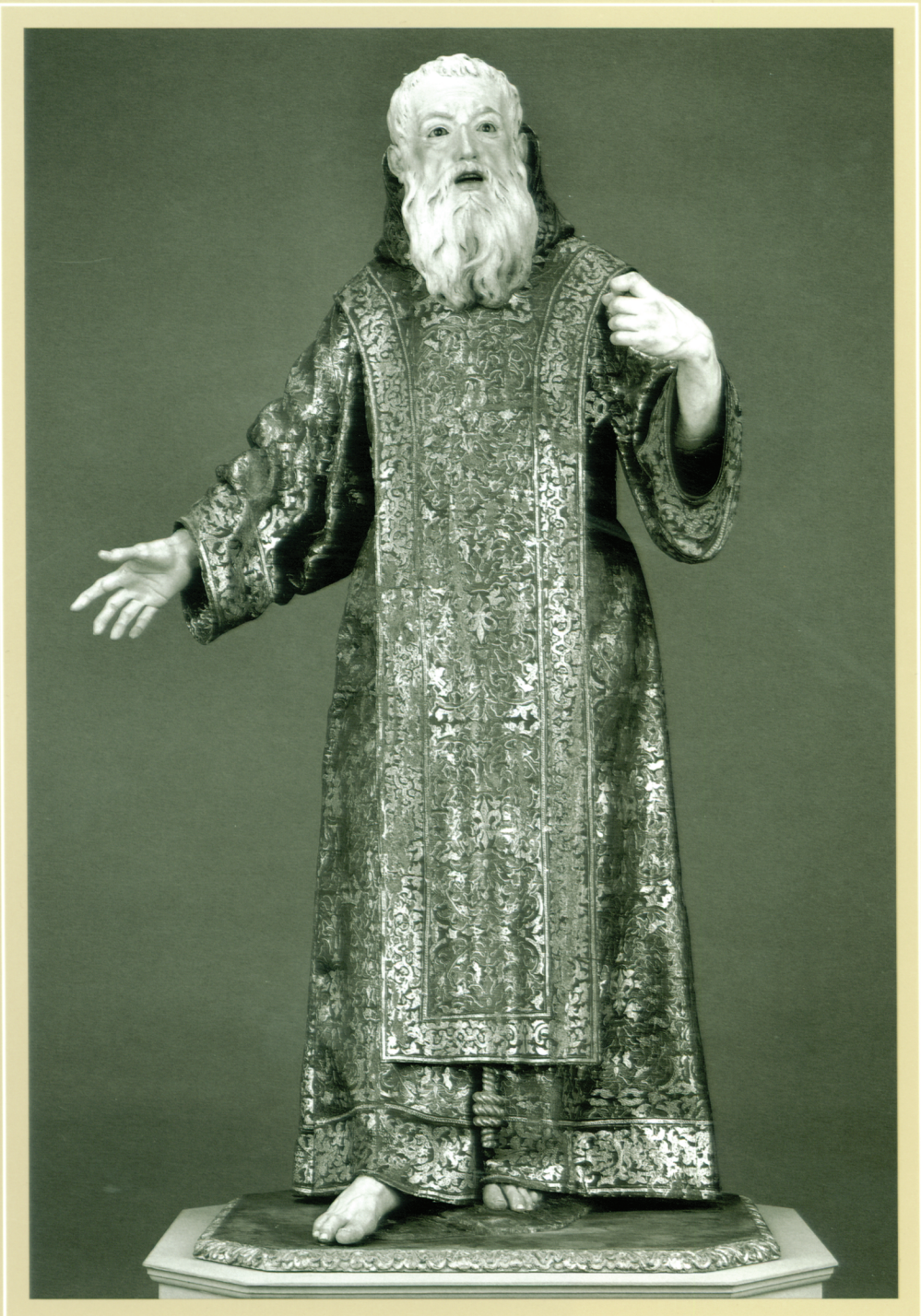
The J. Paul Getty Museum

JOURNAL Volume 24/1996



The J. Paul Getty Museum

JOURNAL Volume 24/1996

Including Acquisitions/1995

The J. Paul Getty Museum Journal is published annually. Manuscripts should be submitted no later than October 1 for consideration for the next year's issue.

For more information about the *Journal*, contact the editor, *The J. Paul Getty Museum Journal*, 1200 Getty Center Drive, Suite 1000, Los Angeles, California 90049-1687. Subscriptions and back-issue requests should be sent to the J. Paul Getty Museum Distribution Center, P.O. Box 49659, Los Angeles, California, 90049-0659.

Articles that fall within the scope of the *Bibliography of the History of Art* (Western art from the fourth century to the present) are abstracted and indexed in the *BHA*.

The paper and binding in this book meet the guidelines for permanence and durability of the Committee on Production Guidelines for Book Longevity of the Council on Library Resources.

Abbreviation: *GettyMusJ*

Unless otherwise specified, all photographs are courtesy of the institution owning the work illustrated.

1200 Getty Center Drive
Suite 1000
Los Angeles, California 90049-1687
(310) 440-7330

ISBN 0-89236-397-5
ISSN 0362-1979

Contents

THE
J. PAUL GETTY MUSEUM
JOURNAL

VOLUME 24
1996

This page intentionally left blank

Introduction: The Collections and the Year's Activities

The most-used word at the Getty Museum in 1995, as it was in 1994, was *transition*: transition to an entirely new museum, transition to a new role for the present museum (still a mere twenty years old). All of us have experienced alternating rushes of excitement and anxiety as we make decisions that are shaping the new museum—and as we remember the many tasks yet to be finished. These emotions have quickened as construction progresses at the Getty Center. Over the course of the year, the buildings—which will house the new museum and unite the other programs of the J. Paul Getty Trust in one location—metamorphosed from steel skeletons to buildings with a solid presence. The museum was gradually clad with the warm tan Italian travertine that gives the buildings a noble solidity and beautifully suits the surrounding landscape of the Santa Monica Mountains. The galleries took shape before our eyes: one entire paintings gallery was rushed to completion and served as a full-size testing lab for wood and travertine floors, wall fabrics, plaster, and lighting. Framed reproductions of paintings and casts of sculptures substituted for the real things. It was stirring to stand in a room that for years had only existed in drawings and models and to discover it was well on its way to becoming what we hoped for, a well-proportioned, sympathetic setting for works of art in beautiful daylight. The experience gave us a promising taste of the future.

We live in the present, however, and have a museum to operate six days a week and a public to serve. There were some small compromises in 1995—a slight decrease in certain activities such as concerts and special events—in order to give the staff time for the work involved with the transition. An amazing number of activities were undertaken nonetheless. We made some genuinely spectacular acquisitions, as well as many important smaller purchases that add breadth and vitality to the collections. As always, our keenest pleasures came from putting these on public view. More than a dozen exhibitions in the drawings, manuscripts, and photographs galleries displayed works from the collection in interesting groupings, as well as important borrowed works (more on this later). The fullness of the menu of interpretive programs intended for the new museum, and the ambitiousness of our plan to expand the constituencies we serve, led to a major reorganization of the Education Department during 1995. Among other events of the year, we also co-organized three symposia and published fourteen books.

THE COLLECTIONS

The Department of Antiquities made only one major purchase during 1995, but it became one of the most impressive objects in the collection: a large Roman sarcophagus produced in a workshop in Attica during the late second or early third century A.D. Its deeply carved reliefs, which represent episodes in the life of Achilles, are executed in a powerfully expressive style that is characteristic of Roman imperial sculpture produced in Greece.

The Department of Decorative Arts acquired a pair of especially fine hardstone vases that will adorn a mantel in the suite of fourteen galleries now being built at the Getty Center. Made of rich green granite, the vases are carved with deep fluting that has been given a witty twist, creating the illusion that they are being turned.

As in the previous year, the Department of Drawings made many important purchases in 1995, including various old master drawings; let me simply mention a group of nineteenth-century acquisitions. The most momentous is a large album of pencil sketches by Degas, the most renowned of the thirty-eight sur-

viving albums by the artist. Compiled by Degas in 1877 of the sketches he made at the home of playwright Ludovic Halévy, the album contains many drawings that commemorate events at Halévy's regular Thursday-night gatherings of writers and artists. It was made during one of the most fertile moments in the artist's mature career and touches on the manifold themes of Degas's production during the late 1870s. The department also acquired a youthful *Self-Portrait* made by Degas during a sojourn in Italy, one of the most beautiful of the extensive series of self-portraits he made during the 1850s and 1860s.

Another nineteenth-century French sketchbook, this one by Géricault, was bought in 1995. Much smaller than the Degas album, it is one of only six sketchbooks by Géricault that remain intact or in substantial fragments. Its twenty-eight pages contain drawings of subjects that inspired him throughout his career, horses and wild animals in particular. There are several drawings related to Géricault's paintings, including studies for the *Charging Chasseur* and the *Wounded Cuirassier* (both in the Louvre) and *Two Lions* (after Rubens).

Two French Neoclassical drawings were added to the collection this year. David's *Portrait of André-Antoine Bernard, Called Bernard des Saintes* and Ingres's *The Duke of Alba Receiving the Pope's Blessing in the Cathedral of Saint Gudule, Brussels*. David made the drawing of Bernard while in prison with the sitter: both had been members of the Committee of Public Safety during the Revolution. It is our first portrait by David and a masterpiece of intensity and economy of means. The Ingres is a finished preparatory study for his elaborate historical reconstruction *The Duke of Alba at Saint Gudule* (Musée Ingres, Montauban) and is one of the finest of his finished drawings of historical themes.

One other acquisition needs mentioning, Turner's *Conway Castle, North Wales*. This large watercolor of around 1800, probably made on commission following Turner's 1798 tour of Wales, shows the castle from a low vantage point, towering over a stormy bay as fishermen struggle to pull their boats to shore. Turner revolutionized watercolor painting in these years by introducing a mood of heightened drama and an intimation of universality to what had been a prosaic tradition of depicting specific places.

Acquisitions by the Department of Manuscripts were few during 1995, but they include a wonderful cutting representing *The Annunciation to the Shepherds* and attributed to the Master of Mary of Burgundy. It was painted for a book of hours produced in Ghent between 1475 and 1485. This exceptionally beautiful nocturne brings to book illumination the naturalism and luminous colors of Flemish panel painting of the era of Jan van Eyck and Hugo van der Goes. Another noteworthy purchase is a monumental Spanish choir-book leaf, measuring more than three feet tall, from the early sixteenth century. Its lovely initial of the Virgin and Child, in a Flemish style, alludes to the miraculous story of a gentleman from Cologne whom the Virgin saved from a robber.

It was an exceptional year for acquisitions in the Department of Paintings—a year when we bought two pictures by Rembrandt, a major work of the Italian High Renaissance, a mature Monet landscape, and a rare Géricault oil sketch, to mention the highlights.

The year began with the purchase of two Rembrandts of the early 1630s, *The Abduction of Europa* and *Daniel and Cyrus Before the Idol Bel*. Rembrandt's painting technique during this youthful period is remarkably brilliant, and his talent for putting across the emotions of characters in history paintings makes him a lively storyteller. This, and his vivid portraits, was the basis of his precocious reputation in the cosmopolitan center of Amsterdam. Both works are great examples of his power. The *Europa* of 1632 shows a mythological narrative set in a moody landscape, marking the moment when Rembrandt began to turn his attention to the expressive possibilities of landscape painting. The *Daniel* of 1633 reveals more of Rembrandt's masterful ability to use facial expression and body language to tell his story, in this case, the moment when Daniel reveals the falsity of the Babylonian religious cult to King Cyrus. The setting creates an appropriately mysterious mood. The subtlety of both pictures is increased by their excellent condition; the *Europa* in particular, after the removal of yellowed varnish by our conservators, sparkles with jewel-like reds and blues.

Another rarity entered the collection this year, a depiction of the Holy Family with the infant Saint John by a major master of the High Renaissance in central Italy. Giulio Romano's *Holy Family* of about 1520–1523 is a work from the artist's early maturity and displays his synthesis of the styles of Michelangelo and Raphael, the giants of the High Renaissance in Rome.

From the fall of 1890 through the summer of 1891, Claude Monet painted thirty paintings of wheatstacks in a field just below the walls of his garden at Giverny. These were the first of his series paintings. We were able to purchase one of the most successful of these compositions, *Meules, effet de neige, le matin* (*Wheatstacks, Snow Effect, Morning*), a brilliant summation of

Monet's analysis of colored light. (Although snow is depicted, there is hardly a touch of white anywhere.) Because the canvas has never been lined, the sharpness and expressive force of the brushstrokes are undiminished.

Géricault's *Three Lovers*, a small finished oil sketch from about 1817–1820, represents a partially nude couple making love while a reclining nude woman watches them from the end of a long couch. Géricault's direct treatment of the theme, without moralizing or storytelling justification, is unprecedented in French painting. Until a few years ago, this work was known only from a reference by Géricault's earliest biographer, Charles Clément. With the addition of this work and the Géricault sketchbook mentioned previously, the Getty Museum has the most important collection of this rare and important artist's work in North America.

The Department of Photographs acquired almost too many works during 1995 for individual mention here. Easily the most spectacular acquisition was a group of 124 photographs by Walker Evans. The Getty Museum already owned 1,192 Evans prints, the largest single museum holding of the artist's work. The new pictures were especially welcome and well suited to our collection: our strongest examples dated from the later 1920s through the 1940s, while the majority of the newly acquired works date to the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s, and have not been seen in public. The range of subjects is wide, including still lifes, landscapes, architectural studies, anonymous street portraits, and snapshots of the artist's wives.

The department also added to its major holding of work by Julia Margaret Cameron with the purchase of five albumen photographs dating from 1865 to 1874. Three are portraits, including one of her patron, Lord Overstone. The group also includes two narrative studies with titles like those of Victorian genre paintings: *Go Not Yet, Fisherman's Farewell* and *This Is My House, This My Little Wife*.

The department acquired a marvelous and rare photomontage portrait of Kurt Schwitters by El Lissitzky, dating to 1924–1925. The best surviving example of Lissitzky's interest in Constructivist and Dadaist precepts, it was created by combining one negative showing a poster with the title of Schwitters's magazine *Merz* (*Trash*) with a second image of Schwitters himself. No public museum holds Lissitzky's photos in great numbers; this photograph joins our four Lissitzky prints in the collection dating from 1924 to 1926, as well as work by other painter-photographers (a specialty of the Getty Museum), such as Edgar Degas, Man Ray, László Moholy-Nagy, Alexander Rodchenko, Thomas Eakins, Charles Sheeler, Theodore Roszak, Ralston Crawford, and Yasuo Kuniyoshi. It also complements an important archive of letters and installation photographs acquired by the Getty Research Institute for the History of Art and the Humanities in 1995.

The collection of the Department of Sculpture and Works of Art continued its steady growth. The increase in gallery space at the new museum will be a particular benefit for this department, whose works are currently squeezed into found space or paintings galleries or else remain in storage.

The most important work acquired was a large bronze *Mercury* by the Late Renaissance sculptor Johan Gregor van der Schardt. Thought to have been produced while Van der Schardt was working in Nuremberg in the 1570s, the composition is based on antique prototypes, filtered through Italian and Northern European sensibilities. Large bronzes of this period are extremely rare; this becomes the Museum's best sixteenth-century bronze and probably the finest Northern European bronze of the period in any American museum.

The Getty's *Mercury* will now be kept company by a late eighteenth-century half-brother, a marble of *Apollo* by Antonio Canova. This was a pivotal work for the greatest master of Neoclassical sculpture; it was Canova's first fully classicizing marble and the first male nude in which his conception of ideal heroic beauty was established.

Our small group of objects associated with the reign of Francis I of France, which include a recently acquired pair of firedogs from Fontainebleau and a bronze *Satyr* by Cellini, grew by the addition of a ceramic bust by Girolamo della Robbia, one of a series made for a château in the south of France built from 1526 to 1535. This handsome man in armor was probably intended to represent a Roman or Gallic hero and was once set into a wreathed medallion on one of the walls of the courtyard. A subtle white glaze produces a fair illusion of the appearance of ancient marbles.

The most noteworthy piece of furniture acquired by the department is a marquetry table by Canova's contemporary, the most renowned Italian furniture maker of his day, Giuseppe Maggiolini. This is one of a dozen-odd pieces accepted as the work of Maggiolini and the only one in an American museum. The marquetry tabletop has an ingenious fictive architectural drawing of a building façade, flanked on either side by a trophy cluster of architectural tools.

THE YEAR'S ACTIVITIES

I wrote at the beginning of "transition," and the reader may wonder what that actually means. To give an idea of the work that occupied much of the staff's time in 1995, let me introduce the Master Transition Plan, the Museum's marching orders. It documents every transitional activity in every department through mid-1998. It would take an entire issue of the *Journal* to describe the activities covered by the plan, but a list of categories gives an idea:

- Design of gallery interiors
- Conservation and treatment of the collections, particularly works that have not been on display recently and paneling that comes from the eighteenth-century rooms
- Design and manufacture of new mounts and display furniture (pedestals, display cases, etc.) for the galleries
- Development of new educational and interpretive programs and materials, including orientation theaters, information centers, a family resource center, a multimedia interactive education system, and an audioguide
- Increased audience-development efforts and more community advice about program planning
- Research and writing of more than sixty new publications to appear in 1996 and 1997
- Designing, stocking, and staffing a greatly enlarged bookstore
- Planning of eight opening exhibitions, including a major show of antiquities
- Design of signs, labels, and printed materials for all the galleries and public areas
- Improvement of visitor services, with addition of meeter-greeters, information-desk staff, and others, for an expected threefold increase in the number of visitors
- Communication with staff members to ensure coordination of activities and to make their transition easier
- Movement of the art collections, specialized equipment, and staff
- Installation of the permanent collections in forty-seven galleries and eight temporary exhibition galleries
- Integration of our activities with the other programs of the J. Paul Getty Trust

This list mostly describes the transition to our new location and thus tells only part of the story. Another project has been developing simultaneously. The Museum site in Malibu will be transformed between 1997 and 2001 into a branch museum for our antiquities collection, as well as a center for research in comparative archaeology operated by the Research Institute and a program for training in archaeological conservation and site management operated by the Getty Conservation Institute. We envision lively educational activities and performances of ancient drama. The Getty Villa (as it is to be called, to distinguish it from the Getty Center) was being actively worked on throughout 1995. A master plan developed under the guidance of Marion True, the Museum's Curator of Antiquities and newly appointed Assistant Director for Villa Planning, was approved by the Trustees in September. Schematic design was proceeding in collaboration with the architects, Machado and Silvetti of Boston, with the Los Angeles firm of Langdon Wilson serving as associate architects.

Heady as the future appears, looking back at the Museum's usual activities in 1995 gives a different kind of satisfaction. The year was filled with exhibitions, symposia, education programs, conservation activities, and publications that gave little hint to visitors that anything out of the ordinary was going on.

The Department of Drawings fit five exhibitions into its gallery during 1995. The first, *Michelangelo's "The Holy Family with the Infant Saint John the Baptist" Seen in Context*, was focused on this heavily worked compositional study acquired during 1994, our first drawing by Michelangelo. It included a display of books, photographs, and sale catalogues documenting the drawing in the context of the artist's work and detailing its provenance. *Drapery and Costume in European Drawings of the Fifteenth through the Eighteenth Century* used twenty-five works, including drawings by Rembrandt, Rubens, Raphael, and Tiepolo, to illustrate how artists have used drawings to study drapery, which has the capacity of conveying different feelings, ideas,

moods, and even social status. *Drawn Toward Nature: Landscape and Gardens in Ancien Régime France* explored the portrayal and experience of nature in pre-Revolutionary France through drawings and prints by artists such as Claude Lorrain, François Boucher, Jean-Honoré Fragonard, and Jacques Callot. *Flemish Drawings of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* surveyed the rich, sensual manner of drawing that emerged in Flanders in the work of some of the great masters of the Flemish Golden Age, including Peter Paul Rubens, Anthony van Dyck, and Jacob Jordaens. The year ended with an exhibition devoted to *Jonathan Richardson Senior as a Collector of Drawings*, consisting of drawings from the eighteenth-century artist's collection and works he sold to wealthy patrons.

The Department of Manuscripts presented four exhibitions, starting the year with *Illuminated Secular Manuscripts*, an exhibition of twenty manuscripts of great variety, including some of the most popular romances and historical chronicles of the Middle Ages, instruction manuals on chess strategy and jousting techniques, and books about animal lore and fables, as well as legal and philosophical texts. *Illuminated Choir Books of the Middle Ages and Renaissance* was centered on the Museum's five imposing manuscript choir books (though it included other liturgical manuscripts that contain music and various leaves and cuttings). The exhibition explored the nature of choir books, their illumination, and the singers who used them. *Devotion and Desire: Views of Women in the Middle Ages and Renaissance* surveyed the representation of women in religious and secular manuscripts from the eighth to the sixteenth centuries, as well as the role women played as patrons of manuscript production in the later Middle Ages. The year ended with a small but ambitious loan exhibition, *Book Arts of Isfahan: Diversity and Identity in Seventeenth-Century Persia*, which examined the cultural and artistic diversity of Isfahan, the capital of Savafid Persia from 1597 to 1722, as displayed in the book arts. Armenian manuscripts produced in Isfahan were shown with Armenian printed books illustrated in a European Baroque style, Judeo-Persian illustrations in a conservative Persian style, and paintings in the elegant court style of seventeenth-century Persia. The Museum's holdings of Armenian manuscripts were complemented by generous loans from the Los Angeles County Museum of Art, the Art and History Trust, the San Diego Museum of Art, the UCLA Department of Special Collections, the Jewish Museum in New York, and the Library of the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York. The show was a vivid illustration of how coexisting cultures could express in art their own identities and, sometimes, express attitudes toward strangers in their midst. The exhibition was accompanied by a publication, a lecture series organized by the Manuscripts Department, family festivals organized by the Education Department, and a related symposium held by the Research Institute, the Museum, and the Gustav E. Grunebaum Center for Near Eastern Studies at UCLA.

The Department of Photographs began the year with *Hidden Witness: African Americans in Early Photography*. This exhibition of sixty-eight works loaned by Jackie Napolean Wilson, a pioneer collector in Detroit, and other works drawn from the Getty's collection, provided a vivid photographic record of a people passing from the era of slavery through emancipation and into the early years of freedom. In the adjacent Interactive Gallery, *Carrie Mae Weems Reacts to "Hidden Witness"* offered visitors a response by a contemporary artist; her installation explored stereotypes in the representation of African Americans in photography and invited reactions by viewers using the *Hidden Witness* exhibition as a touchstone. *Vision in Motion: The Photographs of László Moholy-Nagy* celebrated the centennial of the birth of this endlessly versatile photographer with an exhibition of approximately forty photograms, early camera studies, and photographs of collages (*Fotoplastiks*) drawn primarily from the Museum's holdings. *Alfred Stieglitz: Seen and Unseen* showed the personal side of Stieglitz's art and its relation to his more famous and public works. The exhibition included more than a dozen images recently acquired from the estate of Georgia O'Keeffe, Stieglitz's wife. The Department of Photographs also made possible an exhibition at the Armand Hammer Museum of Art and Cultural Center at UCLA entitled *Arrows of Time: Photographs from the J. Paul Getty Museum*, an exhibition of the history of photography from the 1830s through the 1960s using 175 photographs from our collection. It was the first chance anyone has had to see a large selection of the Getty's best works; it was as thrilling for the Getty staff as for the visitors.

An accident inspired the last exhibition I will mention. Paris Bordone's *Two Chess Players*, a painting once owned by the great collector Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel (1585–1646), was here on loan from the Gemäldegalerie in Berlin for treatment by our paintings conservators. As it happens, we have other works from the Arundel collection, including a Van Dyck portrait of Howard, an *Allegory of Passion* attributed to Holbein, and various drawings; moreover, the Research Institute

holds a number of books that Howard, an avid bibliophile, is known to have owned. These coincidences inspired *The Earl and Countess of Arundel: Renaissance Collectors*, an exhibition of sixty paintings, drawings, prints, and rare books that originally belonged to the earl and his wife, the Countess Aletheia. Their holdings constituted one of the most important early collections of Renaissance art and rivaled those of their contemporary, Charles I. The show explored the sensibility and influence of the Arundels as tastemakers and was accompanied by a three-day symposium, a public lecture series, and an exhibition in the Interactive Gallery exploring the art of collecting for visitors of all ages.

The Museum was a co-organizer for three international symposia during the year.

In May, *The Mediterranean Conference on the Management of Archaeological Sites*, organized by the Getty Conservation Institute and the Museum, brought together representatives of the nineteen countries that border the Mediterranean Sea to consider the issues of site preservation and management. Held aboard a ship, the conference began in Tunisia, then sailed to visit sites in Italy (Piazza Armerina), Greece (Knossos), and Turkey (Ephesos). The meeting concluded in Athens with a plenary session that produced a list of recommendations for the government agencies in the participating countries.

The Department of Paintings Conservation, again in collaboration with the Conservation Institute, sponsored a four-day symposium in April on *The Structural Conservation of Panel Paintings*. Some two hundred conservators, conservation scientists, and curators from Europe and North America came together to discuss historical, scientific, and technical aspects of the structural conservation of painted panels. This was one of a series of international symposia we have presented in the past few years on technical issues in the examination and conservation of works of art and antiquity.

New Perspectives on the Earl and Countess of Arundel: Collecting in the Stuart Court in September complemented the exhibition *The Earl and Countess of Arundel: Renaissance Collectors*. Co-organized with the Research Institute, the symposium broke new ground in this understudied area of cultural history. The papers delivered, as well as texts written by Paintings Department staff, were published in the August issue of *Apollo*.

One other scholarly event deserves special mention. In May, the Museum played host to a week-long meeting of the committees of the *Lexicon Iconigraphicum Mythologicae Classicae*, an international group of seventy scholars. The meeting celebrated the approaching completion of the eighth and last volume of a series of books that is one of the great scholarly undertakings of this century. Though not a Getty publication, the *Lexicon* had received its primary financial support from the Getty Trust.

In an effort to make the Museum even more accessible through interpretive programing for a broader range of visitors, the Education Department began a major reorganization and expansion in 1995. Sharpening its focus on the specialized needs of different audiences, the department now has a division devoted to students, teachers, and families, and another for adult and community audiences. A third division coordinates the development of the educational resources—including print, computer and video technology, and physical spaces—necessary to serve each audience. The department made much progress in reassessing current activities and creating new programs for the Museum at the Getty Center. Programs there will include information centers where visitors can get questions answered or make their own discoveries with hands-on materials; a specialized center for families; an audioguide to the permanent collection; increased community collaborations; and a wider mix of gallery talks and concerts. A new multimedia interactive system called VIEW is designed to provide visitors with easy access to a broad range of information about the collections. It was in development throughout the year.

The Getty Museum continues to be a valuable educational resource for Los Angeles. There was an extensive array of programs during 1995 for our general visitors, as well as for students, teachers, family audiences, and community-based organizations. One highlight was a program of Isfahan Family Festivals produced in connection with the *Book Arts of Isfahan* exhibition. These festivals celebrated the cultures that met and thrived in seventeenth-century Isfahan, with performances of Armenian and Persian dance and music; Armenian, Persian, and Jewish storytelling; calligraphy demonstrations; and art workshops. The four festivals were extremely popular, attracting over eight thousand people, including members of the local Persian and Armenian communities, many of whom had never before been to the Getty Museum.

School groups came to the Museum in large numbers, attracted as always by the collection and our reputation for teaching. Our relationship with USC's

Neighborhood Academic Initiative, an inner-city educational program, continued with USC-NAI Family Days. With a family-history theme inspired by the *Hidden Witness* and *Carrie Mae Weems* exhibitions, 450 teenagers and their families participated this year, almost double the number in 1994. Because of their extensive involvement with the Museum, these students have become confident talking about the works of art.

The Education Department administered the third summer program of Getty Undergraduate Internships for Diversity in the Arts and Humanities. Fifteen interns just out of their sophomore, junior, or senior year of college took jobs in the Getty Trust's various organizations in order to become more familiar with career possibilities in the arts. Several students in the program have since taken full-time positions at the Museum and other Getty programs.

The conservation departments continued to treat works in our collection and notable pieces from other institutions, and, of course a parade of new acquisitions. Of particular note was the very large pastel portrait of Gabriel Bernard de Rieux by Maurice-Quentin de la Tour acquired during 1994. Delicate cleaning was necessary before the pastel was placed in a specially constructed glass-and-metal case that was then inserted into the original frame. The entire construction—pastel, case, and frame—weighs about seven hundred pounds, and hanging it was a remarkable spectacle choreographed and performed by our conservators and preparators.

Our paintings conservators treated new purchases, such as the Rembrandt *Abduction of Europa*, a number of pictures we have not displayed recently for lack of space, and a few important works from other museums, such as the Paris Bordone *Two Chess Players* from Berlin.

The Department of Decorative Arts and Sculpture Conservation had the new Van der Schardt *Mercury* in the galleries by late August. Before this, it was subjected to a detailed technical analysis as part of our Renaissance Bronze Project, a long-standing collaboration with the Conservation Institute to create a consistent methodology for the technical examination of bronzes, including the details of the casting techniques, X-radiography, geological analysis of the core materials, and metallographic analysis of the alloy, as well as detailed observations about chasing, finishing, and patination. The department has also been researching the history, original installation, and successive treatments of four paneled rooms in preparation for their installation at the Getty Center. The Régence and Rococo paneled rooms were removed from the Villa for treatment at the end of 1994: the first step of the physical move of the collection to the new museum.

Antiquities Conservation has been involved in planning for the future of conservation at the Villa, treating objects in our collection and in others, and undertaking research on a variety of analytic and treatment methods. Jerry Podany, head of the department, traveled to Kobe, Japan, in the aftermath of the devastating earthquake there, sharing his considerable expertise on seismic mitigation with a committee of conservators and curators organized by the National Museum of Western Art in Tokyo.

The output of Getty Museum publications has increased greatly in the last couple of years and will continue at a rapid pace through the opening of the Getty Center. These publications play an indispensable role in making our growing collections better known, both to scholars and general audiences, and in making available to an American readership foreign books that illuminate our collections and help us carry out our educational mission. In total, fourteen publications appeared in 1995. Four were collection catalogues: *Museo J. Paul Getty: Guía de las colecciones* (a Spanish edition of our basic handbook to the collection), *The J. Paul Getty Museum Handbook of the Photographs Collection*, *Masterpieces of Painting in the J. Paul Getty Museum* (third edition), and *Walker Evans: The Getty Museum Collection*. The first three were created for a general audience, to provide more information on the collection than can be accommodated in the galleries. The *Walker Evans* book is a catalogue of our extensive holdings and has already become part of the standard bibliography on this artist.

Additional titles in two popular series were published. *Joachim Wtewael: "Mars and Venus Surprised by Vulcan"* and *Edgar Degas: "Waiting"* joined our Getty Museum Studies on Art monographs on outstanding works in the collection. We also produced two additions to our acclaimed In Focus series of monographs on photographers well represented in our collection: *László Moholy-Nagy* and *Alfred Stieglitz*.

Book Arts of Isfahan: Diversity and Identity in Seventeenth-Century Persia accompanied the exhibition of the same title. Not strictly a catalogue of the exhibition, it is a parallel exploration of the vibrant artistic legacy of the capital of the Savafid Empire.

We published two books not directly related to the collections that help to provide a context for them.

Bernard Ashmole: An Autobiography recounts the life of the distinguished Keeper of Antiquities at the British Museum, who, in his later years, advised J. Paul Getty on his acquisitions of classical antiquities. *Aldus Manutius: Printer and Publisher of Renaissance Venice*, a co-publication of the British Library, introduces the "prince of printers" and his project of making texts of Greek antiquity available to the scholarly public of Renaissance Europe.

The Museum began its first major foray in the world of books for children and young adults. *If . . .* by Los Angeles artist Sarah Perry was the first of several planned co-publications with the Children's Library Press of Venice, California. It has been successful beyond our hopes. *The Town of Hercules: A Buried Treasure Trove*, written for young adults, tells of the rediscovery of Herculaneum in 1709 and its painstaking excavation in the early twentieth century. We also produced volume 23 of our annual *Journal*.

In July, we held a third annual anniversary celebration to honor employees who have served the Museum for more than ten years. On that occasion we honored Burton Fredericksen—Senior Curator for Research, former Curator of Paintings, and, since 1984, head of the Provenance Index of the Getty Information Institute—for a remarkable thirty years of service to the Getty Museum and the Getty Trust. For all of us, who are naturally anxious about the challenges to come, this example of steadfast commitment is especially valuable. The staff's performance in 1995 convinces me that their devotion and good humor are going to survive the stresses of the coming years.

John Walsh
Director

A Campanian Gorgon Antefix

Birgitta Lindros Wohl

The holdings of the J. Paul Getty Museum include several Etruscan and South Italian architectural terra-cottas, especially antefixes.[1] The antefix represented here belongs, however, to a well-known Campanian type, with interesting links to Etruria (fig. 1).[2]

Greek Background and Campanian Character

The Greek cultural inheritance looms large in ancient Italy, where the colonies in Sicily and South Italy provided powerful models for artistic beginnings since the time of their foundations in the eighth century B.C. One of the most enthusiastically adopted images was the Gorgon, which started a triumphal march on the new continent, especially in architectural terra-cotta decoration.[3] A new roofing system introduced by Campania strongly encouraged the proliferation of this terra-cotta production.[4]

Werner Johannowsky argues that the foundation of Elea by Ionian Phocaeans in 540–535 B.C. was a decisive factor in the development of Campanian products, changing the prior Laconian influence to a richer Ionian.[5] Other nearby Greek colonies must, however, also be taken into account in this process, such as Pithecussai and Cumae, much earlier colonies of mainland Greece.[6] Their influence on Central Italic foundations mingled with expanding Etruria as catalysts for new evolutions.[7]

The penetration of Greek ideas and artisans into Central Italy has been made increasingly evident from a growing collection of artifact discoveries. What still remains elusive, however, are the precise channels through which they were funneled. This challenging aspect needs more attention.[8] But in spite of strong Greek influence, apparently the Italic workshops founded their own traditions and stylistic preferences at an early date. This is felt to be the case, particularly with the Gorgon iconography, which during the sixth century established a formal identity of its own, somewhat separate from Greek iconography.[9] In fact, several of the Gorgon's monstrous attributes were shed in Central Italy: the snakes and, in some cases, the fangs, which remained in Magna Graecia, at least in the sixth century.[10] In this indigenous relative independence Campania, in particular, took the lead, along lines closer to Latium and Etruria than to Magna Graecia.

The Getty Museum's antefix belongs then to a well-known Campanian tradition of terra-cotta production, centered in Capua, where many examples have been found and holdings are prevalent,[11] testifying to the strong Etruscan presence, although the city most likely existed before the southward Etruscan expansion of the seventh century.[12]

Although Capua's important role in the architectural terra-cotta production of Central Italy has been acknowledged in a general way since early publications,[13] it is only recently that its vital place has been properly assessed.[14]

The Getty piece is thus located in the center of an important debate of the last couple of decades. The existence of a relatively independent coroplastic tradition in Capua beginning in the sixth century was suggested by Poul J. Riis in 1941.[15] Its likelihood was later strengthened by subsequent evidence of powerful Campanian export to Central Italy (see below) and was finally confirmed in the publication of the First International Conference on Central Italic Terracottas, held in 1990 in Rome.[16]

Mold Exports and Regionalism

In this focus on Capua the pivotal geographical position of Campania is obvious, acting as a bridge between the two contending—and interrelating—cultural units in

FIGURE 1 Antefix. Campania, ca. 550–500 B.C. Terra-cotta, H: 27.5 cm (10⅞ in.). Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 75.AD.107.

Italy at the time: the Greeks in the south and the Etruscans in the north. Ancient literary sources about artisans' travel encouraged the assumption of a lively artistic spread northward from Campania into Etruria in the archaic period. This has been amply corroborated and made more specific, especially by findings and studies of the last decades. Various antefixes and other architectural terra-cotta material of Campanian types have been found in a number of places in Latium and Etruria. The high point of this spread of Campanian terra-cotta production was, most likely, in the third quarter of the sixth century.[17] But the nature of the export probably varied from place to place and is often hard to pin down. Molds were exported to Latium and Etruria, artisans—possibly even whole workshops—also traveled, and in some cases even clay or at least tempering material was brought in.[18] Antefixes of the specific Getty type, painted in the Campanian manner (occasionally but not necessarily of Campanian clay), have been recovered at Satricum in Latium, from the second temple of Mater Matuta; at Caere; at Pyrgi; and at Cumae.[19]

The knowledge of exports has, however, also put an emphasis on the regional nature of Italic, pre-Roman artistic production. This issue has emerged as an important factor for understanding an increasingly complex picture of the network of impulses that made up ancient Italy, especially from the beginning of the sixth century B.C.[20] Among these regional traditions of architectural terra-cottas, Campania then stands out in several aspects.

The Campanian invention of a new roofing system, mentioned above, had a fundamental impact on all artifacts involved, especially antefixes that admittedly constitute the most numerous category of decorative roof protection.[21] Of primary interest is, for example, the development of the shell frame, divided into tongues, which surrounds the head, a feature attributed to Campania in the mid-sixth-century B.C.; from there it spread north to Latium and Etruria from approximately 525–500 B.C., and came to frame both female, male, and Gorgon heads.[22] The early shell frames at Capua are flat and not very extensive, as seen on the Getty antefix. Later, the tongues grew longer and distinctly concave; witness, for example, the famous Gorgon antefix from Veji in the Villa Giulia Museum in Rome.[23] Such tall shells often required a supportive strut from the top of the cover tile to the top of the back of the shell; supports of this kind were not the norm in Campania but originated further north.[24]

FIGURE 2 Antefix. Capua, ca. 525–500 B.C. Terra-cotta, H: 36 cm (14⅛ in.). Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek H 30a.

FIGURE 3 Antefix. Capua, ca. 525–500 B.C. Terra-cotta, H: 33 cm (13 in.). Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek H 30.

VARIATION OF TYPES

The Gorgon image was one of the most persuasive iconographic choices for antefixes or acroteria.[25] Several archaic Campanian Gorgon antefix types exist from the early sixth century, first without and later—from the mid-sixth-century—with surrounding shell frames.[26]

Both holdings and known records point to Capua as the main and initial center of Campanian production. Even among the later sixth-century Capua Gorgon antefixes, however, many minor variations exist, transmitting a lively impression of several replacement series of a cherished type.[27]

The typological differences consist of such features as divergent hair treatment (curving strands in the forehead, as in figures 1 and 3, as opposed to rows of circular locks as in figure 2); the number of long tresses (two or three; the latter is not represented in the exhibited material at Capua); the direction of the beard locks (all curving to the right as in figure 1 or with direction divided at center as in both figures 2 and 3, although differently so); the length of beard locks; the absence or presence of fangs (see more below); the treatment of teeth; the space allotted to the garment below the beard; and the proportions of the baseboard. Such mold variations are of significance for establishing series; the variations in coloring are, of course, less so.[28]

As these series and their subtypes have so far not been systematically treated, a number of interesting avenues for future studies open up, of which only some general directions can be indicated in this context. The particular combination of features provides a viable springboard; for example, the mold type with round forehead locks is mostly—but not exclusively—combined with a longer beard and larger garment space than on the Getty piece, as in Berlin 7019 (see note 28); Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek inv. 139–41 (see note 28); or Capua inv. 1403. This consequently requires a taller tile, with proportionately more expanse for the neck and head between the shell frame and the baseboard. On the whole this series also has a stronger plasticity, as seen by the mouth sunken deeply into the swelling cheeks, possibly to secure the tips of the moldmade fangs.

Perhaps this slightly larger series with round locks (and its variations) was a later development than the Getty type.[29] This type is, however, limited to Capua so

far, and the chronology of Campanian artifacts is notoriously difficult. Possible future findspots in Central Italy or Campania may provide a more reliable stratigraphy some day.

THE FANGS

The fangs require a special comment. Among the series referred to as the Capua Gorgon type, some antefixes have fangs, others do not; some have two, others four. The reasons for their absence are topics of debate: is it a matter of artistic preference, or is it a conscious desire to humanize the face, which possibly points to a chronologically later development?[30] The considerations of the fangs must, however, be carried beyond mere presence or absence, or possible aesthetic concerns. That it was technically easier to omit them should also be taken into account, for contrary to what is published on the matter so far,[31] the fangs were, in fact, often made in the mold. The distinction between moldmade fangs broken off and fangs inserted after the removal from the mold can, in most cases, be seen quite clearly. In fact, examples on display at Capua show fangs that were made in the mold.[32]

Further proof that fangs were present on the original matrix of several series comes from an extant mold in Baltimore, most likely the only one preserved of a Capua type.[33] A fresh study of all currently available material is needed in order to establish whether Koch was correct in stating that the omission of plastic fangs was, in fact, numerically much rarer.[34] It is possible that this trait has primarily regional implications, affecting the area north of Campania, to which the mold type was transferred (for example, Satricum).

THE BASEBOARD

The baseboard below the shell frame and face varies in size. Most common are two types: (a) a taller, narrower one, as seen generally in Capua,[35] and (b) a lower, longer one, as found in, for example, Satricum; the Getty antefix falls in this latter catagory.[36] On the former, the board extends only to the approximate middle of the volutes surrounding the head; on the latter, it covers the width of the whole volute.[37] Intermediary variations also exist, as seen, for example, on the Gorgon type with round locks in the forehead (see the discussion of figure 2 above): combined with this Gorgon head, also originating in Capua, is a board as tall proportionately as on the narrower Capua type, but longer, extending toward the outside edge of the volutes, although not quite as far proportionately as on the lower, longer type.

The conclusion reached is that molds for the head could often be modified by a combination with different baseboard shapes, and even different frame types.[38] The Getty piece reinforces this observation, as one of its closest facial parallels is on display in Capua (inv. 1392), while its base is of the long, low type, found at Satricum.

COLOR AND PAINTED PATTERNS

The striking coloration of the Gorgon heads (primarily black or brown, red or purple, white or cream) was intended to show emphatically the distinctive features from the distance of the ground, and follows a standard used for most ancient architectural terra-cottas. Painted parts include, as seen in the Getty case, locks, beard, eyes, ears, mouth, tongue, and nostrils; in other cases wrinkles in the forehead and/or the cheeks are also included.[39] The different markings on the dress section below the beard and the rich variation of patterns painted on the baseboard have been treated in detail by Koch.[40] Later studies have added little to his thorough repertory, although discussions are organized in accordance with newer finds and more systematic methods.[41] While Capua bases display several organic motifs, such as dolphins, lotus flowers, or palmettes,[42] the dominating favorite for the decor of the base is a variety of checkers or meanders, as seen on the Getty antefix.[43] The organic, curvilinear patterns may indeed have been concentrated to Capua itself, and were not used in Latium and Etruria.[44]

THE GETTY ANTEFIX

Among the many typologies of Capua Gorgons discussed above, it is possible to narrow the precise parallels of the Getty antefix to one specific series, primarily known from Satricum, which was recently given an excellent treatment by Knoop.[45] When Capua molds were imported to Central Italy, they were used with some modifications, as stated above. These consist pri-

marily in the different dimensions of the baseboard and the frequent absence of fangs on the Central Italian Gorgons. The Getty example has the low and long base known from Satricum, but the combination with Capua fangs represents a variation of composite mold features so far without exact parallels in known holdings.

Knoop analyzed the comparative size of the measurable examples of mold type 7 (see *AS* [note 4], fig. 108), giving the distance between the volutes as one vital gauge: the range of those measured by him is 22.6 cm (8⅞ in.) to 21.3 cm (8⅜ in.). The Getty antefix, however, measures 25.5 cm (10 in.), thereby placing itself earlier in the series of generations of molds than those measured by Knoop.[46]

In addition, the Getty antefix displays the following unique features: reverse direction of the fangs and painted eyelashes. All fangs on Capua Gorgon types recorded thus far show the outer pair pointing upward and the inner pair downward. This is reversed on the Getty piece, which, in the end as stated above, testifies to the many different combinations of possible mold features.[47] Here, dictates of artistic and practical impulses are manifested, resulting from the mobility of molds.

The application of paint follows common norms for this type and deviates very little. One exception to the norm is the painted eyelashes, a rare phenomenon. While it is found very sparingly on female head antefixes,[48] the occurrence on Gorgons from this period is even more rare. One important example most likely comes from Capua, however; it is a large circular ridge tile, now in Paris.[49] The dress is lacking one of its painted dots, and the beard has alternating red and brown strands.[50]

Is it possible to give the Getty antefix a geographical provenance? Among the known specimens of mold type 7, Knoop recognized two parallel series based on mold factors as well as on coloration: one Campanian tradition (Capua), and one tradition further to the north (Satricum, Caere, Pyrgi).[51] The Getty piece clearly contains elements of both. In addition to the Satricum long base and the Capua fangs mentioned above, the beard strands are alternately colored (typical of Capua), but the baseboard shows the Central Italic preference for abstract patterns. The eyelashes and direction of fangs may, however, have a link to Magna Graecia. Of these factors, the shape of the baseboard might possibly be the most important one, pointing to Central Italy, north of Campania. But considering what appears like many mixed signals, the specific location must remain conjectural, awaiting possible future finds.

DATING

The difficulty inherent in dating Italic architectural terra-cottas has been stressed from early publications on.[52] Stratigraphy is of only limited value for revetment contexts, as older sets were replaced and disposed of at different rates. The ensuing reliance on style for chronology can prove treacherous, due to the power of regional traditions, with their sometimes conservative nature. Many questions concerning replacement and repair are unresolved if not insoluble. The whole matter of a fundamental methodology of dating in this field is under debate and in the process of being reshaped and refocused.[53]

Nevertheless, the intensified studies of architectural terra-cottas such as the Capua type Gorgon antefix in recent decades have brought some confirmations. A date of somewhere between 550–500 B.C. for the Getty Gorgon type has been accepted by most scholars.[54]

Birgitta Lindros Wohl is Professor of Art History at California State University, Northridge.

NOTES

I want to thank Marion True, the Curator of Antiquities of the J. Paul Getty Museum, for her help and permission in publishing this piece; also Kenneth Hamma for much valuable assistance. I also gratefully acknowledge the staff members of the following institutions: the Swedish Institute in Rome, the Villa Giulia Museum in Rome, the Museo Provinciale Campano in Capua, and the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek in Copenhagen, who also supplied the photos for figures 2 and 3. Finally, I wish to thank my husband, John Baer, whose support and patience were essential for the timely completion of this work.

1. See B. Wohl, "A Gorgon Antefix from Gela in the J. Paul Getty Museum," *The J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 5 (1977), pp. 75–78; B. Lindros Wohl, "Three Female Head Antefixes from Etruria," *The J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 12 (1984), pp. 111–18.
2. In the following description right and left refer to the viewer's direction. The antefix consists of two joined pieces, preserving all of the face, framing hair, and volutes (the left one is chipped); small parts of shell frame on the sides; the bottom fascia (with the left corner chipped); beginning of cover tile; burn marks on the back.

The preserved height of the antefix: 27.5 cm (10⅞ in.; estimated total height of the original piece: 35.5 cm [14 in.]); preserved width: 37 cm (14½ in.; estimated total width: 40.8 cm [16 in.]); preserved depth: 14 cm (5½ in.); average depth of face: 2.5 cm (1 in.); meander fascia at the bottom, length: 31 cm (12¼ in.), width: 4.2 cm (1⅝ in.); there were most likely fifteen tongues of the shell originally; tongues are surrounded by cordoned loops. The clay is coarse, slightly micaceous with some small black and white bits, reddish between 5YR 6/4–6 with gray core, 5YR 6/1 (see *Munsell Soil Color Chart* [Baltimore, 1971]).

The face is broad, with sixteen curls in the forehead that bend in opposite directions from a central part, marked down to the nose as a vertical depression; this line is slightly off to the left of center (seen on approximately ninety percent of all Gorgon antefixes with this type of forehead locks); twenty-two locks of beard all curled to the right are leaving the chin bare; two strands of hanging beaded hair on each side (outer right strand slightly damaged); a ridge for eyebrows, bulging eyes surrounded by slight ridge; mouth grinning, with lips as raised, flat bands, and protruding tongue; fangs made in the mold (two at each corner, only far left one intact); teeth are separated by grooves, gums are three-dimensional; nose is broad; ears are small with stylized low ridges, seen frontally and centered at eye-height; left ear is irregularly placed (observed on approximately ninety percent of this type); between face and shell frame, a flat band surrounds the face ending in volutes, outside of which is a raised candy-striped roundel (both band and roundel broken on upper right side); beginning of cover tile visible on the back—inner height:18 cm (7⅛ in.); inner diameter: 16 cm (6¼ in.); inner height of cover tile reaches approximately to the eyebrows.

The coloring is well preserved: yellow cream for overall base, two shades of dark red for the rest, alternating as follows: (1) brownish red for hair in the forehead and hanging tresses, button in the volute, alternating locks of the beard, outline of every second tongue of shell, upper border of meander on bottom fascia, alternating stripes on roundel at inner edge of the frame; vague traces of nondescript darkish color in the forehead, probably representing wrinkles; the cover tile is painted with pale brown color starting on the back of antefix itself, where it slopes down to the cover tile; (2) brighter red for mouth, tongue, eyes, eyebrows, wrinkles on cheeks, and outlines of ears, nostrils, and band ending in volutes, alternating locks of the beard, outline of every second tongue of the shell, alternating stripes on the roundel at inner edge of the frame, lower border of the meander of fascia and the single dot (left side) on the neckline of the dress.

3. See *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*, vol. 4 (Munich, 1988), pts. 1–2, pp. 285–94, 331–32, with earlier bibliography.
4. For Greek roof systems, see N. A. Winter, *Greek Architectural Terracottas from the Prehistoric to the End of the Archaic Period* (Oxford, 1993); see also idem, "The Greek Background for Architectural Terracottas of Central Italy," *Deliciae Fictiles*, Skrifter utgivna av Svenska Institutet i Rom, vol. 50 (Stockholm, 1993), pp. 17–20 (hereafter referred to as *DF*). For Italic-Etruscan temples, see H. Koch, *Dachterrakotten aus Campanien mit Ausschluss von Pompei* (Berlin, 1912); A. Andrén, *Architectural Terracottas from Etrusco-Italic Temples*, Acta Instituti Romani Regni Sueciae, vol. 6 (Lund, 1940), esp. pp. xxxv–ccxliii; R. Knoop, *Antefixa Satricana: Sixth-Century Architectural Terra-Cottas from the Sanctuary of Mater Matuta at Satricum (Le Ferriere)*, Scrinium 3 = Satricum: Reports and Studies of the Satricum Project, 1 (Assen, Maastricht, and Wolfenboro, 1987), chap. 5 (hereafter referred to as Knoop, *AS*); see also several recent publications of the Swedish excavations at Acquarossa.
5. W. Johannowsky, *Materiali di età arcaica dalla Campania* (Naples, 1983), pp. 74–75.
6. See G. Buchner and D. Ridgway, *Pithekussai*, vol. 1, parts 1–3 (= *Monumenti Antichi*, vol. 4 [Rome, 1993]).
7. For a good summary, see M. Fredericksen, "Etruscans in Campania," in *Italy Before the Romans*, ed. D. Ridgway and F. R. Ridgway (New York, 1979), esp. pp. 295–305. Italian scholarship also confirms the centrality of the question of the interconnections of Etruscans, Latins, and Greeks in the archaic period of Italy; among many, see for example, M. Cristofani, "Saggi distoria etrusca arcaica," *Archaeologia* 70 (1987), with a specifically social and economic emphasis; or see the many contributions by Giovanni Colonna.
8. A suggestion along these lines is given by, for example, M. Torelli, "Terracotte architettoniche arcaiche da Gravisca e una nota a Plinio, NH XXXV, 151–52," *Nuovi Quaderni dell'Istituto di Archeologia dell'Università di Perugia* 1 (1979), pp. 305–13.
9. See, for example, Knoop, *AS*, pp. 161, 167, with further references.
10. For examples from Morgantina, see notes 46–47. In general, Magna Graecia differs markedly from Central Italy in regard to architectural terra-cottas; see Fredericksen (note 7), p. 300.
11. The holdings on display in Capua as of 1995 contain approximately fifty-nine Gorgon antefixes (some fragmentary) of a number of sizes and minor variations; the storerooms are said to contain an unspecified number more; my thanks to Dr. Carlo Crispino for permission to study the material on display and to Anna Jablonski and other staff members for their help.
12. See M. Fredericksen (note 7), pp. 257–311, for a discussion of the ancient evidence.
13. For example, Koch (note 4); D. M. Robinson, "Etruscan-Campanian Antefixes and Other Terra-Cottas from Italy at the Johns Hopkins University," *American Journal of Archaeology* 27 (1923), pp. 1–22, passim (hereafter referred to as *AJA*).
14. Even the fundamental work on the topic by Andrén (note 4) contains no separate category for Capua, but explicitly considers it in the general sphere of Latium and Etruria "for the present purposes": for his discussion of the Capua type Gorgoneion and its spread northward, see pp. clxvii–clxix; the provenance from Caere of some examples, which he doubted, has since proved correct; see note 19.
15. P. J. Riis, "Notes on Etruscan Architectural Terracottas," *Acta Archaeologica* 12 (1941), pp. 66–78; see also a later reappraisal by same author, *Etruscan Types of Heads: A Revised Chronology of the Archaic and Classical Terracottas of Etruscan Campania and Central Italy* (Copenhagen, 1981). Neither work, however, makes mention of the Gorgon type antefixes.
16. The conference held in the Swedish Institute in Rome resulted in the publication of *DF* (note 4). The conference of 1990 was followed by a sequel, held at the Dutch Institute in Rome in 1996. The material presented there (to be published) further strengthened the notions of a lively, but complex, interrelation between Campanian workshops and the Etruscan-Latian area.
17. Knoop, *AS*, p. 204; the map (fig. 134) shows the considerable spread, now also including Rome, see Knoop, "Towards a Reappraisal of Della Seta's Three-Phase System," in *DF*, p. 64, n. 32 (hereafter referred to as Knoop, *DF*); see also M. Bongi Jovino, in *Santuari d'Etruria*, ed. G. Colonna (Milano, 1985), p. 121.
18. Knoop, *DF*, p. 63, n. 29; also Knoop, *AS*, p. 11, with prior literature.
19. For Satricum, see A. Della Seta, *Museo Nazionale di Villa Giulia* (Rome, 1918), pp. 251–52, 259, nos. 10213–16; Knoop, *AS*;

for Caere, see G. Pellegrini, *Studi e materiali di archeologia e numismatica*, vol. 1 (1899), pp. 144–59, nos. 2–4; Andrén (note 4), p. 34 and pl. 10:32; R. Vighi, *Studi Etruschi* 5 (1931), pp. 119 (especially n. 4), 120, and pl. XI.3; a fragment in The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, may also come from Caere, see G. Richter, *Handbook of the Etruscan Collection in the Metropolitan Museum* (New York, 1940), p. 22, fig. 53; for recent discoveries at Caere, further confirming the presence of Capua type material there, see comments by Knoop, *DF*, p. 63, nn. 26–27; for Pyrgi, see *Notizie degli scavi di antichità* 24 (1970), supp. 2, pp. 650–51, fig. 496,1. The Cumae occurrence was kindly reported to me by Carlo Reseigno (University of Naples), who is publishing the architectural terra-cottas. In addition, the Campanian Gorgon model is suggested to have reached as far south as Himera on Sicily, where a modified version is linked to Capua; see P. Marconi, *Himera*, Atti e Memorie Società Magna Graecia (Rome, 1931), p. 131, fig. 124; and also the more recent comments by Knoop, *AS*, pp. 146, 161.

20. The notion of regional qualities among Italic architectural terra-cottas was initially stressed by P. J. Riis in *Thyrrenika* (Copenhagen, 1940), but has won widespread adherence more recently; see Knoop, *DF*, p. 64; idem, *AS*, passim; see also M. Bonghi Jovino, ed., *Artigiani e botteghe nell' Italia preromana. Studi sulla coroplastica di area etrusco-laziale-campana*, Studia archaeologica, vol. 56 (Rome, 1990). For a specific and interesting angle on this matter, see N. Winter, "Etruscans at Capua: Reflections of History in Artistic Production," in *Italian Iron Age Artefacts in the British Museum: Papers of the Sixth British Museum Classical Colloquium, London, 1982*, ed. J. Swaddling (London, 1986), pp. 179–84. She does not, however, deal with Gorgon images. Recent questions concerning regional traits of the period are also discussed by S. Downey, *Architectural Terracottas from the Regia*, Papers and Monographs of the American Academy in Rome, vol. 30 (University of Michigan Press, 1995), especially for Latium, pp. 69–71; I appreciate an informative exchange I had with Dr. Downey.
21. See above (note 4).
22. Å. Åkerström, *Die architektonischen Terrakotten Kleinasiens*, Acta Instituti Atheniensis Regni Sueciae 11 (Lund, 1966), p. 267; Andrén (note 4), pp. clxvii–clxviii; p. clxix and n. 3 also suggest a possible Greek origin for the Campanian shell frame; this is, however, vigorously denied by J. Heurgon, "Les antefixes archaiques de Capuoe au British Museum," in Swaddling (note 20), pp. 171–72; he also proposes a date only toward the end of the sixth century for the appearance of the shell frame (p. 173); for possible evidence of the shell frame originating in Cumae (however, without Gorgons), see L. A. Scatozza, "Le terracotte architettoniche cumane di età archaica," *Klearchos* 49–52 (1971), p. 54; see also N. Winter, "Archaic Architectural Terracottas Decorated with Human Heads," *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung* 85 (1978), pp. 35, 40–41; and Knoop, *AS*, p. 141.
23. Andrén (note 4), pl. I:1; E. Stefani, *Notizie degli scavi di antichità* 7 (1953), p. 53, fig. 28.
24. Andrén (note 4), p. clxiv; further illustrations in Koch (note 4), fig. 10; Knoop, *AS*, figs. 1e–f.
25. For differing views of the apotropaic nature of the Gorgon, see Knoop, *AS*, p. 153, nn. 384–385.
26. Knoop, *AS*, p. 161, states that there were at least twelve types of tongue-framed Gorgon antefixes in Campania; see his fig. 110 for an evolutionary chart of the major variations.
27. Among the large amount of antefixes recorded from a temple site at the edge of the city are series of differing sizes, indicating the existence of a number of various scale buildings; the remains are scant and have not been studied thoroughly; see Koch (note 4), p. 112; Johannowsky (note 5), p. 73. Thousands of Capuan terra-cottas reported found at a single area just outside the city, the so-called Fondo Paturelli, belonged to a single family that was also responsible for the early dispersal of the material; see Koch (note 4), pp. 18–20; Bonghi Jovino (note 17), pp. 121–22; Knoop, *AS*, p. 156 n. 402, p. 162 n. 431.
28. For specific comparisons of the respective variations, see the Getty Museum piece versus, for example, fig. 2 (Copenhagen) or *AJA*, fig. 4 (Berlin 7019) for round forehead locks and the beard direction divided in center, bending inward; for divergent beard directions bending outward, see E. Van Buren, *Figurative Terracotta Revetments in Etruria and Latium in the VI. and V. Centuries B.C.* (London, 1921), pl. II,2 (Florence, Archaeological Museum inv. 7299), or T. Fischer-Hansen, *Campania, South Italy and Sicily, Catalogue Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek* (Copenhagen, 1992), nos. 136–37 (fig. 3); for long, straight beard and three hanging tresses, see *AJA*, fig. 10 (British Museum B595), same as H. B. Walters, *Catalogue of the Terracottas in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, British Museum* (London, 1903), p. 168; the teeth are most often divided by grooves with scalloped three-dimensional gums, as on the Getty piece; or divided by red paint and three-dimentional gums (see Knoop, *AS*, figs. 49–50 [Villa Giulia inv. 10213–14]); or again divided by painted divisions and no gums (Capua Museum inv. 1551 and 1392); the space allotted to the upper rim of the garment in the majority of cases is the same as that seen on the Getty antefix; at times it is, however, much larger (*AJA*, fig. 5 [Berlin 7154], same as Koch (note 4), pl. VI.4, in one instance there is none at all (Copenhagen, National Museum inv. 766); see N. Breitenstein, *Catalogue of Terracottas, Cypriote, Greek, Etrusco-Italic, Roman* (Copenhagen, 1941), pp. 79–80, pl. 92; same as Koch (note 4), pl. V.1; this is an unusual piece in many aspects, and its precise provenance in Italy is not certain.
29. This is suggested by Knoop, *AS*, p. 164; the dangers of archaizing tendencies common in Gorgon representations must also be remembered (p. 162 with further references). The presence of the same type Gorgon face also on a fragmentary sima at Capua is of interest in this context, see Koch (note 4), p. 80, fig. 93, pl. 24.3b.
30. Knoop, *AS*, pp. 158, 160.
31. Koch (note 4), p. 30, explicitly states that fangs were inserted separately, and were rarely absent or merely painted on. On the Satricum antefixes, fangs are consistently missing; thus Knoop correctly expresses some doubt about the uniformity of the procedure; see idem, *AS*, pp. 157–58, 160. Andrén (note 4) does not comment.
32. The material merits a full-scale study that cannot be done here; of the fifty-nine Gorgon antefixes on display in the Capua Museum in 1995, approximately half have moldmade fangs (for example, inv. 1403); the rest mostly have inserted ones (for example, Koch [note 4], pl. VI.2, or inv. 1392). However, about nine have no plastic fangs at all (for example, inv. 1453, or Koch [note 4], pl. XXXIII.2); of these, a few show the feature only in paint (for example, inv. 1551, same as Koch [note 4], pl. V.5; this item belongs to an unusual series, where the dress area is filled by a curving band ending in volutes, which are butting against the upper volutes that are ordinarily part of the composition). The museum storage may contain further evidence. Also antefixes in non-Italian holdings verify this varied procedure; for example, of the seven antefixes in Copenhagen (Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek [note 28], nos. 135–41), known to come from Capua, four have moldmade fangs, two have none, and one has inserted fangs. (My thanks for the prompt assistance of Caroline Winther at the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek on this matter).

