrows which run

horizontally along the muzzle directly beneath the nose, indicative of a snarl or nose wrinkles, not whiskers.¹⁰ The more usual manner of showing the snarl was to model the furrows (or wrinkles) in a pattern radiating from the tip of the nose (see figs. 4 and 6).¹¹ The now barely discernible wide open eyes, the right more visible than the left, are placed high and flat on the head and defined by a thin, sharply raised ridge that finds its “human” counterpart on the celebrated *tufo* centaur from Vulci in the Villa Giulia Museum, Rome.¹² The poor condition of the Getty piece makes it difficult to distinguish the character of the ears; they may have been either erect or, as is more often the case, folded back flat against the head. From the extant portions, it only remains to point out traces of vertical ridges at the chest or forepart of the lion which are all that survive of the straight forelegs of the seated animal.

Despite the battered nature of the Getty winged lion, it conveniently joins other previously reported Etruscan *tufo* sculptures in the J. Paul Getty Museum. That it serves as an additional Archaic type is aptly clear from its type and style, but that it may be more suitably placed within the early part of the first rather than second quarter of the sixth century B.C. is, in my opinion, demonstrated by the *horizontal* nose wrinkles (fig. 3) which follow an early tradition best exemplified by the lion adjuncts on the bronze cauldrons from the mid-seventh century Regolini-Galassi tomb (e.g., fig. 7).¹³ Furthermore, I believe the Getty lion can be assigned to Vulci, that Etruscan mari-

1. M. A. Del Chiaro, “Archaic Etruscan Stone Sculpture,” *The J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 5 (1977), pp. 45–54.

2. M. A. Del Chiaro, “A Monumental Etruscan Medusa Head,” *ibid.*, 9 (1981), pp. 53–58.

3. The extant sculpture has been recomposed from four relatively large fragments—joins vertical at mid-body and diagonal at the neck and jaw—and by smaller fragments along the wing.

4. Inv. no. 77.AA.76. Max. preserved height, ca. 48 cm.; max. preserved length, ca. 56 cm.; width, 23 cm. I wish to thank Dr. Jifí Frel, Curator of Antiquities, for permission to study and publish this specimen of Etruscan sculpture in the present number of the museum’s journal.

5. See A. Hus, *Recherches sur la statuaire en pierre étrusque archaïque* (Paris, 1961)—henceforth *Recherches*.

6. W. L. Brown, *The Etruscan Lion* (Oxford, 1960), pp. 62ff.; A. Hus, *op. cit.*, pp. 368ff.; E. Richardson, *The Etruscans* (Chicago, 1964), p. 95; and A. Hus, “Trois sculptures archaïques en pierre de Vulci et de sa

région,” *Hommages à Albert Grenier*, vol. 2 (Brussels, 1962), pp. 829–835.

7. See H. Hoffmann, *Ten Centuries that Shaped the West* (Mainz, 1971), no. 1; *Hommages Grenier*, vol. 2, p. 830, fig. 4; and A. Hus, *Recherches*, pl. XXXVI.

8. For variant rendering of wing feathers, see here fig. 6 and H. Hoffmann, *op. cit.*, no. 1, and M. Sprenger and G. Bartoloni, *Die Etrusker. Kunst und Geschichte* (Munich, 1977), pl. 61.

9. An especially fearsome snarl may be seen on a lion from Castro: *Scripta Minora V* (1975), p. 84, fig. 31.

10. Note Paul Jacobsthal’s delightful choice of illustration in *The Journal of Hellenistic Studies* 71 (1951), p. XXXII, b.

11. See also, W. L. Brown, *op. cit.*, pl. XXIV; A. Hus, *Recherches* pl. XXVI; H. Hoffmann, *op. cit.*, no. 1; and M. Sprenger and G. Bartoloni, *op. cit.*, pl. 61.

12. See *The J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 5 (1977), p. 47, fig. 4. Add to Note 7 (p. 46): M. Sprenger and G. Bartoloni, *op. cit.*, pl. 58.

13. M. Sprenger and G. Bartoloni, *op. cit.*, pls. 30 and 31.



Figures 1-3. Archaic Etruscan winged lion. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum, Inv. no. 77.AA.76.

time center responsible for so many extant Archaic sculptures carved from the regionally characteristic Vulcan tuff whose natural greyish-blue color, often disguised by

brownish-yellow surface "patina," is yet clearly visible at the breakages and abrasions of the Getty lion.

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Figure 2.



Figure 3.



Figure 4. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum.



Figure 5. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Inv. no. H 194a.



Figure 6. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Inv. no. 60.11.1.



Figure 7. Vatican, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco, Inv. no. 496. Bronze Cauldron from the Regolini-Galassi Tomb, Caere.

Deux petits bronzes à Malibu

Stéphanie Boucher

I. UN PETIT GUERRIER GREC

Cette figurine, d'apparence anodine, apporte quelque nouveauté dans la connaissance de la petite statuaire hellénique du Ve siècle.

La statuette, pourvue d'une belle patine verte et lisse,¹ est en bon état, sauf en ce qui concerne les pieds, dont les extrémités sont brisées au niveau d'une soudure probable sur un socle. Le sujet est dépourvu d'ambiguïté : il s'agit sans aucun doute d'un guerrier faisant une offrande (figs. 1a et 1b).

Notre personnage porte un casque à bombe coiffante, très simple, sans panache et sans paragnathides, muni au-dessus du bord frontal d'un décor sinueux (casque attique?). Dans le cou, une petite bande en relief figure, plutôt que le couvre-nuque, soit une mèche courte de cheveux, soit plus probablement, ces mêmes cheveux relevés, comme nous pouvons les voir sur des statues de grandes dimensions de la première moitié du Ve siècle.² Des mèches mi-longues, légèrement ondulées, bouclées à leur extrémité, descendent sur les côtés du cou; elles rappellent, elles aussi, la coiffure de nombre de figures de la même époque, mais dans ces derniers cas, les cheveux couvrent tempes et joues devant les oreilles.³ Oreilles qui, ici, sont bien dégagées et visibles, nettement dessinées, et pourvues de *boucles* rondes et plates. Sur les tempes apparaissent deux rangs de petites mèches également bouclées. Le visage ovale porte une courte barbe en relief détaillée soigneusement de petites incisions, comparable à celle de nombre de statues archaïques ou de l'archaïsme finissant.⁴ Les yeux, aux angles extérieurs abaissés, présentent dans l'orbite un doublage d'argent, mettant en relief de lourdes paupières; les globes, façonnés en une autre matière, précieuse certainement, ont disparu. Le corps est

vêtu d'une tunique courte et collante, serrée à la taille, rappelant celle de certaines figurines archaïques,⁵ qu'on aperçoit dans l'ouverture d'un épais manteau; la manche gauche de cette tunique apparaît nettement sur le bras découvert, ainsi que son encolure, pourvue d'un bord en relief, croisé à l'avant et à l'arrière. Le bras droit, sortant du manteau, est plié et relevé contre la poitrine, et la main est fermée sur la tige d'un objet qui a disparu (orifice visible), arraché sans doute parce qu'en matière précieuse. Il pourrait s'agir d'une fleur, comme nous en voyons ailleurs. Le bras gauche est également replié, et la main est appuyée contre le torse, en un geste de prière peut-être. Le manteau s'arrête au-dessous des genoux à peine marqués; les plis en sont presque inexistantes, et suggèrent que ce vêtement ait été fait d'une étoffe très lourde ou de cuir; il est attaché sur l'épaule droite par une grosse agrafe ronde barrée d'une sorte d'ardillon en relief. Entr'ouvert du côté droit, il est rehaussé sur son bord gauche d'une bande en relief, interrompue au niveau des cuisses par une sorte de "patte" qui suggère peut-être l'emplacement d'une fermeture; sous le bras droit, l'autre bord porte des traces d'arrachement correspondant, probablement, à la base de l'offrande tenue dans la main, ce qui renforce l'hypothèse d'une longue tige d'un métal de valeur. Dans l'écartement du manteau, au niveau de la taille, est figurée une poignée sinieuse, qui explique la proéminence très marquée au niveau de la hanche gauche : il s'agit d'une courte épée, disposée en biais. Sous le vêtement, les jambes, courtes et épaisses, adhèrent l'une à l'autre au-dessus des genoux. Cette partie de l'objet a été visiblement négligée.

Les détails mentionnés : casque, coiffure, barbe, tunique courte et serrée à la taille, affirment le caractère grec de la figurine, dont nous allons tenter de préciser la localisation et la datation.

1. Inv. 79.AB.38. Haut. 10,5 cm. Vente Christie, 21 juin 1965, n° 145; *Romans and Barbarians*, exhibition catalogue, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, December 17, 1976–February 27, 1977, no. 86, pp. 64–65 (as Gallo-Roman).

2. Par exemple, le dieu de l'Artemision, S. Karouzou, *Musée National*, 1977, p. 59.—R. Wünsche, *Der "Gott aus dem Meer"*, dans *JDAI*, 94, 1979, p. 77 s.—Voir aussi l'Apollon à l'*omphalos* du Capitole, dans *JDAI*, 88, 1973, p. 250.

3. Cf. l'Apollon à l'*omphalos*, note précédente, et L'Eros Soranzo, Ch. Picard, *Manuel d'archéologie grecque*, II, 1, 1939, p. 121, fig. 57.

4. E. Langlotz, *Fruehgriechische Bildhauerschulen*, Nuremberg, 1927, pl. 39 par exemple, tête du Musée de l'Acropole d'Athènes. Cf. K. Papaioannou, *L'art grec*, Paris, 1972, n° 312.—Peter C. Bol, *Liebieghaus-Museum alter Plastik, Führer durch die Sammlungen, Antike Kunst*, Francfort 1980, p. 193, fig. 272. Cl. Rolley, dans *Monumenta graeca et romana*, V, *Les arts mineurs grecs*, 1, *Les bronzes*, Leyde, 1967, n° 51, p. 5.

5. Cl. Rolley, *ibid.*, n° 52, p. 5, troisième quart du VI^e siècle.



Figures 1a et b. Statuette d'un guerrier grec. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum (79.AB.30).

Par ses dimensions, son attitude raide et compassée, son apparence générale, le personnage s'intègre à une série bien connue de statuettes issues essentiellement du Péloponèse,⁶ datées pour la plupart de la fin du VI^e siècle et du début du V^e siècle: bergers, offrants s'y rencontrent avec une certaine fréquence, habillés d'épais et rudes manteaux, figés dans une attitude frontale, porteurs de lourds bonnets. Le thème du guerrier est rare cependant: nous le rencontrons une fois pour un bronze du Musée de Bâle, sans provenance bien attestée.⁷ Toutes ces figurines présentent en commun un goût de l'observation réaliste, au niveau d'une clientèle modeste, essentiellement paysanne, semble-t-il. Celle que nous étudions présente des caractères assez particuliers pour que nous insistions quelque peu à son sujet.

Nous avons noté que les angles extérieurs des yeux étaient abaissés au lieu d'être relevés comme à l'ordinaire. Une statuette parmi celles qui se rapprochent stylistiquement de la nôtre, et datée des environs de 500, présente le même trait.⁸ Ce peut être un hasard pour cette dernière, un hasard aussi pour la nôtre, ou la marque d'une date plus tardive. La barbe rase, toutefois, serait assez ancienne; la coiffure, tout en reflétant l'influence de modes plus récentes, présente une particularité, celle des mèches qui restent disposées derrière les oreilles, à la manière des figures de *couroi*, où elles sont plus longues, et bien différentes; nous avons ici un exemple de tradition et de renouveau. D'autres traits sont tout aussi inattendus: l'encolure entrecroisée de la tunique, que nous n'avons pas rencontrée ailleurs; la grosse agrafe sur l'épaule, originale elle aussi. Nombre de bergers, que nous avons mentionnés, ferment leur manteau avec une agrafe de ce genre, mais elle est située à l'avant, sur la poitrine; elle semble très plate, tandis qu'ici elle est représentée en relief. Mais il s'agit d'un guerrier, non d'un paysan, et l'attache du manteau sur l'épaule par ce type de "broche" s'explique par la différence des conditions sociales. Plus étonnantes sont les boucles d'oreille. Le port de ces bijoux, si nous le retrouvons sur nombre de figurations féminines⁹ avait été depuis

longtemps abandonné par les hommes,¹⁰ mais il reflète peut-être une mode locale, une tradition, une particularité familiale, qui sait? Enfin les orbites incrustés d'argent, et supposant l'insertion d'yeux en matière précieuse, donnent à la figurine une "aura" toute particulière, renforcée par celle de l'objet offert, qui a disparu lui aussi du fait de sa valeur.

Nous sommes donc en présence d'un cas très particulier, où se mélangent des traits de l'archaïsme, haut ou finissant. Cette statuette reflète un particularisme local où s'entrecroisent des traditions anciennes et des traits plus modernes. Elle est plus raffinée, à tous égards, que bien d'autres auxquelles elle s'apparente. Elle bénéficie d'un caractère très rare par nombre de ses détails, couteux sans doute: incrustations, adjonction d'une offrande exceptionnelle. S'étonnera-t-on de la lourdeur des jambes pour un tel objet? Oui certes, mais la plupart des figurines que nous avons mentionnées pèchent précisément sur ce point: ce qui importait le plus était sans conteste la représentation elle-même dans son identité, proposée par l'essentiel de l'objet, les jambes et les pieds n'étant plus qu'un appui nécessaire, mais après tout, sans plus d'intérêt, surtout pour de si petits objets.

Ce mélange de caractères très variés nous permettrait de situer cette figurine dans la première moitié du V^e siècle (470-460); a-t-il été créé dans une ambiance péloponésienne, étant donné la fréquence de ces offrandes de ces petits personnages pittoresques, bergers, porteurs d'offrande, en Argolide particulièrement? Le nôtre diffère nettement de ceux-ci; il a une apparence nettement plus "classique", moins rustique, influencée par le renouveau de la sculpture. Un petit guerrier attique? Pourquoi pas? Quelle que soit la réalité, il présente un témoignage nouveau de l'activité d'artisans à l'imagination créative et riche d'observations réalistes, proches d'une population modeste, attachée aux souvenirs, aux traditions, aux habitudes, puisant leur inspiration dans un passé parfois lointain sans toutefois négliger les modes nouvelles.

6. Voir par exemple K. A. Neugebauer, *Staat. Mus. zu Berlin, Führer durch die Antikenabteilung*, Berlin, 1968, p. 60 et pl. 9. G.M.A. Richter, *Metropolitan Museum of Art, Handbook of the Greek Collection*, P. 208, pl. 48. *Aspects of Ancient Greece, Allentown Art Museum*, Exposition 1979, n° 97. E. Langlotz, *op. l.*, pl. 28, fig. 2 et 3. K. Papaioannou, *op. l.*, n° 313 et 320. Tout spécialement, une série de bergers de Lycosoura, M. Jost dans *BCH*, 99, 1975, p. 343 et 345, fig. 7-12.

7. Dit "béotien": *Antiken Museum Basel*, 1968, n° 122,4. D'autres guer-

riers "péloponésiens" sont connus, mais ils se présentent *en armes*, non sous l'apparence d'offrants: Ch. Picard, *op. l.*, I, 1935, p. 464, fig. 136.

8. Hermès d'Arcadie, C. Papaioannou, *op. l.*, n° 320.

9. G. Beccati, *Oreficerie antiche dalle minoiche alle barbariche*, 1955, p. 76. G.M.A. Richter, *The Sculpture and the Sculptors of the Greeks*, New York, 1970, fig. 152, 169, 467.

10. *Dict. Ant. art. INAURES*, témoignages de Xénophon, Aristote, Anacréon, Suidas, etc.



Figures 2 et 3. Statuette d'un cheval étrusque. Collection H. Hunt.

II. CHEVAUX ÉTRUSQUES

Parmi les objets de la riche collection Hunt présentée au J. Paul Getty Museum se trouve un petit cheval de bronze¹ qui attire l'attention par l'harmonie de ses proportions, le goût décoratif des détails et des finitions, une vivacité d'allure remarquable, et enfin une très belle patine vert bleuté uniforme (figs. 2-3).

L'animal est placé sur une plaque rectangulaire; les deux pattes gauches sont avancées; la patte antérieure gauche est levée, et pointe vers le sol qu'elle touche presque. Les sabots épais et larges sont couronnés d'une frange de poils. Les genoux sont détaillés, sur leur partie extérieure, de

deux lignes courbes incisées. Deux sillons, à l'avant et à l'arrière, marquent les jointures des pattes avec le corps; deux autres traits suggèrent la musculature des cuisses; la queue très longue va en s'effilant et touche presque la plaque de support; elle est décorée d'incisions ondules. Le corps est mince, mais très bien proportionné; les épaules saillantes sont soulignées d'un épais sillon qui part du bas de l'encolure et se recourbe sur l'amorce du dos; deux autres traits détaillent le cou de chaque côté; entre les jambes avant, les plis de la peau sont également bien marqués; le sexe est indiqué. La tête, légèrement baissée, est modelée avec un grand soin: ossature des joues, soulignée

1. Hauteur: 10,4 cm avec la plaque de support. Longueur: 10,7 cm. Dimensions de la plaque: 9 cm x 2,8 cm. Épaisseur de la plaque, 0,3 cm.

Fonte pleine.

2. M. Sprenger, G. Bartoloni, *Die Etrusker*, Munich, 1977, pl. 78.



là encore, du front, détails de la bouche, des narines, grands yeux en amande dont la pupille est incisée. Un mors est passé entre les dents soigneusement détaillées, et ses deux anneaux extérieurs saillants sont également figurés. Les oreilles sont pointées vers l'avant; entre elles, une touffe de poils ondes se dresse haut, en arrondi devant la crinière organisée sur deux étages: poils courts surmontés de touffes crantées, de hauteur décroissante, et se rabattant progressivement sur l'encolure, jusqu'à l'amorce du dos.

Cette recherche dans l'observation naturaliste en même temps que décorative nous oriente immédiatement vers

l'art étrusque. La crinière détaillée en grosses mèches n'est pas sans rappeler celle du cheval de la *tomba dei tori* à Tarquinia,² et surtout de celui qui apparaît sur une urne peinte de Tarquinia encore,³ datée des environs de 500 avant notre ère. Mais dans le domaine même des bronzes, notre cheval possède un frère presque "jumeau," celui de la collection Bomford, publié par S. Haynes.⁴ Les deux animaux présentent exactement les mêmes détails, à ceci près que ce dernier pose à terre la patte avant gauche. Ils ont aussi presque les mêmes dimensions⁵ et adhèrent tous deux à une plaque rectangulaire. Une telle ressemblance ne peut être due qu'au fait que les deux objets proviennent

3. M. Pallottino, H. et I. Jucker, M. Hürlimann, *Etruskische Kunst*, New York, 1955, pl. 61.

4. *Antike Kunst*, 9, 1966, 2, p. 102 s., pl. 25, 1 et 2.

5. Hauteur : 11, 2 cm; longueur : 10,4 cm.

du même atelier.

Comment en envisager l'utilisation? S'agit-il de chevaux votifs? Celui de la collection Hunt présente deux orifices de fixation, l'un à l'avant droit de la plaque de support, l'autre à l'arrière gauche. Il pouvait donc être fixé sur un support de bois ou de métal. Sans exclure cette hypothèse, nous pouvons penser, avec S. Haynes, à certains décors de trépieds de Vulci, où apparaissent des *protomés* de cheval.⁶ Il serait possible qu'aient existé trois chevaux de cette sorte, plutôt sur les portants intermédiaires que sur les arcs où le rebord arrondi, où se seraient difficilement adaptées les plaques de support rectilignes. On pourrait songer aussi à des décors de braseros ou de petites tables en bois ou en métal, qui portent parfois aux angles des chevaux marins.⁷ Mais là n'est pas toute la question.

En effet, les anneaux, bien indiqués aux extrémités des mors, laissent à penser qu'à l'origine, des rênes y étaient engagées. S. Haynes en a déduit qu'il existait non seulement un cheval, mais aussi un cavalier. Il n'y en a pas trace sur le cheval de la collection Hunt, et il ne semble pas en avoir non plus sur le cheval de la collection Bomford. Notons aussi qu'un cheval ainsi monté aurait constitué un décor trop haut, trop important pour un trépied. Il se pourrait que les rênes aient été rejetées simplement sur le corps de l'animal; mais là non plus, nous n'en avons pas de trace, et une telle disposition ne se rencontre guère dans l'art figuré étrusque. Doit-on alors penser à un attelage, où les deux chevaux auraient figuré côte à côte? Pourquoi alors ne pas les avoir disposés sur la même plaque? Et le problème des rênes reste entier.

Une autre question se pose alors. Les deux chevaux sont détaillés des deux côtés; ils ne sont pas traités comme des appliques vues sur une seule face, mais en ronde-bosse, dans leur volume réel. Il devient donc encore plus im-

probable qu'ils aient servi de décors de trépieds. Nous excluons les sommets de candélabres, décorés d'individus ou de groupes disposés sur une base généralement ronde, et de dimensions plus réduites. L'hypothèse d'un attelage ne nous satisfait pas non plus, les chevaux ne nécessitant pas une telle finition sur toutes leurs faces, et l'absence des rênes restant difficile à expliquer. Mais il est possible que le conducteur ait été placé *devant* et non derrière les chevaux, comme c'est le cas sur l'urne de Tarquinia mentionnée plus haut, ainsi que sur d'autres peintures.⁸ Nous connaissons d'ailleurs le cas de compositions où deux personnages ou animaux joints dans la même action sont fondus sur des plaques différentes.⁹ Nous en revenons à la suggestion que nous avons faite plus haut: chevaux et conducteurs auraient pu décorer les bords d'un brasero ou d'une table, ou bien encore un grand vase pourvu d'un couvercle plat, celui d'un *stamnos* par exemple,¹⁰ où ils n'auraient pas forcément constitué un attelage, étant éventuellement disposés de part et d'autre de leur conducteur.

Mais ces deux chevaux ont-ils figuré sur le même objet? Leurs dimensions, pour proches qu'elles soient, ne sont pas identiques; le détail de la patte avant gauche les différencie également. Certes, on a pu, sur le même schéma, tout en gardant l'essentiel, chercher une nouveauté de détail, au lieu de répéter indéfiniment le même sujet. La petite statuaire étrusque démontre bien ce goût de la variété. Il reste possible cependant que les deux animaux aient figuré dans des compositions différentes. Il est certain qu'ils ont été élaborés dans un même atelier, de Vulci probablement, où furent produites, vers 500, de très belles pièces de bronze, surtout dans la petite statuaire, que viennent enrichir ces deux nouvelles figurines.

Visiting Scholar
Malibu

6. G. Q. Giglioli, *L'Arte Etrusca*, Milan, 1935, pl. CI, CII.

7. *Ibid.* pl. CIV.

8. Cf. note 3. Voir aussi la peinture de la *tomba del Barone*, M.

Sprenger, G. Bartoloni, *Op.I.*, pl. 96.

9. *Ibid.* pl. 185: Héraclès luttant avec le lion de Némée.

10. *Master bronzes from the Classical World*, 1967, n° 211.

L'armure en bronze de Malibu

Jean-Louis Zimmermann

Le Musée J. Paul Getty de Malibu¹ possède une armure antique, formée d'une cuirasse et d'un casque, trouvés ensemble² (figs. 1-4).

Reconstituées à partir de multiples fragments, ces deux armes défensives ont été très habilement restaurées.³

A. LE CASQUE⁴

Un timbre couvrant le crâne et deux paragnathides⁵ mobiles⁶ protégeant les joues, composent ce casque en bronze martelé.

Les oreilles et le visage restent à découvert : sur les côtés, deux découpes arquées, à bord épais, laissent les oreilles dégagées; la bordure frontale épouse la forme des arcades sourcilières. A l'arrière, le casque descend verticalement sur la nuque bien protégée par un rebord coudé, surmonté d'un filet en relief. Une arête horizontale sépare la protection occipitale de la calotte crânienne. Le frontal fait partie intégrante du timbre et sa forme est d'inspiration architectonique : un fronton, aux coins en larges volutes temporales, se prolonge, au sommet, par une crête basse. Incontestablement, cette ornementation en relief évoque la visière des casques attiques.⁷ En deux arcs contigus, la

base du frontal reprend le contour antérieur, dépourvu de nasal.

Les paragnathides articulées pouvaient être relevées.⁸ Ces couvre-joues, asymétriques et à surface en relief convexe par rapport au bord, se terminent en pointe dirigée vers l'avant; ils s'adaptent ainsi à la mâchoire inférieure.

Cette forme particulière de casque grec⁹ dérive de deux types caractérisés par des paragnathides mobiles et l'absence de nasal:¹⁰ le type attique¹¹ et une version tardive du type chalcidien.¹² Fondamentalement distincts à l'époque archaïque,¹³ leur spécificité tend à s'estomper principalement au quatrième siècle avant Jésus-Christ, en raison de l'influence dominante du type attique sur les casques chalcidiens.¹⁴

Malgré certaines différences,¹⁵ le casque de Malibu garde la structure « chalcidienne », comme en témoignent les découpes latérales, la raideur des parois et l'arête occipitale. En raison du frontal en relief et des spirales temporales,¹⁶ ce casque est, sans doute, une variante tardive du type chalcidien, fortement influencée par la tradition attique.¹⁷

D'après ses proportions, le couvre-nuque bas, les larges

1. Je tiens à exprimer tous mes remerciements et ma reconnaissance à M. Jiří Frel, conservateur au Musée J. Paul Getty, à l'instigation duquel cette étude a été entreprise.

2. No. Inv. 80.AC.12, donation anonyme. L'état de conservation, la patine, le type du casque et celui de la cuirasse, confirment l'appartenance des deux pièces à un même ensemble.

3. Sous la direction de Zdravko Barov, ce remarquable travail de restauration a été réalisé par Patricia Tuttle (voir p. 141).

4. Ht. 22.5 cm. Larg. 21.0 cm. Ht. des paragnathides : A: 11.5 cm.; B: 12.5 cm.

5. Cf. *Schol. II. E 743*.

6. D'origine grecque orientale : dès la fin du 7^e.s.av.J.-C. à Rhodes et à Samos, cf. J. Ducat, *Les vases plastiques rhodiens* (Paris 1966), 24 s. Au 6^e.s.av.J.-C., à Athènes, cf. E. Kunze, *Ol. Ber.* VIII (1967), 136 n.21 et en Asie Mineure, cf. M. J. Mellink, *AJA* 74 (1970), 252, fig. 28, pl. 60.

7. Cf. J. Frel, *Getty MJ* 8 (1980), 90-93, fig. 7 et 9-14.

8. D'après les trous des paragnathides, cf. *NSc.* (1964), 162, fig. 76, plutôt que pour une jugulaire, cf. A. de Franciscis, *Mus. Naz. di Napoli* (1963), fig. 36 ou pour une doublure, cf. P. C. Sestieri, *Boll. d'Arte* (1958), 55 et n.39.

9. Cf. B. Schröder, *AA* (1905), 15-30; E. Kukahn, *Der griechische Helm* (Marburg-Lahn 1936); E. Kunze, *Ol. Ber.* II (1937-38), 93-96; *Ol. Ber.* VI (1958), 118-151; *Ol. Ber.* VII (1961), 56-128; *Ol. Ber.* VIII (1967), 111-183; S. Benton, *BSA* 40 (1939-40), 78-81; P. Amandry, *BCH* 73 (1949), 437-446; A. M. Snodgrass, *Early Greek Armour and Weapons*

(Edimbourg 1964), 3-35 et *Arms and Armour of the Greeks* (Londres 1967), 70 et 94 sqq.

10. Absence très fréquente pour les casques d'Italie méridionale, cf. E. Kukahn, *op. cit.* 43 et n.268.

11. Cf. E. Kunze, *Ol. Ber.* VIII (1967), 136; P. Willeumier, *Tarente* (Paris 1939), 190. A l'époque hellénistique, cf. A. M. Snodgrass, *op. cit.* (1967), fig. 56.

12. Groupe VII de Kunze : *Ol. Ber.* VIII (1967), 137, cf. F. F. von Lipperheide, *Antike Helme* (Munich 1896), 115, no. 249.

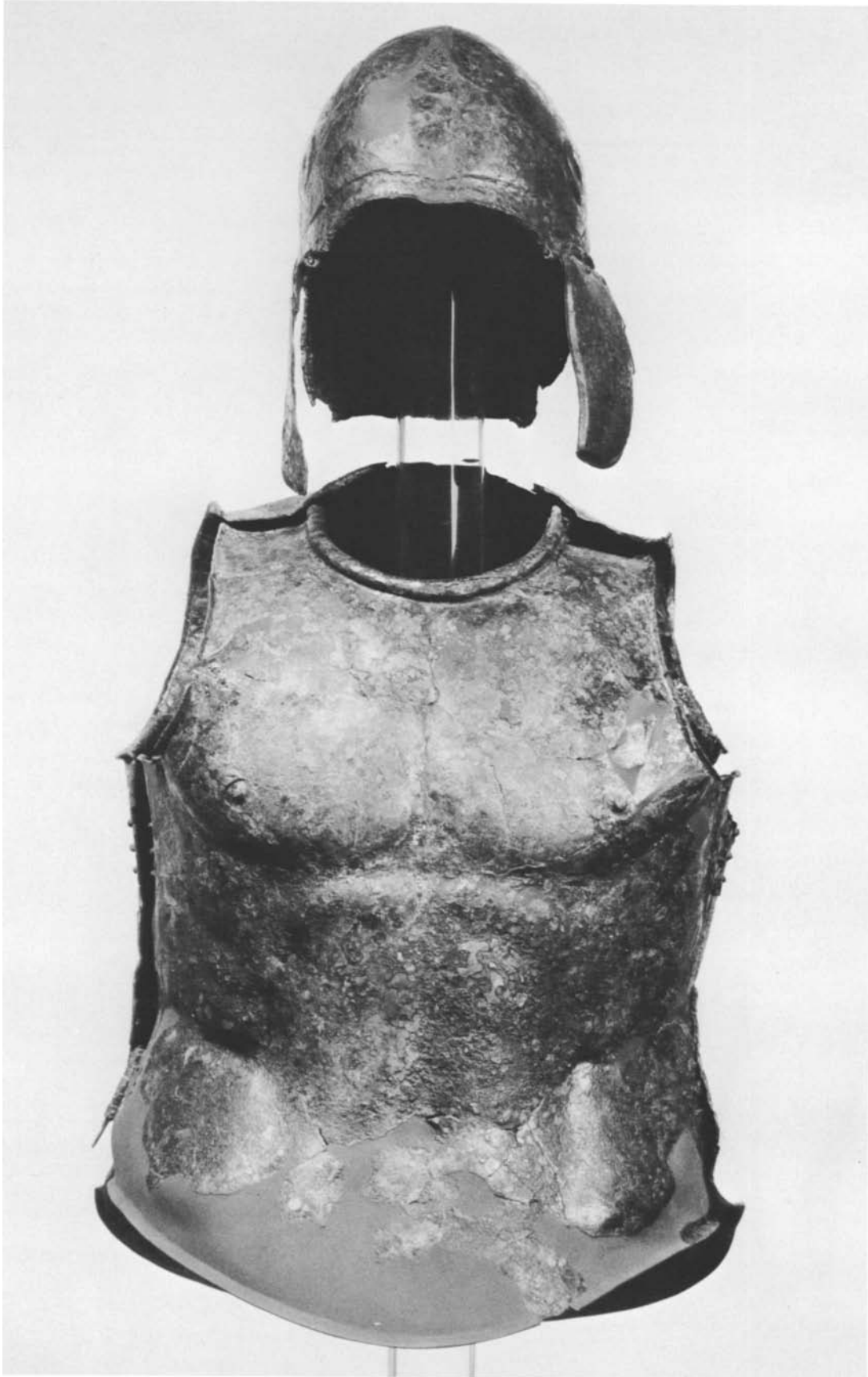
13. Cf. E. Kunze, *Ol. Ber.* VIII (1967), 136 s., contra F. F. von Lipperheide, *op. cit.* 106-122. Pour A. M. Snodgrass, *op. cit.* (1964), 34 : «The Chalcidian Helmet... is perhaps as likely to have originated in Athens as anywhere.» et en 1967, *op. cit.* 70, le casque chalcidien serait une variante du type corinthien.

14. Cf. *supra* n.6 et n.12. Pour le frontal à volutes temporales, cf. A. M. Snodgrass, *op. cit.* (1967), 70.

15. Par rapport au type chalcidien « canonique » (cf. A. Baumeister, *Denkmäler des klassischen Altertums* III [Leipzig et Berlin 1889], 2035 s., fig. 2211 = A. M. Snodgrass, *op. cit.* [1964], 34, n.118) avec nasal, paragnathides prolongeant le contour oculaire, couvre-nuque court et concave, etc.

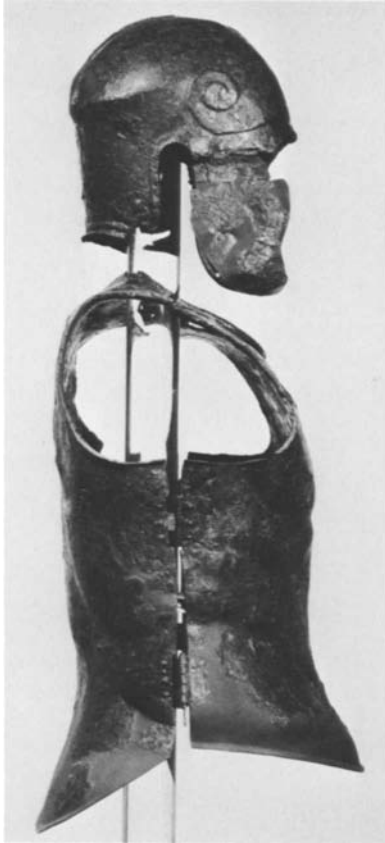
16. Sans présenter les traits essentiels du type attique : calotte sphérique, surfaces non découpées entre le frontal et le couvre-nuque, parois courbes et visière, cf. E. Kunze, *Ol. Ber.* VIII (1967), 136 s.

17. Cf. A. de Franciscis, *op. cit.* fig. 75, en haut, à droite.



Figures 1-4. L'armure greque en bronze. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum (80.AC.12).





paragnathides et le frontal décoratif, le casque de Malibu est une pièce de la deuxième moitié du quatrième siècle,¹⁸ encore antérieure aux véritables casques hellénistiques.¹⁹ Dès le cinquième siècle, l'Italie méridionale est le centre d'une importante production²⁰ de casques d'inspiration attique.²¹ Le type chalcidien est également très utilisé dans la région,²² comme le démontrent les variantes locales.²³ En Grande Grèce et dans les zones périphériques,²⁴ la diversité de l'armement reflète parfaitement la complexité de la situation historique. La céramique apulienne,²⁵ les fres-

ques campaniennes²⁶ et lucaniennes²⁷ prouvent l'utilisation, à la même époque et par un même peuple, d'armures hétérogènes.²⁸ De surcroît, des armes prises à l'ennemi ont certainement été réutilisées et la présence de mercenaires²⁹ ne simplifie pas le problème !

D'après les casques découverts en Italie du sud et les représentations de l'art local, il est possible de reconnaître des types grecs, importés ou fabriqués dans les colonies et des variantes inspirées de plusieurs types,³⁰ souvent avec des composantes étrusco-italiques.³¹ Les colons et les peu-

18. Cf. J. Charbonneaux, *Grèce hellénistique* (Paris 1970), 106, pl. 102, à droite. Sarcophage de Tarquinia, probablement peint par un Tarentin.

19. Cf. B. Schröder, *AA* (1905), 22, fig. 9 Inv. 10481 et F.F. von Lipperheide, *op. cit.* 157, no. 8 et 158, no. 367; I. Jucker, *AntK* 18 (1975), pl. 6,4 IX A 81 (Ptolémée III). Le casque de Malibu est antérieur même au casque figuré sur une épaulière de Siris, H. B. Walters, *B.M. Select Bronzes* (Londres 1915), pl. 31 et au casque en fer, dit de Philippe II, M. B. Hatzopoulos et L. D. Loukopoulos, *Philip of Macedon* (Athènes 1980), 227, fig. 129.

20. Artisans spécialisés dans la fabrication de casques, cf. Aristophane, *Pax*, 1255.

21. Cf. F.F. von Lipperheide, *op. cit.* 118, no. 336 et 119, no. 241.

22. Cf. E. Kukahn, *op. cit.* 42 s. et A. M. Snodgrass, *op. cit.* (1964), 34.

23. Variante italote, cf. S. Boucher, *Bronzes de Lyon* (1970), 27, no. 11. Variante messapienne ou apulienne, cf. L. V. Borelli, *Arch. Class.* IX (1957), 234-242, pls. CI-CIII=G. A. Mansuelli, *EAA* III (Rome 1960), 318, s.v. Elmo. Variante étrusque, cf. E. Kunze, *Ol. Ber.* VIII (1967), 180 s., fig. 69. Il existe également une variante étrusque du type attique, cf. S. Boucher, *op. cit.* 80 s., no. 59. Sur l'importance du type chalcidien en

Grande Grèce, cf. E. Langlotz ds. H. Berve, *Das neue Bild der Antike* (Leipzig 1942), 160.

24. Cf. A. M. Snodgrass, *op. cit.* (1967), 144, n. 18.

25. Cf. A. D. Trendall et A. Cambitoglou, *Apulian RFV* (Oxford 1978), pls. 29,3; 82,1 et 135,3.

26. Cf. P. C. Sestieri, *Boll. d'Arte* (1958), 54, fig. 15.

27. Cf. R. Bianchi Bandinelli, *Les Etrusques et l'Italie avant Rome* (Paris 1973), fig. 267-269, 273.

28. Cf. A. Oliver, *AntK. BeiH.* 5 (1968), 14 sq. Tombe apulienne d'un guerrier portant une cuirasse de Grande Grèce, cf. A. Hagemann, *Griechische Panzerung* I, 45 sq. et 66, no. 4 et Jean-Louis Zimmermann, *Mus. Helv.* 36 (1979), 178, n. 16; et un casque celte, cf. B. Schröder, *AA* (1905), 28 s. L 80, fig. 19 et P. Jacobstahl, *Early Celtic Art* (Oxford 1944), 179, no. 143.

29. Par exemple, tarentins cf. Polybe VIII 24, 1 et Strabon VI 3, p. 280.

30. Type chalcidien sous influence corinthienne, dès l'époque archaïque, cf. S. Boucher, *op. cit.* no. 11; sous influence ionico-rhodiennne, avec frontal semblable au « metopon », cf. L. V. Borelli, *Arch. Class.* IX (1957), 234-242; sous influence attique, cf. Casque de Malibu.

31.a. Variante « à antennes » du type corinthien, cf. A. Furtwängler,

plades, plus ou moins « hellénisées », établies à proximité des cités grecques, utilisent de tels casques. Les autres peuples indigènes,³² les Etrusques³³ et les Celtes³⁴ élaborent des types originaux ou imitant parfois les types grecs.³⁵

Le casque de Malibu ne présente aucun caractère étrusco-italique,³⁶ bien qu'il soit une réalisation d'Italie méridionale, datant vraisemblablement du troisième quart du quatrième siècle.³⁷ Une variante³⁸ contemporaine³⁹ provient de Paestum⁴⁰ et du centre osco-samnite de Pietrabbondante.⁴¹ A l'exception d'une particularité italique,⁴² la structure de ces casques est analogue à celle du casque de Malibu.⁴³ La datation de celui-ci est confirmée par le matériel archéologique d'une tombe à chambre de Canosa.⁴⁴ Cette sépulture d'un chef autochtone⁴⁵ contenait, entre autres, deux casques du type ici envisagé⁴⁶ et une cuirasse⁴⁷ semblable à celle du Musée J. Paul Getty.