33. D. M. Robinson, "Etruscan-Campanian Antefixes and Other Terra-Cottas from Italy at the Johns Hopkins University," *AJA*, pp. 1–22; see also E. Reader Williams, *The Archaeological Collection at the Johns Hopkins University* (Baltimore, 1984), p. 112, no. 81 (inv. 9201).
34. See above (note 4), p. 30.
35. For Capua, see Koch (note 4), pl. XXXIII.2; for Copenhagen, see Fischer-Hansen (note 28), nos. 136–37.
36. For Satricum, see Knoop, *AS*, cat. nos. 138–39, pls. 49–50 (= Villa Giulia, Della Seta [note 19], p. 259, inv. 10213–14).
37. Knoop, *AS*, p. 158, fig. 107.
38. Knoop, *AS*, pp. 158–59, n. 416; for a rare combination with a lotus flower frame, see p. 164, n. 437.
39. If the markings on the Getty Gorgon forehead indeed represent wrinkles, the configuration is closest to Knoop, *AS*, p. 156, fig. 105.3, but placed unusually high on the forehead.
40. Koch (note 4), general: pp. 13–14; Capua: pp. 20–29, passim; Gorgon antefixes: pp. 30–39; for patterns of dress or jewelry on Gorgon antefixes: figs. 41, 43, 47.1, 48, 52, pls. V.5–7; VI.2–4; XXXIII.2.
41. See Knoop, *AS*, pp. 154–56. I have not been able to see V. Kästner, "Archaische Baukeramik der Westgriechen" (Ph.D. diss., Humboldt-Universität, Berlin, 1982), but have profited from the meticulous reporting of its information in Knoop, *AS*.
42. See Koch (note 4) for dolphins or other sea creatures: fig. 47.2, pl. XXXIV.8; for lotus flowers and/or palmettes: figs. 40.6, 41.2, 42, 45.1–2, 47.1, 51, pl. XXXIV.6.
43. Variations in Koch (note 4): figs. 40.1–4, 41.1, 50, 53, pl. 34, 1–4.
44. Knoop, *AS*, p. 154.
45. It is designated as "mould type 7" in Knoop, *AS*, especially ch. 3.3, pp. 148–68; see also its earlier publication by A. Della Seta (note 19), pp. 251–52 and nos. 10213–16, p. 259.
46. The shrinkage is accounted for by the process of remolding, that is, making later molds from existing antefixes for replacements and repair; see Knoop, *AS*, app. A, pp. 218–25, for a detailed discussion of the problems and factors involved in the attempt to establish the rate of shrinkage; I want to express my thanks to Dr. Knoop for helpful advice in this and related matters. A rate of 16% shrinkage per generation is reported from Morgantina; see J. F. Kenfield, " An East Greek Master Coroplast at Late Archaic Morgantina," *Hesperia* 59 (1990), pp. 265–74, esp. p. 270. This accords very closely with the difference in size between the Getty antefix and the average recorded by Knoop. See also the now standard source, R. V. Nicholls, "Type, Group and Series: A Reconsideration of some Coroplastic Fundamentals," *Annual of the British School at Athens* 47 (1952), pp. 217–26.
47. A conceivable scenario for the creation of this reversal is the following: on a specimen where the fangs were *inserted*, it is easy to reverse the position from the norm (consciously or unconsciously); a new mold made from such an antefix would produce the Getty type. The same reversal of the fangs is, however, found on sixth-century Gorgon antefixes with moldmade fangs in Magna Graecia (for example, Antiquarium, Metaponto, no inventory number; several from the Morgantina Museum, for example, inv. 61.1223, 67.173, 57.1959 (see *AJA* [1958], p. 156, pl. 28, fig. 4b; all dated to the sixth century); also in painted form on the Gorgon ridge tile mentioned below and see note 49 in this essay.
48. N. Winter (note 22), p. 36, pl. 12.1 and 13.1, from Morgantina and Reggio Calabria, respectively; a further female (Gorgon?) head fragment of an antefix can also be mentioned: Morgantina Museum inv. 67.28, sixth century. Dr. Winter has kindly clarified the statement in her article of 1978, p. 36 top: no Capua antefix with female head has in fact painted eyelashes. I also owe to her the observation of painted eyelashes on a fragmentary horse from Gela (Museum inv. 10599), see P. Orlandini, *Archeologia Classica* 14 (1962), pp. 42–43.
49. Paris, Louvre D.159, see Koch (note 4), pp. 7–8, 73, fig. 13, pl. XX. Koch explicitly calls it a ridge tile (Firstziegel, pp. 7, 73), and no acroterion (p. 8); it must have been designed for the end of the ridge beam (p. 9), as the lower half of the disk hangs free of the covertile. This Gorgon is beardless, possibly inspiring a more female touch of added eyelashes. In addition to the Getty Capua type antefixes, at this moment I know of only two instances of archaic Gorgon antefixes with painted eyelashes: one from Morgantina (see Kenfield [note 46], pl. 44c); the second is an unpublished Sicilian piece in the J. Paul Getty Museum (83.AD.211.11); the preference for this feature is therefore clearly linked to Magna Graecia.
50. I want to thank Jerry Podani, Conservator of Antiquities of the Getty Museum, for checking the coloration.
51. See *AS*, pp. 159–60, fig. 109.
52. Andrén (note 4), pp. cxxviii–cxxix; Knoop, *AS*, for example, pp. 4–5, 7–8, 165.
53. Older chronological periodizations (for example, by Della Seta and Andrén) are being replaced by concepts such as "traditions," with the implications of chronological overlap, regional centers, and traveling influences, see Knoop, *DF*, p. 64 (with further references); also C. Wikander, review of Knoop, *AS* (in *Skrifter utgivna av Svenska Institutet i Rom* 51 [1993], pp. 101–3); and Ö. Wikander, *Acquarossa*, vol. 6, "The Roof-Tiles," part 2, "Typology and Technical Features" (Stockholm, 1993); both stress (along with other scholars) the need for studying antefixes in the larger context of roofing techniques, and connections to the buildings on which the architectural decoration was attached.
54. The context of the Pyrgi fragment is dated to the second half of the sixth century (*Notizie degli scavi di antichità* 24 [1970], supp. 2, pp. 650–51, fig. 496.1); Knoop, *AS*, pp. 7–8, Satricum stratigraphy: pp. 153–54, stylistic grounds: pp. 165–66, 201–4; Bongi Jovino (note 17), pp. 121–23: end of sixth century. For exceptions to the standard dating, for example, Vighi (note 19) suggested an early fifth-century date on the basis of the Caere material; Della Seta (note 19), p. 252: fifth to sixth century.

The Early History of Jacques-Louis David's *The Farewell of Telemachus and Eucharis*

Helmut Engelhart

The extraordinary value of the extensive correspondence between the elector Lothar Franz von Schönborn (1655–1729) and his nephew Friedrich Karl von Schönborn (1674–1746) as a source for any comprehensive study of the development of art during the Baroque period in Franconia and far beyond its borders has long been known and explicitly acknowledged by researchers. Less well known is the art-related correspondence of Count Franz Erwein von Schönborn-Wiesentheid (1776–1840),[1] which consists of more than four hundred letters that are likewise part of the Schönborn Archive in the Staatsarchiv in Würzburg. Analysis of this correspondence is eminently suitable for throwing new light on the count's collection of "modern" art objects, which was highly praised by his contemporaries.

Such analysis will be undertaken here by examining the history of Jacques-Louis David's painting *The Farewell of Telemachus and Eucharis* (Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum 87.PA.27) together with relevant sources from the Schönborn Archive. The center of this study is not the art-historical appreciation of this important painting but rather the history of its acquisition by Count von Schönborn.[2] Through these archival records it is also possible to describe the extraordinary effect the painting had on the contemporary public, as well as its immediate treatment in the exceptionally large number of press reports that have been preserved.

I

During the year 1818 Count von Schönborn pursued the acquisition of the painting *The Farewell of Telemachus and Eucharis* (fig. 1), a late work by the master of French Neoclassicism Jacques-Louis David (1748–1825),[3] completed in 1818 in his studio in Brussels. An enthusiastic supporter of the French Revolution, David had risen to chairman of the National Convention in 1794, and in 1804 he was nominated *Premier peintre de l'Empereur*—court painter to Napoléon I (r. 1804–15). After the return of the Bourbons in 1816, David spent the last decade of his life in exile in Brussels, where he continued his artistic activities.

A few years before, Franz Erwein (fig. 2) had begun his own collection of contemporary works of art, especially paintings and sculptures.[4] In early 1818, on his way to England, he visited David in his studio in Brussels in order to inspect the nearly completed painting and to negotiate the acquisition of this spectacular picture.[5]

Unfortunately, we do not know how Franz Erwein came into contact with Jacques-Louis David, nor do we know who commissioned the painting from the artist. All that is known for sure is that after David completed the painting *Amor and Psyche* in August of 1817,[6] he started work on another historical painting, one that was originally planned as a pendant to his *Amor and Psyche*. As he wrote on October 20, 1817, to his friend the Antwerp painter Mathieu Ignace van Brée (1773–1839), "c'est pour faire un pendant à ma Psyché" (this will be a pendant to my Psyche).[7] David made the comment at the same time as he placed an order for a commercially prepared canvas that Van Brée was supposed to have executed according to David's precise instructions (fig. 3).[8] The theme of David's painting on this prepared and prestretched canvas is based on *Les Aventures de Télémaque, fils d'Ulysse* (The adventures of Telemachus, son of Ulysses), written by François de Salignac de La Mothe-Fénelon (1651–1715) and published in 1699. After preparatory studies, the painting was executed between the end of October 1817 and the first part of May 1818.[9]

A notice that appeared on June 1, 1818, in the Brussels newspaper *L'Oracle* is the first public reference to the future owner of the painting: "Ce tableau est destiné à un grand seigneur de la Bavière, pour qui il a été

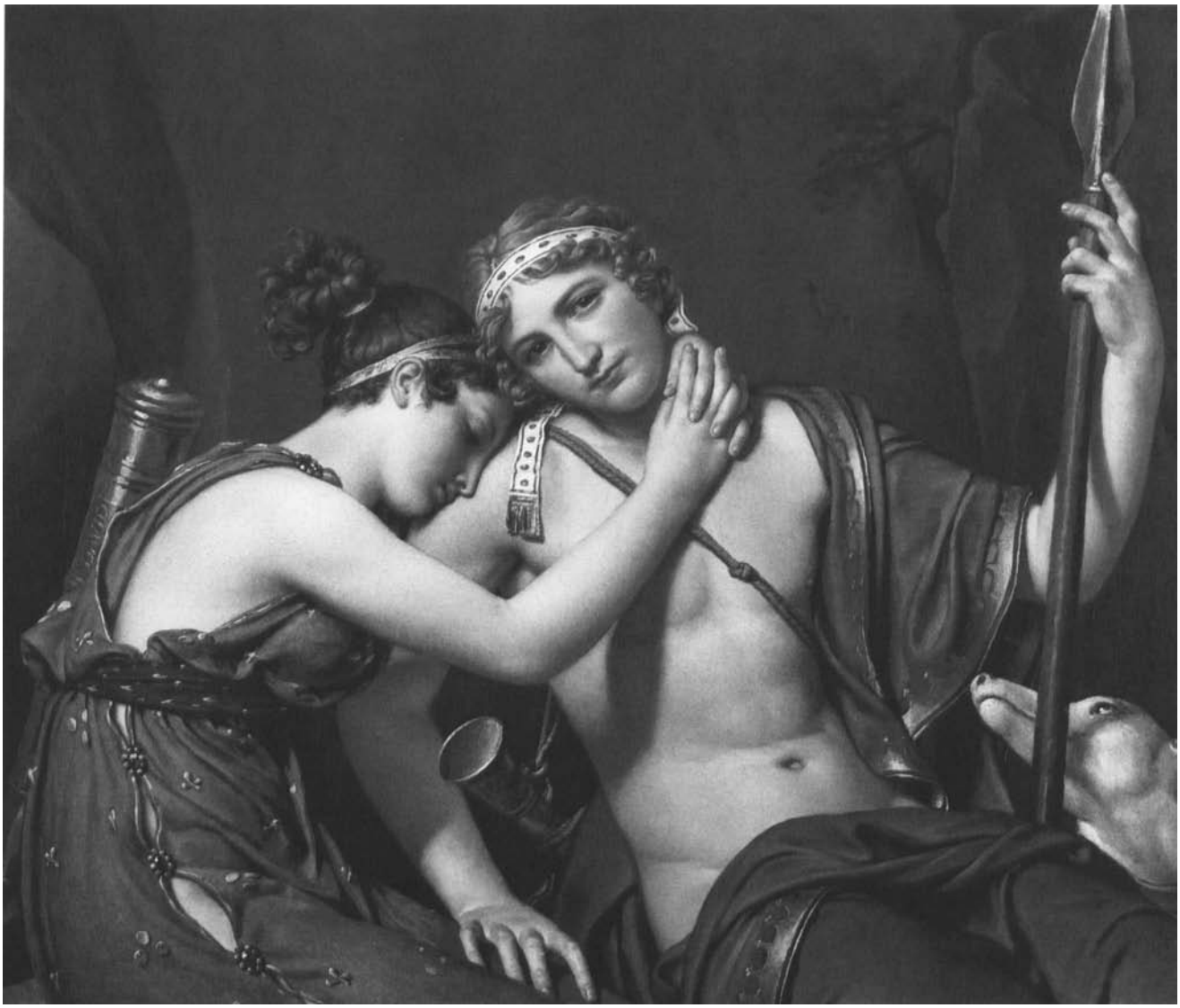


FIGURE 1 Jacques-Louis David (French, 1748–1825). *The Farewell of Telemachus and Eucharis*, 1818. Oil on canvas, 87.2 x 103 cm (34⅜ x 40½ in.). Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum 87.PA.27.

fait" (This painting is destined for a great lord from Bavaria for whom it was made).[10] This short remark surely meant not only that the painting was destined for a collector, whose name the author apparently did not know or could not mention, but also that it had its origin in a commission. However, no such commission by Count von Schönborn can be verified. The count's carefully conducted art correspondence concerning Jacques-Louis David has probably come down to us in its entirety, and, at least before March 1818, there is no reference whatsoever in it to any connection between Franz Erwein and the painter.

It is thus more likely that David did not begin the painting as a commission from Count von Schönborn,[11] but rather that it was originally meant for another buyer (unless, of course, David prepared and began the painting without a specific patron in mind).

At the formative stage of David's painting—we do not know exactly when, but before the press could report on it—Franz Erwein must have heard about it from artist friends, collectors, or his agents in Brussels.[12] It is also possible that the count's desire to include in his collection a work by the foremost representative of Neoclassical painting in France did not arise until his stay in Brussels during the first half of March 1818.

That Franz Erwein took advantage of the Brussels stopover on his way to England to pay David a visit is not at all surprising given the nature of the count's art collection, which was then only a few years old.[13] It was this convenient opportunity to inspect an almost finished work by a famous painter that finally prompted him to buy the painting for his gallery. In so doing he entered into competition with major collectors, such as Count Sommariva, one of the most significant contemporary collectors of modern art.[14]

II

The visit to Brussels marks the beginning of notices about David's work in the count's art correspondence, which throw a decisive light on the acquisition of this late masterpiece and contemporary reaction to it.

The sources do not state exactly when Franz Erwein interrupted his journey to England to stop in Brussels, but, at the latest, he must have been there at the beginning of March 1818, as is documented by a letter of February 28 from the etcher and history painter Robert Langer (1783–1846), which was forwarded to the count's address in Brussels.[15] Around this time,

FIGURE 2 Joseph Stieler (German, 1781–1858). *Portrait of Franz Erwein von Schönborn*, 1816. Oil on canvas, 67 x 52 cm (26⅜ x 20½ in.). Collection of Graf von Schönborn-Wiesentheid. Photo courtesy of Dr. Katharina Bott.

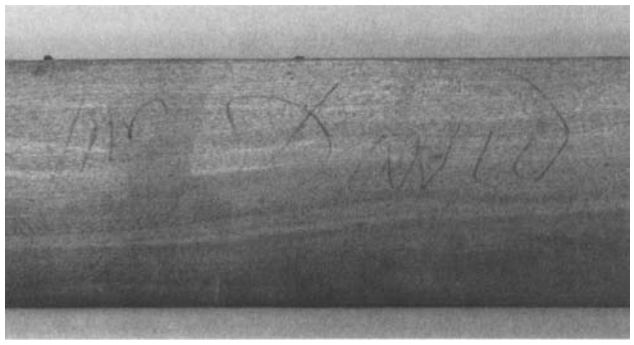


FIGURE 3 Part of the wooden braces from the original wedged stretcher of the commercially prepared canvas with the inscription *Mr David*. Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum.

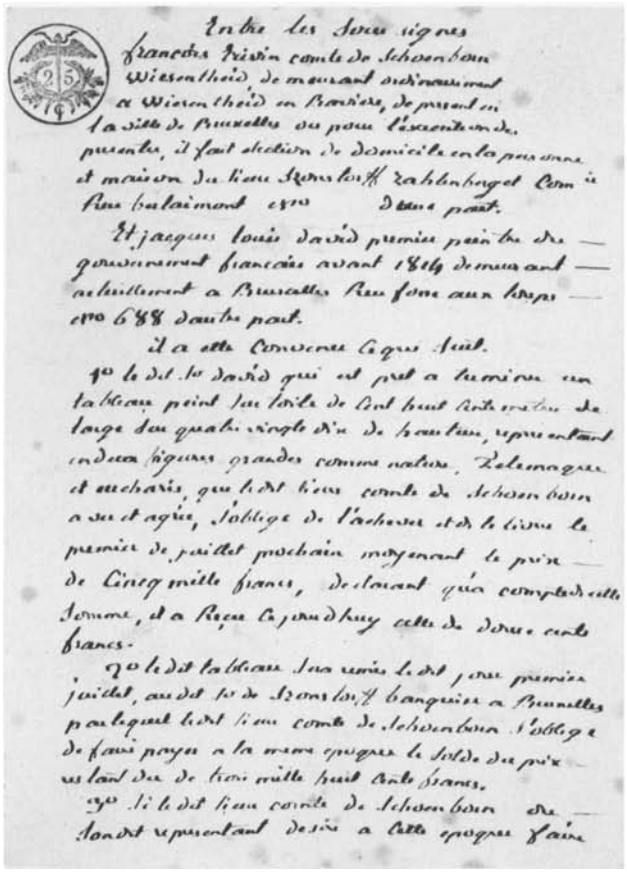


FIGURE 4 Sales contract between Jacques-Louis David and Franz Erwein von Schönborn, March 12, 1818, front. Staatsarchiv Würzburg, Schönborn Archive, Archive of Franz Erwein's correspondence, no. 50.

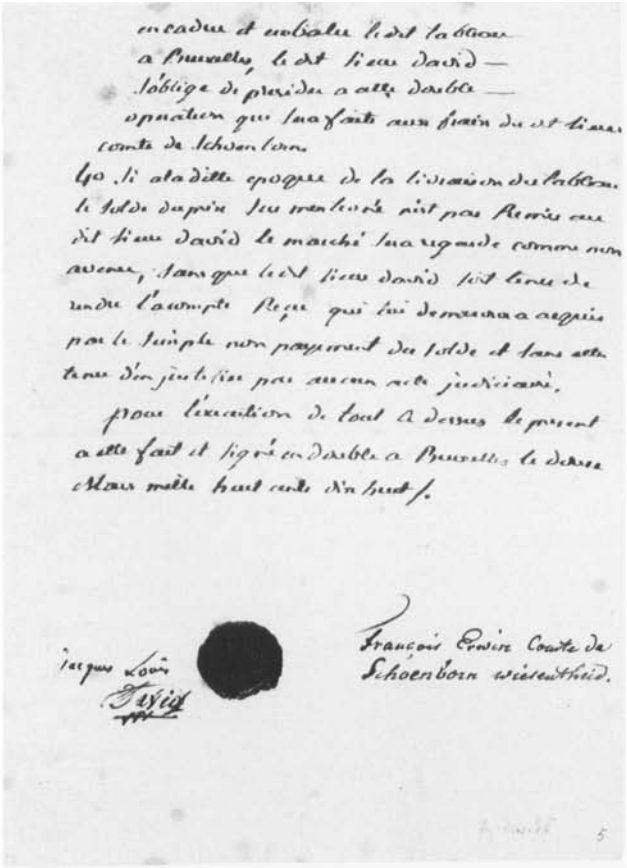


FIGURE 5 Sales contract, reverse. Staatsarchiv Würzburg, Schönborn Archive, Archive of Franz Erwein's correspondence, no. 50.

Franz Erwein must also have made personal contact with David in order to visit his studio in Brussels to look at the painting that was nearing completion and to negotiate its acquisition. The sales contract between Franz Erwein and David was drawn up on March 12, 1818 (figs. 4, 5).[16] The buyer's copy of the contract survives in the archive of the count's correspondence (fasc. 50, fol. 5). It reads as follows:

[Fee stamp]
25
c

[Embossed stamp]
TIMBRE DE LA
BELGIQUE

Entre les sous signes Francois Erivin comte de Schoenborn Wiesentheid demeurant ordinairement a Wiesentheid en Baviere, de present en la ville de Bruxelles ou pour l'execution des presentes, il fait election de domicile en la personne et maison du Sieur Ronstorff Rahlenbeck et Com^ie[17] Rue Berlaimont[18] No.____,[19] d'une part.

Et Jacques Louis David premier peintre du gouvernement francais avant 1814 demeurant actuellement a Bruxelles Rue fosse aux loups[20] No. 688 d'autre part.

Il a ete convenu ce qui suit:

1° Le dit Sr. David qui est pret a terminer un tableau peint sur toile de Cent huit Centi metres de large sur quatre vingts dix de hauteur representant en deux figures grandes comme nature,[21] Telemaque et Eucharis, que ledit Sieur comte de Schoenborn a vu et agrée, s'oblige de l'achever et de le livrer le premier de juillet prochain moyenant le prix de Cincq mille francs,[22] declarant qu'a compte de cette somme, il a Reçu ce jour d huy celle de douze cents francs.

2° Le dit tableau sera remis le dit jour premier juillet, au dit Sr. de Ronstorff banquier a Bruxelles par lequel ledit Sieur comte de Schoenborn s'oblige de faire payer a la meme epoque le solde du prix restant du[23] de trois mille huit cents francs.[24]

3° Si le dit Sieur comte de Schoenborn ou son dit representant desire a cette epoque faire encadrer et

embaler le dit tableau a Bruxelles, le dit Sieur David s'oblige de presider a cette double operation qui sera faite aux fraix du dit Sieur comte de Schoenborn.
4° Si a la ditte epoque de la livraison du tableau le solde du prix sur mentioné n'est pas remis au dit Sieur David le marché sera regarde comme non avenu, sans que le dit Sieur David soit tenu de rendre l'acompte Reçu qui lui demeura a aquir par le simple non payement du solde et sans ettre tenu d'en justifier par aucun acte judiciaire.

Pour l'execution de tout ce dessus le present a ette fait et signé en double a Bruxelles le douze Mars[25] mille huit cents dix huit/.

Jacques Louis David	[Seal of Count von Schönborn with black sealing wax]	François Erwin Comte de Schoenborn Wiesentheid[26]

We do not know for sure who was commissioned by the contracting parties to draw up the contract,[27] which was written on an official form (fig. 6). It was signed by David and the count personally; the count's seal is affixed at least to the copy of the contract in the Schönborn Archive.[28] It is definitely an important biographical and sociohistorical document, not least since apparently no other original contracts between David and his clients—most of whom belonged to the affluent aristocracy—have survived from his last decade of exile in Brussels.

FIGURE 6 Sales Contract, front, with embossed stamp of the notarial document, signed *TIMBRE DE LA BELGIQUE* (enlarged). Staatsarchiv Würzburg, Schönborn Archive, Archive of Franz Erwein's correspondence, no. 50.

III

We learn of the further history of the painting from a collection of notes and annotated copies of letters, announcements in the press, and reviews of the painting that the clergyman Dr. Anton Endres compiled in Brussels beginning in June 1818.[29] These documents are today kept in the family Schönborn Archive.

On the first written page, instead of providing a title page, Endres notes the following:

> Notices sur le tableau de Mr David représentant les adieux de Télémaque et d'Eucharis / acheté par Monsieur le Comte de Schoenborn Wiesentheid pendant son séjour à Bruxelles l'hiver 1818./ Les lettres, dont il y a copie dans ces cahiers ont été communiquées par M. David au soussigné, qui leur a ajouté toutes les notices qu'il a trouvées dans les feuilles publiques concernant le même tableau.[30]

In his capacity as private tutor (*gouverneur*) to the count's eldest son, Erwein Damian (1805–1865), Anton Endres undertook an extended journey with the son through Belgium and the Netherlands in 1818, at times possibly joined by Franz Erwein. The tutor and his pupil stayed in Brussels for nine months.[31] During the time between the date of the purchase contract and the delivery of the painting, they both met with David several times.[32] In his records,[33] which are written almost entirely in French, Endres has, among other things, carefully collected and entered all available news, reviews, and reactions of the public about the painting.[34] He evidently must have been aware of the special significance of this painting as a work by one of the foremost painters of the time. But surely he also followed the instructions of the count, who was interested in the supervision of the completion of the painting as well as in the public's reaction in Belgium, and who certainly wanted to be sure that the shipping of the painting to its final destination should be carefully monitored.

According to Endres's journal, the official delivery of the painting to the buyer—and thus probably also full payment of the still-outstanding amount—took place in timely fashion.[35] Erwein Damian and his tutor (representing the buyer, who was in England) were present in Brussels at the event. The painting was on public display at the time.

Endres also copied an ode of homage written expressly for the presentation of the painting to the count and dedicated to both him and David.[36] The poet is "J. F. Piré, Licencié ès Lettres, et instit: dans la pension de Mme Baudewyns à Bruxelles" (J[oseph] F[rançois-Antoine] Piré, B.A. [1778–1857], elementary school

teacher: in the boarding school of Mme. Baudewyns in Brussels), who often appeared as a poet of occasional verse.[37] The poem at once bemoans and comforts David, who must part with his masterpiece, and lauds the count as its proud future owner:

A ce chef d'oeuvre d'un pinceau
Qu'admire et regrette la France
Un illustre Germain donne la préférence.
Au sentiment exquis et du bon et du beau
Schoenborn de ses ayeux joint la magnificence
Jaloux d'accroître et d'enrichir
Le précieux dépot que leurs voeux lui confient
Il parle, et conspirant à son noble desir
Le Guide, Raphael, et David s'associent.
David console toi; ta patrie est partout
Le salon de Schoenborn défend seul ta mémoire;
Pour le vrai connaisseur, c'est le temple du gout
Pour l'artiste fameux, c'est celui de la gloire.[38]

The occasional poem, one of several that Endres collected, was probably intended more for the buyer of the painting than for David. The suggestive reference tells us that the author knew of the important art collection and patronage of the count's illustrious ancestor Lothar Franz von Schönborn.[39] At the same time, Piré is at pains to point out and praise the eminent importance of the painter David for France by presenting him, as it were, as a new Raphael or Guido Reni.

Piré also wrote another poem about the painting, which has survived in a printed version in the Schönborn Archive, as Piré's autograph,[40] and in Endres's copy:[41]

Sur le tableau de Mr. David
représentant la derniere entrevue
de Télémaque et d'Eucharis

Les voilà réunis! Tremble sage Mentor,
Eucharis est trop belle et son amant trop tendre;
Télémaque a beau s'en defendre,
Venus Venus triomphe et Minerve aura tort.

Pardonne o Sagesse éternelle
Pardonne de mes sens l'involontaire essor;
Dans ces traits où la honte au délire se mêle,
Un rayon divin étincelle
Ton flambeau sacré brûle encor.

Mais j'admire Eucharis; sa douleur m'intéresse,
De son amant j'excuse et partage l'ivresse
Entre deux passions balançant à mon tour
Mon ame est toute à la Sagesse
Et mon coeur est tout à l'amour;
Je languis avec lui, je m'élève avec elle
Qui donc peut m'agiter ainsi?
Ah je le vois enfin; c'est l'art divin d'Apelle;
Il enchante à mes yeux une toile immortelle,
Et David seul triomphe ici.

J. F.-A. Piré[42]

This poem, which deals more closely with the topic depicted in the painting, also belongs to the series of "éloges, formulés tant en prose, qu'en vers" (praises both in prose and in verse) with which the mostly enthusiastic art-loving public and the Belgian press, especially in Ghent and Brussels, greeted David's new painting. The poem was republished with slight changes in 1845 by Edmond De Busscher.[43]

The Schönborn Archive also holds an autographed copy of another, particularly long poem of praise with sixty-six verses by an unknown author. Given to Endres by David, it is dedicated to Count von Schönborn with the following words: "Vers / pour accompagner Télémaque et Eucharis / de l'immortel David. / A Monsieur le Comte De Schoenborn" (Verses to accompany Telemachus and Eucharis by the immortal David. For Count von Schönborn).[44]

IV

The enthusiasm that Franz Erwein and, even more evidently, Endres bestowed on the acquisition of this particular painting and on documentation of the contemporary reaction to it leads us to assume that it must have been a conscious strategy, aimed both at increasing the value of the painting and at augmenting the reputation of the count as an art collector and a patron of the arts. However, only if the painting through exhibitions and reproductions in the form of engravings became firmly rooted in the public consciousness of art lovers could such an effect have lasting value.[45]

In order to further the fame of both the painter and the owner the painting was publicly exhibited for the benefit of charities immediately after its completion,[46] in fact, even before the contractual date of its delivery to the collector, which certainly could not have happened without the consent of the count.[47]

The presumed first public presentation of the painting may have come about at the initiative of Egide-Norbert Cornelissen, the *secrétaire honoraire* (honorary secretary) of the Société royale des Beaux-Arts et de Littérature de Gand (Royale society of fine arts and literature of Ghent),[48] to which David belonged.[49] It

took place in June in Ghent,[50] in the Salle du Pavillon of the town hall, for the benefit of the "classe des honnêtes ouvriers sans ouvrage" (class of unemployed respectable workers), as David wrote on May 20, 1818, to Pierre-Guillaume-Jean van Huffel, president of the Ghent academy.[51] On May 22, Jean-Baptiste Pisson, the director of the architecture class at the Ghent academy, expressed his thanks to David for permission to exhibit the painting in Ghent and extended an invitation to the painter to come to the city.[52] Five days later, De Lens, mayor of the city of Ghent, offered the famous painter "[la salle] la plus convenablement appropriée dans cette vue à l'hotel de ville"—the room in the town hall best suited for the exhibition of the painting.[53] It is clear from a letter by Cornelissen that the painting must have arrived in Ghent and been put on exhibition on May 31, at the latest, for on that date he told David, "Votre tableau a un défaut—il attache trop, on ne le quitte pas; on ne sort pas du sallon—il ne faut pas demander, si on veut le revoir, et revoir encore."[54]

On that same day Félix Heyndrickx, one of David's pupils, also reported to his master about the exhibition and how the painting was presented:

> M. David, je vais à présent vous donner un détail de la manière que le tableau est exposé: la salle est au nord, le jour, sans être aussi beau que celui de votre appartement est cependant fort bien—le tableau est à 4 pieds de hauteur et la balustrade, qui est devant, est à peu près à 5 pieds du tableau. Il est aussi incliné autant qu'il le faut.[55]

Because the exhibition was originally meant to last only eight to ten days, Van Huffel sent David a further letter on June 8 asking for an extension of the exhibition. But because he did not know what the painter's decision would be, he let the press announce that June 11 would be the last day of the painting's showing in Ghent.[56] Although David's consent to the extension has not been preserved,[57] it must have been positive, for it appears from a note in *L'Oracle* of June 14 that the painting was on view in Ghent until June 19, or possibly even June 20.

Immediately following this exhibition, the painting was shown in the Musée de Bruxelles from June 23 to July 12 for the benefit of the "Etablissement pour des Vieillards Indigents. Au ci-devant Couvent de Sainte Gertrude" (Establishment for indigent old people. Formerly the Convent of Saint Gertrude),[58] more precisely for the benefit of the charitable works at the hospices of the Ursuline nuns and Saint Gertrude.[59] The initiative for this exhibition probably came from Michiels de Heyn, the *administrateur-secrétaire de l'établissement de Sainte-Gertrude* (administrative secretary of the institution of Saint Gertrude),[60] supported by the mayor of Brussels, who in a letter of June 17 asked David for permission to show the painting for charitable causes in Brussels, "dans une des salles de l'ancienne cour" (in one of the rooms of the old courtyard) of the museum.[61] David must have given his oral consent, for the press announced that the painting would be shown in Brussels starting on June 23.[62] There, too, the exhibition was a success, as documented by countless press announcements and reviews. Just as in Ghent, the run had to be extended.[63] The proceeds for the charitable works of both hospices in Brussels came to 1,890 francs.[64] The exhibition closed on July 12, and the next day the painting was returned to David.[65]

Endres mentions both exhibitions in his records on July 15 and again on August 4. With evident pride he notes that voluntary admission fees from the two charity exhibitions produced the astonishingly high sum of *à peu près* (almost) five thousand francs for the benefit of the poor, that is, close to the full purchase price of the painting.[66]

After the exhibition closed in Brussels, Endres was received by the directors of the Etablissement pour des Vieillards Indigents. On that occasion he also visited the charitable institution of the Saint Gertrude Hospice, which received part of the exhibition proceeds. It is evident from one of his remarks that the money collected from the exhibition of the painting in Brussels served a good cause:

> L'Etablissement actuel, qui nourrit 125 vieillards et femmes, n'a aucun fond assuré, et se soutient seulement des dons gratuits et casuels, et est administré par 5 administrateurs chaque mois. En visitant l'intérieur de cet institut louable, j'y ai trouvé la plus grande propreté dans toutes les chambres, dont les habitants avaient tous l'air d'être contents de leur sort dans ce réfuge de leur vieillesse.[67]

During this visit the directors asked Endres to convey their gratitude to the count, who was then staying in England. The visit also left Endres himself with a memory "que je [Endres] garde avec d'autant plus de plaisir, parce qu'elle me rappèle les jours agréables, que j'ai passés à Bruxelles l'an 1818, en y séjournant pendant 9 mois."[68]

The exhibition of the painting in Ghent brought new fame to David himself, along with a medal from

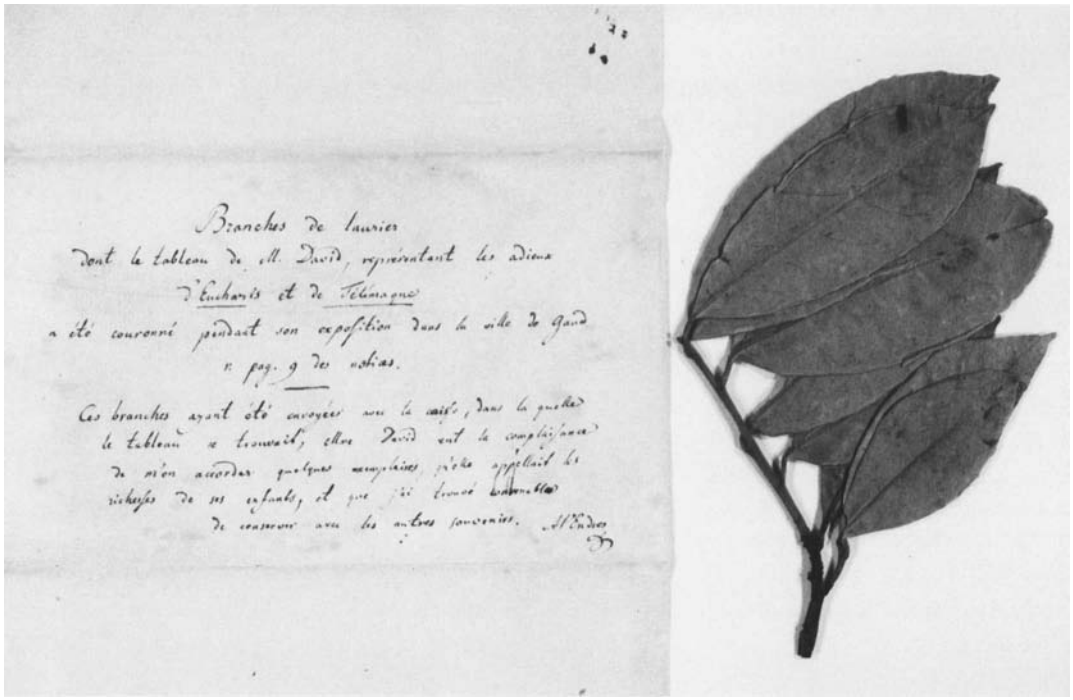


FIGURE 7 Anton Endres's travel journal, supplement. Laurel leaves that decorated the *The Farewell of Telemachus and Eucharis* during its exhibition in Ghent, May 31–June 19/20, 1818. Staatsarchiv Würzburg, Schönborn Archive, Archive of Franz Erwein's correspondence, no. 23b.

the Société royale des Beaux-Arts de Gand.[69] Endres notes in his travel journal that the painter gave him some of the laurel branches that decorated the painting during its exhibition in Ghent:

> Mr. David ayant eu la complaisance de me donner quelque branches des lauriers, dont son tableau avoit été couronné, et qu'on lui avoit envoyés de Gand, j'ai eu soin de les garder, et il y en a donc quelques branches plus petites dans l'enveloppe jointe à ces notices, avec l'inscription, d'où elles viennent, et quelle a été leur noble destination.[70]

These laurel leaves are still attached to the travel journal in the Schönborn Archive (fig. 7).

V

Endres's journal also makes it clear to what extent he continued to play a part in the acquisition of the painting. Perhaps on instructions from the count or perhaps on his own initiative, Endres seems already in June 1818, while the painting was on view in Ghent, to have expressed his wish "d'entendre les opinions et le[s] jugemens de plusieurs maitres sur ce tableau" (to hear the opinions and judgment[s] of several masters about this picture). He thus told Professor Haus from Würzburg,[71] who was teaching jurisprudence at the University of Ghent, that he wanted to collect expert testimony from several artists.[72] Endres was probably initially thinking of the Munich landscape painter Joseph Carl Cogels (1785–1831),[73] who, as a member of the academy in Ghent[74] and of the Royal Academy in Antwerp,[75] lived and worked in Brussels and who furthermore was a friend of Haus's. Besides, two years earlier Cogels had sold a landscape painting to the count's collection for 165 gulden, for which he acknowledged receipt on September 2, 1816, in a letter from Munich.[76]

Cogels conveyed in a letter sent from Ghent on July 11, 1818,[77] that he would be glad to meet Endres's request, even though he had not yet known Endres personally. At the same time he asked for forbearance, for "le tableau dont il s'agit n'est pas dans la partie de la peinture que je pratique" (the painting in question does not belong to the area of painting where I practice). He also uses the occasion to remind Endres that he is a landscape painter.

The intention is only too clear: Cogels hopes

through his analysis once again to bring Endres's and, of course, the count's attention to his own work, in order that he may receive new commissions from the count. Therefore his analysis should not be considered altogether objective expert advice, for it could hardly have turned out negative. He writes,

> Je desirerais pouvoir vous montrer mes nouvelles productions qui sont chez son Exc. le gouverneur de cette province amateur éclairé des arts et qui seroit charmé de faire la connaissance de Monsieur le Comte de Schönborn dont j'ai eû l'occasion de citer souvent la protection et l'encouragement qu'il se plait a donner aux beaux arts et a ceux qui les cultivent.[78]

Cogels first of all points out that he saw the original painting in June in Ghent. Deliberately subordinating his own expertise, he states that, "ce tableau est d'apres l'opinion générale le mieux colorié que ce grand artiste aie jamais exécuté" (the general opinion is that this great artist has never executed colors better). This is followed by three longer, methodically and skillfully arranged paragraphs with the expert's detailed observations on the figures of Eucharis and Telemachus, and on the background of the painting. Cogels constantly makes reference to the literary source for the picture, Book 6 of Fénelon's *Les Aventures de Télémaque, fils d'Ulysse*.[79] During his observations on individual parts of Eucharis's body, Cogels again praises the pretty nymph's "grande verité et beauté de couleur" (great truthfulness and beauty of color), her "belle carnation de la nature" (beautiful natural complexion), for which—and here Cogels again follows public opinion—there is only "une voix d'admiration générale" (a voice of general admiration).[80] His judgment about Telemachus, however, is much more strongly influenced by his intimate knowledge of the literary subject; this may conceal his more critical attitude toward the somewhat cruder, or at least less "ideal" and less sensual treatment of this figure, an attitude Cogels shared with contemporary critics of the picture—or perhaps he even got it from them.

Not until the final treatment of the background does Cogels, *expressis verbis*, counter publicly voiced criticism of the painting in order to "rehabilitate" it in the eyes of Endres and the count as a faithful depiction of what Fénelon intended to express.[81] His expert opinion ends by stressing the painting's harmony and unity, adding words of praise for the patron, "qui a fait l'acquisition d'un aussi beau tableau acquisition qui prouve de nouveau le gout et cet amour des beaux arts qui distinguent si eminemment le possesseur de la superbe galérie de Pommersfelde! qui sait apprecier et encourager d'une manière aussi noble que généreuse les talents des artistes."[82]

Although no special value can be attached to Cogels's opinion, and although we cannot clearly determine what purpose Endres ultimately was pursuing when he requested an expert opinion, it must have seemed important enough to him to let David know about it immediately.[83]

The conversation with David, however, is of decisive importance, for it indicates what the artist's aesthetic intentions were in this late work and how he himself assessed the painting. Cogels's statement that this great artist had never executed colors better flattered David—"Éh bien, si c'est vrai, j'en suis enchanté" (well, if that's true, then I am delighted)—who went on to explain the reason for its high quality compared to others of his works,[84] "Car c'est moi seul, qui a peint ce tableau, autrefois j'ai fait quelquefois la bétise, de faire travailler mès élèves, même à des ouvrages qui passoient sous mon nom, mais il n'y a personne, que moi seul, qui ait touché ce tableau d'Eucharis, s'il y a du mérite, il m'apartient à moi seul."[85] Just by this statement of David's, Cogels's expertise gained an importance that reaches all the way to the present.[86]

David takes the opportunity to correct Cogels's suggested interpretation of the painting, especially concerning the relation of the dog to Telemachus. The dog does not belong to Telemachus, as Cogels infers; rather, it is Eucharis's *bête fidèle* (faithful animal), which shares the feelings of its mistress.

As far as the background of the picture is concerned, David emphatically confirms Cogels's opinion that it should not detract from the topic through further inserted fillers,[87] for "ce n'est pas toujours la pluralité de traits et de signes, par la quelle l'artiste doit représenter son sujet, c'est plutôt la simplicité de ces traits par les quels il doit annoncer et exprimer son idée, et le caractère de son sujet."[88]

Finally, Endres himself examined Cogels's subliminal criticism that Telemachus did not turn out as well as Eucharis.[89] Endres concluded that this in no way dimmed the general impression of the painting, for whenever David depicted persons of both sexes in a painting, the female figure was always superior to the male.

Cogels's expert opinion as well as the related comments by David and Endres make it clear how Count von Schönborn's acquisition was received and discussed

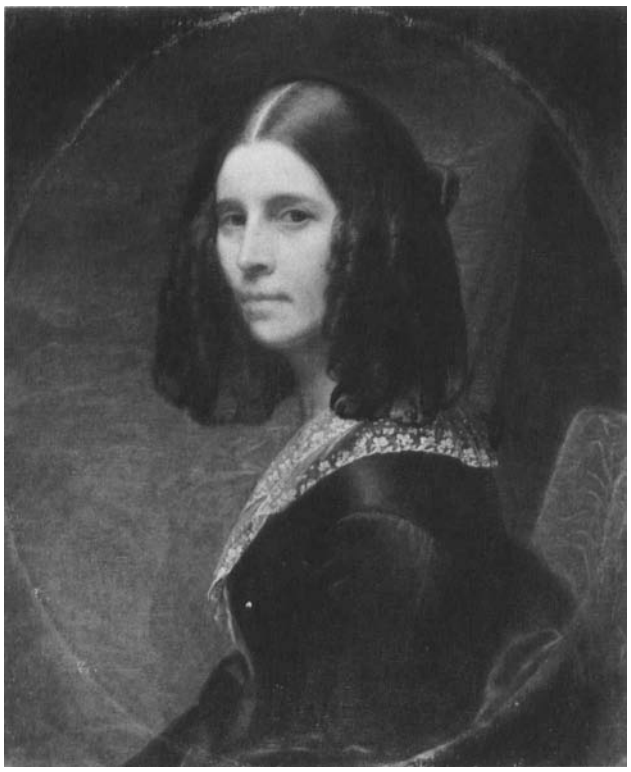


FIGURE 8 Sophie Frémiet-Rude (French, 1797–1867). *Self-Portrait*, circa 1830. Oil on canvas, 65 x 54 cm (25⅝ x 21¼ in.). Dijon, Musée des Beaux-Arts de Dijon, CA.462.

by the public and by learned critics immediately after its public presentation. The count ought thus to be convinced that in this painting he owned a masterpiece by one of the most important painters of his time. It was the opinion of contemporaries that the count's acquisition of David's painting was certainly the most spectacular purchase of his career as an art collector.

VI

After the exhibition closed, the painting was not immediately sent to its owner, but, for the time being, it was returned to David.[90] Preparations for shipping the painting to Reichartshausen Castle in Rheingau, where the count frequently stayed and where a large part of his art collection was kept, could not yet begin.[91] Once again we owe valuable information to Endres's eager collecting of documentation of the painting. It concerns a copy of the painting that was commissioned by David himself in July 1818 and that was most likely intended for himself.

On July 18 an announcement appeared in the *Journal de Commerce*, which Endres immediately copied into his travel journal:

> Le tableau de Télémaque et Eucharis peint par M. David, parait être le tableau d'affection de ce grand peintre. Jamais il n'a conservé ni copie ni dessin d'aucun de ses ouvrages, mais il veut conserver une copie de celuici: il a choisi pour le faire, Mslle Sophie Fremyet, fille ainée de Mr Fremyet, ancien controleur des contributions à Dijon. Cette personne est celui des élèves de M. David, qui approche le plus de sa manière simple et pure. Cette marque de confiance du maitre et le progrès que Mslle Fremyet fait dans son art, apportent quelque soulagement aux peines de cette malheureuse famille.[92]

The very fact that the *Journal de Commerce* would publish such news shows to what degree public interest in Belgium continued to focus on David's painting. The notice also clearly shows the reader the importance David attached to his *tableau d'affection*.[93] At the same time, the mention of Sophie Frémiet as an especially gifted pupil who is particularly close to the master is done in such an obvious way that one might suspect a specific intent behind it.

Sophie Frémiet (fig. 8),[94] who had just turned twenty-one and who would later marry the important sculptor François Rude,[95] was the daughter of a former tax collector from Dijon, an *homme plein d'esprit*,[96] who had been an unquestioning follower of Napoléon and who knew David very well. In order to escape any acts of revenge by Louis XVIII, the Frémiets—like David—had gone into exile in Belgium. In 1817 Frémiet had published an article about David's *Amor and Psyche* in *Le Vrai Libéral*, the newspaper of French refugees in Belgium, in which he had defended the painter against public criticism.[97]

David must have had a special interest in publicly announcing the news of the planned copy of the picture; perhaps it was to make reference to his own works[98] or to the circle of the numerous pupils[99] who had also gathered around him in Brussels, or perhaps to call attention, in general, to the community of former revolutionaries and followers of Napoléon who had fled to Belgium. The additional information that David gave Endres about the emigrant family Frémiet also points in that direction.[100]

David accompanied Endres to Sophie Frémiet in order to show him her works, among them a life-sized portrait of her younger sister,[101] and to convince Endres

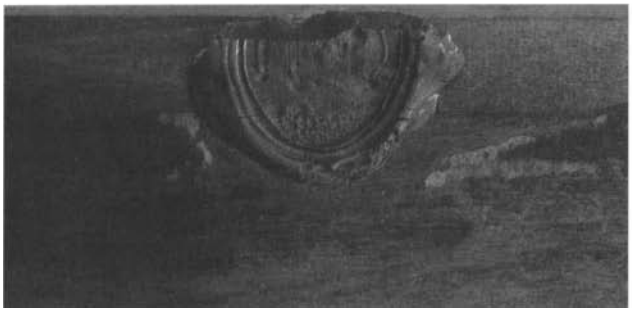


FIGURE 9 Part of one of the four seals of Erwein Damian, Graf von Schönborn, on the original wedged stretcher of the painting (enlarged). Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum.

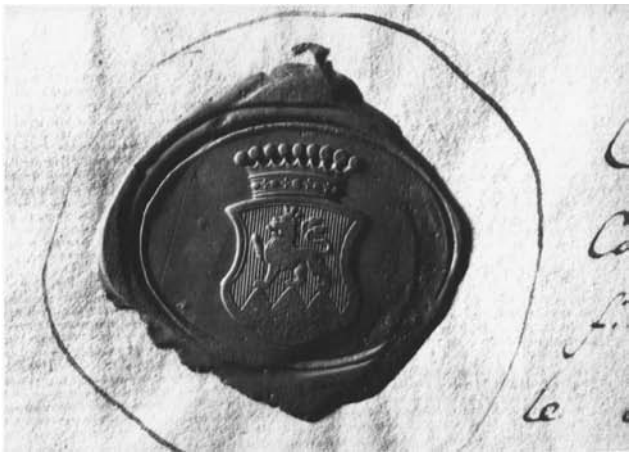


FIGURE 10 Seal of Erwein Damian (enlarged). Graf von Schönborn, imprinted on Anton Endres's travel journal. Staatsarchiv Würzburg, Schönborn Archive, Archive of Franz Erwein's correspondence, no. 23[b], p. 78

of her expertise. David succeeded, for Endres summarized his visit there with the following words:

> C'est M. David lui même, d'ailleurs juge assez sévère par rapport aux productions d'art, qui a excité mon attention sur tout ce qu'il y a de beau et de distingué dans les ouvrages de Mslle Fremyet, et dans les quels on remarque avec plaisir l'art et la verité, avec la quelle les étoffes sont rendues. Mais outre le talent de copier exactement et fidélement qu'elle possède déja supérieurement, M. David croit pouvoir prédire, qu'elle ne manquera pas de rendre son nom célèbre, par des propres productions, et des tableaux d'histoire dignes d'être nommés. A ces suffrages du maitre, qui parait être fier de nommer cette Demoiselle son élève, je dois ajouter que son talent distingué est égalé par une modestie aimable, et qui me fait croire, que l'expression de M. David—c'est dans la maison de la vertu, que je vous conduis—dont il se servit, l'orsqu'il alla avec moi, voir Mslle Fremyet, n'est pas seulement un compliment exagéré.[102]

David's intention in introducing his pupil as a talented copyist and stressing her talent as a history painter seems above all to have been to secure Sophie Frémiet's position in Belgian art life and also to recommend her for future commissions for the collection of Count von Schönborn.

When Endres visited Frémiet in her studio in Brussels on July 24, 1818,[103] together with his pupil Erwein Damian, David's painting was already there. Sophie Frémiet had just begun sketching the copy onto a somewhat larger canvas ("à peu près deux pouces plus large et plus haute que celle du tableau de M. le Comte").[104] On the advice of David and as proof of authenticity Endres affixed four seals with the coat of arms of the young Count von Schönborn to the back of the original painting in such a fashion that they covered the seam between the frame and the canvas, which therefore could not be removed without breaking the seals (figs. 9, 10).[105] Endres put great value on these security measures, which were meant in perpetuity to make it impossible to confuse the copy with the original and, above all, to prevent the fraudulent exchange of the original with the copy after the latter was completed. The corresponding impression was also imprinted on the records using the same seal "pour etre en tout temps sûr, qu'on n'a rien changé."[106]

It seems that Sophie Frémiet's work on the copy progressed extremely fast, for only eleven days later, on August 4, Endres visited her again to satisfy himself about the state of the copy, but especially about its quality in comparison to the original. Again, Endres gives a most detailed account of his observations in his journal.

The enthusiasm for the achievement of the copyist that David had apparently produced in Endres seemed now to be waning. Admittedly, Endres does start by stressing once again Frémiet's dexterity when he states, "Quoiqu' étonné de la manière et de l'art, avec la quelle cette jeune personne sait rendre le bel original qui est devant ses yeux,"[107] but "la copie . . . n'égalera jamais son original"—a copy can never equal the original. Endres carefully formulated a list with

twelve points of critical observations made by direct comparison of the original with the copy. They are so exact that through them one can reliably identify the copy of the painting, which today is in private hands (fig. 11).[108]

First, Endres establishes that David's original was done in three layers of paint, while the copy was painted in only one, so that the copy's color would change over time. The face of Eucharis seems a little broader and larger, and neither her mouth nor *l'oeil languissant* (her yearning eye) is rendered with the same grace and tenderness as in the original. Then numerous detailed observations record the individual differences between the two pictures. They refer to the eye color of Eucharis, her hair band,[109] a slight swelling on one of her fingers that is not present in the original, the heavier pleats of her gown; all in all, the dimensions of the copy are a little wider and larger—observations that can be proven even though we are dealing with minute details.[110] Further remarks point out, among other things, particular details of the gown's pattern, the intensity of the shadows, and the body of Telemachus, which turned out "un peu plus mince que dans l'original" (a little more slender than in the original). Further, "Es ist eine

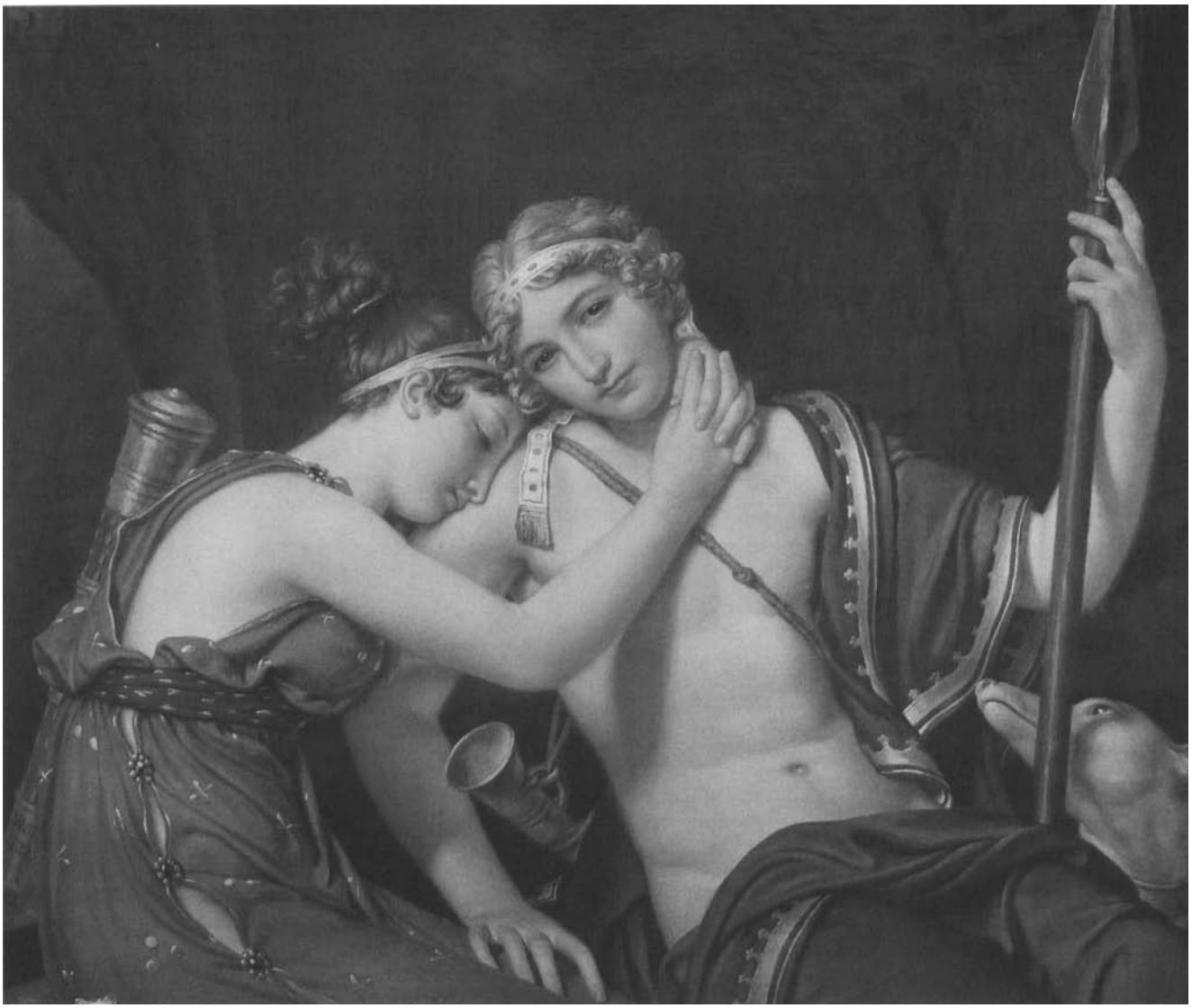


FIGURE 11 Sophie Frémiet (and Jacques-Louis David[?]). *Telemachus Taking Leave of the Nymph Eucharis*, 1818–22. Oil on canvas, 90 x 105 cm (35⅜ x 41⅜ in.). Private collection. Photo courtesy of Bulloz, Paris.

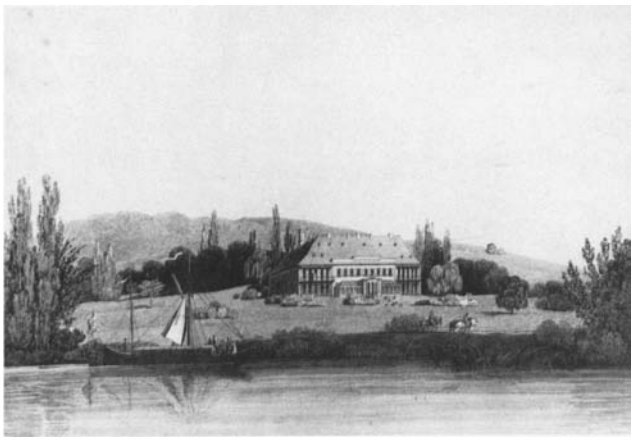


FIGURE 12 Ernst Kaiser (German, 1803–1865). *Reichartshausen Castle in the Duchy of Nassau*, 1831–34. Watercolor, 29.5 x 46.5 cm (11⅝ x 18¼ in.). Collection of Graf von Schönborn-Wiesentheid. Photo courtesy of Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg.

äußerst geringe, allein nach meinem Auge und Gefühle doch bemerkbare Verschiedenheit darin, daß dieser Unterleib etwas schmäler ist als im Original."[111]

Endres's list contains a remarkable observation: "Sur le carquois d'Eucharis dans l'original se trouve l'inscription: *David pinxit Bruxelles 1818.*—et cette inscription ne se trouvera jamais sur le tableau de Mslle Fremyet, de la sorte que les héritiers de Mr David, mêmes ne pourront jamais faire passer ce tableau pour un autre que pour la copie de Mslle Fremyet."[112] The count had probably insisted, via Endres, that if a copy were made, everything had to be done to prevent any possibility of mistaking the copy for the original. As mentioned above, the count's seals on the back of the picture already served this purpose.

To this was now added the copyist's obligation not to render the signature of the original painting on her copy. The copy that is believed to be by Frémiet does, however, carry a signature, but it is in a different place, not near the metal lid on the upper end of Eucharis's quiver, but, much less conspicuously, at its lower end. Nevertheless, the signature *DAVID* now gives the appearance of an original; yet the added year *1822* makes it clear—at least to anyone who knows the date of creation of the original—that this cannot be anything but a copy, which leaves unanswered the question to what extent David was involved in this replica.[113] At least Endres had ensured that David's heirs would not be able to pass off the copy as the original.

After listing the individual points of comparisons between the original and the copy, Endres drew a telling conclusion that reveals the *oeil du connaisseur* (eye of the connoisseur),[114] which he did not boast of having. He writes:

> Enfin la comparaison de ces deux tableaux m'a paru l'étude la plus intéressante, et la preuve la plus convaincante, quelle différence il peut y avoir entre deux tableaux, quoi que la resemblance pour les contours puisse paraitre parfaite. En verité cette ressemblance des contours s'y trouve, parce que ces contours ont été pris mécaniquement par des quarrées de fil[115]—mais on n'a qu'à regarder et examiner ce qui regarde la peinture proprement dite, pour découvrir quelle différence il y a entre la touche de l'original et de la répétition; la partie du corps de Télémaque, entre l'estomac et le nombril entre autres est dans la répétition d'une roideur[116] bien sensible; et puis beaucoup manque que l'épaule d'Eucharis soit rendue avec les mêmes traits moélleux, qui se trouvent dans l'original, et qui ont excité l'admiration de tous les connaisseurs.[117]

With this Endres recognized very clearly the fine yet obvious differences that inevitably exist between an original and its replica, or copy. Thus comparison between the original and the copy expresses much better the highly praised beauty of David's painting: "Cette comparaison contribue beaucoup à augmenter et à faire sentir d'avantage les beautés du tableau original si généralement admiré."[118]

There is no further information in Endres's journals about the copy of the painting, its completion, and what became of it. Most likely Frémiet's copy was finished before October 28, 1818, for on that day Endres, who was still in Brussels, delivered a note by David to a certain Mr. Tays,[119] who was to wrap the original painting carefully and get it ready for shipment to Count von Schönborn.[120]

After a four-month journey the painting finally reached its destination, Reichartshausen Castle in Rheingau (fig. 12), in 1819, as Endres wrote to David in a letter from Munich in August of that year.[121] It became "das Glanzstück der Sammlung und Anziehungspunkt für viele Kunstreisende."[122]

The copy seems to have stayed in David's possession for the time being. Whether David himself went over it before the original was shipped to Germany, and whether it was simply signed and dated subsequently, in the year 1822, must remain an unanswered question.[123] In 1825, while David was still alive, it was acquired by

Firmin Didot in Brussels,[124] after which time it was often reproduced and exhibited.[125] From this time on, public opinion about David's late work was based mainly on the copy by Sophie Frémiet, while the original remained in the possession of the counts von Schönborn until 1865.

Evidently the copy acquired by Firmin Didot, which may have been retouched by David to an unknown extent, was exhibited in Paris in the first half of 1825. In a report dated July 3, 1825, the Paris correspondent for the issue of *Kunst-Blatt* (Art journal) of July 25, 1825, who signed his writing *P. A.*, expressed cautious doubts about the authenticity of *The Farewell of Telemachus and Eucharis* then on exhibit in the Louvre. He also mentioned that the current owner of the painting, "Hr. Firmin Didot, der Sohn, der ihn [that is, David] in Brüssel besuchte, brachte ein Gemälde desselben mit, in welchem er das Zarte und Liebliche darstellen wollte, das Fenelon von der Liebe der Eucharis und des Telemach zu sagen wußte."[126] After a short description of the composition, however, P. A. added in a qualifying way:

> Ich würde mich freuen, dem Gemälde alles Lob geben zu dürfen, welches dem großen und glänzenden Talente Davids gebührt, aber ich kann nicht bergen, daß man Spuren des Alters sieht. Indeß beweißt die schöne Anordnung der Figuren den sichern Geschmack des Meisters; in mehreren Partien ist ein Farbglanz vorherrschend, den er in seinen besten Werken verschmäht zu haben scheint, und welches diejenigen, die er nach seinen Sabinerinnen gefertigt hat, so sehr auszeichnet. Einige behaupten, dieses Gemälde sey nur eine Copie eines andern, das der Kronprinz von Baiern von ihm gekauft habe.[127] Ist dieß gegründet, so könnte man das Gemälde blos nach Ansicht des Originals selbst beurteilen.[128]

Although there are no references in the Schönborn Archive to further exhibitions of the original painting, we must assume that in the following decades Frémiet's copy was regarded as the original because of its signature and date (1822). This is precisely what the count and Endres had wanted to avoid by the four seals on the back of the original, by the express order not to sign the copy, and by the carefully recorded comparison between the original and the copy.[129]

David's original painting remained in the possession of the Schönborn family until 1865. On October 9, some months after the death of Count Erwein Damian,[130] it was sold in Munich by his younger brother Clemens,[131] at an auction held by the Montmorillon art dealers in the Palais Schönborn.[132]

In the course of the late nineteenth and the twentieth centuries the painting appeared at auction several times and was always bought by private collectors. Before its acquisition by the J. Paul Getty Museum on February 24, 1987, it was in a private collection in Uruguay.[133] Up to that time the extensive art-historical literature referred mostly to the copy (as the presumed original by David, or, as a replica on which the painter had collaborated).[134]

Probably because the replica of the painting was exhibited often, the existence of the original painting seems slowly to have been forgotten in France, Belgium, and even in Germany, in spite of the aforementioned "security measures." The entry for lot 46 in the Munich auction catalog from 1865 is eloquent testimony to this, and it probably increased the value of the painting. That text is reprinted here in its entirety, including errors of fact and typography:

> Telemach nimmt Abschied von der Nymphe Eucharis; Kniestück in Lebensgrösse. Auf dem goldenen Köcher der Eucharis steht der Name J. David und auf dem Jagdhorn des Telemach 1818 Brux. Auf Leinwand. Höhe 3′, Breite 3′6″.
>
> Dieses berühmte Gemälde, welches in der Ausstellung zu Brüssel im Jahre 1819 mit dem ersten Preis gekrönt wurde, erwarb der im Jahre 1840 verstorbene Graf von Schönborn aus der Hand des Künstlers bei Gelegenheit der Ausstellung. Wir erwähnen dies ausdrücklich, weil eine Wiederholung dereinst sich als Original geltend zu machen suchte, was aber bereits Schorn im Kunstblatte vom 25. Juli 1825 zurückwies, indem er unser Bild als erstes und Originalgemälde constatirte.
>
> Nagler Band III. pag. 290. sowie die Jahrgänge 1820, 1825, 1836 u.s.w. des deutschen Kunstblattes geben von diesem Bilde ausführliche und seinem Werth entsprechende Kritiken.[135]

Because of the numerous press reports and the many remarks made by David and by his contemporaries in letters, *The Farewell of Telemachus and Eucharis* is already among the best-documented paintings from the last decade of the master's life.[136] Nevertheless, the sources preserved in the Schönborn Archive—particularly the original contract and the extensive report by Endres concerning the picture—afford new and deeper insights into both the acquisition and the early history of the reception of this famous and exceptional picture,

which Antoine Schnapper justifiably appreciated with the following words:

> On ne peut qu'admirer en effet l'accord du bleu et du rouge, les reflets bleus sur la tête du lévier; le sang qui court sous la peau, le modèle superbe des mains et surtout la grâce sinueuse, l'arabesque des figures qui font de ce tableau le plus réussi ou du moins le plus facile à apprécier des quatre tableaux d'histoire de la période tardive.[137]

Helmut Engelhart teaches art history at the University of Würzburg, Germany.

NOTES

My special thanks go to the staff of the J. Paul Getty Museum, especially to Mark Greenberg, for the publication of this text in the *Journal*; Denise Allen, assistant curator in the Department of Paintings; and Jennifer Helvey, curatorial assistant in the Department of Paintings, for her encouragement to publish this study and for her valuable advice, photographs, and copies, as well as hard-to-find literature; and to Benedicte Gilman and Dr. Angela Thompson for the translation of the article, including the French quotations. Further thanks go to the staff of the Staatsarchiv in Würzburg, especially to the senior archivist, Werner Wagenhöfer, for intensive consultation and for making available relevant archival material; and to Hermann Schömig, for working on and supplying the photographs. I am also obliged to Dr. Katharina Bott (Bad Kleinkirchheim), Bruno Fornari (Brussels, Musée Communal des Beaux-Arts d'Ixelles), Burton B. Fredericksen (Los Angeles, Getty Art History Information Program, Provenance Index), Dr. Hermann Maué (Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum), Professor Antoine Schnapper (Paris, Université de Paris—Sorbonne), Mme. Christine van Wersch-Cot (Dijon, Musée des Beaux-Arts), and Rotraud Wunderlich (Würzburg) for all their advice and help. This study would not have come about in its present form without the encouragement and help of my wife, Dr. Ingrid Heeg-Engelhart (Staatsarchiv Würzburg), concerning archival and palaeographic questions; to her I extend my very special thanks.

1. This study takes its origin in K. Bott, *Ein deutscher Kunstsammler zu Beginn des 19. Jahrhunderts: Franz Erwein von Schönborn (1776–1840)* (Alfter, 1993); see my review of Bott's book in *Würzburger Diözesangeschichtsblätter* 57 (1995), pp. 441–44. The quotes from the archival material of the Schönborn Archive at the Staatsarchiv Würzburg (henceforth abbreviated StAWü, SA, KA FE) use the spelling in the original sources, although the first word of a sentence and proper names have been standardized to start with capital letters; transcription errors in Bott have in most cases tacitly been corrected. For a biography of the count, see J. F. Abert, "Franz Erwein, Graf von Schönborn-Wiesentheid: Patriot und Förderer der Künste, 1776–1840," in *Lebensläufe aus Franken*, ed. A. Chroust, vol. 4 (Würzburg, 1930), pp. 348–78.
2. See especially the study dedicated to this picture by D. Johnson, *Jacques-Louis David: The Farewell of Telemachus and Eucharis* (Los Angeles, 1997).
3. Especially helpful is the catalog of the exhibition *Jacques-Louis David: 1748–1825*, exh. cat. (Paris, 1989). Important relevant documents are in D. Wildenstein and G. Wildenstein, *Documents complémentaires au catalogue de l'oeuvre de Louis David* (Paris, 1973).
4. Franz Erwein's efforts to establish his own art collection date back to circa 1812. From that time onward there is correspondence with artists about the acquisition of paintings. These purchases were made on a large scale especially between 1813 and 1830. Besides the influence of his friend the clergyman Anton Endres (1776–1825), who in 1812 had become private tutor to his son Franz Erwein Damian, the death in 1813 of Franz Erwein's wife, Fernandine Isabella Maria (née Countess von Westphalen zu Fürstenberg), seems to have played an important role in the "leidenschaftliche Kunst-Sammeltätigkeit als Ablenkung von der Trauer" (passionate art collecting as diversion from his mourning); Bott (note 1), p. xxii.
5. In March 1818 Comte d'Agrain des Ubas had also seen the painting in David's studio and had praised it in a letter to David; see Wildenstein and Wildenstein (note 3), no. 1815; *Jacques-Louis David: 1748–1825* (note 3), p. 623.
6. Cleveland, The Cleveland Museum of Art, Leonard C. Hanna, Jr., Fund, inv. 62.37; Schnapper, *Jacques-Louis David und seine Zeit* (Würzburg, 1981), p. 298, fig. 186.
7. *Jacques-Louis David: 1748–1825* (note 3), p. 526. The letter is printed, with the date October 30, 1817, in J. L. J. David, *Louis David, 1748–1825: Souvenirs & Documents inédits* (Paris, 1880), pp. 547f.
8. Wildenstein and Wildenstein (note 3), no. 1808. The original wedged stretcher on which the painting was mounted until its last restoration after the acquisition by the J. Paul Getty Museum in 1987 carries the inscription *Mr David*. Many thanks to Denise Allen and Mark Leonard for furnishing a copy of the restoration report of the painting, which is dated July 10, 1987.
9. According to A. Schnapper, in *Jacques-Louis David: 1748–1825* (note 3), p. 527.
10. *L'Oracle* (June 1, 1818), p. 3.
11. Such an "order" would have had to have been given before October 20, 1817 (see above and note 7), but it would hardly be compatible with David's remark that "this will be a pendant to my Psyche."
12. The contract between David and the count had already been signed when, on April 15, a notice about the painting was published in the *Annales belgiques des sciences, arts et littératures*, "Nous croyons savoir qu'une Eucharis, et seconde Psyché, non moins digne des caresses de l'Amour que celle de Raphael, et que son aînée, signalera encore la présence de M. David dans la Belgique" (We think we know that a Eucharis—a second Psyche—no less deserving of Amor's caresses than that of Raphael, or than her elder [sister], will signal once more M. David's presence in Belgium); *Annales belgiques des sciences, arts et littératures* 1 (first semester, 1818), pp. 206, 211; reprinted in *Jacques-Louis David: 1748–1825* (note 3), p. 623.
13. When he first began collecting art, Count Franz Erwein's taste was mostly shaped by classicism, perhaps due to the influence of his wife, Fernandine. As one of his first acquisitions, Franz Erwein commissioned a portrait of the countess with her eldest son, Erwein (1811/1812), from François Gérard (1770–1837), a pupil of David (Count von Schönborn-Wiesentheid, art collection, inv. 193). In view of this acquisition it would seem natural that the count should have wanted also to have a

painting in his collection by Gérard's famous teacher, David; Bott (note 1), pp. xxxi–xxxii, 37–38; K. Bott, "Franz Erwein Graf von Schönborn: Kunstsammler zwischen Klassizismus und Romantik," in *Die Grafen von Schönborn: Kirchenfürsten, Sammler, Mäzene*, ed. G. Bott, exh. cat. (Nuremberg, 1989), pp. 173–79, 535–36, cat. no. 419 with illustration.

14. *Jacques-Louis David: 1748–1825* (note 3), pp. 518–19; F. Haskell, *An Italian Patron of French Neo-classic Art: The Zaharoff Lecture for 1972* (Oxford, 1972); idem, "More about Sommariva," *The Burlington Magazine* (October 1972), pp. 691–95.
15. StAWü, SA, KA FE 86, fols. 3/4; Bott (note 1), p. 82, letter 171. The letter was forwarded to Brussels; unfortunately, the count's exact address in Brussels is not given on the letter.
16. Bott (note 1), p. 22, doc. 55.
17. Most likely, this means the Brussels banking house of Ronstorff-Rahlenbeck, Scheilbler et Compagnie, about which no details are known so far.
18. Not *Bulaimont*, as Bott (note 1), p. 22, writes. The reference is to "rue Berlaimont," which more or less followed the present-day Boulevard Berlaimont.
19. Here follows a space for the later insertion of the house number, which, however, was never added. The exact address of the banking house has so far not been established.
20. Rue Fossé-aux-loups, not *Rue foncaun loups*, as Bott (note 1), p. 22, incorrectly has it.
21. We can conclude from the combination of measurements and the remark that the figures are "grandes comme nature" (life-sized) that when the contract was signed, there must already have been two half-figures, most likely seated.
22. Up to now, little has been known about the prices David fetched for his historic paintings done in Brussels. The estimated price of "autour de 10,000 F pour le 'petit' Télémaque et Eucharis" (around 10,000 francs for the "little" Telemachus and Eucharis) and the estimates contingent on that must be revised downward in view of this purchase contract. We cannot doubt the binding character of notarial documents. On this, see A. Schnapper, "David et l'argent," in *David contre David: Actes du colloque organisé au musée du Louvre par le service culturel du 6 au 10 décembre 1989*, ed. R. Michel, vol. 2 (Paris, 1993), pp. 909–26, especially p. 922.
23. Must read *dû*.
24. Franz Erwein must have told his banker in Brussels to pay the painter the still pending sum of 3,800 francs.
25. Bott's date for the contract (note 1), p. 22, of May 12, 1818, stems from a misreading of *Mais* for *Mars*. In Endres's travel journal (StAWü, SA, KA FE 23[b], title page), the acquisition of the picture is dated as follows, "acheté par Monsieur le Comte de Schoenborn Wiesentheid pendant son séjour à Bruxelles l'hiver 1818" (bought by Count von Schönborn during his stay at Brussels in the winter of 1818). Already on May 4, 1818, the count was present at a large banquet of the academy in London, having been invited by Benjamin West, the president of the academy; see Abert (note 1), p. 352.
26. [Fee stamp] 25 c [Embossed stamp] SEAL OF BELGIUM

    Between the undersigned François Erwein Count von Schönborn-Wiesentheid, who normally resides in Wiesentheid, Bavaria, currently in the city of Brussels, where for the execution of the present agreements he has selected his residence in the person and house of Ronstorff-Rahlenbeck and Co., Rue Berlaimont No.____ , as the party of the first part.

    And Jacques-Louis David, first painter to the French government before 1814, currently residing in Brussels, Rue Fossé-aux-loups No. 688, as the party of the second part.

    The following has been agreed upon:

    1° Said M. David, who is close to finishing a painting on canvas of one hundred and eight centimeters in width and ninety centimeters in height representing two life-sized figures, Telemachus and Eucharis, which said M. Count von Schönborn has seen and approved, is obligated to finish the painting and to deliver it on the first day of July next in return for five thousand francs, certifying that as partial payment he has received on this day twelve hundred francs.

    2° Said painting shall be delivered on said day of July first to said M. von Ronstorff, banker in Brussels, through whom said M. Count von Schönborn is obligated to pay at that same time the rest of the price owed of three thousand and eight hundred francs.

    3° If at that time said M. Count von Schönborn or his chosen representative desires to frame and pack said painting in Brussels, said M. David must preside over this twofold operation, which shall be carried out at the expense of said M. Count von Schönborn.

    4° If at said time of delivery of the painting the balance of the above mentioned purchase price is not paid to M. David, then the purchase shall be considered null and void, without said M. David having to return the partial payment he received, which shall remain his because of the nonpayment of the balance and without his being required to justify this by any judiciary act.

    For the execution of all the above the present [contract] was drawn up and signed in duplicate in Brussels on the twelth of March eighteen hundred and eighteen/.

Jacques Louis David	[Seal of Count von Schönborn with black sealing wax]	François Erwin Count von Schönborn-Wiesentheid

    The almost complete absence of punctuation marks in the original has been kept here in the French; only proper names and the beginning of sentences have been capitalized.
27. The contract is written on official chancellery paper, which carries an embossed stamped seal with the words *TIMBRE DE LA BELGIQUE* written in a circle around it, as well as a fee stamp of 25 centimes. The supposition that Endres himself wrote the notarial document cannot be substantiated; see, for comparison, Bott (note 1), p. xxxii. So far, no relevant research has been done regarding the working method of Belgian notary offices around 1800.
28. Franz Erwein sealed with black wax. The seal of his son (see below) is oval, and he used red sealing wax (see figs. 9 and 10 here).
29. Bott (note 1), pp. xx, 192–97, passim.
30. Notes about the painting by M. David representing the farewell of Telemachus and Eucharis / bought by Monsieur the Count von Schönborn-Wiesentheid during his stay in Brussels in the winter of 1818. / The letters that are copied in these notebooks have been communicated by M. David to the undersigned, who has added to them all the notices he found in the public papers concerning the same painting.

    StAWü, SA, KA FE 23[b], p. 1. Endres's notes about the painting's acquisition and contemporary reception have been collected in a large volume (188 pages), bound with two printed

texts relating to David's painting. So far the travel journal—more precisely, a collection of documents that refer almost exclusively to this painting—has not been published in complete form. It contains mostly copies of letters from various people addressed to David, which were handed over to Endres to be copied, as well as copies of numerous press reports on *The Farewell of Telemachus and Eucharis* and poems of tribute to David and the count.

31. StAWü, SA, KA FE 57, 1v, passim.
32. Bott (note 1), p. 197. See also StAWü, SA, KA FE 23[b], p. 65, "ayant été plusieurs fois admis à l'honneur de voir M. David" (having had the honor of being admitted several times to see M. David).
33. We are actually dealing here with a number of later bound notebooks of the same format but of different thickness. Because the collection of documents deals only with questions concerning David's painting, there is no reason to believe the notes are reports of activities by the private tutor Endres for his employer. Anyway, the collection of texts makes hardly any reference to the educational program and other activities by Endres and his pupil in Belgium.
34. Bott (note 1), partially reprinted there in Appendix 3, pp. 192–97. Endres gives excerpts of the following press notices concerning the painting: *Journal de Gand politique, commercial et littéraire* (May 31, 1818), pp. 8–10; *L'Oracle* (dated July 13, 1818, but probably in fact June 13), p. 17; *Journal des deux Flandres* (June 9, 1818), pp. 19–27; *Journal de Flandre orientale et septentrionale* (June 14, 1818), p. 27; *L'Oracle* (June 20, 1818), pp. 29–31; *Gazette générale des Pais bas* (June 24, 1818), p. 31; *Le Vrai Libéral* (June 25, 1818), pp. 33–41; *Journal de la Belgique* (June 26, 1818), p. 32; *The Netherlands Advertizer [or Continental Observer]* (June 27, 1818), pp. 42–44; *L'Oracle* (July 5, 1818), pp. 41–42; *L'Oracle* (July 6, 1818), pp. 49–53; *Journal des deux Flandres* (July 6, 1818), pp. 53–54; *L'Oracle* (July 8, 1818), pp. 54–55; *L'Oracle* (July 10, 1818), p. 56; *Le Vrai Libéral* (July 14, 1818), pp. 60–74; *Journal du Commerce, de politique et de littérature* (July 16, 1818), pp. 74–75; *The Netherlands Advertizer [or Continental Observer]* (July 18, 1818), pp. 75–76; as well as several partial excerpts. The excerpts from Endres as well as their dating could only in part be compared with the original sources.
35. The fourfold sealing of the painting to mark it as the count's possession, which was reported by Endres, did not take place on July 1, 1818, during the contractually established delivery of the painting to the count; rather, the seals were not attached until July 24, 1818 (see below, note 105).
36. StAWü, SA, KA FE 23[b], p. 12.
37. *Biographie Nationale,* vol. 17 (Brussels, 1903), cols. 555f. The address of Madame Baudewyn's boarding school has so far not been established. It is possible that not only Piré lived there but also Endres and his pupil, Count von Schönborn's son, while they were in Brussels. It has not been established whether Piré is identical with an A. Pire (Piré?) who wrote a review of the painting during its exhibition in Ghent in 1818; see E. De Busscher, *Précis de l'histoire de la Société des Beaux-Arts et de la Littérature de Gand* (Ghent, 1845), p. 64.
38. On this masterpiece from a painter's brush,
Which France admires and grieves for,
Falls an illustrious German's preference.
To the exquisite sensibility for what is good and beautiful
Schönborn adds the magnificence of his ancestors,
Eager to increase and enrich
The precious collection that their inheritance entrusted him with,
He speaks, and in harmony with his noble desire,
Guido [Reni], Raphael, and David meld together as one.
David, console yourself; your country is the entire world;
Only Schönborn's salon champions your memory;
For the true connoisseur, that is the temple of taste,
For the famous artist, that is the temple of glory.

StAWü, SA, KA FE 23[b], p. 12; Bott (note 1), p. 193. The original poem, which was signed by the author, is recorded in StAWü, SA, KA FE 106. It shows some variations compared to the version that is rendered here.
39. See also *Die Grafen von Schönborn* (note 13), pp. 112–28 [entry by K. Bott].
40. StAWü, SA, KA FE 50, fol. 1, passim. On the back of the page is a note by Endres, "Ces vers ont fait beaucoup de plaisir à Msr David et seront imprimés dans le journal de ce pays cidit le Mercure belgique" (These verses have greatly pleased Mr. David and will be printed in the newspaper of this country, said *Mercure belgique*).
41. StAWü, SA, KA FE 23[b], p. 11.
42. Ibid., p. 165. This version follows the printed text.

On the painting of M. David
representing the last meeting
of Telemachus and Eucharis.

There they are united! Tremble wise Mentor,
Eucharis is too beautiful and her lover too tender;
Telemachus defends himself in vain,
Venus, Venus triumphs and Minerva shall be wrong.

Pardon, oh eternal Wisdom,
Pardon the involuntary blossoming of my senses;
In these bursts where shame and frenzy mingle,
A divine ray gleams,
Your sacred torch burns again.

But I admire Eucharis; her pain intrigues me,
I excuse and partake of the drunkenness of her lover,
Balancing in turn between two passions
All my soul is for Wisdom,
And all my heart is for love;

With him I languish, with her I soar.
Who may it be who can agitate me so?
Ah, I see it at last; it is the divine art of Apelles;
He enraptures my eyes with an immortal canvas,
And David alone triumphs here.

J. F.-A. Piré

43. De Busscher (note 37), p. 64.
44. StAWü, SA, KA FE 50, fols. 2/3. On the otherwise empty last page of the sheet Endres wrote, "Ces vers ont été donnés à M. David qui a eu la bonté de me les donner, et que je conserve, étant écrits par l'auteur même, dont cependant j'ignore le nom, qu'il n'a pas voulu donner" (These verses were given to M. David, who was good enough to give them to me, and I saved them since they are written by the author himself, whose name, however, I do not know because he did not want to give it). See also the copy of the text in StAWü, SA, KA FE 23[b], pp. 57–60.
45. See *Jacques-Louis David: 1748–1825* (note 3), p. 229. While David was still alive, at least one etching of the painting was done, by C. Normand, which was published in L. de Bast, *Annales du Salon de Gand et de l'école moderne des Pays-Bas. Recueil* (Ghent, 1823), pp. 34–36; see J. Dieu, "Le séjour à Bruxelles de Jacques-Louis David (1816–1825) et son influence sur

l'école belge," *Université libre de Bruxelles. Faculté de Philosophie et des Lettres. Mémoire de licence, Année académique 1984–85*, pp. 100ff., fig. 9.

46. The previous year David had already exhibited his newly finished painting *Amor and Psyche* in the Museum of Brussels, and the proceeds of that exhibition were destined for the cloisters of Sainte-Gertrude and the Ursulines; see Schnapper (note 6), p. 298, fig. 186.
47. A corresponding provision was admittedly not recorded in the purchase contract.
48. On May 20, David agreed to the request of the president of the Société royale des Beaux-Arts in Ghent to exhibit the painting in Ghent for the benefit of charities. Like Cornelissen, Van Huffel had previously seen the painting in Brussels (perhaps in David's studio); *Jacques-Louis David: 1748–1825* (note 3), p. 527. In this connection David expressly pointed out that the picture no longer belonged to him (Wildenstein and Wildenstein [note 3], no. 1820); the purchase contract with Count von Schönborn had been signed on March 12; see above, pp. 24–25.
49. Schnapper (note 6), p. 300. Cornelissen wrote a description of the picture on the occasion of the exhibition; N. Cornelissen, "Eucharis et Télémaque," *Annales belgiques des sciences, arts et littératures* 1 (Ghent, 1818), pp. 383–93; vol. 2, pp. 23–34; an excerpt is reprinted in Schnapper (note 6), pp. 300, 302.
50. Actually from the end of May until June 19; see *L'Oracle* (May 27, 1818; June 1, 8, and 14, 1818).
51. Wildenstein and Wildenstein (note 3), no. 1820.
52. StAWü, SA, KA FE 23[b], pp. 1f.; under no. 1821, Wildenstein and Wildenstein (note 3) record a letter of thanks from Van Huffel to David.
53. StAWü, SA, KA FE 23[b], pp. 2f.
54. "Your painting has one fault—one gets too attached to it and cannot leave it; one does not leave the room—it is not necessary to ask if one would like to see it again and again," StAWü, SA, KA FE 23[b], pp. 3f. On the same date, May 31, the *Journal de Gand politique, commercial et littéraire* reports on the exhibition of the painting; see the copy of the text in the records of Endres, pp. 8ff. *L'Oracle* (June 1, 1818), too, reports the beginning of the exhibition in Ghent on May 31.
55. "M. David, I shall now give you details about the way the painting is exhibited: the room faces north and the daylight, even if it is not as good as in your apartment, is nevertheless very good—the painting hangs at a height of four feet, and the balustrade in front of it is nearly five feet away from the painting. It is also hung at the proper angle," StAWü, SA, KA FE 23[b], pp. 7f.
56. Ibid., pp. 13–15.
57. There is nothing in a letter of June 9 from David to Cornelissen about Van Huffel's request to extend the exhibition; the letter only announces, with no date, "Aussitôt que l'exposition du tableau aura cessé, je volerai dans vos bras à tous, pour vous témoigner la satisfaction que j'éprouve d'avoir l'honneur d'appartenir à une société de véritables artistes" (As soon as the exhibition of the picture is over I'll fly into your arms to tell you how much satisfaction it gives me to have the honor of belonging to such a society of true artists), which could mean that David did not know the exact date when the exhibition in Ghent would end; David (note 7), p. 549; Wildenstein and Wildenstein (note 3), no. 1825, p. 211.
58. Bott (note 1), p. 197, transcribes *indigeux*.
59. See *L'Oracle* (June 26, 1818; July 5, 8, 11, 12, 14, and 15, 1818); *Journal du Commerce et de Paris* (July 16, 1818). Schnapper (note 6), p. 302; *Jacques-Louis David: 1748–1825* (note 3), p. 527; cf. Wildenstein and Wildenstein (note 3), no. 1832. According to a remark in Endres's travel journal (StAWü, SA, KA FE 23[b], p. 56), the painting was returned on July 13 to the painter, who wanted to make a sketch for himself as a souvenir, "pour en pouvoir prendre un petit dessin et le garder comme un souvenir" (in order to be able to make a small sketch of it to keep as a souvenir).
60. See the letter by Michiels de Heyn to *L'Oracle* (July 5, 1818), p. 4. The author also writes in the name of the "administrateurs du réfuge des Ursulines" and particularly emphasizes the support from the mayor of Brussels for the charitable undertaking, "Assuré des sentimens philantropiques de M. le bourgmaître de cette ville, nous eûmes la douce satisfaction de nous convaincre que ce digne magistrat aime à concourir au soulagement de ses administrés que les malheurs et le grand âge obligent à réclamer la bienfaisance publique" (Assured of the philanthropic sentiments of the mayor of this city, we had the sweet satisfaction of being convinced that this worthy magistrate loves to contribute to the relief of those persons under the administration of the city whose misfortunes and great age force them to ask for public charity).
61. StAWü, SA, KA FE 23[b], pp. 28f.; Wildenstein and Wildenstein (note 3), no. 1829. Thoughts of exhibiting the painting also in Brussels must, however, have come up much earlier; at least *L'Oracle* announces already on June 1, 1818, "Cette production, regardée comme un des chefs-d'oeuvre de ce peintre célèbre, sera aussi exposée à Bruxelles, au bénéfice des hospices de bienfaisance de notre ville" (This work, regarded as one of the masterpieces of that famous painter, will also be exhibited in Brussels for the benefit of the charitable hospices of our city).
62. In *Jacques-Louis David: 1748–1825* (note 3), p. 526, the opening of the exhibition in Brussels is dated June 21; however, from a note in *L'Oracle* dated June 26, the opening can be calculated to have been on Tuesday, June 23. According to *Jacques-Louis David: 1748–1825* (note 3), p. 624, David's written consent did not arrive until July 1; on July 3, the mayor of Brussels thanked him for his consent; David (note 7), p. 551.
63. StAWü, SA, KA FE 23[b], p. 54. *L'Oracle* (July 8, 1818), p. 4, published both the request to David of July 6 for an extension of the exhibition and his answer. In it David expressly referred to the owner of the picture, of whom he wrote, "D'après la connaissance que j'ai du coeur bienfaisant de M. le comte de Schoenborn, je ne doute pas qu'il ne saisisse une occasion qui devient profitable à la classe indigente" (According to what I know about the kind heart of Count von Schönborn, I do not doubt that he will seize upon an occasion that will profit the indigent).
64. *L'Oracle* (July 15, 1818); see *Jacques-Louis David: 1748–1825* (note 3), p. 624.
65. StAWü, SA, KA FE 23[b], p. 56.
66. *L'Oracle* (July 12, 1818), p. 4, "On sait que les offrandes sont volontaires, et qu'elles sont destinées aux établissements des Ursulines et de Sainte-Gertrude, qui ne soutiennent que par la bienfaisance publique" (One knows that the donations are voluntary and that they are designated for the institutions of the Ursulines and Saint Gertrude, which sustained only public charity).
67. The present institution, which provides for 125 old men and women, has no assured funding but is supported only by occasional donations and administrated by five administrators each month. When I visited the interior of this commendable institution, I found the greatest cleanliness in all the rooms, and the inhabitants gave every impression of being content with their fate in this refuge of their old age.

StAWü, SA, KA FE 23[b], supplement. There we also find the notice, "Le montant de la recette en faveur des deux établissements s'est élevé à 1890 frcs." (The receipts in favor of the two institutions amount to 1,890 francs).

68. " . . . which I [Endres] guard with all the more pleasure because it reminds me of those pleasant days I spent in Brussels in the year 1818 when I stayed there for nine months," StAWü, SA, KA FE 57, fol. IV. In the same place is the news about the proceeds from the two exhibitions in Ghent and Brussels; Bott (note 1), p. 197.
69. For a description of the medal and the inscription on the base, see StAWü, SA, KA FE 30, fol. 4, and the information from Endres's dossier on the picture; Bott (note 1), pp. 196f.; see also the excerpt from the report of the Société royale des Beaux-Arts in Ghent in the appendix to N. Cornelissen, *Télémaque et Eucharis* (Ghent, 1818), pp. 29–31; De Busscher (note 37), pp. 66–67.
70. "As M. David has been kind enough to give me some branches of the laurels that crowned his painting and that were sent to him from Ghent, I have taken great care to keep them; some of the smaller branches are in the envelope attached to this journal with an inscription of where they come from and what their noble purpose has been," StAWü, SA, KA FE 23[b], p. 10; Bott (note 1), p. 192; see also A. Humbert, *Louis David, peintre et conventionnel: Essai de critique marxiste* (Paris, 1936), pp. 154, 160 (here quoted from Auction Catalogue, Sotheby's New York, February 24, 1987, *Important Nineteenth-Century European Paintings*, lot 126, unpag.):

    > Exposé à Gand au profit des ouvriers chômeurs, le tableau remporte un immense succès. Les admirateurs déposent des couronnes de lauriers devant l'oeuvre. Cette seconde exposition payante en Belgique confirme dans l'idée du public qu'il est aussi convenable de payer pour voir de la peinture que pour entendre de la musique. A partir de ce moment, il devient courant de faire des expositions au profit d'oeuvres charitables. L'initiative en est due à David.
    >
    > (The painting, which was exhibited in Ghent for the benefit of the unemployed, was an immense success. Admirers placed crowns of laurel leaves in front of it. This second exhibition in Belgium to charge admission confirmed the idea in the public mind that it was just as appropriate to pay to see a painting as it was to pay to listen to music. From this moment on it became the thing to do to put on exhibitions for the benefit of charitable works. The initiative for this is owed to David.)

    In his previously mentioned letter to Van Huffel dated May 20, 1818 (Wildenstein and Wildenstein [note 3], no. 1820), David, however, attributes the idea of exhibiting his painting for philanthropic purposes to Van Huffel:

    > . . . mon désir de remplir votre louable intention, sous le double rapport de faire voir de mes ouvrages à ceux de mes confrères de Gand qui n'ont rien vu de moi, ainsi qu'aux amateurs éclairés que renferme cette ville, et pour le principal de notre motif, de pouvoir par cette exposition être utile à la classe des honnêtes ouvriers sans ouvrage et qu'une libérale contribution à leur profit pourrait momentanément soulager leur misère.
    >
    > (. . . my desire to fulfill your commendable intention, at once letting my works be seen by those of my colleagues in Ghent who have never seen anything of mine and by those enlightened amateurs who belong to this city and, above all, benefitting the class of unemployed decent workers, whose misery could for a short time be alleviated by a liberal contribution for their benefit.)

    It would be worth investigating in what way the charitable exhibitions tried to influence the poverty in Belgium and the Netherlands that had been steadily intensifying since the beginning of the nineteenth century; see H. Lademacher, *Geschichte der Niederlande: Politik-Verfassung-Wirtschaft* (Darmstadt, 1983), pp. 220–21.
71. Jacques-Joseph Haus (1796–1881).
72. StAWü, SA, KA FE 23[b], p. 83.
73. For more information on Joseph Carl Cogels, see Thieme-Becker, *Künstlerlexikon*, vol. 7 (Leipzig, 1912), p. 174; *Münchner Landschaftsmalerei, 1800–1850*, ed. A. Zweite, exh. cat. (Munich, 1979), cat. nos. 186, 187, pp. 270–71, 434; Bott (note 1), pp. lxxiif.
74. De Busscher (note 37), p. 54, "un des plus anciens membres de la société, qui honore, dans un pays éloigné (Munich), l'école flamande par des productions qui déjà annoncent un talent formé" (one of the oldest members of the society who honors in a distant country [Munich] the Flemish school through works that bespeak an already mature talent). See Bott (note 1), p. 17, letter 46.
75. Bott (note 1), p. 194.
76. Ibid., p. 17.
77. StAWü, SA, KA FE 47, fol. 4: cover letter, fols. 2/3: expert opinion; Bott (note 1), pp. 22f., letter 56, quote fol. 4v.
78. StAWü, SA, KA FE 47, fol. 4: "I should like to be able to show you my new works, which are with his Excellency the governor of this province, an enlightened amateur of the arts, who would be delighted to meet Count von Schönborn, for I have often had occasion to mention the protection and encouragement that the count loves to bestow on the fine arts and on those who cultivate them." The entire art correspondence with the count is, by the way, interspersed with similiar words of flattering self-advertisement.
79. F. de Salignac de La Mothe-Fénelon, *Les Aventures de Télémaque, fils d'Ulysse*, ed. J. Le Brun (Paris, 1995); German translation: F. Fénelon, *Die Abenteuer des Telemach*, trans. F. Rückert, with an epilogue by V. Krapp (Stuttgart, 1984), especially pp. 116ff.
80. Bott (note 1), p. 23, erroneously has *administration*.
81. Cogels reacted specifically to the timid critical remarks that Cornelissen had made on June 12, 1818, and that were also published in the same year by the Société des Beaux-Arts in Ghent; Cornelissen (note 69), esp. pp. 22–24. See also Dieu (note 45), pp. 97ff.
82. " . . . who has acquired such a beautiful painting, an acquisition that proves anew the taste and the love of the fine arts that so eminently distinguish the owner of the superb gallery at Pommersfelden! who knows how to appreciate and encourage the talents of artists in a manner as noble as it is generous," StAWü, SA, KA FE 47, fols. 2/3. The transcription of the text in Bott (note 1), pp. 22ff., is incomplete.
83. If the date of the relevant passage in the travel journal given in Bott (note 1), p. 194, is correct, and if the date is not just erroneously picked up from Cogels's letter, then Endres must have received the letter on July 18, immediately presented it to David, and recorded the painter's reaction in his diary later that same day.
84. Most likely because of the larger painting commissions from his time as *Premier peintre de l'Empereur*.
85. "For I painted this picture without any help; in the past I sometimes made the foolish mistake of having my pupils work on my paintings, even on works that go under my name, but no one but myself has touched this painting of Eucharis; if it has merit, then the merit belongs to me alone," StAWü, SA, KA FE 23[b], p. 84; Bott (note 1), p. 194.

86. With paintings of this kind it is not often that one can produce such sure proof of authenticity. It is therefore not surprising that at all later sales of the painting (the first one was in 1865) specific reference has been made to its exceptionally well-documented provenance from the time of its execution onward, which has both served propagandistic goals and increased its value; see p. 34.
87. For instance, the depiction of Mentor's ship burnt by the nymphs on orders from Calypso (Fénelon [note 79], Book 6, p. 138), a theme David himself had originally considered but later rejected.
88. "It is not always through the plurality of traits and signs that the artist should present his subject, but rather, it is through the simplicity of these traits that he should manifest and express his ideas as well as the character of his subject," StAWü, SA, KA FE 23[b], p. 87 (note from Endres); Bott (note 1), p. 194.
89. This is precisely what seems to have been the tenor of public criticism of the painting. In 1846 Charles Baudelaire would make a different judgment, however, probably based on a copy, "Of the two figures Telemachus is the more attractive, which leads one to suppose that the artist made use of a female model for his drawing"; see Jonathan Mayne, ed., *Art in Paris, 1845–1862: Salons and Other Exhibitions* (London, 1965), p. 36.
90. In his letter published on July 8 in *L'Oracle* (see note 63) David expressly asked to have the painting returned to him on the morning of July 13. A further notice in *L'Oracle* (July 12, 1818) reports that it was about to be shipped to Bavaria: "Après-demain lundi, il doit partir pour la Bavière, sa destination" (The day after tomorrow, Monday, it will leave for Bavaria, its destination). See also note 59.
91. Reichartshausen Castle in Rheingau (Hattenheim), a former working farm of the Cistercian monastery at Eberbach and the second residence of the abbot, was acquired by Franz Erwein in 1817 and expanded. The majority of the count's art collection was kept there. The collection is mentioned in numerous contemporary descriptions of Rheingau and its castles, with David's painting receiving special mention. In 1873 the castle together with its remaining inventory were sold; *Handbuch der historischen Stätten Deutschlands*, vol. 4, *Hessen*, ed. G. W. Sante (Stuttgart, 1976), pp. 203, 371; Bott (note 1), esp. pp. xxii, lxxxv.
92. The painting of Telemachus and Eucharis by M. David seems to be this great painter's favorite picture. Never before did he keep a copy or a drawing of any of his works, but he wants to preserve a copy of this one: he has chosen Mlle Sophie Frémiet, the eldest daughter of M. Frémiet, former tax collector in Dijon, to make the copy. Of all M. David's pupils she is the one who comes closest to his simple and pure style. This sign of the master's confidence and the progress that Mlle Frémiet is making in her art bring some alleviation of pain to this unhappy family.

    Quoted after StAWü, SA, KA FE 23[b], p. 79; Bott (note 1), p. 193.
93. "Favorite picture." As late as July 24 there is still undetermined talk about "un dessin, ou copie du tableau" (a drawing or a copy of the painting); Bott (note 1), p. 195.
94. Sophie Rude, née Frémiet (1797–1867), a pupil of David's in Brussels; Thieme-Becker, *Künstlerlexikon*, vol. 29 (Leipzig, 1935), p. 157; *1770–1830: Autour du néo-classicisme en Belgique*, ed. D. Coekelberghs and P. Loze, exh. cat. (Brussels, 1985), pp. 252–54; D. Coekelberghs and P. Loze, "David à Bruxelles et la peinture en Belgique," in *David contre David: Actes du colloque organisé au musée du Louvre par le service culturel du 6 au 10 décembre 1989*, ed. R. Michel, vol. 2 (Paris, 1993), pp. 1060–61.
95. Like Sophie Frémiet, François Rude (1784–1855) was from Dijon; after the return of the Bourbons to the French throne, he lived and worked in exile in Brussels until 1827; in 1821 he married Sophie Frémiet. See Thieme-Becker, *Künstlerlexikon*, vol. 29 (Leipzig, 1935), pp. 156f.
96. "A man full of spirit," StAWü, SA, KA FE 23[b], p. 79; Bott (note 1), p. 193.
97. Schnapper (note 6), pp. 298, 300. For the part that Sophie Frémiet had in the articles signed *Y*, see *1770–1830: Autour du néo-classicisme* (note 94), p. 252. She evidently read her father's articles to David and in turn passed on his reactions to her father, who then published a modified version of the articles.
98. At this time David was busy with the planning and preparatory work for his painting *The Anger of Achilles*, as Endres reports in his travel journal on July 18, 1818. David had shown him a pencil sketch of the picture, which Endres described in detail. In its general layout as well as in the placement of the various figures it must already largely have corresponded to the painting executed and dated in 1819 (Kimbell Art Museum, Fort Worth, Texas); Bott (note 1), p. 195; Schnapper (note 6), fig. 188; *Jacques-Louis David: 1748–1825* (note 3), cat. no. 230, pp. 528–30. David's sketches thus began much earlier than has hitherto generally been believed.
99. Just the previous year David had denied the request of the Ghent academy to show his painting *Amor and Psyche* in the Salon Triennal of 1817 on the grounds that "mes jouissances aujourd'hui sont dans les succès de mes élèves" (today, my delight lies in the successes of my pupils). De Busscher (note 37), p. 63.
100. Bott (note 1), p. 193.
101. Perhaps this is one of the two lost full-length portraits that were exhibited in the Brussels Salon of 1818 (De Bast [note 45], p. 46), or it may have been the painting *La belle Anthia* (private collection), which is dated 1820 and was exhibited in the Ghent Salon of that year. Sophie's younger sister Victorine sat for the title figure of Anthia; see *1770–1830: Autour du néo-classicisme* (note 94), cat. no. 223, pp. 253–54. On the relationship between *La belle Anthia* and David's *Farewell of Telemachus and Eucharis*, see ibid., p. 253.
102. It is M. David himself—by the way, a rather severe judge of works of art—who has drawn my attention to everything that is beautiful and distinguished in the works of Mlle Frémiet; in them one notices with pleasure the art and truthfulness with which the material is treated. But beyond a talent for making exact and faithful copies, which she already possesses in abundance, M. David thinks that he can predict that she will not fail to make a name for herself through her own works and history paintings that deserve to be mentioned. To these commendations of the master, who seemed proud to call this demoiselle his student, I should add that her exceptional talent is equalled by a pleasant modesty, which makes me believe that David's utterance—I am taking you to the house of virtue—which he used when he took me to see Mlle Frémiet, is not just an exaggerated compliment.

    StAWü, SA, KA FE 23[b], p. 81; Bott (note 1), p. 194.
103. It still cannot be determined for sure whether Endres in his notes of July 18 and 24 speaks about two different visits, but that seems likely, for he specifically mentions David's company on July 18, while he mentions the company only of his pupil on July 24.

104. "About two inches larger and higher than the count's painting," StAWü, SA, KA FE 23[b], p. 77.

105. Ibid., pp. 77–78, Endres reports that, together with his pupil Erwein Damian, he had sealed the painting in four places on the seam between the stretching frame and the canvas, using the seal of Erwein Damian:

> Je mis quatre fois le cachet portant les armes de Mr le Comte, de sorte que la cire d'Espagne touche à même temps et la toile et le cadre, et qu'on ne peut pas oter la toile sans oter ou déchirer ces empreintes. L'empreinte du cachet est celle, qui se trouve ci-jointe, de la même cire, qui se trouve sur le cadre du tableau, et dont le soussigné garde encore un petit morceau, pour en être en tout temps sûr, qu'on n'a rien changé.
>
> (Four times I placed the seal bearing the arms of the count in such a way that the Spanish wax touched both the canvas and the frame and so that one cannot remove the canvas without removing or tearing these impressions. The impression of the seal here is made from the same wax as the ones on the frame of the painting, of which the undersigned still has a small piece in order to be certain for all eternity that nothing has been changed.)

For documentation, this oval seal is stamped on the notes with red sealing wax and with the additional remark, "Cachet de Monsieur le Comte de Schoenborn fils mis quatre fois sur le cadre et la toile du tableau de M. David représentant les adieux de Télémaque et d'Eucharis" (Seal of Count von Schönborn's son put four times on the frame and the canvas of the painting by David representing the farewell of Telemachus and Eucharis). For authentication, the name and title of the young count (original signature) and his tutor were added below:

Erwein comte	Endres gouverneur
de Schoenborn	du jeune Comte Erwin
fils	fils de Schoenborn

The separately listed pieces of evidence in Bott (note 1), pp. 193, 195, actually belong together. The original stretching frame of the painting has now been replaced; it is, however, still in the collection of the J. Paul Getty Museum, along with parts of one of the four seals, which is broken. See the drawing of the seal by Mark Leonard, J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, and figure 9. The oval seal is identical to the seal of the young Count von Schönborn in Endres's travel journal (fig. 10); see above, note 35; M. Leonard, *The J. Paul Getty Trust: Painting Treatment Record* (July 10, 1987), 87.PA.27.

106. " . . . to be certain for all eternity that nothing has been changed," StAWü, SA, KA FE 23[b], p. 78; Bott (note 1), p. 195.

107. "Although one is surprised by the manner and the art with which this young person renders the beautiful original that is before her eyes," StAWü, SA, KA FE 23[b], pp. 92–96; Bott (note 1), pp. 195f.

108. Schnapper (note 6), fig. 187, p. 296: oil on canvas, 90 x 105 cm (35⅜ x 41⅜ in.), signed and dated *DAVID 1822*. The measurements of the Schönborn original are 87.2 x 103 cm (34⅜ x 40½ in.); in his notes of July 24, Endres had already mentioned the difference in the measurements of the original and the copy.

109. Here, the copyist seems to have made corrections on her own, which Endres notes. Whether they go back to his observations is not clear.

110. Comparison today between the original and the copy could be done only with the help of color slides from the Getty Museum (taken after the picture was cleaned) and published color illustrations, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, a black-and-white photograph of the copy, so that especially differences in color could not really be recognized. See R. Rosenblum, "Jacques-Louis David's *Telemachus and Eucharis*," *Sotheby's Preview* (London, January/February 1987), p. 4 (slightly changed reprint with the title "David's *Farewell of Telemachus and Eucharis*," *Sotheby's Art at Auction, 1986–87* [London, 1987], pp. 80–85); and Schnapper (note 6), fig. 187.

111. "It is an extremely small difference, yet my eyes and feelings notice that his lower body is somewhat slimmer than in the original," StAWü, SA, KA FE 23[b], p. 93. The annotations are also in German in the travel journal—perhaps they were added later.

112. "On the original painting there is an inscription on Eucharis's quiver: *David pinxit Bruxelles 1818*. [David painted it in Brussels in 1818]. There will be no such inscription anywhere on Mlle Frémiet's picture, so even M. David's heirs can never pass this painting off as anything other than the copy by Mlle Frémiet." The picture in fact has the signature *DAVID* on the quiver, and *1818/Brux.* at the open end of Telemachus's horn. Endres's comments are thus not quite accurate.

113. Schnapper (note 6), p. 302, does not seem to question David's collaboration, "In Zusammenarbeit mit Sophie Frémiet führte David 1822 eine Replik des Originals aus, die 1950 nach New York verkauft wurde" (In collaboration with Sophie Frémiet, David executed a replica of the original, which was sold to New York in 1950). If David actually did collaborate on the copy that Endres saw in the studio standing next to the original, then that collaboration could not have started in 1818 but rather must have been at a later date.

114. StAWü, SA, KA FE 23[b], p. 96; Bott (note 1), p. 196.

115. It must be noted here as a peculiarity that David—respectively the owner of the painting—allowed the copyist to use this helpful means for the exact reproduction of the outlines of the composition, whereas on June 10 in a letter to Van Huffel in Ghent he certainly gave permission to make a drawing or even a painted copy of some part of the painting, but he expressly added, "Je ne veux que vous faire observer une chose: c'est de ne pas mettre des carreaux de fil ou de crayon blanc sur le tableau; de ne pas le retirer de la bordure. Alors il faudrait le dessiner à vue d'oeil" (I want you to observe one thing, however: do not put squares of string or of white crayon on the picture; do not remove it from the frame. It must be drawn by eye), Wildenstein and Wildenstein (note 3), no. 1826. To Van Huffel's request seeking David's consent for (a much smaller) copy, see the letter dated June 8 from Ghent, StAWü, SA, KA FE 23[b], pp. 13–15. David's limitations on the copyist's freedom were, at the time, for the protection of the already-sold painting, which had not yet been handed over to the buyer. The wax seals, suggested by David himself and placed on the back of the painting by Endres on July 24, must also be seen in this light.

116. "Traits moélleux—roideur [raideur] bien sensible" (soft lines—very perceptible stiffness).

117. Finally, the comparison between these two paintings seemed to me the most interesting study and the most convincing proof of the differences one can see between two paintings, even though the similarity in the outlines may appear to be perfect. In reality this resemblance of the outlines exists because they were mechanically transferred through squares of string—but one need only look at and examine the actual painting, so to speak, in order to discover the difference between the brushstrokes of the original and of the copy; the part of the body of Telemachus between the stomach and the navel, among others, is noticeably stiff in the copy; and then Eucharis's shoulder is far from rendered with the same soft lines as we find in the

original and that have excited the admiration of all art lovers.

StAWü, SA, KA FE 23[b], pp. 95–96.

118. "This comparison does much to augment and bring out to its advantage the beauties of the original painting, which is so widely admired," StAWü, SA, KA FE 23[b], p. 96; Bott (note 1), p. 196.

119. StAWü, SA, KA FE 23[b], supplement. In the text *tasse* has been written over it. Bott (note 1), pp. 23f., letter 57, tentatively identifies him as Jean François Thys (1780–1865), a Brussels painter of genre, landscape, and historical pictures, and portraits; Thieme-Becker, *Künstlerlexikon*, vol. 33 (Leipzig, 1939), p. 125. Thys also collaborated with Sophie Frémiet-Rude.

120. Obviously, David had not been able to or had not wanted to keep his contractual obligation to be present at the crating of the painting; see above, pp. 24–25. Presumably the painting was delivered on the wedged stretcher but without a frame. In that case David's presence was not necessary and also not agreed upon in the contract. David's *billet* (note) was given by Endres to Tays. It is uncertain whether the painter's request expressed in the note that the count should be present at the crating of the painting could be realized (" . . . qui veut bien se donner la Peine de Passer chés vous parce qu'il prend le plus grand intérêt à son tableau" [. . . that he would take the pains to come by, for he takes the greatest interest in his painting]). As Endres noted on David's *billet*, "M. Tays peintre à Bruxelles, qui en même temps soignait ordinairement les emballages des tableaux que M. David était dans le cas d'envoyer dans l'étranger" (M. Tays, a painter in Brussels, who at the same time usually took care of the packing of M. David's paintings when they were shipped abroad).

121. Bott (note 1), p. 24, letter 58.

122. "The pièce de résistance of the collection and the attraction for many art travelers," Bott (note 1), p. xxxiii. Starting with a review of the painting and some other works of the "Neo-French" school, which Count von Schönborn had acquired when he first began to collect, a Professor Braun from Mainz introduced David's painting to the German public in an article in *Kunst-Blatt* 49 (June 19, 1820), pp. 194–95, titled "Gemälde im Besitz des Grafen von Schönborn zu Reichardtshausen am Rhein" (Paintings in the possession of Count von Schönborn in Reichartshausen on the Rhine). Despite some critical remarks, which among other things go back to the Belgian reports from 1818, Braun, too, is convinced of the high quality of the painting. David seems

> überhaupt alle Liebe, deren sein Herz fähig war, diesem Bilde zugewandt zu haben. Im Ganzen ist der erste Eindruck, den es macht, überraschend, starke Gegensätze von Licht und Schatten bewirken dieß. . . . Aber auch bey längerer Betrachtung bleibt dem Werke immer ein gewisser Werth, der besonders diesem Bilde aus der treuen Naturbetrachtung, verbunden mit dem ernstesten Studium, entsprungen ist. Unser Tischbein geht in seinen Bestrebungen ungefähr gleichen Gang, wie David; langes Hegen und Pflegen des Geschauten, Ausbildung aller Theile bis ins Kleinste, daher auch eine richtige und große Zeichnung möchte beyde genannte Künstler vor den meisten auszeichnen.
>
> (to have bestowed on the painting all the love that was in his heart. On the whole the first impression the picture makes is surprising—the effect of strong contrasts of light and shadow. . . . But even after longer contemplation it retains a certain value, which particularly in this painting stems from long examination of nature combined with the most earnest study. Our Tischbein takes somewhat the same approach in his endeavors as David: They spend a long time caring for and nursing what they see and developing all parts, down to the smallest detail—including a large exact drawing. This may be what distinguishes both these artists from most others.)

Braun closed his review of selected works from the Schönborn gallery with the altogether fitting observation, "Reichardtshausen wird ein immer mehr anziehender Sammelplatz für das Beste der neueren Kunst werden" (Reichartshausen is more and more becoming an attractive gathering place for the best in newer art). Excerpts from the quoted contribution by Braun were included as the last entries in Endres's notes, on pp. 151–55.

123. According to the account of Jules David, the painter's grandson (note 7), p. 551, David later retouched the copy, presumably in 1822 on the date when it was signed and dated.

124. David (note 7), p. 551. On David's relationships with various members of the Didot family, see *Jacques-Louis David: 1748–1825* (note 3), p. 520. Firmin Didot (1764–1836) may have had a special interest in the topic of the painting, particularly since several editions of Fénelon's text, often richly illustrated with copper engravings, had been published by the Didot family's publishing house, mainly toward the end of the eighteenth century; see H. Cohen, *Guide de l'amateur de livres à gravures du XVIII[e] siècle: Sixième édition revue . . . par Seymour de Ricci* (Paris, 1912), 2 vols., cols. 384–89.

125. *Jacques-Louis David: 1748–1825* (note 3), p. 526; see also the compilation of the painting's exhibitions in Auction Catalogue, Sotheby's New York (note 70). Insofar as the painting was shown in public between 1819 and 1865, we may assume that—at least in France—it was the copy done by Sophie Frémiet, with the signature of 1822, and this most likely was the one that Charles Baudelaire reviewed benevolently in 1846 (C. Baudelaire, "Le musée classique du Bazar Bonne-Nouvelle," *Corsaire-Satan* [January 26, 1846]; reprinted in C. Baudelaire, *Oeuvres complètes*, ed. C. Pichois, vol. 2 [Paris, 1990], pp. 408–14). Whether Franz Erwein made his painting available for exhibitions in the following years cannot be ascertained from the available sources.

126. "Hr. Firmin Didot, the son who had visited him [i.e., David] in Brussels, brought back a painting by him in which he wanted to represent the tenderness and loveliness that Fénelon described in the love of Eucharis and Telemachus," P. A., *Kunst-Blatt* 59 (July 25, 1825), p. 234.