Ol.Erg. IV (1890), 69; B. Schröder, *AA* (1905), 16 s., fig. 4; M. Jatta, *RM* 23 (1908), 333 s.; W. Herrmann, *AA* (1966), 316 s.; H. Hoffmann, *Ten Centuries that Shaped the West* (Houston 1971), 162-165, no. 77; D. Adamesteanu, *Atti e Mem. Soc. Magna Grecia* 6-7 (1965-66), 199 sqq.

b. Variante apulienne, dérivée du type « en bonnet phrygien » (cf. H. Klumbach, *Tarentiner Grabkunst* [Reutlingen 1937] 18, no. 79, pl. 15 et A. von Graeve, *Der Alexandersarkophag u. seine Werkstatt* [Berlin 1970, *Ist.Forsch.* 28], pls. 27-29 et 32-33); *NSc* (1964), 161, fig. 76, de Conversano; cf. Ruvo, coll. Jatta 409, *EAA* I (Rome 1959), pl. couleur, s.v. Apuli Vasi, avec crête découpée et ailettes. Sur le caractère italique des aigrettes débutant derrière les ailettes, cf. *Boll. d'Arte* (1958), 54, fig. 15. Le casque de Conversano a été trouvé avec une cuirasse, variante du type envisagé, cf. P.G. Guzzo, *Mus. Helv.* 38 (1981), 56, no. 12.

c. Type apulien, H. Klumbach, *op. cit.*, 58, beil. F 6, cf. F.F. von Lipperheide, *op. cit.*, 140, no. 245; K. Schumacher, *Karlsruhe Ant.Br.* (1890), no. 4, pl. XIII; F. Weege, *Jdl* XXIV (1909), 142, fig. 16,3. Peut-être d'origine lucanienne.

d. Type lucanien, *NSc* 11 (1957), 172 s., fig. 1-2.

e. Types campaniens, cf. F. Weege, *op. cit.*, 141 sqq. et une imitation du type attique, cf. F.F. von Lipperheide, *op. cit.*, 106, no. 330.

f. Type samnite, cf. R. Bianchi Bandinelli, *op. cit.*, fig. 287-288.

32. Dès l'époque archaïque, type picénien, cf. G. Camporeale, *Monum. Etrusci* I (1967), 48 sqq., no. 18, pl. 6a, d'inspiration étrusque.

33. Cf. H. Hencken, *The Earliest European Helmets* (1971), 85. Trois principaux types étrusco-italiques: a. « en casquette de jockey », cf. B. Schröder, *AA* (1905), 28 s., fig. 18; b. « en bonnet caréné », cf. B. Schröder, *op. cit.*, 27, fig. 16 et ses homologues septentrionaux, cf. S. Boucher, *op. cit.*, 110, no. 106; c. « en bonnet à calotte ogivale », cf. S. Boucher, *op. cit.*, no. 107. Sur des types encore plus anciens, cf. B. Schröder, *op. cit.*, 26, fig. 14 et G.M.A. Richter, *Greek, Etruscan a. Roman Bronzes*, *Metrop. Mus.* (New York 1915), 414 sqq.

34. Cf. n.28 et B. Schröder, *AA* (1905), 28 s., fig. 19.

35. Cf. A. Talocchini, *SE* XVI (1942), 9-87 (types étrusques).

36. Contrairement à deux variantes comparables au casque de Malibu : variante lucanienne, cf. R. Bianchi Bandinelli, *op. cit.*, fig. 267, à gauche et variante campanienne, cf. F.F. von Lipperheide, *op. cit.*, 107, no. 283.

37. Cf. A.D. Trendall, *RFV Lucania, Campania, and Sicily* (Oxford 1967), pl. 126 et 158.

38. Cf. P.C. Sestieri, *Boll.d'Arte* (1958), 55, fig. 16. Variante du type chalcidien, sous forte influence attique. Pièce lucanienne, cf. P.C. Sestieri, *op. cit.*

39. Cf. Greco, *Dial. d'Arch.* (1979), 10 s. n.2 et P.G. Guzzo, *Mus.Helv.* 38 (1981), 56 n.5.

40. Découvert avec une cuirasse courte, influencée par le type de

B. LA CUIRASSE⁴⁸

La restauration de la cuirasse a constitué un véritable tour de force, tant les minuscules fragments étaient nombreux.⁴⁹

Cette cuirasse est un corselet⁵⁰ de la classe « musculaire »,⁵¹ nommée ainsi⁵² en raison de son relief reproduisant la musculature thoracique. Ses proportions sont adaptées à l'anatomie du guerrier.⁵³

En bronze découpé et martelé,⁵⁴ le plastron et le dos,⁵⁵ sont réunis par des charnières.⁵⁶ D'amples ouvertures arrondies facilitent les mouvements des bras et du cou. La base de la cuirasse n'est pas conservée et devrait rendre problématique toute reconstitution.⁵⁷ Heureusement, des tiges de plomb⁵⁸ doublaient, à l'intérieur, le rebord inférieur de la cuirasse, bien ajustée au corps et maintenue en place grâce à ce poids complémentaire. La courbure des

Grande Grèce (J.-L. Zimmermann, *Mus.Helv.* 36 [1979], 177-181) et par le type samnite, comme en témoignent les plaquettes de fixations latérales, cf. *NSc* 11 (1957), 174, fig. 3. Sur le caractère lucanien de cette armure, cf. R. Bianchi Bandinelli, *op. cit.*, fig. 267, fresque de Paestum.

41. Cf. F.F. von Lipperheide, *op. cit.*, 110, no. 303, légèrement postérieur au casque de Paestum, en raison de la calotte arrondie et de la forme des paragnathides.

42. Hampes élevées pour des aigrettes, même si des plumes latérales sont parfois attestées sur des casques grecs, cf. F. Weege, *Jdl* XXIV (1909), 141 sqq.; *NSc* 11 (1957), 173 n.2.

43. Cf. aussi F.F. von Lipperheide, *op. cit.*, 122, no. 465, plus tardif et peut-être italiote, d'après l'ornementation en relief du frontal et des paragnathides.

44. Cf. A.L. Millin, *Description des tombeaux de Canosa* (Paris 1816), surtout pl. II.

45. Cf. P.G. Guzzo, *Mus.Helv.* 38 (1981), 59.

46. Frontal en relief et terminé par des volutes temporales, absence de nasal, bords latéraux découpés pour les oreilles, arête occipitale et paragnathides mobiles. Ces deux casques sont un peu plus tardifs d'après le couvre-nuque courbe et la crête développée. Cf. Robinson, *Armour of Imperial Rome* (1975), 62, fig. 98.

47. Naples 5725, J.-L. Zimmermann, *Mus.Helv.* 36 (1979), 178, pl. 6.

48. Ht. plastron : 40,5 cm. Ht. dos : 53,5 cm. Dm. au thorax : 99 cm. Dm. aux hanches : ca. 93 cm.

49. La base du corselet, plusieurs surfaces et certaines parties des charnières manquent, de même que le nombril. Voir la note (p. 141) de la conservatrice, Patricia Tuttle.

50. « θώραξ », cf. Homère, *Il.* XXIII 560.

51. Cf. A. Hagemann, *Griechische Panzerung* I (Berlin et Leipzig 1919), 20-88 et P.G. Guzzo, *Mus.Helv.* 38 (1981), 55-61.

52. Cf. O. Benndorf-Niemann, *Das Heroon von Gjölbäschki-Trysa* (1889), 116.

53. Cf. Xénophon, *Memorab.* III 10, 9-15 et *de re equestri* XII 1.

54. Cf. A. Hagemann, *op. cit.*, 81 et 83.

55. « γάλα », cf. Homère, *Il.* V 99 et XVIII 485; *Pausanias* X 26, 5.

56. « γύλμοι », cf. Xénophon, *de re equestri* XII 6.

57. Sur l'importance du bord inférieur pour la datation, cf. A. Baummeister, *Denkmäler des klassischen Altertums* III (Berlin et Leipzig 1889), 2031; A. Hagemann, *op. cit.*, 17 s.; G. Mancini, *Bull.Arch.Comm.Rom.* 49-50 (1921-22), 154 s.; K. Stemmer, *Untersuch. zur Typologie, Chronologie u. die Ikonographie der Panzerstatuen* (Berlin 1978, *DAI Arch.Forsch.* 4), 132, n.405.

58. Tige de fer pour Hambourg 1910.448, J.-L. Zimmermann, *Mus.Helv.* 36 (1979), 178, n.16, pl. 4.

tiges a permis de reconstituer, avec exactitude, le pourtour sur les hanches.⁵⁹

La cuirasse de Malibu fait partie d'un type homogène⁶⁰ dont les caractéristiques principales sont les suivantes : du cou au bassin, le torse est totalement protégé par deux hauts « guala »,⁶¹ réunis sur les flancs par deux charnières symétriques, de chaque côté.⁶² Chaque charnière est composée de deux plaquettes à redans tubulaires et à mortaises.⁶³ Trois clous fixent chacune des plaquettes, l'une sur le dos et l'autre sur le plastron, les redans venant s'encastrent dans les mortaises de la plaquette opposée. Une goupille verticale,⁶⁴ retenue par une chaînette⁶⁵ fixée au corselet par des anneaux,⁶⁶ maintient le dispositif en place. En général un même système, mais horizontal, réunit les épaulières.⁶⁷

Nettement évasés à la base,⁶⁸ le plastron et le dos couvrent, chacun, une partie des épaules.⁶⁹ Les protections des reins⁷⁰ et du ventre, sont concaves et fortement incli-

nées pour assurer une plus grande liberté de mouvement en position assise.⁷¹ Les mamelons sont rapportés.⁷² Au niveau du cou, du bassin et des bras,⁷³ les bords de la cuirasse sont, soit rabattus,⁷⁴ soit pliés vers l'extérieur,⁷⁵ pour ne pas blesser le corps.

Reproduisant fidèlement un torse athlétique, le puissant relief musculaire est incontestablement de style grec.⁷⁶

Les cuirasses de ce type étaient probablement pourvues d'un rembourrage interne⁷⁷ d'épaulettes⁷⁸ et de « ptérygès » en matière organique.⁷⁹ Leurs points faibles sont les aisselles et la nuque.⁸⁰

Une quinzaine de cuirasses sont semblables à celle de Malibu.⁸¹ A une exception,⁸² toutes les pièces de provenance connue, ont été découvertes en Italie méridionale⁸³ principalement en Apulie.⁸⁴ Les contextes archéologiques assurés⁸⁵ sont toujours les mêmes : une tombe indigène à chambre,⁸⁶ contenant la dépouille d'un guerrier entièrement équipé⁸⁷ et de haut rang, si l'on en juge par le

59. Sur les flancs, le bord inférieur était, peut-être, plus incliné et plus incurvé, car il s'agit d'une cuirasse de cavalier, cf. J.-L. Zimmermann, *op. cit.*, 181, pls. 7-8 et A. Hagemann, *op. cit.*, 71, fig. 76.

60. Cf. A. Hagemann, *op. cit.*, 64 s.; J.-L. Zimmermann, *op. cit.*, 177-184; P.G. Guzzo, *op. cit.*, 55-61 (type I).

61. Hauteur entre 40 et 55 cm. Ces différences de tailles, à cause du travail sur mesure, cf. A. Hagemann, *op. cit.*, 69 et 85, n.1; J.-L. Zimmermann, *op. cit.*, 179, n.23.

62. La présence de charnières ne suffit pas à définir le type, contra P.G. Guzzo, *op. cit.*, 55. Par exemple, des cuirasses étrusques avec charnières latérales, cf. A. Hagemann, *op. cit.*, no. 5 et no. 47. Surtout deux cuirasses du type campanien court, de la même époque, de la même nécropole et avec des attaches serpentiformes sur les épaules (cf. *infra*, n.113, 2-3) : l'une (Hagemann, *op. cit.*, no. 48) avec des charnières latérales et l'autre (Hagemann, *op. cit.*, no. 50=R. Paolini, *Mem. sui Monumenti di Antichità...* (Naples 1812), 325, pl. III,2) avec des anneaux pour les chaînettes.

63. Cf. *infra* n.81 : 5 tenons par charnière, nos. 7 et 9; 4 tenons, nos. 1, 3, 4, 6, 8, 11, 12, 14.

64. Cf. Paus. X 26, 5.

65. Anc. Munich Mus. 65-66; A. Hagemann, *op. cit.*, 50, fig. 61.

66. Cf. *infra* n.81, anneaux entre les charnières : nos. 1, 9, 10, 12, 13, 15; face à chaque charnière : nos. 4, 6, 7, 8, 11.

67. Les plaquettes ont souvent un bord dentelé, cf. *infra* n.81, nos. 1, 6, 8, 10, 14 et 9 pour une plaquette latérale ?, cf. aussi, casque, *supra* n.43 (paragnathides).

68. Cf. A. Hagemann, *op. cit.*, 65. Corselet porté sur une ceinture métallique, cf. A. Hagemann, *op. cit.*, 101-105, comme le prouvent les ceintures trouvées avec les cuirasses *infra* n.81, nos. 8, 10, 12, 13, 15.

69. Contrairement au type étrusque, cf. A. Hagemann, *op. cit.*, 57, fig. 66.

70. Protection basse et inclinée pour la cuirasse de Malibu, cf. Bari 6075, M. Jatta, RM 29 (1914), 116 sq., fig. 17=*infra* n.81, no. 3.

71. Cf. A. Hagemann, *op. cit.*, 65.

72. Cf. n.81, sauf no. 5, aux mamelons incisés.

73. Bord coudé vers l'extérieur, cf. n.81, nos. 5, 9, 12. Ouvertures brachiales asymétriques et décentrées, cf. J.-L. Zimmermann, *op. cit.*, 178.

74. Cf. n.81, nos. 3, 4, 6, 14, 15.

75. Cf. n.81, nos. 9, 12.

76. Cf. A. Hagemann, *op. cit.*, 65 s. et J.-L. Zimmermann, *op. cit.*, 177-184.

77. Cf. J.-L. Zimmermann, *op. cit.*, 177 n.4.

78. Cf. perforations sur le plastron Londres B.M.2846, Zimmermann, *op. cit.*, pl. 8.

79. Cf. A. Hagemann, *op. cit.*, 70 n.2.

80. Sauf deux cuirasses à col montant, cf. n.81, nos. 8 et 13.

81. En 1919, A. Hagemann (*op. cit.*, 65 sqq.) est parvenu à grouper plusieurs cuirasses de ce type, à les dater du quatrième siècle et à les attribuer à un atelier de Grande Grèce sud-orientale. (Ci-dessous, les nos. 3, 4, 7, 8, 10, 12-15)

1. Genève, coll. privée : Zimmermann, *op. cit.*, 177-184 et Guzzo, *op. cit.*, 55 sqq.

2. Sybaris Ufficio Scavi : Guzzo, no. 2.

3. Bari Mus. 6075 : Hagemann, no. 46; Zimmermann, 178 n.19, pl. 5; Guzzo, no. 3.

4. Hambourg Mus. 1910.448 : Hagemann, no. 4; B.A. Müller, *Philolog. Wochenschrift* 8 janv. 1921, 30-32; Zimmermann, 178 n.16; Guzzo, no. 4.

5. Grenade Mus. : Guzzo, no. 5.

6. Suisse, coll. privée : Zimmermann, 178 n.15; Guzzo, no. 6.

7. Londres B.M. 2846 : Hagemann, no. 8; Zimmermann, 179 n.21, pl. 8; Guzzo, no. 7.

8. Anc. Munich Mus. 65-66 : Hagemann, no. 7; Zimmermann, 179 n.22; Guzzo, no. 8.

9. Malibu, J. Paul Getty Mus. Inv. 80.AC.12.

10. Naples 5725 : Hagemann, no. 53; Zimmermann, pl. 6; Guzzo, no. 10 et II, no. 3.

11. New York Metrop. Mus. Acc.16.173 : A. Oliver, *AntK.BeiH.* 5 (1968), 14 n.74.

12. Paris CdM. 1999 : Hagemann, no. 16.

13. Paris CdM. 2003 : Hagemann, no. 18.

14. Londres B.M. 2849 : Hagemann, no. 11.

15. Naples, Gargiulo, *Recueil des Monuments...*2 (Naples 1883), pl. 40 = peut-être Hagemann, no. 51 ou no. 52.

Bâle, *MuM. Sonderliste* octobre 1981, 25 et 44, no. 103 pourrait être du même type. L'attribution du plastron fragmentaire Bruxelles Mus. d'Art et d'Histoire A 704 (Hagemann, no. 1) est plus problématique, bien que

mobilier funéraire⁸⁸ et le type de la cuirasse.⁸⁹ L'architecture de la tombe et les objets déposés auprès du défunt permettent de dater les cuirasses de ce type, de la deuxième moitié du quatrième siècle avant Jésus-Christ.⁹⁰

Avec ses proportions massives,⁹¹ la cuirasse de Malibu s'apparente étroitement aux autres pièces du même type. La qualité plastique de son relief musculaire⁹² fait de cette arme une véritable oeuvre d'art : une grande puissance émane des pectoraux arrondis, les muscles dentelés forment des bourrelets nuancés sur les côtes et les muscles obliques ressemblent à des poches gonflées.⁹³ Toutefois, la compartimentation anatomique et l'asymétrie bilatérale ne sont pas aussi achevées que pour les cuirasses hellénistiques⁹⁴ dont le bord inférieur suit exactement le pli de l'aine.⁹⁵

Au point de vue stylistique, la céramique⁹⁶ et les stèles attiques⁹⁷ permettent de situer la cuirasse de Malibu parmi les oeuvres grecques du troisième quart du quatrième siècle.⁹⁸ Cette datation concorde avec celle du casque et avec

les représentations de cuirasses du même type dans la céramique apulienne.⁹⁹ Cette comparaison, la provenance d'au moins six cuirasses analogues¹⁰⁰ et l'existence d'une variante indigène,¹⁰¹ rendent vraisemblable la localisation de l'atelier de fabrication en Apulie ou à proximité immédiate.¹⁰² D'après sa structure grecque,¹⁰³ le type envisagé a été réalisé dans une colonie de Grande Grèce,¹⁰⁴ probablement Tarente.¹⁰⁵

L'absence d'armures dans les tombes tarentines s'explique par des coutumes funéraires différentes de celles des peuples italiques.¹⁰⁶

Pendant la deuxième moitié du quatrième siècle, plusieurs guerres opposent ceux-ci à Tarente,¹⁰⁷ obligée de faire appel à des souverains étrangers.¹⁰⁸ En dépit de cette tension extrême, les centres apuliens de Ruvo et de Canosa restent en contact avec les colonies.¹⁰⁹ Des artisans grecs ont peut-être même travaillé dans ces villes pour des potentats indigènes.¹¹⁰

son relief musculaire soit comparable aux cuirasses ci-dessus. D'après ses proportions et sa faible profondeur, ce fragment appartient, peut-être, au type *infra* n.113. La cuirasse courte du British Museum, Guzzo, *op. cit.* no. 9 ne fait pas partie du type n.81, nos. 1-15. Cet auteur classe notre no. 10 dans deux types différents. Naples 5725 est bien le no. 53 de Hagemann, cf. A.L. Millin, *Description des tombeaux de Canosa* (Paris 1816), pl. II, 1-2 et A. de Franciscis, *Mus. Naz. di Napoli* (1963), fig. 76.

82. Cf. n.81, no. 5, prov. baie d'Almuñecar (Espagne). Butin ou armure de mercenaire? cf. J. Maluquer de Motes, *Zephyrus XXV* (1974), 327 et P.G. Guzzo, *op. cit.*, 59.

83. Cf. n.81 : no. 1, d'Italie méridionale; no. 2, de Cariati.

84. Cf. n.81, de Ruvo : nos. 7, 13, 15 et de Canosa : nos. 3, 4, 10.

85. N.81, nos. 2, 3, 4, 10.

86. Cf. P.G. Guzzo, *op. cit.*, 59.

87. Coutume italique, cf. A.M. Snodgrass, *Arms and Armour of the Greeks* (1967), 128.

88. Cf. Objets découverts avec les cuirasses n.81, nos. 4 et 10.

89. Sur le prix élevé et le caractère honorifique de telles cuirasses, cf. A. Hagemann, *op. cit.*, 79 sq.

90. Cf. P.G. Guzzo, *op. cit.*, 56 sq. Pour le no. 4 : dernier quart du IV^e s. av.J.-C. cf. A. Oliver, *AntK.BeiH.* 5 (1968), 24.

91. Cf. n.81, nos. 6-7. Pour la largeur thoracique, cf. nos. 2 et 10. Pondération musculaire, cf. no. 6 et asymétrie renforcée à la taille, cf. no. 5.

92. Cf. n.81, nos. 1, 7, 12, 14.

93. Pectoraux, cf. n.81, no. 7 : muscles dentelés, cf. no. 1 et obliques, cf. nos. 2, 14.

94. Cf. A. Hagemann, *op. cit.*, 2, fig. 1-2.

95. Cf. K. Stemmer, *op. cit.*, 133-139.

96. Cf. J.-L. Zimmermann, *op. cit.*, 181 n.58.

97. Cf. C. Vermeule, *Berytus XIII* (1959), 13 et K. Stemmer, *op. cit.*, 132 n.404-405.

98. Cf. J.-L. Zimmermann, *op. cit.*, 181 n.60 et surtout C. Davaras, *Deltion* 20 (1965), *Chron.* 120, pl. 91, statue cuirassée des années 340-325 av.J.-C., cf. C. Vermeule, *Berytus XVI* (1966), 49 sq. contra K. Stemmer, *op. cit.*, 132 n.405. Également, Athènes MN 834, Conze, *Attisch. Grabreliefs* (Berlin 1900), 217, no. 1023, pl. CCI et Copenhague NyCG., F. Poulsen, *Cat.* (1951), 148 s., no. 206.

99. Cf. J.-L. Zimmermann, *op. cit.*, 180 n.37; Sotheby Londres, *cat. of Antiquities* 13.7.1981, 167 s., no. 356.

100. Sur huit de provenance assurée!

101. Cf. n.31 b. Charnières sur toute la longueur des flancs et anneaux pour des chaînettes sur les épaules. Ce système hybride rend aléatoire la séparation proposée par P.G. Guzzo, *op. cit.*, 55 sqq., cf. *supra* n.62. La tombe est différente de celles contenant des cuirasses du type représenté par la cuirasse de Malibu, cf. P.G. Guzzo, *op. cit.*, 59 n.11.

102. Le scepticisme de P.G. Guzzo, *op. cit.*, 57, résulte d'une recherche de l'atelier de fabrication, non à partir d'un type homogène, mais à partir d'une vaste classe regroupant des pièces de dates différentes (par ex. son no. II,1 du milieu du 4^e s. et son no. II,6, daté unanimement des années autour de 450 av.J.-C. cf. K. Schefold, *Meisterwerke* (Bâle 1960), 57 et 215 s.; E. Kunze, *Ol.Ber.* VIII (1967), 163; E. Berger, *Kunstwerke der Antike* (Lucerne 1963), B 1 : 450-425 av.J.-C.; K. Stemmer, *op. cit.*, 132 n.400 : 470-460 av.J.-C.) et surtout deux types fondamentalement distincts, cf. A. Hagemann, *op. cit.*, 65-67.

103. Cf. A. Hagemann, *op. cit.*, 65 s.; J.-L. Zimmermann, *op. cit.*, 177-184.

104. En Italie, ce type est représenté uniquement dans la céramique italiote et sur une fresque de Paestum (J.-L. Zimmermann, *op. cit.*, 180 n.33). L'exemplaire peint sur celle-ci est plus grand que les personnages qui l'entourent; elle est associée à des cnémides et à un casque apulien. D'autre part, toutes les cuirasses semblables à celle de Malibu, proviennent de la périphérie des cités grecques, cf. P.G. Guzzo, *op. cit.*, 57.

105. Cf. B.A. Müller, *Philolog. Wochenschrift* 8.1.1921, 34 et J.-L. Zimmermann, *op. cit.*, 181. Cuirasses portées par des cavaliers tarentins, exactement à l'époque de la fabrication du type envisagé, cf. P.R. Franke et M. Hirmer, *Die griechische Münze*, 2e éd. (1972), 83, no. 313, pl. 108 (334-332 av.J.-C.) et représentées dans l'art tarentin, cf. H. Klumbach, *op. cit.*, 24, no. 122, pl. 22.

106. Cf. P.G. Guzzo, *op. cit.*, 59.

107. Cf. P. Wuilleumier, *Tarente* (Paris 1939), 88; J.-L. Zimmermann, *op. cit.*, 180, lire Italiques et non Italiotes.

108. Archidamos III de Sparte, cf. Diodore XVI 63; D. Pandermalis, *AM* 86 (1971), 178 sqq., pl. 82. Alexandre le Molosse, cf. Tite-Live VIII 17, 9 et Justin XXIII 1, 15. Cléonymos III de Sparte, cf. Diodore XX 104 et Tite-Live X 2, 1 sqq.

109. Comme le prouvent la céramique italiote et une frappe monétaire de type tarentin à Ruvo, vers 300 av.J.-C.

110. Comme pour certaines cuirasses pectorales de type samnite, réalisées par des artistes grecs, cf. A. Hagemann, *op. cit.*, 112 n.3, peut-être tarentins, cf. P. Wuilleumier, *Tarente* (Paris 1939), 324.

Exécutées sur commande ou prises lors de combats¹¹¹ et réutilisées, les cuirasses en bronze de Grande Grèce sont à l'origine d'un type étrusque¹¹² et surtout d'un type court campanien¹¹³ témoignant d'une certaine osmose culturelle.¹¹⁴ Réalisé pour la cavalerie lourde,¹¹⁵ le type représenté par la cuirasse de Malibu est très différent des protections pectorales samnites et lucaniennes,¹¹⁶ mais son impact sur les peuplades indigènes est indéniable: non seulement des chefs messapiens et apuliens¹¹⁷ ont porté

cette cuirasse, mais elle a joué un rôle capital pour le développement de la cuirasse honorifique romaine.¹¹⁸

C'est peut-être à cet égard que l'armure de Malibu révèle le mieux son importance: un casque romain¹¹⁹ et la cuirasse impériale¹²⁰ dérivent de telles armes réalisées au quatrième siècle avant Jésus-Christ.

Le choix de la cuirasse grecque, métallique et au relief musculaire, s'explique par sa valeur artistique rehaussant le prestige et la majesté de celui qui la porte.

Genève

111. Certaines ont été accrochées comme trophées, cf. J.-L. Zimmermann, *op. cit.*, 182. *Supra* n.81, no. 1, peut-être aussi les nos. 14 (cf. H. B. Walters, *B.M. Bronzes* [Londres 1899], no. 2849), 13 (avec un clou dans l'épaulière) et 15 (trou sur l'épaulière droite?). Cf. E. Langlotz, *Kunst der Westgriechen* (Munich 1963), 91 s., no. 140, oeuvre tarentine du début du 3^e s. av. J.-C. Coutume reprise par des peuples indigènes, contra P. G. Guzzo, *op. cit.*, 60; cf. A. Furtwängler, *Geschnittene Steine*, no. 598, pl. LX et G. A. Mansuelli, *EAA VII* (1966), 997 s.v. Trofeo. Monnaie des Bruttians BMC 57, cf. Guzzo, *op. cit.*, 60.

112. Cf. A. Hagemann, *op. cit.*, 44 sqq. et 67 n.2; G. Mancini, *Bull. Arch. Comm. Rom.* 49-50 (1921-22), 156. Relief musculaire très stylisé, corselet à partie inférieure étroite, épaulières solidaires du dos ou du plastron. Charnières latérales, cf. Hagemann, no. 5, 6, 47 et 55 ou anneaux pour chaînettes, cf. A. Hagemann, *op. cit.*, no. 57.

113. Type court (Ht. env. 30 cm.), avec un relief musculaire souvent assez sommaire et un bord inférieur presque toujours rectiligne. Le plastron et le dos sont réunis sur les flancs par des chaînettes à anneaux ou, plus rarement, par des charnières, cf. *infra*, nos. 1-2. Souvent les attaches aux épaules sont serpentiformes (nos. 2, 3, 9) et les mamelons sont entourés de clous en cercle (nos. 1, 2, 3, 6). Ce type est influencé par les cuirasses de Grande Grèce et étrusco-italiques.

1. New York Metrop. Mus. 08.2.6: Richter, no. 1570 et Guzzo, no. 13, de Campobasso.
2. Naples Mus.: Hagemann no. 48 et Guzzo no. 11, de Paestum.
3. Naples Mus.: Hagemann no. 50, de Paestum.
4. Naples Mus.: R. Gargiulo, *Recueil des Monumens...* 2 (Naples 1883), pl. 42, d'Armento (Basilicate).

5. Paestum?: *Boll. d'Arte* (1958), 55 s., fig. 17 et Guzzo, no. II,1, de Paestum.

6. Paris Louvre MNC 1672-3: Guzzo no. II,2, de Ruvo.

7. Paris CdM 1993: Hagemann no. 15 et Guzzo no. II,4, de la Basilicate.

8. Rome?: Hagemann no. 59 a et Guzzo no. II,5, d'Allifae.

9. Rome?: Hagemann no. 59 b, peut-être imitation étrusque?

10. Syracuse: G. Libertini, *Mus. Arch. di Siracusa* (Rome 1929), 61 sq., fig. 13, d'une nécropole proche de Scordia.

Ainsi qu'une variante de Paestum: Guzzo no. II,7. Représentation du type, cf. A. Hagemann, *op. cit.*, 109 n.3 et 111, fig. 106.

114. Cf. Greco Pontrandolfo, *Dial. d'Arch.* (1979), 36 sq.

115. Cf. J.-L. Zimmermann, *op. cit.*, 181 n.61 et chanfrein trouvé avec la cuirasse *supra* n.81, no. 10, cf. A. L. Millin, *op. cit.*, pl. II,3-4.

116. Sur l'armement italique, cf. Tite-Live IX; Virgile, *Aen.* VII, 730 sqq. Cf. F. Weege, *Jdl XXIV* (1909), 148-152; *NSc* (1957), 174, fig. 3 et n.7; R. Bianchi Bandinelli, *op. cit.*, fig. 287-288 et 428; G. von Merhart, *Panzer-Studie ds. Origines, Raccolta di Scritti in Onore di Mons. Baserga* (Côme 1954), 33-60.

117. Cf. *supra* n.81, nos. 2 et 10. Peut-être même un Celte, pour no. 4, cf. *supra* n.28.

118. Cf. C. Vermeule, *Hellenistic a. Roman Cuirassed Statues* (Art of Antiquity IV 3, Boston 1980) et Berytus XXIII (1974), 12 s., no. 113 B (Malibu, J. Paul Getty Mus.).

119. Cf. H. R. Robinson, *Armour of Imperial Rome* (Londres 1975), 65, Imperial-Italic A.

120. Cf. A. Hagemann, *op. cit.*, 29, fig. 43 et 65 n.4; J.-L. Zimmermann, *op. cit.*, 179 n.28; K. Stemmer, *op. cit.*, 125 n.361.

Conservation of the Bronze Cuirass and Helmet

Patricia Tuttle

The bronzes arrived in over 200 highly mineralized and extremely brittle fragments, averaging approximately 1.5 mm thick. Although much deformation had occurred, annealing and re-shaping was not possible due both to the low amount of non-mineralized metal present and in order not to destroy the azurite-rich patina.

The fragments were cleaned mechanically and treated for bronze disease in benzotriazole. Initial assembly began using cyanoacrylate for spot-tacking and Araldite 502 as an adhesive. As the joined sections became too large to support themselves, a temporary support was made by molding sheets of epoxy putty to the inside shape of the sections, isolated from the bronze with plastic wrap. As sections of the bronze were joined together, their supports were joined with additional fresh strips of putty. The

shape of the armature was modified by local application of heat as re-alignment of the bronze pieces proved necessary. When the final shape was achieved, the joints were reinforced on the inside of the cuirass with small strips of non-woven nylon and Ablebond 342. The epoxy putty support could then be removed.

Small lacunae were filled with cast pieces of Araldite, covered with modeling paste and in-painted. The large missing areas requiring reconstruction were first modeled *in situ* in plasticine; this was insulated with acryloid B72 and a mold was made of RTV silicone rubber. The cast was made of pigmented Araldite 502. After joining to the bronze with epoxy, the cast was coated thinly with modeling paste, sanded smooth, and in-painted.

Malibu



Figure 1. Fragments of the helmet. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum (80.AC.12)

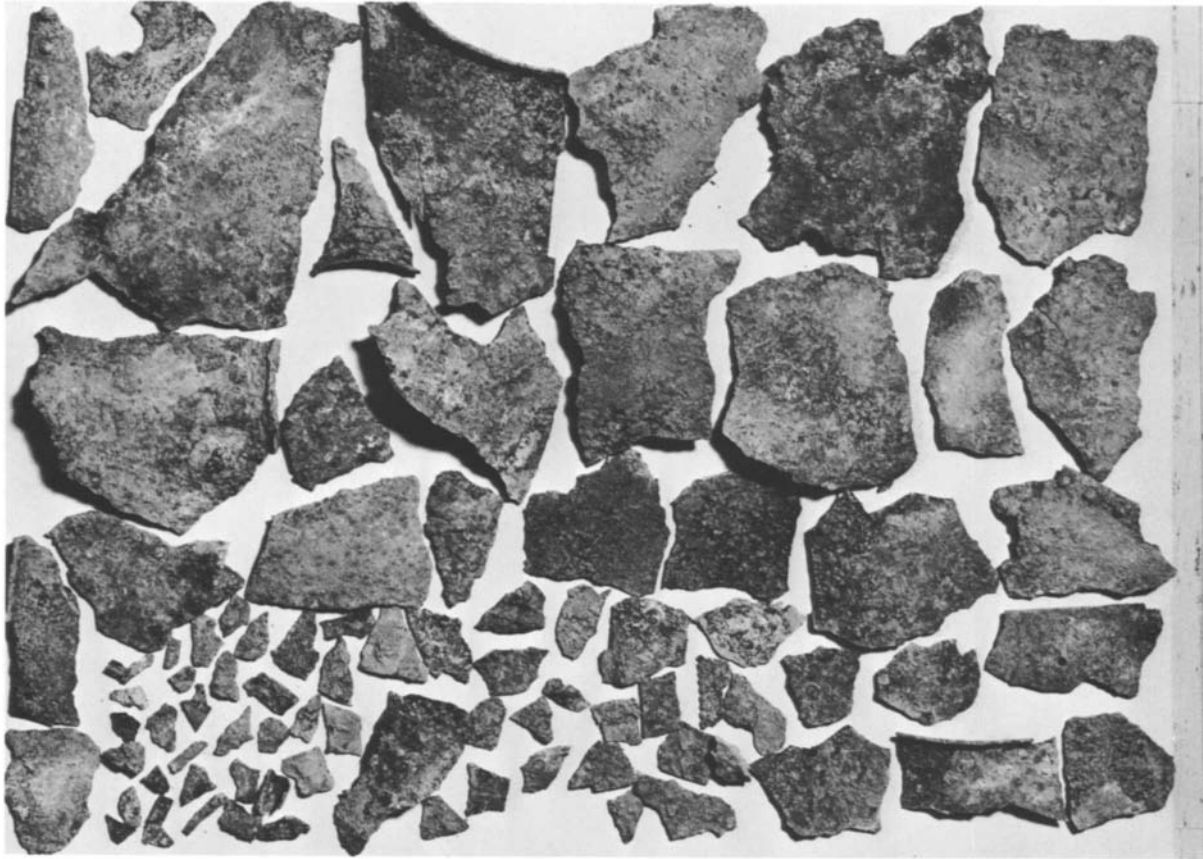


Figure 2. Fragments of the cuirass.

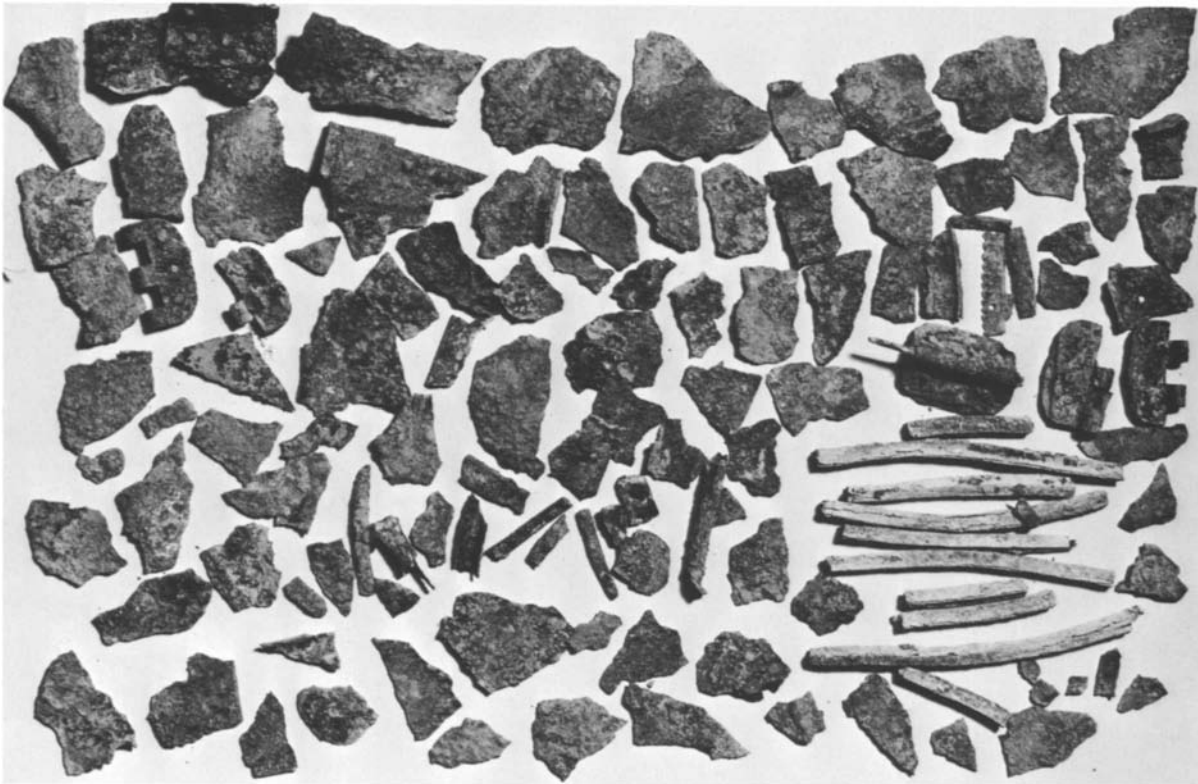


Figure 3. Fragments of the cuirass. Right bottom. Lead supports for the lower edge, and above them hinges.



Figure 4. Front of the cuirass with restorations.



Figure 5. Front of the cuirass before painting the restored areas; the original section is covered with protective latex.

Die ‚Kauernde Aphrodite‘ in Kristall

Antje Krug

Das Motiv der zum Bade kauernenden Göttin oder Heroine, in der griechischen Kunst vielfältig gestaltet, ist in zwei statuarischen Schöpfungen überaus erfolgreich gewesen. Die ‚Kauernde Aphrodite‘ des Bithyniers Doidalses war die eindrucksvollere Fassung, von deren Vorbild sich spätere Künstler kaum mehr zu lösen vermochten.¹ Ihr eng verwandt, aber im Sinne der einansichtigen Figuren der späthellenistischen Kunst verändert ist die ‚Kauernde Aphrodite vom rhodischen Typus‘, so benannt nach ihrer vollständigsten Replik in Rhodos (Abb. 1). Das Motiv ist hier leicht variiert. Die Locken sind nicht für das Bad aufgesteckt, sondern fallen weit und offen und die Hände greifen in die Strähnen, um die Nässe herauszupressen.²

Die ihr Haar ausdrückende Aphrodite hat in der Kunst der nachfolgenden Zeit ein überwältigendes Echo gefunden.³ Besonders zahlreich sind die Wiederholungen aus dem griechisch-römischen Ägypten, aus dem nicht nur mehrere Marmorkopien bekannt sind, sondern auch Wiederholungen in Bronze, Terrakotta, Fayence und selbst in Gold.⁴ Noch in christlicher Zeit hat dieses heidnische Motiv seine Beliebtheit in der dekorativen Kunst be-

wahrt.⁵ Allerdings sind die späteren Künstler mit dem Motiv oft sehr frei umgegangen, so daß eine Rezension der Kopien nur bedingt möglich ist. Die Wiederholungen schwanken stark in der Größe, sind aber alle kleinformatig—selbst die größte Replik, die Statue in Malibu,⁶ ist unterlebensgroß—, so daß das Original wohl nur Statuettenformat hatte. Einige Wiederholungen wie dieses Lichthäuschen aus Terrakotta (Abb. 2), das entsprechend seiner Funktion noch mit einem Fackelpaar geziert ist, setzen die Figur der ‚Kauernden Aphrodite‘ in eine Aedicula.⁷ Dies hat zu der Vermutung geführt, daß auch das Original in einem architektonischen Rahmen gestanden habe, sei er nun sakral als Tempel oder profan als Nymphäum zu verstehen.⁸ Für die Entstehungszeit wird man einen gewissen zeitlichen Abstand zu dem großen Vorbild des Doidalses annehmen müssen. Die Verwandtschaft mit den völlig einansichtigen Gruppen des späten 2. und des 1. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. wie den ‚Grazien‘ oder der ‚Pantoffelgruppe‘ von Delos spricht für eine Datierung in diese Zeit.⁹

Die ‚Kauernde Aphrodite vom rhodischen Typ‘ ist in Malibu bereits durch eine—spiegelbildliche—Marmorkopie

Die Anregung zu diesem Aufsatz kam von Jifí Frel, Malibu, der auch die Autopsie der Statuette ermöglichte und zahlreiche Informationen beisteuerte. Ich möchte ihm an dieser Stelle herzlich dafür danken. Die Fotografien der Statuette wurden vom J. Paul Getty Museum angefertigt.

1. Zu diesem Typus grundlegend R. Lullies, *Die Kauernde Aphrodite* (München 1954). Ders., *Griechische Plastik*, 4. Auflage (München 1979) Abb. 252. D. Brinkerhoff, *Hellenistic Statues of Aphrodite* (New York 1978), 35 ff. Ders., *The J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 6/7, 1978–79, 83 ff. S. Holo, *The J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 6/7, 1978–79, 23 ff. Zum Problem der Zuschreibung A. Linfert, *Athenische Mitteilungen* 84, 1969, 158 ff.

2. A. Adriani, *Annales du Service* 44, 1944, 37 ff. Lullies, *Kauernde Aphrodite* 84. Ders., *Griechische Plastik* Abb. 289. G.S. Merker, *The Hellenistic Sculpture of Rhodes. Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology* Bd. 40 (Göteborg 1973), 25 f. Nr. 2. Brinkerhoff, *Statues of Aphrodite* 49 ff.

3. Replikenliste bei Adriani, *Annales du Service* 44, 1944, 39 ff., Wiederholungen aus Ägypten, und 45, Kopien in anderen Sammlungen. Siehe auch A. Adriani, *Repertorio d'Arte dell'Egitto Greco-Romano*. Serie A Bd. 2 (Palermo 1961), Nr. 106–111. Marmorstatuette aus Ashmunein, Münster, Archäologisches Museum der Universität. K. Stähler, *Heroen und Götter der Griechen* (Münster 1980), Nr. 37.

4. Bronzestatue aus Alexandria, Expedition Ernst von Sieglin. *Ausgrabungen in Alexandria* Bd. 2, Teil 1 A (Leipzig 1923), Taf. 23, 1 a.b. Fayenceplatten, ebd. Teil 3 (Leipzig 1913), Taf. 35, 8.9. Terrakotta, ebd. Bd. 1 (Leipzig 1908), 314, Abb. 230. Siehe auch Lullies, *Kauernde Aphrodite* 86 f. Kalksteinplatte aus Benha (?), *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale* 78, 1978, 554, Nr. 13, Taf. 99, 13. Goldnadelbekrönung im

Benaki-Museum, Athen, B. Segall in: *Festschrift Eugen v. Mercklin* (Waldsassen 1964), 163 ff., Taf. 57.58. Des weiteren Terrakottastatuette 21 815, Fayencestatuette 19 523 und Fayenceapplik im Benaki-Museum, Athen, wahrscheinlich aus Alexandria.

5. Kalksteinrelief ehemals Berlin, Staatliche Museen. A. Effenberger, *Koptische Kunst* (Wien 1975), Abb. 8 (hier Abb. 7).

6. Brinkerhoff, *The J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 6/7, 1978–79, 86 ff. Abb. 7–9.

7. Alexandria, Musée Gréco-Romain, aus der Nekropole von Anfuschi. A. Adriani, *Annuaire du Musée Gréco-Romain* 3, 1940–50, 125 Anm. 1 (B) II Taf. C, Abb. 62. *Götter Pharaonen*. Ausstellungskatalog Essen 1978 (Mainz 1978), Nr. 157. Siehe auch das Goldscheibchen bei Adriani, *Annales du Service* 44, 1944, 43 Abb. 7.

8. Segall, *Festschrift Eugen v. Mercklin* 167. Brinkerhoff, *The J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 6/7, 1978–79, 94 betont allerdings das Hypothetische dieser Vermutung.

9. Lullies, *Griechische Plastik* Abb. 289 setzt die rhodische Statuette in das 1. Jahrhundert v. Chr., Merker, *The Hellenistic Sculpture of Rhodes* 25 f., Nr. 2 datiert sie auf Grund der Bildhauerarbeit in die römische Kaiserzeit, was jedoch nicht gegen eine Entstehung des Vorbildes in der von Lullies vorgeschlagenen Zeit spricht. Brinkerhoff, *Statues of Aphrodite* 51 f. nimmt die zweite Hälfte des 2. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. an.

10. The J. Paul Getty Museum, Inv. 78.AA.248. Aus dem Kunsthandel. Höhe 8,5 cm. Es fehlen Kopf, Arme, der linke Unterschenkel und der rechte Fuß. Auf Einzelheiten des Erhaltungszustandes ist weiter unten noch einzugehen.



Abb. 1. Kauernde Aphrodite. Marmor. Rhodos, Archäologisches Museum. Foto Hirmer, München.

vertreten. In jüngster Zeit ist die Sammlung durch eine weitere Wiederholung bereichert worden,¹⁰ die in mehrfacher Hinsicht exzeptionell ist, besonders aber durch ihr Material,—Bergkristall (Abb. 3–5). Bergkristall ist ein farbloser Quarz der Härte 7 nach der Mohs-Skala. Er ist in Lagerstätten über die ganze Erde verbreitet und wird in großen, bis zu zentnerschweren Kristallen gefunden. Bergkristall kam in der Antike, wie die meisten Edelsteine, aus Indien, aber auch die Vorkommen in den Alpen, die noch heute ausgebeutet werden, waren schon bekannt. Der Kristall aus Kleinasien, aus der Gegend von Alabanda und Orthosia, wie auch der aus Zypern galt als mindere Qualität. Die Kristalle sind wasserklar und hell, doch

bilden mikroskopische Wassereinschlüsse im Innern oft Schlieren und Wolken. Auch bei der Statuette sind derartige Schlierenstreifen zu erkennen, z.B. am rechten Oberschenkel, doch beeinträchtigen sie nicht den Gesamteindruck des kleinen Kunstwerks.

Ein Vergleich der Bergkristall-Aphrodite in Malibu mit der Statuette in Rhodos, die trotz ihrer umstrittenen Datierung die vollständigste und maßgebliche Wiederholung ist, zeigt geringe Unterschiede: Der Oberkörper der Kristallstatuette ist weniger stark zur Seite und damit zum Betrachter gedreht. Während bei der rhodischen Figur Oberkörper, Glieder, Gesicht und Haar in einer krampfhaft angespannten Haltung seitwärts in einer Fläche ausgebreitet sind, ist der Oberkörper der Aphrodite in Malibu ein wenig mehr nach vorn gedreht. Die Bewegung wirkt dadurch insgesamt ruhiger, natürlicher und weniger gekünstelt. Auch sind die Proportionen des Körpers und die Einzelformen bei der Bergkristallstatuette etwas gestreckter und schlanker als bei der Marmorstatuette. Die Taille ist zwar nicht überschlang, dafür sind aber Hüften und Gesäß schmal. In der Fotografie der Rückenansicht wirkt diese Partie durch die Lichtbrechung im Kristall zu rundlich und schwer, was nicht dem Original entspricht. Auch die Schenkel sind schlanker und länger. Ein Vergleich mit den beiden gelagerten Nymphen auf der ‚Tazza Farnese‘ drängt sich auf,¹¹ und hier ist das Fehlen des Kopfes besonders schmerzlich, da es verbietet, den Vergleich weiter auszuführen. Die steilere Haltung des rechten, knienden Beins dürfte von der Sockelung beeinflusst sein.

Skulpturen wie auch Gefäße aus Edelstein sind zwar kostbar, aber nicht ungewöhnlich. Bereits die frühesten Hochkulturen in Mesopotamien, Ägypten und am Mittelmeer kannten Gefäße und Schmuckstücke aus verschiedenfarbigen Edelsteinen, und die Handwerker scheuten auch vor den spröden und harten Quarzen nicht zurück.¹² Die Vielfalt der Edelsteinarten und ihr Gebrauch nahmen jedoch einen unerhörten Aufschwung, als durch die Feldzüge Alexanders des Großen und die Reiche seiner Nachfolger ein enger kultureller und vor allem merkantiler Kontakt mit Indien hergestellt wurde, damals der Hauptlieferant edler Steine. Aus diesem Überfluß an geschätzten und neuartigen Steinen wurden auch neue Verwendungsformen erfunden. Die Kameen—Reliefs in mehrfarbig geschichtetem Sardonyx—kommen auf, und es werden auch Rundskulpturen in Edelstein geschaffen.

11. Sehr gute Detailabbildungen bei D.B. Thompson in: *Das ptolemäische Ägypten. Akten des internationalen Symposiums 27.–29. September 1976 in Berlin* (Mainz 1977), 113 ff., Abb. 107.

12. H.-P. Bühler, *Antike Gefäße aus Chalcedonen*. Dissertation Würz-

burg (1966), 16 ff. Ders., *Antike Gefäße aus Edelsteinen* (Mainz 1973), 7 ff. L. Habachi-J.C. Biers, *Muse* 3, 1969, 29 ff. A. Oliver, Jr., *Muse* 7, 1973, 29 ff.

13. Plinius, *NH* XXXVII 32,108, nach Juba von Mauretanien.

Plinius geht in Buch XXXVII seiner Naturgeschichte ausführlich auf die Edelsteine und ihre Verwendung ein. Gleich zu Anfang (Kap. 9–10) schreibt er über den Bergkristall, über seine Herkunft, seine Eigenarten und die überaus große Wertschätzung, die man in der römischen Kaiserzeit Arbeiten aus Bergkristall entgegenbrachte. Die große Leidenschaft der reichen Römer galt den Trinkgefäßen aus Edelstein, aber da man Bergkristall für eine Art von Eis hielt, war er nur für kalte Getränke geeignet. Allerdings bemerkt Plinius wenige Sätze später in der unbekümmerten Art, in der er einander widersprechende Nachrichten wiedergibt, daß man in der Medizin sphärisch zugeschliffene Kristalle als Brennglas zum Kauterisieren benutze. Aus Bergkristall waren auch die beiden Trinkgefäße, die Nero kurz vor seinem Selbstmord zerschmetterte, um der Nachwelt einen möglichst schmerzhaften Verlust zuzufügen.

Plinius erwähnt aber auch Skulpturen aus edlem Material: Eine Statue der Arsinoe II. (gestorben 270 v. Chr.), vier Ellen hoch, war aus einem Topas geschnitten. Den Stein hatte der Präfekt Philo ihrer Mutter Berenike I. zum Geschenk gemacht,¹³ Ptolemaios II. (282–246 v. Chr.) ließ daraus die Kultstatue für das Arsinoeion in Alexandria, das Heiligtum seiner Schwestergemahlin, arbeiten. Wohl auch noch ptolemäisch war eine Sarapisstatue aus ‚Smaragdus‘, neun Ellen hoch und ebenfalls in Alexandria aufgestellt.¹⁴ Eine Panzerstatue des Nero bestand aus einer ‚Capnias‘ genannten, wohl rauchfarbenen Art des Jaspis und war 16 Zoll hoch.¹⁵ Ein Kopfbruchstück aus Chalcedon im Vatikan¹⁶ gehört zu einer Statuette, die ursprünglich etwa einen halben Meter gemessen hat. Die Ähnlichkeit der Gesichtszüge mit den Porträtmünzen von Ptolemaios II. und Ptolemaios III. und auch die hervorragende Qualität, die durchaus dem ‚Ptolemäerkameo‘ in Wien vergleichbar ist, lassen eine Porträtstatuette eines der beiden Könige vermuten.¹⁷

Innerhalb dieser raren Denkmälergruppe, zu der man auch figürlich gestaltete Geräte wie Griffe und Aufsätze rechnen muß, da sie kaum von den selbständigen Rundskulpturen zu trennen sind, nimmt der Bergkristall eine besondere Stellung ein. Schon in der Ringsteinglyptik fällt auf, wie selten hier Bergkristall vorkommt, obwohl die Gemmenschneider vor gleichhartem Material wie Amethyst oder Sardonyx oder auch härterem wie Almandin oder Saphir keineswegs zurückschreckten. Dagegen ist er



Abb. 2. Lichthäuschen. Terrakotta. Alexandria, Musée Gréco-Romain. Foto D. Johannes, Kairo.

für Trinkgefäße hochgeschätzt, wie Plinius und vor allem die erhaltenen Gefäße selbst bezeugen, und auch für zierliche Salbgefäße und anderes Gerät. Daneben findet man Bergkristall aber auch in eher zweitrangiger Verwendung, als Perlen für Halsketten, Figürchen wie Zikaden von Spielzeug- und Amulettcharakter, und Spielsteine, teilweise in Fisch- und Entenform.¹⁸ Unter den Extravaganzen des Trimalchio wird ein Spielbrett aus Terebinthenholz mit Spielsteinen aus Kristall beschrieben.¹⁹ Von den ohnehin seltenen Skulpturen aus Bergkristall²⁰ sind nur wenige nach Stil und Qualität für einen Vergleich mit der Aphrodite in Malibu geeignet. Das Fragment einer Putto-

14. Plinius, *NH* XXXVII 37,118, nach Apion Pleistonikes.

15. Plinius ebd.

16. F. Fremersdorf, *Antikes, islamisches und mittelalterliches Glas sowie kleinere Arbeiten aus Stein, Gagat und verwandten Stoffen in den Vatikanischen Sammlungen Roms. Catalogo del Museo Sacro* Bd. 5 (Roma 1975), Nr. 996, Taf. 73.

17. So der Vorschlag bei A. Furtwängler, *Die antiken Gemmen* Bd. 3 (Leipzig-Berlin 1900), 334.

18. Fremersdorf a.O. (Anm. 16), Taf. 76.81–85, bringt eine ganze Musterkarte der gängigen Verwendungsarten.

19. Petronius, *Cena Trimalchionis* 33.

20. Eine Übersicht über die ihm bekannten Edelsteinskulpturen



Abb. 3-5. Kauernde Aphrodite. Bergkristall. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum.

figur²¹ bietet mit dem weichen Inkarnat und den vollen Formen einige Vergleichspunkte. Besser aber ist ein Gefäßbruchstück mit dem Hochrelief einer Mänade (Abb. 6) zu vergleichen,²² die in Motiv und Thema neuattischen Reliefs und Toreutikarbeiten nahesteht. In der sensiblen Behandlung des Inkarnats und der Körperformen ist sie der Aphrodite in Malibu so verwandt, wie sie den eher holzschnittartig gearbeiteten Porträtbüsten des 2. Jahr-

bringt Fremersdorf a.O. (Anm. 16), 110 f., zu der, außer Nachträgen, folgendes zu bemerken ist: S. 111 unter H, Paris, ist die bei de Ridder, *Catalogue* Nr. 2113 erwähnte Isis aus Steatit, die Aphrodite Nr. 2114 aus Chalkedon, beide nicht aus Bergkristall. Der unter K, Italien, Florenz, genannte Bergkristallkopf, den Delbrück für Alexander den Großen gehalten und für ein Werk des Pyrgoteles in Anspruch genommen hat, ist von R. Bianchi-Bandinelli, *Bulletin Antieke Beschaving* 26, 1951, 77 ff. überzeugend der Neuzeit zugewiesen worden. Fremersdorf zitiert den Aufsatz nicht. Für die Mädchenstatuette Fremersdorf Nr. 995 im Vatikan kann ich keine überzeugenden Parallelen aus der griechisch-römischen Antike finden. Fremersdorf gibt hier, wie auch bei den übrigen Stücken, keine Datierung an.

21. Fremersdorf a.O. (Anm. 16), 112, Nr. 999, Taf. 75. Vatikan, Museo Sacro Inv. 447. Höhe 7,2 cm.

22. Bühler, *Antike Gefäße aus Edelsteinen* 47, Nr. 19, Taf. 8. London, British Museum. Höhe 6,6 cm.

hunderts n. Chr. und späterer Zeit²³ fernsteht. Eng verwandt ist auch eine Nereide auf einem Ketos,²⁴ die in den Umkreis der späthellenistischen Seethiasoi gehört, wie sie von der ‚Domitius-Ara‘ in München und der gleichzeitigen Glyptik bekannt sind.²⁵ In den späteren Hellenismus weist auch die schon oben angesprochene Verwandtschaft mit den Nymphen der ‚Tazza Farnese‘, so daß die Aphrodite in Malibu am ehesten im 1. Jahrhundert v. Chr. entstanden sein wird.

Für die Frage nach dem engeren stilistischen und künstlerischen Umkreis, in den die Bergkristallstatuette gehört, sind einige Besonderheiten im Erhaltungszustand von Bedeutung. Eingangs ist nur kurz erwähnt worden, welche offensichtlichen Beschädigungen das Kunstwerk erlitten hatte: Der Kopf ist am unteren Ansatz des Halses abgebrochen, der hochgereckte Arm direkt am Schultergelenk. Vom linken Arm ist noch der Ansatz des leicht gesenkten Oberarms erhalten. Der linke Unterschenkel mit dem Fuß ist unterhalb des Knies abgebrochen, der rechte Fuß oberhalb des Knöchels. Auf der Unterseite des rechten Knies, das auf dem Sockel ruht, befindet sich ein kleines rundes Bohrloch, das noch angesinterten Sand enthielt. Hier war der Stift verankert, mit dem die Statuette auf ihrer antiken Basis gesichert war. Beim Losbrechen aus ihrer Halterung sind größere Teile rings um das Bohrloch abgesplittert. Vielleicht waren die Füße auf ähnliche Weise auf der Basis befestigt, denn zumindest der rechte Fuß ist bei der kauernenden Haltung kein so exponierter Körperteil wie Kopf und Arme, die leicht abbrechen. Alle Bruchstellen zeigen ein gewisses Maß an Abrieb und Kratzern, die sie als alte Beschädigungen ausweisen. Auch die vorstehenden Teile des Körpers—Gesäß, Brüste, Knie—zeigen die unregelmäßigen Kratzer in der Politur, die durch langen ‚Gebrauch‘ selbst bei einem so harten Quarz entstehen.

Dort, wo keine offensichtlichen Beschädigungen oder Gebrauchsspuren sind, ist die Oberfläche sorgfältig poliert. Neben diesen Befunden fallen Werkspuren auf, die man fast Beschädigungen nennen möchte. An einigen Stellen ist in roher Weise in die fein modellierte und polierte Oberfläche eingeschnitten worden. Einmal sind die Brüste, besonders die linke, durch eine Reihe eckig angesetzter Schnitte konturiert worden. Des weiteren ist der Nabel

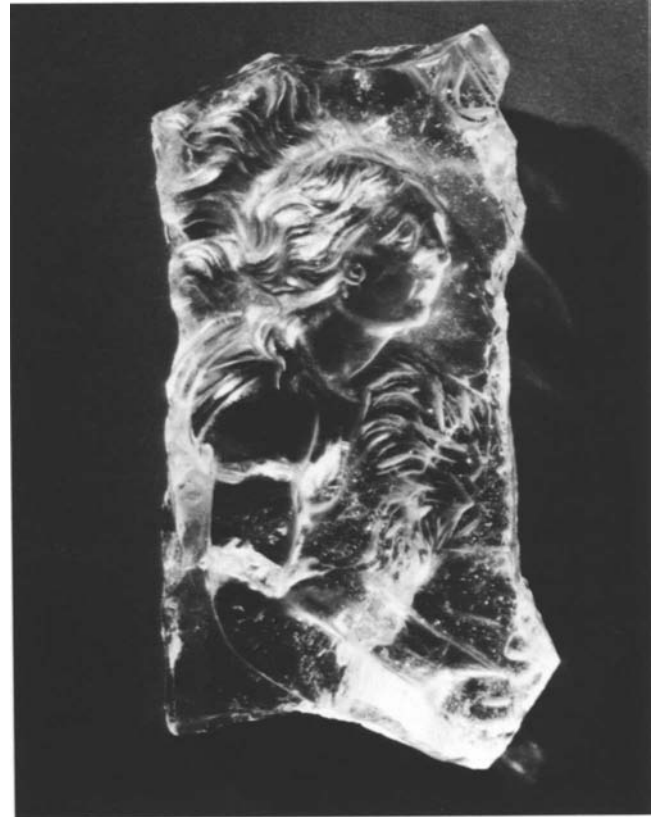


Abb. 6. Mänade, Gefäßfragment. Bergkristall. London, British Museum.

durch eine derbe Grube betont worden und die Genitalgegend und die linke Leistenfalte durch kerbenartige Schnitte. Ein ähnlicher Schnitt greift in die linke Kniekehle ein. Der Haarschopf auf dem Rücken ist mit derartigen Kerben am Kontur und in der Binnzeichnung bearbeitet worden.

Diese Schneidspuren gehören nicht zur ursprünglichen Fassung der Statuette. Auch von einer Beschädigung, die eine Umarbeitung notwendig machen könnte, ist nichts zu erkennen.²⁶ Auch mit makroskopischer Untersuchung kann man beobachten, daß bei geschnittenen Steinen die abschließende Politur, mit der die Werkspuren beseitigt und der Glanz erzielt wird, die Schnittkanten mit erfaßt; sie werden durch die Politur glänzend und leicht abgerundet. Wenn diese glänzend verdichtete Oberfläche²⁷ wieder

23. Büste der älteren Faustina, aus Gallien. St.-Germain, Musée National. Gesamthöhe 16,2 cm. R. Lantier, *Monuments de la Fondation Eugène Piot* 38, 1941, 130 ff, Taf. 8. Ders, *Journal of Roman Studies* 36, 1946, 90 Taf. 9,1.—Kopf des Trajan aus Caesarea/ Israel. Höhe 3,5 cm. *Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine* 1, 1932, 153 f., Taf. 58.—Frauenkopf mit nicht zugehöriger Büste. Turin, Museo Civico. Gesamthöhe 13 cm. L. Mallé, *Vetri-Vetrate-Giade. Cristalli di Rocca e Pietre Dure* (Torino 1971), 371 f., Abb. 1.

24. Berlin, Antikenmuseum Inv. 30219,713. Unveröffentlicht. Publikation in Vorbereitung.

25. H. Kähler, *Seethiasoi und Censur. Die Reliefs aus dem Palazzo Santa Croce in Rom. Monumenta Artis Romanae* Bd. 6 (Berlin 1966), Taf. 1–3. Amethyst in Leningrad, M.-L. Vollenweider, *Die Steinschneidekunst und ihre Künstler in spätrepublikanischer und augusteischer Zeit* (Baden-Baden 1966), Taf. 65,1.

26. So in dem kurzen Begleittext zu April, *The J. Paul Getty Museum Appointment Calendar* 1981.

27. Dazu die eingehende technische Analyse von J. Röder, *Bonner Jahrbücher* 165, 1965, 235 ff.



Abb. 7. Kalksteinrelief. Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Frühchristlich-byzantinische Sammlung. Foto Staatliche Museen zu Berlin.

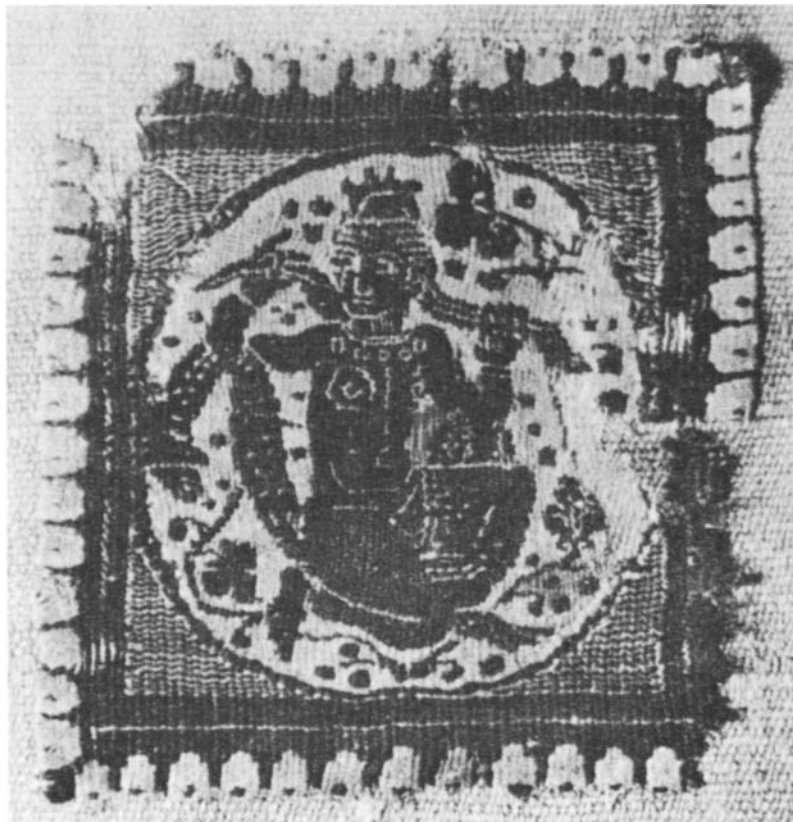


Abb. 8. Koptisches Gewebe. Vormals Alexandria, Sammlung Bouvier. Nach A. Adriani, *Repertorio Serie A*, Bd. 2, Abb. 2.

durchbrochen wird, dann ist die Kante ein scharfer, am Rand fein ausgesplitteter Schnitt. Auf ebendiese Weise greifen die beschriebenen Kerben scharfkantig in die polierte Oberfläche ein. Auch sind die Schnittflächen hinterher nicht noch einmal poliert worden, der Bearbeiter hat sich mit einer Glättung begnügt. Die Kristallstatuette ist also nach ihrer erstmaligen Fertigstellung in einer abweichenden, größeren Technik an einigen auffallenden Stellen überarbeitet worden. Es bleibt zu fragen, wann dies geschehen ist, und was man damit bezweckt hat.

Die Bearbeitungsspuren der zweiten Phase sind insofern eigenartig, als sie offenbar nicht dazu dienten, aus der Statuette etwas anderes zu machen; man denke etwa an Porträts, deren Frisuren geändert wurden, an Idealstatuen, die zu Porträts gemacht und Architekturteile, die in Statuen verwandelt wurden. Die Veränderung betrifft nicht das Thema oder das Motiv, sondern den Stil. Das künstlerische Empfinden, aus dem heraus die Umarbeitung vorgenommen wurde, läßt sich gewissermaßen an den Stellen ablesen, wo die Spuren sichtbar sind. Der Bearbeiter hat offenbar Wert darauf gelegt, daß nicht nur die äußeren Konturen, sondern auch die inneren der einzelnen Körperpartien klar ausgeprägt und deutlich wahrnehmbar sind. Er steht damit in offenem Gegensatz zu dem späthellenistischen Schöpfer der Statuette, dessen Ziel es war, dem überaus spröden und harten Werkstoff ein Maximum an sanften Formen und Übergängen abzurufen. So ist zunächst die Gelenkfunktion der Leistenfalten durch eine starke Linie unterstrichen worden. Die Genitalgegend wird in einer fast schon orientalischen Weise betont. Hals und Kopf wurden durch das Nachziehen der Schlüsselbeinlinie vom übrigen Körper abgesetzt. Der Bauch mit den sanft modellierten Flächen erhielt durch den nachdrücklich eingetieften Nabel einen optischen Fixpunkt. Die Brüste schließlich, deren gleitend sanften Ansatz man an der rechten Außenseite gerade noch wahrnehmen kann, wurden durch mehrere Schnitte gewissermaßen kreisförmig umzogen. Wäre der Kopf erhalten, so würde man mit Sicherheit feststellen, daß in dem schmalen Gesichtchen die Augen umrandet und der Mund eingetieft wurden.

Für diese Art der ornamentalen Körpergestaltung, bei der die einzelnen Teile fast grafisch nachgezeichnet werden, gibt es überzeugende Parallelen aus der spätantiken Kunst Ägyptens, und zwar nicht nur im Stil, sondern auch im Motivschatz. Trotz der frühen Christianisierung haben die

28. Vormalig Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. A. Effenberger, *Koptische Kunst* (Leipzig-Wien 1975), Abb. 8. Vormalig Sammlung Bouvier, Alexandria. A. Adriani, *Repertorio d'Arte dell'Egitto Greco-Romano*. Serie A Bd. 2 (Palermo 1961), 71, Abb. 2.

29. The Walters Art Gallery. Höhe 7,5 cm. B. Segall, *The Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* 2, 1939, 113 ff. Mit dieser Figur eng verwandt ist eine



Abb. 9. Herakles mit dem Eber. Bergkristall. Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery.

heidnische Mythologie und ihre Figuren ein langdauerndes Nachleben gehabt. Eine Illustration für beide Phänomene sind ein Kalksteinrelief des 4.–5. Jahrhunderts n. Chr. (Abb. 7) und eine koptische Wirkerei (Abb. 8), beide aus Ägypten.²⁸ Besonders anschaulich ist der Vergleich mit dem Gewebe, bei dem die Innenzeichnung des Körpers in dünnen weißen Linien an genau denselben Stellen angelegt ist wie die Schnitte bei der Überarbeitung der Kristallstatuette. Auch die starke Betonung der Schoßpartie und des Nabels ist so charakteristisch für die spätägyptische Kleinplastik, daß man hier, im spätantiken bis nachantik-christlichen Ägypten, die künstlerische Umgebung für die Umarbeitung der Kristallstatuette suchen muß.

Dies setzt allerdings voraus, daß sich die Statuette auch in ihrer ersten Fassung in Ägypten befunden hat und vielleicht sogar dort im 1. Jahrhundert v. Chr. ursprünglich geschaffen worden ist. Angesichts der zahlreichen Parallelen für das Motiv der ‚Kauernden Aphrodite‘ vom rhodischen Typus‘ aus Ägypten und der führenden Rolle, die das ptolemäische Ägypten in der Entwicklung der Glyptik und der Edelsteinskulptur gespielt hat, ist dieser Gedanke sehr naheliegend. Auch die kerbenartig gradlinige Schnitttechnik der zweiten Fassung findet ihren Vergleich in Ägypten, so bei einer Statuette des Herakles mit dem Erymanthischen Eber (Abb. 9) in Baltimore.²⁹ Dessen

Bergkristallstatuette des Herakles mit dem Löwen vom Westabhang der Akropolis in Athen, im Deutschen Archäologischen Institut, Athen. F. Brommer, *Athenische Mitteilungen* 87, 1972, 289 ff., Taf. 100,1–2. Er bestreitet zu Unrecht, da er das entsprechende Material nicht berücksichtigt, die Zuschreibung der Statuette in Baltimore durch B. Segall.

Zuschreibung an die spätantik-ägyptische Kunst wird durch eine ebenfalls spätantike Frauenstatuette aus Bergkristall mit sicherem ägyptischem Fundort gestützt.³⁰

Somit hat sich bestätigt, daß das kleine Kunstwerk in Malibu in mehrfacher Hinsicht bemerkenswert ist. Als Wiederholung eines späthellenistischen Aphroditetyps, der sich im griechischen Osten und besonders in Ägypten

größter Beliebtheit erfreute, ist sie zugleich ein hervorragendes Beispiel für die rare Gattung der Bergkristallskulptur wie auch der spätptolemäischen Glyptik. Die andauernde Beliebtheit des Motivs wie auch die Kostbarkeit des Materials führten schließlich dazu, daß die Statuette mit einer Nachbearbeitung in die spätantik-ägyptische Kunst übersetzt wurde.

Deutsches Archäologisches Institut
Berlin

30. Freer Collection. Höhe 8 cm. W. Dennison-Ch. R. Morey, *Studies in East Christian and Roman Art*. Part II. *A Gold Treasure of the Late Roman*

Period from Egypt. University of Michigan Studies. Humanistic Series Bd. 12 (New York 1918), 164 ff., Nr. 36, Taf. 53-54.

A Tetradrachm of Seleucia Pieria at the Getty Museum

An Archaizing Zeus and the Accession of Alexander Balas in Northern Syria

Arthur Houghton

In 1978 the Getty Museum acquired by gift a silver tetradrachm struck under Alexander I Balas, ruler of the Seleucid Empire in the second century B.C. (fig. A). The coin was not part of a regular series issued by Alexander, but is one of ten recorded examples of a spectacular royal silver issue struck for essentially local purposes. All were issued at the North Syrian port city of Seleucia Pieria in the Seleucid year 166 (October 147–September 146 B.C.).¹ The significance of the Getty coin lies in the understanding it provides of stylistic processes current in hellenistic Syria in the second century B.C. and its implications for a reconstruction of Alexander's occupation of the Syrian north.

CATALOGUE:²

Obverse: Laureate head of Zeus to r.

Reverse: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ Winged thunderbolt; above, ΣΕΡ (year 166 of the Seleucid Era = 147/6 B.C.) and ΒΔ; below, ΒΥ Χ; wreath border composed of alternating open and closed ears of grain.

DIES	WEIGHT	LOCATION OR REFERENCE
A1 P1	—16.86	Malibu, Getty Museum, acc. no. 78.NB.374; Bank Leu Sale 13, 29 Apr. 1975, 305 (fig. A).

For their generous help in providing photographs and information on which I have based this article, I wish to thank Hélène Nicolet-Pierre and Martin Price, curators of the national collections in Paris and London; Nancy Waggoner of the American Numismatic Society, New York; and Silvia Hurter and Arnold Spaer, of Zurich and Jerusalem.

I am particularly indebted to Otto Mørkholm of the Royal Collection of Coins and Medals, Copenhagen, for his thoughtful comments on the manuscript.

1. The Seleucid Era (S.E.) is reckoned from October 312 B.C., when Seleucus I established himself in Babylon. Dates in this article are given in years S.E. or B.C., as noted.

A1 P1	∖16.66	Private U.S. Collection.
A1 P2	16.68	Lisbon, Gulbenkian Museum; R. Jameson, <i>Monnaies Grecques Antiques</i> , Vol. 1, Paris, 1913, p. 419, 1711.
A1 P3	16.59	European Market, 1978 (fig. E).
A1 P3	—16.34	New York, American Numismatic Society; Naville Sale 10, 15 Jun. 1925, 1151; Naville Sale 1, 14 Mar. 1921 (Pozzi Coll.), 2980.
A1 P3	—15.62	Cambridge: <i>Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum</i> , Vol. IV: <i>Fitzwilliam Museum, Leake and General Collections, Part VIII: Syria-Nabathaea</i> , London, 1971, 5686
A2 P4	—16.14	Bank Leu Sale 22, 8 May 1979, 164 (fig. F).
A3 P5	∖15.93	London: BMC, p. 52, 16 (fig. G).
A3 P5	—15.50	Paris: <i>Babelon</i> 884.
A3 P6	—16.80	Paris: <i>Babelon</i> 885.

The coin's type is not an innovation. In concept it is clearly based upon the first municipal issues of Seleucia Pieria, which show the head of Zeus and a thunderbolt, and which carry the city's name (fig. B). Both the image of Zeus and the thunderbolt symbol are related to the tradition of the community's establishment by the founder of the Seleucid dynasty, Seleucus I, who in 300 B.C. is said to have taken a portent of thunder to indicate

2. Conventional terms for anvil (A) and punch (P) are used for obverse and reverse die identification. "Die angle" denotes the relative orientation of obverse to reverse die, assuming the thunderbolt is placed horizontally.

BMC = P. Gardner, *Catalogue of Greek Coins in the British Museum: The Seleucid Kings of Syria*, London, 1878.

Babelon = E. Babelon, *Catalogue des monnaies grecques de la Bibliothèque Nationale: Les Rois de Syrie, d'Arménie et de Commagène*, Paris, 1890.

Wroth = W. Wroth, *Catalogue of Greek Coins in the British Museum: Galatia, Cappadocia and Syria*, London, 1899.



Figure A. Silver tetradrachm of Alexander I Balas. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum (78.NB.374)

the location of his first great city in northern Syria.³ Like the earlier issue, Alexander's tetradrachm was designed to appeal to the citizens of the local community. For broader circulation within the Empire he struck royal coinage bearing his portrait and his own name and title (two examples, one of Ake-Ptolemais, the other of Antioch, are illustrated at C and D).

The obverse of the special Zeus issue is of particular interest. Some scholars have suggested that the head of the god has been deliberately altered to show the features of Alexander.⁴ A comparison of the obverse dies of this group (figs. E–G) with Alexander's portrait on his contemporary tetradrachms of Ake-Ptolemais or Antioch, however, shows more differences than similarities. The face of Zeus generally conforms to the idealizing preference of

Pheidonian models, while on Alexander's portrait coins the king's heavy jaw and slightly hooked and pointed nose are clearly individualized.⁵ It is highly unlikely that Alexander would have sought a visual assimilation with Zeus in any event. He is not known to have claimed deification and the primary sources of his visual iconography—Alexander the Great, in whose guise he was at times portrayed, and his alleged "father," Antiochus IV—were exclusively secular.⁶ Throughout his reign Alexander Balas issued coins showing either his own portrait or the heads of deities of the Greek pantheon, but there is no indication that both were ever merged.

The three known obverse dies of this group differ stylistically in important respects, moreover. The Zeus of A1, from which the Getty Museum's coin was struck, is clearly

3. Eusebius, *Chron.* 2.116, states that Seleucus founded the city in the 12th year of his reign; in 23 Xandikos (March–April), according to John Malalas, p. 199. Of Seleucus's four great foundations of Syria Seleucia, which included Antioch, Apamea and Laodicea, Seleucia Pieria appears to have been the earliest, preceding the establishment of Antioch by a month. Appian, *Syr.* 58, records the story that thunder preceded Seleucia's beginning, and that as a consequence Seleucus consecrated thunder as its divinity. Since very ancient times, in fact, thunder was worshipped as a major god of northern Syria, and Seleucus appears to have done no more than appropriate an existing local cult to strengthen the myth of divine intervention at the city's foundation. For a discussion of the geography and early history of Seleucia, see V. Chapot, "Seleucie de Piérie," *Mémoires de la société nationale des antiquaires de France*, 1906, pp. 147–226. For the Syrian worship of thunder and the relationship of the thunderbolt symbol to Seleucia, see H. Seyrig, "Antiquités Syriennes, 29, A propos du culte de Zeus à Seleucie," *Syria* 20 (1939), pp. 296–301.

4. Seyrig, *op. cit.*, p. 298; E. Babelon, *op. cit.*, cxxix and p. 113, No. 884: "Tête aurée de Zeus avec les traits d'Alexandre Bala."

5. For a discussion of Alexander's portraits see especially O. Mørkholm, "Sculpture and Coins: the Portrait of Alexander Balas of Syria," *Quaderni ticinesi di numismatica e antichità classiche*, 10 (Lugano, 1981), pp. 235–245.