127. This refers to the later King Ludwig I of Bavaria (r. 1825–48), who carried on an active exchange of ideas with Franz Erwein von Schönborn; see Bott (note 1), passim. The editors of *Kunst-Blatt* (ibid., p. 234) corrected this error in a footnote:

> Das erste und Originalgemälde, worin David diesen Gegenstand behandelt hat, ist nicht im Besitz Sr. K. H. des Kronprinzen von Bayern, sondern des Hr. Grafen von Schönborn; ein Umriß davon findet sich in den "Annales du Salon de Gand" 1820, pl. 14. Ob das von unserem Hrn. Correspondenten beschriebene von seiner Hand copirt oder eine freyere Wiederholung sey, ist uns unbekannt.
>
> (The first and original painting where David treated this topic does not belong to His Royal Highness the Crown Prince of Bavaria but to Count von Schönborn; a sketch of it can be found on pl. 14 in the *Annales du Salon de Gand* of 1820. Whether the painting reviewed by our correspondent is a copy by David or whether it is a freer representation, we do not know.)

128. I would like to give the painting all the praise that is due

to the great and brilliant talent of David, but I cannot hide the fact that it bears traces of old age. Nevertheless, the beautiful arrangement of the figures proves the sure taste of the master; in several areas of the painting there is a dominating splendor of colors, which he seems to have spurned in his best works, but which so distinguishes the ones he has made after *The Sabine Women.* Some people maintain that this painting is only a copy of one that the Crown Prince of Bavaria is supposed to have bought from him. If this is indeed so, one could judge this painting only by seeing the original.

P. A., *Kunst-Blatt* 59 (July 25, 1825), p. 234.

129. See above, especially pp. 31–33.

130. He died on April 29, 1865; Frank, Baron Freytag von Loringhoven, *Europäische Stammtafeln: Stammtafeln zur Geschichte der europäischen Staaten*, vol. 4 (Marburg, 1968), table 120.

131. (1810–1877); ibid.

132. See the corresponding auction catalog, *Catalog der ausgezeichneten Sammlung von Oelgemälden neuerer Meister Seiner Erlaucht des Grafen von Schönborn-Wiesentheid, Standesherr, erbl. Reichsrath etc. . . . zu München*, Munich, Montmorillon'sche Kunsthandlung (October 9, 1865), lot 46, p. 13.

133. Auction Catalogue, Sotheby's New York (February 24, 1987) (note 70).

134. As Schnapper (note 6) still did before the original resurfaced in 1987.

135. *Telemachus Taking Leave of the Nymph Eucharis*; life-sized three-quarter-length portrait. The name of J. David is on Eucharis's golden quiver, and on Telemachus's bugle it says 1818 Brux. Canvas. Height 3′, width 3′6″.

This famous painting, which received first prize at the exhibition in Brussels in 1819, was bought from the artist's hand at the exhibition by Count von Schönborn, who died in the year 1840. We mention this expressly because at the time a replica tried to pass itself off as the original. Its originality was refuted by Schorn in *Kunstblatt* on July 25, 1825, where he verified our painting as the first and original one.

Nagler Volume 3, page 290, as well as the volumes for 1820, 1825, 1836, etc., of the German *Kunstblatt* give detailed reviews of the painting worthy of its importance.

Catalog der ausgezeichneten Sammlung (note 132), p. 13. A copy of the entry was kindly made available by Dr. Katharina Bott.

136. Compare the detailed documentation in *Jacques-Louis David: 1748–1825* (note 3), cat. no. 229, pp. 526–28, passim, in the reprint of the documents referring to them in Wildenstein and Wildenstein (note 3), nos. 1808, 1815, 1820–22, 1824–33, 1877, and 1938.

137. "One cannot but admire the harmony of the blue and the red, the blue reflections on the top of the lever, the blood that flows under the skin, the superbly modeled hands, and, above all, the sinuous grace, the arabesque of the figures that make this picture the most successful or at least the easiest to appreciate of the four historic paintings of his late period," *Jacques-Louis David: 1748–1825* (note 3), p. 528.

This page intentionally left blank

A Signed and Dated Ivory Goblet by Marcus Heiden

Sabine Haag

With the acquisition of the signed, dated, and elaborately turned ivory goblet by Marcus Heiden (figs. 1a–h), the J. Paul Getty Museum made its first purchase of a work of ivory from the Baroque period.[1] At the same time, it added to the collection an extraordinary example of an artifact made of ivory and turned on a lathe, a process that originated in the fourteenth century and became increasingly popular in the seventeenth century, due to an ongoing fascination with machines and a sheer love of technical effects. The two characteristic techniques for ivory workmanship, turning and carving, come together here in a most effective way.

The signature placed underneath the base of the goblet, *MARCUS HEIDEN. COBURGENSIS. FECIT. 1631÷* (fig. 1c), seems to give a completely clear impression as to the place of origin and date of the piece. Yet the problematic nature of this quite possibly unique goblet is uncovered by a cursory comparison with similarly composed and turned works of this master from Coburg: the quality of the carved figures on the Getty goblet is clearly higher than that of other pieces made by Marcus Heiden. The small boy musicians are skillfully crafted, enough so that they are able to stand alone as autonomous small-scale sculptures, indicating the hand of a second independent artist who was more than just an artist turner.[2]

In its vertical structure the goblet is made of four parts: the octagonal base, which itself rests on four scythe-shaped feet and carries the cup; a boy blowing a horn; the cup, which is divided into convex-concave geometrical shapes, the middle of which is recessed and decorated with three musicians; and a multilayered lid, at the pinnacle of which a small cupid with bow and arrow balances itself on a sphere. In its entirety the turned part stresses the vertical, which is broken up countless times by rhythmic and dynamic horizontal lines that flow inward and outward.

The octagonal base has the character of an elaborately tiered socle. Delicate lancelike leaf formations that hang down from the base, along with open-worked areas with ornamental motifs, break up and alternate with solid areas. Somewhat abruptly, a small mound rises from the smooth base on which a chubby little boy stands blowing a horn in his right hand with great force (fig. 1d).[3] Under his left hand, which rests on his hip, some material is draped together in narrow pleated layers and is flung like a sash over his right shoulder, the other end of which hangs down over his buttocks. In spite of his extreme contrapposto the little musician, otherwise naked, balances on the fur cap on his head a form with hanging leaves that resembles the capital of a column, which supports the entire weight of the heavy goblet. The turned forms of the slender and tall stretched cup evolve out of a triangle. At the height of the center part sit the three young musicians. One of them is tuning a violin with an expression of deep concentration (fig. 1e), the second is playing the flute (fig. 1f), while a third is singing with all his might from sheet music, his right arm lifted high (fig. 1g). In the composition of the lid the already mentioned motifs, base, and cup, repeat: the lid assimilates the complex architectural forms of the vessel's body. From a garland of upward-reaching flaming leaves that are attached in a clumsy manner grows a baluster-like knob with broken-up and solid areas, which, in turn, are crowned by a double-layered bud of flaming leaves. Out of this grows a small stem with a ball, on top of which a small cupid, standing on his right leg, shoots off an arrow (fig. 1h).

The carefully inscribed date of 1631 underneath the base (see fig. 1c) leads to the conclusion that the goblet was made for Duke Johann Casimir of Saxe-Coburg (1564–1633),[4] for whom Marcus Heiden was working at the time as a wood turner and pyrotechnician in Ehrenburg,[5] the duke's town residence. During the Thirty Years War, on September 28, 1632, the Protestant city of Coburg was besieged by the Catholic

FIGURES 1a–h Marcus Heiden (German, documented 1618–1664). *Goblet with Lid*, 1631. Ivory, H: 63.5 cm (25 in.). Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum 91.DH.75. Frontal view.

FIGURE 1b Rear view.

FIGURE 1c Signature underneath the base.

FIGURE 1d Boy blowing a horn.

FIGURE 1e Boy tuning a violin.

FIGURE 1f Boy playing a flute.

FIGURE 1g Boy singing.

FIGURE 1h Cupid shooting an arrow.

Imperial Army under the command of the Duke of Wallenstein. Two documents from victims of the plunder give information about the extent of the pillage to which parts of the ducal art treasures fell prey, as well as their ensuing fate. In his *Description of a Turned Artifact Made of Ivory* printed in 1640 in Coburg, Marcus Heiden mentions a total of thirty-two vases that were taken to Florence to the Grand Duke Ferdinand II of Tuscany and entered into the inventory of the gallery on April 1, 1633.[6] A letter of September 27, 1659, from Colonel Giovanni Giovacchino Keller die Schaikaine to the grandducal brother, Prince Matthias de' Medici, the commander at the time,[7] speaks of only thirty pieces. It is possible Colonel Keller kept two of the turned artifacts for himself, one of which could be the goblet dated by Marcus Heiden in 1631.

Little is known about Heiden, who called himself "artist turner, pyrotechnician, and master rifle maker,"[8] and in later years, "Imperial German poet laureate, artist turner, pyrotechnician in Weimar."[9] Perhaps as early as 1618, or at the latest 1623, the year of the first turned works made for the duke, until 1633, Marcus Heiden Coburgensis worked at the court of the Saxon Duke Johann Casimir (Ernestine lineage) in Coburg.[10] After the duke's death, Heiden first went to Eisenach to the court of the ducal brother Johann Ernst, from which he continued on to Weimar in 1638. There he was engaged as court turner of Duke Wilhelm of Saxe-Weimar. The poem of praise on the occasion of the death of Duchess Eleonore Dorothea,[11] which was published in 1664, remains the last documentation of the artist's existence.

The lack of biographical sources—neither his date of birth nor his date of death is known—is compensated for by the personal writings of the artist. In *Description of a Turned Artifact Made of Ivory* Heiden not only explains in detail "the spiritual meaning" of the piece,[12] that is, the complex iconographic meaning of the table centerpiece that is currently in Vienna today (fig. 2);[13] he also reports in a most lively way about himself as well as the tribulations of the Thirty Years War, which brought pillage to his hometown as well as an end to the art of turning.[14]

Because of the lack of archival material, one can only hypothesize about Heiden's education. A deeply religious Lutheran,[15] he was most likely educated in Dresden,[16] where the art of ivory turning had reached its apogee around 1570/80 under the Prince Elector August (r. 1553–86).[17] The elector himself was most likely a diligent "sovereign turner"[18]—the Kunstkammer inventory of 1587 lists 134 works made of ivory "turned

FIGURE 2 Marcus Heiden. *Table Centerpiece*, 1638–39. Ivory, H: 115.3 cm (45⅜ in.). Vienna, Kunstkammer KK 4775. Photo: Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.

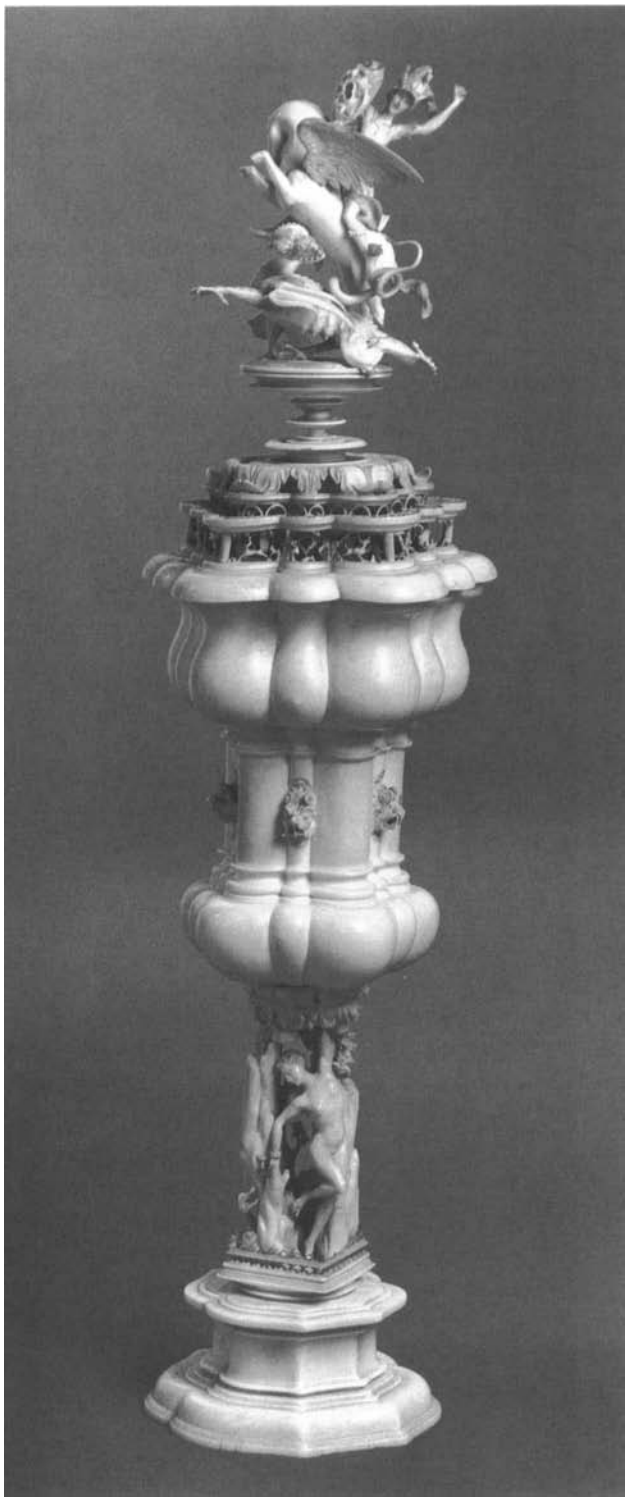


FIGURE 3 Jakob Zeller (German, 1581–1620). *Goblet with Lid*, 1610. Ivory, H: 42.5 cm (16⅝ in.). Stockholm, Kungl. Husgeradskammaren SS 141. Photo: Sven Nilsson.

himself"[19]—but he was also a passionate collector of such showpieces destined for the Kunstkammer.[20] It is understandable, therefore, that this atmosphere of art appreciation at the prince elector's residence captivated the best among the German turner artists, such as Georg Wecker (ca. 1550–1622/26) and Egidius Lobenigk (active 1589–95). It seems that Jakob Zeller (1581–1620) from Regensburg, who was vested with the office of court turner by Christian II (r. 1601–11), was of particular importance to Heiden. The first artistic turned pieces where figurative decorations play an important role go back to Jakob Zeller.

Zeller and Heiden, however, had left behind the stylistic tradition that had been passed on from Milan via Munich to Dresden, and created their own style.[21] They already represent that generation of turners for whom the art of turning was of equal value to that of carving. Zeller's goblet with Perseus and Andromeda, finished in 1610 and now in Stockholm (fig. 3),[22] which enabled the artist to recommend himself successfully to the Elector Christian II, marks at the same time the height of this stylistic development that opened a new field in respect to formal-aesthetic as well as iconography. Self-assured, the artist points to the novel ideas of his artifact: *SCULPTURAM ATQ. TORVMA NOVUM CHRISTINE DUCUM FAX ACCIPE DEVOTUMQ. ARTIFICIS STUDIUM.*[23]

The combination of artistic turning and figurative carving seems to have originated in Dresden, as diverse entries in the Rudolfine (1607/11) and the Dresden Kunstkammer inventory of 1595 point out.[24] Some works by Egidius Lobenigk, all of which were made circa 1590, could most likely be considered to be incunabula.[25] The introduced change departed from contemporary simple stereometric die casts with unshaped areas; much more complex speculative forms were now possible. With the virtuosic preparation of Zeller's goblet from Stockholm (fig. 3), his alleged pupil Marcus Heiden, along with his apprentice Johann Eisenberg (active second half of seventeenth century), took the final step into the Baroque age with the so-called Coburg vases.[26]

While the masterful thin-walled turned artifacts of the late sixteenth century are usually limited to an abstract geometric and architectural vocabulary of shapes composed with strict axial symmetry, the generation of turners working after 1600, such as Zeller, Heiden, and Eisenberg, used all of their available skill to experiment with the technical possibilities of the most diverse pro-

FIGURE 4 Marcus Heiden. *Goblet with Lid*, second quarter of the seventeenth century. Ivory, H: 60 cm (23⅝ in.). Vienna, Kunstkammer KK 4676. Photo: Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.

cesses of movements at the turning lathe, until the furthest extent of treatment of the material was probed. To the seemingly inexhaustible reservoir of interconnected or stacked stereometric forms, asymmetry is added in the early seventeenth century as a new form-giving element that emphasized the instability of these adventurous showpieces (fig. 4). They gain their aesthetic quality and are recognized as desirable collector's items because of the special difficulty of their production. Only through the integration of figurative parts and iconography are these virtuoso Kunstkammer pieces, in which mechanics and mathematics unite in beauty, given intrinsic artistic meaning. In this way the turners undertook nothing less than a transformation of the century-old topos of overcoming nature, "*ars naturam superat,*" which triumphed for the first time in the sixteenth century.[27] Human production resembles creation ex nihilo; it is parallel to the divine act of creation.[28] The demiurgic god who, as the first turner, called the world most artistically "*tornat et ornat,*" was looked upon as the "*optimus, potentissimus mechanikos et mechanopoios.*"[29]

For the outer form one can assume a stylistic orientation leaning toward the German goldsmith's art of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; however, the extravagant richness of forms in these pieces expresses enthusiasm for machines, as in, for example, automatons richly decorated with figures and intricate clocks that personify the cosmic motions of the planets as a microcosmic machine. Through them nature was conquered by the mechanical as well as the artistic creation of man.[30]

In their general form almost all of the so-called Coburg vases by Heiden and Eisenberg go back to the basic design of the covered goblet. The goblet in the Getty Museum is one of the most popular types of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries and shows a close relationship to Dutch Mannerism: over a multilayered base with a figural shaft rises the double vaulted cup with a tight waist section, the vaulted lid decorated by a vase-shaped knob with a figure.[31]

Despite Heiden's fears, almost all turned works survived forced seizure by the Imperial troops during the Thirty Years War. The greater part of the works made at the Coburg Ehrenburg are now located in the Palazzo Pitti in Florence, five of which are signed and dated by Heiden.[32] The Kunstkammer in Vienna has three signed and dated ivory pieces, some of which originate from Heiden's time at Coburg.[33] Besides these artifacts, a few single pieces in the Grünes Gewölbe in

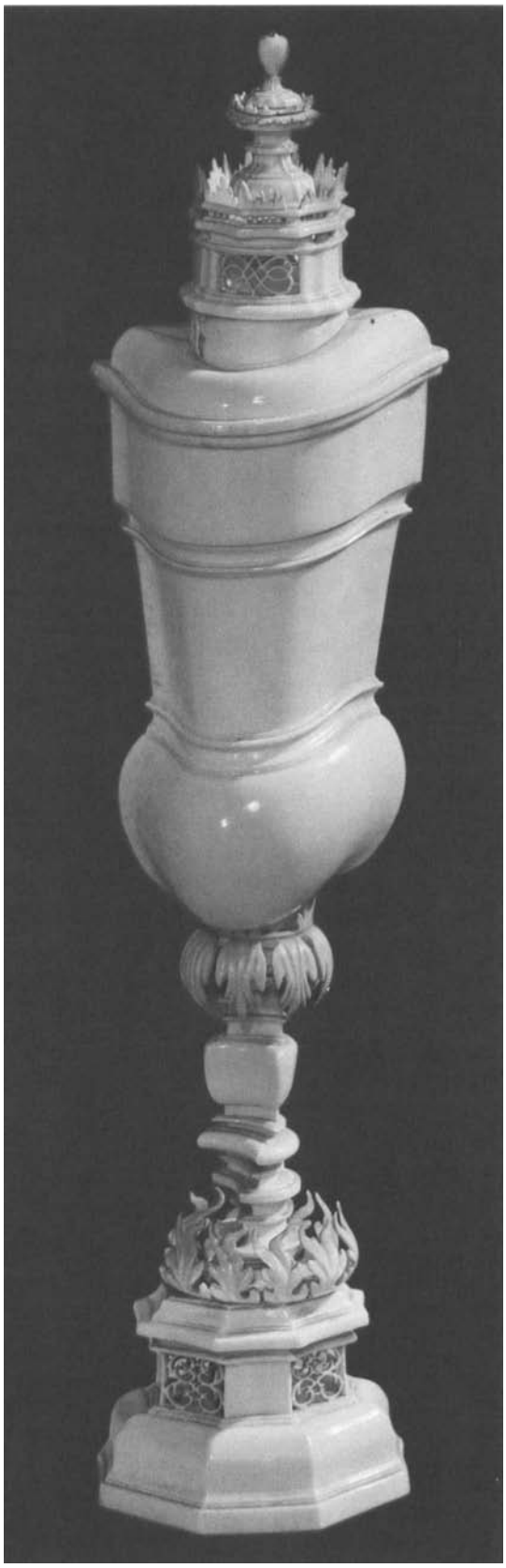


FIGURE 5 Marcus Heiden. *Goblet with Lid*, 1623. Ivory, H: 38.5 cm (15⅛ in.). Dresden, Grünes Gewölbe II 354.

Dresden (fig. 5),[34] the Getty Museum (figs. 1a–h),[35] and in the Weimar Castle Museum,[36] substantiate each longer stay of Heiden with at least one signed and dated piece. All of them were made during the years between 1623 and 1644. The piece in Dresden (fig. 5), which surfaced only recently, is the earliest, with the latest being the covered goblets from 1644, unpublished until now, in Weimar.

Some almost leitmotif-like stylistic characteristics of the Getty Museum's goblet can be discerned in the secured works of Heiden and can serve as reference points for further ascriptions: distinctly cut bases, usually in the form of imaginative masks, as well as open-worked ornamental designs breaking down the material at the base and knob (figs. 1, 4, 5). Contrary to Eisenberg, whom he calls "my fellow worker and former disciple Johann Eissenberg of Gotha,"[37] Heiden often adds to his turned work carved figures of mediocre quality.[38] A comparison with signed pieces by Eisenberg, however, demonstrates in principle the problematic nature of ascriptions in the field of artistic turned work based solely on stylistic analysis, because certain motifs and techniques were traditionally passed on within a workshop.[39] This is precisely the case with an especially beautiful example of collaboration, the goblet with lid in Vienna (fig. 6),[40] in which an exact distinction of the work of the two artists must remain questionable.

On the whole, the greatest resemblance to the Getty goblet is found in the goblet with lid and eagle from 1623 in the Palazzo Pitti,[41] which, however, is completely static, and except for the grimace-shaped base has no other figural adornment. In the context here it is important to point out that the piece from Stockholm by Zeller already shows characteristic elements of the Getty goblet, which was not made until twenty-one years later (fig. 3). These are Andromeda, placed on a socle, which functions as the shaft figure for the cup; and sculptured decorations, such as animal heads, eagles, and lions, which are attached to its bodicelike center part, while the upper part of the lid worked in a jour is crowned by a figure. In spite of all its virtuosity and modernity Zeller's goblet remains on the whole solid and static, stressing the equilibrium between the horizontal and the vertical, and is, therefore, "un-Baroque." Heiden works against such factors by giving his artistic turned works Baroquelike dynamics: instead of the axial-symmetric shaft, initially a staggered stairlike formation takes over the support function of the cup (fig. 4), which, in the case of the Getty Museum goblet, is completely new and at the same time convinc-

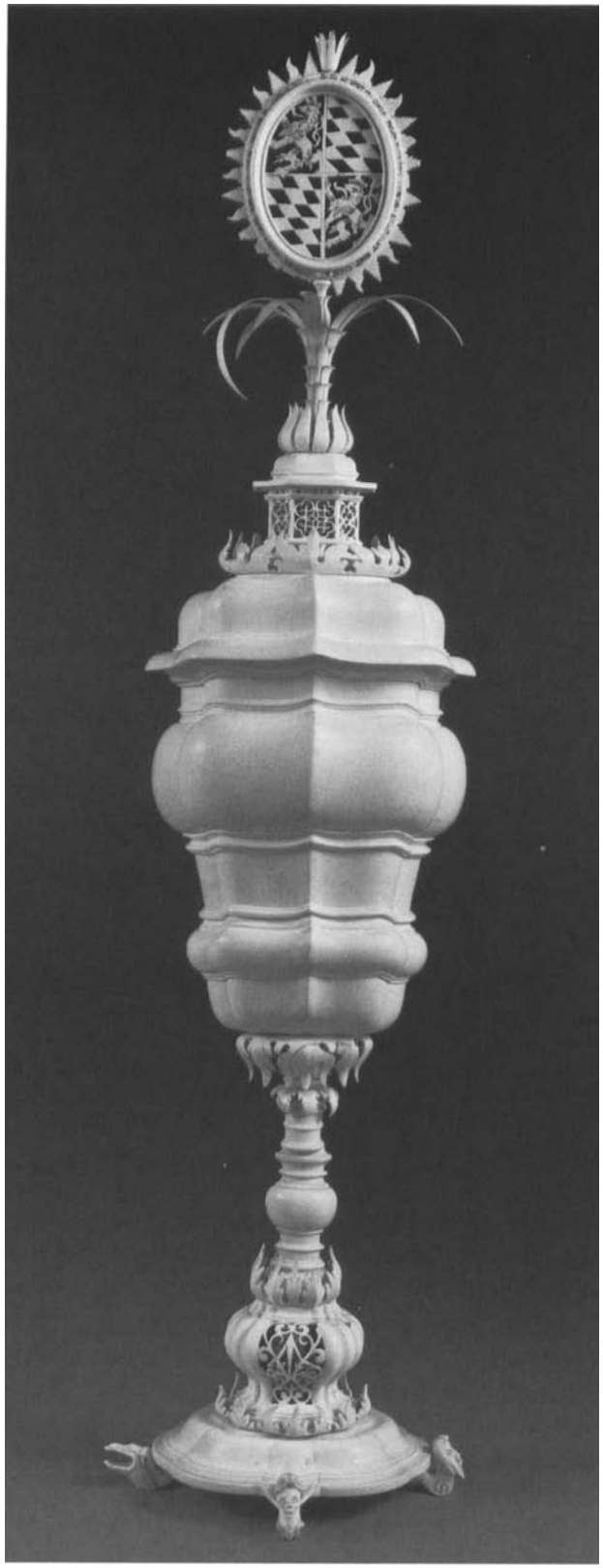


FIGURE 6 Marcus Heiden and Johann Eisenberg (working in Coburg during the second half of the seventeenth century). *Goblet with Lid*, 1630. Ivory, H: 48 cm (18⅞ in.). Vienna, Kunstkammer KK 4765. Photo: Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.

ingly replaced and brought to perfection by the wide, stretched-out base of the horn blower. This piece is enlivened not only by the animated postures, gestures, and mimicry of the cupid but also by the skillful contrast of diverse surface treatments and formations, which lend a dynamic and Baroque boldness to the remarkable piece. Here we have the conscious correlation between smoothly turned and ornamentally broken-up areas, convex and concave forms, abstract parts and figures, and the dissolving of an orthogonal netting of lines in favor of a rhythmic flow of lines. No other work by Heiden possesses the same degree of machine-produced virtuosity in technique paired with a sensitive fashioning of movable figures.

One characteristic of the lathe-turned ivory goblets is their signing and dating through elaborate inscriptions on the inside of the base or socle. *Soli deo gloria* is one of the favored dedications, and could, perhaps, be described as the credo of the turner.[42] The skill, therefore, stands in the service of Christian morality; the seeming lack of intention of these Kunstkammer pieces is underlaid with a religious-allegorical meaning in the eyes of collectors and connoisseurs. Symbolism and complicated allegorical programs, typical of the sixteenth century, make way for new influences by the end of the Thirty Years War.[43] The deeply religious Heiden is more concerned with the spiritual meaning of his turned work than with the transformation of mystical programs. One can therefore also assume an inherent religious-allegorical meaning for the Getty goblet in spite of the lack of a corresponding inscription, which would at any rate be difficult to reconstruct for today's viewers, who for the most part have fragmentary biblical knowledge at best. What question could be hidden behind the decoration of the four musicians and the balancing cupid?

Musical instruments function in the visual arts as carriers of allegorical ideas. On the one hand, the Christian symbolism of musical instruments presents in its overall picture the playing Logos who brings forth the most wonderful harmonies on the instruments of the universe. The horn, the trombone, and the trumpet have the task of giving signs and making announcements in the Old Testament; in the New Testament they are the bearers of good news.[44] When Martin Luther says, "The faithful human being must sing and speak of it with gladness so that others may also hear and join in,"[45] he attributes to songs the singing of praises to the Lord. The accompaniment of the violin can at times have the affirmative meaning, as if it provided the

confirmation of truth.[46] Angel concerts are the main bearers of the heavenly doxology,[47] and musical instruments that carry the praises of the Lord from the mouths of human beings far into the vast universe,[48] as Psalm 150 jubilantly epitomizes it, would be compatible with Heiden's religious ideas.

On the other hand, musical instruments are symbols for empty sounds and are interpreted as allegories of vanitas: the sound of music vanishes even if the musical notes remain.[49] In this way the observer is reminded of true Christian values.[50] The voices of the violin also symbolize the human being striving toward harmony.

The allegorical associations of music and love had in their multifaceted aspects a long tradition during the Renaissance and the Baroque. Dutch paintings of the seventeenth century linked the theme of music with that of love, giving it moralizing undertones, always stressing the transitory nature of all pleasures. Might the figural program of the Getty goblet, with the four boys tuning and playing their instruments and singing, above which the cupid shoots his arrow into the unknown, thus be seen as reminders of the dissoluteness and transitoriness of earthly love?[51]

The cut and turned ivory objects that lack any function at all were made to suit the exquisite taste of collectors and connoisseurs, who expected to derive the highest aesthetic pleasure from the brilliant technical achievement and the silken glow of the exotic materials.[52] Elaborate turned pieces, which require close viewing, exhibit impressively the leap from the perfection of craftmanship to virtuosity,[53] and could only be realized in ivory because it is the one material that is homogeneous, resilient, barely hygroscopic, and nonfibrous. In addition, it is possible to work ivory into very thin-walled objects.[54] The fast-shaving turning process that lifts off bits of ivory could be slowed down for complicated designs, continuing the process in a slow, scraping motion. The technique of oval turning allows an even more exact use of the oval growth cross section. Because of the homogeneity of ivory many turned objects look as if they were made of one piece; usually, however, they are created by piecing together many individual parts.[55]

The stem and the lid are especially vulnerable parts of a goblet that, because of their exposed position and instability, could easily break. As already mentioned, the incredible quality of the carved male figures does not even come close to being reached in any of Heiden's other works. The precision of the individual characterization of each figure results from a precise observation of the natural model that is not consistent with the relatively careless work of the leaf formations and ornamental work (fig. 1a). It is possible, therefore, that this covered goblet, which Heiden signed and dated so carefully, is in reality the product of the cooperation of two artists—a turner and an ivory carver.

On the one hand, if the overall well-balanced relationship between architecture and figure is taken into consideration, as well as the perfect fit of the three musicians into the center of the vessel who snuggle up very naturally into the concave walls of the cup, then the adornment of the figures must have been part of the entire concept of the turner from the very beginning. The excellently carved little statues, whose inner monumentality and confident treatment display the talents of a small-sculpture artist at the zenith of his career, prove that ivory must have been a familiar material, as the virtuoso mastery of detail points out.

On the other hand, the base and lid are particularly weak parts of the goblet, which are quite fragile due to their exposed and unstable nature. It could therefore be possible that these fragile parts of the goblet, which originally was made entirely by Marcus Heiden alone, were damaged and later replaced by these little boys carved by someone else. Important in this context seems the observation that up until now research has made no archival discoveries about an ivory carver (not turner) who worked in Coburg or its vicinity around 1630 or later. Because of the lack of proof, neither of the two hypothetical suppositions can be given preference, so that the question of the creator of the figures can only be pursued through stylistic and critical observations.[56]

An important factor for statues of small format is their need to be seen at close range, which demands precision of carving technique and a clear stylistic formulation. It is not the craftsmanship of the material per se that stands at the center of sculptural endeavor but the desire to create in a concentrated form a figure of plastic volume and a clear statement that gives an effect that is as natural as possible. (A larger or even life-size format makes possible the creation of the illusion of nature and life as demanded by art theory through clearly defined mimicry and gestures.[57]) The personal handwriting of a sculptor gives itself away through the special rendering of the body, the flow of the pleats, or the shaping of the garment, as well as in the treatment of the hair,[58] independent of the scale.

The three figures of the cup are convincing as in-

FIGURE 7 Master of the Martyrdom of Saint Sebastian (southern German-Austrian, active circa 1655). *The Martyrdom of Saint Sebastian*, 1655. Ivory, 54.3 x 80.4 cm (21⅜ x 31⅝ in.). Vienna, Kunstkammer KK 3654. Photo: Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.

dependent sculptures, which have been brought into unison with the architecture of the vessel and distinguish themselves through a decisive spatial development, correct ponderation, and lifelike rendering of the body. The sensitive modeling of the soft baby fat (fig. 1g), the individual mimicry and gestures (figs. 1d–g), and especially the very flexible fingers (fig. 1e), attest to the astounding ability of the artist to render nature faithfully. No less meticulously executed is the full splendor of the hair: the parted hair that clings close to the skull falls into large disarranged strands of curls. They are often plastic, worked out by means of difficult carving techniques, while single hairs are shown by means of parallel grooves. A stylization comparable to the treatment of hair manifests itself in the relatively tensionless drapery whose sharp ridges of parallel pleats betray their origins in the extreme linearism of the Swabian tradition.

The Baroque characteristics of the male figures—their natural appearance resulting from a brimming vitality and agility, the very plastic treatment of the childlike anatomy, the individualized faces—place them within the stylistic vicinity of Georg Petel (1601/02–1634),[59] without completely reaching his advanced figural invention to the fullest.[60] The artistic prerequisites for the music-making children's figures come on the one hand from Peter Paul Rubens (1577–1640), whose affinity for small sculptures, especially those in ivory, has been proven many times. Rubens's friend and pupil Georg Petel is considered the most important purveyor of this approach in which Flemish sensualism and classical tradition combine with Baroque dynamics. In the characteristics described above the goblet's anonymous artist proves himself to be superior to the so-called Master of the Martyrdom of Saint Sebastian (active around 1650; fig. 7),[61] the other wood carver, until now nameless, who still represents the Swabian sculpture at the turn of the century and in whose immediate vicinity we believe our master to be.[62]

In this combination of retardataire and Baroque traits the master of the boys' figures proves to be one of the southern German-Austrian artists of small sculptures

FIGURE 8 Artist Working in the Vicinity of the Master of the Martyrdom of Saint Sebastian (southern German-Austrian, working circa 1630/50). *The Fall of Man*, before 1650(?). Ivory, 32.3 x 17.2 cm (12¾ x 6¾ in.). Hartford, Connecticut, Wadsworth Atheneum 1917.303. Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan.

FIGURE 9 Artist Working in the Vicinity of the Master of the Martyrdom of Saint Sebastian (southern German-Austrian, working circa 1630/50). *Goblet with Lid*, depicting the story of Albuin and Rosamunde, before 1650(?). Ivory, H: 56 cm (22 in.). Vienna, Kunstkammer KK 4530. Photo: Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.

who were situated between the Zürn family of sculptors and Georg Petel, artists who most likely were in touch with the "moderna," the developments in the Netherlands and Italy.[63] In the broadest sense this master's work can be ranked with the sculptures influenced by Rubens.[64]

The certainty and poise of modeling identify the artist as a connecting link between the pointedly expressive, yet stylized, vehemence of the Master of the Martyrdom of Saint Sebastian and the much more fragile and delicate courtly carving of Johann Caspar Schenk from Constance (circa 1630–1674). He is also connected through motifs (but not stylistic analogies, such as, for example, the cupid balancing on a ball as crowning figure,[65] which is the least prominent sculpture of the ensemble), to the ornamentally refined and strongly simplified, almost naïve works of Balthasar Grießman (circa 1620– 1706),[66] who was also active in Vienna.

Coincidentally, from the same year as the Getty goblet dates the boxwood statue of Saint Sebastian that was signed by a certain Veit Lang, whose life's circumstances are completely unknown.[67] Still beholden to late-Manneristic tendencies with an understanding deeply rooted in linear history, he and his style can be moved into the environment of the Master of the Martyrdom of Saint Sebastian without being able to give a decisive answer to the question of the authorship of the boys' figures on the Getty goblet.

Most easily comparable to the convincing physical presence of the boys on the goblet seems to be the cu-

pid of *The Fall of Man* relief in Hartford (fig. 8),[68] whose childlike, fleshy body and especially the added body fat along the arms; the precise and highly expressive chubby face; the noodlelike strands of hair; and the fast play of the fingers, especially of the horn-blowing boy (fig. 1d), manifest the related traits of siblings. The same model is betrayed by the cupids, who are arranged in a dynamic dance around the base of the covered goblet (fig. 9). In addition to the great agility of the chubby bodies, the children's heads with their strongly curved forehead and chubby cheeks, the slightly opened small mouth, the sweet little nose, and the deep hanging eyes with sharply drilled pupils correspond especially to the impressively characterized musician.

Considering the remarks of Theuerkauff,[69] one would like to assign the five statues of the covered goblet turned by Marcus Heiden in 1631 to a certain ivory carver in the vicinity of the Master of the Martyrdom of Saint Sebastian, a master, who, however, was not only ahead of the other in time but who was also advanced in style. This was an artist who embraced the modern Baroque tendencies, given representative expression by Georg Petel on the small as well as the large scale, an artist who obviously was much more open to the new small sculpture stemming from Swabia, which was dominant in ivory carving in the southern German-Austrian area (Salzburg and Vienna) until the advent of the virtuoso Mathias Rauchmiller (1645–1686).[70]

The exceptional quality of the small statues speaks for the artistic potential of their anonymous creator, whose feeling for the possibilities of his material, for the figure, and for movement, identify him as an important carver in the manner of Petel.

Sabine Haag is the Curator in the Kunstkammer of the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.

NOTES

1. Accession no. 91.DH.75. For more information, see *The Burlington Magazine* 884 (December 1976), p. xxxv; E. von Philippovich, "Ivory," *Bibliothek für Kunst und Antiquitätenfreunde 17* (1982), p. 422, fig. 372; C. Theuerkauff, "Jacob Auer, 'Bildhauer in Grins,'" *Pantheon* 41, no. 3 (1983), p. 195, n. 18; K. Maurice, *Der drechselnde Souverän, Materialien zu einer fürstlichen Maschinenkunst* (Zurich, 1985), p. 56, fig. 78; C. Theuerkauff, "Ivory," in L. Horvitz Roth, *J. Pierpont Morgan, Collector: European Decorative Arts from the Wadsworth Atheneum*, exh. cat. (Hartford, 1987), p. 108, n. 12; *J. Paul Getty Trust, Report 1991–1992* (Los Angeles, 1993), p. 15.
2. C. Theuerkauff (note 1) expressed this opinion several times without elucidating further on the problematic nature.
3. Usually a wreath of leaves (missing here), which grows up out of the base, covers the transition between the base and the shaft.
4. For more on Johann Casimir, see *Herzog Johann Casimir von Sachsen-Coburg, 1564–1633*, exh. cat. (Veste Coburg, 1964); M. K. Kinner, "Johann Casimir von Sachsen-Coburg, 1564–1633" (master's thesis, Munich University, 1990).
5. M. Heiden, *Feuerwerksbuch* (1650), now in Coburg, Landesbibliothek Sig. Cas. Ms. 92.
6. Coburg, Landesbibliothek Sig. Cas. Ms. A 2728. See K. Aschengreen-Piacenti, "Beschreibung eines von Helffenbein gedrehten Kunststücks . . . Beneben desselben geistliche Bedeutung, von Marcus Heiden, 1640," *Anzeiger des Germanischen Nationalmuseums* (1964), pp. 82–98.
7. K. Aschengreen-Piacenti, "La collezione medicea di avori torniti," *Antichità viva* 1 (January 1963), p. 15.
8. See above (note 6).
9. M. Heiden, *Auf den tödtlichen Hingang der Herzogin Eleonora Dorothea von dem Marco Heiden, kaiserl. gekrönten teutschen Poeten, Kunstdrechsler, Feuerwerker in Weimar, 26th of Dec. 1664*, now in Weimar, Thüringische Landesbibliothek.
10. The previous supposition that Marcus Heiden had already entered the services of Casimir in 1618 probably stems from the inscription of the goblet with lid which was marked and dated with the initials of Casimir *J. C. H. Z. S. G. C. V. B. 1618* (Bargello 1879, no. 62). However, Marcus Heiden's earliest documented work is dated 1623; today it is in the Grünes Gewölbe in Dresden (II 354). Many thanks to Dr. Jutta Kappel, Dresden, for her generous support.
11. See above (note 9).
12. See above (note 6).
13. Vienna, Kunstkammer KK 4575. Presented to Emperor Ferdinand III by Duke Wilhelm of Saxe-Weimar at the Imperial Diet of Regensburg in 1639.
14. Except for Marcus Heiden and his pupil and apprentice Johann Eisenberg, no other names of turners are known by name from these sources.
15. It is said that Martin Luther encouraged wood turning for meditative reasons; see Maurice (note 1), p. 13.
16. In the introduction to his text Marcus Heiden (note 6) speaks at great length about the high esteem the art of turning enjoyed at the Saxon court in Dresden. Marcus Heiden's later employer, Duke Johann Casimir, was also the son-in-law of the art-loving Prince Elector, through his marriage with Anna von Sachsen. The connections to Dresden were, however, problematic; see H. Patze, "Die Wettiner in der Geschichte des Reiches und Europas," *Jahrbuch der Coburger Landesstiftung* 31 (1986), p. 324.
17. For the latest information about ivory turning at the electoral court, see D. Syndram and J. Kappel, *Wiedergewonnen: Elfenbein Kunststücke aus Dresden. Eine Sammlung des Grünen Gewölbes*, exh. cat. (Erbach, 1995).
18. Maurice (note 1), p. 56; U. Middeldorf, "On the Dilettante Sculptor," *Apollo* 107 (1978), p. 310; C. Weigel, *Ständebuch, Das ist Abbildung der gemeinnützlichen Hauptstände von allerley Stands-, Ambts- und Gewerbepersonen* (Regensburg, 1698), p. 441. The theoretical reason for the dilettante prince's turning was established foremost through the noble founder of the craft, "Gott der Meister des ersten Kugelwercks der Welt . . . ist ein sonderer Freund und Liebhaber der Drechslerey," in F. Frisius, *Der vornehmsten Kuenstler und Handwerker Ceremonial Politica* (Leipzig, 1705), pp. 267–301.
19. Kunstkammerinventar from 1587, p. 141 (verso). The later

Elector Christian II, and grandson of August, must have given a large number of ivory works made by August to Emperor Rudolf II (r. 1576–1612), as a look at the Rudolfinische Kunstkammerinventar will confirm. E. Scheicher, "Bemerkungen zu den gedrechselten Sachen Kaiser Rudolfs II in Prag," *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien* 88 (1992), p. 347, proves that the objects are those for which Rudolf thanks Christian in 1601; see *Jahrbuch des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses* 7 (1888), reg. 4669.

20. E. Scheicher, *Die Kunst- und Wunderkammern der Habsburger* (Vienna, 1979), p. 194. For information about the Baroque Kunstkammer, see especially C. Theuerkauff, "Zum Bild der Kunst- und Wunderkammer des Barock," *Alte und moderne Kunst* 88 (1966), pp. 2–28.
21. D. Diemer, "Giovanni Ambrogio Maggiore und die Anfänge der Kunstdrechselei um 1570," *Jahrbuch des Zentralinstituts für Kunstgeschichte* 1 (1985), pp. 295–342.
22. Jakob Zeller, *Deckelpokal*, Stockholm, kungl. Husgeradskammaren, inv. ss 141.
23. Scheicher (note 19), p. 347, undertakes a new iconographic interpretation of the piece in Stockholm.
24. R. Bauer and H. Haupt, "Das Kunstkammerinventar Kaiser Rudolfs II, 1607–1611," *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien* 72 (1976).
25. Objects include *Marcus Curtius in Front of the Flaming Abyss* (II 18), *High Column with Hollow Ivory Sphere, Crowned by Sol and Mercurius* (II 130), and *Covered Goblet with Sphere* (II 282).
26. For the so-called Coburg vases, see K. Aschengreen-Piacenti, "Ivory Towers: The Ivories of Coburg," *Franco Maria Ricci* 41 (1989), pp. 65–96.
27. Maurice (note 1), p. 8.
28. N. Wolf, *Substrat—Idee—Bedeutung: Werkstoff und Material in der deutschen Plastik um 1600* (Munich, 1980), p. 237.
29. Maurice (note 1), p. 15; H. Bredekamp, *Antikensehnsucht und Maschinenglauben: Die Geschichte der Kunstkammer und die Zukunft der Kunstgeschichte* (Berlin, 1993), p. 42.
30. Syndram and Kappel (note 17), p. 6.
31. C. Hernmarck, *Die Kunst der europäischen Gold- und Silberschmiede von 1450 bis 1830* (Munich, 1978), p. 85.
32. K. Aschengreen-Piacenti (note 26), Bargello 59, 60, 61, 73, 200.
33. Vienna, Kunstkammer (KK 4665, KK 4765, KK 4775). Of interest is the history of origin and its reflection in the corresponding inventory registers for the *Deckelpokal mit dem bayrischen Wappen* (KK 4665) by Marcus Heiden, which he inscribed in detail, signed, and dated *In the Schatzkammerinventar of 1750* (p. 330, box 7, no. 19); the piece is assigned to the "Churpfalz Neüburg, wie das ligende zetul berichtet." In the Schatzkammerinventar of 1785 (p. 45, Kasten 2, no. 13), listed for the first time without any history of origin, the piece is dismissed in the inventory of 1826–41 (box 2, no. 8) as "ganz zerbrochen, in einer Lade . . . befindlich." Most likely, it was broken by a museum employee searching for a signature.
34. Dresden, Grünes Gewölbe II 354.
35. See above (note 1).
36. Weimar, Schloßmuseum, Deckelhumpen A 63; and Weimar, Schloßmuseum, Deckelpokal A 69. Dr. Bernd Vogelsang, Weimar, was good enough to bring this piece to my attention, for which I am very thankful.
37. K. Aschengreen-Piacenti (note 6), p. 90.
38. K. Aschengreen-Piacenti (note 6), p. 91.
39. Not only the passing on of the techniques within the company of artists but also the exchange of gifts among princely collectors saw to a fast dispersion of certain innovations, which then became common knowledge. The inventories of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries mirror the comparable holdings of other Kunstkammer. See above (notes 18 and 19).
40. Vienna, Kunstkammer KK 4765.
41. Florence, Palazzo Pitti, Bargello 73.
42. K. Aschengreen-Piacenti (note 6), p. 84.
43. K. Aschengreen-Piacenti (note 6), p. 87.
44. D. Forstner, *Die Welt der Symbolik* (Innsbruck, 1961), p. 580.
45. T. Georgiades, "Religion and Music," in *Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart: Handwörterbuch für Theologie und Religionswissenschaft*, ed. Kurt Galling, vol. 4 (Tübingen, 1960), col. 1197. Martin Luther's rediscovery of the German language during the time of the Reformation consequently led to a flourishing of church hymns.
46. G. Stradner, "Stellt Michael Pacher 1486 eine Stimmgabel dar?" in *Musik muß man machen*, ed. Michael Nagy (Vienna, 1994), p. 135. I would like to give special thanks to Dr. Rudolf Hopfner, Vienna, for literature references as well as the exact definition of the instruments. Hopfner also points out how skillfully executed the instruments are.
47. D. Forstner (note 44), p. 606.
48. C. Westermann, "Instrumental Music, Voice, and Poetry," in Galling (note 45), col. 1204.
49. *Lexikon der Kunst* 5 (Leipzig, 1975), p. 367.
50. During the Baroque period, the reference to the transitory nature of earthly joys serves to increase the appreciation of life's pleasures.
51. See the Flemish iconography of the parable of the prodigal son.
52. The corresponding entry in C. Weigel's book of estates confirms this. He characterizes turned works as "art objects which can be found in plentiful supply to be admired in the art chambers of great lords and art lovers because of their delicacy and structure"; Weigel (note 18), p. 442.
53. S. Haag, *Studien zur Elfenbeinplastik des 17. Jahrhunderts: Vorarbeiten für einen systematischen Katalog der Elfenbeinarbeiten des Kunsthistorischen Museums Wien* (Vienna, 1994), p. 20.
54. J. J. Marx, *Teutsche Materialkammer* (Nuremberg, 1687), p. 92: "Ebur, Ivory . . . the turners use it . . . and are able to make wonderful things from it."
55. The exhibition project of the Grünes Gewölbe, together with the Elfenbeinmuseum Erbach (note 17), point out this problem and the question of restoration for the first time.
56. Both artists are mentioned by name in the detailed inscription of the Vienna goblet with lid (KK 4765), which was made in 1630 in collaboration with Marcus Heiden and Johann Eisenberg. The lack of the name of a second artist for the Getty Museum goblet alone is, however, not sufficient to reject a synchronous creation of turned and carved parts in favor of a later origination for the musician figures, for example, to replace any broken parts.
57. S. Haag (note 53), p. 28.
58. S. Haag (note 53), p. 30.
59. K. Feuchtmayr and A. Schädler, *Georg Petel 1601/02–1634: K. Feuchtmayr, Gesammelte Aufsätze, A. Schädler, Kritischer Katalog*, with contributions by N. Lieb and T. Müller (Berlin, 1973).
60. Compare the bronze of a horn-blowing cupid in the Weilheimer Stadtmuseum that A. Schädler just recently attributed to Georg Petel; A. Schädler, "Eine unbekannte Kleinbronze von Georg Petel," *Lech-Isar-Land* (1994), pp. 3–8. The bronze figure of *Putto with a Skull* in a private collection in England is on the same stylistic level as the Getty Museum goblet's musicians and belongs to this family.
61. E. von Philippovich, "Hauptwerke des Elfenbeinkünstlers Johann Caspar Schenck," *Kunst in Hessen und am Mittelrhein, Schriften der Hessischen Museen* 13 (1973), pp. 47–51; C. Theuerkauff, "Zum Werk des Monogrammisten B.G. (vor 1662–nach 1680)," *Aachener Kunstblätter* 44 (1973), p. 251; C. Theuerkauff,

1983 (note 1), p. 195; C. Theuerkauff, *Die Bildwerke in Elfenbein des 16. bis 19. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, 1986), p. 286, n. 19; S. Haag, "Die beiden großen Elfenbeinreliefs mit dem Martyrium des Hl. Sebastian von 1655 und 1657 in Wien und Linz," in *Zu Gast in der Kunstkammer,* exh. cat. (Vienna, 1991), pp. 125–39; C. Theuerkauff, "Adam Lenckhardt (1610–1661)," in *Apoll schindet Marsyas: Über das Schreckliche in der Kunst. Adam Lenckhardts Elfenbeingruppe,* ed. R. Baumstark and P. Volk, exh. cat. (Munich, 1995), p. 103.

62. C. Theuerkauff 1983 (note 1), p. 195, n. 18; C. Theuerkauff 1987 (note 1), p. 108, n. 12.
63. The research results from F. Fischer have changed decisively the picture of early Baroque sculpture in southern Germany; F. Fischer, *Der Meister des Buxheimer Altars: Ein Beitrag zur süddeutschen Skulptur der ersten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, 1988).
64. The term *Rubensplastik* was coined by R. Oldenburg, "Die Plastik im Umkreis von Rubens," *Jahrbuch der Preußischen Kunstsammlungen* 40 (1919), pp. 17–35. For a fundamental discussion of the topic, see W. Kitlitschka, *Rubens und die Bildhauerei: Die Einwirkung der Plastik auf sein Werk und Rubens Auswirkung auf die Bildhauer des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Vienna, 1963); idem, "La sculpture au siècle de Rubens," exh. cat. (Brussels, 1977); J. Hecht, "Bodies by Rubens: Reflections of Flemish Painting in the Work of South German Ivory Carvers," *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 22 (1987), pp. 179–88. J. Hecht deals in this study especially with the relationship between Rubens and the Master of the Martyrdom of Saint Sebastian.
65. Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Skulpturengalerie 7985. The motif repeats on a beer mug with lid by Johann Caspar Schenck, Vienna, Kunstkammer KK 4467.
66. F. Wagner, "Balthasar Grießmann (around 1620–1706): Überlegungen zu einer Identifizierung des Monogrammisten B.G.," *Barockberichte* 8 (1994), pp. 334–40.
67. Hamburg, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe 1959.118/St.133.
68. Hartford, Connecticut, Wadsworth Atheneum 1917.303.
69. See above (note 1).
70. For the latest contribution to the southern German-Austrian ivory sculpture of the seventeenth century, see C. Theuerkauff, 1995 (note 61), p. 102 (with older literature).

This page intentionally left blank

The Reattribution of a Seventeenth-Century Spanish Polychrome Sculpture

MARI-TERE ALVAREZ

In 1985 the J. Paul Getty Museum acquired a life-size polychrome and gilt wood sculpture of Saint Ginés de la Jara (fig. 1).[1] The inscription—*S. GINES DE LAXARA*—repeated along the sleeve and hem of the figure's vestment, secures the identification of the subject (fig. 2);[2] the base bears the inscription *169(?)*, the year the object was made. Although the remarkable nature of the work has always been clear, the identity of its sculptor was, until now, unknown. Based on a misreading of the only partially legible signature on the base (fig. 5), it was assumed to be a work by the artist José Caro (Spanish, active 1698–1720), which seemed to make sense, considering that the artist in question was active in the Spanish region of Murcia, where there was a strong cult following for this obscure saint. Further, there is a monastery in Murcia devoted to the worship of Saint Ginés.

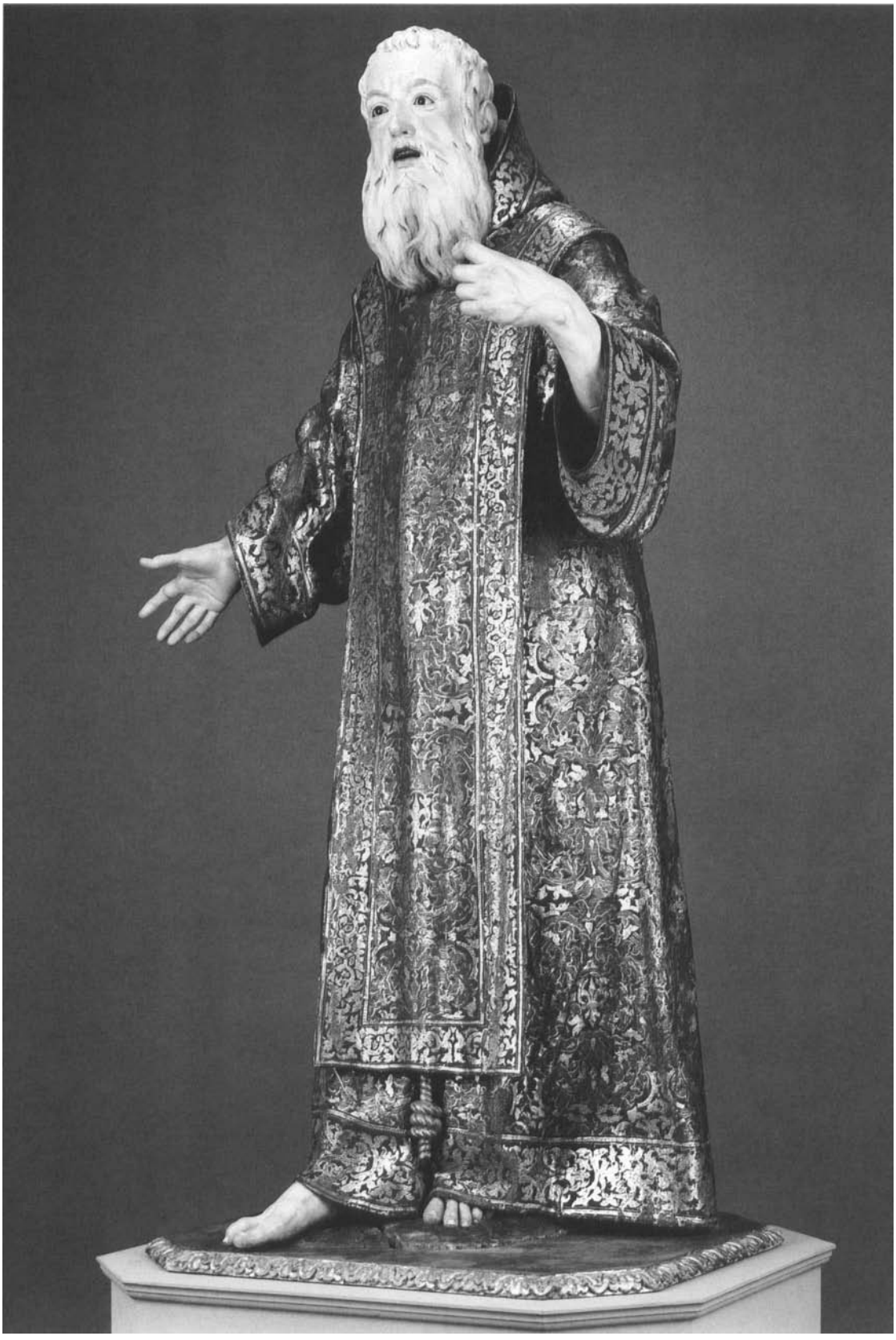
After comparing the Getty Museum's sculpture with other surviving works by the Caro family, it was clear that this piece did not belong in the family's œuvre. I therefore questioned the attribution of the work and interpreted the partially legible inscription to read: *LUISA ROLDAN ESCULTORA DE CAMARA AÑO 169(2?)*. Moreover, a comparison of this piece with other surviving works by the court sculptor, Luisa Roldán (Spanish, 1652–1706), known as "La Roldana," secures attribution of this piece to her.[3] For example, the gilded design motif on the edge of the base on *Saint Ginés* is the same as that on other pieces that are either signed by or widely accepted as by the artist, both in wood and terra-cotta, which still include their original bases (compare the bases on *Saint Ginés* [fig. 1] and *Archangel Michael* [fig. 4]).[4]

Designated court sculptor in 1692 by Charles II (r. 1665–1700), La Roldana probably produced Saint Ginés as a royal commission.[5] The high quality and good condition of this piece exemplified by the carving and original *estofado* (a polychromy technique of scratching through a paint layer of contrasting color or material, such as gold), coupled with the sculptor's importance in late seventeenth-century Spain, marks this acquisition as an important addition to the Museum's collection of Baroque art. Further, *Saint Ginés* is the artist's only known verifiable wood sculpture outside of Spain.[6]

The saint, dressed in an ecclesiastical gown patterned with fleurs-de-lis, remarkably preserves much of its original *estofado*, which through the use of brown paint and burnished gold simulates the brilliant brocade work of ecclesiastical vestments of the period.[7] The pine and cedar sculpture displays the heightened realism typical of religious imagery made for churches and convents in the last half of the seventeenth century. This realism is apparent in the coloration of the flesh, the depiction of the veins and tendons, and the inclusion of glass eyes. The figure, sculpted in the round, stands 176 cm (69¼ inches) in height. He is shown stepping forward with mouth slightly open and right hand outstretched, as if he is orating. His left hand presumably once held a staff, which is now missing.

Today the iconography of Saint Ginés is obscure; in the seventeenth century, however, the saint's iconography was well known.[8] According to legend, Saint Ginés was related to the French monarchs. In the eighth century Saint Ginés left France to make a pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela. Instead of returning to his royal duties, Ginés gave up all royal claims and settled in Spain to live a monastic life. The Getty figure is dressed in a brown pleated tunic, taken up at the waist by a cord, with a friar's hood resting in back. This brown monastic habit complete with three-knotted cord refers, perhaps, to the Franciscan order. The lack of sandals would imply the saint's humble status consistent with his life as a hermit.[9]

La Roldana has masterfully carved *Saint Ginés*. She has depicted the hands and neck in great detail,



FIGURES 1a–d Luisa Roldán (Spanish, 1652–1706). *Saint Ginés de la Jara*, 1692(?). Polychromed wood, H: 176 cm (69¼ in.). Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum 85.SD.161.