6. The Jewish and classical sources are divided on the question of Alexander's legitimacy. The former (1 Maccabees 10.1; Josephus *Ant.* 13.35) accept him as a son of Antiochus IV. Appian, *Syr.* 67, says he was a pretender. Diodorus 31.32a states he was discovered by Eumenes of Pergamum (in c. 159 B.C.), alleging he was Antiochus' heir. The latter had died in 164 B.C., leaving two sons (one, Antiochus V), but both were said to have been killed at the time of the accession of Demetrius I two years later. Most historians agree that Alexander's claim to legitimacy as a Seleucid ruler was fraudulent; however, E. Bevan, *The House of Seleucus*, Vol. 2 (London, 1902), pp. 300–1 (Appendix M), cautions against the hostile commentary of the Greek sources in assessing Alexander's descent. A. Bouché-le Clercq, *Histoire des Séleucides* (Paris, 1913–14), p. 333, note 1, suggests that Alexander may have been a true but illegitimate child of Antiochus and points out that Ptolemy VI would not have been likely to commit his daughter to a commoner.



B



C



D



E



F



G



H



I



archaizing in concept. The god's hair is composed of regular patterns, smooth and curved at the crown of the head and modeled into tight springlike curls above the forehead and to the side of the face. The beard, too, is restrained and is held close to the line of the jaw. The design recalls the Zeus Olympios of Pheidias taken backward a step toward an early fifth century B.C. mode of representation.

The elements of A2 show some of the characteristics of A1, but an attempt has been made to break the regularity of the design by letting the hair above the brow fall forward loosely, and by disrupting the rhythm of the curls at the side of and behind Zeus's neck. The beard is now fuller and the features of the face more richly modeled and expressive.

The third obverse die represents a further development from the archaisms of the first. The head of Zeus has now expanded to fill the frame of the coin's flan. The hair flows like water in curvilinear streams down the side and back of the god's neck and his beard has taken on a far more luxuriant cast, with small tufts of hair reaching high up the cheek and further down the neck than on either A1 or A2. Finally, the eye has been made larger and more dramatic, delineated by a heavier, emphatic brow. Stylistically, this third die takes the image of Zeus into the early second century and is fully representative of the contemporary mode of portraiture on the coinage of northern Syria and Asia Minor. Yet it was engraved in the same year, and very possibly close to the same time, as the other two.⁷

All three obverse dies appear to have been cut by the same artist. Despite the obvious differences between the three designs, the hand of a single individual may be seen in all. The hair at the crown of the head, for example, is represented in the same manner in each;⁸ the ends of the hair locks of all the heads, too, characteristically terminate in small hooks. Moreover, the god's profile remains a constant throughout, despite changes in the size of the image. Finally, the issue was limited to a single mint and was

7. The obverses of the series are not linked by any common reverse dies, and no conclusions can be reached about the internal chronology of the issue. I am inclined to believe that A1 was followed by A2 and A3 in succession on the basis of what I see in die A2 to be a contrived break away from the patterns of A1.

8. The smooth, curved hair which fits like a cap on the crown of Zeus' head is distinctive. It appears earlier on a commemorative issue struck at Seleucia bearing the portrait of Cleopatra (see note 18, below), and later on coins struck early in the second reign of Demetrius II at Antioch and Tarsus. The latter issues were executed between c. 129 and 128 B.C., however—almost two decades after the Zeus coinage of Seleucia Pieria—and I am hesitant to suggest that they were the product of the same artist without evidence of similar work in the intervening period, which I cannot find.

9. For the revival of archaic forms in the hellenistic period, see esp. C. M. Havelock, "The Archaic as Survival versus Archaisms as a New

style," *AJA* 69 (1965), pp. 331–340. Havelock, p. 338, points to the coinage of Ptolemy I as being the first revival of an archaic type for its own sake; D. Willers, *Zu den Anfängen der archaischen Plastik in Griechenland*, Berlin, 1975, AM Beiheft IV, suggests that the new archaic style had begun to develop a broad appeal in the last quarter of the fourth century B.C. I differ with Havelock in this article only in extending the hieratic use of archaisms beyond the midpoint of the second century B.C.

struck over a period of brief duration. Reasonably, only one artist, not two or three, would have been commissioned to execute the necessary dies. Yet if a single individual, the "Zeus master" of Seleucia, was the only person employed to cut the obverse dies of this issue, why did he portray the head of the god so differently on its three known dies? Stylistic evolution can be dismissed as a significant factor in view of the very brief period in which they were executed. Instead, the answer appears to lie at the heart of a major current in fourth century and hellenistic art, the employment of formal archaisms for political or hieratic reasons to convey the authenticity and authority of the past.⁹

Archaic revivals were used on coins from a very early moment of the hellenistic age, often in conjunction with images in a more contemporary style. The issues of Ptolemy I, struck at Alexandria after 315 B.C., are a case in point. Different obverses of Ptolemy's coins of this period carry a portrait of Alexander the Great rendered in either a neo-classical or early hellenistic style;¹⁰ the reverses, however, show a slender archaistic fighting Athena standing on tiptoe, carrying a mantle with swallowtail ends. Ptolemy very probably exploited the imagery of an archaistic Athena from expressly political motives.¹¹ After 300 B.C. he was followed in purpose by Seleucus I and by his adversary, Demetrius Poliorcetes, who extended the use of archaisms on his coinage of Cyprus to include the figure of a striding Poseidon with a similar swallowtail mantle. Later examples of hellenistic coinages, particularly those of the second century B.C., continued the simultaneous use of archaic and contemporary style. The practice, however, appears to have been increasingly applied in connection with cult images, whose heads were represented in a hellenistic or classicizing style on a coin's obverse, while on the reverse the full cult figure was portrayed in its more ancient form.¹²

Rather than represent two styles on the same coin, the Zeus master of Seleucia Pieria chose to represent both on

Style," *AJA* 69 (1965), pp. 331–340. Havelock, p. 338, points to the coinage of Ptolemy I as being the first revival of an archaic type for its own sake; D. Willers, *Zu den Anfängen der archaischen Plastik in Griechenland*, Berlin, 1975, AM Beiheft IV, suggests that the new archaic style had begun to develop a broad appeal in the last quarter of the fourth century B.C. I differ with Havelock in this article only in extending the hieratic use of archaisms beyond the midpoint of the second century B.C.

10. Stylistic changes in the portraits of Alexander on Ptolemy's early coinages are discussed by B. Brown, "Art History in Coins: Portrait Issues of Ptolemy I," *Allesandro e il mondo ellenistico, studie in honore di Achille Adriani*, Palermo, 1982.

11. C. M. Havelock, "The Archaistic Athena Promachos in Early Hellenistic Coinages," *AJA* 84 (1980), pp. 41–50, discusses the evidence favoring the interpretation of Ptolemy's Athena as a propaganda device which was soon imitated by his contemporaries, with slight modifications of form and composition.

different dies of the same issue. Significantly, the concept for this idea seems to have been transmitted through the coinage of Alexander's "father," Antiochus IV, who in c. 169/8 B.C. struck tetradrachms at Antioch which also show the head of Zeus, and which carry on their reverse a seated Zeus Nikephoros (two examples of this issue are illustrated at H and I).¹³

The Zeus coinage of Antiochus shows the same processes as those which appear on the later issues of Alexander Balas: an archaizing mode paralleling a contemporary, more expressive style of representation. In his definitive study of this coinage, O. Mørkholm has pointed out the fact that it was struck from two groups of obverse dies. One group treats the god's features in a stiff and dry manner, characterized by stylized rendering of the hair on the crown of the head and the beard as compact masses, the locks of which are kept within a single contour. A second group represents a far more animated conception of Zeus, whose hair is freely composed and whose beard ends in separate tufts.¹⁴ While the Zeus coinage of Antiochus was struck over a period of several years it would appear that here, too, a conscious decision had been made to diversify the manner of representation in order to convey two images of the god, one fully within a contemporary stylistic tradition, the other invoking the authority and symbolic meaning of an archaic form.¹⁵

The question of why Alexander issued the Zeus coinage at Seleucia Pieria has had no satisfactory explanation. Normally, the Seleucid capital of Antioch in Syria Seleucia or the provincial capital of Palestine and Coele Syria, Ake-Ptolemais, would be expected to have struck such an exceptional issue. In Alexander's case, Ake would be the more likely to have done so. With the support of Ptolemy VI of Egypt, Alexander had landed at this maritime city in 150 B.C. to claim the Seleucid throne from his predecessor Demetrius I. Its garrison had defected to him, and its citizens welcomed his presence even before he defeated

Demetrius in battle in the same year.¹⁶ Ake would also have been a major staging point for Alexander as he extended his authority to the other cities of Seleucid Syria, particularly those at the Empire's center in the Syrian north, and it appears to have been the location of his court through much of his reign.¹⁷ Ake's coinage under Alexander, however, was only perfunctory, and was of even less importance than that of other major cities of the Mediterranean coast such as Sidon and Tyre. By comparison, Antioch had a fully established mint which had issued a prolific stream of coinage under Alexander's predecessors, and which could call upon the talents of a pool of die engravers of high technical and artistic skill.

Instead of either of these two major communities, however, Alexander chose to honor Seleucia Pieria, a provincial seaport whose mint had been of peripheral importance since its reopening under Antiochus IV in the early part of the third century, and which had been closed for more than a dozen years at the time of Alexander's accession.¹⁸ There is no immediately evident reason for this anomaly. Nevertheless it is possible to advance a tentative hypothesis, based on what is known of the production of the mints of both Seleucia and Antioch, and reasonably reconstructing the political situation in northern Syria at the time of Alexander's arrival.

The earliest coins which Alexander struck at Seleucia Pieria and which can be positively dated were municipal bronzes issued in 162 S.E. (151/0 B.C.), the same year that he arrived in Ake-Ptolemais and occupied Palestine and southern Phoenicia.¹⁹ A special issue of undated tetradrachms commemorating his marriage to Ptolemy VI's daughter, Cleopatra Thea, and possibly an exceptional gold stater honoring Cleopatra alone, were probably produced at the same time. No other datable coinage of Alexander is known to have been produced anywhere in northern Syria during the first year of the king's reign. Significantly, the great mint of Antioch appears to have been shut down for a brief but important interval after the

12. Examples include tetradrachms of Ilium with Athena Ilias and coins of Alexandria Troas with Apollo Smintheus. An exceptional issue of Cnidus from the first half of the second century B.C. shows the head of a hellenistic Apollo on its obverse and two images of the local cult goddess, Artemis Hyakinthotrophus, one in hellenistic style resting its hand on an image of its archaic prototype: G. le Rider, "Un tetradrachme hellénistique de Cnide," *Greek Numismatics and Archaeology, Essays in Honor of Margaret Thompson*, Wetteren, 1979, pp. 155-6.

13. O. Mørkholm, *Studies in the Coinage of Antiochus IV of Syria* (Copenhagen, 1963), pp. 24-5, Type 14.

14. *Ibidem*, pp. 31. *Ibidem*, 59-60, has suggested that the earlier, stiffer portrayal of Zeus was drawn from a sculptural prototype, and that the freer version was the product of an independent die engraver.

15. As Mørkholm has pointed out, *Ibidem*, pp. 59-61; *Idem*, *Antiochus IV of Syria* (Copenhagen, 1966), pp. 130-1, none of the renditions of Zeus on Antiochus's coinage represent the king visually assimilated with the

deity. Any resemblance between the heads of the king and god on the coinage of Antioch can be explained by the assumption that the same die engravers were responsible for both.

16. I Maccabees 10.1; Josephus *Ant.* 13.35.

17. Bevan, *op. cit.* p. 213.

18. The mint at Seleucia appears to have been closed during the reign of Antiochus I, perhaps c. 275 B.C. In 246 B.C., Egyptian forces took and held the city until it was liberated by Seleucus II in 217 B.C. No mint activity is recorded for Seleucia thereafter until Antiochus IV struck municipal bronze coins and, perhaps, a royal tetradrachm issue after 175 B.C.

19. P. Gardner, *op. cit.*, p. 57, 68-9. Elsewhere, the Palestinian and Phoenician cities of Ake-Ptolemais, Tyre, Sidon, Beirut and Byblos also struck coinage under Alexander dated in the Seleucid year 162. Aradus, which was nominally independent during this period, continued to issue its own coinage with Ptolemaic types: O. Mørkholm, "The Ptolemaic 'Coins of an Uncertain Era,'" *Nordisk Numismatisk Arsskrift* (1975-6), pp. 55-6.

death of Demetrius. The last Antiochene tetradrachms of this king are dated, appropriately enough, 162 S.E., but no coins of Alexander are known to have been struck at Antioch in this year. Instead, Alexander's dated issues of Antioch begin in 163 S.E. and continue in an uninterrupted series until his downfall four years later (167 S.E. = 146/5 B.C.).²⁰ Judging by the coinage, therefore, Seleucia Pieria was not only the first city of Syria Seleucis to open a mint under Alexander, but may have been the only city of that province fully under his control in S.E. 162. By contrast, Antioch seems not to have acknowledged his authority until the following year.

The classical and Jewish historical sources which deal with this period are fragmentary, and do not clarify the nature of the transition of authority in Syria after Demetrius's death. Alexander appears to have spent the early part of his first year as king in Ake-Ptolemais, proceeding toward Syria Seleucis only after he had defeated Demetrius

and occupied Palestine. While the people of Syria are said to have detested Demetrius in his final years,²¹ Antioch may have been particularly reluctant to accept in his place an Egyptian protege and illegitimate claimant to the Seleucid throne.

To Alexander, the loyalty of Seleucia Pieria may have been key to his claim to Syria Seleucis as a whole. Without its support his attempts to secure the province, even his claim to legitimacy as a Seleucid ruler, would have been weakened. With it, he could secure his threshold to the north and begin the process of establishing his rule at the heart of the Seleucid empire. In such an event, there would have been few more direct ways to honor Seleucia Pieria for its role than by issuing at this city coins whose type was related specifically to the municipality, and whose exceptional nature proclaimed the special regard of the ruler for the community itself.²²

Malibu

20. E. T. Newell, "The Seleucid Mint of Antioch," *American Journal of Numismatics* 51 (1918), p. 46. No Antiochene issues of Alexander of 162 S.E. have entered the national collections in Copenhagen, Paris, or London since Newell first remarked on the absence of issues dated in this year; nor have I been able to find examples in published works or private collections known to me. An undated group of royal silver issues was struck under Alexander at Antioch, but this series is sufficiently extensive that it cannot be placed in the interval between Demetrius's and Alexander's dated series. The evidence suggests that these undated coins were produced concurrently with the dated issues and were not an earlier striking, although the possibility that they were initiated before Alexander's dated coins cannot be excluded. Elsewhere in northern Syria, only Apamea struck dated coinage under Alexander, exclusively in the Seleucid year 163.

21. Josephus, *Ant.* 13.35-6.

22. The special relationship between Seleucia Pieria and Alexander, which the monumental coins struck at this city clearly imply, suggests a revision of view regarding the meaning of another coin series produced during Alexander's reign. In S.E. 164-166 (150/149-148/147 B.C.), bronze issues of various types inscribed with the words ΑΔΕΛΦΩΝ ΔΗΜΩΝ —"of the brother communities"—were struck in northern Syria. Opinion has tended to the view that either the four communities of the Syrian tetrapolis, or Antioch and Seleucia Pieria alone, produced this coinage in league, although their monograms point to Seleucia as the single location

of production. (Tetrapolis: Wroth, *supra* n. 2, lviii; Babelon, *op. cit.* cvii; Bouché-le Clercq, *op. cit.*, p. 340. Antioch and Seleucia: Chapot, *op. cit.*, p. 158, n. 5; A. R. Bellinger, "The End of the Seleucids," *Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences* 38 (1949), p. 60, followed by G. Downey, *A History of Antioch in Syria from Seleucus I to the Arab Conquest* (Princeton, 1961), p. 121. However, G. Macdonald, *Catalogue of Greek Coins in the Hunterian Collection, Glasgow* Vol. 3 (1905), pp. 141-2 noted at an early point the monogram relationship between these coins and other issues of Seleucia.)

The somewhat sudden appearance of this series in the middle of Alexander's reign has sometimes been taken to reflect a crumbling monarchy, challenged by a union of independent-minded cities of the Syrian north issuing coinage in its own behalf (Bellinger, *loc. cit.*; Downey, *loc. cit.*). Such a possibility is inconsistent with the fact that the mints of both Antioch and Seleucia were producing issues in the king's name at the same time. Instead, it is far more likely that the federal coinage was authorized by Alexander or his own administration with the intention of supporting a municipal union created by and loyal to the crown.

Why Seleucia was chosen as the issuing mint is not clear. The city may have briefly been the federal administrative capital. It may also have been hoped that as the community in northern Syria with the most secure record of allegiance to the king, it could exert some manner of influence on the citizens of a recalcitrant Antioch, toward whom the propaganda of loyal "brother communities" was aimed.

Some Objects Relating to the Theatre

Marit Jentoft-Nilsen

There are two tesserae, so-called theatre tickets or tokens, in the Getty Museum's antiquities collection. Although the question of the actual purpose—whether theatre tickets, or game counters, or something else—still awaits a conclusive answer,¹ they continue to present an intriguing aspect of the minor arts in antiquity.

The first Getty tessera² is carved from bone; and, although not completely preserved, it is nonetheless worthy of attention. The piece is mostly reddish brown in color with some white splotches on the reverse. Its edge has a milled texture, rather like that of a U.S. quarter dollar.

The obverse carries in profile the head of a bearded man whose face is, fortunately, on the tessera's unbroken side (fig. 1). While no identifying inscription appears on the obverse, the three lines of characters on the reverse do provide a clue. They are, on top, XII (almost completely visible despite the break) and, at the bottom, IB (fig. 2). The middle line, in Greek, is nearly complete, lacking only the initial letters. What remains is clearly IAKΛHC. Enough of a letter at the edge of the break survives to leave no doubt about its being a *rho*. An intelligible word can easily be completed by supplying *eta*, thus providing us with "Herakles." From this, it would not be unreasonable to infer that the head represents Herakles, and the profile (fig. 3) of a small bronze statuette of Herakles,³ also in the collection, compares very well. Similar instances where a single subject is identified on both sides of a tessera occur on a token both representing and naming the god Kronos⁴ and also on another with the portrayal and identification of the playwright Menander.⁵ Furthermore, a distinct counterpart for the Getty tessera exists on yet another ticket described as having the head

of Herakles on the obverse and the name ΗΡΑΚΛΗΣ on the reverse; only the top and bottom lines of the inscription differ, being I and A respectively.⁶

If the token's function of admission to a theatrical production is accepted, this causes some speculation. First, the likelihood that both obverse and reverse refer to the same play being presented cannot be discounted. A comparable instance is known from a token having, on one side, the inscription ΑΔΕΛΦΟ and, on the other, the representation of two figures who appear to be twins.⁷ If such is the case with the Getty piece, the only question is to which playwright's *Herakles* the ticket granted admission. The title exists among the plays known to have been written by Sophocles as well as Euripides, but the plays themselves are lost.⁸

Accepting the same premise—theatre admission—there could be another possibility for the significance of the profile of Herakles. In Bieber's view, seating areas in some theatres were identified by statues of gods; she notes, for example, that Herakles was used to designate a section of the theatre at Syracuse.⁹ A statue in a theatre, corresponding to the image on a tessera, would make a readily visible marker for an individual seeking his seat in the midst of a crowd of playgoers.

As a third possibility, the piece corresponds also to the views held about tokens being used in ancient board games. In Riad's categories for game pieces, the Getty token fits in with the first group, famous figures both mythical and real.¹⁰

The second Getty tessera, of polished ivory, is completely preserved and has a smooth, rather than milled, edge.¹¹ On the obverse, an obelisk dominates the scene,

1. The purpose of tesserae has long been a subject for speculation. L. Marangou in *Bone Carvings from Egypt* (Athens, 1976), pp. 65–66, and H. Riad, "Une collection de tesseres au Musée Greco-Romain d'Alexandrie," in *Mélanges offerts à Kazimierz Michalowski* (Warsaw, 1966), p. 157 ff., have briefly summarized earlier scholarly opinions about ivory tokens from Egypt, their use and chronology. Marangou pointed out that E. Alföldi-Rosenbaum was undertaking a comprehensive study of the subject. Commenting on bone and ivory tokens from Roman times, A. Pickard-Cambridge, in *The Dramatic Festivals of Athens*, Oxford, 1969 reprint, p. 271, noted, however, that Rostovtzeff in 1905 had demonstrated that such items were game counters.

2. 75.AI.16. Presented by Lenore Barozzi. Diameter at widest point:

2.9 cm.

3. 71.AB.169.

4. M. Bieber, *History of the Greek and Roman Theatre* (Princeton, 1961), p. 246, fig. 812a; Riad, p. 162, no. 7, pl. I, 7.

5. Bieber, p. 90, fig. 320; Riad, p. 163, no. 11, pl. I, 11 a, b.

6. Ch. Huelsen, in *RM* 11 (1896), p. 249, no. 50.

7. Bieber, p. 247, fig. 812 ff.; Huelsen, *RM* 11, p. 238, no. 3.

8. M. Grant, *Greek and Latin Authors* (New York, 1980).

9. Bieber, p. 247. Huelsen earlier mentioned this and weighed the possibility of such a purpose, *RM* 11, pp. 249–250.

10. Riad, p. 157; Huelsen also considered this aspect for tokens, p. 250 ff.



Figure 1. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum. 75.AI.16, Obverse.



Figure 2. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum. 75.AI.16, Reverse.



Figure 3. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum. 71.AB.169.



Figure 4. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum. 79.AI.169, Obverse.

towering over a small building on the right (fig. 4). The structure has a slightly curvilinear roof; two bulging, pear-shaped columns reminiscent of Egyptian style temples flank the doorway, which is decorated above with eight, possibly ten, rectangular blocks in two rows. A single, heavy line marks the architrave; in the pediment is a circular ornament which, because of the incrustation, appears almost heart-shaped but certainly represents the sun-disk. While no cult figure appears beyond the doorway, the similarity of this structure to buildings on coinage suggests its identification as a temple to Isis or Isis and Harpokrates.¹²

Even if intended to relate in some way to the theatre, this obverse seems to indicate neither any known title of a play nor any seating area of a theatre. Could it, perhaps, merely have depicted landmarks near a theatre? Should the tessera be related to Alexandria, like the coins cited above, precisely which landmarks would be difficult, if not



Figure 5. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum. 79.AI.169, Reverse.

impossible, to determine. Although temples to Isis as well as obelisks existed in profusion at Alexandria,¹³ there is no record of such a temple and an obelisk being adjacent to each other as shown on the tessera, let alone together adjacent to the theatre. Although there surely was a temple of Isis in easy distance of Alexandria's theatre just as was an obelisk, a relation between actual topography and the scene on the token is unlikely. The proximity of the two structures on the token could then be attributed to the same kind of artistic license that allowed coin die engravers to represent, for example, temples without their complete number of columns.¹⁴

If, however, one chooses to think of the token as a game counter, then the piece would best be aligned with Riad's third category, "des édifices d'Alexandrie désignés par leurs noms. . ."¹⁵—except that the reverse inscription designates neither temple nor obelisk (fig. 5). Interest-

11. 79.AI.169. Presented by Mr. and Mrs. M. Goldberg. Diameter: 2.9 cm.

12. S. Handler, "Architecture on Roman Coins of Alexandria," in *AJA* 75 (1975), pl. 11, nos. 5–7; G. Dattari, *Numi Augg. Alexandrini* (Cairo, 1901), pl. XXIX, 3045; J.G. Milne, *Catalogue of Alexandrian Coins* (Oxford, 1971), pl. IV, 2018, 2019.

13. A. Adriani, *Repertorio d'arte dell'Egitto Greco-Romano*, Serie C, Vol. I-II (Palermo, 1966), in his listing of Isis temples says, p. 251:

"È facile immaginare che numerosi dovevano essere ad Alessandria i templi eretti in onore di Iside."

and of obelisks, p. 231:

"Dalle fonti e dai trovamenti risulta l'esistenza ad Alessandria di non pochi obelischi."

14. Handler, citing changing and inconsistent numismatic representations of buildings, comments on the limitations which can be imposed by numismatic evidence. See especially p. 71 ff. Milne also believes that Alexandrian architectural coin types have little in common with reality, stating, p. xxxiii:

The representations of buildings on the Alexandrian coins do not, in all probability, convey any valuable information as to what actually existed in the city or in Egypt, with the exception of the Pharos: though for a time temples were commonly used as coin-types, they follow a few stock schemes and do not suggest that the engravers attempted to give a truthful picture.

15. Riad, p. 157.



Figure 6. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum. 81.AD.112.16.

ingly enough, a tessera with a different architectural scene has the identical reverse inscriptions as the Getty piece; on each, the top line is IIII, the bottom Δ, and the middle ΝΙΚΟΠΟΛΙΣ.¹⁶ No piece, however, duplicates the Getty tessera's obverse.

Included in a donation of several lamps to the museum was a dark red clay handle of a mouldmade lamp.¹⁷ It takes the form of a theatrical mask, the type used for tragedy (fig. 6). Except for a small, pre-firing nick on the end of the nose, the face is intact. Under the smooth brow, wide-open eyes, sharply defined by substantial lids,

echo the gaping mouth. The hair on both sides of the mask and on the onkos is stylized to represent corkscrew curls, giving an effect reminiscent of a modern washboard onto which closely spaced diagonal lines have been incised.

Also in the collection is a small bronze statuette of an actor¹⁸ without exact parallels. The nude figure, a chubby fellow with a paunch, a roll of fat around his midriff, and fat legs too short to touch the ground, is seated on a rectangular base (figs. 7–10). The bearded mask he wears has the traditional snub nose of a silen, and his bald head is encircled with a taenia, indicated by an undulating incised

16. Huelsen, no. 71. The obverse is described as showing a spina, with obelisk and sphinx. My thanks to J. Frel, who read the inscription.

17. 81.AD.112.16. Presented by R. Lawson. Height 5.4 cm., width 4.0 cm. A comprehensive study of this piece and other lamps in the collec-

tion is being done by A. Manzoni.

18. 79.AB.79. Presented by B. Photos. Height 7.2 cm. For her comments on the piece, I am grateful to S. Boucher who is compiling the catalogue of bronzes in the Getty's collection.



Figure 7. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum. 79.AB.79.



Figure 8. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum. 79.AB.79.



Figure 9. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum. 79.AB.79.



Figure 10. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum. 79.AB.79.

line, which has at its central point over his forehead a "knob." The furrow on his brow is so exaggerated that it has the appearance almost of a visor pulled down over the bridge of his nose, yet not so far as to cover his eyes which appear to be squeezed shut. While using part of his cloak as a cushion, he draws its drapery up behind him with his right hand in an effort to cover his head. In his left hand which, with his arm, is concealed by the cloak's drapery, is a diagonally striated thyrsus on which he rests his left

cheek. His right foot is crossed in front of his left; around each ankle is a bracelet.

This statuette, which possesses a great deal of charm, is no mere piece of hackwork but rather displays not only serious attention to detail and modeling but also precision and care in its execution. As the structure of its base indicates that it was meant to be attached to something protruding, it is evident that the piece was a terminal for furniture.

Malibu

Décret de Kymè en l'honneur du Prytane Kléanax

René Hodot

On dit souvent qu'il n'y a pas d'inscriptions insignifiantes. Pour le texte qu'on va lire, son originalité tient à la banalité même des faits qu'il rapporte. Car le personnage honoré par la ville éolienne de Kymè n'a rien fait d'extraordinaire : prêtre, il a pourvu aux cérémonies du culte ; père, il s'est occupé de marier sa fille et de bien éduquer son fils ; prytane, il a accompli les devoirs de sa charge selon l'usage et comme l'avaient fait ses prédécesseurs ;¹ son principal titre de gloire paraît être d'avoir avec assiduité régala ses concitoyens, par des banquets et diverses distributions. Mais, même si ses effets sont bien ordinaires, toute *philodoxia* appelle sa récompense ;² à la sortie de charge du prytane, le peuple de Kymè lui témoigne donc sa reconnaissance par le décret d'usage. La commission chargée de le rédiger a voulu bien faire les choses, en se gardant de rien oublier des mérites de Kléanax, qu'elle a pris plaisir à rehausser par l'éclat du style : cela nous vaut un document riche de particularités linguistiques. Surtout, la revue qui est ainsi faite des activités ordinaires d'un notable nous fournit des indications, fragmentaires mais précieuses, sur certaines institutions ou pratiques qui restent habituellement dans l'ombre, parce qu'elles étaient trop familières aux Anciens pour qu'ils aient pris la peine de les décrire.³

C'est dire assez que par son contenu comme dans son expression le document offre bien des difficultés à l'éditeur : sans prétendre les avoir toutes résolues ni espérer présenter d'emblée un commentaire exhaustif, mon ambition a été d'établir le texte le mieux possible et, plus que d'y répondre, de bien cerner les questions qu'il pose.⁴

Au musée J. Paul Getty, Malibu (Californie), n° d'inv. 76.AA.30, donation anonyme, stèle de marbre à fronton très endommagé, brisée en bas ; hauteur totale 89 cm, largeur 57 cm, épaisseur 17 à 17,5 cm. Hauteur des lettres : ± 10 mm. A gauche, marge libre d'environ 9 mm de large,



Figure 1. Décret de Kymè. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum.

sauf aux lignes 4 et 46 où la première lettre est gravée en *ecthésis*, sur le bord même de la pierre. Estampage, photo de la pierre, figure 1.

1. Voir 1. 31, 33, 35, 38.

2. Cf. A. R. Hands, *Charities and Social Aid in Greece and Rome* (Londres 1968), chap. 3, « Giving for a return », p. 26-48.

3. Cf. D. C. Kurtz—J. Boardman, *Greek Burial Customs* (Londres 1971), p. 142 et 147.

4. M. Jiří Frel, conservateur des antiquités au musée J. Paul Getty, a bien voulu, sur la recommandation de M. Georges Daux, me confier la publication de cette inscription : qu'ils reçoivent l'un et l'autre le témoignage de ma gratitude. Mes remerciements vont également à MM. C. Brixhe, G. Daux, O. Masson et tout particulièrement P. Charneux pour leurs remarques et suggestions sur le commentaire.

Εισαγησαμένων τῶν στρατάγων, ἔγραψαν τρεῖς οἱ λάχοντες Ἰασκλάπων Διονυσίω, Ἡγήσανδρος Ἡρακλείδα, Ἀθηναγόρας Διονυσίω, καὶ ὁ γραμματεὺς τῷ δάμω Ἡραῖος Ἀντιπάτρῳ

- 4 Ἐπει Κλεάναξ Σαραπίωνος, φύσει δὲ Φιλοδάμω, ὁ πρύτανις, ἀμφιθά-
 λεα τὰν ἐκ πατέρων ἔχων εὐγένησαν καὶ τὰν ἀνυπέμβλητον εἰς φιλοδοξί-
 αν εἰς τὰν πάτριον ἀρέσκην, πόλλα μὲν καὶ μέγαλα τῷ διηνέκει βίῳ τῆ πό-
 λει παρέσχηται, οὐδενα καῖρον ὑφέμενος ἐν τῷ τὰν ὑπὲρ τῷ δάμω κα-
 8 δεμονίαν παραλέλοιπεν, πολειτευόμενος τὰ κράτιστα τῆ πόλει καὶ
 λόγῳ καὶ ἔργῳ ἔφ' οἷς ΟΥΤΟΝ ἐπὶ τῶν παρεόντων τὰς ἐμπρυτανευομέ-
 νας αὐτῷ φιλοδοξίας ὁ ἔπαινος ὑπὸ τῷ δάμω κατὰ τὸ πάρεον μεμαρ-
 τύρηται, πόλλοις δὲ ὑποναμάτεσσιν καὶ διὰ τὰς τῶν πρότερον ψαφισμά-
 12 τῶν ἃ τῷ δάμω χάρις ἀπάνταται, ὅσσα μὲν γὰρ εἰρατεύσαις τῷ Διννύσω τῷ Πα[ν-]
 δάμω ἐπετέλεσσαν εἰς τὰ συνεκτίσμενα μυστήρια τῆ πόλει, καὶ ὅσαι[ς]
 ἐποίησατο δαπάναις εἰς τὸν πενταετήρικον τῶν μυστηρίων κόσμον ὅτ' ὁ
 16 τε τῶν ἀναλωμάτων καῖρος τὰν πονπευομένην αὐτῷ φιλοδοξίαν καὶ εὐ-
 σέβην ἐπέδειξεν, μόνος καὶ πρῶτος τὰν ἄρχαν ποησάμενος, καὶ καλέσ-
 σαις ἐκ προγράφας τοῖς τε πολεῖταις καὶ Ῥωμαίοις καὶ παροίκους καὶ ξένοις ἀρίστ[ι-]
 20 σεν ἐν τῷ τεμένει τῷ Διννύσω καὶ πολυτελέως εὐώχισε, – κόσμει τὰν ἐόρ-
 ταν κατ' ἐνιαυτον –, γάμοις τε τὰς θυγατρὸς ἐπιτελέων ἀρίστισε τὸ πλάθος
 24 ἐφ' οἷς ὁ δᾶμος, περὶ τῶν ἀγάθων ἔχων μνάμαν καὶ διάγνωσιν, οὐδὲ τῶν λοιπῶν οἷς
 συνενγεγήρακεν ἐπιτευγμάτων ἐπιέλασται· ν. ἔστιν δὲ καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο ἐπαι-
 νέτεος καὶ τεῖμιος ὁ πρύτανις Κλεάναξ ὅτι γενόμενος καὶ καλλιτέκνος
 προενοήθη τῷ παῖδος τὰς ἐν τοῖς λόγοις ἀγωγὰς, καὶ παρέστασε τῷ δάμ[ω]
 28 ἄνδρα ἀξίον μὲν τῷ γένεος Σαραπίωνα, καδέμονα δὲ καὶ βόανθον καὶ ἐν πόλ-
 λοις ἀποδεδείγμενον ἤδη διὰ τῶν ἰδίων ἀνδραγαθημάτων τὰν εἰς τὴν πόλιν
 ἐκτένησαν· ν. ἄνδρα φιλοπάτορα καὶ ὀφέλλοντα καὶ δημοσίᾳ τὰν ἐπωνυμίαν
 ταύταν προσχρηματίζεσθαι, μαρτυρήμενον τὸ φιλόστοργον εἰς τὸν πᾶ-
 32 τερα καὶ δημοσίῳ ψαφίσματι πρὸς τὸν αἶωνα· ἐφ' οἷς παῖσιν ἀποδεχόμε-
 νος ὁ δᾶμος Κλεάνακτα τὸν πρύτανιν ἐπαίνει διηνεκέως αὐτῷ τετηρή[η-]
 κοντος τὰν πρὸς τὸν δᾶμον εὐνοίαν· τὰ δὲ νῦν πρυτανεύσαις ἐπετέλε[σ-]
 36 σεν μὲν τῆ νέᾳ νομηνίᾳ ταῖς θυσίαις τοῖς θεοῖσι κατὰ τὰ πάτρια καὶ ἐγλύ-
 κισσε τοῖς ἐν τῆ πόλει πάντας καὶ ἐπετέλεσσαν θέαις πολυτέλεας καὶ ἐ-
 ποίησε ταῖς εὐετηρίαις καὶ ταῖς θυσίαις κατὰ τὰ πάτρια καὶ εὐώχησεν ἐν τῷ πρυ-
 40 τανῆῳ ἐπὶ πλήρους ἀμέραις πόλλοις τῶν πολεῖταν καὶ Ῥωμαίους, ἐποίησεν δὲ
 καὶ τοῖς κατοικομένοις ἐν τῆ εἰθισμένα ἀμέρᾳ κατὰ τὰ πάτρια καὶ ταῖς ἀποθύσαις
 44 καὶ χονδρόγαλα παῖσιν τοῖς ἐν τῆ πόλει ἑλευθέρους τε καὶ δοίλοις, ἐν τε τῆ Κορύδονι
 πρῶτος καὶ μόνος τοῖς μὲν πολεῖταις καὶ Ῥωμαίοις καὶ παροίκους καὶ ξένοις ἀπὸ καρῦ-
 γματος ἀρίστισεν ἐν τῷ πρυτανῆῳ, καὶ τὰν διαρρίφαν κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ κατὰ τὰ καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ
 48 πρυτάνεις ἐποίησαν, ταῖς τε πόμπαις τὰς δάφνας ἐπόησεν, τοῖς τε εἴρεας κα[ὶ]
 εἰρωνεῖαις καὶ ταῖς ἄρχαις καὶ πόλλοις τῶν πολεῖταν ἀρίστισεν· ἐπετέλεσε[ν] /-λεσε[ε]
 δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀγομένοις ὑπὸ τῆς Ἀσίας Καισαρήοις, καθὼς ἐπανγγεῖλατο, ταῖς [τε / ν.]
 θυσίαις καὶ εὐώχαις, βουθυτήσαις μὲν τῷ αὐτοκράτορι Καίσαρι Σεβάστῳ κ[αὶ] τοῖς πα[ί-]
 52 δεσσιν αὐτῷ καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖσι θεοῖσι, ἀφ' ἂν θυσίαν καὶ εὐώχησε κατα.[c. 8 ἐν τῶ]
 44 ἀγόρᾳ ἐκ προγράφας Ἑλλανας τε καὶ Ῥωμαίους καὶ παροίκους καὶ ξέν[οις c. 13]
 ταν ποιησάμ[ε]νος τὰν χοραγίαν, τὰ τε λοιπὰ εἴρα ἐπετέ[λε]σσαν c. 14/vacat
 Δ' ἃ δὲ δεδοχθῆαι τῆ βόλλα καὶ τῷ δάμῳ· στεφάνωσθαι αὐτο[ν] ἐν τοῖς Διονυσίοισι πρὸς τῷ
 βώμῳ τῷ Δίῳ[ς] μετὰ τὴν θυσίαν καὶ ἐν παίσαισι ταῖ[ς] c. 21 τοῖς]
 48 ἀρχαιρεσίοισι μετὰ ταῖς ἐπεύχαις καὶ ἐν τα[ῖ]. .[c. 12 , ἀναγγελομένης]
 τὰς στεφαγῶσις κατὰ τὰδε· Στεφάνοι ὁ δ[ὲ] ἄμμος Κλεάνακτα Σαραπίωνος, φύσει δὲ]
 [Φιλο]δάμῳ, χρυσίῳ στεφάνῳ πρυτανε[ύ]σαντα c. 28 ,]
 [ἐπιμέλειαν] ποιημένων τὰς στε[φ]ανῶσις τῶν c. 24]
 52 [c. 12]. αὐτον καὶ τὰς []
 [] – – – – []

A l'initiative des stratèges, rapport des trois commissaires tirés au sort, Asklapon fils de Dionysios, Hégésandros fils d'Hérakléidas, Athénagoras fils de Dionysios, et du secrétaire du peuple, Héraios fils d'Antipatros :

Attendu que Kléanax fils de Sarapion, et par naissance fils de Philodamos, notre prytane, qui possède dans leur fine fleur la noblesse qui lui vient de ses pères et l'insurpassable complaisance envers la patrie pour l'amour de la gloire, d'une part tout au long de sa vie a multiplié les grands bienfaits pour la cité, ne se permettant aucune occasion dans laquelle il aurait relâché sa sollicitude envers le peuple, menant en paroles et en actes la vie civique la plus favorable à la cité; raison pour laquelle lui sont acquis <non seulement?> l'éloge qui lui est témoigné présentement par le peuple, devant l'assistance, pour son amour de gloire bien digne d'un prytane, mais encore la reconnaissance du peuple qui a répondu par <le vote?> des décrets antérieurs à de nombreuses actions qui restent dans les mémoires: à savoir d'abord tout ce que, étant prêtre de Dionysos Pandamos, il accomplit en vue des mystères fondés par la cité, et toutes les dépenses qu'il fit pour l'organisation pentétérique des mystères, lorsque l'importance des frais engagés montra solennellement son amour de gloire et sa piété, somptuosités dont il prit l'initiative et qu'il assumait seul, et (lorsque) ayant invité par voie d'affiches les citoyens, les Romains, les résidents et les étrangers, il leur offrit un banquet dans le sanctuaire de Dionysos et les régala magnifiquement; il prépare la fête tous les ans; et (lorsque), célébrant les noces de sa fille, il offrit un banquet à la population; raisons pour lesquelles le peuple, qui sait reconnaître les bienfaits et s'en souvenir, n'a pas oublié non plus les autres bienfaits auxquels il a été accoutumé;—en outre, le prytane Kléanax est digne d'éloge et d'honneur pour cette raison encore que, devenu père d'un bel enfant, il pourvut à l'éducation de son fils dans l'éloquence et procura au peuple non seulement un homme digne de sa famille, en la personne de Sarapion, mais encore un protecteur et un secours, qui a déjà manifesté en de nombreuses occasions par ses belles actions personnelles son zèle persévérant envers la cité;—homme plein d'amour filial et qui mérite que cette épithète lui soit reconnue officiellement, en se voyant attester par un décret public son affection envers son père, pour la suite des temps. Toutes raisons pour lesquelles, dans sa satisfaction, le peuple décerne l'éloge au prytane Kléanax, qui maintient continuellement sa bienveillance envers le peuple;

(Attendu) d'autre part qu'à présent, dans l'exercice du prytanat, il a d'une part, le Premier Jour de l'An, accompli les sacrifices aux dieux selon la coutume, distribué du vin doux à tous les habitants de la ville, donné des spectacles somptueux, et il a fait les sacrifices de bonne année selon la coutume et traité au prytanée pendant plusieurs jours de nombreux citoyens et des Romains; d'autre part il a fait faire pour les trépassés, au jour habituel fixé par la coutume, les sacrifices de rigueur, et du gruau au lait (?) pour

tous les (habitants) de la cité, hommes libres et esclaves, et (le jour de) l'Alouette, il a pris l'initiative personnelle d'inviter par proclamation les citoyens, les Romains, les résidents et les étrangers à un banquet au prytanée, a fait faire la dispersion (?) de la même façon que l'avaient fait les autres prytanes, ainsi que les processions du laurier, et a offert un banquet aux prêtres, aux vainqueurs des jeux sacrés, aux magistrats et à de nombreux citoyens; en outre, pendant les Kaisaréa célébrés par la province d'Asie, il a accompli les sacrifices et les festivités comme il l'avait promis, sacrifiant d'abord des boeufs à l'empereur César Auguste, à ses fils et aux autres dieux, sacrifices qui lui permirent de régaler par [tribus ? à l'] agora, sur invitation par voie d'affiches, les Grecs, les Romains, les résidents et les étrangers, s'acquittant de cette mission [de la façon la plus convenable ?], et il a accompli également l'ensemble des autres rites . . .

En conséquence, le Conseil et le peuple ont décidé de le couronner [aux Dionysies devant] l'autel de Zeus après le sacrifice, ainsi que dans toutes les [. . . et dans les] réunions où sont choisis les magistrats, après les prières, et dans [. . .], le couronnement [étant annoncé] en ces termes: «[Le peuple] couronne [Kléanax fils de Sarapion, et par naissance fils de Philo] damos d'une couronne» d'or, pour avoir accompli son prytanat [. . . , les stratèges ?] assumant [la charge du couronnement . . .].

N'ayant pas vu la pierre personnellement, j'ai disposé pour établir le texte d'un estampage et de la photo de la pierre envoyés par le musée (et, au départ, d'une copie faite par J. Breslin); j'ai surtout bénéficié de la révision minutieuse de la pierre faite par G. Daux (D) et des multiples vérifications de J. Frel (F).

L. 13 dans *πόλει* et l. 17 dans *πολείταις*, le graveur a omis la barre centrale de l'épsilon.—L. 30, à la fin, les rapports d'espace autorisent à penser que la forme à double sigma *ἐπετέλεσσε(ν)* était gravée là tout comme à l'intérieur des lignes (13, 32); à la fin de la ligne 40, le tracé de la dernière lettre apparente n'est pas assez net pour qu'on puisse trancher entre deux lectures également possibles, *ἐπετέλεσε[ν]* et *ἐπετέλεσσ[ε]* (pour la séquence *-σεν δέ*, v. par ex. la fin de la l. 34).—L. 36 *παῖσιν* et l. 37 *Ρωμαίοις*: le premier iota dans chacun des deux mots a été rajouté par le lapicide: «dans les deux cas, il n'y en avait pas à l'origine; la lettre est insérée tant bien que mal entre A et Σ ou entre A et O; le iota est gravé très légèrement,⁵ avec des arêtes bien marquées; l'intention est certaine», D.—A la fin de la l. 41, après le sigma, il y avait encore sur la pierre de la place pour deux lettres: mais la présence de τε à cet endroit n'est pas assurée, et la fin de la ligne restait peut-être libre.—L. 43 fin, «le groupe KATA est suivi d'un haut de haste verticale libre, ce qui permettrait soit I, soit

5. Trop légèrement pour être perceptible sur l'estampage ou sur la photo; mais, à l'autopsie de la pierre, F. confirme la lecture de D.

Φ, soit K (?)», H; l'espace entre le haut de ce trait et la pointe de l'alpha étant large de 10 mm, c'est l'hypothèse d'un phi qui est la plus probable, H: elle paraît être confirmée par une « trace du rond » sur la pierre, D et F.—L. 48, ταΙ, H: Κ (?) , D.—L. 50, de [Φιλο]δήμω subsistent quatre amorces d'angles en haut de la ligne, et le sommet d'une lettre ronde.—L. 52, Ι. αὔτων, H, D:]Ε, F.

I. REMARQUES GENERALES.

LA PROVENANCE.

Le nom du premier des rapporteurs cités, l. 1-2, confirme l'attribution du décret à la ville de Kymè. Face à cet Ἀσκλάπων Διονύσιω, en effet, on connaît à Kymè un Διονύσιος Ἀσκλάπωνος, *IK* 5, 64,⁶ dont la tombe est couronnée par le peuple, ὁ δῆμος, selon un usage qui, dans la région, semble s'être répandu au I^{er} siècle avant notre ère. La rencontre des noms ne peut être fortuite et le défunt honoré par le peuple de Kymè⁷ était vraisemblablement le père du rapporteur du décret pour Kléanax.⁸

LA DATE.

L. 42-43, la formule τῷ αὐτοκράτορι Καίσαρι Σεβάστω κ[αὶ τοῖς παί] δεσσιν αὐτῶ, avec son supplément obligé, renvoie à Auguste et à Gaius et Lucius César, les fils nés du mariage de sa fille Julie et d'Agrippa, respectivement en 20 et 17 a.C. En l'absence d'héritiers mâles directs, Auguste avait adopté ces petits-fils qui devenaient ainsi ses « fils »⁹ et reçurent à l'âge de quinze ans le titre de *principes iuuentutis* (ἡγεμόνες νεότητος), l'aîné en 5, le cadet en 2 a.C.; ils avaient à cette occasion été présentés au Sénat et cette procédure faisait d'eux les successeurs désignés

6. *IK* 5 = *Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien*, vol. 5, « Die Inschriften von Kyme », éditées par H. Engelmann, Bonn 1976.

7. Une seconde couronne sur la stèle émane du peuple de Pitane.

8. Dans leur banalité, les autres noms des lignes 1 à 3, ainsi que Σαραπίων, l. 4 et 24, sont connus pour la plupart à Kymè; par ex., on relève Ἀθηναγόρας, Διονύσιος, Ἡρακλείδας et Ἡραῖος dans les listes de magistrats monétaires d'époques diverses: v. les *testimonia* rassemblés par H. Engelmann, *IK* 5, p. 209 sqq.; dans le décret pour Labéon, *IK* 5, 19, qui date de la même époque que celui-ci, le stéphanéphore mentionné l. 60 s'appelle Στράτων Ἡρακλείδα, mais ce patronyme est trop répandu pour qu'on puisse faire plus que suggérer qu'il pourrait s'agir du frère du rapporteur Hégésandros.—Sur Κλεάναξ, v. plus loin.

9. En lesbien, παῖδες.

10. Cet usage permet de dater avec une bonne précision une inscription de Mytilène, *JG* XII 2, 166, dédiée justement aux « fils d'Auguste »: Γ. Καίσαρι νεότατος ἀγίμονι καὶ Λ. Καίσαρι Θέῳ τοῖς παῖδεσσι τῷ Σεβάστω: elle a été gravée entre septembre 2 et février 4 p.C., date de la mort de Gaius.

11. La clause καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖσι θεοῖσι indique seulement que les trois personnages précédemment énumérés sont considérés comme des dieux; ils peuvent l'être à deux titres: comme dédicataires du sacrifice, et/ou en

d'Auguste. Il y a tout lieu de croire que ce n'est qu'après avoir été élevés à cette dignité qu'ils ont pu être associés par la province d'Asie au culte officiel qu'elle rend ici à l'empereur régnant. L'inscription aurait donc été gravée au plus tôt en 2 a.C.

Il me paraît même probable qu'elle l'a été alors que les jeunes gens vivaient encore tous les deux, c'est-à-dire avant le mois de septembre de l'an 2 p. C., date de la mort de Lucius. On sait en effet que le nom des empereurs ou des membres de la famille impériale défunts était suivi de l'épithète θεός.¹⁰ La formule utilisée ici est trop concise pour permettre un jugement péremptoire;¹¹ on peut toutefois observer qu'elle n'établit aucune distinction entre Auguste et ses deux « fils » qui donc, comme l'empereur lui-même, étaient alors sans doute encore en vie. Je suis ainsi tenté d'admettre que le décret pour Kléanax a été pris entre 2 avant et 2 après J.-C.¹²

LA LANGUE.

Le décret de Kymè pour Kléanax est donc l'exact contemporain du décret pour Labéon, *IK* 5, 19, pris entre 2 avant et 14 après J.-C. Et, avec quelques différences de style, les deux textes sont composés dans le même idiome: un formulaire de koinè, ici passablement compliqué,¹³ est habillé d'éolismes, authentiques ou non, dont le modèle est à chercher moins dans la tradition épigraphique que dans la tradition des lyriques lesbiens, Alcée et Sappho.¹⁴ On peut regrouper les faits linguistiques sous les trois rubriques suivantes:

a. traits de koinè: vocabulaire des institutions, comme γλυκίζω « distribuer du vin doux » (l. 31-32), ou les invitations ἐκ προγράφας (l. 17, 44) / ἀπὸ καρύματος (l. 37-38);

tant que défunts.

12. Pour qui n'accepterait pas cette fourchette étroite, je rappelle que les dates extrêmes concevables sont 17 a.C. (naissance de Lucius) et 14 p.C. (mort d'Auguste).

13. C'est le style administratif de l'époque, empreint de rhétorique: v. les remarques de L. Robert, à propos du décret des Lyciens en l'honneur de la Corinthienne Junia Théodora, *REA* 62 (1960), p. 325-326.

14. V. *ZPE* 19, 1975, p. 130-131 notamment, et ci-dessous (commentaire à la ligne 28).

15. Cf. encore τὰ εἶρα l. 45, et εἰρωνεῖκας l. 49, équivalents normalisés des formes dialectales ἴρα et ἰρονεῖκας. —Sont peut-être à classer sous cette rubrique les finales en -ηα dans les abstraits féminins, pour -εἰα (= [ija], type εὐγένηαν, l. 5), ainsi que les groupes -νπ- (πονπευόμεναν, l. 15) et -νγ- (ἐπανγείλατο, l. 41).

16. Cf. ὅτι, l. 22.

17. Pour les formes d'aoriste, les rédacteurs paraissent adopter une règle qui consiste à ne redoubler le sigma qu'après voyelle brève; il faut donc considérer que dans leur système le second i de ἀρίστισε (l. 19, 38, 40) est une voyelle longue (quelle que soit la validité de cette notion dans la langue parlée de l'époque); la variation εὐώχησε (l. 33, 43) / εὐώχισε (l. 18) laisse entrevoir quel a pu être le jeu complexe de la dérivation (dans la

norme orthographique de l'époque, comme la graphie EI pour noter *i* long ancien (type *τείμιος*, l. 22).¹⁵

b. habillage dialectal, plus ou moins conséquent :
—*α* pour *η* (*τῶ δάμω*, l. 3); réduction de *αι* à *α* devant voyelle (non sans hésitation : cf. *Ρωμαίοις*, l. 34, et *Ρωμαίοις*, l. 17, 37 et 44); redoublement de sigma intervocalique dans les formes pronominales (*ῥοσσα*, l. 12)¹⁶ ou verbales (*καλέσσαις*, l. 16–17);¹⁷ apocope de *κατά* (*κατ τὸ πάρεον*, l. 10);
—génitif thématique en *-ω*, gén. masculin en *-ᾱ* pour la première déclinaison (*Ἡρακλείδα*, l. 2); accus. pluriel en *-οις* et *-αις* (*τοῖς τε πολεῖταις καὶ Ρωμαίοις . . . ἀρίστισεν*, l. 17);¹⁸ datif pluriel athématique en *-εσσι* (*ὑποναμάτεσσιν*, l. 11); gén. pluriel de la première déclinaison en *-ᾶν* (*ἄφ' ἂν θυσίαν*, l. 43); etc.

c. des nouveautés : tournures insolites (*γενόμενος καὶ καλλίτεκνος*, l. 22), dérivés inédits (*ἀποθύσας*, l. 35), emprunts caractérisés à la lyrique lesbienne (*παῖσιν*, l. 28 et 36), hapax dus à la mention de *realia* peu courants (v. les fêtes des morts, l. 34–40). À la différence des faits relevant des deux premières rubriques, sur lesquels il n'est pas nécessaire de s'attarder ici, ces nouveautés seront naturellement l'objet principal du commentaire.¹⁹

LA COMPOSITION DU TEXTE.

Après l'introduction des trois premières lignes, l'essentiel de ce qui nous reste de la pierre est consacré aux considérants du décret, l. 4 à 45. Cette partie oppose à une compréhension immédiate bien des difficultés dont certaines sont levées par un examen attentif de la structuration du texte. Celle-ci repose sur trois types d'éléments :

a. le jeu des coordonnants *μέν*, *δέ*, *τε*, *καί*. Sous l'in-

fluence, peut-être, de la langue poétique, ces particules se répondent souvent plus librement ici qu'il n'est d'usage en prose classique. Ainsi, il semble bien que *ῥοσσα μὲν . . . ἐπετέλεσσε* de la l. 12 est repris par *καὶ ῥοσσαις ἐποιήσατο δαπάναις* l. 13, puis par *γάμοις τε . . . ἐπιτελέων ἀρίστισε* l. 19; une construction parallèle s'observe l. 37–39 avec *τοῖς μὲν πολεῖταις . . . ἀρίστισεν*, —*καὶ τὰν διαρρίφαν . . . ἐπόησεν*, —*τοῖς τε εἴρεας . . . ἀρίστισεν*. Cet emploi de *τε* pour introduire le dernier élément d'une série²⁰ se retrouve, selon toute apparence, l. 45 dans *τά τε λοιπὰ εἴρα ἐπετέ[λεσσε]* en conclusion du développement sur les Kaisareia, l. 40–45.²¹ À deux reprises, *τε* sert à introduire le second membre d'une coordination, sans particule annonciatrice auprès du premier membre : *ἐν τε τῷ Κορύδονι*, l. 36, répondant à *ἐν τῷ εἰθισμένῳ ἀμέρῳ*, l. 35; *τὰν διαρρίφαν—ταῖς τε πόμπαις*, l. 38–39.

b. des indications de date :²² il y a d'abord l'opposition entre *τῷ διηέκει βίῳ*, l. 6, et *τὰ δὲ νῦν πρυτανεύσαις*, l. 30; puis, le prytnat de Kléanax est clairement jalonné :²³ 1° *τῷ νέῳ νομηνίᾳ*, l. 31; 2° *ἐν τῷ εἰθισμένῳ ἀμέρῳ*, l. 35, et *ἐν τε τῷ Κορύδονι*, l. 36;²⁴ 3° *ἐν τοῖς . . . Καισαρήσις*, l. 41.

c. le jeu rigoureux des thèmes verbaux : emploi du parfait pour les considérations générales (l. 6 à 12), de l'aoriste pour les actes particuliers, du présent pour les actions qui se répètent (*κόσμηι . . . κατ' ἐνίαντον*, l. 18–19)²⁵ ou qui sont envisagées dans leur déroulement (*τὰς ἐνπρυτανευόμενας αὐτῷ φιλοδοξίας*, l. 9–10).

Il semble cependant que l'ordonnance du texte se resente de la rédaction collective à laquelle il a été soumis (v. l. 1–3) : à plusieurs reprises,²⁶ on a l'impression de se trouver en face d'amendements surajoutés, mais non véritablement intégrés, à une première rédaction.²⁷

langue classique, les présents respectifs des deux verbes sont *ἀριστιζῶ* et *εὐωχέω*) et de l'analogie dans l'établissement de la norme orthographique qu'on observe ici.

18. Ce fait entraînait dans le dialecte la sélection exclusive pour le datif pluriel de la forme ancienne de locatif, en *-οισι* et *-αισι*, sauf pour l'article qui est toujours *τοῖς* ou *ταῖς*; les Lyriques, dans des circonstances bien définies (v. D. L. Page, *Sappho and Alcaeus*, 1955, p. 208), s'autorisaient l'emploi de datifs en *-οις* et *-αις* : ici, l'usage est flottant, cf. *τοῖς θέοισι*, l. 31 / *ἐν τοῖς λόγοις*, l. 23.

19. Pour la présentation du texte, vu son caractère éminemment artificiel, je considère que c'est respecter l'esprit de ce type de documents archaisants, à partir du moment où il est convenu que l'éditeur les accentue (en l'état de nos connaissances, l'abstention serait le seul parti rigoureusement scientifique : cf. J. T. Hooker, *The Language and Text of the Lesbian Poets*, Innsbruck 1977, p. 23), que de les parer de l'accent récessif traditionnel du lesbien, et de la psilose pour les voyelles initiales. Dans cette convention que j'adopte de préférence à une autre, il est tenu compte 1° de la commodité qu'il y a de distinguer les cas directs (*τοῖς*, *ταῖς*, *τάν*) des cas obliques (*τοῖς*, *ταῖς*, *τάν*) de l'article, et 2° du cas particulier des relatifs, munis ici systématiquement de l'esprit rude, sur le modèle de *ἐφ' οἷς*, l. 9 (cf. *ZPE* 19, 1975, p. 125–126).

20. Cf. Denniston, *Greek Particles*², p. 500.

21. L. 42, le participe *βουθυήσαις*, accompagné de *μέν*, est coordonné à *ποιησάμενος* de la l. 45; *-ταν*, au début de cette ligne, est certainement la fin d'un superlatif, attribut de *τὰν χοραγίαν* (par ex. [*πρεπωδεστά]* *ταν*) : à la fin de la l. 44, il n'y a pas moyen de suppléer un *δέ* et, là encore, le corrélatif de *μέν* devait être *καί* (lire sans doute, par conséquent, *καὶ παροίκους καὶ ξέν[οις, καὶ πρεπωδεστά] τὰν ποιησάμενος τὰν χοραγίαν*).

22. Combinées avec a).

23. Et ponctué par l'anaphore de *δέ καί*, l. 34–35 et 40, reprenant le *μέν* de la l. 31.

24. Le datif *τοῖς κατοχομένοις*, l. 35, est placé en facteur commun à ces deux expressions.

25. Cf. encore *στεφάνωσθαι*, l. 46 : la suite montre comment la *stéphanosis* sera réitérée.

26. Mention de son comportement innovateur, l. 16, de sa participation annuelle à l'organisation de la fête, l. 18–19, de son fils, l. 21–28, de la coutume des prytnes, l. 38–39.

27. Si cette première version a existé, il est vraisemblable que son auteur en était le « secrétaire du peuple » Héraiios (cf. L. Robert, *REA* 62, 1960, p. 326), et que les additions ont été introduites par les commissaires tirés au sort.

Il n'est sans doute pas inutile, pour conclure cette introduction, de présenter le sommaire du décret :

1. Formule introductive, l. 1-3
2. Considérants, l. 4-45²⁸
 - 2.1 Désignation du bénéficiaire, l. 4-6
 - 2.2. Son attitude générale et son action passée, l. 6-30
 - 2.2.1 Attitude générale et réponse de la cité, l. 6-12
 - 2.2.2. Actions particulières : le sacerdoce dionysiaque et le mariage de sa fille, l. 12-21
 - 2.2.3 L'éducation de son fils Sarapion ; mention spéciale pour ce dernier, l. 21-28
 - 2.2.4 Conclusion, l. 28-30
 - 2.3 Les libéralités de son prytanate, l. 30-45
 - 2.3.1. Les fêtes du Nouvel An, l. 30-34
 - 2.3.2. Les fêtes des morts, l. 34-40
 - 2.3.3. Les Kaisareia, l. 40-45
3. Dispositions, l. 46-53 . . .
 - 3.1 Couronnement, l. 46-51
 - 3.2 Autres honneurs, l. 52 . . .
- (4. Datation par le stratège éponyme : perdue).

II.

FORMULE INTRODUCTIVE

Le rôle législatif des stratèges à Kymè était déjà attesté par les décrets pour la bienfaitrice Arkhippè, à la fin du IIe s. a.C. : *προέθηκαν οἱ στρατηγοὶ πάντες*, *IK* 5, 13, l. 79 et 112 (en fin de décret, juste avant la date). Cette formule semble indiquer que les stratèges, présidant l'assemblée,²⁹ étaient les maîtres de son ordre du jour, en inscrivant les propositions qui devaient lui être soumises ; ils pouvaient d'ailleurs à l'occasion être eux-mêmes les (co-)signataires de ces propositions : *γνώμη στρατηγῶν καὶ φυλάρχων καὶ τῶν συνέδρων*, *ib.*, l. 59 et 100. Ici, dans le décret pour Kléanax, le participe *εἰσαγησαμένων*, l. 1, est ambigu ; il faudrait être mieux informé des procédures du travail législatif à cette époque pour décider s'il correspond à l'un ou l'autre des deux sens suivants, voire aux deux à la fois : les stratèges pourraient en effet 1° avoir eu l'initiative de la proposition, en provoquant la constitution de la commis-

sion dont 2° ils *soumettent* maintenant le rapport (*ἔγγραψαν*) à l'assemblée.

C'est la première fois qu'est mentionné explicitement à Kymè le secrétaire du peuple (l. 2-3) : l'importance croissante de ce personnage, liée à une évolution politique et sociale des cités sous l'Empire, a été soulignée par L. Robert, *REA* 62 (1960), p. 325-326.

CONSIDÉRANTS. DÉSIGNATION DU BÉNÉFICIAIRE

Le nom de personne *Κλεάναξ*, s'il n'était pas jusqu'ici attesté à Kymè même, est connu dans le domaine éolien d'Asie : à la fin du VIIe s. déjà, à Mytilène, des « Kléanactides » comptaient parmi les ennemis politiques d'Alcée,³⁰ et un Ténédien du nom de Kléanax est mentionné par Démosthène, 50, 56. Le nom s'insère pour la région dans une riche série de composés en *'Αναξ(ι)-* (8 noms différents) et en *-αναξ* (20 noms) ; sont particulièrement typiques *'Ανάξερμος* (à Mytilène, IIIe s., *IG* XII 2, 75 B 1), *Λεσβῶναξ* (rhéteur de Mytilène, père de Potamon, le familier d'Auguste), et *Σκαμανδρῶναξ* (père de l'un des négociateurs, pour Méthymna, du traité entre les villes de Lesbos, au début du IIe s., *IG* XII Suppl., 136, 11).³¹ Ce dernier composé est à ajouter à la liste de Bechtel, *Historische Personennamen*, p. 44-47, ainsi que *Θεῶναξ* (ou *Θεάναξ*), à lire sur une épitaphe ancienne de Pyrrha (territoire de Mytilène),³² et peut-être aussi *Κρατιάναξ*, leçon de Bechtel lui-même pour le catalogue de Nésos, *IG* XII 2, 646, A 16.³³

Pour *πρύτανις*, l. 4 etc.,³⁴ le texte ignore la forme dialectale primitive *πρότανις* : j'ai déjà eu l'occasion d'observer³⁵ que ces inscriptions lesbianisantes de l'époque impériale ont perdu les formes anciennes des termes techniques ; cela vient de ce qu'elles avaient pour modèle linguistique non pas la tradition dialectale épigraphique, qui s'était interrompue à Kymè, mais les oeuvres des poètes lyriques lesbiens,³⁶ où de tels termes ne trouvaient pas à s'employer.

'Αμφιθάλα, l. 4-5, ne signifie pas ici « dont les deux pa-

28. Le début en est signalé matériellement par le *vacat* de la fin de la l. 3 et par l'ecthésis de la l. 4 ; de même pour les dispositions, l. 45-46.

29. Cf. *IK* 5, 12, l. 17-18 (c. 200) : *στράταγω ἐπεστάκο[ος] Ἀνδρέα τῷ Ἡροστράτῳ*. De même, *τῆ ἐκ[κλησίᾳ] στράταγος ἐπήστακε Ξερότιμος Λυσανία*, G. Petzl-H. W. Pleket, *Chiron* 9 (1979), p. 73 sq., l. 19-20.

30. Fr. 112 LP, v. 33 ; Strabon XIII 617. On retrouve *Κλεανακτίδης*, comme nom personnel cette fois, en Troade, dans une inscription d'Illion de la fin du IIIe s. : *Μητροθέμιδος τοῦ Κλεανακτίδου Δαρδανέως*, *IK* 3, 5, l. 3-4 ; c'est d'ailleurs au vu de ce nom qu'une inscription du musée du Louvre a été faussement attribuée à Mytilène (v. *IG* XII Suppl., 29, et L. Robert, *Monnaies antiques en Troade*, 1966, p. 31, n. 1) : en réalité, il s'agit sinon de la même personne, en tout cas de la même famille, puisqu'on a *Ἀπελλῆς καὶ Μητροθέμις οἱ Κλεανακτίδου*.

31. Lecture de Dittenberger, cf. F. Bechtel, *Aeolica* (Halle 1909), p. 59.

32. S. Charitonidis, *Αἱ ἐπιγραφαὶ τῆς Λέσβου, συμπλήρωμα* (Athènes 1968), n° 118, l. 2-3 : v. R. Hodot, *Etudes d'archéologie classique* 5 (Nancy 1976), p. 71-72.

33. *Aeolica*, p. 40 : la copie de Paton porte *ΚΡΑΤΙΑΝΑΙΑΙΨΧΡΟΝΓΟΙ* ; Bechtel propose de lire *Κρατιάναξ(τι) Αἰσχρ(ῶ)νε(ῖ)ω(ι)* (la pierre comporte d'autres exemples d'abréviations de noms propres, face A, l. 5, 8, 19).

34. L. 22, 29, 39 ; cf. aussi les dérivés : *πρυτάνηον*, l. 33-34, 38, *πρυτανεῶν*, l. 30, 50, *ἐνπρυτανεῶν*, l. 9.

35. V. ci-dessus n. 14. De même, l. 1, les rédacteurs en écrivant *στράταγος* ignorent la forme ancienne *στρότᾱγος*. Il convient cependant de signaler que les radicaux de koinè *πρυτ-* et *στρατ(ᾱ)γος* ont commencé à pénétrer dans les inscriptions dialectales du lesbien dès la fin du IVe s.

36. V. l. 28 pour une preuve directe de cette affirmation.

37. *Athenian Studies . . . to W. S. Ferguson* (1940), p. 509-519 = OMS I, p. 633-643.

38. Dans la littérature, le mot a volontiers une résonance péjorative : ainsi, *ἄρεσκεια* est l'un des *Caractères* (V) de Théophraste. Autre exemple, pris à l'époque de notre décret : Diodore de Sicile, XVII 115, 1, avec l'expression *στοχαζόμενος τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως ἀρεσκείας*, que P. Goukowski,

rents sont vivants», sens naguère mis en relief par L. Robert,³⁷ qui a montré comment l'adjectif a pu être employé substantivement comme titre d'une fonction religieuse. Dans notre texte, il n'est même pas sûr que le préfixe ἀμφι- garde sa valeur propre, grâce à laquelle l'adjectif ferait allusion à la double lignée, naturelle et adoptive, de Kléanax; peut-être a-t-on affaire ici à une simple épithète ornementale, tirée du fonds poétique traditionnel: ainsi chez Eschyle, ἀμφιθαλῆς Ζεὺς, *Choéph.* 394, et ἀμφιθαλή κακοῖς βίον, *Agam.* 1144. Syntaxiquement, le terme est attribut à la fois de τὰν εὐγένησαν et de τὰν ἀρέσκησαν, qui est en outre flanqué de l'épithète ἀνυπέμβλητον. Ce nom ἀρέσκηα désigne la « complaisance »,³⁸ l'« empressement » envers une personne physique ou morale: ici, « envers la patrie », εἰς τὰν πατρίν. Quant à εἰς φιλοδοξίαν, cette expression indique le but visé par Kléanax dans son comportement.

ATTITUDE GÉNÉRALE

L. 7, le thème du bienfaiteur qui ne laisse échapper aucune occasion d'exercer sa bienfaisance correspond tout à fait à l'esprit de l'époque; on le retrouve par exemple à Gythion, au début du I^{er} s. a.C.: τὰν τε πόλιν καὶ τοὺς πολίτας εὐεργετεῖν οὐθένα καιρὸν ὑπερτιθέμενοι πρὸς τὸ διὰ παντὸς ἀγαθοῦ παραίτιοι γέινεσθαι τοῖς ἅπασιν.³⁹ Dans le texte de Kymè, on éprouve une impression d'amphigouri, née du fait que la négation exprimée près du participe porte aussi sur la relative, οὐδένα καιρὸν ὑφέμενος ἐν ᾧ étant l'équivalent d'un simple καὶ οὐποτε.

La pierre, l. 9, porte bien OYTON. Mais il est difficile, sinon impossible, de conserver le texte tel quel, et l'on est réduit à supposer qu'il y a eu ici une faute du graveur.⁴⁰ On pourrait certes envisager de comprendre OYTON comme un accusatif masculin singulier de οὐτος, tel qu'il est formé en béotien,⁴¹ mais, sans compter que l'emploi du démonstratif au lieu de l'anaphorique αὐτόν pour se

référer au bénéficiaire du décret serait inhabituel, cette solution se heurte à deux objections. En effet 1^o ce serait le premier exemple d'un béotisme dans les inscriptions lesbianisantes.⁴² Il devrait être emprunté à Corinne: mais les grammairiens anciens opposent généralement la langue de la poétesse béotienne à celle des « Eoliens »,⁴³ et il paraît assuré que les lettrés de l'époque d'Auguste établissaient entre les deux dialectes la distinction voulue. 2^o A côté de la tournure passive ὁ ἔπαινος ὑπὸ τῷ δάμῳ μεμαρτύρηται, la présence d'un pronom à l'accusatif, représentant une personne, est problématique; un datif serait plus justifié. Aucune de ces deux objections n'est décisive,⁴⁴ mais elles suffisent, je crois, à rendre improbable la présence à cet endroit du béotisme οὐτον.

La correction qui est reflétée dans ma traduction consiste à lire, faute de mieux, οὐ <μόν>ον. Cette locution serait reprise par (πόλλοις) δὲ . . . καί, l. 11; les deux propositions ainsi introduites se correspondent terme à terme: les sentiments qu'exprime le peuple (ὁ ἔπαινος—ἀ χάρις), leurs motifs respectifs (τὰς αὐτῷ φιλοδοξίας—πόλλοις ὑπομναμάτεσσιν), le moment (κατ τὸ πάρεον—πρότερον), et le cadre de leur expression (ἐπὶ τῶν παρεόντων—διὰ τὰς τῶν ψαφισμάτων).

L. 9, par la mention des assistants, ἐπὶ τῶν παρεόντων, on voit qu'à la différence de la reconnaissance due à ses actions, qui se concrétise dans des décrets, l'éloge des bonnes dispositions de Kléanax reste à l'état d'une attestation verbale: celle-ci, comme pour un serment⁴⁵ ou pour un arbitrage,⁴⁶ requiert la présence physique de témoins qui la cautionnent.

Le verbe ἐνπρυτανεύω, l. 9-10, est nouveau. Il pourrait n'être qu'une création lexicale individuelle, sans lendemain; en tout cas il paraît avoir été forgé d'après ἐμπολιτεύω. En effet ce verbe, employé surtout au passif, signifie avec un sujet abstrait « recevoir droit de cité, être acclimaté ». P. Chantraine, *RPh* 1942, relevait que « beau-

dans son édition de la Collection Budé (Paris 1976), traduit ainsi: « par obséquiosité envers le roi », rappelant (*Notes complémentaires*, p. 273) « le climat de crainte et de délation qui régnait à la cour du despote oriental qu'était devenu Alexandre ». Mais à partir de la basse époque hellénistique, le terme tend à se répandre dans les inscriptions, où il perd sa nuance fâcheuse: v. L. Robert, *REA* 62 (1960), p. 327 et n. 1.

39. F. Sokolowski, *Lois sacrées des cités grecques* (1969), n° 61, l. 18-20.

40. Une autre inadvertance de sa part est à relever tout près de là, l. 11-12: il a omis le substantif au génitif singulier dans l'expression διὰ τὰς τῶν πρότερον ψαφισμάτων. Il faut vraisemblablement rétablir ψάφω, tombé à cause de sa ressemblance avec le mot précédent. (Il paraît moins probable que les rédacteurs aient eu l'intention d'employer le dérivé dialectal ψάφινξ, attesté à Erésois à la fin du IV^e s., *IG XII 2*, 526 A 16 et B 15: ce terme technique ne devait pas être parvenu jusqu'à eux).

41. Cf. Thumb-Scherer, *Handbuch* II, p. 38.

42. Pour ne pas parler des inscriptions authentiquement dialectales, qui en sont naturellement exemptes.

43. *Scil.* Alcée et Sappho. Voir en particulier D. Page, *Poeti Melici Graeci* (Oxford 1962), fragm. n° 659, 660, 678; cf. R. Meister, *Griech. Dial.* I, p. 6-7. Quand Pausanias, *IX* 22, 3, écrit que Corinne ἦδεν οὐ τῇ φωνῇ Δωρίδι ὡσπερ ὁ Πίνδαρος, ἀλλ' ὅποια συνήσειν ἑμελλον Αἰολεῖς, il veut certainement dire qu'à la différence de Pindare qui recourt à un dialecte autre que le sien propre, Corinne, comme les lyriques de Lesbos, employait dans ses vers sa langue vernaculaire, qui se trouve, comme pour eux, être un dialecte « éolien ».

44. Et si l'on écarte la deuxième, <αὐ>τον constituerait une correction moins coûteuse que οὐ <μόν>ον. Car il reste qu'on ne s'explique pas le mécanisme de la faute qui aurait conduit de OY MONON à OYTON.

45. Cf. *Syll.*³, 665, 35: οἱ παρόντες Λακεδαιμονίων ἐπὶ τοῦ ὄρκου, avec la note de Dittenberger: « Judicium sacramento testes Lacedaemonii adhibebantur, ne si causa cecidissent Spartani negare possent juratos illos judicasse ».

46. *Ibid.*, 685, 27-28: παρόντων τῶν τε διαδικαζομένων ἀφ' ἐκατέρας πόλεως καὶ τῶν συναπόντων αὐτοῖς.

coup de composés avec *ἐν* sont constitués sur des parfaits à sens d'état ou des passifs » (« parce que l'on envisageait le résultat de l'action »), p. 120, et que « les composés où figure *ἐν* se sont particulièrement prêtés à prendre le sens abstrait et figuré », p. 124. Comme *ἐμπολιτεύομαι, ἐνπρυτανεύομαι* répond à ces deux caractéristiques. L'expression doit vouloir dire que l'amour de gloire de Kléanax est adapté à la fonction de prytane, que celle-ci constitue son débouché normal. Le participe *ἐνπρυτανευόμενος* est donc une sorte d'épithète laudative contenant une allusion aux circonstances; il en va de même pour la tournure *τὴν πονπευομένην αὐτῷ φιλοδοξίαν καὶ εὐσέβησαν*, l. 15, où le participe rappelle la solennité de la fête religieuse.

Comme l'indique le contexte, *ἀπάνταιται*, l. 12, est le parfait moyen de *ἀπαντάω*: cette adaptation « dialectale » de la forme attique *ἀπήντηται* se confond avec la forme du présent, *ἀπαντάται*.⁴⁷ Le verbe signifie « aller à la rencontre de » et se construit avec un datif; *πόλλοις ὑπονομάτεσσιν* est donc un vrai datif (c. d'objet), et non un instrumental: cette dernière fonction est assurée dans la proposition par *διὰ* + génitif. Il faut reconnaître au substantif *ὑπονόματα* un sens particulier, qui va se développer et se préciser sous l'Empire:⁴⁸ celui d'« actes officiels » d'une autorité publique (magistrat ou assemblée). L'expression désigne donc, parmi l'activité que Kléanax a déployée au service de la cité antérieurement à son prytanat, les faits marquants, ceux qui sont dignes d'être enregistrés par la mémoire collective; ils font l'objet du développement des l. 12 à 19, introduit par *γάρ*. *Πόλλοις* peut apparaître comme une amplification rhétorique, puisque quatre circonstances au total sont évoquées: la célébration des mystères de Dionysos Pandemos (l. 12–13); celle des mystères pentétériques (l. 14–18); la fête annuelle (l. 18–19); le mariage de sa fille (l. 19). Ce dernier événement relève de la vie privée: mais l'esprit même de la *philodoxia* comme de la *charis* qui lui répond (v. n. 2) voulait que Kléanax saisisse cette occasion

aussi de manifester sa générosité envers ses concitoyens, et qu'en retour le témoignage de la reconnaissance publique lui en fût reconnu officiellement.

LE SACERDOCE DIONYSIAQUE ET LES MYSTÈRES

L'expression *τῷ Διωνύσῳ τῷ Πα[ν]δάμῳ*, l. 12–13, apporte deux nouveautés: 1° la forme du nom du dieu, 2° l'association à ce nom de l'épithète *pandemos*. Sur le premier point, le dossier du nom de Dionysos en lesbien mérite une étude approfondie qui ne saurait être présentée ici; aussi me bornerai-je à indiquer qu'il y a tout lieu de penser que la forme retenue par les rédacteurs de notre décret⁴⁹ provient de la tradition littéraire. En effet, dans les inscriptions dialectales antérieures à l'époque romaine, pour le nom du dieu⁵⁰ comme pour les noms d'hommes qui en sont tirés,⁵¹ on trouve seulement la forme *Διονυσ(ο)-*, qui peut être due à l'influence de la koinè, car les attestations ne remontent pas au-delà du IIIe s. Les fragments de la lyrique lesbienne qui nous sont parvenus ne présentent, certes, le nom de Dionysos ni directement ni dans l'anthroponymie; mais, selon toute vraisemblance, ce dieu devait être mentionné, sinon dans l'œuvre de Sappho, en tout cas dans celle d'Alcée.⁵² Quant à *Pandemos*, cet adjectif, comme épithète divine, n'est attesté habituellement que pour Zeus ou Aphrodite;⁵³ son application à Dionysos est peut-être à expliquer par la popularité dont a joui le dieu aux approches de l'ère chrétienne: tandis que les petites confréries se multipliaient à l'échelon du quartier ou du village,⁵⁴ chacune avec ses célébrations, la Cité éprouvait le besoin de sanctionner la religion populaire par un culte officiel et solennel,⁵⁵ rassemblant « tout le peuple ».⁵⁶

Le groupe *ΟΤΟ|ΤΕ*, l. 14–15, crée une difficulté que je ne suis pas sûr d'avoir résolue correctement. Voici mon analyse: *καίρος*, le sujet d' *ἐπέδειξεν*, doit être accompagné de l'article, qui lui-même doit être précédé d'un subordon-

47. Dans les décrets pour Arkhippé, *IK* 5, 13, *ἀπάντασθαι αὐτὰ συμβαίνει ἀποδόχων*, l. 64, « traduit » *ἀπαντᾶσθαι αὐτῇ συμβαίνει ἀποδόχων*, l. 31.

48. V. LSJ, s.v., II 4.

49. Le retour de la forme l. 18 prouve qu'elle est délibérée.

50. Ainsi à Kymè, *IK* 5, 30, l. 5 (texte à dater du IIIe s. a.C., plutôt que du IIe, comme le voulait Salač, suivi par H. Engelmann).