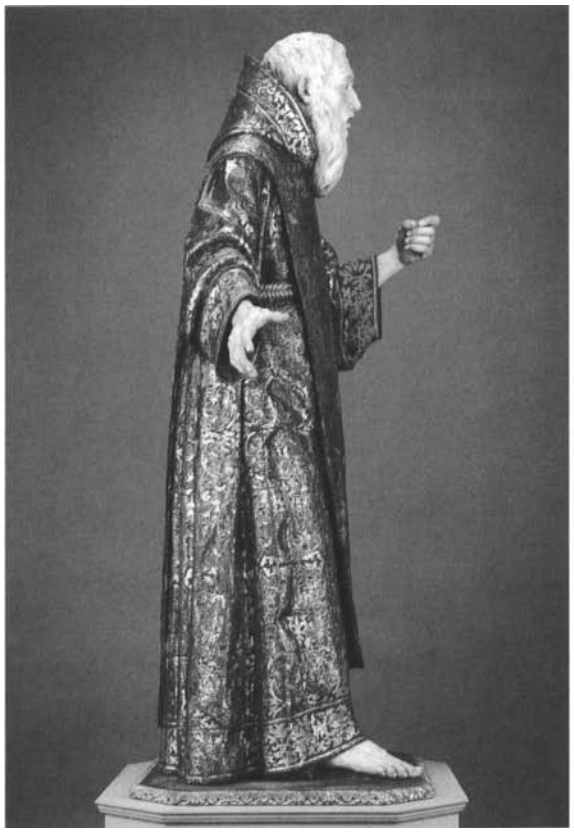


FIGURE 1b

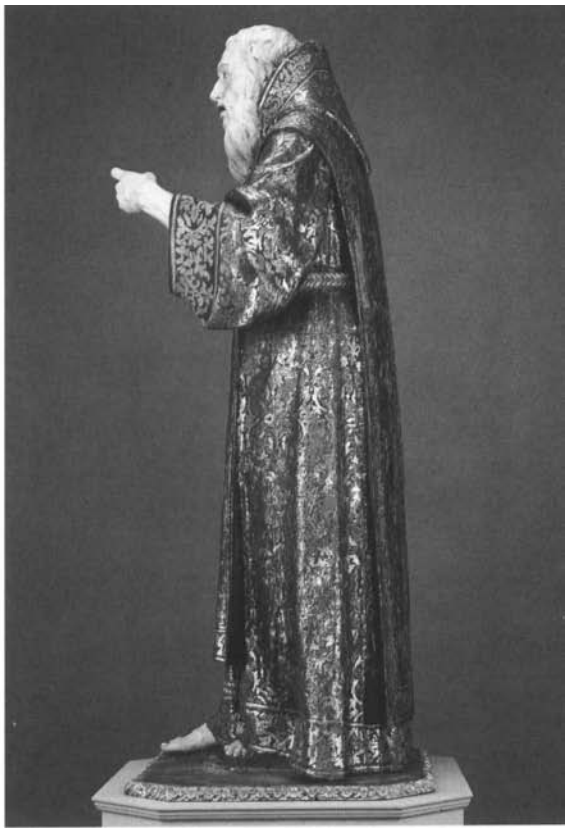


FIGURE 1c

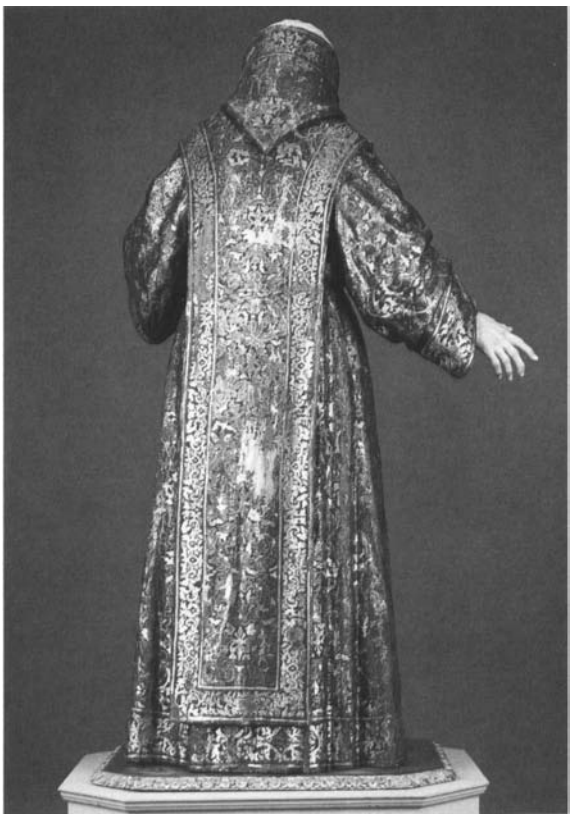


FIGURE 1d

FIGURE 2 Detail of figure 1 showing hem of gown.

FIGURE 3 Luisa Roldán. *The Death of Saint Mary Magdalene*, 1689–1704. Polychromed terra-cotta, H: 92.7 cm (36½ in.), W: 114.3 cm (45 in.), D: 429.9 cm (169¼ in.). New York, The Hispanic Society of America.

sculpting the veins and bones so they are dramatically pronounced beneath the skin. The nose is straight with a little lift at its end that accentuates the lip area. The curved rims of the eyelids project outward while the figure gazes upward, conveying a feeling of religious intensity. *Saint Ginés*, like *The Death of Saint Mary Magdalene* (fig. 3), displays the essential characteristics of fine realism typical of polychrome sculpture from the Seville region in Spain, including subtle expressions and clearly delineated profiles. The modeling on the fleshy parts of the figure—the head, arms, and shoulders—is more delicate than, for example, the vestments. The facial features—the nose, the outline of the lips, and the eyes—exude a softness that contributes to the rheumy look of the face. The delicate eyes; knitted brows; rosy, blushing cheeks; firmness of the feet; and the slight opening of the mouth are similar to those of *The Archangel Michael Fighting the Devil* (fig. 4).

After having been carved, the object was sent to the polychromer who was, most likely, Luisa's husband, Luis Antonio de los Arcos.[10] Los Arcos then colored the textiles (*estofado*) and skin (*encarnaciones*).[11] In the Getty figure Los Arcos covered the entire surface of the vestments with gold leaf. He then applied a layer of brown pigment over the gilding; when the paint dried, a stylus was employed to scratch through the paint layer to reveal the gold underneath, imitating the appearance of textile patterns and textures.[12] Punches created the pattern of *picado*, or dots, found along the front scapular. When the *picado* catches the light, the reflection of the gold creates a glimmering effect and gives a special sumptuousness to the figure, while the clothes imitate the richly embroidered gowns typical of the court.

Only a few polychrome wood sculptures by Luisa Roldán survive. The more notable works include *Archangel Michael* of 1692 (fig. 4; El Escorial, Spain); *Jesus of Nazareth* of 1699–1701 (Cuenca, Spain); *Saint Clara* of 1692 (now destroyed); and *Saint Ginés de la Jara* (fig. 1; Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum). The one common thread found in all the above pieces is that they date from the 1690s, La Roldana's period at the royal court. Further, all of the aforementioned figures—with the exception of *Saint Ginés*—have secure documentation that identifies these particular objects with specific royal commissions (it is possible that the same exists for *Saint Ginés*, but none has been located).[13]

Most of La Roldana's authenticated works dating after her appointment at court bear her signature, her title of *escultora de cámara* (official scuptor to the royal court), and a date on the base. In *Saint Ginés* it is still possible to make out parts of this signature (see fig. 5).[14]

FIGURE 4 Luisa Roldán. *The Archangel Michael Fighting the Devil*, 1692. Polychromed wood, over life size. Spain, El Escorial. Photo: Patrimonio Nacional Archivo Fotografico, Spain.

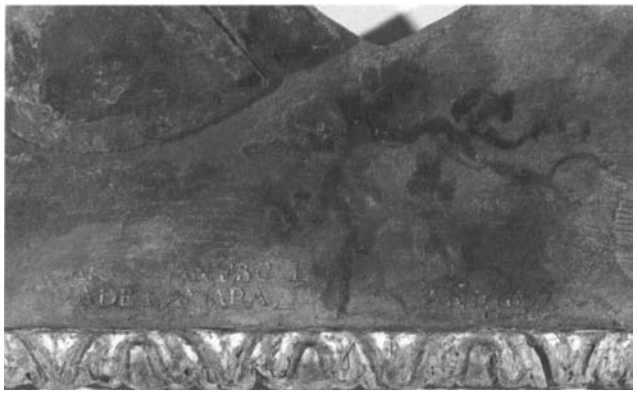


FIGURE 5 Detail of figure 1 showing signature.

While it is impossible to know the motivations for the employment of her royal title on the works, the use of such a title signed on her sculpture would have conferred prestige.

The Getty statue is absent from royal inventories that were taken at the time of King Charles II's death in 1700. This raises the possibility that the Getty's *Saint Ginés* was commissioned by Charles II as a gift for one of his royal convents or monasteries, such as the Descalzas Reales in Madrid, the Descalzas Reales—Monasterio de la Encarnación in Mula, or the Monastery de San Ginés de la Jara.[15]

Mari-Tere Alvarez is Project Coordinator in the Education Department at the J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles.

NOTES

This article is dedicated to Manuel Alvarez.

My work on Luisa Roldán and polychrome sculpture is due to the support and assistance of many individuals. I wish to express my sincere gratitude and indebtedness to three individuals in particular: I am grateful to Peter Fusco, Curator of Sculpture and Works of Art at the J. Paul Getty Museum, for allowing me to research this object and inviting me to present my findings on *Saint Ginés de la Jara*; Dr. Laurie Fusco, an independent scholar; and Dr. Selma Holo at the University of Southern California. I wish to thank them for directing my research on this project and for their continued support of my research and studies in the area of Spanish polychrome art.

I am very grateful to Javier Iribarren for his encouragement and support. I wish to note Fred Croton to whom I am much indebted for reading, correcting, and editing my text. I also want to acknowledge Dr. Andy Clark, Catherine Hess, John Harris, and Valery Taylor Brown.

I would like to thank the following people who supplied invaluable information or assistance: Maria Angeles Jover Carrión, Archivo Municipal de Murcia, and Manuel Muñoz Clares, Archivo Municipal de Lorca (Murcia). I also wish to mention José de la Fuente, Prado Museum, for assistance in locating photo reproductions of La Roldana's work. I am indebted to Dr. Pedro Segado Bravo of the Universidad de Murcia for his assistance in establishing a connection between the Getty piece's base and other bases by La Roldana. His insights made the authorship of the sculpture and the connections of the bases become clear. I also wish to mention and point the reader to Dr. Catherine Hall-van den Elsen, who is the authority in this area of Luisa Roldán. Her unpublished manuscript has reexamined the sculptor's oeuvre and as a consequence reattributed many of her works. This manuscript will be published soon, I hope, as it is the only comprehensive research on this artist.

1. The figure of Saint Ginés wears ecclesiastical vestments and is inscribed with a partially legible signature on the base: *XXXXARXXXAN, ESCXL/XXRA DE CAMARA. AÑO 169X*; it is also inscribed several times around the sleeves and hem of the garment: *S. GINES DE LAXARA*. The sculpture is made of polychromed wood (pine and cedar), has glass eyes, and stands 176 cm (69¼ inches) in height (85.SD.161).
2. There are numerous legends (both Christian and Islamic) surrounding Saint Ginés. According to one legend, Saint Ginés was the son of Rolan and Oliva, monarchs of France, and the nephew of Charlemagne (768–814 A.D.). While Ginés was making a pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela, Spain, a storm broke out at sea around Cabo de Palos, along the southeastern coast of Spain; see F. Cascales, *Discursos históricos de la ciudad de Murcia* (Murcia, 1775), p. 271. The saint and his party decided to take shelter on land until the storm passed.

   On reaching shore, Saint Ginés stumbled on a monastery near the area of Murcia known as La Jara. The cult of Saint Ginés spread throughout the Iberian peninsula, particularly during the Middle Ages. Arab texts such as the *Cronica de Al-Himyari*, written in the fifteenth century by Al-Himyari, an Arab historian, compile different accounts from the eleventh century relating to the legend and cult of Saint Ginés. It cites August 24 as his feast day. See Al-Himyari, *Kitab ar Rawd al-Mi'tar*, trans. M. Pilar Maestro González (Valencia, 1963), pp. 304–5; F. Melchor de Huélamo, *Vida y milagros del glorioso confessor Sant Ginés de la Xara* (Murcia, 1607), fol. 40v. (Archivo Muncipal de Murcia); J. Torres Fontes, "El Monasterio de San Ginés de la Jara en la edad media," in *Murgetana*, ed. Academia Alfonso X el Sabio (Murcia, 1965); *Liber Sancti Joacobi. Codex Calixtinus.*, cap. 8, transcription by M. Muir Whitehill (Santiago de Compostela, 1944), which states that the "head of San Ginés of Arlés arrived miraculously in Cartagena, Spain" (*Karteginem urben yspanorum*). This codex also makes reference to the transfer of a reliquary of Saint Ginés, specifically the head, brought from France to Cartagena, Spain, by Rolan.

   A work entitled *Juiano, Arcipreste se San Justa de Toledo*, written originally in 450 A.D. and brought from Germany to Spain by Philip II for his library in El Escorial, includes a section entitled "Hermitas antiguas y Hermitaños de España," in which it is specified that "Adelardo Ginés, baron of the French nation, of royal blood of that reign of the Emperor Charlemagne, came to Spain and became a hermit in a desert near the city of Cartagena, where he lived in such a state of grace that his memory is honored with great devotion throughout Spain."

   The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were an era of utmost splendor for the cult of Saint Ginés. By then, the Franciscan order had taken over the monastery and cult. Although centered at the monastery in Murcia, the cult of Saint Ginés expanded to the north, including such cities as Madrid and Saragossa.
3. Luisa Roldán was the daughter of the great sculptor Pedro Roldán (Spanish, 1624–1699). La Roldana's father taught her to draw and to model in clay. She would, in fact, become the master interpreter of the terra-cotta medium in Spain (see fig. 3); see also A. Palomino, *El museo pictórico y escala óptica. Tomo tercero: El Parnaso español pintoresco laureado* (Madrid, 1724), vol. 3, p. 464.

   Many members of the Roldán family worked in Pedro's workshop, including his daughters. While artistic production of sculpture was dominated by men throughout this period, the eighteenth-century Spanish sculptor, Francisco Salzillo, also had women assistants executing work (see J. Martín González, *Escultura Barroca en España, 1600–1700* [Madrid, 1983], p. 13). In this early period La Roldana's responsibilities in the workshop included making minor changes and adjustments to the pieces and delivering the work to the officials. In addition, she assisted her father with more important commissions such as *San Fernando*, an over-life-size polychrome piece commissioned by the city of Seville.

   Early in her career, on December 25, 1671, La Roldana

married a sculptor, Luis Antonio de los Arcos. The couple worked together, with Los Arcos serving as his wife's *encarnador* (a specialist in painting flesh tones for a sculpted figure) and *dorador* (a specialist in applying gold leaf to the sculpted figure or altar).

4. Technical examinations have determined that the surviving bases were a part of the original sculptures.
5. In all likelihood, La Roldana left Andalusia for Madrid in 1688 specifically to seek out the position of *escultor de cámara* for Charles II. She went to Madrid after being summoned by D. Cristobal Ontañon, assistant to the chamber for Charles II, who most likely presented her to the king. As a result, the monarch commissioned her to make a life-size figure of Archangel Michael for the monastery at El Escorial (fig. 4).

   The king and queen gave her the task of creating the sculpture of Saint Michael, which she did to gain appointment as *escultor de cámara*. In executing the aforementioned *Archangel Michael* (fig. 4), she demonstrated both her capacity to create and her ability to please the taste of her powerful patrons. The finished work won her the admiration of the court; in addition, on October 15, 1692, the king communicated to the constable of Castille (and keeper of the accounts) his appointment of Luisa Roldán as *escultor de cámara* (see E. Valdivieso, *El Barroco y el rococó* [Madrid, 1987], p. 171).

   From this period at the court on, La Roldana also executed private commissions for individuals. One surviving example is the terra-cotta group *The Death of Saint Mary Magdalene* (fig. 3). As opposed to her more monumental royal commissions (such as *Saint Ginés*), terra-cottas like these appealed to wealthy patrons who sought small-scale decorative pieces that could serve both as objects of devotion and as decorative pieces. She produced these smaller figural groups for court members who craved religious imagery that would also serve as interior decoration in the home.

   As *escultora de cámara* La Roldana executed all sculpture requested of her by the royal family. In addition, she was able to sign her work as official royal sculptor, irrespective of whether the object was a royal commission or not. By 1695, the king paid her 36,500 maravedíes per year; see Archivo de Palacio, Cédulas Reales, tom. 17, fol. 349 v; B. Gilman Proske, "Luisa Roldán at Madrid, Part 1," *The Connoisseur* 155, no. 624 (February 1964), p. 131; J. Martín González, *El Escultor en Palacio* (Madrid, 1991).

   Dr. Catherine Hall-van den Elsen has communicated to me via letter (March 27, 1996) that contrary to popular belief La Roldana was not relieved of her duties as court sculptor following the death of Charles I. In fact, she continued to receive her salary as court sculptor (by then 69,835 maravedíes) until at least December 31, 1704, as payments were not interrupted with the death of Charles II in 1701. Further, Dr. Hall-van den Elsen points out that despite the lukewarm recommendation by the Condestable de Castilla to the new monarch, Philip V (r. 1701–46), the renewal of her title by Philip V was automatic. In his book *El museo pictórico y escala óptica. Tomo tercero: El Parnaso español pintoresco laureado* (see note 3), Antonio Palomino de Castro y Velasco, court painter from 1678 to 1724, mistakenly states that she was scarcely fifty years old when she died in 1704. Hall-van den Elsen has recovered documents that pinpoint her death to 1706.

   For more information on Luisa Roldán, see C. Hall-van den Elsen, "The Life and Work of the Sevillian Sculptor Luisa Roldán (1652–1706)" (Ph.D. diss., La Trobe University, Melbourne, Australia, 1992); see also Proske, ibid, pp. 128–32; idem, "Luisa Roldán at Madrid, Part 2," *The Connoisseur* 155, no. 625 (March 1964), pp. 199– 203; idem, "Luisa Roldán at Madrid, Part 3," *The Connoisseur* 155, no. 626 (April 1964), pp. 269–73. On Spanish polychrome sculpture, see M. E. Gomez Moreno, *Breve Historia de la escultura española* (Madrid, 1935); idem, *La policromia en la escultura española* (Madrid, 1943).
6. Apart from La Roldana's other works housed in Spanish collections, there are very few of her recognized works outside of Spain, particularly those executed in wood. Except for the *Saint Ginés*, all objects by her hand outside of Spain are both small-scale and of terra-cotta: these include two terra-cotta groups in the Hispanic Society of America, New York; one terra-cotta in the collection at Loyola University, Chicago; and two terra-cottas in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London.
7. Gold leaf with vegetal-patterned borders decorate the sculpted ecclesiastical gown. The designs along the front borders of the scapular are typical embroidery patterns of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Stamped into the frontal and dorsal central panels is a pattern of fleurs-de-lis, which is not unusual in embroidery work of the period. It is important to note that the El Escorial had an embroidery workshop for liturgical gowns sponsored by Philip II (r. 1556–98); the monastery presently holds chasubles, copes, and complete vestments for the high mass, many of which are similar in both richness and the *estofado* patterns to that seen on La Roldana's *Saint Ginés*. The habit on the Carmelite friar in the painting of 1688 by Sebastián Muñoz, *María Luisa, Queen of Spain, Lying in State* (New York, Hispanic Society of America), commissioned by the Carmelite convent in Madrid, gives an illustrated example of the rich gowns with sixteenth-century design motifs used through the seventeenth century. In the piece the late queen, spouse of Charles II, wears the convent's habit while a Carmelite friar prays before her body. What is significant about this particular painting for the purpose of this study are the vestments worn by the friar. The Testament of Charles II lists this specific vestment under the section for jewels: "Guardajoyas y Oficios de Voca." The vestments, like the sculpted one on the Getty Museum's *Saint Ginés*, were considered to be jewels, undoubtedly due to their sumptuous materials, which include gold (*Inventarios* [1975], apartado de la Capilla Real y Relicario, p. 374, asiento no. 30). See P. Benito Garcia, "El Alcazar vestido de sede," in *El Real Alcázar de Madrid* (Madrid, 1994), p. 314.
8. The earliest surviving image of Saint Ginés is a miniature from a codex of the fifteenth century, now in the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid. In the miniature Saint Ginés is dressed as a hermit holding a staff. Indeed the staff becomes his attribute, symbolizing both his pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela and his life as a hermit. The saint wears simple clothing that includes a white habit and a dark scapular, with a capuchin on top. The habit suggests that he is a member of the Augustinian order. This is significant because throughout the fifteenth century the Augustinians directed the cult and took care of the Monastery of San Ginés de la Jara in Murcia. This miniature image displays the same pose with staff as the Getty Museum's figure, from which the staff is missing.
9. As previously mentioned, the staff refers both to his pilgrimage as well as to his life as a hermit. Huélamo also points out the traditional iconography of Saint Ginés as a hermit: "The natural state for our glorious Saint Ginés is that of a hermit (as demonstrated by the old paintings that we have seen, in his blessed house [the monastery], as well as in many other [monasteries and churches throughout] the kingdom of Murcia" (see Huélamo, *De S. Gines de la Xara*, Libro 1 Del Convento, Cap. 9 1111 [Archivo Municipal de Murcia, 1607]).

   For more details on Saint Ginés, there are seventeenth-century writings that describe Saint Ginés in great detail; these descriptions often mention the saint's vestments decorated with a pattern of fleurs-de-lis linking him to the French royal family. In 1607 Huélamo wrote: "In Murcia there are three of [Saint

Ginés's] retables, two of which are antique that I judge to be two hundred years old. [Saint Ginés] has his entire habit stamped with fleur-de-lis, miraculous arms of the French monarchs" (Huélamo, ibid., Cap. 12 138r [this and other translations mine]). Further, Huélamo writes that Saint Ginés is a "descendant of the Catholic Royal House of [France]. This is commonly heard throughout Murcia . . . but what comes of this is that at the right hand of the image are the king and queen sitting and Saint Ginés, dressed as a prince, kneels before them requesting their blessing prior to making his pilgrimage to Santiago, Spain" (Huélamo, ibid., Cap. 3 56r). Saint Ginés belonging to the French royal house explains the prevalance of fleurs-de-lis in his iconography.

10. Dr. Catherine Hall-van den Elsen has kindly communicated to me that after examining photographs of this work, it may show some influence by La Roldana's husband, Luis Antonio de los Arcos.
11. González (note 3), p. 12. The sculptor not only approved the painter's work but the precepts that Los Arcos employed were those set out by Francisco Pacheco in his treatise *El arte de la pintura* regarding the painting of sculpture (F. Pacheco, *El arte de la pintura*, ed. F. J. Sánchez Cantón [Madrid, 1956; original publication Seville, 1649]). For makers and techniques, see Z. Veliz, ed. and trans., *Artist's Techniques in Golden Age Spain: Six Treatises in Translation* (Cambridge, 1986).
12. Polychromy contracts almost always refer to the purity of the gold to be used in the gilding of the sculpture, and often specify that gold coinage be beaten to make the leaf. Contracts often contained explicit prohibitions against the use of materials other than gold leaf of the highest quality.
13. Antonio Palomino de Castro y Velasco provides first-hand information in his *El museo pictórico y escala óptica. Tomo tercero: El Parnaso español pintoresco laureado* (see note 3). This work, inspired by Vasari's *Vita*, contains some 226 biographies of Spanish painters and sculptors from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Palomino attests to both *Archangel Michael* and *Jesus of Nazareth* being executed for the royal house. Catherine Hall-van den Elsen has unpublished documents that account for *Saint Clara* (now destroyed) as also being a royal commission.

    Further, Hall-van den Elsen cites this period of the 1690s as one abundant in royal commissions. Even though Hall-van den Elsen does not have specific information on the Getty statue, she still points out that wood polychrome objects by La Roldana of religious imagery that are documented were executed as royal gifts destined for either the royal monasteries or convents.
14. The famous sculpture of *Archangel Michael* for El Escorial is signed by La Roldana. In addition, on the sole of the figure's right foot is a signature identifying a Tomás de Los Arcos as polychromer; in all likelihood, this Los Arcos was La Roldana's brother-in-law. See Proske (note 4), p. 130.
15. The archives specific to royal convents have not been examined by the author; it would be of great value for them to be examined in detail. In addition, it is worthy to note that in 1692 a royal commission of a Franciscan saint was executed by La Roldana for the Royal Convent of the Incarnation in Mula. Like Saint Ginés, Saint Clara was also another image of a Franciscan Saint. Further, this is the same royal convent that connected with the cult of Saint Ginés through its rector, Botía, who was also rector at the Monastery of Saint Ginés. Combined with the fact that this convent is located in the region that is home to this Saint's cult, this would make it a likely location of the image of Saint Ginés.

    Although the Saint Ginés monastery has records of other sculptural works that depict Saint Ginés, there is no information on the Getty's piece in this monastery's archives.

    An additional possibility exists with another one of the various royal convents in Spain (that is, Descalzas Reales, Madrid, a convent of the royal court that already displayed a significant number of figures by La Roldana). Regrettably, no documents are known that would prove that the Getty statue was a royal commission. See P. J. Vega, "Descalzas Reales, Capilla del Milagro," *Revista de los Reales Sitios Partimonio Nacional* b, no. 22 (Madrid, 1969), in terms of the royal convent in Madrid. On La Roldana's work for the royal convent in Mula, see P. Martinez, *Boletín del Museo de Bellas Artes* 6, no. 6 (Murcia, 1927); B. Gilman Proske, part 1 (note 3).

The Sword Dance for Artemis

Christiane Bron

The Attic red-figured cup featured here presents a unique subject—a sword dance in front of a palm tree. This fragmentary piece from the Bareiss collection was attributed to Makron by D. von Bothmer when it was lent to the Metropolitan Museum of Art of New York in 1982; it is now in the J. Paul Getty Museum.[1] Bothmer thought that the dance shown on the cup could be one performed by Danaids, which is why he put it in the mythological group, according to the classification of Makron's work made by Beazley.[2] Makron was one of the most prolific painters of cups from the beginning of the fifth century B.C.;[3] he worked exclusively for the potter Hieron, and this type of association, in which the potter signed his production while the painter did so only on rare occasion, throws a new light on the relations among craftsmen in classical Athens.[4]

Makron's style is precise, linear, and sometimes a little harsh, but very decorative. He particularly liked the details of clothes, shield, helmet, and hair.[5] Movement, especially the bacchic dance, was one of his favorite subjects; it allowed him to make the chitoniskoi of the maenads spin around and to draw the bodies of the women in seeming transparency. He rarely painted ritual scenes, apart from the Dionysiac world, preferring human relationships: courtship, symposium, athletes, and komos. On the Malibu cup the motion is less vivid than in Dionysiac dances, but the gestures of the dancers allow Makron to play with the folds of chitoniskos and chlamys; the graceful movement of the feet is very well rendered. Unfortunately only one of the faces has been preserved, but the mouth, with the lower lip slightly open, is typical of Makron's style.

DESCRIPTION OF THE VASE

The cup is fragmentary: the foot and handles are lost, but the periphery of the tondo and large pieces of both sides are sufficient to understand the meaning of the image. On the tondo a head, wearing earrings and covered by a *saccos* (headdress),[6] is looking to its right; the shoulders, with the clasp of the dress, are visible (fig. 1). On the left another piece of the tondo shows the blade of a sword that encroaches the meander frieze. Two other pieces present the feet of the figure: the right foot is firmly planted, supporting the weight of the body; the left foot, on tiptoe, is folded behind on the right. This position is similar to the one of a pyrrhic dancer on a red-figured cup in the Louvre.[7] On that cup the dancer is turning his head toward his right shoulder, like the dancer of the Malibu piece, but he is holding a spear, not a sword, with his right hand in front of him; a flute player plays the music of the dance.

On the exterior of the Makron cup are four dancers, irregularly preserved, and a large palm tree (fig. 2). Clothes and gestures are similar and the four figures must have been almost identical. The first dancer, next to the palm tree, is the best preserved. Above her right shoulder, one can see a piece of *saccos* and a lock of hair; they indicate that she was turning her head the same way as the dancer of the tondo. She wears a chitoniskos with an upper flat part bound with festoons; this was a common way for painters in the beginning of the fifth century B.C. to draw the garment.[8] Her costume also includes a chlamys, which hangs along her left shoulder and her outstretched left arm; this garment forms harmonious folds that emphasize the movement of the dance. Her right hand is holding a sword and a baldric appears behind her right hip; its strap across her chest underlines the breast and confirms the femininity of the dancer in spite of the weapon she is brandishing. Her left foot, bent back, supports the body while the right foot, stretched forward, is partly missing.

Of the second dancer, only the lower half of the body is visible. She wears the same chitoniskos, the same chlamys, the same baldric, and holds the same

FIGURE 1 Reconstructed red-figured cup attributed to Makron. Tondo. Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 86.AE.315.

FIGURE 2 Exterior of cup, figure 1.

sword. Her right foot, well preserved, is pointing, while her left, partly missing, is in the same position as that of the first dancer.[9]

The third dancer's head and shoulders are missing; however, part of her chest is visible with the strap of the baldric crossing her breast, but the sheath does not appear on her right. The folds of the chlamys are comparable to the others, hanging between the left shoulder and the extended left hand. Her right arm is closer to her body and the hand is missing. Her feet are very similar to those of the other dancers. Between the second and the third dancer, the gap is larger, corresponding to the position of the lost handle; the cup was thus decorated with two dancers on each side.

Of the fourth dancer, only the outstretched left arm is preserved supporting the folds of the chlamys. This detail allows one to imagine a dancer very similar to the other three. The space between the third and the fourth dancer is smaller than between the first and the second (fig. 3). This is important for ascertaining the position of the possible sword of the third dancer: either she does not hold a sword (but she is wearing a baldric) or the sword is overlapping on the chlamys of number four. The proximity of these two dancers leaves a large space between the handle and the last figure. It is certainly meant to receive another element of decoration; an empty space is not possible on a red-figured cup made in conformity with the rules of Greek art, in which the equilibrium of the image is very important. This space is not large enough to allow a fifth dancer, so we should imagine another iconographical element that could supplement the symbol of the palm tree, perhaps an altar or another palm tree.[10] Between the tondo and the two sides of the cup, five dancers are performing a choral dance.[11]

This representation of a female sword dance is unique.[12] Among Greek vases, we find only one other sword dance; it is on a black-figured oinochoe from Adolphseck,[13] which shows two male dancers holding swords (fig. 4). Their feet in tiptoe position evoke the dance, but their caps, shaped like feminine heads, are very peculiar and raise many problems of interpretation. Another sword dance, attested by literary sources, is the Curetes dance around the baby Zeus, a dance performed with sword and shield, but it seems that no representation of this dance occurs before the Roman era.[14]

The Makron cup from Malibu associates women, chitoniskos, *saccos*, sword, and palm tree, all of them difficult to explain in such a connection. To try to find a way of interpretation, analysis of each part of the decoration will lead to an understanding of the meaning of the scene.

FIGURE 3 Women performing a sword dance. Reconstruction drawing of exterior of cup, figure 1. Drawing: C. Bron.

ANALYSIS OF THE ICONOGRAPHY

The Palm Tree

Makron is not a very naturalistic painter; as Bothmer says, all the landscape elements from his work, put together, will give only a very small group.[15] The palm tree next to the handle is thus very important, it being the symbolic element that specifies the context of the dance. Often used as a sign of exoticism,[16] the palm tree could be an allusion to Egypt, which is probably why Bothmer believed the Getty cup's sword dancers to be Danaids.[17] Two literary sources could support this idea: one fragment of the lyric poet Melanippides from the fifth century B.C.,[18] and one from an epic poem of the end of the sixth century B.C., the *Danais*.[19] What follows is Melanippides' description of the life of the Danaids: "Indeed, they bore not the form and look of men,[20] and they had not the voice of women, but in boxed chariots they exercised throughout the sunny glades of the woodland, oft-times delighting their hearts in the chase, oft-times, again, seeking out the frankin-

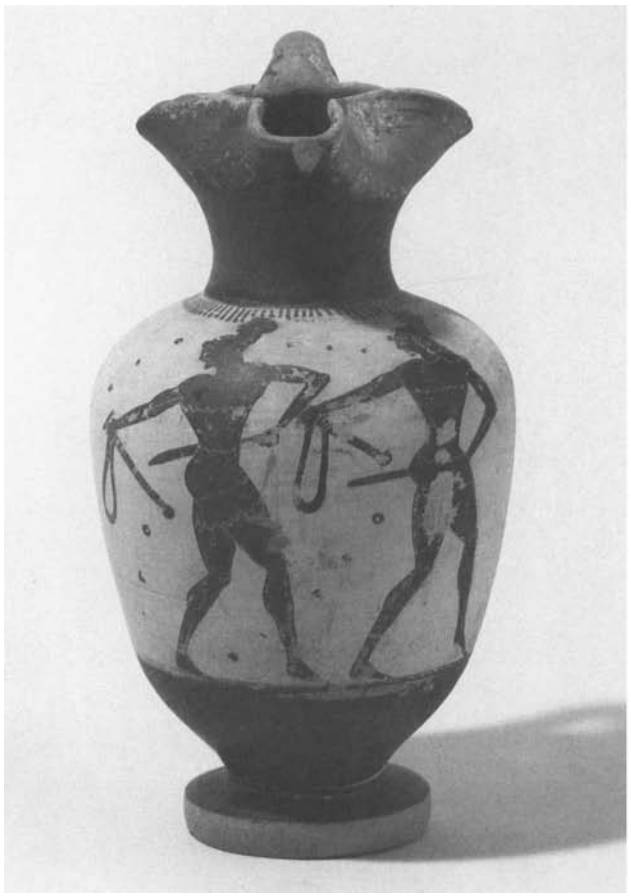


FIGURE 4 Two male dancers holding swords. Black-figured oinochoe. Eichenzeil, Schloss Fasanerie (Adolphseck) FAS AV 13.

FIGURE 5 Woman holding a sword. Red-figured lekythos attributed to the manner of the Bowdoin Painter from Leontinoi. Syracuse, Museo Archeologico Regionale P. Orsi 6310.

cense with its sacred tears, or fragrant dates [*phoinikes*], or cassia, delicate seed-growths from Syria."

The palm tree (*phoinix*) is a natural part of the landscape where the Danaids live. The martial spirit that appears in the fragment of Melanippides is still more evident in the anonymous *Danais*. In that poem the Danaids are described as hoplites (so probably with swords); according to some traditions, they killed their cousins with swords.[21] The palm tree, the sword, and the hoplite type of chitoniskos used on the Makron cup could indicate the Danaids' legend. If that myth is common in Italiote ceramics, however, it is very rare on Attic vases,[22] where the few Danaids painted on vases wear long garments. The murder of their cousins, the sons of Aegyptus, is supposed to happen during the night in a palace. The dance of the Malibu cup apparently takes place out of doors, no torches suggest the night, and the dance with a sword does not necessarily indicate murder. For these reasons, this interpretation is not considered satisfactory.

Beside its exotic character, the palm tree is, above all, linked to Apollo and Artemis, since it is the tree that Leto held to give birth to her children on the island of Delos. The palm tree is especially connected with Artemis.[23] Kahil, publishing some krateriskoi from Brauron that show girls, naked or wearing a short tunic, running toward an altar or an altar and a palm tree, suggested that it was a symbol of the Artemis cult.[24] Sourvinou-Inwood accepts the idea and used it in her research about the images of erotic pursuit: for her, the association between altar and palm tree, in an erotic pursuit or in the context of transition from virgin, *parthenos*, to woman, *gyne*, indicates the Artemis cult.[25]

Dancing for Artemis is very common,[26] both in ritual and in mythology, and it is often when they dance for her that the virgins (*parthenoi*) are raped, underlining their change of status.[27] Artemis and *parthenoi* are often associated in myths, in reference to the girls' initiation.[28] Thus, the palm tree of the Malibu cup could signify the sanctuary of Artemis and the dancers could be *parthenoi*.

FIGURES 6a, b Woman kneeling before an altar. Red-figured lekythos attributed to the Painter of Athens 12778. Paris, Musée du Louvre CA 1710. Photo: Giraudon, Paris.

FIGURES 7a, b Women performing an armed dance. Black-figured skyphos. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz 3766.

FIGURE 8 Women performing an armed dance. Drawing of black-figured lekythos attributred to the Emporion Painter. U.S.A., private collection. Drawing: C. Bron after J. C. Poursat, "Les représentations de danse armée dans la céramique antique, "*Bulletin de correspondance hellénique* (1968).

The Dancers' Costume

The closest parallel that we could find to the dancers of Malibu is painted on a red-figured lekythos from Syracuse (fig. 5).[29] A woman, wearing a chitoniskos, a *saccos*, and a short vest,[30] is holding a sword in her right hand while in her left hand she carries a scabbard. Her head is turned to the right, but she is not really dancing: her feet are still, and only the folds of her chitoniskos could suggest a pirouette. For Beazley she is a Thracian woman, ready to kill Orpheus.[31]

If the *saccos* is quite common for Thracian women, the sword and the chitoniskos are very rare.[32] Moreover, one can usually see marks on theirs arms, faces, or legs that are meant to represent the tattoos, typical of their barbarous status. The scarcity of women holding swords explains the hypothesis of a Thracian woman, but without a man to be killed or at least the head of Orpheus in her hand, and without the tattoo, it is difficult to support this explanation. The woman of Syracuse seems to be closer to our dancers, on the one hand, having in common with them *saccos*, chitoniskos, and sword. On the other hand, the dancers from Malibu could not be taken as Thracian women: the organization of the dance and the palm tree (which it is impossible to accept as a symbol of Thrace) rather suggest a ritual dance dedicated to Artemis. The Syracuse woman could thus be another example of a female sword dance.

Women wearing short garments are not so common in Greek iconography, and the association of chitoniskos and sword could also evoke Amazons.[33] Nevertheless, the *saccos* is rare on Amazons.[34] Among the few examples illustrated by Bothmer, one of them, the woman on the Louvre lekythos (figs. 6a, b), is wearing a long chiton (strange for an Amazon) covered with a *pardale* (leopard skin); she is kneeling in front of an altar behind which a palm tree is growing; she is holding the altar with both hands. Only the quiver and the bow hanging above her identify her as an Amazon. But both quiver and bow could equally indicate that the altar is dedicated to Artemis; the woman could thus be a worshiper of that goddess instead of an Amazon taking refuge at the Ephesian altar of Artemis, as Bothmer suggested.[35]

Two black-figured vases (figs. 7a, b and 8) present an armed dance performed by women wearing chitoniskos and Scythian hats;[36] they hold a *pelta*, or shield, in the left hand and a spear in the right. A flute player, in front of an altar, plays the music of the dance. These dancers could be considered Amazons, but scholars hesitate, and for another similar dance without weapons,[37] they suggest that it may be a ritual dance, perhaps for Bendis, which would explain the oriental costume of the dancers.[38]

The dancers of the Makron cup, neither Thracian women nor Amazons, are closer to the performers of a ritual dance. It could be a dance based on an Amazon model, but the painter would have given more signs clearly associated with Amazons if he had wanted to refer to those mythical figures.[39]

FEMALE ARMED DANCES

Many literary sources speak about armed dances; Athenaeus and Pollux give a quite complete list of them, but they never mention a dance with a sword.[40] Most of those dances are nothing more than a name to us, because the writers do not explain the dance, the context in which they were performed, or the outfits the dancers wore. Many of the armed dances discussed by Athenaeus and Pollux were performed by men, but a few could be danced by women. Among these, three are of interest for the interpretation of our sword dance: the apokinos, the pyrrhic, and the prylis (which was unknown to Athenaeus and Pollux).

FIGURES 9a, b Girl pyrrhic dancer. Red-figured pyxis. Naples, Museo Nazionale H 3010. Photo: Pedicini Napoli.

The Apokinos

Athenaeus wrote that the apokinos is "mentioned by Cratinus in *Nemesis*, Cephisodorus in his *Amazons*, Aristophanes in *The Centaur,* and by several other writers, and the dance was later called *maktrismos*; even women danced it in many instances, and they were called *maktristriai*, as I know."[41] That dance was probably a kind of pyrrhic, since Athenaeus put it in his list of armed dances.[42] As it was an Amazon dance in the play from Cephisodorus, it must have been performed with weapons, even if Athenaeus does not describe the costume of the *maktristriai*. All the authors mentioned by Athenaeus are comic authors, so we can imagine that this dance was somehow licentious, chiefly because in another passage Athenaeus classifies it among the *geloiai orcheseis*, humorous dances.[43] Sometimes an armed dance and sometimes a humorous one, this apparent contradiction can be explained if we compare the status of the pyrrhic with that of the apokinos. The pyrrhic, after the apokinos, is also in the list of the *geloiai orcheseis*. We know that between the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. the pyrrhic went through an evolution that changed its martial character into a more playful one.[44] This explains why Athenaeus could speak of it in two places, once as a noble warlike dance and at other times as a humorous dance. The apokinos may have developed in a similar way, but unlike the pyrrhic, the apokinos remains only a name for us. Nothing describes the way to dance it, where it was danced, or which outfit was worn; this name is interesting to us only because it could have been danced by women in Cephisodorus's play called *The Amazons*.

The Pyrrhic

The pyrrhic should be danced with a helmet, a shield, and a spear.[45] On Attic vases, women who dance it are mostly naked or wear pants.[46] When it is performed by women, it is generally danced as a solo,[47] at the time of a symposium or during a dance contest; it is very rarely performed in a cultural context.[48] The dancers from the Getty Museum cup, therefore, are not pyrrhic dancers *stricto sensu*, and their dance is performed out of doors, by a kind of choral group, which is usually not the case for the feminine pyrrhic.[49]

The only comparable sword dance is the one from the oinochoe from Adolphseck (fig. 4).[50] There, the male dancers holding a sword perform a movement very similar to the dancers on the cup: they are going left and turning their head above their right shoulders;[51] their feet are different, lightly touching the ground. As Brommer noted, such a peculiar movement should be the sign of a dance. They are different from the usual pyrrhic dancer, holding a sword instead of a spear and, above all, wearing a helmet with a small feminine head,[52] which is very unusual and difficult to understand. Scholars propose that it be read either as the sign of a special festival during which men were travestied, or as an allusion to the fact that a kind of pyrrhic, danced with a sword, could be feminine or masculine.[53]

These two sword dances, different from the usual

pyrrhic as they are, could still be associated with it, mainly because pyrrhic is often taken as a generic name for an armed dance.[54] If we associate the palm tree, the sign of Artemis, and the pyrrhic, we have to consider the link of that goddess with the armed dance.

The Artemis Pyrrhic

Both the pyrrhic dance and the Artemis cult were very important in education and initiation, especially of maidens.[55] One could then study a choral dance, performed by maidens, on a pyrrhic basis. In Athens the dance was usually associated with Athena; it was part of the Panathenaea, held annually and every four years, and was performed by three different groups: the *Paides*, the *Ageneoi*, and the *Andres*. Scarpi showed that the agon of the pyrrhic is one of the oldest parts of the festival.[56] While the pyrrhic was connected with Athena in Athens, on the limits of Attic territory, in the Artemis sanctuaries, Artemis became the goddess honored by the pyrrhic.[57]

On an iconographical source, a red-figured pyxis from Naples (figs. 9a, b),[58] a girl pyrrhic dancer is performing her dance for Artemis; she wears a helmet and pants, holds a shield and a spear, and dances in front of an altar behind which stands a statue that unmistakably represents the goddess. The statue of Artemis with a *saccos*, a long dress, a bow, and a quiver is between a kind of column and a door. At first it seems to be a private house, a gyneceum,[59] especially because of the women around the pyxis working in an activity impossible to identify, but such a large statue is difficult to imagine in private surroundings. It is not our purpose to explain that image, but the dancer is evidently one linked to Artemis, and this vase is an important and rare testimony of the relationship between pyrrhic and Artemis.

Brulé, following Poursat, tried to explain this representation by connecting it with the cults of Artemis of Brauron and of Halae Araphenides in Attica. In Halae Artemis was worshiped as Tauropolos and inscriptions certify that a pyrrhic contest was held during the festivities.[60]

Along the Attic and Euboean coasts, many Artemis sanctuaries seem to include a ritual in which the pyrrhic dance is important.[61] For example, the Amarynthos Artemis from Euboea was a war goddess; Knoepfler put forward the theory that after the Persian Wars the pyrrhic replaced the important warrior procession mentioned by Strabo.[62] Inscriptions prove that from at least the fourth century B.C. contests of pyrrhic were held during the Artemis Amarysia feast in Amarynthos, and also probably at Histiaea in Euboea.[63] This Artemis Amarysia, for whom the pyrrhics were danced in Euboea, was also honored in Attica in the Athmonon demos.[64] Artemis, associated with the dance of the pyrrhic, is thus also worshiped in Attic cults; the pyrrhic seems to be the link that unites the Artemis cult from one side of the Euripus channel to the other.[65]

In Attica the best known of the Artemis festivals are those of Brauron and Halae.[66] The excavation of Themelis on the site of Halae Araphenides (modern Loutsa) gives the exact situation and the structures of the Artemis Tauropolos temple. The finds (pottery and terra-cotta figurines) prove that the temple was already in use during the sixth century B.C., and was perhaps in use even earlier, in the seventh century B.C. Among the pottery, many fragments of krateriskoi were found, very similar to those of Brauron;[67] it is thus possible that the ritual of Halae concerned girls or maidens, as in Brauron. If we know some of the rituals of Brauron, mainly from the publications of Kahil, very little is known of the Tauropolia from Halae; our only sources are the *Epitrepontes* from Menander and the Euripides play, *Iphigenia in Tauris*.

In the *Epitrepontes* Habrotonon and Onesimos discuss the misdeeds of Charisios and mention an important part of the Halae festival: the *pannychis*, a nocturnal dance probably reserved for women, in which maidens and married women take part.[68] We also learn that maidens and married women were separated at certain moments and that this separation was due to their devotion to the two different gods of the Tauropolia: Dionysos was presumably the protector of married women, while maidens were dedicated to Artemis, especially during the transition period between girlhood and womanhood.[69]

The Euripides play *Iphigenia in Tauris* was often thought to be a justification of the cult of Halae, considered too barbarous to be Greek.[70] The cult was based on an *aition* where murder was accepted, even murder performed by women. Orestes, speaking of the human sacrifice that is to be made, says with astonishment, "A girl to hold a sword and stab men dead!"[71] Iphigenia answers that she will only spray the hair of the victim with lustral water. At the end of the play, Athena asks Orestes to create a cult for Artemis Tauropolos at Halae, to replace his failed sacrifice. She tells him to go to "a land [that] is Half hid on Attica's last boundaries, A little land, hard by Karystus' Rock, But sacred. It is called by

Attic folk Halae."[72] Orestes is then supposed to erect a temple in which Artemis Tauropolos would be venerated. He must also establish a ritual that is described in this manner: "At each high festival, a sword, in record of thy death undone, shall touch a man's throat, and the red blood run."[73] The text does not stipulate whether the holder of the sword should be male or female, but Euripides' play suggests that it could be a woman.[74]

Halae is at the confines of the territory and that situation is primordial in the ritual of initiation.[75] As in Brauron, there was also a feminine initiation at Halae, and even if, as Graf demonstrated,[76] the Tauropolos was important in masculine initiation, it is not possible to agree with Lloyd-Jones,[77] who sees the Brauron and Halae cults as complementary: the one (Brauron) dedicated to women and the other (Halae) to men. Although men were part of the ritual in Halae, and the links between Artemis and ephebes are well known,[78] one cannot exclude that women participated in the Halae ritual: the krateriskoi found on the site and the testimony of Menander and of Euripides provide evidence of a feminine participation. They danced throughout the night, they could carry swords, and the pyrrhic dances were part of the Halae ritual. All these elements bring to mind the dance on the Getty cup, but nothing very precise is known about the festival of Halae, and although the hypothesis is appealing, it remains unsubstantiated to a great extent, and cannot provide us with a reading of our scene.

The Prylis: Artemis, Amazons, and Pyrrhic

As mentioned above, the Getty Museum cup dancers resemble Amazons, and the link between Artemis and Amazons is well established, according to literary sources.[79] Diodorus Siculus says that Amazons sacrificed to Artemis Tauropolos,[80] and Pausanias tells us that the temple of Artemis in Ephesus was thought to have been founded by the Amazons.[81] Moreover, according to Callimachus, the foundation of the Artemis cult in Ephesus by Amazons is linked to a ritual including an armed dance.[82]

> For thee, too, the Amazons, whose mind is set on war, in Ephesus besides the sea established an image beneath an oak trunk and Hippo performed a holy rite for thee, and they themselves, O Upis Queen, around the image danced a war dance—first in shield and in armour, and again in a circle arraying a spacious choir. And the loud pipes thereto piped shrill accompaniment, that they might foot the dance together . . . and they with their feet beat loudly and therewith their quivers rattled.

Amazons danced around the image of the goddess an armed dance called the prylis. This term *prylis* occurs rarely and is usually glossed over as *pyrrhic*; Callimachus also called prylis the dance of the Curetes around the baby Zeus.[83] Callimachus's description of the dance of the Amazons mentions the shields but not the weapons. Prylis is also the dance of the Curetes (performed with a sword), which could suggest that the dances of both the Amazons and the Curetes were performed with swords. Combination of the narrative in lines 240–42 suggests two moments in the prylis: first, the *prulin eonoplion* dance in a hoplite costume and with a special mention of the shield (*sakeossin*); then, a large chorus. The first part of the dance is described in some detail, but little is known about the second part. Indeed, while the term *eonoplion* clearly refers to the dance that is performed with a *hoplon*, a shield, the poet specially mentions *sakeossin* (with the shield). By contrast, for the following chorus, he does not describe the outfit of the dancers (did they keep their shield for the choral dance?). Editors and translators of the text have resorted to emendation to solve this difficulty: prylis was the name of the whole dance, including both of its stages.[84] In the first part of the dance the dancers circle around the *breota* of the goddess, the shields being very important; in the second part the dancers form a larger circle and the shield becomes less important. The clamor of the dance is made by the rhythmical beating of the feet and the noise of the quivers; the dancers do not hit their shield with their swords.[85] The special mention of the swords in line 241, even in an armed dance, is justified if we imagine that the second part is without shields.

This myth could be the *aition* for the ritual dance performed for Artemis by the Lydian girls at the festival of the Ephesia.[86] Among the literary sources, Philostratus emphasizes the importance of the pyrrhic in Ephesus, without specifying a male or a female pyrrhic.[87] The Lydian girls' dance, associated with the importance of the pyrrhic in Ephesus and with the Amazons' dance for Artemis, allows one to imagine an armed dance during the Ephesia, on the model of the Amazon dance.

This description of the prylis is the closest possible explanation for the dance of the Getty Museum cup maiden, but the Lydian coast is not Attica. What should be sought after is evidence of a dance for Artemis, imitating an Amazon's dance, in Greece and in Attica. Pausanias, describing the city of Pyrrhichus in Laconia, tell

us that its name came from Pyrrhus, the son of Achilles, or from a Curete named Pyrrhichus.[88] In the region of Pyrrhichus Pausanias mentions two sanctuaries: one of Artemis Astrateia, so named because the Amazons stopped their campaign (*strateia*) at that place; and the other of Apollo Amazionos: wooden statues were dedicated to those gods by the Amazons of the Thermodon.[89] Artemis, Amazon, and armed dances are thus linked in the toponymy of Laconia.

In Attica Amazons are largely attested, although less clearly connected, with Artemis.[90] The only evidence of a dance associated with Amazons is in Cephisodorus's play *The Amazons*, which is mentioned by Athenaeus in his list of dances. Athenian women were supposed to perform the apokinos, a dance that almost nothing is known about, except that it could be danced by women.[91]

Phoinix: The Palm Tree, the Red, the War, and the Parthenoi

Phoinix, palm tree, is also the color red in Greek.[92] In his *Lacedemonian Constitution* Xenophon describes the outfits of the Laconian warriors, saying that they wore red tunics, because this garment was less similar to a woman's cloth and that it was well suited for the war.[93] While describing the festival of Plataea in honor of the Greeks who died during the war against the Barbarians, Plutarch also speaks of the red garment of the Archontes, the right color for the martial celebration.[94] Finally, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, comparing the practices of the Romans and the Greeks, describes the procession of the dancers, following the athletes, in the *Ludi voti* of Rome: "The dancers were dressed in scarlet tunics girded with bronze cinctures, wore swords suspended at their sides, and carried spears of shorter than average length; the men also had bronze helmets. . . . This also was in fact a very ancient Greek institution—I mean the armed dance called the Pyrrhic."[95] It is thus possible to propose that the pyrrhic dancers wore red outfits.[96]

To these literary testimonium, one may add some iconographical evidence on the semantic value of red. On Attic white-ground lekythoi, the chlamydes of the ephebes are usually red, and, for Maxwell-Stuart, red is the color of transition from one status to another.[97] On a black-figured cup from Canberra,[98] ephebes armed with sticks perform war movements. Their chlamydes, held like shields,[99] are colored with red paint and their gestures imitate a battle, both of which are elements that could suggest a pyrrhic. As seen above, the dancers of the Getty Museum cup also hold their chlamydes like shields. The Hesychius gloss about the word pyrrhic meaning *chlamis*, or pelta, and the gloss about *phoinikes* meaning red shield, strengthen this parallel and neatly connect the color red, the pyrrhic dance, chlamydes, and shields.

The relationship between the color red and the armed dance, especially the pyrrhic, is thus very important. As Xenophon mentioned, women are normally excluded from that world. In the *pompe* of the festival of Ephesus, however, the leading girl, Anthia, is wearing a purple chitoniskos. While she does not carry a sword, she is armed with a bow and arrows and a spear. The palm tree, *phoinix*, of the Makron cup, associated with the feminine sword dance, could have both meanings: a sign of Artemis and a symbol of the transitional status of the dance; it could also emphasize the exceptional character, the marginality of those maidens brandishing swords.

CONCLUSION

These results therefore suggest an armed dance in an initiation context, a transition between childhood and adulthood. The choice of a sword instead of a spear, as in a usual pyrrhic, emphasizes the ambiguous character of this dance. Whether it depicts a prylis, based on the Amazons and Curetes model; an apokinos, on an Amazon model; or a pyrrhic with a sword, unmentioned by literary sources, this cup by Makron is very striking and its subject is unique. As yet there is no precise parallel to it; all the vases compared above provide some information, but none could really explain the subject. The closest parallel, the Syracuse red-figured lekythos, was interpreted as the image of a Thracian woman. The others, the dance of the pseudo-Amazons as in figures 7a, b and 8 or the Artemis pyrrhic in figures 9a, b, were danced with a shield and a spear, not with a sword. As shown here, it is not possible to interpret the cup's dancers as Thracian women, Danaids, or Amazons; the iconographical evidence is not clear enough. They are human dancers in an intermediary world, one of religious feeling, where myths and rites are closely linked.[100]

The Getty Museum cup shows maidens, dressed as ephebes, dancing for Artemis in one of her sanctuaries. This dance certainly represents an initiation ritual, the moment of the transition between childhood and adulthood. It is not important to determine where this

kind of ritual was held: whether Brauron or Halae in Attica, Amarynthos or Histiaea in Euboea, in Laconia, or even in Lydia; the dance could have taken place in many areas.

This image reveals a small part of the religious world of the Greeks. These dancers, not yet women but no longer girls, are in that transitional status where men and women are closely linked, the initiation ritual. Our maidens, dancing for Artemis, illustrate that moment in the life of the *parthenoi* when the unmarried maiden could be associated with the ephebes and even share their warlike games, under the protection of Artemis.

Christiane Bron is a research scientist at the Institut d'Archéologie et d'Histoire Ancienne at the Université de Lausanne, Switzerland.

NOTES

I am very grateful to Marion True, Curator of Antiquities at the J. Paul Getty Museum; to Karol Wight, Assistant Curator, who allowed me to study this vase; and to Paola Ceccarelli, who helped me interpret the literary sources.

1. Red-figured cup, Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 86.AE.315. D. von Bothmer, "Notes on Makron," in *The Eye of Greece: Studies in the Art of Athens*, ed. D. C. Kurtz and B. Sparkes (Cambridge, 1982), p. 29f. In this article Bothmer gives the inventory number 18A to this cup, citing that it was lent to the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, with the inventory number 1980.38; further, the size is slightly different (22.2 cm [8¾ in.] in Bothmer's description and 22.6 cm [8⅞ in.] in the Getty Museum's file), and it is dated to 490 B.C. This cup was not included in the Getty Museum's exhibition catalogue, *Greek Vases: Molly and Walter Bareiss Collection*, exh. cat. (Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum, 1983).
2. J. D. Beazley, *Attic Red-Figure Vase-Painters*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1963), pp. 458–79 (hereafter referred to as *ARV*). Also on Makron, see N. Kunisch, *Makron*, Kerameus 10, ed. P. von Zabern (Mainz am Rhein, 1996). Some articles on Makron are J. D. Beazley, "Makron," in *Greek Vases, Lectures by J. D. Beazley*, ed. D. C. Kurtz (Oxford, 1989), pp. 84–97; Bothmer (note 1); and, for a short description of his style, E. Paribeni, "Makron," *Enciclopedia dell'arte antica, classica e orientale*, vol. 4 (Rome, 1961), p. 790.
3. More than four hundred cups were painted by Makron if those attributed by Bothmer (see note 1) are included with those attributed to Makron by Beazley (see note 2).
4. Hieron's signature appears quite often on Makron's cups but only three times on vases decorated by other painters; however, Makron's signature occurs just once, on *ARV*, p. 458, no. 1; see *ARV*, pp. 481–82 and Bothmer (note 1), p. 45. This preeminence of the potter over the painter is suggested by J. D. Beazley, *Potter and Painter in Ancient Athens*, (London, 1944), pp. 34–37, although T. B. L. Webster, *Potter and Patron in Classical Athens* (London, 1972), p. 34, is more in favor of the preeminence of the painter, even if Makron's signature appears only once.
5. For this kind of detail, see the skyphos in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston 13.186 (*ARV*, p. 458, no. 1, the only vase signed by Makron), and the skyphos in the British Museum, London E 140 (*ARV*, p. 459, no. 3).
6. For the different kinds of hats, see D. C. Kurtz and J. Boardman, "Booners," in *Greek Vases in the J. Paul Getty Museum*, Occasional Papers on Antiquities, vol. 3 (Malibu, 1986), pp. 50–70; our dancer is wearing a similar cap to the one on p. 66, fig. 29.10, mithra or *saccos* (the technical term is not very important, as Boardman says on p. 56). The *saccos* is not enough to determine if the dancer is male or female; beside the anacreontics illustrated in the Kurtz and Boardman article, see the komasts wearing the same kind of hat on the red-figured cup (New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art 07 286.47; see *ARV*, p. 175).
7. In the Musée du Louvre, Paris G 136 (*ARV*, p. 231, no. 78); a similar position is also on a red-figured cup in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna 1848 (*ARV*, p. 329, no. 128); but it is an ephebe rather than a pyrrhic dancer who is leaning on a stick. This position could be a *pas de bourrée*, according to G. Prudhommeau, *La danse grecque antique* (Paris, 1965), pp. 89–90.
8. For example, Douris (*ARV*, p. 427, no. 3); Brygos (*ARV*, p. 187, no. 57); Onesimos (*ARV*, p. 318, no. 2); very common for Makron, see, for example, the red-figured cup from the British Museum, London E 61 (*ARV*, p. 468, no. 145), but most of the time it allows the painter to show the naked body in seeming transparency.
9. A fourth position in modern dance according to M. Emmanuel, *La danse grecque antique* (Paris, 1987; 1st ed., 1896), no. 108, figs. 81–83, slightly different from the dancer of the tondo.
10. For the symbolic meaning of the altar and palm tree, see notes 23–25 below. A flute player could also be part of the scene. To compare, see figure 8, where the dancer is turning her head toward an altar and a flute player with a movement similar to that of the Getty Museum cup's dancers.
11. The dancer from the tondo is slightly different; she could be the leader of the dance, the choregos.
12. Women holding swords are quite rare: sometimes, maenads (*ARV*, p. 586, no. 47), Thracian women (*ARV*, p. 1014, no. 1), Philomela and Procne (*ARV*, p. 472, no. 211), Medea (*ARV*, p. 1289, no. 25), Pelias's daughter (*ARV*, p. 864, no. 16); Artemis attacks Acteon with a sword on a Berlin pelike, inv. 3189 (photo DAI Roma no. 1930 2732), but the identification is not for certain. Also, see the Danaids on an Apulian krater (see note 21 below). Nonetheless, these women are not dancing a choral dance.
13. Black-figured oinochoe, Adolphseck 13, *Corpus vasorum antiquorum* (hereafter referred to as *CVA*) *Schloss Fasanerie (Adolphseck)* 1, pl. 14. We will return to the interpretation of this vase on pp. 76–77 of this essay.
14. For example, see the Campanian relief from the British Museum, London, illustrated in Prudhommeau (note 7), fig. 259; and F. Weege, *Der Tanz in der Antike* (New York, 1976; 1st ed., 1926), fig. 42.
15. Bothmer (note 1), pp. 42–43.
16. I. Wehgartner, *Attische Weissgrundige Keramik* (Mainz am Rhein, 1983), p. 131, on the alabastra with Amazons or Negroes with palm trees; for those types of vases where palm trees are very common, see also J. Neils, "The Group of the Negro Alabastra: A Study in Motif Transferral," *Antike Kunst* 23 (1980), pp. 13–23 (hereafter referred to as *Ant. K.*).
17. On the Danaids, see K. Dowden, *Death and the Maiden: Girls'*

Initiation Rites in Greek Mythology (London, 1989), pp. 147–65.