51. Par ex. *Διονύσιος Πρωταγόρας* à Mytilène, *IG* XII 2, 74, 17 (IIIe s.); *-ῆς Διονυσ[ο]δῶρω* à Méthymna, *ib.* 500, 26 (début du IIe s.).

52. La tradition pourrait n'avoir pas été univoque sur ce point (comme sur d'autres: cf. J. T. Hooker, *Lesbian Poets*, p. 46–47): une variante *Ζώνυσος* apparaît dans deux inscriptions tardives de Mytilène, *IG* XII 2, 69 et 70 (IIIe s. p.C.). C'est un des problèmes à reprendre dans l'étude du dossier.

53. Cf. Kruse, *RE* XVIII 3 (1949), col. 507–510: pour Zeus lui-même l'épithète n'apparaît qu'à la fin du Ier s. de notre ère.

54. Cf. H. Jeanmaire, *Dionysos. Histoire du culte de Bacchus*, p. 432.—A

l'époque de l'inscription, Kymè possède un territoire qui s'étend jusqu'à l'Hermos et qui comporte plusieurs agglomérations: v. les *testimonia* rassemblés par H. Engelmann, *IK* 5, p. 153 sqq.

55. Cf. Jeanmaire, o.c., p. 442–443. Sur les mystères dionysiaques, outre le livre de M. P. Nilsson, *The Dionysiac Mysteries of the Hellenistic and Roman Age* (Lund 1957), v. Susan Guettel Cole, *Gr. Rom. Byz. Studies* 21 (1980), p. 223–238, « New Evidence for the Mysteries of Dionysos ».

56. M. Jameson, *BCH* 89 (1965), p. 166, commente ainsi l'expression *πανδημεί* que Thucydide, I 126, 6, emploie à propos de la fête athénienne des Diasia: « the people as a whole, in one place, celebrated the festival, not separately in their own demes ». Déjà Kruse (v. n. 53) notait que l'épithète *Pandemos* appliquée à Aphrodite a sans doute une valeur politique: elle doit désigner la déesse comme « die Vereinigerin des ganzen Volkes ».

57. V. les relevés et les remarques de C. B. Welles, *Royal Correspondence*, p. LIX.

58. On pourrait être tenté de lire ici *τὴν ἄρχαν* qui serait un génitif pluriel partitif désignant « les magistrats »; mais une préterite n'est pas une

nant; d'où la segmentation $\delta\tau(\epsilon)\ \delta\ \tau\epsilon$. Elle présente deux points faibles, car elle suppose 1^o une élision de $\delta\tau\epsilon$, dont on n'a guère d'exemple,⁵⁷ 2^o une légère rupture de construction, le groupe $\delta\ \tau\epsilon\ \kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}\rho\omicron\varsigma$ n'ayant pas, malgré $\tau\epsilon$, de correspondant dans la proposition coordonnée $\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}\ \kappa\alpha\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\sigma\alpha\iota\varsigma\ \dots\ \acute{\alpha}\rho\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\iota\sigma\epsilon\nu$; — mais on a vu plus haut que l'emploi de $\tau\epsilon$ dans le texte présente des anomalies. De toute façon, la rupture de construction, l. 16, est inévitable en raison de l'intrusion d'un sujet grammatical abstrait, $\delta\ \kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}\rho\omicron\varsigma$, pour le verbe $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\acute{\epsilon}\delta\epsilon\iota\chi\epsilon\nu$, alors que son sujet logique, Kléanax, reste le sujet grammatical des verbes environnants. C'est pourquoi je propose cette lecture, malgré les réserves qu'elle inspire.

L. 16, le participe $\pi\omicron\eta\sigma\acute{\alpha}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$ forme avec l'accusatif $\tau\acute{\alpha}\nu\ \acute{\alpha}\rho\chi\alpha\nu$ ⁵⁸ une locution équivalant à $\acute{\alpha}\rho\zeta\acute{\alpha}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$, avec le sens de « commencer, entreprendre »; les exemples de cette tournure abondent et d'ordinaire le substantif γ est déterminé par un génitif qui indique la nature de l'entreprise; ainsi, Diodore I, 9: $\Pi\omicron\eta\sigma\acute{\alpha}\mu\epsilon\theta\alpha\ \tau\eta\varsigma\ \iota\sigma\tau\omicron\rho\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma\ \tau\eta\nu\ \acute{\alpha}\rho\chi\eta\nu\ \delta\acute{\iota}\alpha\ \tau\acute{\omega}\nu\ \kappa\alpha\tau'\ \text{A}\acute{\iota}\gamma\upsilon\pi\tau\omicron\nu\ \pi\rho\alpha\chi\theta\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\omicron\nu$. Ici, le complément de $\pi\omicron\eta\sigma\acute{\alpha}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$ doit être tiré du contexte; vu l'enchaînement des propositions, c'est d'une « initiative » de Kléanax touchant aux dépenses consacrées à la célébration des mystères qu'il s'agit: de son propre mouvement, il les a certainement portées à un niveau jusque là inégalé (cf. la mention $\delta\ \tau\acute{\omega}\nu\ \acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\lambda\omega\mu\acute{\alpha}\tau\omicron\nu\ \kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}\rho\omicron\varsigma$, l. 15). L'expression $\mu\acute{\omicron}\nu\omicron\varsigma\ \kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}\ \pi\rho\acute{\omega}\tau\omicron\varsigma$ réapparaît l. 37 avec une inversion des termes: $\pi\rho\acute{\omega}\tau\omicron\varsigma\ \kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}\ \mu\acute{\omicron}\nu\omicron\varsigma$. Cette variation dans l'ordre des mots n'est sans doute pas due au hasard, et l'adjectif qui y occupe la première place paraît conférer un sens prégnant à chacune des deux expressions. Ainsi, l. 16, est souligné le fait que Kléanax a assumé seul les dépenses extraordinaires dont il a eu l'initiative;⁵⁹ l. 37, le sens pourrait être qu'il a été le premier à donner, le jour de l'Alouette, une large réception au prytanée, ouvert pour la circonstance à l'ensemble du corps politique;⁶⁰ les l. 39-40 semblent en

effet indiquer que si les prytanes étaient tenus par la tradition d'offrir un banquet ce jour-là, c'était seulement à des catégories limitées de personnes, plus étroitement liées aux institutions de la cité: prêtres, hiéroniques, magistrats et autres notables.

D'une façon générale, il apparaît que les divers banquets et distributions s'effectuaient selon un protocole élaboré. Outre la qualité des participants en chaque occasion, il devait préciser les procédures d'invitation, variables en fonction de l'importance ou de la nature de la fête. Quelles que soient les dispositions matérielles exactes qui se cachent derrière les expressions $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\ \pi\rho\omicron\gamma\rho\acute{\alpha}\phi\alpha\varsigma$ (l. 17 et 44)⁶¹ et $\acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron\ \kappa\alpha\rho\acute{\upsilon}\gamma\mu\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma$ (l. 37-38), et quelle que soit surtout la signification sociale que recouvre cette différence des termes, il est intéressant de relever que la procédure d'invitation est la même à l'occasion des grands mystères pentétériques (l. 14-17) et des Kaisareia provinciales (l. 41-44) qui revêtaient donc probablement une importance comparable.

Pour désigner les prestations offertes par Kléanax, le texte utilise trois termes différents: $\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\lambda\acute{\upsilon}\kappa\iota\sigma\sigma\epsilon$, l. 31-32, a le sens non équivoque de « distribuer du vin doux »;⁶² les deux autres, $\acute{\alpha}\rho\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\iota\sigma\epsilon$ et $\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\delta\omega\chi\eta\sigma\epsilon$ (ou $-\chi\iota\sigma\epsilon$), ont trait à des banquets. Ils sont associés l. 17-18; le premier désigne le repas lui-même, $\tau\acute{\omicron}\ \acute{\alpha}\rho\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\omicron\nu$,⁶³ le second précise la qualité du banquet—c'est à $\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\delta\omega\chi\iota\sigma\epsilon$ qu'est rattaché l'adverbe de manière $\pi\omicron\lambda\upsilon\tau\epsilon\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\omega\varsigma$ —, et son ambiance de fête.⁶⁴ On peut se demander si $\acute{\alpha}\rho\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\iota\zeta\omega$ ne signifie pas « donner un banquet », qu'on prend entièrement en charge, en pourvoyant à tous les éléments qui le composent, tandis que $\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\delta\omega\chi\epsilon\omega$ pourrait n'impliquer, au moins en certains cas, qu'une participation (incomplète) de l'évergète qui « met en fête » en fournissant certains des ingrédients du festin; d'où ma traduction par « régaler ». Ainsi lors des Kaisareia (l. 43), Kléanax n'aurait pas offert un repas complet,⁶⁵ mais aurait « gratifié » ses invités des viandes du sacrifice; de même, à

magistrature et, l. 39-40, les prêtres ($\tau\omicron\iota\varsigma\ \epsilon\acute{\iota}\rho\epsilon\alpha\varsigma$) sont bien distingués des magistrats ($\tau\alpha\acute{\iota}\varsigma\ \acute{\alpha}\rho\chi\alpha\iota\varsigma$). La même objection vaut à l'encontre du sing. $\acute{\alpha}\rho\chi\eta$ « magistrature »; à supposer même que ce sens de $\acute{\alpha}\rho\chi\eta$ pût être assez élargi pour désigner une fonction sacerdotale, le verbe ne serait certainement pas $\pi\omicron\iota\epsilon\acute{\iota}\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$.

59. $\pi\rho\acute{\omega}\tau\omicron\varsigma$ n'est pas exactement redondant de $\tau\acute{\alpha}\nu\ \acute{\alpha}\rho\chi\alpha\nu\ \pi\omicron\eta\sigma\acute{\alpha}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$: par cette précision, la cité exprime son espoir que les successeurs de Kléanax suivront la voie qu'il a ouverte.

60. « Les citoyens, les Romains, les résidents et les étrangers »: cela ne constitue pas la totalité de la population, $\tau\acute{\omicron}\ \pi\lambda\acute{\alpha}\theta\omicron\varsigma$, cf. l. 19. —Kléanax a bien entendu fait seul ($\mu\acute{\omicron}\nu\omicron\varsigma$) les frais de son invitation, mais c'est cette fois l'originalité de son geste qui passe au premier plan, non son coût.

61. Il doit s'agir d'une sorte d'affichage: semblablement, à Acraiphia, l'évergète Epaminondas invitait $\acute{\alpha}\pi'\ \acute{\epsilon}\kappa\theta\acute{\epsilon}\mu\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma$, IG VII 2712, l. 26 et 73; une inscription de Pagai a $\pi\rho\omicron$ $\gamma\rho\acute{\alpha}\nu$ $[\alpha\varsigma]$ (A. Wilhelm, *Öster. Jahresh.* 10, 1907, p. 19, l. 22); on trouve $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\acute{\alpha}\lambda\epsilon\sigma\epsilon\nu\ \acute{\epsilon}\kappa\ \pi\rho\omicron\gamma\rho\acute{\alpha}\mu\mu\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma$ à Erétrie, IG XII 9, 234, 28.

62. V. par ex. J. et L. Robert, *REG* 1958, *Bull. épigr.*, n° 336.

63. Par opposition au $\delta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\tau\omicron\nu\omicron\varsigma$, qui prenait place en fin d'après-midi, ce repas, dont le moment exact a pu varier, était celui de la matinée ou du milieu de la journée. Une inscription de Panamara oppose les deux termes: $\omicron\delta\ \mu\acute{\omicron}\nu\omicron\nu\ \acute{\epsilon}\pi\acute{\iota}\ \tau\acute{\omicron}\ \acute{\alpha}\rho\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\omicron\nu$, $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\acute{\alpha}\ \kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}\ \acute{\epsilon}\pi\acute{\iota}\ \tau\acute{\omicron}\ \delta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\tau\omicron\nu\omicron\varsigma$ (SEG IV, 302, 4).

64. Comme $\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\phi\rho\acute{\alpha}\nu\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$, $\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\delta\omega\chi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ se réfère à « la joie du banquet » (L. Robert, *Hellenica* X, p. 199-200, n. 7).

65. Est-ce parce que le lieu, $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \tau\acute{\omicron}\ \acute{\alpha}\gamma\omicron\rho\acute{\alpha}$, se prêtait mal à l'organisation d'un banquet? L. Robert, *Hellenica* XI-XII, p. 575, relève l'existence à Stratonicée d'une « salle des banquets », $\acute{\alpha}\rho\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\eta\tau\eta\rho\acute{\iota}\omicron\nu$. A Kymè, une telle salle des fêtes n'existait certainement pas à l'époque de Kléanax: les lieux des banquets qu'il donne varient selon les fonctions qu'il occupe alors (sanctuaire de Dionysos, l. 18 et peut-être aussi l. 19, lors du mariage de sa fille; prytanée, l. 38 et à coup sûr aussi pour le banquet plus restreint de la l. 40). Lors des Kaisareia, la distribution des viandes une fois faite sur l'agora, chacun serait rentré « faire la fête » chez soi (?).

son entrée en charge comme prytane, il n'y a certainement pas eu de banquets à proprement parler, mais les sacrifices ont dû se répéter sur plusieurs journées, ἐπὶ πλήονας ἀμέραις l. 34, et Kléanax en a « fait profiter » des notables.⁶⁶

Cette interprétation des valeurs respectives des deux verbes⁶⁷ reçoit l'appui d'une inscription d'Érésos, IG XII Suppl. 124, où, à la même époque,⁶⁸ un prêtre du culte impérial a procédé à de semblables distributions; dans une occasion (l. 7–9), [ἐδ]ωκε . . . ὑπὸ τὰν εὐωχίαν [καὶ] ἀνά[κ]λισιν ἄρνα καὶ κερά[μιον] οἶνω καὶ ἄρτω μναίς τρεῖς; dans une autre (l. 12–15), ἐβουθ[ύτησε]ν . . . [καὶ ἀνάκλι] νε μὲ [ν ἀπὸ τ]ῶν⁶⁹ βουθυσίαν τοῖς τε πολίταις [καὶ Ρ]ωμαίοις καὶ παροίκοις, [ἐπέδ]ω[κ]ε δὲ [τοῖς προ]γεγραμμένοις καὶ εἰς τὰν εὐωχίαν οἶνω [κερά]μιον καὶ ἄρτω μναίς τρεῖς. Dans ce texte, ἀνακλίνω⁷⁰ prend la place de ἀριστιζῶ pour désigner le repas, de façon plus matérielle encore qu'à Kymè, tandis qu'il revient à εὐωχία—εὐωχέω, ici comme là, d'exprimer l'élément festif.⁷¹

L. 18–19, l'incise au présent κόσμει τὰν ἐόρταν κατ' ἐνιαυτον indique clairement que dans l'intervalle de quatre années séparant les célébrations des mystères avait lieu une « fête » annuelle, évidemment plus modeste.⁷²

L. 21, συν-εγ-γηράσκω semble nouveau; c'est un surcomposé de ἐγ-γηράσκω où le renforcement du préverbe aboutit à effacer le sens propre du radical: la notion de vieillissement (ou d'évolution) disparaît au profit de celle d'accoutumance.⁷³ La construction du complément au datif (οἷς) est la même qu'avec ἐγγηράσκω.

L'ÉDUCATION DE SON FILS SARAPION

Le développement des lignes 21 à 28 offre plusieurs singularités: dans la présentation matérielle d'abord, avec les

deux espaces, larges chacun d'une lettre, laissés libres aux lignes 21 et 26. Syntactiquement, la reprise du sujet ὁ πρό-τανις Κλεάναξ et la formule ἔστιν δὲ καὶ κατ' τοῦτο ἐπαινε-τεος καὶ τεῖμιος constituent une rupture de la période lancée l. 4 avec ἔπει Κλεάναξ. La tournure γενόμενος καὶ καλλιτεκνος à laquelle recourent les auteurs du texte, l. 22, paraît étrange de prime abord, le grec ne manquant pas d'autres moyens pour dire qu'un homme a eu un fils. Sur le fond, plus que ceux de Kléanax lui-même, ce sont les mérites de son fils Sarapion qu'on célèbre, et les l. 26–28 font allusion à un décret μαρτυρητικόν⁷⁴ pris officiellement en l'honneur de ce dernier. Sarapion a déjà donné des preuves de son dévouement (l. 25), et il est clair que la ville de Kymè fonde sur lui de grandes espérances, qu'elle tient à signaler.

Pourtant, la première qualité relevée chez Sarapion est qu'il se montre ἄξιος τῷ γένεος (l. 24): cette expression donne la clé du passage, qui tout entier reflète le thème de l'εὐγένεια mise au service de l'État.⁷⁵ C'est un thème traditionnel de l'idéologie grecque et qui a connu un regain de faveur avec l'Empire, comme le montre, à partir de sources littéraires, un article récent dû à B. Schouler.⁷⁶

L'eugénieia n'a de sens que dans une lignée et l'État ne peut se féliciter pleinement de rencontrer cette qualité chez ses serviteurs que si leurs fils sont prêts à assurer la relève. D'où l'importance d'être καλλιτεκνος; l'adjectif est une sorte d'épithète de nature⁷⁷ que les rédacteurs du décret ont tenu à introduire expressément dans leur texte; elle fait couple avec φιλοπάτωρ (l. 26), l'amour filial répondant aux soins que le père a pris pour l'éducation de son fils⁷⁸ et garantissant que ce dernier maintiendra la tradition familiale de dévouement envers la patrie. Cette solidarité de la lignée à travers les générations explique que la ville de

66. Invités probablement par groupes renouvelés de jour en jour. — Sur la part privilégiée que prenait l'establishment lors des distributions de nourriture (fait qui ressort bien du présent décret, où l'on voit que la populace n'a le plus souvent que des miettes), v. Hands, o.c. (n. 2), p. 91.

67. Un banquet réussi ne se conçoit pas sans sa part d'εὐωχία, qui à son tour comporte nécessairement la consommation de nourriture; les deux aspects sont donc difficilement dissociables et les deux verbes devaient tendre à devenir interchangeables (v. toutefois le commentaire de τὰν διαρρίφαν l. 38). Mais apparemment, ici, les auteurs du décret prennent soin de bien les distinguer, et il faut essayer de comprendre à quoi répond leur souci.

68. L. 9–10 est mentionné un sacrifice de boeufs ἐν προτάνει Γαῖω Κατσαρι τῷ παιδί τῷ Σεβάστῳ ἀγίμονι [τὰς νεότατος].

69. A lire ainsi, avec un gén. plur., d'après le décret pour Kléanax, l. 43, de préférence au supplément des éditeurs, [ἐπὶ τ]ῶν (accus. sing.).

70. Ou son dérivé nominal ἀνάκλισις, dont ce sens particulier n'est pas relevé dans LSJ (plus habituels dans cet emploi sont κατακλίνω et κατακλίσσις).

71. Procuré par le vin; la distribution de pain vient compléter la satisfaction des convives.

72. Elle ne donne pas lieu à un banquet, ni à aucune distribution.

73. Cf. latin *inveterasco*; dans le verbe grec, συν- a la valeur perfective

qu'affecte souvent le préverbe latin *con-*: cf. l. 13, *συνεκτισμένα = condita*.

74. Sur l'opposition entre ψήφισμα μαρτυρητικόν et ψήφισμα τιμητικόν, v. L. Robert, *Anatolian Studies to W. H. Buckler* (1939), p. 233 = OMS I, p. 617, à propos d'un texte dans lequel la ville d'Ephèse témoigne à l'athlète Aur. Achilleus sa satisfaction pour ses prestations au concours des Olympia, et lui délivre en quelque sorte une attestation à faire valoir dans sa cité d'origine, Aphrodisias (où l'inscription a d'ailleurs été trouvée): v. l. 37–44, p. 231/615. Dans le décret d'Acraiphia IG VII, 2712, Epaminondas se voit de même attester la satisfaction de l'assemblée par une lettre adressée à sa cité (l. 44–45).

75. Ce thème, si banal dans les inscriptions de l'époque, est évoqué à propos de Kléanax dès le début des considérants, l. 5.

76. REG 93 (1980), p. 1–24, « Dépasser le père ».

77. Par sa facture, le mot a l'air ancien; mais il semble n'être attesté qu'avec l'Empire: premier exemple sur une base de statue dédiée à Julie, la fille d'Auguste, *Inschr. Priene* n° 225, 'Ο δῆμος [Ἰ]ουλιαν θεάν [κ]αλλιτεκνον [τ]ῆν Καίσαρος [θε]οῦ Σεβαστοῦ [θ]υγατέρα καθ[ι]έρωσεν; le principal mérite de Julie était d'avoir donné des héritiers à l'Empire (v. ci-dessus, I, « la date »). L'adjectif pourrait être un terme de propagande, mis en circulation, dans l'acception précise qu'il a ici, dans le cadre de la politique d'ordre moral d'Auguste et de ses préoccupations dynastiques.

78. L. 25, Sarapion a été éduqué ἐν τοῖς λόγοις: or, d'après Schouler

Kymè puisse porter au crédit du père⁷⁹ le brevet officiel de φιλοπάτωρ qu'elle décerne au fils.⁸⁰

La forme παῖσιν qui apparaît l. 28 et 36⁸¹ correspond à un traitement phonétique régulier du datif pluriel παν(τ)-σι, avec l'aboutissement dialectal de -νσ- en -ισ- : cf. καλέσσαις, l. 16-17, de καλέσσαν(τ)ς et, passim, les accusatifs pluriels en -οις et -αις, issus de -ονς et -ανς.⁸² Cependant dans les inscriptions, la seule forme qu'on trouve pour le datif pluriel masculin ou neutre est πάντεσσι, constituée du thème παντ- et de la désinence -εσσι, généralisée en lesbien pour les thèmes en consonne,⁸³ c'est ainsi qu'on a ἐφ' οἷς πάντεσσι τούτοις ἐστεφάνωσαν αὐτον οἱ νέοι dans un décret d'Érésos honorant un gymnasiarque, sous Ptolémée Philopator, à la fin du IIIe s., IG XII Suppl. 122, l. 22; à Kymè, à l'époque même du décret pour Kléanax, on prévoit de couronner l'évergète Labéon ἐν πάντεσσι τοῖς ἀγώνεσσι οἷς κεν ἀ πόλις συντελέη, IK 5, 19, l. 29-30. Dans les fragments qui nous sont parvenus de la lyrique lesbienne, les données sont incertaines : un papyrus de Sappho, où ne subsistent que des débuts de vers, fournit παῖσι μάλιστα.[(95, 6 Lobel-Page);⁸⁴ un autre fragment de la poétesse, lui aussi très mutilé, donne]παντεσσι[(70, 13 LP), forme que E.-M. Hamm commente ainsi : «]παντεσσι[ganz unsicher (]πάντες σι[oder]παντ' ἐσσι[?) ».⁸⁵

Dans ces conditions, le remords du graveur à la l. 36 du décret pour Kléanax pourrait faire songer à un pseudo-éolisme, consistant dans le remplacement mécanique de la séquence de koinè -ᾱσ- par -αισ- « dialectal ».⁸⁶ Mais l'une des épigrammes que Balbilla, dame de la cour d'Hadrien, imitant la langue d'Alcée et de Sappho, a fait graver sur la statue colossale de Memnon, en novembre 130, présente comme vers final :

Δῆλον παῖσι δ' ἔγε[ν]τ' ὄς (φ)ε φίλισι θεοί.⁸⁷

(n. 76), p. 16 à 22, les écoles de rhétorique ont été sous l'Empire l'un des principaux véhicules de l'idéologie de l'eugéneia. V. déjà L. Robert, REA 62 (1960), p. 325-326 : « La nouvelle aristocratie des cités possède une éducation soignée, elle honore et cultive la παιδεία ; la rhétorique prend de plus en plus de place dans la formation de la jeunesse et des élites ». . .

79. A Aigiale, dans une inscription qui ne doit pas être antérieure au IIe s. p.C., IG XII 7, 397, parmi les mérites d'une certaine Zosimè est citée sa καλλιτεκνία (l. 11); le décret l'honore à titre posthume, et ses enfants, καὶ τέκνα αὐτῆς l. 21, sont associés à ces honneurs.

80. Pour Sarapion, il constitue une première « décoration », dont il pourra se prévaloir pour la suite de sa carrière, πρὸς τὸν αἰῶνα.

81. Dans ce dernier cas, elle est le résultat d'une correction, le lapicide ayant d'abord gravé la forme de koinè πᾶσιν : v. l'apparat critique.

82. L. 47, παῖσαις est la forme attendue pour le datif féminin.

83. Cf. ὑπομναμάτ-εσσιν l. 11 et [πα]δ-εσσιν l. 42-43.

84. A l'index, p. 309, les deux éditeurs anglais rangent παῖσι sous une rubrique séparée, avec cette indication : « (fort. -παισι) ». De son côté, E.-M. Voigt, Sappho et Alcaeus (Amsterdam 1971), p. 405, sous la rubrique πᾶς (« enfant ») note : « παῖσι dub. S. 95, 6 ». D'autres éditeurs sont plus déterminés, tel M. Treu, Sappho Lieder⁴ (Munich 1968), p. 76-77, qui transcrit παῖσι μάλιστ' ἄγλ et traduit par « jeder » (cf. p. 214 : « παῖσι μάλιστ' könnte vielleicht eine nachgetragene « Berichtigung » sein »).

Il est toujours possible que Balbilla et les rédacteurs de Kymè aient commis indépendamment la même erreur ; il paraît toutefois plus vraisemblable que c'est dans les oeuvres des Lyriques qu'ils ont trouvé ce παῖσι récurrent. Il doit s'agir d'une forme dialectale authentique, antérieure à πάντεσσι, comme le confirme le témoignage de l'anthroponyme Παισι-κρέων attesté à Nésos au IIIe s. a.C., IG XII 2, 646 a 15, et dont le premier élément, à cette époque, ne peut s'interpréter que comme un archaïsme.⁸⁸ L'innovation πάντεσσι, dont l'origine analogique est évidente, commençait peut-être à s'implanter dans le dialecte à l'époque des Lyriques, vers 600, selon une des interprétations possibles du fr. 70 de Sappho;⁸⁹ en tout cas, deux siècles plus tard, elle avait dans l'usage complètement éliminé la forme ancienne, sauf dans le secteur volontiers conservateur de l'onomastique. — On voit par cet exemple comment, toutes artificielles qu'elles soient, les inscriptions éolisantes d'époque romaine peuvent éclairer utilement l'histoire du dialecte.

LE PRYTANAT. LES FÊTES DU NOUVEL AN

Dans la tournure τῷ νέῳ νομηνίᾳ, l. 31, qui est rare, la forme du nom constitue un emprunt pur et simple à la koinè ; l'équivalent phonétique exact serait en lesbien *νεομηνία ou *νεμηνία ; en fait, pour désigner le « premier du mois », les inscriptions emploient νεαμέρα : v. par ex. IG XII 2, 81, l. 2 et 4. Avec l'itération de l'adjectif νέῳ, dont le thème figure déjà dans le substantif, l'expression utilisée ici désigne le renouvellement du cycle des mois et signifie donc « le jour du Nouvel An ». Un document datant de la dernière décennie avant l'ère chrétienne apporte sur ce point tous les éclaircissements souhaitables.⁹⁰ Le Koinon d'Asie avait promis une récompense à qui trouve-

85. Grammatik zu Sappho und Alkaios² (Berlin 1958), p. 150.

86. Hérodien, au IIe s. p.C., enseignera que les Lesbiens font en -αις le nominatif singulier des masculins en -α-, type Θόαις pour Θόας : v. Thumb-Scherer, Handbuch II, p. 83, et la mise au point récente de J. T. Hooker, o.c. (v. n. 19), p. 32-34.

87. SGDI 320, l. 15; réédition critique d'A. et E. Bernard, Les inscriptions grecques et latines du colosse de Memnon (Paris 1961), n° 28.—Le vers est un pentamètre dactylique ; sur la pierre, le digamma affecte la forme d'un gamma : Γ.

88. Cf. Bechtel, Griech. Dial. I, p. 66 : « Die ursprüngliche Gestalt hat sich aber im ersten Gliede des Compositums erhalten ». Cf. encore HPN p. 361 et F. Bader, BSL 73 (1978), p. 122.

89. Les poèmes auraient alors présenté pour le datif pluriel de l'adjectif une alternative qui pourrait expliquer la variation qu'on relève à Kymè entre le décret pour Kléanax (qui utilise παῖσιν) et celui pour Labéon (πάντεσσι).

90. R. K. Sherck, Roman Documents from the Greek East (Baltimore 1969), n° 65. Une inscription dialectale de Dréros, à la fin du IIIe s. (Inscr. Creticae I, p. 84-88, l. 145), mentionne une attaque des Miliatens qui eut lieu ἐν τῷ νέῳ νεμονηῖαι (sur cette forme, v. Buck, Greek Dialects, p. 75) : Dittenberger (Syll.³, 527, n. 45) comprenait proximo nivulunio « le premier jour du mois dernier » ; en ce sens, Aristophane, Caval. 43, emploie

rait le moyen le plus digne d'honorer l'empereur;⁹¹ ce fut le proconsul de la province, Paulus Fabius Maximus, qui emporta le prix, en suggérant une réforme du calendrier : le Premier de l'An serait fixé pour toutes les cités de la province au jour de l'anniversaire d'Auguste, *δοκεῖ μοι πασῶν τῶν πολιτηῶν εἶναι μίαν καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν νέαν νομηγίαν τὴν τοῦ θηοτάτου Καίσαρος γενέθλιον, ἐκεῖνη τε πάντα εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐνβαίνειν, ἥτις ἐστὶν πρὸ ἐννέα καλανδῶν Ὀκτωβρίων.*⁹² Sans être établie avec précision, la date de cette décision peut être fixée aux environs de 9 a.C. : selon toute probabilité, le nouveau calendrier était déjà en vigueur au moment du prytanée de Kléanax et c'est donc un 23 septembre qu'eut lieu son entrée en fonction.

Elle fut l'occasion de fêtes dans lesquelles, comme d'habitude, deux aspects sont à distinguer : d'une part les cérémonies religieuses traditionnelles (*κατὰ τὰ πάτρια*, l. 31 et 33), et d'autre part les libéralités dont elles sont le prétexte (distribution générale de vin doux et spectacles, l. 32, invitations au prytanée l. 34). Ce dernier aspect a déjà été évoqué plus haut, et je m'arrêterai maintenant sur le premier point seulement.

Le formulaire sépare nettement deux séries de sacrifices ; elles pourraient correspondre respectivement à ceci : l. 31, « les sacrifices traditionnels aux dieux » seraient les sacrifices mensuels propitiatoires, mentionnés par ex. par Plutarque, *Quest. rom.*, 270 a : Ἕλληνες ἐν τῇ νομηγίᾳ τοὺς θεοὺς σεβόμενοι, ou illustrés par une inscription de Sestos en l'honneur d'un gymnasiarque : *εἰσελθὼν γὰρ εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆι νομηγίᾳ συνετέλεσεν μὲν θυσίας τῶι τε Ἑρμῆι καὶ τῶι Ἡρακλ[εῖ] τοῖς καθιδρυμένοις ἐν τῶι γυμνασίῳ θεοῖς ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ δήμου καὶ τῆς τῶν νέων σωτηρίας. . .*⁹³ L. 33 en revanche, il s'agit de sacrifices annuels ; en effet, *εὐετηρία*, habituellement employé au singulier, signifie proprement « la bonne année, celle où la récolte est abondante ». Ici, le pluriel confère au terme un sens concret, et

l'expression *ταῖς εὐετηρίαῖς καὶ ταῖς θυσίαις* constitue probablement un hendiadyn ; comme ils sont célébrés à la fin de l'été, il pourrait s'agir de sacrifices d'action de grâce pour la récolte de l'année qui vient de s'achever ;⁹⁴ mais peut-être faut-il y voir plutôt des sortes de Rogations, de vœux pour que *l'année qui s'ouvre* soit prospère.

LES FÊTES DES MORTS

Comme il a déjà été indiqué,⁹⁵ l'action de Kléanax en rapport avec « les trépassés », *τοῖς κατοικοχόμενοις* l. 35, se dédouble en deux circonstances différentes, *ἐν τῷ εἰθισμένῳ ἡμέρᾳ* (l. 35–36), — *ἐν τε τῷ Κορύδονι* (l. 36–40). L'existence de deux fêtes générales des morts⁹⁶ dans les calendriers antiques est bien établie. Pour Rome, on les connaît surtout grâce à Ovide qui a décrit dans les *Fastes* la fête diurne des *Parentalia* (en février, II 533–570) et la fête nocturne des *Lemuria* (en mai, V 419–492) ; chacune avait son caractère propre, la première, plus privée, étant sans doute une fête familiale du souvenir, l'autre, plus officielle, accordant davantage de place à des rites purificateurs et apotropaïques.⁹⁷ De même à Athènes, il y avait d'une part à l'automne les *Généσια* (le 5 du mois de Boédromion), d'autre part à la fin de l'hiver les *Chytroi*, dont le rituel commençait la dernière nuit des Anthestéries.⁹⁸

Ici, à Kymè, les lignes 35–36 doivent correspondre aux *Parentalia*—*Généσια*, car la participation des esclaves,⁹⁹ membres de l'*οἶκία* et dépourvus de personnalité civique, renvoie à un culte plus privé que public dans son essence.¹⁰⁰ Pour le rituel de cette célébration, deux éléments sont mentionnés ; ils sont l'un et l'autre présentés comme traditionnels,¹⁰¹ ce qui n'empêche pas que les termes qui les désignent soient des mots nouveaux. Il faut voir dans le premier d'entre eux, *ἀποθύσιας*, l'accusatif pluriel d'un thème en *-i-*, *ἀπόθυσις*, nom d'action dérivé du verbe *ἀποθύω*.¹⁰² Pour cette flexion, la forme attendue d'accus.

l'expression *τῇ προτέρᾳ νομηγίᾳ* et il paraît plus vraisemblable que la tournure de Dréros désigne, comme en Asie, « le jour du Nouvel An », les Drériens relevant cette circonstance aggravante de l'attaque des Milatiens, qui ont ajouté l'impiété à la trahison.

91. Sur le zèle manifesté par la province d'Asie dans le culte impérial, v. plus loin, à la l. 41.

92. Sherck, A 20–23. L'assemblée du Koinon a bien entendu entériné la proposition de Paulus (qui constituait en même temps une remarquable simplification administrative) ; le décret pris à cette fin nous est intégralement parvenu : Sherck, D (84 lignes).

93. OGIS 339, l. 61–64 (vers 120 a.C.) ; là non plus, le gymnasiarque ne s'est pas borné à la cérémonie religieuse, il a en outre organisé des épreuves sportives : *ἐπετέλεσεν δὲ καὶ διαδρομὰς καὶ θέσεις ἀκοντισμοῦ καὶ τοξείας*.

94. Les magistrats (principalement les agoranomes, mais non exclusivement : v. J. et L. Robert, *Bull. épigr.* 1966, n° 137) sont souvent crédités d'*euétéria*, c'est-à-dire du fait que leur année a été une année de prospérité pour la cité.

95. I, « la composition du texte », b) et n. 24.

96. Chaque famille pouvait en outre fêter ses défunts à titre privé, par ex. aux jours anniversaires de leur naissance ou de leur mort ; cf. E. Rohde, *Psyché* (trad. fr. 1928), p. 194 et n. 1.

97. V. Fr. Cumont, *Lux Perpetua* (1949), p. 397.

98. Sur les *Némésia*, mentionnées par le seul Démosthène, 41, 11, v. L. Deubner, *Attische Feste*² (Hildesheim 1966), p. 230 ; dans son édition des *Plaidoyers civils* (tome II, Paris 1957, p. 63 n. 4), L. Gernet était enclin à voir dans cette cérémonie plutôt « un service occasionnel privé ».

99. Au vu du mycénien *do-e-ro* et du crétois *δῶλος*, on attendrait ici la forme **δῶλοισι* ; mais le nom de l'esclave n'est pas autrement attesté dans les inscriptions lesbiennes, ni dans les fragments des Lyriques, et, non sans quelque hésitation, je n'ai pas cru utile de corriger le ΔΟΙΛΟΙΣ présenté par la pierre (lecture confirmée par J. Frel) : c'est à coup sûr un pseudo-éolisme, qui n'est peut-être qu'une simple erreur des rédacteurs ou du graveur, transposant mécaniquement *δούλοισιν* en *δοῖλοισι* à cause de l'équivalence fréquente *ου* → *οι*, — mais qui peut aussi avoir été mis là délibérément.

pluriel est $\bar{\iota}\varsigma < -i\text{-ns}$; sans qu'elle soit abondamment attestée, on la relève par ex. dans l'expression [προσδέ-δεχ]θαι ταῖς διαλύσις ὡς πλείστα, à Mytilène, à la fin du IVe s., IG XII 2, 6, l. 31; la variante $\bar{\iota}\text{-}\bar{\alpha}\varsigma$ qu'on a ici, et qui est analogique des thèmes en consonnes, se retrouve à Kymè précisément, dans le décret pour Labéon déjà cité: ταῖς ὑπαρχοῖσας αὐτῷ κτήσιας ἐν Ζυμαραγήῳ, IK 5, 19, l. 41; il est probable que cette variante est d'origine littéraire.¹⁰³ Ἀπόθυσις vient grossir le petit groupe des composés en $-\theta\upsilon\sigma\iota\varsigma$ déjà connus: ἔκθυσις, employé par Plutarque, comme ici au pluriel, avec le sens de « sacrifices expiatoires » (Marcellus 28, 3), et πρόθυσις qui, chez Pausanias 5, 13, 9, prend également un sens concret, puisqu'il est le nom donné à la base du grand autel d'Olympie, base sur laquelle sont immolées les victimes, avant que les cuisses en soient brûlées sur l'autel lui-même. Pour le sens de ἀπόθυσις, on peut se référer au verbe dont il provient: selon J. Casabona ἀποθύω « insiste sur la réalisation effective d'un sacrifice promis, dû, ou simplement dont l'accomplissement est attendu ».¹⁰⁴

Quant à l'autre élément de la célébration, le χονδρόγαλα était certainement un mets funéraire, destiné soit à être déposé sur les tombes à l'intention des morts, soit, plus vraisemblablement ici, à être consommé rituellement par les vivants à la mémoire de leurs défunts. Le nom est un composé dont le premier élément peut représenter soit le substantif ὁ χόνδρος « gruau », soit l'adjectif χονδρός « grumeleux »; dans le premier cas, on a affaire à un composé copulatif, semblable à οἰνόγαλα « mélange de vin et de lait » (Hippocrate), ou ὄφαγαλα « mélange d'oeuf et de lait » (Paul Egine); il signifierait « gruau au lait » et désignerait une sorte de bouillie.¹⁰⁵ Si en revanche le premier élément vient de l'adjectif, on aurait un composé déterminatif, entrant dans la même série que ἀφρόγαλα « lait mousseux » (Galien) ou πρωτόγαλα « premier lait, colostrum » (ib.); il

désignerait du lait caillé et recouvrirait une partie des emplois de ὄξυγαλα « lait aigre, petit lait » mais aussi « fromage de lait caillé » (Strabon, Galien). Une telle synonymie n'aurait rien de surprenant; je crois toutefois que la première solution est préférable. En effet, les glossateurs mentionnent l'existence à Athènes,¹⁰⁶ en l'honneur de la « Mère des dieux », d'une fête appelée τὰ Γαλάξια, du nom de la bouillie d'orge au lait qu'on y consommait.

Ce rapprochement n'est pas gratuit, car la mention explicite du lait dans le nom de la fête athénienne comme dans la désignation du plat funéraire de Kymè, quel qu'il soit, n'est sûrement pas due au hasard. Au début de notre siècle, K. Wyss a rassemblé les témoignages sur les emplois du lait dans les religions grecque et romaine.¹⁰⁷ il ressort de son enquête que le lait revêtait une importance toute particulière dans le culte des morts et dans celui des divinités infernales, bien que l'auteur ait tenté de nier cette spécificité, en avançant une explication socio-historique, selon laquelle le lait n'aurait été dans les religions classiques qu'un héritage de la société pastorale indoeuropéenne, conservé seulement dans les classes les plus humbles, tant par nécessité économique (o.c., p. 9) que par superstition (p. 18). Tout en contenant probablement sa part de vérité, cette explication est assurément insuffisante. Car elle ne permet pas de comprendre pourquoi, par exemple, Grecs et Latins entretiennent complaisamment, chacun de leur côté, l'image de barbares « buveurs de lait »: Cyclopes, Scythes, Ethiopiens... selon les uns, Bretons, Germains, Suèves, Gètes... selon les autres; il s'agit là vraisemblablement d'un mythe,¹⁰⁸ dont le trait essentiel est sans doute que ces galactophages supposés passent généralement en même temps pour ignorer le fromage,¹⁰⁹ c'est-à-dire la forme « cultivée » du lait. Et c'est peut-être aussi parce qu'il est un produit de la culture que le vin¹¹⁰ est prohibé des sacrifices νηφάλια, dont l'obser-

100. C'est peut-être aussi ce caractère non officiel de la célébration qui explique la substitution du composé ἀποθύσιας à l'habituel θυσίας (l. 31, 32, 42, 43, 47).

101. V. la place de κατὰ τὰ πάτρια et l'anaphore de καί devant ταῖς ἀποθύσιας et devant χονδρόγαλα.

102. Et non l'accus. plur. d'un thème en $-a$ *ἀποθυσία, avec maintien de la forme de koinè en $-\bar{\alpha}\varsigma$, que le graveur aurait omis d'adapter en $-\alpha\iota\varsigma$.

103. Les fragments d'Alcée et de Sappho qui nous restent ne sont pas très éclairants sur ce point: cf. Hamm, *Grammatik*. . . , p. 158; mais v. P. Chantraine, *Grammaire homérique* I, p. 218, sur l'emploi de cette finale chez Homère.

104. *Recherches sur le vocabulaire des sacrifices en grec, des origines à la fin de l'époque classique* (Aix-en-Provence 1967), p. 95. —V. aussi ci-dessus, n. 100.

105. V. J. André, *L'alimentation et la cuisine à Rome* (Paris 1961), p. 60 et 62-63.

106. D'autres cités grecques devaient célébrer une fête semblable, car on relève l'existence d'un mois Γαλαξίων à Délos (IG XI 2, 203, l. 31) et à

Thasos (IG XII Suppl. 365, l. 23); cf. Deubner, *Attische Feste*, p. 216.

107. *Die Milch im Kultus der Griechen und Römer* (Giessen 1914).

108. Les conditions de sa récurrence lui font, je crois, mériter ce nom. L'essai d'explication historique de J. André, *L'alimentation*. . . , p. 154, ne résiste pas à l'analyse quand, aux données latines, on ajoute les données grecques; quant à la « double nécessité » de transformer le lait (ib., p. 155; cf. déjà Wyss, *Die Milch*, p. 58), elle s'imposait dans l'antiquité à tous les peuples, quel que fût le climat sous lequel ils vivaient.

109. Cf. Plin. *Hist. nat.*, 11, 239. Strabon, 7, 4, 6, cite l'existence en Chersonnèse de *Nomades* τρεφομένους κρέασιν ἄλλοις τε καὶ ἰππέοις, ἰππέω δὲ καὶ τυρῷ καὶ γάλακτι. . . : ce fromage de lait de jument ne fait que confirmer leur marginalité (v. Aristote, *Hist. anim.*, 522 a, sur les laits normalement utilisés dans la fabrication des fromages: μάλιστα μὲν τὸ προβάτειον καὶ τὸ αἰγείον, ἔπειτα τὸ βόειον).

110. On a pu dire qu'il formait chez les Grecs, avec les céréales et la viande, la base de l'alimentation humaine (M. Détienné, *Les jardins d'Adonis*, Paris 1972, p. 206).

vance est générale chez les Grecs, qui le remplacent notamment pour ces sacrifices par du lait miellé. Ces exemples¹¹¹ laissent transparaître que le lait, dans la représentation des Anciens, était marqué comme « naturel », c'est-à-dire comme « non-civilisé », « inhumain » ;¹¹² de là sans doute son usage dans le rituel funéraire, comme, plus généralement, dans les cultes qui mettaient l'homme en contact avec l'Autre Monde.¹¹³

Par opposition à la première, la seconde fête des morts doit être rapprochée des Lemuria—Chytroi ; elle paraît d'ailleurs comporter des rites de purification solennelle (l. 38–39). A la fin de la l. 36, l'iotte finale de ΚΟΡΥΔΟΝΙ se confond aujourd'hui avec l'arête de la pierre, mais il est certain qu'aucune lettre n'était gravée après lui. On a donc le datif de ἡ κορυδών « l'alouette », *Alauda cristada*.¹¹⁴ Comme l'expression ne peut avoir à cet endroit qu'une valeur temporelle, on attendrait plutôt un dérivé, nom de fête au neutre pluriel ou nom de mois : on connaissait déjà, d'ailleurs, un mois « de l'alouette » à Mytilène, IG XII 2, 81, l. 6 : Κορυδίω ἐβδόμη. Je laisse ouverte cette première question qui touche à la forme du nom. La question sémiologique (pourquoi une fête des morts porte-t-elle ce nom d'oiseau ?) n'est pas moins embarrassante. Comme éléments de réponse, on peut évoquer l'art funéraire, où l'âme du défunt est souvent représentée sous la forme d'un oiseau, et peut-être aussi les sacrifices *néphalia* que le dème attique d'Erchia célébrait en l'honneur d'*Epops*, héros autrement inconnu,¹¹⁵ mais dont le nom désigne un oiseau caractérisé lui aussi par une aigrette.

En plus du banquet qu'il offre à titre personnel (l. 37), Kléanax est dans l'obligation d'organiser un autre banquet, qui réunit les officiels (l. 39–40) ; ce fait, ainsi que la prise en charge du rituel par les prytanes, marque bien le

caractère de la fête de l'Alouette à Kymè, par rapport à la fête du Gruau-au-Lait.

Διαρρίφα est un mot très rare, puisqu'on ne le connaissait que par le poète Pratinas, au Ve s. :

ἦν ἰδοῦ' ἄδε σοι δεξιᾶς καὶ ποδὸς διαρρίφα.¹¹⁶ Avec sa pénultième brève, le nom paraît être un doublet poétique de διάρριψις, qui est attesté à partir de Xénophon. C'est la première fois que le composé, sous l'une ou l'autre forme, apparaît dans un contexte religieux. Ce caractère religieux et solennel ressort non seulement de la construction syntaxique¹¹⁷ mais encore de la mention des « processions du laurier », l. 39, et de celle des prêtres en tête des participants au banquet des notabilités, l. 39–40. De la sorte, il me semble difficile de reconnaître dans διαρρίφα un synonyme du neutre ῥίμματα, qui avait été lu par M. Feysel dans le décret d'Acraiphia pour Epaminondas, IG VII, 2712, l. 76, et qui a été expliqué par L. Robert, AE 1969, p. 34–39 : là en effet, il s'agit de la pratique connue à Rome sous le nom de *sparsio missilium* ; dans les exemples grecs,¹¹⁸ elle a généralement pour cadre le théâtre, dans l'atmosphère de liesse du spectacle. Or rien, dans le passage en cause du décret de Kymè, ne fait allusion au théâtre, et il est même notable que pour aucun des deux banquets organisés le jour de l'Alouette il n'est fait mention d'*εὐωχία*, contrairement à l'habitude :¹¹⁹ une certaine retenue devait être observée à cette occasion, et la distribution tumultueuse qu'évoque ῥίμματα n'y était pas de mise.¹²⁰ En outre, les ῥίμματα étant un acte de générosité, ce « lancer (de friandises) » demande à être qualifié : ῥίμματα . . . μεγάλα καὶ πολυτελή, IG VII, 2712, l. 77 ; cf. θείας πολυτέλεας, ici-même l. 32.

Ce n'est pas le cas pour τὰν διαρρίφαν dans notre texte. Introduit simplement par l'article,¹²¹ διαρρίφα ne peut que

11. Il faudrait reprendre un à un les témoignages rassemblés par Wyss. En outre, on pourrait encore alléguer les considérations d'Aristote sur la nature du lait, qui semblent bien n'être que la rationalisation de croyances populaires : par ex. *Gén.anim.* 736 b, ἡ γὰρ αὐτὴ φύσις ἐστὶ γάλακτος καὶ καταμηνίων ; cf. ib. 777 a, sur l'origine commune, malgré leur différence spécifique, du lait (= sang cuit) et du pus (= sang pourri).

112. Cf. P. Vidal-Naquet, *Annales ESC* 25 (1970), p. 1287, à propos des Scythes « Trayeurs de juments » et autres *Abioi* (ll. XIII, 5–6) : « le végétarien est aussi inhumain que le cannibale ».

113. Y compris dans les mystères des religions initiatiques (cf. Wyss, *Die Milch*, chap. 8, p. 52–58). — Il faudrait encore considérer, au cas où le mets funéraire serait bien du « gruaud au lait », si l'utilisation du blé plus ou moins grossièrement pilé qu'est le *khondros* (par opposition à la farine moulue) est significative ou non.

114. Le texte d'Aristote, *Hist.anim.* 609 a 7, présente un nominatif pluriel κορυδῶνες ; Frisk, *GEW*, s.v. κόρυδος, relevait que cette forme « kann schwerlich richtig sein ; man erwartet κορυδόνες (wie χελιδόνες usw.) oder evtl. κορυδῶνες » ; l'inscription de Kymè vient confirmer la justesse de cette remarque. Le nom de l'alouette apparaît diversement suffixé en grec : on a encore κόρυδος et κορυδα(λ)ός ; ces diverses formes pourraient désigner des espèces différentes (v. Aristote, o.c. 617 b :

alouette huppée / alouette sans huppe), sans qu'on puisse clairement associer les unes aux autres (P. Louis, dans son *Index des Traités biologiques* d'Aristote, Paris 1973, p. 97–98, avance pour les différents noms des traductions qui se révèlent illusoire quand on confronte *Hist.anim.* 559a, 614a, 617b et 633b). Les rapprochements qu'on peut faire suggèrent qu'à Kymè il s'agit de l'espèce à huppe (λόφον ἔχουσα, *Hist.anim.* 617b).

115. V. G. Daux, *BCH* 87 (1963), p. 621 ; cf. H. W. Parke, *Festivals of the Athenians* (Londres 1977), p. 178–179. Pausanias, 10, 4, 8, rapporte qu'en Phocide, à Daulis, les hirondelles ne pondent ni ne couvent, obéissant comme jadis Philomèle à la répulsion qu'inspirait Térée, qui après son crime fut changé en huppe, ἔποψ (cf. encore l, 41, 9 : même atmosphère funèbre).

116. Page, *Poeti Melici Graeci*, 708, 14 (il est question de danse).

117. Cf. ci-dessus I, « la composition du texte », b) et la note 24.

118. De ceux d'Aristophane (*Guêpes* 58–59, *Ploutos* 797–801, *Paix* 962) cités par L. Robert à celui d'Acraiphia.

119. Banquet des Dionysies, l. 18 ; fêtes au prytanée, l. 33 ; réjouissances des Kaisareia, l. 42 et 43.

120. Cf. H. Nibley, *Class.Journal* 40 (1944–45), p. 536 : « The undignified *rixa*, *direptio*, *rapina*, *tumultus*, etc. was a regular and necessary part of the business » ; cf. encore Epictète, 4, 7, 22 : ἰσαδοκάρυα τις διαρρίπτει τὰ

désigner un *élément du rituel*, suffisamment connu des contemporains pour n'avoir pas besoin d'autre détermination, sinon la référence à l'usage. Malheureusement, il n'en va pas de même pour nous, et nous en sommes réduits à des hypothèses. Sans me dissimuler ce qu'elles ont de spéculatif, je proposerai celles-ci :

a) s'agirait-il d'une forme particulière de *phyllobolia*, en relation avec les processions du laurier ?

b) serait-il absurde d'envisager que la « dispersion » ait été ici celle des âmes des morts, qui sans cela auraient pu nuire aux vivants ? En effet, les rites des Lemuria et des Anthestéries se terminaient par une formule destinée à éloigner les fantômes :

Cum dixit novies « Manes exite paterni », respicit et pure sacra peracta putat (Ovide, *Fastes* 5, 444-445); et Θύραζε Κήρες, οὐκ ἔτ' Ἀνθεστήρια.¹²² En grec, le sémantisme de *ρίπτω* paraît compatible avec un complément d'objet désignant des personnes, du moins dans la langue poétique : par ex. *ρίψόν με γῆς ἐκ τῆσδε*, Sophocle, *Oed. Roi* 1436.

c) si malgré tout *διαρρίφα* désignait ici, comme *διαρρίπτω* chez Aristophane (*Guêpes* 58-59) et Epictète (v. n. 120), un lancer d'objets, ne pourrait-il s'agir d'un rite comparable à ceux que Pausanias, 3, 23, 8-9, rapporte à propos de « l'étang d'Ino » et des cratères de l'Etna, c'est-à-dire une forme d'offrande aux puissances d'En-Bas ?¹²³

L. 38, le deuxième *κατὰ* conserve le souvenir de l'ancien emploi, dans le dialecte, de l'article en fonction de pronom relatif : cf. Bechtel, *Griech. Dial.* I, p. 113. A propos de *οἱ . . . πρυτάνεις*, l. 39, on peut noter que si le nominatif pluriel des thèmes en *-i-* n'est pas conservé dans les fragments des Lyriques, la finale *-ις* présente ici est attestée dans la plus ancienne inscription de Mytilène, vers 400,

παιδία ἀρπάζει καὶ ἀλλήλας διαμάχεται . . .

121. Normalement absent pour les actes de générosité, qui ne sont pas définis à l'avance : cf. encore, l. 41-42, l'opposition entre *ταῖς θυσίαις*, réglées par le rituel, et *εὐωχίαις*, laissées à la libre appréciation du bienfaiteur.

122. Cf. Rohde, *Psyché*, p. 197 n. 1; v. aussi ib., p. 196 n. 1, sur des rites semblables existant chez d'autres peuples antiques ou modernes. — Il est vrai qu'à Athènes comme à Rome, c'étaient les chefs de famille qui, chacun chez soi, prononçaient ces formules, tandis qu'à Kymè ce sont les prytanes qui sont chargés de la *διαρρίφα*; mais on notera qu'une tournure particulière, *κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ κατὰ τὰ καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ πρυτάνεις ἐποίησαν*, vient prendre la place du leitmotiv *κατὰ τὰ πάτρια* : n'est-ce pas l'indice que, même s'il était devenu habituel au moment du décret, ce rôle des prytanes n'était pas ancré dans les coutumes ancestrales ? Et si le rite (à supposer que cette hypothèse sur le sens de *διαρρίφα* soit la bonne) apparaît désormais confié au prytane, c'est peut-être qu'il tendait à être délaissé par les particuliers; en le relevant, la cité aurait témoigné du même souci de restauration religieuse que celui qui aimait Auguste.

123. « With careful avoidance of physical contact between giver and receiver », H. Nibley, *Class. Journal* 40, p. 534; cf. ib., p. 533, sur des rites semblables à Rome.

IG XII 2, 1, l. 2-3 : [ὄττι κε αἰ] πόλις [ἀ]μφοτέραι ----] γράφοισι.

Les « processions du laurier », l. 39, rappellent le rôle apotropaïque de cette plante, qui éloigne les mauvais esprits.¹²⁴ Peut-être ces *pompaî* sont-elles en relation avec le nom même de la fête, car on trouve chez Hésychius la glose suivante : *κορυθαλία* δάφνη ἐστεμμένη. τινὲς τὴν εἰρεσιώνην (. . .); or, des liens étymologiques évidents existent entre *κόρυδος* « alouette », *κόρυς* « casque », et ce *κορυθαλία*.¹²⁵

LES KAISAREIA

Le culte impérial a commencé très tôt dans la province romaine d'Asie (ή Ἀσία), puisque dès janvier 29, avant même qu'Octave ait reçu officiellement le titre d'*Augustus*, un temple « à Rome et à Auguste » fut dédié dans la ville de Pergame; au même moment, des jeux sacrés furent institués.¹²⁶ Connus sous divers noms, *Ῥωμαῖα Σεβαστά*, *τὰ μεγάλα Σεβαστά Καισάρηα*, *κοινὰ Ἀσίας*, ils se déroulaient dans les principales villes du *Κοινὸν Ἀσίας* selon un calendrier qui reste mal établi. Leur périodicité, pentétérique ou annuelle, fait l'objet de discussions :¹²⁷ je ne crois pas qu'on puisse tirer de notre inscription aucun argument décisif dans l'un ou l'autre sens. On voit en revanche que ces jeux étaient l'occasion de festivités dans les villes de moindre importance aussi.¹²⁸

L. 43-44, *κατὰ φύλαις ἐν τῶ] ἀγόρᾳ* pourrait constituer un complément vraisemblable, quoiqu'un peu court pour l'espace disponible; mais sur la pierre, les exemples ne manquent pas de cas où le graveur a préféré ne pas charger la fin des lignes.¹²⁹ Les tribus seraient d'une part celles où étaient inscrits les citoyens romains, Latins d'origine ou Grecs bénéficiant de la *civitas*, d'autre part celles de

124. Cf. M. B. Ogle, *AJPh* 31 (1910), p. 287-311, « Laurel in ancient religion and folklore » (p. 293 notamment).

125. Chantraine, *Dict. étym.*, p. 568-569. Pausanias, sans établir de lien explicite entre les deux termes, rapporte, à propos d'un sanctuaire d'Apollon *Κόρυθος* situé près de Coronée, une légende impliquant l'alouette, *κόρυδον τὴν ὄρνιθα* (4, 34, 8).

126. Dio Cassius 51, 20, 6 et 9.

127. Cf. Chr. Habicht, dans *Le culte des souverains dans l'Empire romain* (W. den Boer éd., Entretiens sur l'Antiquité classique, Fondation Hardt, XIX, 1973), p. 64. Comme Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor* II, p. 1295-1297, Habicht pense qu'à l'époque d'Auguste et de Tibère, la fête provinciale était célébrée annuellement.

128. Elles pouvaient d'ailleurs célébrer en l'honneur de l'empereur leurs propres fêtes, d'intérêt local : ainsi les *Νεδάμεια καὶ Σεβαστα* d'Érésos, sous Auguste (IG XII Suppl., 124, l. 10) ou les *Αὐγούστεια ἐν Περγάμῳ* (v. Magie, l.c.). Jusqu'à présent, on n'a pas connaissance d'une telle fête à Kymè.

129. Par ex. l. 5, où aurait pu trouver place la syllabe de deux lettres qui commence la ligne suivante; de même l. 15. A l'opposé, la fin de la l. 29, par ex., est très serrée.

Kymè.¹³⁰ Leur convocation sur l'agora ne serait pas sans rappeler l'institution romaine des comices tributes, qui se réunissaient sur le Forum : il semblerait que leur sens du protocole, déjà souligné, conduisait les autorités de Kymè à adopter une procédure romaine pour cette fête dédiée au pouvoir impérial.¹³¹ La substitution de Ἑλλανας, l. 44, au πολεῖταις employé dans les énumérations parallèles des l. 17 et 37, relève du même souci de la convenance : dans le contexte des Kaisareia, les citoyens, ce sont les Romains. Le terme Ἕλληνες, dans le vocabulaire politique de l'époque, s'applique à l'ensemble des personnes qui constituent les corps civiques des municipalités, c'est-à-dire, dans la province d'Asie, aux Grecs des cités.¹³² Ici, vu la présence de l'expression καὶ παροῖκοις καὶ ξέν[οις], le mot doit désigner les seuls citoyens de Kymè.

A la fin de la l. 44, le verbe était selon toute vraisemblance suivi d'un adverbe de manière, laissant éventuellement subsister quelques espacements libres.

DISPOSITIONS

Dans les dispositions, le présent de répétition στεφάνωσθαι, l. 46, renvoie au cycle annuel des occasions d'honorer Kléanax. Le couronnement aux Dionysies est traditionnel à Kymè, comme en tant d'autres endroits : cf. *IK* 5, 4, l. 17; 13, l. 7; 89, l. 4.

L. 47, il faut peut-être compléter ainsi : ἐν παῖσαισι ταῖ [ς ἐκκλησίαις καὶ ἐν παῖσιν τοῖς] ἀρχαιρεσίοισι ; on connaît en effet des exemples de cités où l'élection des divers magistrats avait lieu non en une seule séance annuelle, mais en plusieurs fois : ainsi, à Samos, une loi frumentaire du IIe s. a.C. stipule que le peuple désignera deux commissaires au blé καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ τῶν ἀρχαιρεσιῶν.¹³³ —L. 51, ce sont probablement les stratèges qui sont chargés de veiller à l'exécution de cette disposition.

A partir de la l. 52 devaient être énumérés d'autres honneurs encore ou des privilèges que la cité reconnaissante accordait à Kléanax ; lire peut-être, l. 52, [---σθαι δ]ὲ αὐτὸν . . .

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130. Ces dernières ne sont mentionnées explicitement jusqu'ici que dans l'inscription pour Arkhippè, *IK* 5, 13, passim, sans toutefois être citées nommément. La lettre bilingue du proconsul L. Vicinius, en 27 a.C. (*IK* 5, 17), fournit peut-être les noms de deux d'entre elles (mais v. J. et L. Robert, *Bull. épigr.* 1973, n° 371), en citant un Apollonidès Νῶρακείος (l. 24) et un Lysias *Tucalleus* (l. 14 ; la forme de gén. [Τυκαλλέως] restituée l. 26-27 dans la version grecque ne me paraît pas garantie, non plus que le Τυκαλλεύς porté à l'index d'*IK* 5, p. 233 : le nominatif latin de la l. 14 pourrait aussi bien être la transcription de *Τυκαλλείος/-ης).

131. Même si les Romains n'étaient pas autorisés à participer au *koinon* : cf. Brandis, *RE* II 2 (1896), s.v. Ἀσία .3, col. 1558. Il convient de

signaler qu'à la fin du décret de Kymè pour Labéon, *IK* 5, 19, l. 55-58, est cité comme éponyme, devant le prytane et le stéphanéphore, le « prêtre de Rome et de l'empereur » ; c'est le prêtre du culte provincial, un Laodicéen du nom de Polémon.

132. Dans les décrets de l'assemblée provinciale, ils se désignent comme οἱ ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀσίας Ἕλληνες (cf. Brandis, l.c.) ; v. encore L. Robert, *Stèle Kontoléon* [Athènes 1977], p. 7 du tiré à part, n. 39.

133. *Syll.*³, 976, l. 38-41, avec la note 14. Voir toutefois Sherk, o.c. (n. 90), p. 333 : un décret d'application pour la réforme du calendrier dans la province d'Asie prévoit, D 82-84, que γείνεσθαι τὰ κατὰ τὰ ἀρχαιρέσια μηνὶ δεκάτῳ . . . ἐντὸς δεκάτης ἰσταμένου.

Two Latin Inscriptions

Susan Treggiari

I

A large and elegant tablet, presented to the Getty Museum by Dr. L. Shulka, commemorates a group of freed persons and two freeborn, but illegitimate, children. The stone tablet (80.AA.62), which measures 85.9 × 68.8 × 5.1 cm., comes presumably from a free-standing "family" tomb in which the ashes of the persons named were deposited. The exact provenance is unknown. The date cannot be conjectured from the lettering, but since the custom of mentioning freed status became gradually less common (except for imperial freedmen) from the middle of the first century A.D.,¹ it is likely that the inscription can be tentatively put in the late Republic or early Principate. This inscription complements the relief of a freed couple, C. Popillius O.l. Salvius and Calpurnia O. et Octavi l. Nice, that was described by Elaine K. Gazda in an earlier issue of this journal.²

The inscription is in good condition, and even the two damaged areas (covering parts of lines 1–3 on column 1 and of lines 17–20 in column 2) contain enough of the affected letters to make the reading certain. It may be transcribed and the abbreviations expanded as follows:

- 1 A(ulus) Livius O.(=Gaiae) l(ibertus) Hilarus
- 2 Cn(aeus) Quintius Cn(aei) l(ibertus)
- 3 Stephanus
- 4 Quintia O.(=Gaiae) l(iberta) Hilara
- 5 concubina
- 6 A(ulus) Livius A(uli) Cn(aei) Q(uinti) l(ibertus)
- 7 Isidorus
- 8 A(ulus) Livius A(uli) et
- 9 Quintiae l(ibertus) Isa
- 10 Quintia A(uli) et Livi l(iberta)
- 11 Heraclea
- 12 Livia Sp(urii/a) f(ilia) Cara
- 13 Quintia Cn(aei) l(iberta) Isias
- 14 A(ulus) Livius A(uli) et
- 15 Quintiae l(ibertus) Felix
- 16 Quintia O.(=Gaiae) l(iberta) Egloge
- 17 A(ulus) Livius Sp(urii/us) f(ilius) Pietas
- 18 Livia A(uli) et Quintiae l(iberta)

- 19 Hilara
- 20 A(ulus) Livius A(uli) et Quintiae l(ibertus)
- 21 Apollonius
- 22 A(ulus) Livius A(uli) A(uli) et O. O.(=Gaiae Gaiae)
- 23 Quintiae l(ibertus) Statius
- 24 Quintia O.(=Gaiae) et A(uli) l(iberta)
- 25 Philaenis
- 26 A(ulus) Livius A(uli) A(uli) et Quintiae
- 27 libert(us) Primigenius.

Which is, being translated:

- 1 Aulus Livius Hilarus, freedman of a woman.
- 2–3 Gnaeus Quintius Stephanus, freedman of Gnaeus.
- 4–5 Quintia Hilara, freedman of a woman, concubine.
- 6–7 Aulus Livius Isidorus, freedman of Aulus, Gnaeus and Quintus.
- 8–9 Aulus Livius Isa, freedman of Aulus and Quintia.
- 10–11 Quintia Heraclea, freedwoman of Aulus and Livius.
- 12 Livia Cara, illegitimate daughter.
- 13 Quintia Isias, freedwoman of Gnaeus.
- 14–15 Aulus Livius Felix, freedman of Aulus and Quintia.
- 16 Quintia Egloge, freedwoman of a woman.
- 17 Aulus Livius Pietas, illegitimate son.
- 18–19 Livia Hilara, freedwoman of Aulus and Quintia.
- 20–21 Aulus Livius Apollonius, freedman of Aulus and Quintia.
- 22–23 Aulus Livius Statius, freedman of Aulus, Aulus and two women, of Quintia.
- 24–25 Quintia Philaenis, freedwoman of a woman and Aulus.
- 26–27 Aulus Livius Primigenius, freedman of Aulus, Aulus and Quintia.

There are only two points of doubt, in lines 6 and 22–23, which will be discussed below.

The inscription commemorates an intricately related group, mostly of freed status. Only two *nomina* appear, Livius/a and Quintius/a. The two freedmen named first appear to be the senior members of the group, and of these the first is more important in our context.

1. P. R. C. Weaver, *Familia Caesaris. A social study of the emperor's freedmen and slaves* (Cambridge, 1972), 43.

2. "Two Roman portrait reliefs," *The J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 1 (1974), 61–72.



Figure 1. Latin inscription. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum (80.AA.62).

A. Livius Hilarus was the freedman of a woman,³ who must have been a Livia and the daughter or freedwoman of an A. Livius.⁴ Some link—of blood, friendship, or business association—existed between him and Cn. Quintius Stephanus, freedman of a Cn. Quintius. The next person named is Quintia Hilara, freed by a Quintia. She is specifically described as *concupina*. But whose? The shared *nomen* and her position immediately after him might sug-

gest that this means she was the concubine of Stephanus. However, I would argue that she was, in fact, Hilarus's. The reason is that the inscription commemorates a number of people who had been joint slaves of an A. (Livius) and a Quintia, but no joint freedmen/women of Cn. Quintius and Quintia. A concubine and her partner, like husband and wife, might hold joint property: inscriptions document freedmen and, by implication, slaves.⁵ There is

3. The reversed C. (C.) stands for Gaiae (as C. for the masculine Gai) and is used to indicate a female ex-owner (*patrona*). Women in classical times did not bear *praenomina*. The *praenomen* of a male patron (here A. and Cn.) regularly occurs in the status indication of his freedman or freedwoman.

4. The gentile name of a freedman is derived from his patron. The *praenomen* of the *libertus* of a woman is normally that of her father (thus M. Livius for a freedman of Livia Drusilla, daughter of M. Livius Drusus Claudianus) or, if she was herself of freed status, her patron.

5. E.g. *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* (henceforth *CIL*) vi. 9375

(Rome). For general studies of concubines, especially in the inscriptions, see Beryl Rawson, "Roman concubinage and other *de facto* marriages," *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 104 (1974) 279–305 and Treggiari, "Concupinae," forthcoming in *Papers of the British School of Rome* 50 (1982).

6. The only conjectures which would allow them to come from the same household is to make the *patronae* Livia and Quintia mother and daughter, or half-sisters on the mother's side, or freedwomen of different *gentes* who for some reason lived together.

7. One further consideration might shake this hypothesis: the shared

no indication here of any other relationship between A. Livius Hilarus and Quintia Hilara. She can hardly be his wife and (previously or subsequently) Stephanus' concubine, for that would be stated. They were freed by owners of different *nomina*, so they are not *colliberti*, and by owners of the same sex, so not by a husband and wife maintaining a joint household.⁶ Stephanus and Hilara, on the other hand, share a *nomen* and are thus connected with the same *familia*, for instance with patrons who were father and daughter, brother and sister, or *colliberti*. There may therefore be a blood tie between Stephanus and Hilara. On this hypothesis, I would conjecture that A. Livius Hilarus is named first, as the monument is primarily his, then his friend Cn. Quintius Stephanus, in a position of honour, then his concubine Quintia Hilara, who is also linked with Hilarus through his connection with Stephanus.⁷ To some extent this reconstruction is strengthened by the fourth person named.

In line 6, we appear to have a man freed jointly by A. Livius, a Gnaeus, who is surely Cn. Quintius Stephanus, and a Quintus. No other Quintus is mentioned on the stone. It seems likely that the abbreviation 'Q.' is incorrectly used to mean 'Quintiae' and to refer to Hilara. The fourth person would then take that position because he had been the joint property of all three of the principal people commemorated. He shows the close connection that existed between them. The remaining names, however, are those of freedmen and of freedmen of freedmen of Hilarus and Hilara, with the exception of one woman (line 13) who was freed by Stephanus alone.

When a jointly-owned slave was manumitted by patrons of different *nomina*, he would take his *nomen* from whoever had owned the larger share and that person would figure first in the indication of patrons.⁸ If the shares had been equal, various considerations might dictate the choice of name, but epigraphic evidence will not enable us to distinguish examples or motives.⁹ In the names under discussion, the *praenomen* and *nomen* of the male ex-owner predominate.

Thus the senior or major owner of A. Livius A. Cn. Q. l. Isidorus (lines 6–7) had been A. Livius (Hilarus). There follows an apparent joint freedman of Hilarus and Hilara,

cognomen of Hilarus and Hilara. Slave families sometimes show this pattern of identical or closely related names for brother and sister and quite frequently for father and daughter (e.g. *CIL* vi 12082, 12088, 14646) or son (e.g. *CIL* vi 14646). *CIL* vi 14646 and *Année Epigraphique* (1939) 10 show variations on the *cognomen* of the father for children of both sexes. Hilarus could be the father of Hilara by a slavewoman of the Quintii. But it would be odd that the relationship is not expressed and that the mother drops out.

8. Thus Augustus left two-thirds of his property to Tiberius and one-third to Livia. Slaves who were part of this inheritance would each be

A. Livius A. et Quintiae l. Isa (lines 8–9). The name Isa is extremely unusual. I have so far found only one other example, a one-word inscription from Rome (*CIL* vi. 19712) where it is presumably a personal name.

Quintia A. et Livi l. Heraclea is problematic (lines 10–11). Her principal patron ought to be an A. Quintius, but nobody of that name has so far been mentioned. He may be, or derive from, an A. Quintius in the generation of the original Cn. Quintius who freed Stephanus and of the Quintia who freed Hilara. But perhaps we should conjecture that Hilara freed a slave who took his *nomen* from her and his *praenomen* from Hilarus and so became A. Quintius¹⁰ and that he in his turn jointly owned a slave with Hilarus.

The antecedents of Livia Sp. f. Cara are also obscure. She was born outside legal Roman marriage (as the children of a *concupina* would be) and born free (as is shown by the filiation). Her *nomen* thus would have derived from her mother. Perhaps she is the child of a Livia who appears in the second column (line 18) or of another who does not appear here.¹¹ The *cognomen* Cara is uncommon but attested in Rome (*CIL* vi. 15205, 16561, 18305/6).

Quintia Cn. l. Isias (line 13) is presumably a freedwoman of Stephanus. The name Isias is relatively common in both Rome and Italy. Like Isidorus (line 7), it may indicate interest in the cult of Isis.

A. Livius A. et Quintiae l. Felix (lines 14–15) is almost certainly a joint freedman of Hilarus and Hilara. Note that the *patrona's nomen* is specified, although 'A. et Q. l.' would have been sufficient, just as Quintia Heraclea (lines 10–11) was given the additional precision 'A. et Livi' (not 'A. et A.' or 'A.A.'). It seems likely that throughout the inscription 'Livi' will refer to Hilarus and 'Quintiae' to Hilara. The primary reason for this is probably that Hilarus is chiefly responsible for the commemoration, and he and Hilara are the source of the status and nomenclature of most of the people mentioned. Within the context of the group commemorated, they are also the most senior, and a direct connection with them was therefore most honourable to the *libertus/a*. So just as, in the *Monumentum Liviae*, a freedman who wishes to show that he was freed by the wife of Augustus herself and not by one of

owned in that proportion by the two owners. If freed, they were called Ti. Julii, after Tiberius.

9. All joint freedmen of Tiberius and Livia known to us are Ti. Julii and not M. Livii or M. Julii.

10. He may have been jointly owned, but this courtesy is only attested as offered to a patron's friend: M. Pomponius Dionysius took "Pomponius" from his ex-owner Pomponius Atticus and "M." as a compliment to M. Tullius Cicero (Cicero, *To Atticus* 4.15.1).

11. A *colliberta*, legitimate daughter or *liberta* of Hilarus, for instance?

her freedwomen will say 'Livius Drusillae l.' or (after she became Julia Augusta in 14) 'Augustae l.' or (less unambiguously but more often) 'Liviae l.,'¹² so here reasons of status affect the nomenclature.

On this argument, Quintia O. l. Egloge (a common spelling for Ecloge)¹³ may be a freedwoman of Heraclea or Isias rather than of Hilara (line 16). But perhaps the brevity of the status indication may be explained by the fact that the stonemason seems here to be having some difficulty in balancing his two columns and the alternation of large and small lettering.

A. Livius Sp. f. Pietas (line 17) is another illegitimate and freeborn child of a Livia, perhaps the brother of Cara. Livia Hilara (lines 18–19) is probably freed by Hilarus and Quintia Hilara, after whom she is named. A. Livius Apollonius (lines 20–21) has the same patrons. But A. Livius Stadius has multiple patrons. It is uncertain whether "O. O. Quintiae l." means "of two women and of Quintia" or "of two Quintiae" (which would more properly, but lengthily, be expressed "duarum Quintiarum"). Because there is no "et" before "Quintiae," the second hypothesis is preferable. Elegance is sacrificed to explicitness. Various identifications are possible, e.g. Hilarus and Hilara, A. Livius Isa and Quintia Heraclea, A. Livius Felix and Quintia Egloge. Joint ownership and patronage would allow us to suppose a possible family relationship between Isa and Heraclea, Felix and Egloge, who are named next to each other on the stone.

Quintia Philaenis (lines 24–25) is also freed by a pair consisting of a Quintia and an A. (Livius), and A. Livius Primigenius (lines 26–27) by two AA. Livii¹⁴ and a Quintia (perhaps Hilara).

Certain possibilities are ruled out by nomenclature, but

no firm choice can be made between tenable hypotheses. We may conjecture a sexual link between several of the *libertini* attested, whether marriage or *concupinatus*. This may be the explanation of the propinquity of Livius Isa and Quintia Heraclea, A. Livius Felix and Quintia Egloge, Livia Hilara and Livius Apollonius, and Livius Stadius and Quintia Philaenis (or Philaenis and Livius Primigenius). No legitimate children appear, but A. Livius Sp. f. Pietas could well be the son of Livia Hilara, born in *contubernium* before her mate (whether Apollonius or another) was freed. Some of the other *libertini* may be slave-born descendants of others named here. There is no indication that any of the women had before manumission belonged to a mate of slave status (i.e. been *vicaria* of a *contubernalis*). Of the five freedwomen apart from Quintia Hilara, three (Quintia Egloge, Livia Hilara and Quintia Philaenis) had been freed solely or jointly by a Quintia (Hilara, probably), in accordance with the usual finding that women were often freed by women. Quintia Heraclea was freed by two male patrons; only Quintia Cn.l. Isias remains as a possible *vicaria*.

It would be of considerable interest if other inscriptions linked Cn. Quintii and AA. Livii. There are none such in *CIL*. There is only one Cn. Quinctius in the Rome inscriptions of *CIL*,¹⁵ and Pauly-Wissowa knows of only one patrician Cn. Quinctius (Capitolinus, aedile 368 B.C.) and no plebeians. AA. Livii are commoner in the Rome inscriptions,¹⁶ although not upper-class.¹⁷ There are a handful in other Italian towns and in Gaul¹⁸ and an interesting concentration in Ostia.¹⁹ It would be interesting if the provenance of the Getty inscription could be shown to be Rome or Ostia.

12. E.g. Livia Drusillae l. Galatea (*CIL* vi 1258: rare because Livia stopped using the *cognomen* soon after her second marriage). For full discussion of the custom of spelling out the patron's name, see H. Chantaine, *Freigelassene und Sklaven im Dienst der römischen Kaiser: Studien zur ihrer Nomenklatur* (Wiesbaden, 1967), 14ff.

13. She could be their child on the hypothesis that she was born when Hilara was a slave, acquired later by her parents and freed. But then we would expect '(liberta) et f(ilia)'.

14. Unless one was an A. Quintius. The *caveat* should perhaps (but improbably) be entered also for one of Stadius' patrons.

15. vi 25298.,

16. *CIL* vi 10304, 21371, 21383, 21396, 21398, 21405, 21410, 25543, 33206, 38554.

17. There are none in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *Realencyclopädie*.

18. *CIL* ix 352, 1862, 5140; xi 3543 a 11 4; xiii 804.

19. *CIL* xiv 25, 283 II 8, 379–381, 581, 965, 1239–1245, 1247–1253, 1255–1256, 1261–1262, 4560 I b 9, 4562 2 a 12, 4602, 4655, 4656, 5001. Attention has recently been drawn to A. Livius Anteros, *magister* of the guild of *fabri tignuarii* (carpenters) in A.D. 140–145, who is known from unpublished Ostian inscriptions and, I would add, xiv 4656. See A. Licordari, "Considerazioni sull' 'onomastica ostiense,'" *L'onomastique latine*, Colloques internationaux du CNRS (Paris, 1977), 239–245 at 242–243 and cf. J.H. D'Arms, "Notes on municipal notables of imperial Ostia," *American Journal of Philology* 97 (1976), 387–411 at 402. The municipal importance of some AA. Livii in the second century A.D. need not make us date our group of freedmen later, even if we are tempted to ascribe them to Ostia or to the capital with which the Tiber port was so closely connected. There are no Cnn. Quintii in *CIL* xiv (the Ostian volume) but about a dozen Quinctii or Quintii. If Cnn. Quintii are hiding among the unpublished inscriptions of Ostia, further hypotheses could be formulated.



Figure 2. Latin and greek inscription. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum (80.AA.52).

II

A second inscription (80.AA.52), an anonymous gift to the museum, was once in the Michailides collection. It too is of unknown provenance. Because it is bilingual, provenance from a hellenised part of the empire will be conjectured, but this hypothesis covers most areas of the Mediterranean world. The stone is described as 'alabaster-like' and measures 26.9 × 23.3 × 2.1 cm.