18. D. L. Page, *Poetae Melici Graeci* (Oxford, 1962), p. 757; this fragment is cited in Athenaeus, *The Deipnosophists*, trans. C. B. Gulick, 7 vols. (Loeb Classical Library, Cambridge, 1961), 14.651f. (hereafter referred to as Ath. *Deipn.*), where Athenaeus speaks about palm trees (*phoinikes*).
19. M. Davies, *Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta* (Göttingen, 1988), p. 141.
20. The two first verses are corrupt and we could translate by "women" if we follow the different interpretation, see Page (note 18), which would be more appropriate for the Danaids. Quoted from Ath. *Deipn.* 14.651f.
21. E. Keuls, "Danaïdes," in *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*, vol. 3 (Zurich, 1986), no. 1, pp. 338, 341, interprets the women holding swords to be Danaids: first on an Apulian krater (old Curtius coll.), in the context of a symposium, and second on a monument placed in front of the Apollo temple on the Palatine.
22. Keuls (note 21), pp. 337–41; and ibid., "Danaus," pp. 341–43.
23. See the literary sources in H. Fracchia Miller, *The Iconography of the Palm in Greek Art: Significance and Symbolism* (Ann Arbor, 1981).
24. L. G. Kahil, "Autour de l'Artémis attique," *Ant. K.* 8 (1965), p. 27, n. 43.
25. C. Sourvinou-Inwood, "Altars with Palm-Trees; Palm-Trees and *Parthenoi*," *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies of the University of London* 32 (1985), pp. 125–46; C. Sourvinou-Inwood, *"Reading" Greek Culture: Text and Images, Rituals and Myths* (Oxford, 1991), pp. 99–143.
26. Aesop, in Proverb 9, "Where Didn't Artemis Dance?" shows the link of this goddess with the dance.
27. Plutarch *Thes.* 31.2, Helen, while still a girl, was raped by Theseus and Pirithous when she was dancing for Artemis Orthia; Homer *Il.* 16.179–83, Hermes raped Polymele because he had seen her dancing and singing for Artemis, the *parthenos* Eudorus being born from their union. On the signification of the rapes, see C. Calame, *Les chœurs de jeunes filles en Grèce archaïque, I: Morphologie, fonction religieuse et sociale* (Rome, 1977), pp. 174–90.
28. K. Dowden (note 17), passim.
29. Red-figured lekythos from Syracuse MN 6310 (*ARV*, p. 690, no. 6, 1666).
30. The same kind of vest is worn by a maenad on a red-figured amphora (New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art 63.11.6); J. D. Beazley, *Paralipomena* (Oxford, 1971), p. 320, no. 2.
31. *ARV*, p. 690, no. 6, 1666.
32. For Thracian women with *saccos*, see among others, red-figured cup (Athens, Acropolis 297 A–E; *ARV*, p. 386, no. 5); red-figured krater (Munich 8717; *ARV*, p. 496, no. 6); with a sword, see red-figured lekythos (Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 13.202; *ARV*, p. 1022, no. 11) and red-figured amphora (Paris, Musée du Louvre G 436; *ARV*, p. 1014, no. 1); for Thracian women wearing short chiton (chitoniskos), see J. D. Beazley, *Some Attic Vases in the Cyprus Museum*, Oxford University Committee for Archaeology, no. 27, rev. ed. (Oxford, 1989), p. 33.
33. D. von Bothmer, *Amazons in Greek Art* (Oxford, 1957).
34. Bothmer (note 33), p. 153, no. 87, red-figured amphora (Paris, Musée du Louvre F 203; *ARV*, p. 4, no. 16), p. 131, no. 1; red-figured amphora (Orvieto Faina 64; *ARV*, p. 3, no. 5), p. 149, no. 34; red-figured lekythos (Paris, Musée du Louvre CA 1710; *ARV*, p. 663, no. 2). Except for the lekythos, the Amazons wearing a *saccos* are among other Amazons wearing helmets: that is the way to identify the group.
35. For the myth of an Amazon taking refuge in Ephesos, see Pausanias 4, 31, 8; 7, 2, 7–8; Tacitus *Ann.* 3, 61. The same interpretation is proposed by Neils (note 16), p. 21.
36. Figure 7, black-figured skyphos (Berlin 3766), quoted in Bothmer (note 33) p. 110, no. 199; it is included in a chapter entitled "Not Certainly Amazons": "this would probably be a representation of the pyrrhic"; and figure 8, black-figured lekythos (U.S.A., private collection), on which the head, the feet, and the left arm of the dancers are similar to the Malibu dancers; those vases are illustrated by J. C. Poursat, "Les représentations de danse armée dans la céramique attique," *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique* (1968), p. 611, figs. 59–62. The skyphos from Berlin is considered as a lost vase by Poursat; the photographs received from the Berlin Museum are probably prints from an original on glass, which would explain the large break that appears on the vase.
37. Black-figured lekythos (Paris, Musée du Louvre CA 2925), illustrated in Kahil (note 24), fig. 10, nos. 3–5.
38. See Kahil (note 24), p. 29; Poursat (note 36), p. 613.
39. Calame (note 27), pp. 70–72, says that young virgins grouped into a chorus are very often designated by a collective noun such as Muses, Nymphs, Nereids, Danaids, and Amazons. The name of the group could influence the costume of the dancers.
40. Ath. *Deipn.* 6.628c–31e; and Pollux *Onomasticon* 4.95–104 (hereafter Poll. *On.*), for the armed dances, 4.99; their mention of *xiphismos*, "sword-dance," in Ath. *Deipn.* 14.629f. and in Poll. *On.* 99, should not mislead one. Athenaeus mentions a dance figure, not a kind of dance. On these texts, see K. Latte, *De Saltationibus Graecorum capita quinque* (Giessen, 1913), p. 18.
41. Ath. *Deipn.* 14.629c. The authors quoted by Athenaeus are comic writers from the fifth century B.C.
42. Other names for pyrrhic dance are *orsites* and *epikredios*, Cretan dances, Ath. *Deipn.* 14.629c.
43. Ath. *Deipn.* 629f.; the same in Poll. *On.* 4.101.
44. Latte (note 40), pp. 40–41; Poursat (note 36), p. 551.
45. Poursat (note 36), pp. 550–615; W. K. Pritchett, *The Greek State at War* (Berkeley, 1985), pp. 61–65; Latte (note 40), pp. 27–73; M.-H. Delevaud-Roux, *Les danses armées en Grèce antique* (Aix-en-Provence, 1993); S. H. Lonsdale, "Preparations for Manhood: Zeus, Athena, and the Weapon Dance," in *Dance and Ritual Play in Greek Religion* (Baltimore, 1993), pp. 142–48.
46. Poursat (note 36), p. 605: two examples of short garment, krater (Villa Giulia 50479; *ARV*, p. 1164, no. 57); hydria (Florence 4014; *ARV*, p. 1060, nos. 144, 1680); the chiton could be long as on two other vases: krater (Vienna 732; *ARV*, p. 1190, no. 30) and krater (Cancello Spinelli 2032; *ARV*, p. 1190). In these cases it is possible to hesitate between Athena and a pyrrhic dancer; see C. Bérard, "Athéna Mélancolique, und kein Ende," in *Lectures et pratiques de l'image, Recherches et documents du Centre Thomas Moore*, vol. 41 (L'Arbresle, 1984), p. 1f.
47. Literary sources speak about men's choral pyrrhic (Lys. XXI, 1 and 4; Is. V, 36); on Attic reliefs they are represented in a group (Athens, Mus. Nat. 3854; Athens, Acropolis 1338 and 432).
48. See the red-figured pyxis Naples H 3010, figures 9a, b and note 58 in this essay.
49. Poursat (note 36), pp. 552–65, distinguishes between *enoplion*, a kind a choral dance, and a pyrrhic in the context of palestra or contest for a male armed dance. For a female armed dance, he quoted only three examples of a group dance; see notes 36 and 37 in this essay.
50. See note 13; and F. Brommer, "Kopf über Kopf," *Archäologischer Anzeiger* 4 (1954), pp. 42–44, pl. 4; it is not mentioned by Poursat (note 36).
51. Typical movement for the pyrrhic, twelve out of the twenty pyrrhics mentioned by Poursat show the same gesture; see also, E. K. Borthwick, "P. Oxy 2738: Athena and the Pyrrhic

Dance," *Hermes* 98 (1970), p. 321. It is the position of the woman of the Syracuse lekythos (fig. 5).

52. Brommer, *CVA Schloss Fasanerie (Adolphseck)*, 1, table 14: "Auf dem Kopf tragen sie kalottenartigen Helme mit Frauenkopfen."
53. Travestied: Brommer (note 50), p. 44; female pyrrhic, T. B. L. Webster, *The Greek Chorus* (London, 1970), pp. 21–22: "It is difficult to explain pyrrhicists holding a scabbard in one hand and a sword in the other, who have girls' heads above their heads, unless we are meant to see an allusion to the fact that girls danced the pyrrhic."
54. Ath. *Deipn.* 14, 629c; Poursat (note 36).
55. P. Scarpi, "La *pyrrhiche* o le armi della persuasione," *Dialoghi di Archeologia* 1 (1977), pp. 78–97.
56. Scarpi (note 55), pp. 82–88.
57. P. Brulé, *La Fille d'Athènes: La religion des filles à Athènes à l'époque classique: Mythes, cultes et société* (Paris, 1987), p. 313.
58. Pyxis Naples H 3010, not in *ARV*.
59. Poursat (note 36), p. 608, says that the gyneceum is also a context for the female pyrrhic. The door could suggest the inside, but the association of altar with statue suggests instead a sanctuary; see C. Bérard, "Entrer en Imagerie," *La Cité des Images* (Lausanne, 1984), p. 29, figs. 33, 35. Artemis temples from Brauron and Halae and generally those of the Tauropolos have got *adytum*: Dowden (note 17), pp. 38, 211 n. 51. The door on the Naples pyxis could be taken for an *adytum*.
60. M. B. Hollinshead, *Legend, Cult and Architecture at Three Sanctuaries of Artemis* (Ann Arbor, 1980).
61. This geographical path is drawn by Brulé (note 57), chap. 2.2: "Topologie sacrée. Lieux de culte et rituels d'Artémis et d'Iphigénie," pp. 186–200.
62. Strabo X 1, 10, C 448; D. Knoepfler, "Sur les traces de l'Artémision d'Amarynthos près d'Erétrie," *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres* (1988), p. 387.
63. Knoepfler (note 62); F. Cairns, "A Herm from Histiaia with an Agonistic Epigram of the Fifth Century B.C.," *Phoenix* 37 (1983), pp. 16–37.
64. Paus. 1, 31, 4–5; see Brulé (note 57), p. 190; Knoepfler (note 62), pp. 391–92.
65. Knoepfler (note 62), p. 387: "le rôle dévolu, de part et d'autre de la mer Euboïque, aux pyrrhichistes—et cela déjà dans la seconde moitié du IV siècle—n'est pas le moindre des liens unissant l'Artémis Tauropolos attique à l'Artémis Amarysia eubéenne."
66. Hollinshead (note 60), pp. 69–75, with bibliographical indications.
67. L. G. Kahil, "L'Artémis de Brauron: rites et mystères," *Ant. K* 20 (1977), p. 88, nn. 23, 96. Brulé (note 57), p. 251, mentions that krateriskoi were found in most of the Artemis sanctuaries in Attica.
68. Menander *Epitr.* vv. 451–52 (trans. W. G. Arnott, *Menander* [Loeb Classical Library, Cambridge, 1979]).
69. Brulé (note 57), pp. 310–14.
70. Hollinshead (note 60), p. 93; F. Graf, "Das Götterbild aus dem Taurerland," *Antike Welt* 10, no. 4 (1979), pp. 33–41; for them, myth is more recent and secondary to the rite.
71. Eur. *I.T* v. 621, trans. G. Murray.
72. Eur. *I.T* vv. 1450–1452.
73. Eur. *I.T* vv. 1458–1461.
74. In his French translation (Euripides, *Iphigénie en Tauride*, trans. H. Grégoire [Paris, 1968]), Grégoire translates "que le prêtre, touchant de son épée le cou d'un homme, en fasse jaillir un peu de sang," but Euripides' text does not specify that it is a man priest.
75. See Dowden (note 17), p. 39: "Rather, we should ask if it can really be coincidence that every sanctuary we have discussed in this chapter—Aulis, Halae, Brauron, and Mounichia—is next to the sea"; the Ephesian sanctuary of Artemis was also out of the city and close to the sea, Xen.Eph. *Eph.* 1, 2, 2.
76. Graf (note 70) shows the relations between the rituals for Artemis Tauropolos in Halae and Brauron, Diana Nemorensis in Aricia, Artemis Orthia in Sparta, Mâ of Comana in Cappadoce, and Artemis of Tyndaris in Sicily.
77. H. Lloyd-Jones, "Artemis and Iphigeneia," *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 103 (1983) (hereafter referred to as *JHS*): "the twin cults of Brauron and Halae Araphenides, both belonging to Artemis, dealt with females and males respectively."
78. Graf (note 70).
79. F. M. Bennett, *Religious Cults Associated with the Amazons* (New York, 1912).
80. Diodorus Sic. 2.46.2
81. Paus. 8.2.7, commentating on Pindar, who says that Amazons founded Artemis's temple, tells the story of the Amazons running away from Heracles and taking refuge at the altar of Artemis in Ephesus, but the temple was not founded by them but by Coresos and Ephesos; see also, Tacitus. *Ann.* 3.61 and Plutarch. *Quaestiones Graecae* 56. On that myth, see the discussion about figure 6 in this essay.
82. Callimachus *Hymn. Dian.* 237–47 (trans. G. R. Mair [Loeb Classical Library, Cambridge, 1955]), p. 81.
83. Callimachus *Hymn. Zeus* 1.52–54, on the word *prylis*, see H. L. Lorimer, "Pruvli et pruleve," *Classical Quarterly* 32 (1938), pp. 129–32; M. Leumann, *Homerische Wörter* (Basel, 1950), pp. 268–69; C. J. Ruijgh, *L'élément achéen dans la langue épique* (Assen, 1957), pp. 96–97; for the etymology (unclear), P. Chantraine, "Pruleve," in *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque* (Paris, 1968).
84. See commentary from O. Schneider, *Callimachea*, vol. 1 (Leipzig, 1870), v. 241. Schneider proposed "First they danced armed in rows." That interpretation avoids the redoubling and lets one see two parts; R. Pfeiffer, *Callimachus*, vol. 2 (Oxford, 1949), accepts two parts for the dance.
85. That is what the Couretes are doing; in Callimachus *Hymn. Zeus* 1.52–54, Callimachus says that the noise is coming from the shield, which he does not say in Hymn 3.
86. See Calame (note 27), pp. 178–85, with bibliographical information; and M. Nilsson, *Griechische Feste von religiöser Bedeutung* (Leipzig, 1906), pp. 243–47.
87. Philostr. *Ap. Tyan.* 4.2; also Xenophon from Ephesus (*Eph.* 1.2.2.7) describes the *pompe* of the Lydian girls by speaking about the outfit of Anthia, which is a short, purple tunic like those worn by the Malibu dancers; see Dowden (note 17), pp. 40–41.
88. Paus. 3.25.1–3. See Bennett (note 79), pp. 40–56.
89. Wooden statues (*xoana*) were very frequent in sanctuaries; see the one of the Tauropolos at Halae and Brauron (Halae: Eur. *I.T* 1461f., Brauron, Paus. I 23.7; 33.1); and for Artemis Orthia in Peloponnese (Paus. 2.7.10). On this problem, see Graf (note 70).
90. W. Blake Tyrrell, *Amazons: A Study in Athenian Mythmaking* (Baltimore, 1984), passim.
91. Figures 7a, b and 8 in this essay could represent such a dance.
92. For the symbolic importance of the different meanings of *phoinix*, palm tree, color red, or immortal bird, see H. F. Miller (note 23), p. 65f.
93. Xen. *Resp. lac.* 11.3; On the red-colored war garment of the Laconian, see Xen. *An.* 1.2.16; *Ag.* 2.7; Philostr. *Ep.* 3.3; and Xen. *Cyr.* 6.4.1; 7.1.2.
94. Plutarch *Arist.* 21.4: "The chief magistrate of Plataea, who may not at other times touch iron or put on any other raiment than white, at this time is robed in a purple tunic" (Plutarch, *Arist.*

21.4, vol. 2 [Loeb Classical Library, Cambridge, 1959], p. 281).

95. Dion. Hal. *Ant.Rom.* 7.72.5–7 (2nd ed., trans. E. Cary [Loeb Classical Library, Cambridge, 1952]).
96. Latte (note 40), pp. 28–29, thinks that when the pyrrhic dancers were clothed, they wore red chitoniskoi.
97. P. G. Maxwell-Stuart, "The Black Cloaks of the Ephebes," *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society* 196 (1970), pp. 113–16; p. 114: "red was the usual colour worn by those passing through an intermediate stage—for example, brides, ephebes, and mourners after the funeral."
98. Black-figured cup 76.08, Classics Department, Museum of Australian National University, Canberra, 530 B.C.; J. R. Green, *Antiquities: A Description of the Classics Department Museum in the Australian National University, Canberra* (Canberra, 1981), p. 31; and J. J. Winkler, "The Ephebes' Song: Tragoidia and Polis," in *Nothing to Do with Dionysos? Athenian Drama in Its Social Context*, ed. J. J. Winkler and F. Zeitlin (Princeton, 1990), p. 35 n. 43.
99. K. E. Borthwick, "Trojan Leap and Pyrrhic Dance in Euripides' *Andromache*, 1129–1141," *JHS* (1967), p. 21, with other examples of chlamys held as a shield, but not by pyrrhic dancer.
100. As already mentioned (note 39), Calame (note 27) says that a chorus of human virgins could be named as mythological groups.

This page intentionally left blank

Acquisitions/1995

Notes to the Reader

When possible in giving dimensions in the Acquisitions Supplement, the formula height by width by depth has been observed. In cases where this was not appropriate to the work of art in question, the following abbreviations have been employed:

H:	Height
W:	Width
D:	Depth
Diam:	Diameter
L:	Length

In the provenance sections brackets are used to indicate dealers, and the lack of a semicolon before a sale in parentheses means that the object was sold from that person, dealer, or gallery.

Antiquities

STONE

1. *Thymiaterion with Lid*
Greek (South Italy or Sicily), fourth century B.C.
Marble with polychromy, H (thymiaterion): 22.9 cm (9 in.); H (lid): 6.4 cm (2½ in.)
95.AA.59

Sculpted and lathe-turned, the thymiaterion, or incense burner, is composed of a stemmed foot; a deep receptacle, which may have been made separately; and a close-fitting perforated lid. The stem of the vessel rises from a disc-shaped foot formed of two ridges that are separated by a concave profile, and meets a flaring tray. The deep bowl of the thymiaterion that held the burning incense is centered on the tray, on which fresh incense may have been set. Both the lip of this receptacle and the lower edge of the lid are slightly flared and scored along the edges to suggest an organic plant pattern. The dome-shaped lid is formed in a series of three ascending horizontal bands that are perforated at regular intervals to allow the scented smoke to escape. The top of the lid is flat and undecorated, and originally there may have been a finial that was separately made.

The thymiaterion and its lid are in excellent condition, and in many areas the polished original marble surface has been preserved. There are some traces of red pigment on the foot and lid, and there is a yellow-brown resinous residue on the underside of the lid indicative of prior use.

PROVENANCE: New York art market.

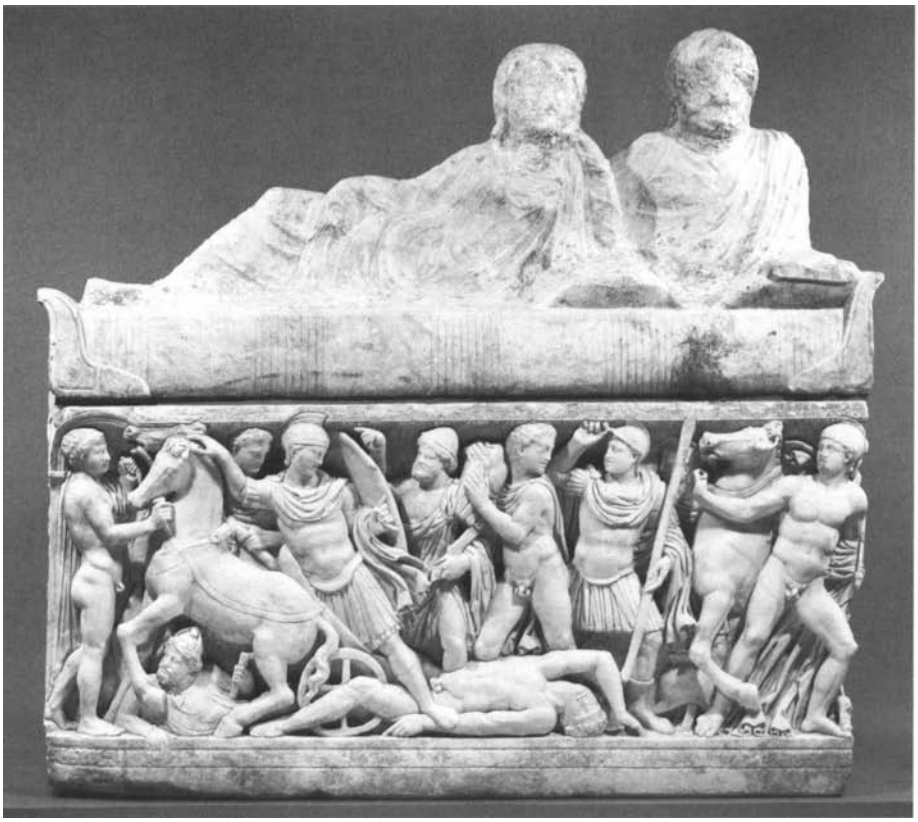
1 and 2

2. *Three Fish Plates*
Greek (South Italy or Sicily), fourth century B.C.
Marble with polychromy, Diam (.1): 25.4 cm (10 in.); Diam (.2 and .3): 21 cm (8¼ in.)
95.AA.58.1–.3

Turned from a fine-grained white marble, the three plates bear traces of their original polychromy. Only on the large plate (.1), however, can the design scheme be readily discerned. In its central depression is an eight petal rosette with alternating purple and red petals. On the plate's flat surface are four palmettes, two painted with a violet pigment, two with a red pigment. Closely spaced short strokes of a purple pigment surrounded by a red pigment decorate the outer circumference of the plate. The bottom of the plate bears traces of an overall layer of an orange-red pigment. One of the smaller plates (.2) has a large splotch of red pigment on its upper surface, while the other (.3) shows traces of a blue-green pigment in the central depression and on the flat surface.

The fragile nature of the painted decoration makes it most unlikely that these marble plates actually functioned as dishes for serving fish, and it seems more probable that they were meant for ceremonial purposes. The three plates range from good to excellent condition. The large plate is almost complete with some restored areas. One of the smaller ones (.2) has suffered breakage, which has been repaired with minor losses restored; the other (.3) is intact and unbroken.

PROVENANCE: New York art market.



3

4

3. *Sarcophagus with Lid*
Roman, late second century–early third century A.D.
Made in an Attic workshop
Pentelic marble, H (sarcophagus): 134 cm (53 in.); H (lid): 100 cm (39½ in.); L (sarcophagus): 249 cm (98 in.); L (lid): 218 cm (86 in.); W (sarcophagus): 147 cm (58 in.); W (lid): 95 cm (37½ in.)
95.AA.80

Carved in high relief on three sides of the box are scenes from the legend of Achilles, the Greek hero of the Trojan War and central figure in the *Iliad* by Homer. On the right end of the sarcophagus, Achilles is discovered by Odysseus while hiding among the daughters of King Lycomedes on the island of Skyros to avoid joining the Greeks at Troy. On the left end, Achilles arms for battle with Odysseus and a doryphoros looking on. The armor he dons is new, having been recently received from his mother, Thetis. The climax of his confrontation with the great Trojan hero Hector is shown on the front, as Achilles mounts his chariot to drag Hector's body around the walls of the city. On the back of the sarcophagus, the shallower relief scene of Lapiths fighting centaurs may also be understood as a reference to Achilles, who was educated by the centaur Cheiron. On the lid, two figures recline on an elaborate couch; their heads were left in an unfinished state so that the portraits of the deceased could be carved in after the piece was purchased.

The sarcophagus and lid are in an excellent state of preservation with only some chipping and two small losses of sculptural components, the sword held by the figure positioned at the right edge of the front and the lower end of the spear held by the doryphoros on the left end. The back and left end of the box are less finished than the front and right end, probably indicating that it was originally placed in the corner of a room where those sides would not have been easily seen.

PROVENANCE: New York art market.

BRONZE

4. *Offering Box (Arca) with Key*
Gallo-Roman, second century A.D., perhaps 130–180
Bronze, H (arca): 51 cm (20⅛ in.); H (key): 1.82 cm (¾ in.); Diam (ring of key): 2.62 cm (1 in.)
95.AC.29

This offering box is a hexagonal roofed structure that rests on three supports in the shape of feline paws. The body is assembled on a cast base from six flat panels outlined by a half-round molding with an incised cable pattern. At the bottom of one side is a low door with a keyhole. The roof is composed of six concave sides and is decorated with a pattern of incised imbrication; spheres ornament the corners. On the top, there is an elaborately profiled platform with a Kymation molding, and spheres embellish its uppermost corners. The top surface of the platform bears footmarks of a now-missing statuette, which stood at right angles to the side with the door. Between the footmarks is a coin slot.

The offering box is said to have been found with a pair of bronze busts in the Museum's collection (89.AB.67) and a statue of Cobannus, a Gaulish god identified with Mars, in the collection of Barbara and Lawrence Fleischman. Most likely all of these pieces were displayed in a local shrine of the Iuventus, a youth organization of the Roman state that prepared aristocratic young men of Rome and its provinces for military service and a career in government. The offering box may have held the monthly dues paid by members of this organization. The box is complete except for the missing figure on the top and some sections of the cable molding that borders the panels. There is a large loss or casting defect in the upper edge of the back panel. A small round hole pierces the middle of the roof section above the side with the door. The metal has a golden-brown to black to grayish green patina with extremely fine pitting over broad areas.

PROVENANCE: Donated by Barbara and Lawrence Fleischman.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. Herrmann, "Offering Box," in *A Passion for Antiquities: Ancient Art from the Collection of Barbara and Lawrence Fleischman*, ed. M. True and K. Hamma, exh. cat. (Malibu, 1994), pp. 314–16, no. 163.

TERRA-COTTA

Neolithic

5. *Eleven Figurines*
Greek, early to middle Neolithic, 6000–4000 B.C.
Terra-cotta, various dimensions, H: from 3.4 cm (1 5/16 in.) to 7.4 cm (2 7/8 in.)
95.AD.4.1–.11

5

The eleven figurines are of standard Neolithic anthropomorphic types of both genders. The majority are of female forms in the steatopygous (Mother Goddess) type, shown in seated and standing positions (.1, .4, .5, .6, .7, .8, .10, .11). The two male figures (.2, .9), which are comparatively rare, are seated with one (.2) enthroned. Although varying in their degree of anthropomorphism, the figures are schematic with the component parts of the body formed by hand or rendered by incision. One figure (.3) is possibly zoomorphic. Its cylindrical, almost phallic, form, which spreads at the base, and the beaklike nose and slit eyes are similar to the so-called Bird Goddess type.

The function of Neolithic figurines is still unknown and has led to controversy and debate. In addition to the standard interpretation for the figures serving as representatives of deities, or idols, alternative suggested functions include amulets (both decorative and apotropaic), votive offerings, representations of humans (whether cultic or secular), or dolls for children. The overall condition of the figurines is good with only small chips and minor scratches on their surfaces. Some figurines are missing body parts.

PROVENANCE: Donated jointly by Barbara and Lawrence Fleischman and Herbert L. Lucas.

6. *Three Fragments of Vessels*
Greek, Neolithic, 6000–4000 B.C.
Terra-cotta, Greatest Extent (.1): 7.6 cm (3 in.); Greatest Extent (.2): 4.5 cm (1 3/4 in.); Greatest Extent (.3) 4.6 cm (1 13/16 in.)
95.AE.5.1–.3

All three fragments are of reddish clay and are covered on the exterior with white slip. The largest fragment (.1) is also covered with white slip on the interior, and its exterior surface is decorated with a blackish brown paint/glaze in a pattern of eleven parallel zigzags, a vertical line, and two triangular areas. The second fragment (.2) is sharply curved, and perhaps comes from the area of the junction of shoulder to body on the vessel. Its exterior is decorated with a linear pattern of crossing straight lines and chevrons painted or glazed with a red pigment. The surface of the third fragment (.3) is incised with parallel lines that expose the brownish red clay beneath the white slip. The condition of the fragments is good with just scattered nicks and abrasions.

PROVENANCE: Donated jointly by Barbara and Lawrence Fleischman and Herbert L. Lucas.

Attic Red-Figure

7. *Fragment of a Psykter*
Attic, ca. 510 B.C.
Terra-cotta, Greatest Extent: 2.97 cm (1 1/8 in.)
95.AE.32

The fragment is composed of two joined pieces depicting on the exterior the torso and thighs of a nude athlete moving to the right; in his left hand is a javelin. There is a partial inscription in Greek: ΘA, and this fragment may belong to a psykter in the Museum's collection, which shows athletes and trainers (78.AE.249). This piece is in mostly good condition with a few small chips and a scratch on the exterior surface.

PROVENANCE: Donation of Dietrich von Bothmer.

8. *Fragment of a Psykter*
Attic, ca. 510–500 B.C.
Attributed to Smikros
Terra-cotta, Greatest Extent: 6 cm (2⅜ in.)
95.AE.30

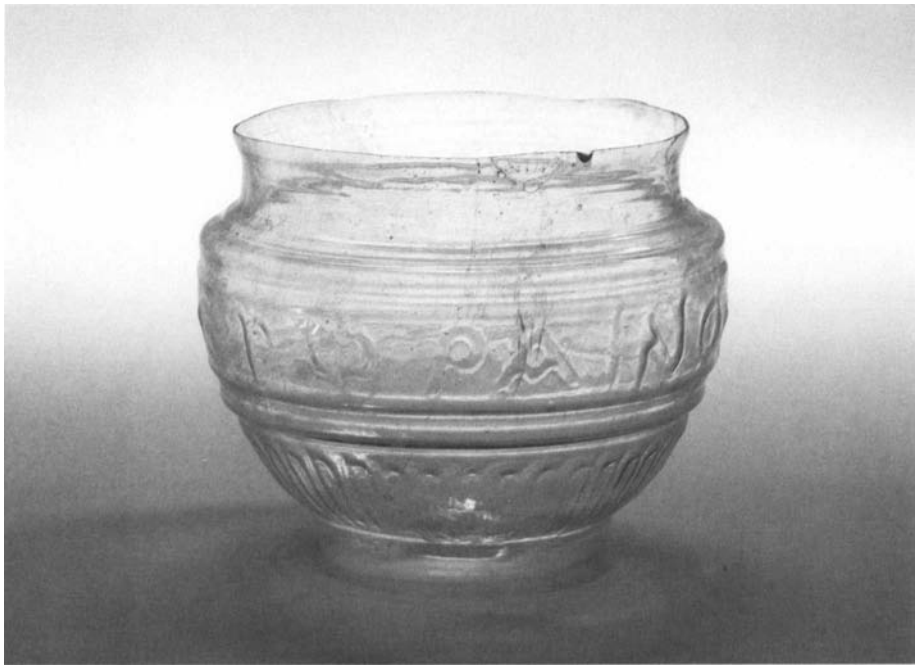
The fragment is composed of two joined pieces that depict on the exterior the forearm and right hand, fingers, and upper thighs of a nude figure. It belongs to a psykter in the Museum's collection that is decorated with fishermen and nets (83.AE.285). The fragment is in good condition with minor surface scratches on the exterior surface.

PROVENANCE: Donation of Dietrich von Bothmer.

9. *Two Fragments of a Skyphos*
Attic, ca. 480–470 B.C.
Attributed to the Kleophrades Painter
Terra-cotta, Greatest Extent: (.1): 5.4 cm (2⅛ in.); Greatest Extent: (.2): 2.97 cm (1⅛ in.)
95.AE.31.1–.2

The larger fragment (.1) shows the drapery of a figure; the smaller (.2) depicts the left hand of a figure holding a staff and the edge of drapery. The two pieces belong to a fragmentary skyphos (77.AE.21.11, 80.AE.110.51, 86.AE.224, 86.AE.270, 86.AE.271, 93.AE.54) that illustrates Peleus and Thetis bringing their son, Achilles, to the centaur Cheiron, in the presence of Artemis and Apollo. A complete study of this vase is being prepared for publication by Dyfri Williams. The fragments are in good condition with light surface accretions and a spall on the exterior of the smaller one.

PROVENANCE: Donation of Dietrich von Bothmer.



10

GLASS

10. *Mold-Blown Cup*
Roman, first half of the first century A.D.
Attributed to the workshop of Ennion(?)
Glass, H: 6.9 cm (2 1/16 in.); Diam (body): 8.7 cm (3⅜ in.); Diam (rim): 7.2 cm (2 7/16 in.)
95.AF.60

The decoration of this small mold-blown cup of transparent blue to greenish blue glass consists of a Greek inscription encircling the body at its widest point with horizontal ribs providing an upper and lower frame. The inscription reads: ΕΦΡΑΙΝΟΥ ΕΦΩ ΠΑΡΕΙ (Be glad that you have come). Closely spaced tongues decorate the lower part of the body of the cup. The base has a flat resting surface, which is decorated with concentric circles and is kicked in at the center to form a raised boss on the interior of the cup. The rim is uneven, having been cracked off from the blowpipe after inflation was completed, and is only slightly finished, because it was ground down after the vessel was annealed. The mold was made in three pieces, and the seams are evident on the cup where the segments of the mold were joined. The cup is in excellent condition. With the exception of one small chip along the rim, it is intact, a condition rarely seen in ancient glass; its surface is free of iridescence. Given its pristine condition, it is possible that the cup was deposited in a grave as a gift for the deceased.

PROVENANCE: European art market.

Decorative Arts

FRENCH

11. *Pair of Lidded Vases*
French, ca. 1700
Green granite, H: 55.3 cm (1 ft. 9¾ in.); W: 38.1 cm (1 ft. 3 in.); D: 33 cm (1 ft. 1 in.)
95.DJ.84.1–.2

These vases are purely decorative, and as semiprecious objects they were appreciated for the richness of the stone. Such vases would have been a prominent part of any nobleman's collection of agates, crystals, porcelains, bronzes, and other curiosities that were often displayed in specially designed *Cabinets des curiosité* or *des raretés*.

The only place in France where hard-stone objects such as these were made at the end of the seventeenth century was at the *Manufacture royale des meubles de la Couronne* (also known as the Gobelins), established in Paris in 1663.

PROVENANCE: [Didier Aaron & Cie, Paris].

11 (one of a pair)

12 (one of a pair, before conservation)

12. *Pair of Armchairs* (Bergères à la Reine et à châssis, assise cannée)
French, ca. 1750
Nicolas-Quinibert Foliot
French, 1706–1776, master 1729
Gilded beech; modern upholstery, H: 97.8 cm (3 ft. 2½ in.); W: 77.5 cm (2 ft. 6½ in.); D: 61 cm (2 ft.). Chair .1 is stamped *N.Q. FOLIOT* on the inner side of the back seat rail and chair .2 is stamped *FOLIOT* in the same location.
95.DA.90.1–.2

These *bergères* are part of a suite of seat furniture that included six side chairs (see Pallot [cited in bibliography below], p. 136, for an illustration of these side chairs). All the backs are constructed *à châssis* and have cane seats. The maker, Nicolas-Quinibert Foliot, was a frequent supplier to the crown and was appointed *menuisier du Garde-Meuble du Roi* (joiner to the royal household). He worked for prestigious clients such as the king's daughter Louise-Elizabeth, duchesse de Parme, and probably the duc d'Orléans. For many commissions Foliot worked under the orders of the architect and designer Pierre Contant d'Ivry (French, 1698–1777).

PROVENANCE: (sale, Sotheby's, New York, May 7, 1983, lot 198); (sale, Christie's, London, December 8, 1994, lot 516); gift of Gordon and Ann Getty, 1995.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: B. G. B. Pallot, *The Art of the Chair in Eighteenth-Century France* (Paris, 1989), pp. 136, 138, illus. p. 138.

OBJECTS REMOVED FROM THE COLLECTION IN 1995

Sixteen Panels from a Boiserie

French, with American additions; early eighteenth century and twentieth century

Oak; 4 panels, W: 78.8 cm (2 ft. 7 in.); L: 403.8 cm (13 ft. 3 in.); 2 panels, W: 45.7 cm (1 ft. 6 in.); L: 401.9 cm (13 ft. 2¼ in.); 2 panels, W: 40.6 cm (1 ft. 4 in.); L: 289.5 cm (9 ft. 6 in.); 3 panels, W: 45.7 cm (1 ft. 6 in.); L: 198.1 cm (6 ft. 6 in.); 1 panel, W: 40.6 cm (1 ft. 4 in.); L: 104.1 cm (3 ft. 5 in.); 1 panel, W: 43.1 cm (1 ft. 5 in.); L: 104.1 cm (3 ft. 5 in.); 2 panels, W: 132 cm (4 ft. 4 in.); L: 71.1 cm (2 ft. 4 in.); 1 panel, W: 162.5 cm (5 ft. 4 in.); L: 132 cm (4 ft. 4 in.)
60.DH.1

Drawings

BELGIAN

13. GILLES FRANÇOIS-JOSEPH CLOSSON
Belgian, 1796–1842
Large Butterburr Leaves and Grass, ca. 1825–29
Oil on paper, 35 x 61 cm (13½ x 24 in.)
95.GG.3

This is one of a small group of oil sketches on paper by the artist that have recently come to light. Closson was born in Liège, which is now a part of modern Belgium, but was at the time under French suzerainty. From 1817 to 1824 he trained in Paris under Antoine-Jean Gros (French, 1771–1835) and later traveled to Italy, where he discovered a passion for landscape painting in the open air. This oil sketch could have been made during his Italian stay or shortly after his return to Liège in 1829. The juxtaposition of the green and brown leaves, with the leaf at the center changing color, suggests the cycle of life, a theme reminiscent of Dutch *vanitas* painting.

PROVENANCE: Galerie d'Aremberg, Brussels; James MacKinnon, London.

13

BRITISH

14. JOSEPH MALLORD WILLIAM TURNER
English, 1775–1851
Conway Castle, North Wales, ca. 1800
Watercolor and gum arabic with graphite underdrawing, 53.6 x 76.7 cm (21⅛ x 30⅛ in.)
95.GC.10

During his early career, Turner made several sketching tours of Wales. This fully worked-up watercolor of Conway Castle on the northern coast is based on his studies of the subject in the Hereford Court sketchbook (London, Tate Gallery); a finished oil painting of a variant composition is in the collection of the duke of Westminster. In this watercolor Turner has broken away from the topographical tradition of landscape in which he had been trained, and has moved toward a far more dramatic approach to the

14

representation of the motif. The bad weather, rough sea, and patches of brilliant sunlight are as much the focus of the artist's attention as the castle seen in the middle distance from a low vantage point.

PROVENANCE: Buchanan collection (sale, circa 1843); Charles Pascoe Grenfell; Viscount Gage (purchased 1954), Firle Place, Lewes, Sussex; The Hon. Nicholas Gage, Firle Place, Lewes, Sussex (sale, Sotheby's, London, April 11, 1991, lot 46); The Leger Galleries, Ltd., London.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. Wilton, *J. M. W. Turner: His Art and Life* (New York, 1979), pp. 229–330, no. 270; idem, *Turner in Wales*, exh. cat. (Llandudno, 1994), p. 71, no. 102; A. Wilton and A. Lyles, *The Great Age of British Watercolor, 1750–1880*, exh. cat. (Munich, 1993), p. 309, no. 281, pl. 279.

15

15. SIR DAVID WILKIE
Scottish, 1785–1841
Study for Sir David Baird Discovering the Body of Tipu Sahib, ca. 1834–36
Watercolor, pen and brown ink, black chalk; 41.6 x 28 cm (16⅜ x 11 in.)
95.GG.13

This study for Wilkie's well-known portrait of *Sir David Baird Discovering the Body of Tipu Sahib* (Edinburgh, National Gallery of Scotland), completed in 1838, is an excellent example of the freedom of Wilkie's draftsmanship, and is one of the finest and most finished of a series of studies for the picture. Tipu Sahib, sultan of Mysore, was the last of the independent rulers to resist the British unification of India. His defeat and death following an assault led by Baird was therefore an important event in the consolidation of British power.

PROVENANCE: Sir Archibald Campbell, Inverneil, Scotland; private collection (sale, Christie's, London, April 12, 1994, lot 31); Hazlitt, Gooden, and Fox, Ltd., London.

16. DANTE GABRIEL ROSSETTI
English, 1828–1882
Portrait of Elizabeth Siddal Resting, Holding a Parasol, ca. 1852–55
Pen and brown ink, light brown and gray wash on ivory-finished paper, 11.8 x 10.2 cm (4⅛ x 4 in.)
95.GA.20

16

Elizabeth Siddal (1829–1862) was an artists' model. She frequently sat for different members of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood, a group of artists who shared a number of common aims, including that of returning to the simplicity of early Italian Renaissance painting. From 1852 on, she sat exclusively for Rossetti, who became obsessed by her wistful beauty; in 1860 they married. This is one of a large number of likenesses of her by the artist, in which she is often portrayed resting. An insomniac, she took laudanum to help her sleep, and her death in 1862 is said to have been caused by an overdose of the drug.

PROVENANCE: Herbert Pearson; R. M. Franklin, Esq.; private collection, Britain (sale, Christie's, London, December 12, 1992, lot 78); Nissman, Abramson, Ltd., Boston.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: V. Surtees, *Rossetti's Portraits of Elizabeth Siddal*, exh. cat. (The Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, 1991), no. 38.

DUTCH

17

17. HERMAN VAN SWANEVELT
Dutch, ca. 1600–1655
A Wooded Landscape, ca. 1629–43
Brush and brown wash, 26.5 x 41.1 cm (10⅞6 x 15¾ in.). Marked and inscribed: *Nicolas Poussin* at the bottom left of the mount in black chalk; collection marks of J. F. Gigoux (L. 1164) in the lower left corner, and Nichos Dhikéos in the lower right corner; inscribed: (verso) *NO 89 N.D/NO 89* in red ink; collection mark of Nichos Dhikéos; inscribed: *Alessio De Marchis* in black ink and *(Naples - mort a Perouse 1752)* in blue ball point.
95.GG.17

Swanevelt was a landscape painter whose career was spent largely in Rome. Like many Northern painters active there at the time, such as Claude Lorrain (French, 1600–1682) and Nicolas Poussin (French, 1594–1665), his work was inspired by the nearby countryside of the Roman campagna. The artist's drawing style owes much to Claude's special use of brush and wash to evoke bright sunlight in landscape, although certain effects of texture in the foreground are his own. This study may have been made in the studio rather than in the open, since the terrain is perhaps too contrived.

PROVENANCE: J. F. Gigoux, Paris; E. Féral, Paris; Nichos Dhikéos, Lyons (sale, Christie's, Amsterdam, November 25, 1992, lot 598); Otto Naumann, Ltd., New York.

18

18. REMBRANDT HARMENSZ. VAN RIJN
Dutch, 1606–1669
Joseph in Prison Interpreting the Dreams of Pharoah's Baker and Butler, ca. 1639
Pen and brown ink on light brown prepared paper; the figure of Joseph is on a separate, irregularly cut sheet, 20 x 18.8 cm (7⅞ x 7⅜ in.). Marked and inscribed: collection mark *R*(?) in the lower right corner.
95.GA.18

The story of Joseph interpreting the dreams of Pharoah's butler and baker in prison is told in Genesis (40:1–20): according to Joseph's prediction, one of them would be reinstated in the ruler's service but the other one would be hanged. Not surprisingly, the response of the butler to the foretelling is in marked contrast to that of the baker, who recoils in dismay. The figure of Joseph is drawn on a piece of paper that has been glued over the sheet containing the butler and baker, an alteration probably made by Rembrandt himself. This recently discovered drawing is related to a study of the same subject on the verso of a drawing of circa 1639 in the British Museum, London.

PROVENANCE: [Sale, Christie's, Amsterdam, November 25, 1992, lot 559]; Otto Naumann, Ltd., New York.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Royalton-Kisch, *Drawings by Rembrandt and His Circle in the British Museum* (London, 1992), p. 82, under no. 27.

19

19. CONSTANTIJN HUYGENS THE YOUNGER
Dutch, 1628–1697
The Village of Beekbergen in Winter, 1675
Pen and brown ink, 11.2 x 18.5 cm (4⅜ x 7¼ in.). Inscribed: *Beekbergen.31.dec.1675* by the artist in brown ink in the lower right corner; inscribed: (verso) *Beekbergen le 31.dec.1675.* by the artist in brown ink.
95.GA.16

The inscription refers to the village of Beekbergen near Apeldoorn, where Huygens's father owned a country cottage. The date of the inscription indicates that Huygens probably spent New Year's Eve at this residence. By leaving the paper blank in the foreground to suggest snow-covered ground and by the spidery pen work in the leafless trees that punctuate the horizon, Huygens successfully evokes the barren chill of the season.

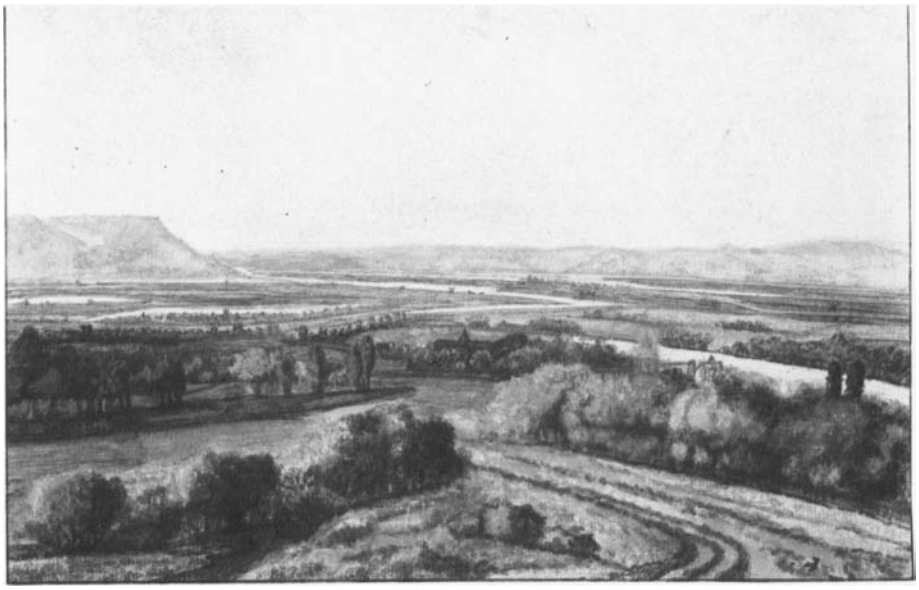
PROVENANCE: J. Sinstra, J. du Pré, H. Stokvisch, and C. Henning sale (De Vries, Brondgeest, Engelberts, and Roos, Amsterdam, February 17, 1823, part of lot 15); private collection and by descent (sale, Christie's, Amsterdam, November 25, 1992, lot 591); Otto Naumann, Ltd., New York.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. F. Heijbroek et al., *Met Huygens op Reis* (Amsterdam, 1982), p. 192, under no. 124.

20. PHILIPS KONINCK
Dutch, 1619–1688
River Landscape, ca. 1675
Watercolor and bodycolor, 13.4 x 20 cm (5 5/16 x 7 7/8 in.). Marked: (verso) collection mark of William Pitcairn Knowles (L. 2643); inscribed: *Prestel 1800 . . . /(?) ex/sale quarles van Ufford 1874. Poppelendam f. 1101 the following no of the catalogue was bought for the Teylers Museum Haarlem for f.220/ same size and similar com/position -no sky- some old houses in foreground* on the mount in graphite.
95.GA.28

This is one of the most delicate of Koninck's few surviving finished landscapes in watercolor, which he seems to have made as independent works in their own right rather than as studies for paintings. This example has been dated around 1675, toward the end of his career. In it a vast panorama opens up within the tiny confines of this piece of paper. The eye is easily led along a roadway in the foreground into a landscape extending unbroken to a mountainous horizon. The texture and colors of the bodycolor suggest the different features of the terrain as well as a luminous mist that covers some of the space. In his natural feel for his materials Koninck reveals his indebtedness to Rembrandt, who was probably a close friend of his.

PROVENANCE: L. J. Quarles van Ufford (sale, Pappelendam, Schouten, Haarlem, March 23, 1874, portfolio 5, lot 222 or 223); H. Crockewit, The Hague (sale, Roos, Amsterdam, December 15, 1874, lot 228); W. Pitcairn Knowles, Rotterdam and Wiesbaden (sale, Amsterdam, June 25, 1895, lot 372); private collection (sale, J. A. Jonkman et al., Amsterdam, June 25, 1929, lot 325); A. M. W. Mensing, Amsterdam (sale, F. Muller, Amsterdam, April 27, 1937, lot 294); private collection, Belgium (sale, Paris, Hôtel Drouot, October 28, 1994, lot 48); Artemis Fine Arts, Ltd., London.



20

BIBLIOGRAPHY: H. Gerson, *Philips Koninck: Ein Beitrag zur Erforschung der Holländischen Malerei des XVII Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, 1935; reprint, Berlin, 1980), p. 148, no. Z.96; W. Sumowski, *Drawings of the Rembrandt School* (New York, 1982), vol. 6, p. 3354, no. 1515x.

FRENCH

21. GUGLIELMO CORTESE, IL BORGOGNONE
(Guillaume Courtois)
French, 1628–1679
The Adoration of the Magi, ca. 1665
Red chalk and white bodycolor heightening, incised for transfer, 29.7 x 19.7 cm (11 3/4 x 7 3/4 in.)
95.GB.41

Like his fellow countryman Claude Lorrain, Cortese spent his career in Rome, where he specialized as a painter of religious subjects and battles. This is a finished study for an engraving by Etienne Picart (French, 1632–1721), one of a series of illustrations for the *Missal of Pope Alexander VII*, published in 1662. Other artists who supplied designs for the plates include Pietro da Cortona (Italian, 1596–1669; the teacher of Cortese), Ciro Ferri (Italian, 1634–1689), and Carlo Maratti (Italian, 1625–1713). The delicate use of the chalk is also reminiscent of the work of Andrea Sacchi (Italian, 1599–1661; see below, number 34).

PROVENANCE: John Bouverie, Betchworth, Surrey; Christopher Hervey; Earls of Gainsborough, Exton Park, Leicestershire; private collection (sale, Christie's, London, November 23, 1971, lot 115); private collection (sale, Christie's, New York, January 11, 1994, lot 219); Holzer Fine Art, London.

21

BIBLIOGRAPHY: D. Graf, *Die Handzeichnungen von Guglielmo Cortese und Giovanni Battista Gaulli* (Düsseldorf, 1976), vol. 1, p. 54; vol. 2, fig. 771.

22

22. CLAUDE LORRAIN
(Claude Gelee)
French, 1600–1682
Apollo and the Muses on Mount Parnassus, 1674
Pen and brown ink, brown wash, and white bodycolor heightening over black chalk, 21.2 x 58.1 cm (8¾ x 22⅞ in.). Inscribed: *CLAUDIO, I.V.F. /ROMA 1674* in the bottom center in brown ink, *CLAUD.F.* in the bottom right corner in brown ink; signed (?): *Claudio /fecit* at the right margin, center, in faint black chalk; inscribed: within the cartouches in brown ink *Terpsicore la /cetara in mano /ghirlanda /di pene di varij colore /in atto di /Ballare* (Muse of dancing and song); *Talia /ghirlanda di /vari foiri [sic] un /maschera in /mano et allegre* (Muse of comedy and pastoral poetry); *pollinnia /volume /in mano / polinnia /acconciatura /in testa di /perle et gioie* (Muse of heroic hymns); *Urania / una ghirlanda /di lucenti stelle /un globo in mano* (Muse of astronomy); *Calliope un /cerchio d'oro cinta /la fronte in mano / un libri [sic] in mano* (Muse of epic poetry); *Melpomene ricca et /vaga acconciatura di /Capo con corone in /mano et scettri* (Muse of tragedy); *Apollo*; *Euterpe ghirlanda /di varie florij in /mano diversi strumenta /da fiato* (Muse of music and lyric poetry); *Erato cinte le tempie /con corona di mirto /con la mano / terra /una lira et il /plectro* (Muse of lyric and love poetry); *clio /ghirlanda di /lauro et con la /manoi uno /tromba* (history).
95.GA.66

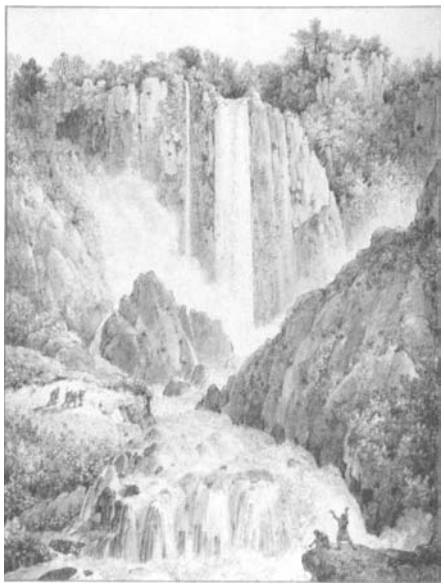
The figures appear with only slight variations in Claude's painting of *Parnassus* dated 1680 in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Another earlier rendering of this same subject painted in 1657 is in the National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh. This example is unusual because it is one of the artist's few large-scale figure drawings. In it he has cleverly integrated the explanatory cartouches with inscriptions, the figures, and the landscape background.

PROVENANCE: From an album of Claude's drawings owned by the artist's heirs; Prince Don Livio Odescalchi, Rome; Georges Wildenstein, Paris; Norton Simon, Los Angeles; Agnew's, London.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Roethlisberger, "Dessins de Claude Lorrain," *L'Oeil* 78 (June 1961), p. 58; idem, *Claude Lorrain: The Wildenstein Album* (Paris, 1962), pp. 30–31, no. 54; idem, *Claude Lorrain: The Drawings* (Berkeley, 1968), vol. 1, pp. 393–94; vol. 2, no. 1070, pl. 1070.

23. LOUIS-FRANÇOIS CASSAS
French, 1756–1827
The Cascades at Terni, ca. 1780
Pen and gray and black ink, brown wash, 60 x 47.4 cm (23⅝ x 18 11/16 in.)
Signed and inscribed: *l.f. Cassas f. en Roma 1780* by the artist in the lower right corner in brown ink.
95.GA.11

The formative event in Cassas's artistic career was his period of travel in Italy from 1779 to 1783. He made this drawing in 1780, the year in which he became a student at the French Academy in Rome and probably the time when he worked with the Neoclassical landscape painter Pierre-Henri de Valenciennes (French, 1750–1819). The Italian campagna's profound impact on the young Cassas is clearly evident in this large, impressive scene. It shows the waterfalls at Terni, an ancient Roman aqueduct built in 271 B.C., located about forty miles north of Rome. The small figures, especially those on the eminence to the left, appear to be dressed *all'antica*, which could be a reference to the classical origin of the falls. The diminutive size of the figures, coupled with the composition's low viewpoint, emphasize the sublimity of the spectacle. A somewhat unusual feature is the elaborate border enframing the scene, which is on the same piece of paper as the drawing itself. Cassas



23

24

himself seems to have made this border, indicating that he conceived of the sheet as a finished work of art, probably to be sold to aristocrats on Grand Tour.

PROVENANCE: Private collection, Tours; Galerie Mikaeloff, Paris.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. Gilet et al., *Louis-François Cassas, 1756–1827: Dessinateur-Voyageur im Banne der Sphinx*, exh. cat. (Mainz, 1994), p. 52, under no. 17.

24. JACQUES-LOUIS DAVID
French, 1745–1825
Portrait of André-Antoine Bernard, Called Bernard des Saintes, 1795
Pen and Indian ink, gray wash, and white bodycolor heightening over pencil, Diam: 18.2 cm (7⅛ in.).
Signed and inscribed: *L. David* by the artist in the lower right in pen and black ink; *Bernard, de Saintes, représentant du peuple français à la Convention Nationale, peint par son collègue David avec de l'encre de la chine, dans la Maison d'arrête des quatre Nations à Paris, le 6 Thermidor an 3 de la republique, 14* around the perimeter of the old backing in pen and brown ink; *André Antoine Bernard né le 21 juin 1751 à Corme Royal. avocat au présidial de Saintes Député à l'assemblée législative le 29 août 1791, à la Convention Nationale le 14 Febre 1792. Mort à Funehal, ile Madere en 1818. Enfermé a la prison des quatre nations du 28 mai 1795 au 26 octobre. Le peintre David détenu avec lui fit ce portrait* on the label adhered to the old backing in pen and gray ink; *no 3 bis.* on the old backing in graphite.
95.GB.37

David, the great Neoclassical painter, was a member of the Committee for Public Safety, whose leader, Robespierre, was overthrown and executed in the Thermidorian Revolution of 1794. Charged with signing arrest warrants during the Reign of Terror, David was sent to prison in 1795. Arrested in the same year was Bernard des Jeuzines, called Bernard des Saintes (French, 1751–1819), for having been the president of the tribunal of his native city, Saintes, as well as for having been a member of the Assemblée Legislative. David's portrait of his fellow prisoner was drawn on July 24, 1795, when the two were imprisoned together in the Quatre Nations jail.

David portrays Bernard des Saintes with extraordinary immediacy. The sitter, who would have been forty-four years old, sits with arms folded across his chest, gazing impassively forward. The round format, inspired by antique coins and medals, hints at the comparison between this patriotic citizen of the French Republic and the citizens of the Republic of ancient Rome. There are several other portrait drawings in David's so-called series of Prison Portraits done in this same format and scale (The Art Institute of Chicago; Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art; Ottawa, National Gallery of Canada).

PROVENANCE: Family of the sitter; Monsieur Mignet, Charente-Maritime (sale, Chateau du Pinier, Beurlay, Charente-Maritime, July 10–11, 1927, lot 89); private collection, France (sale, Groupe Gersaint, Pavillon Josephine, Strasbourg, June 20, 1989, lot 10); Leonardo Mondadori, Milan.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: E. Lajer-Burcharth, "The Aesthetics of Male Crisis: The Terror in Republican Imagery and in Jacques-Louis David's Work from Prison," in *Femininity and Masculinity in Eighteenth-Century Art and Culture*, ed. G. Perry and M. Rossington (Manchester, 1994), pp. 226–29; Collective Authorship of the Citizens of Saintes, *La Révolution Française á Saintes: 1789–1799* (Poitiers, 1988), p. 192; A. Schnapper and A. Sérullaz with E. Agius-d'Yvoire, *Jacques-Louis David, 1748–1825*, exh. cat. (Paris, 1989), p. 309, under no. 138.

25

25. JEAN-AUGUSTE-DOMINIQUE INGRES
French, 1780–1867
The Duke of Alba Receiving the Pope's Blessing in the Cathedral of Saint Gudule, Brussels, 1815
Pen and brown ink, brown wash, and white bodycolor heightening, with graphite, and black and red chalk; 43 x 52.9 cm ($16^{15}/_{16}$ x $20^{13}/_{16}$ in.).
Signed and inscribed: *J. Ingres 1815.* by the artist in the lower right corner in graphite; *(?) . . . des Diables un ange emporte l'Eucharistie et l'eau b'enite.* at the lower right in graphite.
95.GA.12

Among Ingres's most impressive compositional drawings for history paintings, this example shows a ceremony taking place in the cathedral of Saint Gudule, Brussels, in which the archbishop of Malines bestows a hat and sword blessed by Pope Pius V on Fernando Alvarez of Toledo, the third duke of Alba. Alvarez was honored for reestablishing Spanish/Catholic authority in the Netherlands during his tyrannical rule as governor general there (r. 1567–73). To this end, he formed the Council of Troubles (called by the epithet the Council of Blood), which overrode local laws and condemned some twelve thousand rebels to death.

The drawing is a finished preparatory study, with considerable differences, for the painting of the same subject, which was commissioned in 1815 by the fourteenth duke of Alba (Montaubon, Musée Ingres). Ingres expended elaborate effort on the drawing, with its resplendent, detailed vestments and ritual objects, and carefully worked out the architectural setting. In the painting Ingres abandoned this monumental frieze of figures and architecture; instead, the duke is shown as a diminutive figure on a vast, blood-red dais at the end of a long vista.

PROVENANCE: Etienne-François Haro, Paris; M. d'Espréménil, Paris; Baron Maurice de Rothschild, Paris; George Wildenstein, Paris; Rothschild collection, London; Mr. and Mrs. Paul Rosenberg, New York; Huguette Berés, Paris.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: H. Delaborde, *Ingres, sa vie, ses travaux, sa doctrine* (Paris, 1870), p. 281, no. 216; H. Naef, "Un Tableau d'Ingres Inachevé: 'Le Duc d'Albe à Sainte-Gudule'," *Bulletin du Musée Ingres* (July 1960), pp. 3–6, no. 7, fig. 3; D. Ternois, "Notes sur Le "Duc d'Albe a Sainte-Gudule," *Bulletin du Musée Ingres* (July 1960), pp. 7–10, no. 7; P. Condon with M. B. Cohn and A. Mongan, *The Pursuit of Perfection: The Art of J.-A.-D. Ingres*, exh. cat. (Louisville, 1984), pp. 176–77, no. 26.

26a (fol. 16, *Studies of Horses*)

26b (fol. A, *Studies of Lions after Peter Paul Rubens, "Marriage of Henry IV and Marie de' Medici"*)

26c (fol. D, *Studies of Architecture and of Lions Fighting Warriors*)

26. THÉODORE GÉRICAULT
French, 1791–1824
Sketchbook, ca. 1812–1814
Pencil on paper; 28 folios, drawn on recto and verso; (folios) 15.2 x 10.2 cm (6 x 4 3/16 in.). Inscribed: *Gala . . . ou . . . /faire coloreé et peindre/faire a ch . . . p/copies . . . / gra . . . une avgl(?)* by the artist on the first folio, attached to the inside cover, in pencil; *Monsieur, je vous renvoye mon vieux cheval en vous priant de le placer le mieux possible. Mon retard m'empêche d'espérer une place aussi avantageuse* [words crossed out and partly illegible] *que la dernière exposition. Vous m'aviez aussi richement décoré j'etais de mise partout cette année j'y vais paraître sous un simple narquois (?) cadre jaune en sapin mais l'habit ne fait pas le moine et pour peu que vous me placiez bien, je n'aurai rien vieilli sans cependant lui ôter de sa valeur./ 28 Lecour (?) à 4/ 4/ 112 Loyé pour 2 mois* by the artist on folios 7 verso and 8 recto in pencil; and *esquisse de m Guerin/copies de rubens/Ba de Dosir (?)/paysages de poussin/cheval essai (?) Vernet/lacoon* adhered to the back cover in pencil.
95.GD.40

This recently rediscovered sketchbook was used by the artist as a "pocketbook." In it he jotted down compositional ideas, motifs from everyday life, and copies of pictures that took his fancy. Using a sharply pointed pencil, he filled its pages with sketches that nonetheless convey some of the same energy and grandeur encountered in his monumental paintings. The subjects encompass many that interested him during his career. Folios 2–5 show drawings of horses; folio 6 includes an early sketch for the *Charging Chasseur* (1812; Paris, Musée du Louvre); and folios 7 and 8 contain a draft of a letter to Dominique Vivant-Denon (French, 1747–1825), the director general of the Imperial Museums under Napoléon. Other subjects include landscapes, lion hunts, and battles with classical warriors. The sketchbook, dating from circa 1812 to 1814, joins a small group of works by the artist already in the collection, comprising four drawings and three paintings.

PROVENANCE: Posthumous sale of the artist's collection (Hôtel Buillon, Paris, November 2–4, 1824, lot 42); Coutan-Hauguet (sale, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, December 16–17, 1889, lot 211); anonymous vendor (sale, Christie's, Monaco, June 22, 1991, lot 41); Jane Roberts, Paris.

27

27. EDGAR DEGAS
French, 1834–1917
Self-Portrait, ca. 1857–58
Oil on paper, laid down on canvas, 20.6 x 15.9 cm (8⅛ x 6¼ in.).
Marked: estate stamp *Nepveu/Degas* in the lower right corner; (verso) estate stamp *Nepveu/Degas*.
95.GG.43

Degas made this self-portrait around 1857–58, during his youthful sojourn in Italy, when he was twenty-three or twenty-four. In it he wears a wide-brimmed hat that casts a shadow over part of his face, and he portrays himself with an air of detachment. This coolness and lack of pretention hint at a passage in one of his early notebooks: "I must realize I know nothing at all; it is the only way to get ahead." This is one of a group of early self-portraits, and is similar to an example in the Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, Williamstown, Massachusetts.

PROVENANCE: Arlette Nepveu-Degas (sale, Ader Tajan, Paris, Hôtel George V, December 19, 1994, lot 10); Artemis Fine Arts, Ltd., London.

28. EDGAR DEGAS
An Album of Pencil Sketches, 1877
Pencil on wove paper, 33 folios of 24.8 x 33 cm (9¾ x 13 in.).
Inscribed: *1877/Croquis de Degas* by Ludovic Halévy on the front cover in black ink; *Tous les dessins de cet album/sont de Degas, Il y en a/deux ou trois/de (Ernest) Reyer/le Compositeur, Ludovic Halévy/1877 et années suivantes* by Halévy on folio 1 in black ink; various other annotations by Halévy throughout.
95.GD.35

The drawings in this large sketchbook were done in 1877, at the home of Degas's friend Ludovic Halévy, the eventual owner of the book. Some of the folios contain portraits of the literati and artists who were regularly invited to the Thursday evening soirées there. Degas also made the sketches as an aide-mémoire, a reservoir of ideas and motifs gleaned from comtemporary life. Folio 3 contains a copy from one of the figures in *Bathers at Rest* by Paul Cézanne (French, 1839–1906; Merion, Pennsylvania, Barnes Foundation), a picture shown at the

28a (fols. 4v, 5r, *A Sketch, Extending Across Two Folios, of the Composer Ernest Reyer Seated Near a Long Table at which Three Laundresses are Working and a Fourth is Sitting*)

28b (fol. 35, *A Sketch of a Brothel with a Prostitute Leaning on a Table*)

28c. (fol. 7, *Eight Sketches Made During a Religious Procession*)

Impressionist Exhibition of 1877; folios 4 (verso) and 5 (recto) form a two-page spread featuring the composer Ernest Reyer seated near a table at which four laundresses work; folio 7 contains sketches of various participants in a religious procession. There are many studies of café-concert singers, including some that relate to pastels and monotypes, such as Theresa singing *La Chanson du chien* (folio 11) and Mademoiselle Dumay, shown with a cluster of gas lamps behind her (folio 13). Another major category of subject matter is the ballet, including dancers (folio 25), and the ballet master Jules Perrot (folio 41), who appears in various other works by Degas. There are also brothel scenes illustrating Edmond de Goncourt's novel *La Fille Elisa* (Paris, 1877).

As a whole, the sketchbook forms a vivid record of the artist's forays into the broad spectrum of Parisian life, from the rarified gatherings of the elite to the seedy entertainments of the demimonde. The caricatural style of many of the sketches shows Degas to be a sardonic observer of daily life, somewhat in the tradition of the caricaturist Honoré Daumier (French, 1808–1879).

PROVENANCE: Ludovic Halévy, Paris; by descent to Daniel Halévy, Paris; private collection, Switzerland; Wildenstein's, New York.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: P.-A. Lemoisne, *Degas et son oeuvre* (Paris, 1946), vol. 1, p. 149; D. Halévy, *Album de dessins de Degas* (Paris, 1949; reprint, New York, 1988); T. Reff, *The Notebooks of Edgar Degas* (Oxford, 1976; rev. ed. New York, 1985), vol. 1, pp. 2–3, 9–11, 17, 27–28, 30–31, and vol. 2, no. 28, pp. 128–30, sixteen unnumbered plates; M. Pantazzi et al., *Degas*, exh. cat. (Paris, 1988), pp. 206–7.

28d. (fol. 13, *Four Sketches, Including One of the Café Singer Mlle Dumay with a Cluster of Gas Lamps Behind Her Head*)

28e (fol. 25, *Five Sketches of Ballet Dancers Rehearsing*)

29

GERMAN

29. LUDGER TOM RING THE YOUNGER
German, active ca. 1560
A Double Portrait of Hans Furraht and Jacob von der Burch, ca. 1560
Pen and black ink, gray wash, and white bodycolor heightening, on blue-gray prepared paper, 14.4 x 20.8 cm (5⅝ x 8³⁄₁₆ in.). Inscribed: *Hans furraht* and *Jacob vo(n) der burch* beside each figure in gray ink; and in the same hand (partly illegibly) . . . *zes Ludier erst(?) Maler in xanten urrus in Enchen 2te maler* at the bottom left in gray ink; a false Dürer monogram and date of 1521(?) in the upper right in white bodycolor; (verso) *Albrecht Durer* and *Ludger tom Ring* in graphite; collection marks possibly of Count Sparr(?), Sweden (L. Suppl. 178c) and an unknown collector *MM*.
95.GA.36

Ludger Tom Ring was active in the city of Munster in northern Germany near Holland, and was one of the earliest practitioners of the genre of still-life painting. His meticulous rendering of the costumes and furnishings of the room, as seen in this drawing, would seem to bear witness to his specialization.

The two sitters are identified by the inscriptions on the wall behind them, although nothing further is known about either person. Hans Furraht, who measures a skull with a compass, may have been an anatomist, while Jacob von der Burch, who studies a stereometric body, may have been a mathematician. There seem to be several levels of meaning involved in this drawing; on one level, it is an example of a "friendship portrait," a common type of portrait in sixteenth-century Northern European art, particularly among circles of humanists. The skull and the hourglass on the windowsill may also allude to the vanity of earthly life. On yet another level of meaning, the contrast between the man on the left, who engages the viewer, and the one on the right, lost in the study of the object he holds, could refer to both the active and contemplative sides of life.

PROVENANCE: Possibly Count Sparr, Sweden; Kurt Meissner, Zurich; British Rail Pension Fund; Yvonne Tan Bunzl, London.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: W. Sumowski, *Handzeichnungen alter Meister aus Schweizer Privatbesitz*, exh. cat. (Zurich, 1967), p. 28, no. 3; F. Forster-Hahn, *Old Master Drawings from the Collection of Kurt Meissner, Zurich*, exh. cat. (Palo Alto, 1969), no. 1; H. Geissler, *Zeichnung in Deutschland: Deutsche Zeichner 1540–1640*, exh. cat. (Stuttgart, 1979), vol. 2, p. 91, no. L14.

30. CHRISTOPH HEINRICH KNIEP
German, 1748–1825
A Shepherd and Muses by a Waterfall, 1798
Pencil, pen and brown ink, brown wash, 66.5 x 50.8 cm (26³⁄₁₆ x 20 in.). Signed and inscribed: *C. Kniep fec. Napoli 1798* by the artist in the lower left corner in black ink.
95.GD.46

The Neoclassical landscape painter and draftsman Christoph Heinrich Kniep spent almost his entire career in Naples. He was employed by the German writer and polymath Johann Wolfgang von Goethe as his personal draftsman during his trip to Naples and Sicily in 1787–88. Kniep's reputation as a draftsman rests on his finished drawings of idealized Italian landscapes, such as this example, with his work being in strong demand from wealthy visitors on the Grand Tour.

The composition is of an imaginary pastoral vista set in ancient times. The grandeur of the scene is typical of the eighteenth-century notion of the sublime—the superhuman power of nature—and is conveyed by the huge cataract, the impact of which is further enhanced by the drawing's large scale and upright format. Kniep's precise rendering of a wide variety of vegetation suggests the scientific interest of eighteenth-century German philosophers, spearheaded by Goethe.

PROVENANCE: Captain Lines; Aran Lodge, Horsham, Sussex; by descent; Alberto Chiesa, London.

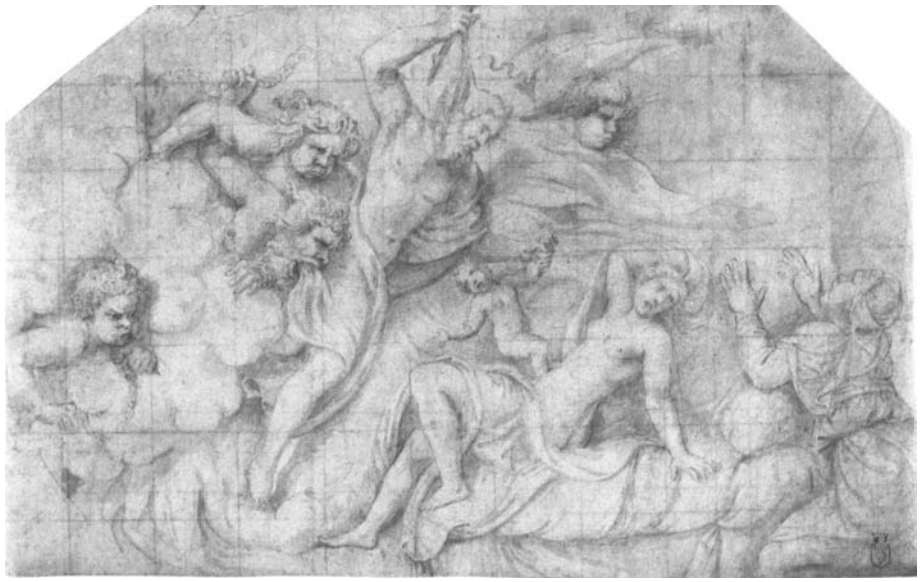
30

31. HEINRICH JOHANN GÄRTNER
German, 1828–1909
Landscape with a Forest Chapel, 1847
Pen and dark brown ink, over graphite, 34.2 x 30.2 cm (13 7/16 x 11 7/8 in.). Signed and inscribed: *H.G. fec. 1847* by the artist in the lower right corner in brown ink; (verso) *1793.KO.*- and *Gärtner, T/A.* in graphite.
95.GA.23

The perfection of Gärtner's technique and his fascination with nature recall the work of the Nazarene painters. Active as a landscape painter and designer of large-scale decorative programs for architectural interiors, Gärtner studied in Dresden with Ludwig Richter (German, 1803–1884), and spent his career in Leipzig, Dresden, and Berlin. This finely executed drawing shows a chapel engulfed by trees and vegetation. Within this world of nature, a solitary, contemplative human presence occurs in the foreground, in the form of a shepherd tending his flock. The forest chapel with a graveyard appears in the background, with a funeral procession moving toward it in the middle distance. These elements allude to the subordination of human existence to the larger forces of nature and God.

PROVENANCE: Lüttichhaus-Haniel collection, Bad Godesberg, Switzerland; Walter Feilchenfelt, Zurich.

31



32

ITALIAN

32. GIULIO ROMANO
(Giulio Pippi)
Italian, ca. 1499–1546
The Birth of Bacchus, ca. 1533
Pen and brown ink, brown wash over black chalk, squared in black chalk for transfer, 25 x 40.6 cm (9 7/8 x 16 in.). Marked: collection marks of Francis Egerton, 1st Earl of Ellesmere (L. 271b), and an unknown collector *HL* in the lower right corner and Sir Thomas Lawrence (L. 2445) in the lower left corner.
95.GA.27

The story of the birth of Bacchus is told by Ovid (*Metamorphoses* 3.261–319). This drawing is an early compositional study for a painting of the subject already in the Getty Museum. Although the picture is different in format—it is vertical rather than a horizontal rectangle—the connection between the two works seems indisputable. The painting is one of a series of twelve that represent stories of the gods, formerly in the Palazzo Ducale at Mantua, which were carried out by Giulio and his assistants. At an early stage in the design of the paintings, Giulio evidently considered having at least one of his compositions as a horizontal rectangle, an idea he clearly abandoned.

PROVENANCE: Sir Thomas Lawrence, London; Lord Francis Egerton, 1st Earl of Ellesmere (sale, Sotheby's, London, December 5, 1972, lot 64); Ratjen Foundation, Vaduz; Kunsthandel Bellinger, Munich.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: William Young Ottley, *The Italian School of Design* (London, 1823), p. 56, pl. 65; P. Dreyer et al., *Stiftung Ratjen: Italienische Zeichnungen des 16.–18. Jahrhunderts*, exh. cat. (Munich, 1977), p. 24, no. 7; F. Hartt, *Giulio Romano* (New York, 1981), vol. 1, pp. 7, 213, and no. 307, p. 305; vol. 2, fig. 461; N. Turner, "Two Paintings Attributed to Giulio Romano and Associates, and a Related Drawing," in *Per A. E. Popham* (Parma, 1981), p. 16; C. Grimm, "Art History, Connoisseurship, and Scientific Analysis in the Restoration of Giulio Romano's *Birth of Bacchus*," *The J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 22 (1994), pp. 34, 40, n. 13.

33a (recto)

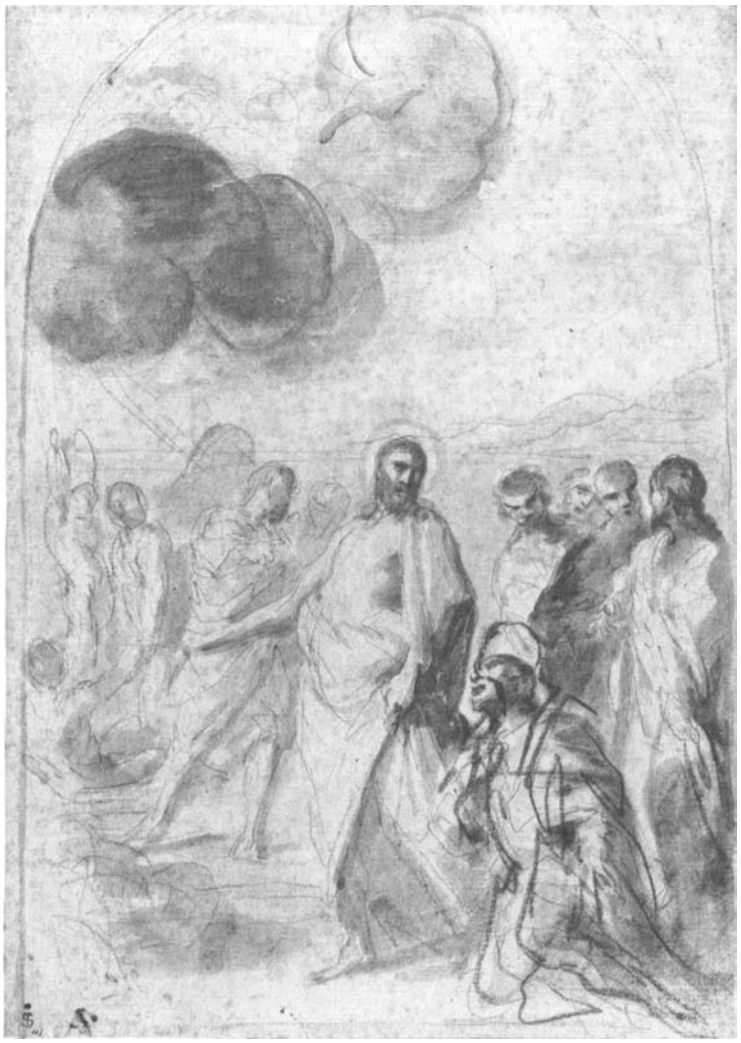
33b (verso)

33. AGOSTINO CARRACCI
Italian, 1557–1602
Cupid Overpowering Pan (recto); *Head of a Monk* and *Caricature of a Man in Profile* (verso), ca. 1590
Black and white chalk on light blue paper (recto); black chalk on light blue paper (verso), 34.5 x 25.8 cm (13½ x 10³⁄₁₆ in.)
95.GB.49

The recto study is for the fresco *Omnia vincit Amor*, painted in 1589–90 on the chimney breast of a room in Palazzo Magnani, Bologna, which is now detached and kept in Palazzo Massetti of that same city. On the verso of the sheet is a study for the head of the priest in Agostino's altarpiece of *The Last Communion of Saint Jerome* (Bologna, Pinacoteca Nazionale), painted in 1591–92. The style reveals the strong influence on Agostino of Venetian draftsmen, especially that of Tintoretto (1518–1594) and Veronese (1528–1588).

PROVENANCE: Private collection, Holland; Arturo Cuellar, Zurich (sale, Christie's, London, July 3, 1990, lot 33); Agnew's, London.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. Bentini and A. Mazza, *Disegni Emiliani del Sei-Settecento: I grandi Cicli di Affreschi* (Milan, 1990), p. 28, no. 3.1; M. di Giampaolo, "Da Venezia a Bologna: Un importante Disegno di Agostino Carracci," *Prospettiva* 57–60 (1989–90), pp. 153–54.



34

34. ANDREA SACCHI
Italian, 1599–1661
Christ's Command to Saint Peter, "Feed My Sheep!" ("Pasce Oves Mea!"), ca. 1628
Red chalk and red wash, 25.3 x 17.8 cm (10 x 7 1/16 in.). Marked: collection marks of Earl Spencer (L. 1532) in the lower left corner and J. Fitchett Marsh (L. 1455) on the mount, below the lower right corner of the drawing.
95.GB.42

By directing Saint Peter to feed his sheep, Christ gave him charge of his church on earth. The drawing is one of a number of studies made circa 1628, probably for a fresco overdoor in Saint Peter's, Rome, although the work seems never to have been carried out. The style and medium are characteristic of Sacchi's delicate draftsmanship, as is the classical restraint of the composition, which is in marked contrast to the more exuberantly Baroque inventions of his rival Pietro da Cortona (Italian, 1596–1669).

PROVENANCE: Lord John Spencer, Althorp; J. Fitchett Marsh, Warrington; private collection, Copenhagen; Marcello Aldega, New York.

35

35. MARCO RICCI
Italian, 1676–1729
Landscape with Travelers, ca. 1720
Pen and brown ink, brown wash over black chalk, 37.2 x 25.4 cm (14 5/8 x 20 5/8 in.)
95.GG.24

An accomplished landscape painter, in this drawing Marco Ricci successfully conveys what it was like to journey by carriage in the open countryside in the early eighteenth century. The weather is fine and the travelers, who converse with each other, speed along in comparative comfort and pass villages on their way. They also overtake less prosperous persons who had to make their way on foot. The fine pen work and extensive use of hatching are hallmarks of Ricci's drawing style. A painted version of this composition is in an Italian private collection.

PROVENANCE: Private collection, France (sale, Christie's, Monaco, June 20, 1994, lot 6); Holzer Fine Art, London.

36. MARCO BENEFIAL
Italian, 1684–1764
Self-Portrait, 1731
Red chalk, 35.4 x 23 cm (13 15/16 x 9 1/16 in.). Signed, marked, and inscribed: *Aeques Marcus Benefial Romanus Annorum Quadraginta Septem Mensisque Unius* by the artist in the cartouche below in red chalk; collection marks of Charles Rogers (L. 624) in the center of the cartouche and William Esdaile (L. 2617) in the lower right corner.
95.GB.34

Benefial, who was active in Rome, was one of the leading painters of his day. His work occupies a place between the late Baroque classicism of Carlo Maratti (1625–1713) and the early Neoclassicism of his two successful pupils, Anton Raphael Mengs (German, 1728–1779) and Pompeo Batoni (Italian, 1708–1787). This self-portrait, which shows the artist at the height of his success, was almost certainly drawn at the request of the Florentine collector and art historian, Francesco Maria Niccolò Gabburri (1676–1742), who for much of his life had assembled a collection of drawn self-portraits and portraits of artists, probably with the intention of using them as the basis for engravings to illustrate his monumental and still unpublished series of artists' lives, the *Vite di pittori* [*sic*] (Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale).

PROVENENCE: Francesco Maria Niccolò Gabburri, Florence; William Kent (sale, Langford's, London, December 8–11, 1792); Charles Rogers, London (sale, T. Philipe, London, April 23, 1799); William Esdaile, London; private collection, Europe (sale, Ader Picard Tajan, Paris, March 9, 1988, lot 177); Margot Gordon Fine Art, New York.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: F. Borroni Salvadori, "Le esposizioni d'arte a Firenze dal 1674 al 1767," *Mitteilungen des Kunshistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 18, no. 1 (1974), p. 65; N. Turner, "L'autoportrait dessiné de Poussin au British Museum," forthcoming published proceeding of the symposium on Poussin held at the Musée du Louvre, Paris, in Autumn, 1994.

30

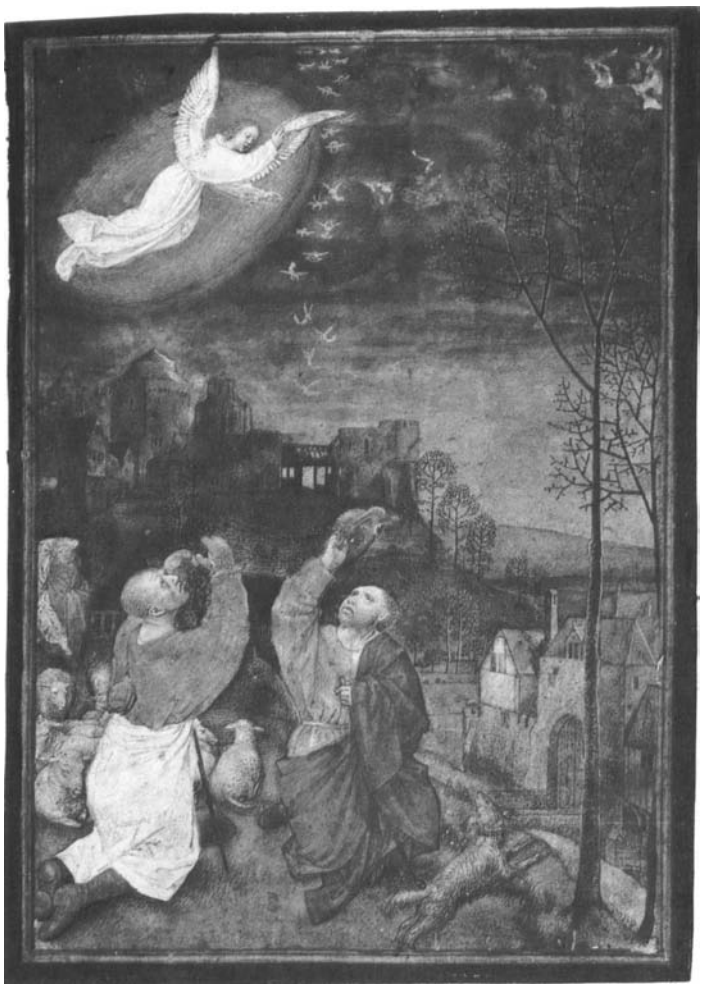
37

37. GIUSEPPE CADES
Italian, 1750–1799
Tullia About to Ride Over the Body of Her Father in Her Chariot, ca. 1770–75
Pen and brown ink, white and gray bodycolor over black chalk, on gray prepared paper, 49.5 x 66.4 cm (19½ x 26³⁄₁₆ in.)
95.GA.25

Cades was one of the greatest practitioners of the Neoclassical style in Rome, and a gifted and original draftsman. The horrific story of Tullia's ambitiousness is told by Livy (*Comm.* 1–5:185ff.). The daughter of Servius Tullius, Tullia was married to Tarquinius Superbus and had her father murdered so that her husband would become king and she queen. She defied the warnings of her advisers to keep away from the crowds that had gathered in Rome at the news of her father's death. Instead, she went out in her chariot and coming upon her father's corpse in the street, rode over it, cursing his name as she did so. In his drawing Cades has amusingly juxtaposed the ferocity of her determination with the shocked and pitying expression of one of the horses.

PROVENANCE: Private collection, France (sale, Christie's, Monaco, June 20, 1994, lot 7); Hazlitt, Gooden, and Fox, Ltd., London.

Manuscripts

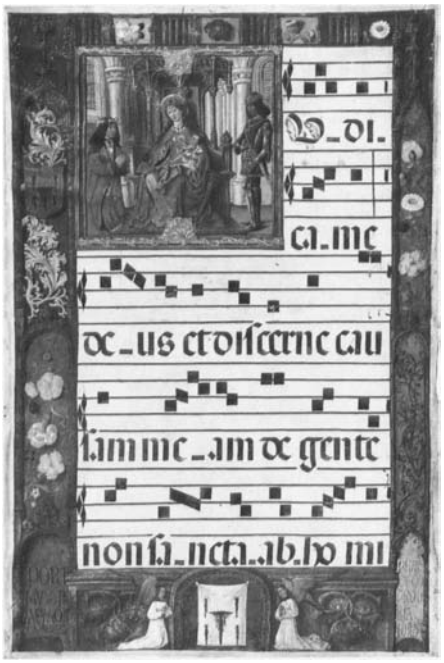


38

38. *The Annunciation to the Shepherds*
Cutting from a book of hours
Illumination attributed to the Master of Mary of Burgundy
Probably Ghent, before 1483
Vellum, 12.5 x 9 cm (4⅞ x 3½ in.).
One full-page miniature.
Ms. 60; 95.ML.53

PROVENANCE: Mrs. M. Williams, Great Britain, on deposit for a time at the Bodleian Library (Ms. Dep. d.417), Oxford (sale, Sotheby's, London, June 20, 1995, lot 24); [Sam Fogg Rare Books and Manuscripts, London].

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. J. G. Alexander, "Constraints on Pictorial Invention in Renaissance Illumination: The Role of Copying North and South of the Alps in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries," *Miniatura* 1 (1988), pp. 123–35.



39

39 Detail

39. Leaf from a gradual with an initial *I* with *The Virgin and Child with the Gentleman from Cologne and a Soldier*
Castille, ca. 1500–10
Vellum, leaf: 95 x 63.8 cm (37⅜ x 25⅛ in.), text area: 70.3 x 42.2 cm (27 11/16 x 16⅝ in.), one column, five lines. Latin text, in a Gothic book hand. One historiated initial, one decorated border.
Ms. 61; 95.MH.50

CONTENTS: The beginning of the introit for Passion Sunday.

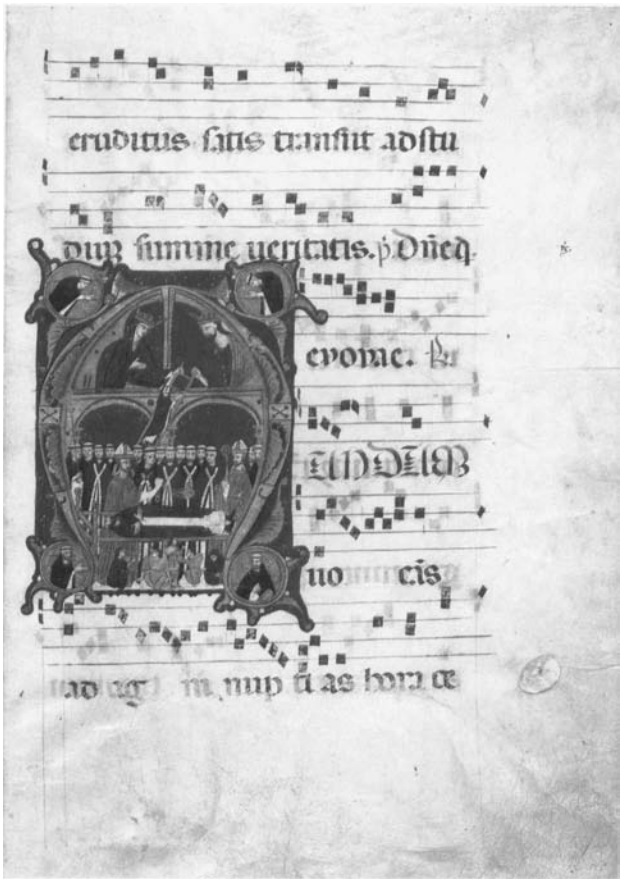
PROVENANCE: (?) Acuña family; Arthur Rau, Paris [Philip Duschnes, New York]; Detroit Public Library [Philip Duschnes, New York]; Norman H. Strouse; [Sam Fogg Rare Books and Manuscripts, London].

COMMENTARY: Although this leaf comes from a Spanish choir book, it is likely that the artist was Flemish. Other leaves from this book include two in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York (Ms. M.887), by a different illuminator, one of which represents the Virgin and Child with the gentleman from Cologne and a soldier in a letter *A*. Two more leaves are in the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven (Ms. 710 and Ms. 794).

40. Leaf from an antiphonal with an initial *M* with *The Death of Saint Dominic*
Illuminated by the workshop known as the Miniatori bolognese del primo stile
Bologna, ca. 1265
Vellum, leaf: 52.5 x 37.3 cm (20 11/16 x 14 11/16 in.), text area: 38 x 26.2 cm (15 x 10 5/16 in.), one column, six lines. Latin text, in a Gothic book hand. One historiated initial.
Ms. 62; 95.MS.70

CONTENTS: A portion of Matins for the feast of Saint Dominic.

PROVENANCE: Prince of Liechtenstein Collection; [Gallerie Fischer, Lucerne]; [Hellmut Schumann AG, Zurich]; [Pierre Berès, Paris]; (sale, Christie's, London, June 28, 1995, lot 1); [Sam Fogg Rare Books and Manuscripts, London].



40

Paintings

41. GIULIO ROMANO
(Giulio Pippi)
Italian, ca. 1499–1546
The Holy Family, 1520–23
Oil (possibly mixed with tempera) on panel, 77.8 x 61.9 cm (30⅝ x 24⅜ in.)
95.PB.64

41

The composition and figure types seen in this painting are foreshadowed in Giulio's works such as *The Madonna della Gatta* (Naples, Museo di Capodimonte). The Getty painting, however, bears the strongest stylistic similarity to the artist's *Martyrdom of Saint Stephen* (Genoa, Santo Stefano), a commission completed by 1523.

The woman in the background of *The Holy Family* is clearly related to the figure of the Virgin in *The Visitation* (Madrid, Museo del Prado), installed in San Silvestro in Aquila in 1520 as by Raphael during his lifetime, although generally held to be by his shop today. A drawing of or for the figure in the Getty painting has been convincingly attributed to Giovanni Francesco Penni (Italian, ca. 1488–ca. 1582; Windsor, Royal Library; see A. E. Popham and J. Wilde, *The Italian Drawings of the XV and XVI Centuries in the Collection of His Majesty the King at Windsor Castle* [London, 1949], no. 811v), demonstrating the broad use of such figures by Raphael's shop.

Infrared reflectography has revealed that the semicircular pentiment in the landscape is the opening of a coffered barrel vault originally planned by Giulio. Numerous smaller changes as well as underdrawing can also be detected.

At least three copies of *The Holy Family* survive: (1) a crude picture, described on a Witt Library photo mount as being with the "Municipal Art Gallery, Chicago," but untraceable at the Art Institute; (2) a drawing at Gijon (see A. E. Pérez Sánchez, *Catalogo de la colección de dibujos del Instituto Jovellanos de Gijon* [Madrid, 1969], no. 126); and (3) a panel in the Church of Santa Maria del Suffragio at Amatrice, generally attributed to Cola dell'Amatrice and dated 1489–after 1550 (see R. Cannatà and A. G. Giavarina, *Cola dell'Amatrice* [Florence, 1991], p. 108, under no. 25).

PROVENANCE: Perhaps Vincenzo Spinola, Genoa; imported into England by Andrew Wilson, by whom acquired from the Palazzo Vincenza Spinola on October 12, 1803, for 12,000 lire; acquired from the above by Admiral the Hon. Sir William Waldegrave, 1st Baron Radstock (1753– 1825) (sale, Christie's, London, May 13, 1826 [second day], lot 47, for 890 gns.); George Byng M. P. (1764–1847), Wrotham Park, and by descent (sale, Christie's, London, December 8, 1994, lot 37); [Simon Dickinson Ltd., London].

BIBLIOGRAPHY: F. Russell, "The Spinola 'Holy Family' of Giulio Romano," *Burlington Magazine* 124 (May 1982), pp. 296–98, fig. 37; P. Joannides and F. Russell, "Letters: Giulio Romano and Penni," *Burlington Magazine* 124 (October 1982), p. 634; H. Brigstocke, *William Buchanan and the Nineteenth Century Art Trade* (Guildford, 1982), pp. 422, 446, 454, n. 3; P. Joannides, "The Early Easel Paintings of Giulio Romano," *Paragone* 425 (1985), pp. 36–37, fig. 27; S. Ferino Pagden, "Giulio Romano pittore e disegnatore a Roma," in *Giulio Romano*, ed. E. Gombrich et al., exh. cat. (Mantua, Palazzo del Tè and Palazzo Ducale, 1989), pp. 70–71, and p. 93, n. 47, ill. p. 72; P. Young and P. Joannides, "Giulio Romano's Madonna at Apsley House," *Burlington Magazine* 137 (November 1995), pp. 728, 733–34, fig. 14.

42

42. REMBRANDT HARMENSZ. VAN RIJN
Dutch, 1606–1669
The Abduction of Europa, 1632
Oil on a single oak panel, 62.2 x 77 cm (24½ x 30⁵⁄₁₆ in.). Inscribed: on brown stone lower right *RHL (in monogram) van/Ryn.1632.*
95.PB.7

This dramatic scene depicts the well-known episode from Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (2.844–75) in which Jupiter, disguised as a magnificent white bull, abducts Europa, Princess of Tyre, and takes her across the sea to the continent that would bear her name. Completed the year of Rembrandt's move from Leiden to Amsterdam, this daring treatment of the animated exchange between Europa and her stricken companions in a lush landscape setting served both as a demonstration of his painterly skill and as a Northern challenge to the Italian tradition of mythological *istoria*.

On the basis of a seventeenth-century inventory, *The Abduction of Europa* may have been owned by Jacque Specx (Dutch, 1588/89–1652), the Amsterdam trader and Governor-General of the East Indies (1629–32). The panel is one of several mythological scenes Rembrandt painted between 1629 and 1634, in an attempt to establish himself among the cosmopolitan Amsterdam clientele. The integration of the landscape into the dramatic narrative makes *The Abduction of Europa* unique among these scenes. The meticulous attention to detail, smooth handling, and sumptuous costumes, which characterize Rembrandt's early illusionistic mastery, are clearly evident in this beautifully preserved work.

PROVENANCE: Probably the painting listed as *Een Europa par Rembrandt* (A Europa by Rembrandt) in the inventory of Jacque Specx, Amsterdam, January 13, 1653; Comtesse de Verrue (sale, Paris, March 27, 1737); with the Duc de Luynes (sale, Paillet, Lebrun, Paris, November 21, 1793); Duc de Morny (sale, Paris, May 31, 1865); Princess de Broglie (née Say), Paris, ca. 1909; with Thomas Agnew and Sons, London; Leopold Koppel, Berlin; Paul Klotz, New York; by descent to his heirs.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: W. R. Valentiner, *Rembrandt* (Stuttgart, 1908), B71, illustrated p. 108; G. Schwartz, *Rembrandt: His Life, His Paintings* (New York, 1985), pp. 124–25, fig. 116; J. Bruyn et al., *A Corpus of Rembrandt Paintings*, Stichting Foundation Rembrandt Research Project, vol. 2 (Dordrecht, 1986), pp. 145–50; C. P. Schneider, *Rembrandt's Landscapes* (New Haven, 1990), pp. 1, 5; C. Brown, *Rembrandt, The Master and His Workshop*, exh. cat. (Berlin, 1991, and London, National Gallery, 1992), p. 167.

43. REMBRANDT HARMENSZ. VAN RIJN
Daniel and Cyrus Before the Idol Bel, 1633
Oil on a single oak panel, 23.4 x 30.1 cm (9¼ x 11⅞ in.).
Signed and dated: on the ledge of the dais at lower right *Rembrant f. 1633.*
95.PB.15

This obscure subject comes from the apocryphal Book of Daniel (chapter 14) and tells of the prophet's unmasking of idolatry at the court of Babylon. Rembrandt was perhaps inspired by a series of engravings after Martin van Heemskerck (Dutch, 1498–1574) depicting the story of Daniel and Bel (see Hollstein, vol. 8, nos. 534–43). Van Heemskerck's second print shows essentially the same subject and may have provided a model, although Rembrandt completely transformed it into a coherent, focused dramatic composition. The representation of the idol as a seated statue perhaps derives from this source, but Rembrandt created an air of mystery by shrouding most of the graven image behind drapery swags. He also reduced the architecture and number of figures to focus on the dramatic interaction between the mighty king and the boy sent by God.

An untraced copy of the painting was lent by Jac. Hageraats and Son of The Hague to the Burlington Fine Arts Club exhibition, *Counterfeits, Imitations and Copies of Works of Art* (London, 1924), p. 42, no. 30. The Getty painting was illustrated by a photograph, no. 30a.

PROVENANCE: Probably the painting listed in the inventory of the bankrupt art dealer Pieter Croon in Amsterdam on February 20, 1650, as "Een schildereytge van Daniel van Rembrant gedaen met een swarte lyst" (a small painting of Daniel by Rembrandt with a black frame); probably in the collection of Barton Booth (1681–1733), the famous actor and manager of Drury Lane; bequeathed by his widow, Hester Booth (née Santlow; 1681–1773), an actress, to her grandson, Edward Eliot (later Lord Eliot), at Port Eliot, Cornwall; his third son, John, succeeded him and was created Earl of St. Germans; by descent (sale, Christie's, London, April 15, 1992, lot 28 [bought in]); [Thos. Agnew & Sons Ltd., London].

BIBLIOGRAPHY: C. Hofstede de Groot, *Die Urkunden über Rembrandt (1575–1721)* (The Hague, 1906), no. 128; C. Hofstede de Groot, *A Catalogue Raisonné of the Works of the Most Eminent Dutch Painters*, vol. 6 (London, 1916), p. 50, no. 50, and (probably) p. 52, no. 54a; J. G. van Gelder, "Een Rembrandt van 1633," *Oud Holland* 75 (1960), pp. 73–78; C. Tümpel, *Rembrandt; Mythos und Methode* (Langewiesche, 1986), pp. 150, 154, 388–89, no. 7; K. Bauch, "Ikonographische Stil," in *Studien zur Kunstgeschichte* (Berlin, 1967), pp. 125–27; A. Bredius, *Rembrandt, The Complete Edition of the Paintings*, rev. by H. Gerson (London, 1935; reprint London, 1969), p. 597, no. 491, illus. p. 406; J. Bruyn et al., *A Corpus of Rembrandt Paintings*, Stichting Foundation Rembrandt Research Project, vol. 1 (Dordrecht, Boston and Lancaster, 1982), p. 263; vol. 2 (1986), pp. 298–301, no. A67; and vol. 3 (1989), p. 773.

43

44

44. THÉODORE GÉRICAULT
French, 1791–1824
Three Lovers, ca. 1817–20
Oil on canvas, 22.5 x 29.8 cm
(8⅞ x 11¾ in)
95.PA.72

Géricault made this oil sketch during the height of his career, around the time when he was working on the *Raft of the Medusa* (1819). The nonnarrative subject illustrates a couple, clothed in contemporary dress, whose embrace is observed by a nude female onlooker. The nude's torso artfully complements the statue of Venus at the left. Drawn curtains, dramatic lighting, and classicizing furnishings evoke a theatrical space.

Géricault's erotic subject is foreshadowed by small-scale paintings by late eighteenth-century artists such as Jean Honoré Fragonard (French, 1732–1806). Géricault's unprecedented, direct treatment of the theme most closely relates to popular contemporary erotic prints. In the *Three Lovers* he retains the actuality of these prints, but his translation of a contemporary event into a timeless setting also historicizes the present and makes modern life a subject appropriate for high art.

This sketch was intended as a finished, independent work. Until its discovery by Philippe Grunchec in 1992, it was known only through a reference by Charles Clément, the artist's earliest biographer. The Getty sketch is Géricault's single known surviving oil in a genre that the artist frequently explored in drawing. This unlined canvas, still on its original stretcher, illustrates Géricault's synthesis of graphic mastery with vigorous painterly control. Its acquisition complements the Museum's preparatory oil sketches by Géricault, *Riderless Horses* (1817) and *Portrait Study of a Man* (1818–19).

PROVENANCE: Probably in Géricault's possession, although not listed in the sale of Géricault's studio in 1824; cited by Clément (1879, p. 309, no. 131) as in the collection of Jean-Pierre Dantan Jeune (1800–1869); (sale, Paris, Ader Tajan, Hôtel Drouot, June 26, 1992, lot 48); [Stair Sainty Matthiesen, New York, 1995].

BIBLIOGRAPHY: C. Clément, *Géricault: Étude biographique et critique avec le catalogue raisonné de l'oeuvre de l'artiste* (Paris, 1879), p. 309, no. 131; P. Grunchec, *Géricault: Tout l'oeuvre peint* (Paris, 1978), p. 127; P. Grunchec, "Un tableau érotique de Géricault retrouvé," *Connaissance des Arts* 484 (June 1992), p. 125, illustrated; Linda Nochlin, "Géricault, or the Absence of Women," *October* 68 (Spring 1994), p. 57, n. 20; Matthiesen Gallery and Stair Sainty Matthiesen, London and New York, *Fifty Paintings, 1535–1825*, exh. cat. (1993), no. 49, pp. 198–207, illustrated p.199; catalogue entry written by L. Eitner.

45. JEAN-FRANÇOIS MILLET
French, 1814–1875
Louise-Antoinette Feuardent, 1841
Oil on canvas, 73.3 x 60.6 cm (28⅞ x 23⅞ in.). Signed: at bottom left *MILLET.*
95.PA.67

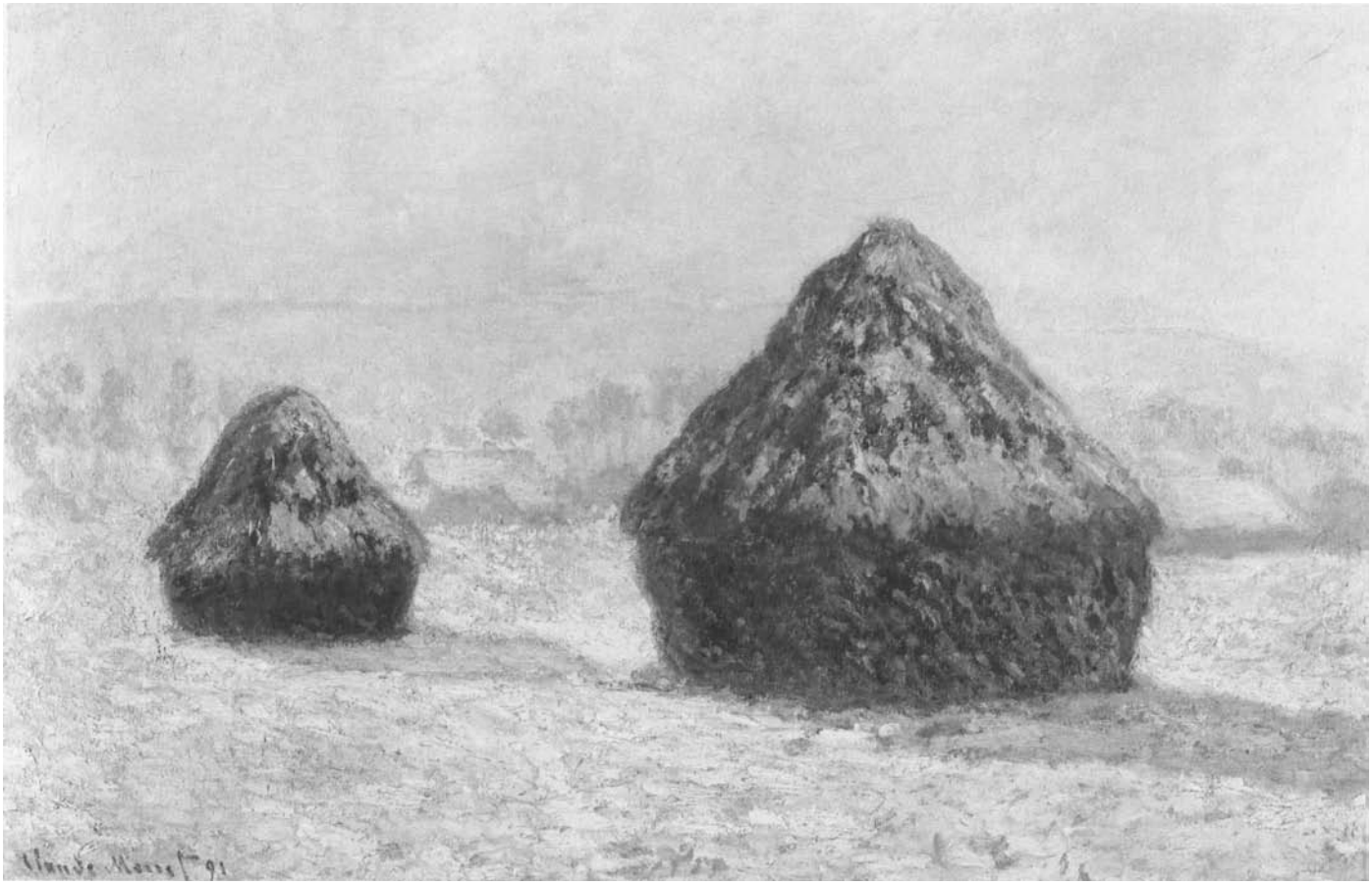
Louise-Antoinette was painted by Millet around the time of her marriage to the artist's lifelong friend Félix-Bienaimé Feuardent, a clerk in the library in the Norman city of Cherbourg. She would eventually bear fourteen children, one of whom married Millet's eldest daughter, Marie. Her portrait is one of more than thirty painted by Millet between 1840 and 1842, while he resided in Cherbourg. In 1847 Millet abandoned his career as a portraitist and began painting scenes of peasant life, like the Getty Museum's *Man with a Hoe* (1862), which won him international fame.

Ambitiously rejecting the hard-edged academicism of contemporary society portraiture made popular by Jean Auguste Dominique Ingres (French, 1780–1867), Millet turned to models in seventeenth-century Dutch painting. This portrait of a quietly contained bourgeois wife has the atmospheric stillness of a work by Gerrit Dou or one by Gabriel Metsu. Relying on simple tonal harmonies, tightly controlled line and composition, and fluid, often visible brushstrokes, Millet captured the restrained elegance of this demure, yet self-possessed woman.

PROVENANCE: Félix-Bienaimé Feuardent; Félix Feuardent; (sale, Paris, Palais Galliera, December 12, 1964, lot 27); Wildenstein and Co. (1964–76); private collection, San Francisco [Hazlitt, Gooden & Fox, Ltd].

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. Sensier, *La Vie et l'oeuvre de J.-F. Millet* (Paris, 1881), p. 72; J. Cartwright, *Jean-François Millet: His Life and Letters* (New York, 1896), pp. 64–65; E. Moreau-Nélaton, *Millet raconté par lui-même* (Paris, 1921), vol. 1, pp. 33, 49, fig. 14; L. Lepoittevin, *Jean-François Millet, I (Portraitiste: essai et catalogue)* (Paris, 1971), no. 57; J. Bouret, *L'École de Barbizone et le paysage français au XIXe siècle* (Neuchatel, 1972), p. 269, no. 157.

45



46

46. CLAUDE MONET
French, 1840–1926
Wheatstacks, Snow Effect, Morning, 1891
Oil on canvas, 64.8 x 99.7 cm (25½ x 39¼ in.). Signed and dated: lower left *Claude Monet '91*.
95.PA.63

This is one of thirty paintings that comprised Monet's first and grandest series devoted to the exploration of a single motif. Painted between fall of 1890 and summer of 1891, nearly two-thirds of the wheatstack canvases depict winter scenes. Monet received tremendous popular and critical acclaim when he exhibited fifteen works from the series at the Galerie Durand-Ruel, Paris, on May 4, 1891. He completed *Wheatstacks, Snow Effect, Morning* in February 1891 and sold it four months before this famous exhibition.

From the outset Monet conceived and planned the wheatstacks as a series, based on the firsthand observation of stacks of grain located close to his garden at Giverny. Working outdoors, often in frigid temperatures, the artist strove to capture the fleeting effects of light and atmosphere before returning to the studio to rework these quintessentially Impressionist landscapes.

Particularly unusual for a painting by Monet, the canvas is unlined and retains all the details and nuances of the artist's touch. It has been exhibited only three times, and remains one of the best preserved scenes of the entire series.

PROVENANCE: Acquired from the artist by Boussod, Valadon & Cie, Paris, February 5, 1891; Lonquety, Paris, February 6, 1891; Marbeau, Paris, 1968; Acquavella Galeries, Inc., New York, 1971; John T. Dorrrance, PA, 1989 (sale, Sotheby's, New York, Dorrance Sale, October, 18–19, 1989, lot 32); private collection, New York.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Monet*, exh. cat. (Galerie Paul Rosenberg, Paris, 1936), no. 2; J. Rewald, "Theo van Gogh, Goupil and the Impressionists," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* (January/February, 1973), app. 1, p. 101, ill.; *Claude Monet*, exh. cat. (Acquavella Galleries, Inc., New York, 1976), no. 53, ill.; D. Wildenstein, *Claude Monet: Biographie et catalogue raisonné* (Paris, 1979), vol. 3, p. 140, no. 1276, ill.; P. Tucker, *Claude Monet: Life and Art* (New Haven, 1995), p. 142, ill.

Photographs

SELECTED ACQUISITIONS

47

47. GUSTAVE LE GRAY
French, 1820–1882
Hippostyle Hall, Karnak, after 1861
Albumen print, 32.4 x 41.6 cm
(15½ x 9⁵⁄₁₆ in.)
95.XM.55

When Le Gray, arguably the most important photographer of his generation in France, left his country in May of 1860 for a long Mediterranean cruise on the yacht of Alexandre Dumas père, it is unknown whether he ever intended to return to Paris, where he had left behind a well-known but financially overextended photographic practice. It is known that by 1864 he had settled permanently in Cairo where he became a teacher of drawing and painting in a technical school under the direct supervision of the viceroy Ismail Pasha.

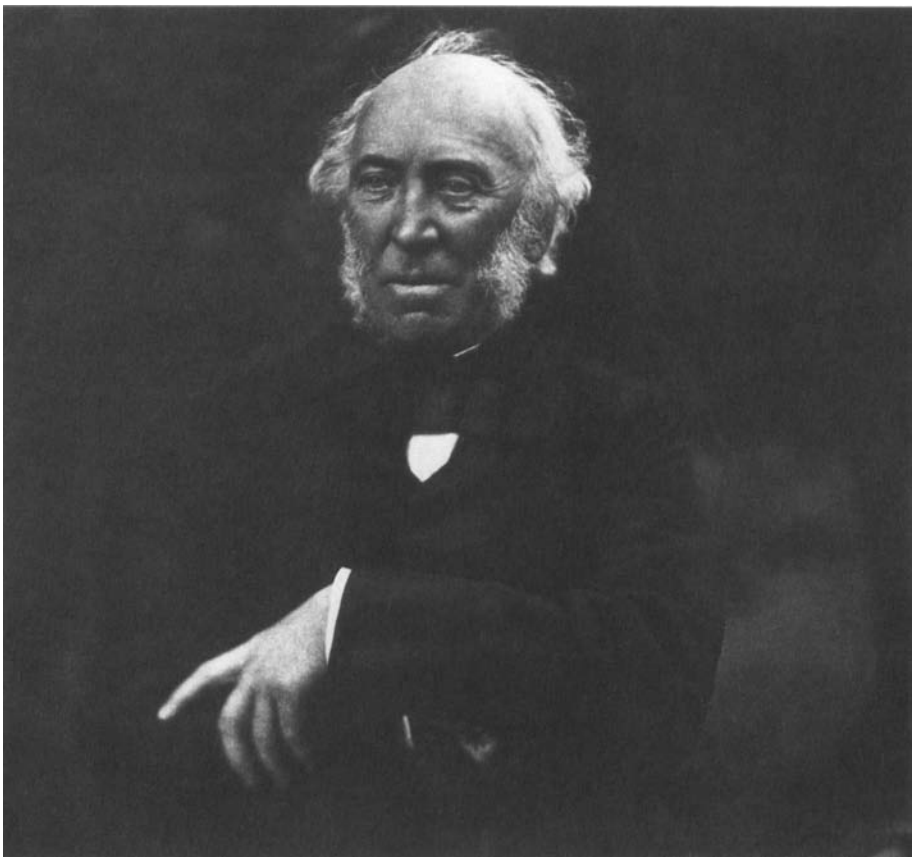
However sporadically, Le Gray continued to make photographs, both portraits and architectural studies. His striking image of the Hippostyle Hall of the great temple of Amun at Karnak, on the east bank of the Nile and south of Cairo, is one of many made at that site during the nineteenth century, in part because of the oddity of the leaning column that closes the view down one aisle. (Its displacement was the result of an earthquake; it has since been righted.) At forty-three-feet tall, the column is one of one hundred and twenty-two of this size, along with twelve mammoth columns of sixty-nine feet that supported the stone roof of Hippostyle Hall, which was built by Seti I and Rameses II in about 1300 B.C. Le Gray's view is far more dramatic than any other photographer's in its use of slashing rays of light to create a dynamic, painterly composition from static monumental ancient architecture.

PROVENANCE: [Alain Paviot, Paris]; [Daniel Wolf, New York]; Newby Toms, New York; [Daniel Wolf, New York]; Cinema Consultants, New York.