- | | |
|------------------------------|------------------|
| 1 Divi Augusti liberti | 4 ΑΠΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΟΥ |
| 2 Calycis l(ibertae) Hygiae. | 5 ΚΑΛΥΚΟΣ ΑΠΕΛΕΥ |
| 3 ΘΕΟΥ ΣΕΒΑΚΤΟΥ | 6 ΘΕΡΑ ΥΓΕΙΑ. |

"To Hygia, freedwoman of Calyx, freedman of the deified Augustus."

The Greek corresponds except that the name is spelled Hygeia and is nominative: "Hygeia, freedwoman of Calyx,

freedman of the god Augustus." The inscription commemorates Hygia, who was freed by a freedman of the deified Augustus. The inscription must have been cut after the deification of Augustus in A.D. 14, but this gives us no clear information on the date of the manumission or death of Hygia (supposing that the commemoration was not made in her lifetime, although it may have been). It does, however, prove that the latest date at which Calyx could have been freed was by the will of Augustus in August of A.D. 14. A freedman of Augustus could, if he were freed late in the principate and at the theoretical minimum age for manumission of 30, have survived to about A.D. 55.²⁰ If Hygia was freed very young or late in

20. Weaver, *Familia Caesaris* (n. 1), 30-34.

her patron's lifetime, we would then be able to believe in her possible survival into the second century A.D. But it is more likely on the whole that the inscription is no later than the third quarter of the first century, and it could have been set up quite soon after A.D. 14. No (C. Julius) Aug. l. Calyx is (it seems) attested elsewhere.²¹

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POSTSCRIPT

A possible explanation of the Greek part of the bilingual text would be that in the two last words the iota adscriptum is omitted by the stonecutter. The dative form of the iota adscriptum would correspond to the same case in the Latin inscription. —J.F.

21. The name Calyx occurs twice in *CIL* vi (200.16, 12956). I acknowledge with gratitude the improvements made to this paper by the keen eye and judgment of Susan E. Dorken of the University of Ottawa, and the

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“Epigraphica minora” del J. Paul Getty Museum

Emilio Rodríguez-Almeida

Debo a la cortesía del Dr. Jiří Frel, Director de Antigüedades del Museo, el acceso a estos materiales menores, llegados al Museo mismo en varios modos y ocasiones. Materiales ciertamente “menores” en el contexto de un museo, pero cuya importancia intrínseca salta a la vista del arqueólogo, sobre todo cuando son puestos en relación con el lugar de origen, con el *instrumentum* romano en general, con la misma topografía urbana de Roma (como es el caso de todos los ejemplares que aquí veremos). Vaya, por tanto, al Dr. Frel mi gratitud sincera.

Las piezas que veremos ahora son 4 fragmentos de ladrillos con sellos doliars de fábrica, 2 fragmentos de *fistulae aquariae* (tubos de plomo) con sellos de los *officinares* o *plumbarii* y 1 lámima de bronce en *tabula ansata* con inscripción grabada a cincel.

A. SELLOS DOLIARES.

N. 1. 75.AD.38—Fragmento (incierto el género de material, tal vez bipedal; esta nota vale igualmente para los tres restantes), 15 x 11 x 4 cms (altura, anchura, espesor). Cerámica rosada, muy compacta y durísima; poquísima “pozzolana” (material arenoso volcánico, de color violáceo) en granos muy menudos (fig. 1, n. 1).

El fragmento contiene un sello lunar con letras en relieve positivo; el sello aparece casi completo, con su grande orbículo típico del período trajaneo (con umbón rebajado al centro) y con su doble línea de inscripción; al centro, el *signum* o símbolo de la *figlina*: un lobo gradiente *dextrorsum*.¹ La inscripción

M[R L MES] SAL ET PEDONE / COS

permite identificarle con el modelo CIL, XV, 22b² de la *figlina Bruttiana*, donde la lectura del final de primera línea se presenta como PEDON, no PEDONE como en nuestro ejemplar. Nuestra matriz, por tanto, representa una variante, la cual, a su vez, encuentra confirmación en un ejemplar ostiense publicado por Margareta Steinby.³

Los ejemplares CIL, XV de Roma provienen, según las

1. *Lupus*, “lobo”, es el cognomen del *conductor* de la *figlina Bruttiana* que ha impuesto en estos sellos este particular *signum*. Otros *signa* con igual significación aparecen en otros sellos doliars romanos, como la oca, que representa el cognomen *Anser* o el jabalí, que simboliza gráficamente el de *Aper*.

notas de H. Dressel, de la Plaza Margana (*reg. IX*), del ángulo de las vías Firenze y XX Settembre (*reg. VI*), de la iglesia de los Santi Quattro (*reg. II*) y (como el que publica la Steinby) de Ostia. Es claro que la proveniencia material de nuestro ejemplar C como la se los otros tres que seguirán) es romana, de la ciudad o de sus inmediatos contornos.

La datación consular *Messal(la) et Pedone co(n)s(ulibus)* es del año 115 d.C., bajo Trajano.

N.2. 80.AD.10.3.—Fragmento, 14 x 5,5 x 3,6 cms.—Cerámica rosada bastante dura, abundante pozzolana de grano medio (fig. 1, n. 2).

El fragmento presenta un sello a relieve negativo (letras rehundidas) sin cartela de contorno, con 10 letras conservadas, 5 en cada una de las dos líneas de escritura. La inscripción

[PAETIN ET] APRO C[OS] / [M VINIC PAN] TAG SV[LP]

es fácilmente reconstruible con la ayuda del modelo CIL, 563f, al que se asimila en todo. El ejemplar CIL proviene de la *Via Appia*, zona llamada “Roma Vecchia”, extraurbana.

La datación *Paetin(o) et Apro(niano) co(n)s(ulibus)*, la más abundante en los sellos doliars romanos, es del año 123, quinto año del reinado de Hadriano. Véase el número siguiente.

N.3. 80.AD.10.2.—Fragmento, 13 x 14 x 4 cms.—Pasta rosado-amarillenta de calidad mediocre, con grueso granulado pozzolánico (fig. 2, N. 1).

El fragmento presenta la parte derecha de un sello semejante al anterior, a relieve negativo y sin cartela de contorno; las letras son más sutiles de trazo, más grandes en la primera que en la segunda línea. Como el precedente, este sello pertenece a los *praedia* y relativa *figlina Sulpicianae*; pese a la diferente apariencia de la abreviación de la primera línea, ambos tienen también datación exactamente igual; en fin, son obra del mismo *offinator*, *Marcus Vini-cius Pantagathus*. La parte conservada de la inscripción nos

2. *Corpus Inscript. Latinarum*, vol. XV. Lo citamos siempre abreviado en esta forma: CIL; a menos que se trate de otro volumen.

3. *Lateres signati Ostienses*, Roma, 1978, n. 38, I, lam. VII. Citado: LSOst.

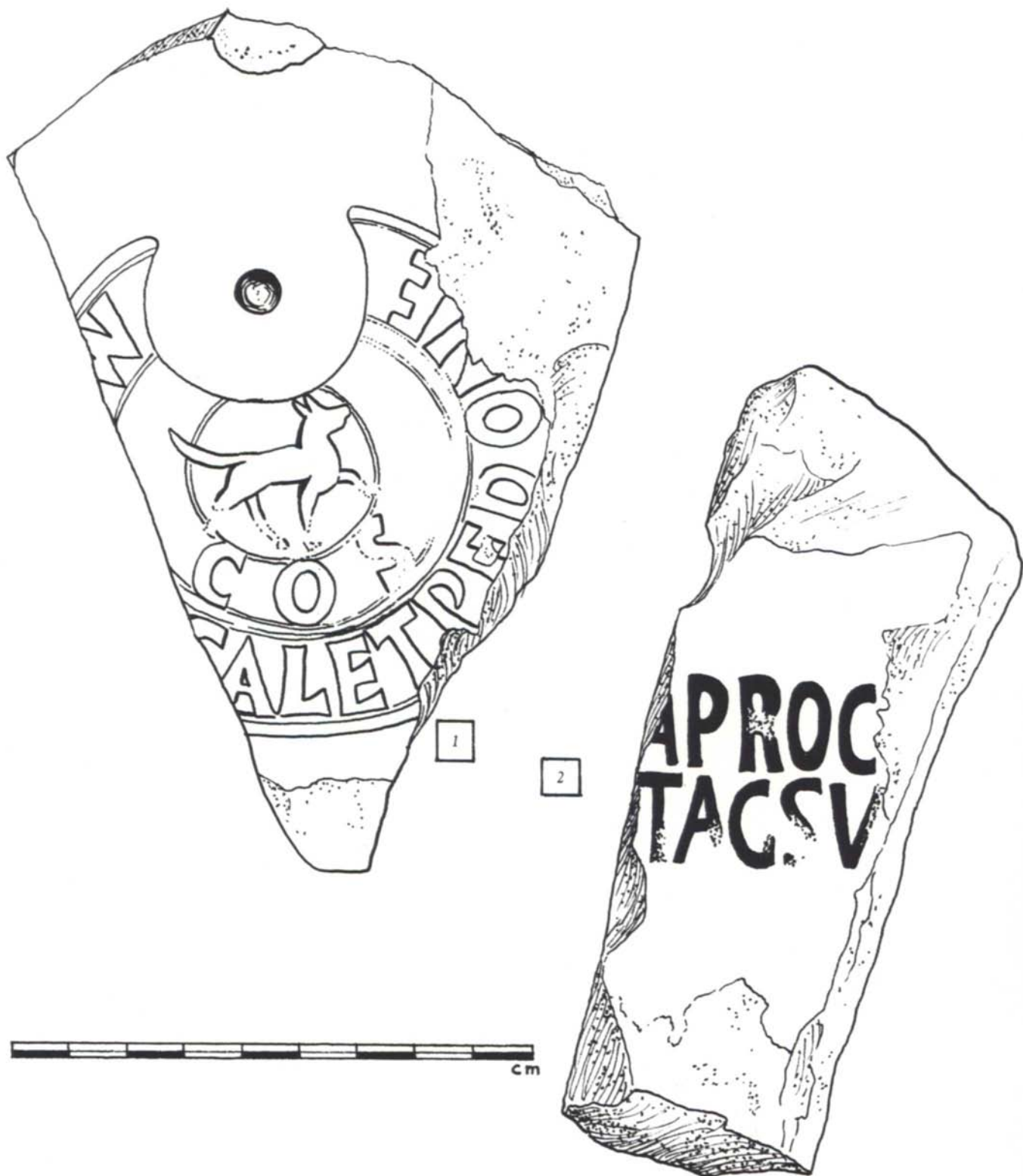


Figura 1.

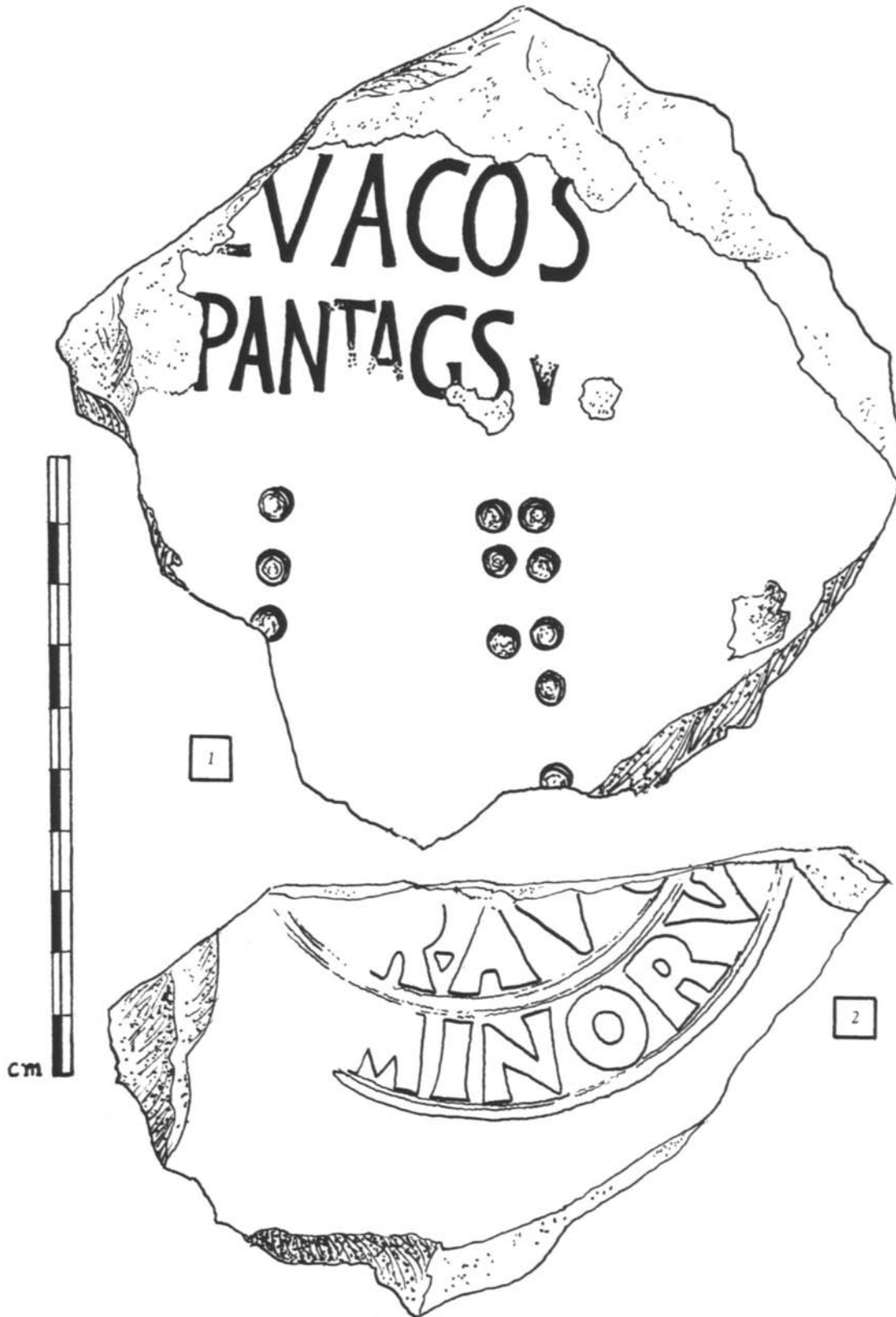


Figura 2.

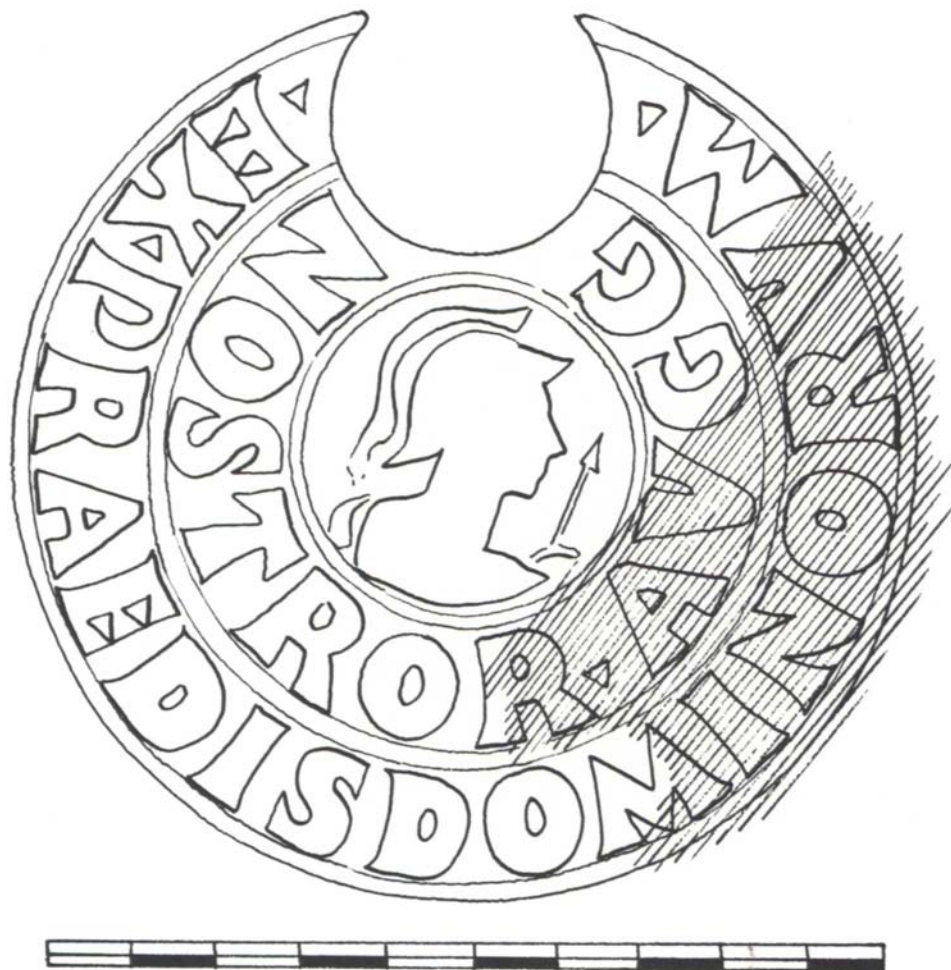


Figura 3. Reconstrucción del sello CIL, XV, 773. —En rayado, la parte conservada en nuestro ejemplar.

lleva a identificar este sello con el modelo CIL, 653r, con el siguiente texto:

Q A P L V A COS / M VINIC PANTAG SV

con la sola reserva que en el modelo CIL aparece un punto delante de la sigla COS de la primera línea, punto que en nuestro ejemplar no es visible (en los sellos a relieve positivo es más difícil asegurar, por exceso o defecto de puntos, si un determinado ejemplar constituye variante; en los ejemplares al negativo, los puntos son, generalmente, un buen indicio de concordancia o de diversidad). Se ve, en cambio, con certeza en nuestro ejemplar, una característica notada por Dressel en los suyos: la V final es (tal vez por defecto de la matriz) más pequeña que las otras letras.

La inscripción se interpreta en esta forma: *Q*(uinto) *A*(rticuleio) *P*(aetino), *L*(ucio) *V*(enuleio) *A*(proniano) *co*(n)sM(arci) *V*inic(i) *P*antag(athi), *S*ul(p)ician(a).

Los ejemplares romanos del CIL provienen: del Palatino, 2 ej. (reg.X), de Piazza Navona (reg.IX), del sepulcro de los *Catii*, al VI miliario de la Via Appia, y de Túsculo,

en los Montes Albanos, al Este de la ciudad.

En nuestro ejemplar se notan, bajo la inscripción, tres columnas de diverso número de improntas semiesféricas, hechas probablemente con un bastoncito a punta redondeada, un tipo de “decoración” espontánea, fruto de un capricho de uno de los mozos de taller, frecuente en los ladrillos imperiales y sin alguna significación particular, al menos en el caso presente.

N.4. 80.AD.10.1.—Fragmento, 7,5 x 13 x 2,8–3,7 cms.—Cerámica amarillo-crema muy dura, micro-pozzolánica. En el desgrasante figuran muchos granos silíceos cristalinos. —El fragmento es muy escaso, desde el punto de vista epigráfico. Se conservan 6 letras del anillo externo y apenas 3 (con restos de una cuarta) del anillo interno; no se aprecia sino un escaso borde del escudo central, falta enteramente la parte del orbículo. Entre las letras del anillo interno aparece en buena evidencia un punto triangular. El texto (fig. 2, n. 2):

... MINORV ... / ... R· AVG ...



Figura 4.

Es cuanto basta para su identificación segura. En efecto, creo que no hay duda de que se trate del ejemplar *CIL*, 773, un ladrillo imperial, datable, según Dressel, en período tardo-commodiano o severiano (años 190–210 d.C.), con orbículo de tipo commodiano (un poco más grande de cuanto es usual en tiempo de Septimio Severo), con mención de dos *Augusti* y con al centro una *Minerva galeata* con lanza, *dextrorsum*, como se ve en nuestra reconstrucción de la fig. 3, y con el texto siguiente:

·EX· PRAEDIS DOMINORVM· / NOSTROR· AVGG

Un ejemplar completo en buen estado aparece publicado en la reciente obra de la Steinby.⁴

Los ejemplares *CIL* de Roma tienen la siguiente proveniencia local: Ministerio del Tesoro (*reg. VI*), cementerio de S. Ermete (*Via Salaria Vetus*) y cementerio de S. Lorenzo (*Via Tiburtina*).

B. FISTULAE AQUARIAE

(tubos de plomo para el agua).

N. 5. 80.AI.15.1.—Fragmento de lámina de plomo, larga 14 cms. con letras de 2,5 cms por término medio de altura. Espesor de la lámina: 0,6 cms. —Proveniencia incierta (Roma?, Ostia?) (fig. 4).

El fragmento contiene 9 letras a relieve positivo (la última a derechas, parcialmente conservada), colocadas en un rebaje rectangular y con la siguiente disposición:

..... HENIVS FEÇ ...

No hay duda de que el nombre parcialmente conservado al principio sea el de un *plumbarius* u *offinator* del plomo de una de las muchas oficinas de fundición que funcionaban en Roma en época imperial. El nombre es probablemente el de un [*Part*]henius. La sigla que sigue es la familiar *FEC(it)*, que indica la firma del *plumbarius*.

Con estos datos en la mano, estamos en condición de acercarla a toda una serie de fistulas acuarias ya conocidas, recogidas en el *CIL*, en particular al n. 7631, con el siguiente texto:

T·FL·PARTHENIVS·OF·FEC

esto es: *T(itus) Fl(avius) Parthenius, off(icinator), fec(it)*.

Titus Flavius es nombre que permite atribuir al tubo una datación domicianea. En efecto, conocemos otro *offinator* de nombre *Titus Flavius Hymnus* (*CIL*, 7630), tal vez el mismo que, ya manumitido por Domiciano, aparece como libre en *CIL*, 7285a; y otro *Titus Flavius Primio* aparece en una fístula de principio del s.II (*CIL*, 7632). Nótese: en las inscripciones de las fístulas de estos dos últimos personajes encontramos la misma secuencia epigráfica que en nuestro ejemplar, en que no figura la indicación *off(icinator)*:

CIL, 7630: T·FLAVIVS·HYMNVS·FEC

CIL, 7632: T·FLAVIVS·PRIMIO·FEC

Es de suponer, por tanto, que también en nuestro ejemplar la composición epigráfica fuese idéntica:

[T·FLAVIVS·PART] HENIVS·FEÇ

La datación de esta fístula no debe ser diversa de la de las otras ya conocidas, debiendo ir a situarse en los últimos años de Domiciano o en los de Nerva y primeros de Trajano (entre el año 90 y los primeros años del s. II d.C.).

Los 2 ej. *CIL*, 7631 aparecieron (tal vez en el año 1780) en la zona “*Il Quadraro*”, entre las vías *Labicana* y *Latina*.⁵

N. 6. 80.AI.15.1.—Fragmento de tubadura de plomo de 33 cms. de longitud, plegado oblicuamente respecto a la longitud.—Diametro máximo: 6 cms; mínimo: 4 cms.—Espesor de la lamina: 0,6 cms.—Proveniencia incierta (Roma?, Ostia?). —Presenta un sello literal a relieve posi-

4. LSOst., 653.

5. G. Marini, *Inscript. doliares*, p. 508, n. 26; R. Lanciani, *Sylloge*, n. 341.

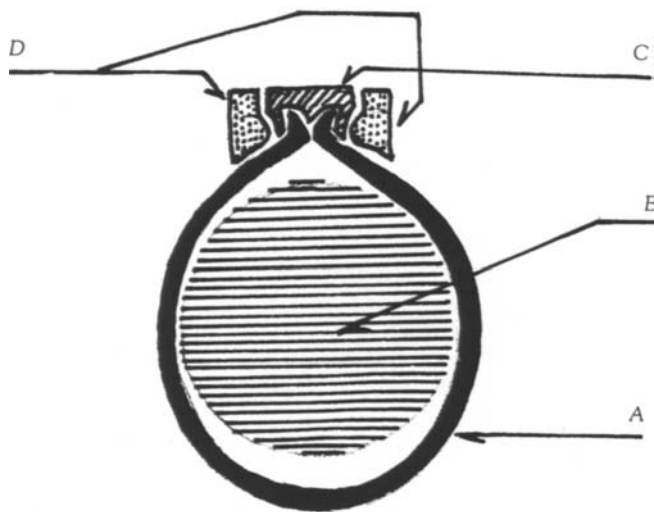


Figura 5. Sistema de soldadura tradicional de las fistulas (1) y del tubo del Museo Paul Getty (2). —A: lámina de plomo; B: ánima cilíndrica de madera para el batido de la lámina; C: cordón de soldadura.

tivo, con letras de 3 cms de altura, de las que se conservan 12 completas y una incompleta al extremo izquierdo, con tres puntos circulares intermedios.

Antes de pasar a la parte epigráfica, una palabra relativa a la técnica de soldadura del tubo.

La lámina (fig. 5,A) ha sido batida, como de ordinario, en torno a un ánima cilíndrica de madera (B). Los bordes longitudinales se unen y se repliegan ligeramente hacia el exterior. Forman, de este modo, un anclaje para la mezcla de soldadura (C), que se vierte sobre tal unión, con la ayuda de un canal provisional, formado por dos cordones de creta húmeda, aplicados a los lados. Consolidada la soldadura, estos elementos auxiliares se quitan con la ayuda de un martillo (la creta, con la alta temperatura del plomo, se consolida) o de un puntero, o de ambas cosas.

En nuestro tubo aparece particularmente evidente una serie de pequeñas lesiones superficiales, causadas precisamente por el uso un tanto violento sea del martillo que del puntero en cuestión.

Pasemos ahora a la parte epigráfica (fig. 6). El texto conservado es como sigue:

... M· COS·MET·MODES

Dado el espacio libre a la derecha de la inscripción, parece seguro que las letras del sello no tuviesen otra continuación, como, por ej., el *fec(it)* que hemos visto en la precedente, y que en este caso se entiende suplido.

6. CIL, VI, 19321.

7. CIL, 7739.

La abreviatura COS nos asegura que la M completa a izquierda pertenece al final de una datación consular, y que MET·MODES es la probable abreviatura del nombre del *officinator plumbarius*. Veamos antes este último personaje.

La abreviatura MET· aparece más normalmente en la epigrafía romana para el nombre *Metilius*, menos para *Mettius*. Ambos gentilicios son relativamente raros en Roma. Un solo *Marcus Mettius Modestus*, oscuro dedicante de una lápida funeraria a un *Herennius*, aparece en el CIL, VI, que reúne los epígrafes urbanos.⁶

Metilius, por el contrario, es nombre que recurre en las fistulas acuarias y, precisamente, en Ostia⁷ en época hadriana: se trata de tal *A(ulus) Metilius Threptio*.

El *cognomen Modestus* aparece igualmente en una fístula romana de Via Nomentana (villa dei Patrizi, excavada en 1869),⁸ en época de Trajano, y se data entre los años 98 y 102 d.C.

Nuestro personaje, probablemente un *Metilius Modestus*, puede ser, de consecuencia, poco posterior a este último y poco anterior al *Metilius Threptio* de la fístula ostiense; veamos por qué:

Delante de la sigla COS, la abreviación del nombre consular parece terminar con las letras MM·, probable final de un nombre como *Comm(modus)*. En tal caso, la datación consular puede perfectamente ser del año 106 d.C., en que figura en la bina consular con Trajano *Lucius Ceionius Commodus Verus*. Aparece probable, en consecuencia, que

8. CIL, 7304.

9. P. Gauckler, *Le sanctuaire syrien du Janicule*, Paris, 1912. Cfr. tam-

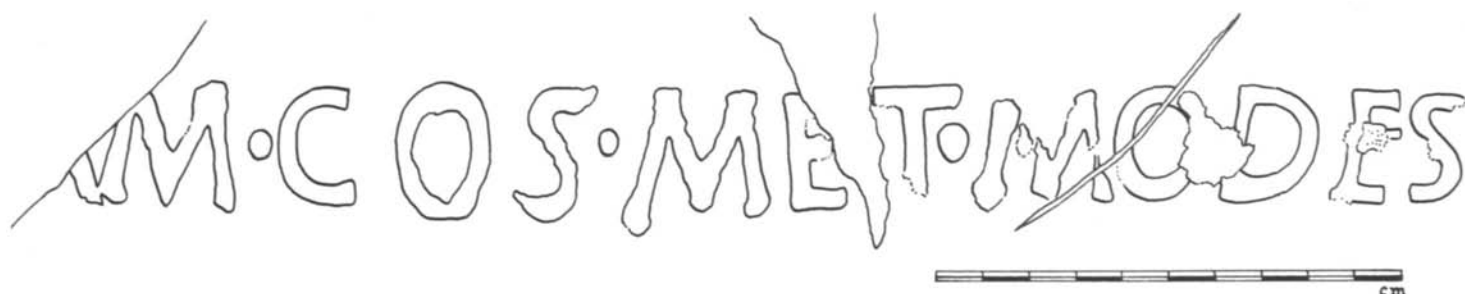


Figura 6.

nuestro *Metilius Modestus* sea el mismo personaje que, privado del familiar, vemos en la fístula di Villa dei Patrizi, u otro a él ligado por relación familiar.

Las características epigráficas apoyan la datación, con letras suficientemente regulares, nítidas de relieve, generosas de espacio y cuidadosamente puntuadas. El texto, vista la data, que debía contener los dos nombres de la bina consular, debió ser mucho más completo; la inscripción ha perdido al menos la mitad de su longitud original.

C. LAMINA DE BRONCE CON EPIGRAFE

Pasemos ahora, para terminar, a una sorprendente inscripción en lámina broncea del depósito del Museo.

N. 7. 80.AC.134.2 Donación de Mrs. Jane Cody. —Lámina de bronce, de 5,3 x 6,7 x 0,1 cms. —Letras altas 0,9 cms. por termino medio, distribuidas en cuatro líneas de longitud desigual, escritas con un cincel de corte triangular muy alargado, que con un solo toque completa cada trazo recto, mientras los trazos curvos han sido escritos mediante apoyos repetidos de la punta y con diversos golpes de martillito sobre el instrumento incisor.

Al final de la tercera línea aparece inciso con la misma técnica un signo estelar de ocho radios, perfectamente regular, cuya finalidad parece puramente decorativa.

La placa fue originalmente fijada mediante clavos del mismo metal; las perforaciones relativas se ven al centro de los entronques de las *ansae* en el cuerpo cuadrado de la placa.

El texto completo aparece compuesto en esta forma:

I O M H
SIGNI KA
PITIS*
AQVAE

Aparece evidente el intento abreviativo de la primera línea, que debe resolverse en el nombre de Júpiter Maximo

Heilopolitano (una divinidad siríaca cuyo culto aparece en Roma en buena boga a partir de los Antoninos y, sobre todo, en el periodo severiano y post-severiano), en cualquiera de las dos formas más usuales: al genitivo (*I(ovis) O(ptimi) M(aximi) H(eliopolitani)*) o al dativo (*I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) H(eliopolitano)*). Dado el texto que sigue, tal vez la primera forma sea la más apropiada.

Signi kapitae aquae es una locución aparentemente al genitivo, con valor bastante oscuro en apariencia. Para obviar a la dificultad de una redacción enteramente al genitivo puede pensarse al uso de *signi* con valor de nominativo plural (por *signa*), un error bastante común en ambientes no cultos. En tal caso, la expresión podría entenderse en esta forma (*Haec sunt*) *signa kapitae aquae Iovis Optimi Maximi Heliopolitani*.

En todo caso, es evidente que la inscripción hace referencia a una surgiente o fuente natural (*caput aquae*), no a una conducta derivada de un acueducto, y que tal fuente natural depende de un lugar de veneración de Júpiter Heliopolitano.

Esta consideración nos lleva al problema de la proveniencia material de la inscripción. La documentación del Museo Paul Getty parece conducir a Beirut, a través del intermediario de la adquisición. Yo creo más probable que la inscripción provenga de Roma, por razones topográficas y arqueológicas precisas. En efecto, varias inscripciones de divinidades siríacas y, en concreto, de Júpiter Heliopolitano, aparecen claramente en relación con el santuario siríaco del Janículo, descubierto en Via Dandolo, al borde de la Villa Sciarra, en 1906.⁹ El santuario, reconstruido varias veces, presentaba la característica particular de una serie de canalizaciones subpavimentales de una fuente natural: la fuente del *Lucus Furrinae*, de antigua memoria republicana.¹⁰

No es, por tanto, absurdo suponer que la plaquita de bronce sea una reliquia de dicho santuario, una de las varias (si *signi* está verdaderamente con valor plural) que servían a indicar el curso de la canalización. Encontrada tal vez entre la tierra vecina a las ruinas, puede haber seguido luego un curso más o menos tortuoso en

bién *Notizie Scavi*, 1909, p. 389 ss (A. Pasqui) e *Bullettino Comunale di Roma* 75 (1953-55), p. 137 ss (B.M. Felletti-Maj).

¹⁰. Para la epigrafía urbana de Júpiter O.M.H., véase *CIL*, VI, 420 (=30764), 421, 422, 423, todas de época post-severiana.



Figura 7.

el mercado anticuario hasta su actual depósito.

Desde el punto de vista puramente epigráfico no es difícil hipotetizar una datación tardo-antoniniana o severiana para esta pieza, si bien la peculiaridad del instrumento y de la técnica de incisión no pueden encontrar muchos paralelos que la apoyen.

La extrañeza ortográfica *kapitis* (por *capitis*) es similar a la de los varios *kastra* (por *castra*) y otros ejemplos, que se multiplican sobre todo en la epigrafía del s.III ya a partir de Caracalla.

Rome

Conservation Report on the Mummy Portrait of Isidora

Andrea Rothe

The mummy *Portrait of a Lady* recently acquired by the J. Paul Getty Museum is an unusually well preserved work of art. The thin wood veneer on which it is painted, measuring no more than two millimeters at the thickest, shows not the slightest deformation, except for a slight dent in the upper part above the golden laurel wreath. This superb preservation is due mainly to the fact that the cartonnage was left intact around the painting, with seven irregular layers of linen behind the panel, part of the mummy shroud that acted as an ideal buffer against erratic climatic conditions. Two rigid layers, pasted together with a resinous substance soluble in acetone, are in direct contact with the back of the panel. The preservation of the cartonnage is another exceptional feature of this object, and one has only to compare the other bare Fayum portraits in the Getty Museum and elsewhere to understand how they have suffered without this protection.

The encaustic paint film, which is in almost a perfect state of preservation, was badly defaced by a dark brown layer of oily bituminous or resinous origin. This layer in some parts attained the consistency of a thick crust, creating tensions that caused bits of the paint film to chip off (especially in the hair). Due to the nature of the medium, which is predominantly wax, no solvent usually used in the cleaning of paintings, such as acetone, xylene, or even turpentine, could be applied. The only "safe" solvent was

water, which initially did not affect the dirt layer. Only after carefully applying a poultice of carboxy methyl cellulose and distilled water, and leaving it on the surface for up to four hours, did the dirt layer soften enough to be removed. This was accomplished with a solution of distilled water and a few drops of ammonia hydroxide and acetone applied with a soft sable brush and worked under the microscope. No scalpels could be used on the surface, as the paint film has become extremely brittle with age. After cleaning, all the refined modeling of the cheeks, chin, and neck came to full evidence and revealed a condition of preservation that had changed very little since the panel was painted. This is even more amazing when it is considered that oil paintings have undergone drastic changes in less than two hundred years, not to mention the changes that have already occurred to contemporary works of art. The excellent condition is due to the stability of wax as a medium, called encaustic, which still today can be melted at about 80° centigrade, as 1800 years ago, and which has such a slight discoloration as to be considered imperceptible, much in contrast to mediums like linseed and other oils that darken considerably with time and form various patterns of crackle that by themselves discolor the paint film. To reinforce the fibres of the cartonnage, a very diluted solution of AC33, an acrylic resin emulsion, was used.

POSTSCRIPT

The portrait of Isidora (her inscribed name on the cartonnage read by Jean-Yves Empereur) belongs among the very best surviving mummy portraits. A masterful handling of the spatula and delicate use of the colors and highlights results in an outstanding artistic touch. The

same hand can be traced in a poorly preserved portrait of a youth in the Cairo Museum (fig. 3; K. Parlasca, *Reperitorio d'arte dell'Egitto-greco-romano. Ritratti di Mummie*. I (1969) no. 59, p. 42, pl. 15,5). See also D. L. Thompson, *Mummy Portraits in the J. Paul Getty Museum* (1982) no. 1, color pl.

—J. F.



Figure 1. Portrait of Isidora, in the process of conservation. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum (81.A1.42).

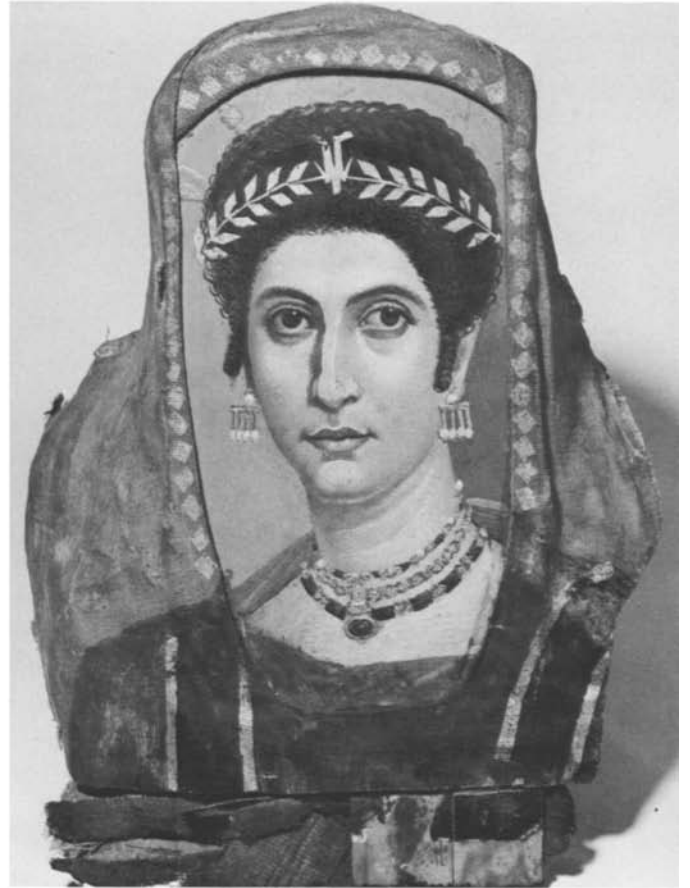


Figure 2. Portrait of Isidora, after cleaning. (See also cover.)



Figure 3. Portrait of a youth. Cairo Museum (C.G. 33232).

Postscriptum (p. 73)

Since going to press, Roland de L'Espée has found the following entry in the sale catalogue of M. Godefroy, 15 November, 1785:

238 bis: *Deux Encoignures très-riches, en forme de gaine à fond d'ébène, ornés de guirlandes, rosasses & frises de bronze doré; le reste du devant est en plaquage de palissandre. Elles sont couvertes de leur marbre blanc, de 2 pouces d'épaisseur. Hauteur totale 4 pieds, largeur 2 pieds 3 pouces.*

They sold for 498 livres. The buyer's name is poorly written in the margin of the sale catalogue, but it could be read as "Harcourt." It is almost certain that these corner cupboards are the examples now in the museum. The only

discrepancy is in the width given—but inaccurate measurements frequently appear in eighteenth century documents and inventories.

Gillian Wilson

Postscriptum (p. 91)

Since writing this article, the author has discovered that the scene painted on the brown jeweled cup and saucer (81.DE.28) was repeated on more pieces at the Sèvres factory. In the collection of the Duke of Buccleuch at Boughton House there is a pair of *vases chinois*, one of which is painted with a scene of the Homage to Love that is obviously taken from the same engraving.

Adrian Sassoon