JULIA MARGARET CAMERON

The work of Julia Margaret Cameron (British, 1815–1879) is one of the core holdings of the photographs collection, and in 1995 the Museum was fortunate to acquire a group of five photographs, each of individual relevance to the existing collection. The photographs were once owned by Cameron's daughter and namesake, Julia Norman, and show Cameron's consummate skill as a portraitist and her genre and narrative style at its very best.

Cameron took up photography in 1863 at the age of forty-eight. A person of prodigious energy and enthusiasms, between 1864 and 1875 she realized consistent annual production and was regularly represented in British and international exhibitions of photography. The social milieu in which Cameron and her four sisters moved and thrived was artistic and intellectual, and included many of the most prominent painters and writers of mid-Victorian England. Cameron drew her portrait subjects from her family and from among her friends, such as George Frederick Watts, Alfred Tennyson, Charles Darwin, and Thomas Carlyle, whose achievements she celebrated in monumental compositions that penetrate into her sitters' personalities. Her portraits of women were designed to demonstrate their resemblances to the Pre-Raphaelite art for which her sitters were often the models. Aside from portraiture, the balance of her work is either allegorical—based on her wide reading of classic and Christian literature and Renaissance letters—or is intended to illustrate the work of Tennyson, principally *Idylls of the King*.



48

48. JULIA MARGARET CAMERON
British, 1815–1879
Lord Overstone, Carbon print, ca. 1875 from a negative of 1865
22.4 x 24.2 cm (8¾ x 9½ in.)
95.XM.54.3

Lord Overstone was a friend and patron of Cameron's who helped her family financially over a long period and contributed more than 6,000 pounds toward underwriting the cost of her art. Overstone, a wealthy financier, was one of the most powerful figures in the Victorian banking world; in 1860 he was elevated to the peerage for his contributions in this sphere. He also had a keen interest in the arts and was a prominent collector and philanthropist. One of the great English art collectors of the period, he owned a broad mix of Italian, Spanish, Dutch, and French paintings. This portrait is an important complement to the substantial album of 112 photographs that Cameron presented Lord Overstone on August 5, 1865, as a token of respect for his support and encouragement of her art (84.XZ.186). Made in 1865 (and printed later in the carbon process), this study captures the essential qualities of the subject: his shrewd eye and influential presence.

PROVENANCE: From the artist to her daughter Julia Norman; by descent in the Norman family; [Charles Isaacs, Philadelphia]; Cinema Consultants, New York, 1993.

49. JULIA MARGARET CAMERON
This Is My House, This My Little Wife, August 1872
Albumen print, 35.6 x 28 cm (14 x 11 in.). Inscribed: recto mount in ink *From Life Registered Photograph copy right Julia Margaret Cameron Freshwater 1872 Aug./ For Charlie Norman/ Who admires my little Enoch*; titled: recto mount at lower right *Lee Enoch Arden* in pencil; Colnaghi blindstamp recto mount.
95.XM.54.4

The title of this picture is taken from Alfred Tennyson's poem *Enoch Arden* (1864), which sold over forty thousand copies within a short time of its publication and became his most popular work.

The narrative is based on the dramatic and supposedly true story of a fisherman—Enoch Arden—who leaves his family to embark on a voyage, and is shipwrecked and stranded for years. He finally returns only to find his wife and children living happily without him. He watches them from a distance and, observing their contentment, decides not to make his presence known.

Cameron chose to illustrate lines taken from an early part of Tennyson's poem, in which the main characters are not yet adults. This choice allowed her to emphasize a blissful and innocent childhood state, readily suggested by the subjects, whose heads are joined in an expression of unsullied affection. Cameron intended this print as a gift for her son-in-law, Charles Norman; she inscribed the mount with the caption, *For Charlie Norman who admires my little Enoch.*

PROVENANCE: From the artist to her daughter Julia Norman; by descent in the Norman family; [Charles Isaacs, Philadelphia]; Cinema Consultants, New York, 1993.

49

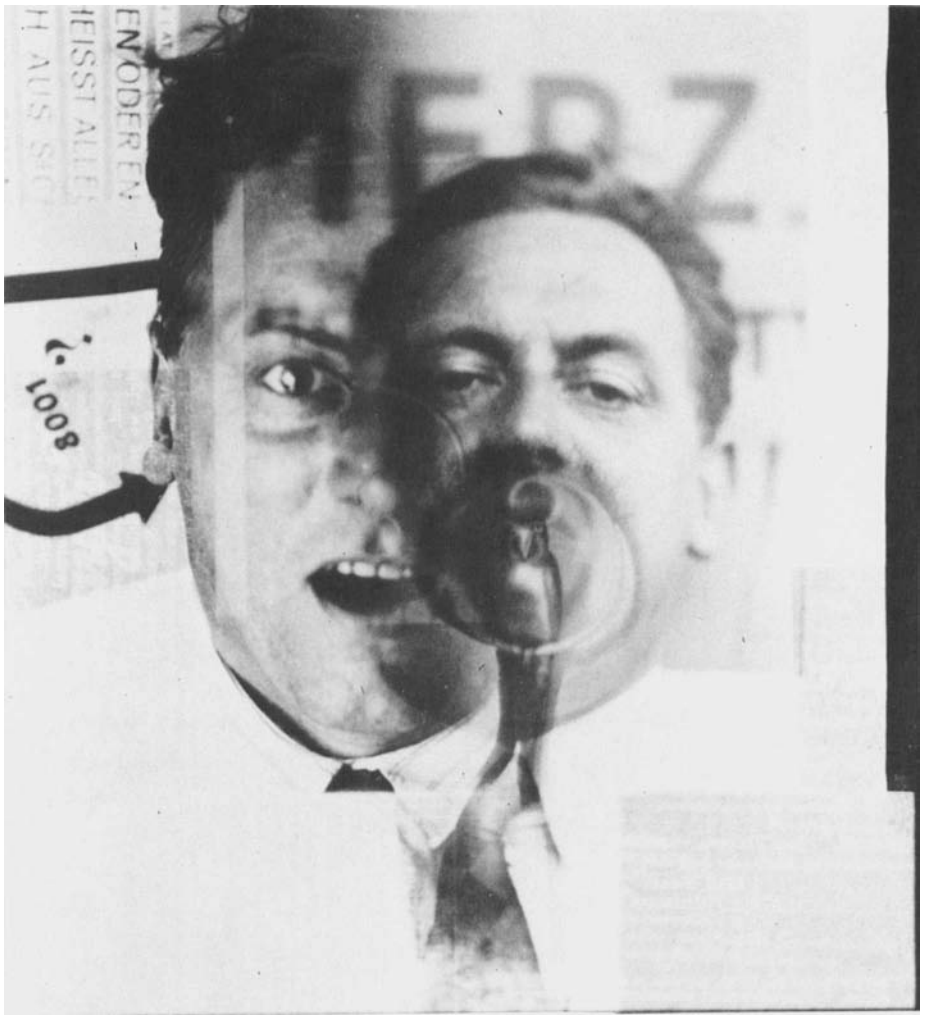
50. TAIZO KATO
Japanese, 1888–1924
Untitled (Man Painting Ship), ca. 1920
Gelatin silver print, 26.6 x 34.3 cm (10½ x 13½ in.).
95.XM.14

Kato was born in Japan but moved to Los Angeles in 1907 at the age of nineteen and soon became an active member of the city's community of Japanese artists. He opened a photography studio and gallery on West Sixth Street and was one of the earliest photographers in Southern California to adopt the Pictorialist style. His death at the age of thirty-six cut short a promising career.

The sensitive line and softened tones of this composition attest to Kato's Pictorialist sensibility and his skill in artfully rendering this scene with the elegant economy of form of a master calligrapher. He captures perfectly the athletic, dancer-like pose of the ship painter, conveying the man's agile movement by placing him in the pivotal center of the composition in such a way that his figure appears to be on the brink of rotating at any moment.

PROVENANCE: Artist's estate; private collection in California; [Paul Kopeikin, Los Angeles].

50



51

51. EL LISSITZKY
(Lazar Markovich Lissitzky)
Russian, 1890–1941
Kurt Schwitters, 1924–25
Gelatin silver print, 18 x 12.9 cm (7 1/16 x 5 1/16 in.). Inscribed: verso print in pencil in unknown hand *Raster zwischen den beiden linien entfernen/ Auto 1:1/116* [encircled]; printer's arrows.
95.XM.39

This portrait builds on the Museum's existing group of four photographs by Lissitzky, a major contributor to the development of Constructivism in Russia. The holding complements the extensive Lissitzky archive acquired by the Getty Research Institute for the History of Art and the Humanities in 1995. Lissitzky began using the camera in the 1920s to document his works of art in other media, but in this portrait he uses the medium to create a work of art. During an extended stay in Europe, Lissitzky met Kurt Schwitters, a German Dadaist known for his collages and sound poems. To create this portrait, Lissitzky has superimposed several images, including two photographs of Schwitters reciting, a poster promoting his journal *Merz*, and an image of the July 1924 issue of *Merz* on which the two artists collaborated. The resemblance of this photograph to a collage suggests Lissitzky's receptivity to Dadaist techniques, although they were at odds with his Constructivist philosophy.

PROVENANCE: Sophie Lissitzky-Küppers to Jen Lissitzky by descent; [Houk-Friedman Gallery, New York].

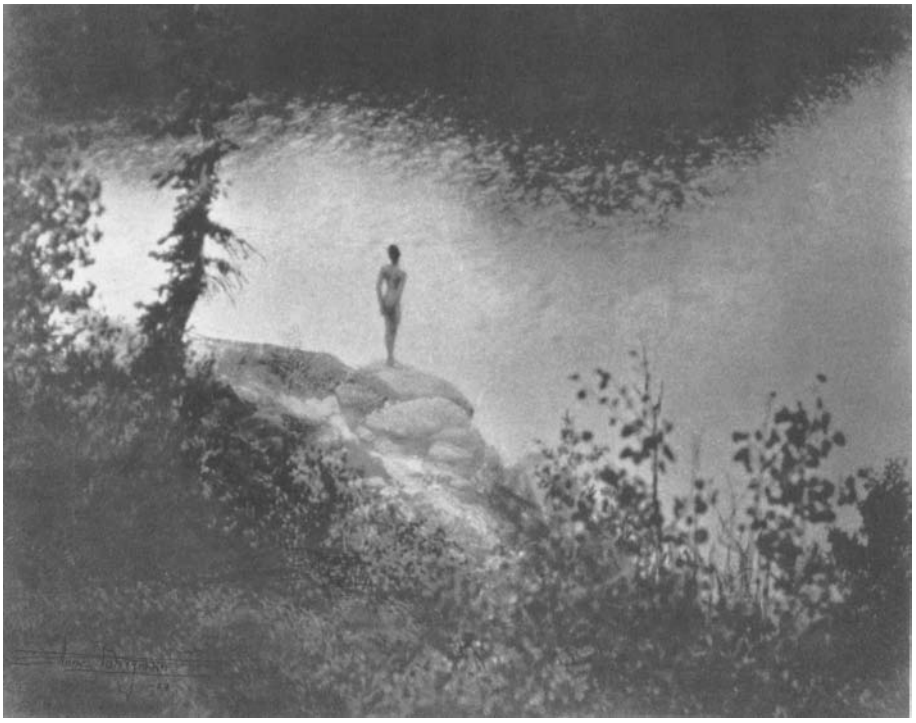
TWENTIETH-CENTURY WOMEN PHOTOGRAPHERS

In 1995 the Museum strengthened its holdings of work by twentieth-century women photographers, acquiring representative images by Lola Alvarez Bravo, Ellen Auerbach, Anne Brigman, Florence Homolka, Helen Levitt, Barbara Morgan, Marion Post Wolcott, and Doris Ulmann. The photographs range from celebrated to little-known works and encompass a range of aesthetic approaches as well as media. The Museum's collection includes a modest number of prints by each of these photographers with the exception of Ulmann, by whom the Getty has more than 170 prints.

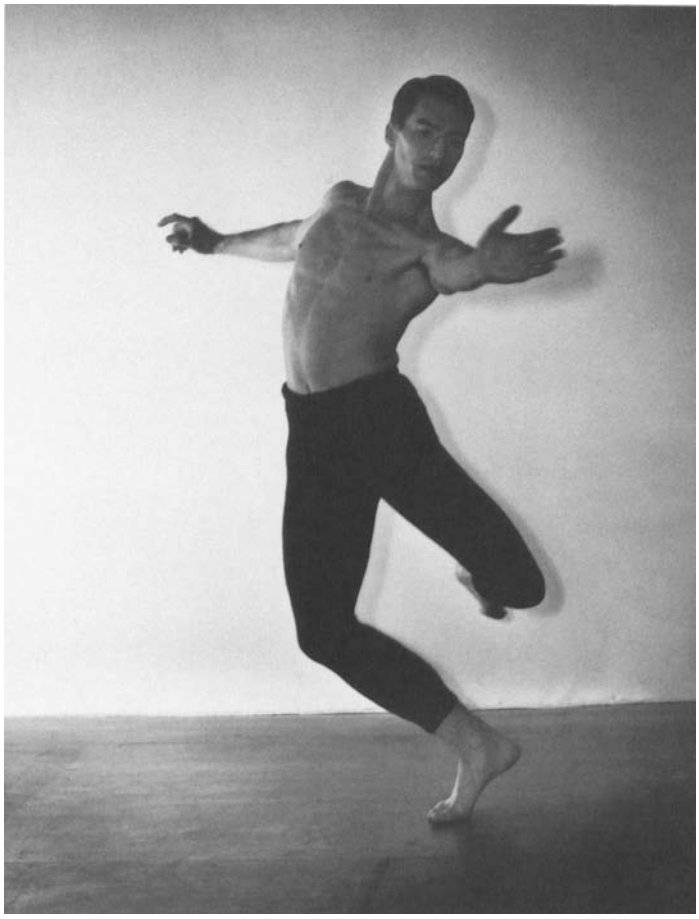
52. ANNE BRIGMAN
American, 1869–1950
Figure in Landscape, 1923
Gelatin silver print, 18.4 x 23.6 cm (7 1/4 x 9 5/16 in.). Signed and dated: recto print; inscribed: verso print in pencil *Photograph by Anne Brigman/ from my personal collection/Louis M. Lewin.*
95.XM.73

This print offers a tranquil counterpoint to two previously acquired works by Brigman that are more dramatic in tone. One of the few photographers in the West whose work was championed by Alfred Stieglitz (American, 1864–1946), Brigman eschewed the polite studio nudes of the other Photo-Secessionists and posed her models in the rugged landscape of the Sierra Nevada. She sought to convey in her work the exaltation of mind and soul that she experienced during her visits to the mountains. Her practice of reworking the negative can be seen here in the center foreground, where she has added foliage by hand to create a more harmonious composition. The massing of darkness at the top and bottom of the picture create a sinuous curve of light that runs through the center and echoes the forms of the woman's nude body. The artist's distinctive signature, which includes a bird in flight, appears in the lower left corner.

PROVENANCE: Louis M. Lewin; [Paul M. Hertzmann, Inc., San Francisco].



52

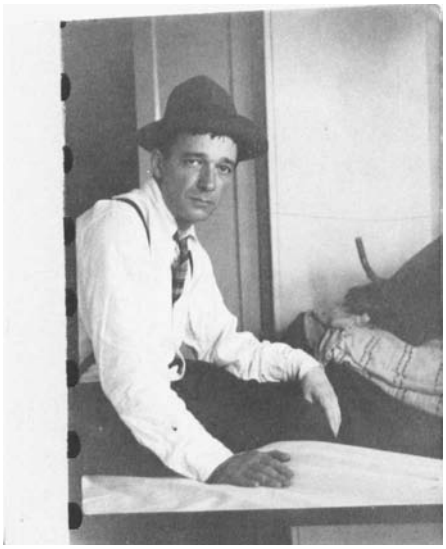


53

53. BARBARA MORGAN
American, 1900–1992
Erick Hawkins, "American Document," ca. 1938
Gelatin silver print, 34.2 x 25.7 cm (13 7/16 x 10 1/8 in.). Signed and titled: recto mount; artist's wet stamp verso mount.
95.XM.75.3

A group of four vintage photographs by Barbara Morgan acquired in 1995 join one photomontage by the artist that is already in the collection. Included in the group are three dance photographs and the 1941 light drawing *Pure Energy and Neurotic Man*. A vanguard American modernist, Morgan made drawings on photographic paper with a focused light source and created photomontages that reflect social concerns. In the mid-1930s she discovered modern dance and developed a fruitful relationship with Martha Graham and her company. The dancers—including Doris Humphrey, Erick Hawkins, Merce Cunningham, and Graham herself—were regular visitors to Morgan's studio, where she inventively met the technical and aesthetic challenges of photographing bodies in motion. Hawkins, pictured above, joined the company in 1938 as its first male dancer, the same year that Graham's *American Document* premiered in Vermont. Morgan's lighting emphasizes the sculpted forms of Hawkins's torso and captures a moment of stasis in his fluid performance.

PROVENANCE: From Barbara Morgan's family to Richard Riebel, Grand Rapids, Michigan; [Craig Krull Gallery, Santa Monica].



54

54. HELEN LEVITT
American, born 1918
Walker Evans, New York City, July 1940
Gelatin silver print, 11.2 x 8.9 cm (4⅜ x 3 17/32 in.). Dated: with wet stamp *JUL 1940;* inscribed: verso print in pencil by Clark Worswick *Walker Evans/W/114* [encircled].
95.XM.44.

This portrait of Walker Evans (American, 1903–1975) joins one other work by Levitt in the collection and complements the Museum's considerable holdings of work by Evans as well as the 1995 gift of twenty portraits of Evans from Joan and Clark Worswick. Levitt, known for her vivid images of New York street life, was a close friend of Evans in the late 1930s. This portrait of the dapper Evans catches him in a relaxed moment during the year that he and writer James Agee were finishing the manuscript for *Let Us Now Praise Famous Men*. Levitt frequently accompanied Evans on country visits to Agee's retreat outside Frenchtown, New Jersey. Inspired to take up photography after seeing work by Henri Cartier-Bresson (French, born 1908), Levitt had her first one-person show at the Museum of Modern Art, New York, in 1943, and worked as a freelance photographer and filmmaker, receiving Guggenheim awards in 1959 and 1960.

PROVENANCE: [George Rinhart, 1974]; [Harry Lunn, Jr., 1975]; Joan and Clark Worswick.

55

55. MARION POST WOLCOTT
American, 1910–1990
Man Delivering Milk, Near Woodstock, Vermont, 1940
Gelatin silver print, 27.7 x 35.5 cm (10 5/16 x 13 15/16 in.). Signed and titled verso print; inscribed: *An original vintage FSA print*, with Farm Security Administration wet stamp.
95.XM.47.1

The recent acquisition of three Wolcott prints brings the Museum's holdings of work by this artist to twelve. This group from the artist's daughter is an important addition to documentary work in the collection by Walker Evans, Dorothea Lange, and Arthur Rothstein, among others. In 1938 Wolcott received her first assignment for the Farm Security Administration (FSA), beginning the body of work for which she is chiefly known. For the next several years she traveled alone through the South, Midwest, and Eastern Seaboard of the United States to document the programs of the FSA and create a portrait of small-town America. Her photographs express an appreciation of rural life rather than emphasizing its privations, as did many of her colleagues. In this photograph, one from a series made after a blizzard in Vermont, Wolcott suggests that in the country human struggle with the forces of nature is balanced by an intimate knowledge of its beauty.

PROVENANCE: Gift of Marion Post Wolcott to Willy Kraber; [Linda Wolcott-Moore, Mill Valley, California].

56. EDWARD WESTON
American, 1886–1958
Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer, Hollywood, 1939
Gelatin silver print, 24.3 x 19.3 cm. (9⁵⁄₁₆ x 7⁵⁄₁₆ in.). Inscribed: verso print in artist's hand *Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer Hollywood / Edward Weston.*
95.XM.56

In 1937 Weston was awarded a two-year grant from the Guggenheim Foundation to make a series of photographs of the West; this photograph is a product of that project. The subject here is a movie set decoration on the Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer storage lots in Culver City, visited by Weston in January 1939. The following year he made a related series at the 20th Century Fox Pictures studios (now called the Twentieth Century-Fox Film Corporation in Century City).

The influence of Surrealism began to be felt in California in the mid-1930s, and is revealed in Weston's series of photographs of the back lots of Hollywood. In this particular study the artist uses his camera to remove the plaster sculpture from its context by moving in close to the subject and photographing it from below. He draws the viewer's attention to the eccentricity and incongruity of this mannered, colossal figure, enslaved by the weight of its entablature and put into a state of bondage by a network of storage ropes.

PROVENANCE: Private collection; [G. Ray Hawkins, Los Angeles]

56

57

57. ALBERT RENGER-PATZSCH
(German, 1897–1966)
Winter Landscape, after 1948
Gelatin silver print, 16.4 x 22.3 cm (6⁷⁄₁₆ x 8¾ in.). Inscribed: verso print by an unknown hand in pencil *558 / Wamel-Dorf / (nach 1948)*; artist's stamp: verso print *A. Renger-Patzsch / Wamel-Dorf ↑ber Soest I.W.*
95.XM.48

Before World War II, Renger-Patzsch made sharply focused, uniformly lit, close-up photographs of industrial subjects such as machinery. During the war the photographer's home in Essen was destroyed by Allied bombings, and he moved to the countryside of Wamel, where he lived in a converted eighteenth-century bakery until his death. Although he continued to photograph industrial subjects occasionally, his aesthetic focus shifted; his work took a dramatic shift from the prosaic to the poetic and he concentrated on photographing rural landscapes.

In this lyrical study of the German countryside Renger-Patzsch silhouetted the graceful curves of the tree limbs against the snow-softened geometry of the landscape. Photographed without the camouflage of their leaves, the intricate structures of the trees are revealed as the key subject of this composition. Their dark, coiling limbs wind their way to the sky and dominate the patterns created by the fences and rooftops in the background.

PROVENANCE: Private collection; [Aurel Scheibler, Germany].

58

WALKER EVANS

The Getty Museum's collection of work by this twentieth-century American photographer is the most complete in this country for rare prints from the first two decades of his career, from the 1920s through the 1940s. In 1995 the Museum acquired a group of 125 prints that complement this existing collection most significantly by adding nearly eighty works dating from the 1950s to the 1970s. All of this mature work, including studies of seaside New England architecture and equally personal portraits of the photographer/filmmaker Robert Frank and his Nova Scotia home, is relatively unknown to the field. Besides these, rare pre-1950s prints are part of this acquisition: an architectural study made during his European sojourn of 1926; the subject of a child's funeral procession on a southern country road; a postcard-format view of the Pressing Club establishment in Vicksburg, Mississippi; and a group of ten graffiti pictures, perhaps printed from negatives made with or by his friend of the late 1930s, Helen Levitt.

One of the most interesting aspects of this new acquisition is the inclusion of a large number of unusual, and in most cases unique, prints related to Evan's published and unpublished *Fortune*. His association with the journal began in 1934 and extended over three decades. He served as staff photographer from 1945, special photographic editor from 1948, and as one of the magazine's associate editors from the 1950s until 1965. As a sampling of Evans's photojournalism, reproduced below are three groups of pictures representing essays he prepared between 1941 and 1963.

PROVENANCE: [George Rinhart, Litchfield], 1974; [Harry Lunn, Washington], 1975; Joan and Clark Worswick, Millbrook, New York, in two acquisitions in the 1980s.

Bridgeport, 1941

Evans's story on Bridgeport, Connecticut, was his fourth for *Fortune* before he became a full-time member of their staff. He was sent to this formerly depressed industrial city to report on the effects of recently accelerated wartime production. Evans returned with numerous images from a July parade and images of life on Main Street. The thirteen Bridgeport pictures in this acquisition, which join ten other images from this assignment in the Museum's collection, reflect his continued interest in the ritual of parades. They also represent a more significant strain in his work, namely, that of the anonymous portrait. In the winter of 1941 he photographed unsuspecting passengers in the New York subway; now, he made more of these individual portraits on a busy street corner, with many of his subjects busy shoppers who were too distracted by errands and traffic to acknowledge his presence.

58. WALKER EVANS
American, 1903–1975
Parade Watchers, Bridgeport, 1941
Gelatin silver print, 17.5 x 22.3 cm (6 29/32 x 8 25/32 in.). Inscribed: verso mount, titled and dated in pencil at center; below title, Lunn Gallery stamp, numbered in boxes *VIII* and *9* in pencil.
95.XM.45.28

59

59. WALKER EVANS
Girl Watching Parade, Bridgeport, Connecticut, 1941
Gelatin silver print, image: 23.1 x 17.5 cm (9 3/32 x 4 29/32 in.); sheet: 25.2 x 20.1 cm (9 15/16 x 7 15/16 in.). Inscribed: verso print Lunn Gallery stamp, numbered in boxes *VIII* and *11v* in pencil.
95.XM.45.30

60

60. WALKER EVANS
Two Women, Bridgeport, Connecticut, 1941
Gelatin silver print, image: 19.7 x 20.2 cm (7 13/16 x 9 21/32 in.); sheet: 24.5 x 25.2 cm (7 15/16 x 9 15/16 in.). Inscribed: verso print Lunn Gallery stamp, numbered in boxes *VIII* and *65* in pencil.
95.XM.45.38

61

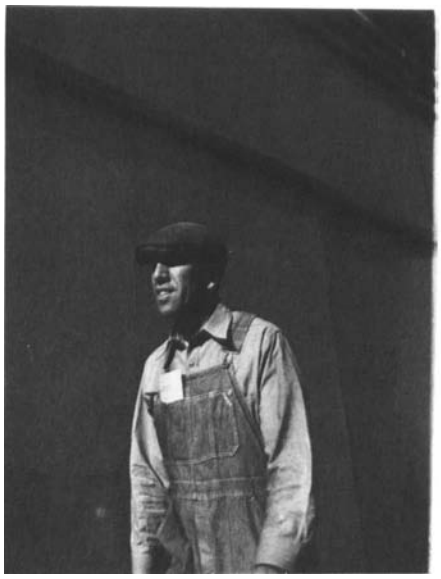
61. WALKER EVANS
Man in Business Suit, Bridgeport, Connecticut, 1941
Gelatin silver print, 18.2 x 11.5 cm (7 5/32 x 4 1/2 in.). Inscribed: verso print Lunn Gallery stamp, numbered in boxes *VIII* and *40* in pencil.
95.XM.45.32

62. WALKER EVANS
Pedestrians, Bridgeport, Connecticut, 1941
Gelatin silver print, image: 22.6 x 18.1 cm (8 15/16 x 7 3/32 in.); sheet: 25.2 x 20.2 cm (9 29/32 x 7 15/16 in.). Inscribed: verso print Lunn Gallery stamp, numbered in boxes *VIII* and *63* in pencil.
95.XM.45.36

63. WALKER EVANS
Shoppers, Bridgeport, Connecticut, 1941
Gelatin silver print, image: 22.6 x 18.0 cm (8 29/32 x 7 3/32 in.); sheet: 25.1 x 20.1 cm (9 7/8 x 7 15/16 in.). Inscribed: verso print Lunn Gallery stamp, numbered in boxes *VIII* and *68* in pencil.
95.XM.45.35

62

63

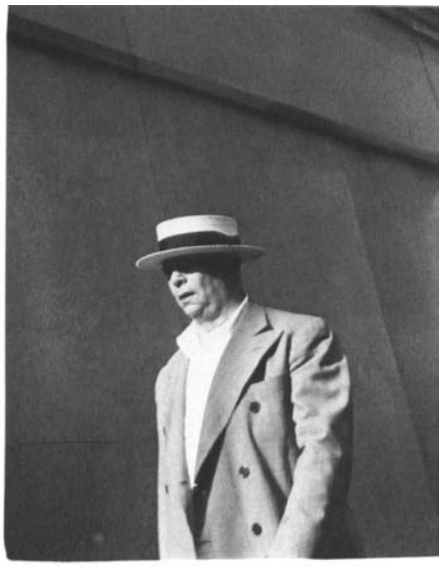


64

Detroit, 1946

In November 1946 *Fortune* published a two-page essay by Evans entitled "Labor Anonymous," devoted to portraits made "on a Saturday afternoon in downtown Detroit." As he did in Bridgeport, the photographer seems to have established himself in an inconspicuous position. Here, his strategy was apparently to record workers and shoppers squinting into the sun as they passed a plain plywood background. Twelve individuals appeared in the gridlike arrangement chosen for this essay's typical high-quality gravure reproductions. Of the five Detroit portraits that the Museum now holds, only one appeared in the final layout (fig. 64, 95.XM.45.42). As was usually the case, there were remarkable outtakes for this assignment and they are only now coming to light in scattered private collections.

64. WALKER EVANS
Man on the Street, Detroit, 1946
Gelatin silver print, image: 19.6 x 15.0 cm (7 23/32 x 5 29/32 in.); sheet: 35.1 x 27.6 cm (13 17/32 x 10 7/8 in.). Inscribed: verso print Lunn Gallery stamp, numbered in boxes *V* and *609* in pencil.
95.XM.45.42



65

65. WALKER EVANS
Man on the Street, Detroit, 1946
Gelatin silver print, image: 19.5 x 15.3 cm (7 11/16 x 6 1/32 in.); sheet: 35.1 x 27.6 cm (13 29/32 x 10 7/8 in.). Inscribed: verso print Lunn Gallery stamp, numbered in boxes *V* and *605* in pencil.
95.XM.45.43

66

66. WALKER EVANS
Man on the Street, Detroit, 1946
Gelatin silver print, image: 11.3 x 12.6 cm (4 15/32 x 4 31/32 in.). Inscribed: verso print *Fortune* in pencil by Evans, and Lunn Gallery stamp, numbered in boxes *V* and *601* in pencil.
95.XM.45.41

67

New York City, 1963

Evans was out on the streets of New York City in the spring of 1963 collecting material for a *Fortune* essay that went by the working title of "Dress," and that, ultimately, did not materialize in print. As part of the acquisition of 1995, the Getty Museum obtained twenty-nine prints from this series, which originally included at least seventy-eight photographs of men, young and old, in pairs, in packs, and alone. Although there are a good number of anxious Wall Street types in suits, brokers and their apprentices, there are also truckers, tour guides, messengers, carriage drivers, itinerant tool sharpeners, construction workers, shopkeepers, railroad workers, and neighbors playing a game of pick-up basketball. Costume, or what men of all ages were wearing on the street in the early 1960s, may have been the declared subject of this projected essay, but the body language of these friends and strangers is of equal interest in Evans's work. The dress and manners of the anonymous man on the street was clearly a favorite theme for Evans, one that he took up in the late 1920s and pursued for more than four decades in Havana, Sarasota, Chicago, Bridgeport, Detroit, and New York.

67. WALKER EVANS
Two Men in Suits, for "Dress," 1963
Gelatin silver print, 20.3 x 11.7 cm (8 x 4⅝ in.). Inscribed: verso print at center *380/c2-24* in black; at lower center Lunn Gallery stamp, numbered in boxes *XXIV* and *51* in pencil.
95.XM.45.74

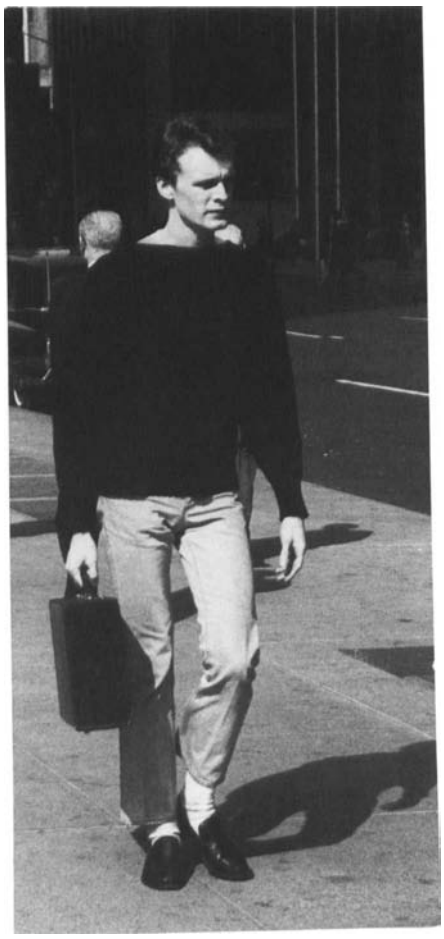
68. WALKER EVANS
Well-Dressed Man, From the Rear, for "Dress," 1963
Gelatin silver print, 26 x 9.5 cm (10¼ x 3²³⁄₃₂ in.). Inscribed: verso print at top *Fortune* story stamp with *Dress* and *Walker Evans* inscribed in blue ink; at center *123/c1/23* and *4/11/63* over *P.B.* in blue ink; at bottom center Lunn Gallery stamp, numbered in boxes *XXIV* and *53* in pencil.
95.XM.45.67

69. WALKER EVANS
Two Men in Suits Conversing, for "Dress," 1963
Gelatin silver print, 24.5 x 13.9 cm (9²¹⁄₃₂ x 5¹⁵⁄₃₂ in.). Inscribed: verso print lower left *374, R1-5,* and *4/9/63* in black ink; at center Lunn Gallery stamp, numbered in boxes *XXIV* and *55* in pencil.
95.XM.45.62

70. WALKER EVANS
Young Man in Sweater, for "Dress," 1963
Gelatin silver print, 23.3 x 10.6 cm (9⅝₃₂ x 4³⁄₁₆ in.). Inscribed: verso print at top *Fortune* story stamp with *Dress* and *Walker Evans* inscribed in blue ink and *April 1963* in pencil; at center *380/c2-20* in blue ink; at bottom center Lunn Gallery stamp, numbered in boxes *XXIV* and *77* in pencil.
95.XM.45.76

68

69



70

71

71. WALKER EVANS
Two Young Men in Loafers, for "Dress," 1963
Gelatin silver print, 18.1 x 9.8 cm (7⅛ x 3²⁷⁄₃₂ in.). Inscribed: verso print at top *Fortune* story stamp with *Dress* and *Walker Evans* in black ink; at center *380/C2-12* and *Evans* in black ink; also at center Lunn Gallery stamp, numbered in boxes *XXIV* and *46* in pencil.
95.XM.45.75

72. WALKER EVANS
Young Man in Cap and Sunglasses with Bundles, for "Dress," 1963
Gelatin silver print, 21.8 x 9.9 cm. (8⁹⁄₁₆ x 3²⁹⁄₃₂ in.). Inscribed: verso print at top *Fortune* story stamp with *Dress* and *Walker Evans* in blue ink and *April 1963* in pencil; below *Fortune* stamp Lunn Gallery stamp, numbered in boxes *XXIV* and *9* in pencil; at center *380/c3-12* in blue ink.
95.XM.45.73

72

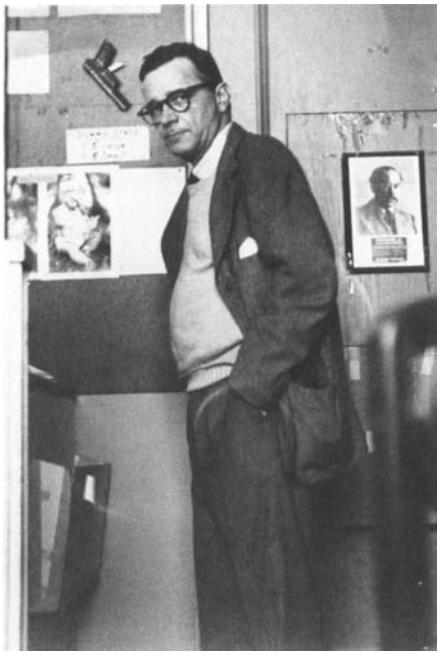
73

73. WALKER EVANS
Cuttingsville, Vermont, 1933
Gelatin silver print, sheet, 20.3 x 14.6 cm (8 x 5¾ in.); original three-hole mount: 22.9 x 21.6 cm (9 x 8½ in.). Inscribed: recto mount titled by the artist in pencil; verso mount Lunn Gallery stamp with cataloging boxes empty.
95.XM.88

The Getty Museum's already extensive holdings of Evans's work include good coverage of his early New York pictures (1927–30) and a sampling of his New England work carried out between 1930 and 1933 in the company of two Boston friends, Lincoln Kirstein and John Wheelwright. Although the Museum possesses a number of interior and exterior views of Victorian houses Evans made on those excursions (and which were exhibited in 1933 at the Museum of Modern Art, New York), this is the only image of Victorian sculpture from the first decade of his work in the collection. It is important because Evans would return to the subject of memorial sculpture many times during his years of work on the road. The Museum's collection includes later, more well-known images by Evans of funereal monuments as varied as rural graves in Hale County, Alabama; Civil War monuments from the National Military Park, Vicksburg, Mississippi; and nineteenth-century tombs commemorating William Faulkner's ancestors in Ripley, Mississippi.

PROVENANCE: By gift from the artist to James Agee; by inheritance to Mia Agee; [Light Gallery and Lunn Gallery; New York, Washington]; [Robert Mann Gallery, New York].

Portraits of Walker Evans



74

74. UNKNOWN MAKER
American, active 1940s
Portrait of Walker Evans, 1949
Gelatin silver print, 24.4 x 16.9 cm (9 19/32 x 6 5/8 in.). Inscribed: verso print at lower right *1949*, possibly by Evans, in ink.
95.XM.61.4

The gift in 1995 of twenty portraits of Walker Evans by Joan and Clark Worswick, collectors of Walker Evans's work since the early 1980s, includes work by nine of his contemporaries: Jeremey Dodd, Jonathan Goell, John T. Hill, Sedat Pakay, Bill Records, Benoy Sarkar, Roy Stevens, Jerry Thompson, and Abraham L. Waintrob. The prints in this group range from 2½ x 3½ inches to 8 x 10 inches, and include an early black-and-white Polaroid print, as well as three color portraits from 1971. They date from the late 1930s to 1974, picturing Evans working in New York in the offices of *Fortune* magazine, holding forth at Yale University in the classroom, and walking the beach at the Old Black Point Association in Connecticut, a favorite haunt in his last years. One of the few anonymous works in the group, this portrait was probably made by a *Fortune* colleague in their layout room; it dates from about the time a written profile on Evans was published in the magazine that described him as a "freewheeling cameraman," and praised both the pictures and prose he had submitted for its pages.

PROVENANCE: [George Rinhart, Litchfield]; [Harry Lunn, Jr., Washington]; Gift of Joan and Clark Worswick, Millbrook, New York.

FREDERICK SOMMER

Photographs

In 1995 the Museum was fortunate to receive a gift of seventeen photographs from Frederick Sommer (American, b. 1905), works that were made by him in 1935. Sommer has been producing photographs of extraordinary vision for six decades. A philosophical and artistic radical with an authentically Surrealist sensibility, Sommer is responsible for having expanded the conventional definitions of photography.

Born in Italy in 1905, Sommer was raised in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, where he was instructed in the arts of drawing and design from an early age by his father. In 1925 he came to the United States and studied for a master's degree in landscape architecture at Cornell University, where he met his future wife, Frances. After sojourns to Brazil and Europe, Sommer moved to Prescott, Arizona, in February 1935, where he still resides today.

Coming to photography from the worlds of architecture, drawing, and painting, Sommer brings to his art a commitment to structure and problem solving. Taking up photography in 1930 while he was recovering from tuberculosis in Arosa, Switzerland, Sommer purchased two cameras, both of which were designed for use with 2¼ x 3¼ inch glass negatives, and began to develop and print his own photographs—primarily contact prints on toned printing out paper.

This group of works, all contact prints dated 1935, are the earliest surviving photographs by Sommer in existence, and the only prints that he ever made from the corresponding negatives. They demonstrate his inscrutable attention to the photographic image as a design problem, and manifest his belief in the objectivity of the camera as a tool to describe and record surfaces. In these works a highly structured composition is combined with meticulous attention to detail, manifesting Sommer's credo that each photographic print be an object of supreme craftsmanship. This group complements two important donations made by the artist to the Museum last year; eleven photographs by Eugène Atget (French, 1857–1927) and thirty-four unique objects used in assemblages that he photographed.

75

75. FREDERICK SOMMER
American, b. 1905
Landscape Study, 1935
Gelatin silver print, 5.2 x 4.2 cm (2 1/32 x 1 5/8 in.). Inscribed: initialed and dated verso mount at center *F.S. 1935* in pencil.
95.XM.19.10

Sommer's proclivity toward the structural aesthetics of the natural environment was first awakened when, as a young man, he observed the activities of his father's landscape firm and nursery in Rio de Janeiro. Soon after he settled in Arizona in 1935, Sommer embarked on a series of photographs that explore the aesthetic potential of the structural complexities inherent in nature. Using a small, hand-held camera, he examined commonplace subjects and created thoughtful, exacting compositions that reveal the intricacies of nature. In this study his ostensible subject is a small, dark flower that appears in the lower left center of the composition. Its environment, however, is also home to a network of fauna and vegetation, whose vitality is rendered almost overpowering by the artist's chosen point of view. The

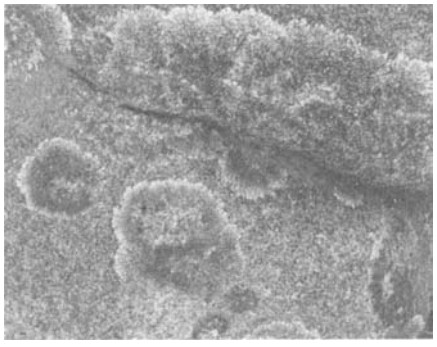
mass of dense thicket is punctuated visually by the diagonal line of a branch, which traverses the composition and provides the principal point of rest for the eye.

PROVENANCE: Gift of the artist, Prescott.

76. FREDERICK SOMMER
Landscape Study, 1935
Gelatin silver print, 5.2 x 4.2 cm (2 1/32 x 1 5/8 in.). Inscribed: initialed and dated verso mount at center *F.S. 1935* in pencil.
95.XM.19.13

During his wanderings in the desert near his home in Prescott, Arizona, Sommer studied an array of elements in nature and transformed them into photographs of abundant descriptive power. He organizes the features of the natural world on a miniature glass-plate negative, crystallizing his photographic expression in a gemlike contact print with rich shadow detail and fine silvery highlights. Taking a close-up vantage point, in this example Sommer presents the fissured surface of a granite rock, peppered with lichen. Contrasting textures and surfaces provide the emotive power of the picture; the aesthetic possibilities of miscellaneous surfaces have remained an enduring interest for Sommer, and have served as a rich source in his photography for the display of the abstract potential in natural forms.

PROVENANCE: Gift of the artist, Prescott.



76

77

Drawings and Collages

While primarily known as a photographer, Frederick Sommer has simultaneously pursued the creative possibilities of drawing and collage since the early 1930s. His productions in these media represent a large part of his artistic achievement. Sommer's first one-man exhibition, at the Increase Robinson Gallery, Chicago, in 1934, was devoted exclusively to his watercolors. Throughout his career, drawing and collage have proved fertile ground for the exploration of his principle concerns of pictorial logic and visual poetry. Drawing, in particular, allows Sommer to pursue fluid investigations of pictorial form, which he considers the ideal preparation for seeing and understanding problems of an aesthetic nature.

Sommer's consummate facility in collage allows for the ongoing transformation of preferred subjects according to the artist's vision. In recent years he has been more active in this medium than in any other. Sommer has stated that "A picture is a fact in logical space," and despite the wide-ranging associations of his collages, visual logic remains a constant. The materials he uses are primarily taken from lithographic plates reproduced in nineteenth-century textbooks illustrating human anatomy. In the cutting and arrangement of these anatomical elements, Sommer composes intricate, multirhythmic compositions that are often vehicles for highly provocative metaphors.

77. FREDERICK SOMMER
Untitled, 1952
Pen and ink, gouache on white paper, 30.5 x 45.8 cm (12 x 18 in.).
Inscribed: signed and dated verso at center *Frederick Sommer 1952* in pencil.
95.GG.68.1

According to Frederick Sommer, "Space and shape make a beautiful drawing"; these considerations are preeminent characteristics of his work in this medium. The viewer is always acutely aware of the attention paid by the artist to the ways that shapes and forms can be deposited on the surface of a sheet of paper. The simultaneously fluid and staccato outlines of this drawing are combined with applications of gouache, thoughtfully worked into the extremities of the interior field. Most of Sommer's drawings reveal a Surrealist sensibility, and as a body of work they suggest the great and enduring effect that the medium of drawing has had on his seeing and his art.

PROVENANCE: Gift of the Artist, Prescott.

78

78. FREDERICK SOMMER
Untitled, 1990
Collage, 27.3 x 32.6 cm (10¾ x 12¹³⁄₁₆ in.). Inscribed: signed and dated verso mount at center *Frederick Sommer 1990* in pencil.
95.XV.69.2

Many of Sommer's most extraordinary collages were produced in the years from 1990 to 1994; a remarkable testament to his continual search for new visual statements at almost ninety years of age. Sommer's collages employ nineteenth-century medical illustrations of human anatomy, which are arranged in multilayered compositions, and celebrate the interrelatedness of nature and the individuality of its different elements. This work is held together by an elaborate network of forms and lines, the arrangement of which suggests three-dimensional associations. While there is often no central focal point to Sommer's collage compositions, their contoured edges redirect the eye toward the center. In this example the central, compelling motif is the head of a child, bisected to reveal an imaginary anatomy of the brain.

PROVENANCE: Gift of the Artist, Prescott.

ADDITIONAL MAKERS

Note: Listed below are the individual photographers whose works were acquired during 1995 by gift or purchase. Each photographer's name is followed by his or her nationality, life dates (or years flourished), and the number of photographs.

ALVAREZ BRAVO, LOLA
(Mexican, 1907–1995), 1 photograph

AUERBACH, ELLEN AND PORTER, ELIOT
(German, born 1906; American, 1901–1990), 1 photograph

BRIGMAN, ANNE W.
(American, 1869–1950),
1 photograph

CAMERON, JULIA MARGARET
(British, 1815–1879), 5 photographs

DODD, JEREMY
(American, active 1970s),
1 photograph
Gift of Joan and Clark Worswick

EVANS, WALKER
(American, 1903–1975),
125 photographs

GOELL, JONATHAN
(American, active 1970s),
4 photographs
Gift of Joan and Clark Worswick

HILL, JOHN T.
(American, active 1970s),
2 photographs
Gift of Joan and Clark Worswick

HOMOLKA, FLORENCE
(American, died 1962), 1 photograph

KATO, TAIZO
(Japanese, 1888–1924), 1 photograph

KERTÉSZ, ANDRÉ
(American, born Hungary,
1894–1985), 1 photograph

LE GRAY, GUSTAVE
(French, 1820–1882), 1 photograph

LEVITT, HELEN
(American, born 1918), 1 photograph

LISSITZKY, EL
(Russian, 1890–1941), 1 photograph

MORGAN, BARBARA
(American, 1900–1992),
4 photographs

PAKAY, SEDAT
(American, active 1960s–90s),
1 photograph
Gift of Joan and Clark Worswick

RECORDS, BILL
(American, active 1970s),
1 photograph
Gift of Joan and Clark Worswick

RENGER-PATZSCH, ALBERT
(German, 1897–1966), 1 photograph

ROSENBLUM, WALTER
(American, born 1919), 1 photograph

SARKAR, BENOY
(American, active 1960s),
1 photograph
Gift of Joan and Clark Worswick

SOMMER, FREDERICK
(American, born Italy, 1905), 17 photographs, 20 drawings, 10 collages
Gift of Frederick Sommer

STEVENS, ROY
(American, active 1940s–50s),
1 contact sheet, 1 photograph
Gift of Joan and Clark Worswick

TESKE, EDMUND
(American, 1911–1996),
3 photographs

ULMANN, DORIS
(American, 1882–1934),
1 photograph

UNKNOWN MAKER
(American, active ca. 1880), 1 tintype
Gift of Anthony A. Lee

UNKNOWN MAKERS
(American, active 1950s–60s),
6 photographs
Gift of Joan and Clark Worswick

WAINTROB, ABRAHAM L.
(American, born 1908), 1 photograph
Gift of Joan and Clark Worswick

WESTON, EDWARD
(American, 1886–1958),
1 photograph

WOLCOTT, MARION POST
(American, 1910–1990),
3 photographs

Sculpture and Works of Art

CERAMICS

79

79. *Pilgrim Flask*
French (Puisaye area of Burgundy), early sixteenth century
Cobalt-glazed stoneware; H: 33.5 cm (13 3/16 in.); W: 23.1 cm (9 1/4 in.); D: 12.8 cm (5 1/8 in.)
95.DE.1

This flask is one of the most important surviving pieces of *grès bleu de Puisaye*, the earliest stoneware produced in France for aristocratic patrons. A number of Puisaye stoneware objects display royal heraldry, including the arms of such important French families as the Bochetel, Rolin, Ferrières, and de la Chaussée. The production of *grès bleu de Puisaye*—so-called because of its brilliant cobalt-oxide glaze, probably imported from the Middle East—has been traced to the last quarter of the fifteenth century when François de Rochechouart, chamberlain of the duc d'Orlèans and of the future Louis XII, married Blanche d'Aumont and established a stoneware factory in Saint'Amand. D'Aumont, a native of the Beauvais region where stoneware was being produced from at least the mid-fifteenth century, might have helped bring the technology of stoneware production to the Puisaye.

PROVENANCE: Chabrières-Arlès collection, France; [Alain Moatti, Paris].

BIBLIOGRAPHY: F. Guillaume Dumas, ed., *Exposition rétrospective de l'Art Français au Trocadéro*, exh. cat. (Lille, 1889), no. 1227, where it is incorrectly described as from Beauvais dating to the end of the fifteenth century; R. Clément, "Les Grès Bleus de Puisaye: Origine, Histoire et Technique," *Bulletin de la Société des sciences historiques et naturelles de l'Yonne* 123 (1991), p. 126.

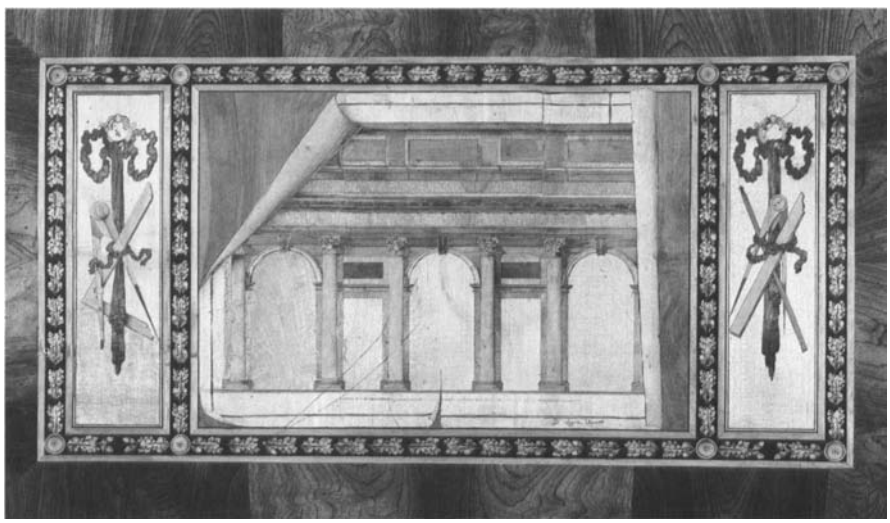
FURNITURE

80a

80. GIUSEPPE MAGGIOLINI
Italian (active in Parabiago and Milan), 1738–1814
Table, late eighteenth century
Walnut and rare wood veneer and inlay; 84 x 110 x 74 cm (33 x 43 5/16 x 29 1/8 in.). Inscribed: on the top
Di Laura Visconti
95.DA.81

One of the most renowned Italian furniture makers of his day, Maggiolini's work influenced cabinetmakers during his lifetime and beyond. Rather than being an innovative creator of furniture forms, he was especially skilled in a type of elegantly designed and masterfully executed marquetry in the Neoclassical style, such as seen on this table. He achieved success in the highest circles and produced furniture for such patrons as Archduke Ferdinand of Austria, King Stanislao Poniatowski of Poland, Empress Maria Theresa of Austria, and Duchess Maria Amalia of Parma, as well as for the Napoleonic and Russian courts. Original drawings for this work's tabletop and for one of its legs are among the papers included in the Maggiolini Archive of the Castello Sforzesco, Milan. These papers originate from the workshop of the artist himself.

PROVENANCE: Presumably made for a Laura Visconti, possibly the one who married Carlo Visconti di Modrone in the mid-eighteenth century; private collection, Lugano; [Picket Anstalt, Vaduz, Liechtenstein].



80b

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. González-Palacios, "Tre tavoli importanti," in *Scritti in Onore di Giuliano Briganti*, ed. M. Bona Castellotte et al. (Milan, 1990), pp. 257–58, figs. 6–8.

81. *Set of Six Armchairs*

Central Italian, ca. 1620–30
Mahogany inlaid with oak, spindle tree, and lignum vitae; chairs .1, .3, .4, .6: 100 x 62 x 51.7 cm (39⅜ x 24⅜ x 20⅜ in.), chairs .2, .5: 102.6 x 62 x 51.7 cm (40⅜ x 24⅜ x 20⅜ in.)
95.DA.22.1–6

The form of these chairs, purportedly of Spanish origin, was the most common chair type throughout Europe in the seventeenth century. The chairs display several distinctive features, however, including the splayed legs, the elegant geometric patterns of intarsia that recall a type of early Florentine *pietre dure* inlay used to ornament panels of furniture, and the use of colorful and exotic hardwoods. Such seventeenth-century Italian chairs—particularly in sets and of comparably inventive design, precious materials, and technical expertise—are extremely rare.

PROVENANCE: Descendants of Cardinal Silvio Passerini (d. 1529); private collection, Switzerland; [Rosenblatt Invest., S.A., Panama].

81

82. *Side Table*

Italian (Sicily), mid-eighteenth century
Silver gilt limewood with a limestone top; 104 x 183 x 78 cm (41 x 72 x 30¾ in.)
95.DA.6

The eccentric elaboration of Rococo elements on this unusually grand side table—the "skirted" feet, large pierced rail cartouche, bifurcated legs, and "taut" stretchers reminiscent of pulled taffy—suggest this table was made in Italy, particularly Sicily, rather than anywhere north of the Alps. In the North the Rococo style emphasized ethereal forms and ornament whereas Italian works gave importance to an object's structure, animated rather than subsumed by its decorative elements. In addition the silver gilt surface on a rich bole ground, which probably included a *mecca*, or gold-colored varnish (now lacking), is a treatment found most often in southern Italy and was employed as a sort of poor man's gold.

PROVENANCE: Private collection, London; [John Hobbs, London].

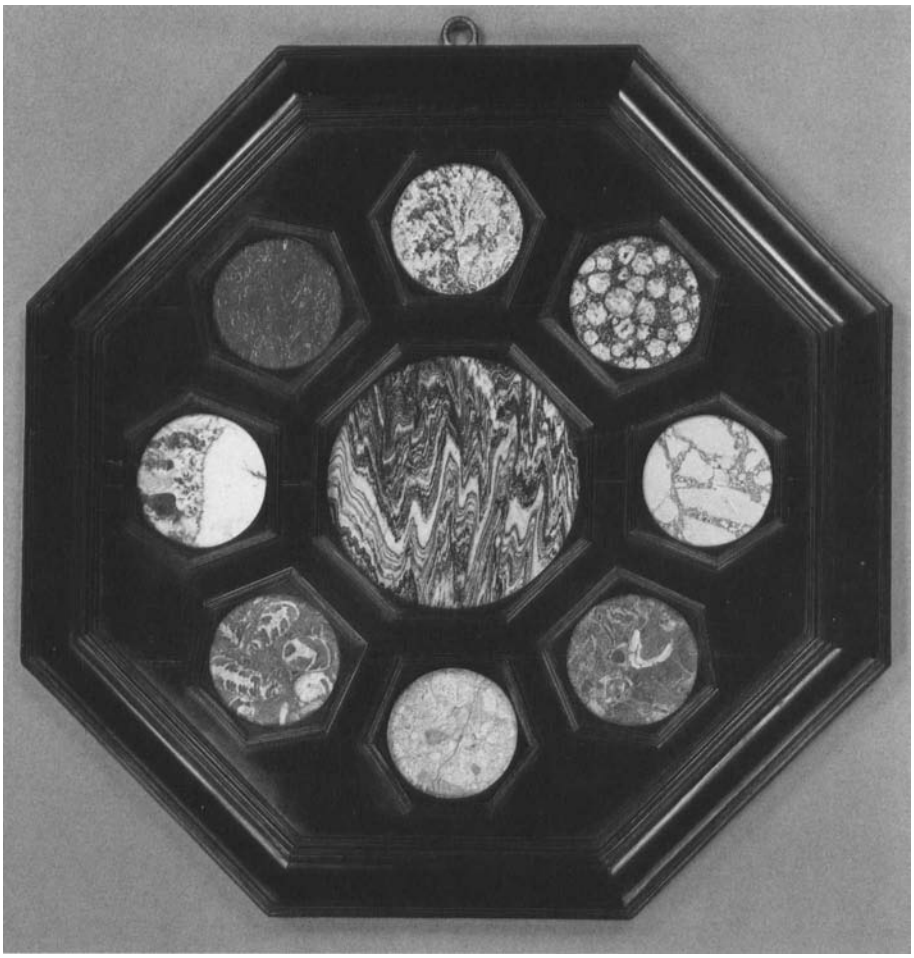
82

83. *Armchair*
Italian (possibly Naples), ca. 1790
Marquetry of rosewood and kingwood; 122 x 64 x 44 cm
(48 x 25 x 17½ in.)
95.DA.76

Like the best Neapolitan decorative arts under Ferdinand IV of Bourbon (r. 1759–1825, interrupted 1798–99, 1806–15), this grand armchair is a masterfully executed object of a refined yet ingenious form. It combines French and English Neoclassical elements with novel Italian ones, such as the outwardly sweeping, undulating arms, and the stunning marquetry patterns. Examination revealed that the chair rail is a later addition and would have originally included a serpentine border embellished with the same lively, stitchlike marquetry found along all other edges of the piece, further increasing its astonishing effect.

PROVENANCE: Private collection, London; [Antoine Chenevière, London].

83

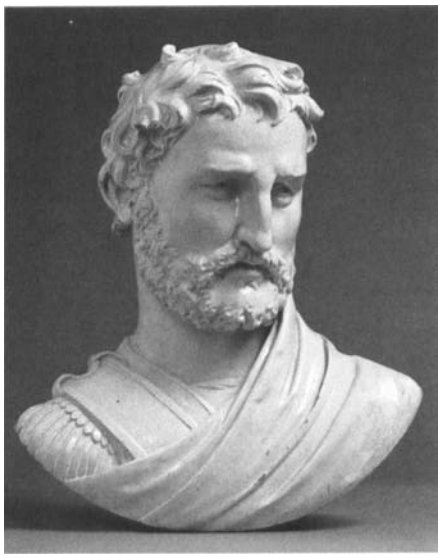


84

84. *Four Framed Stone Panels*
Italian (Florence), ca. 1820
Hard and soft stones (including, among others, *verde rana ondata*, *breccia corallina*, *brocatello di Siena*, and *rosso antico* marble) framed in ebony; Diam. (each panel): 77.5 cm (30½ in.)
95.SE.57.1–.4

Each of these four examples is composed of a solid ebony octagonal panel inset with nine round *lastrae* (slices) of ancient hardstone specimens, each within a smaller hexagonal frame with molded profile. The shape and decoration of these nineteenth-century panels derive from a type of Italian Renaissance intarsia tabletop of octagonal form. The panels may have decorated a room, such as a study, in a nineteenth-century Italian palace, or as portable examples of *pietre dure* inlay, they may have served as Grand Tour souvenirs for tourists returning from Florence. These panels differ from other, more scientifically oriented specimen plaques in their emphasis on the colorism and decorative qualities of the stones.

PROVENANCE: Private collection, Paris; [Jacques Ollier, Paris].



85

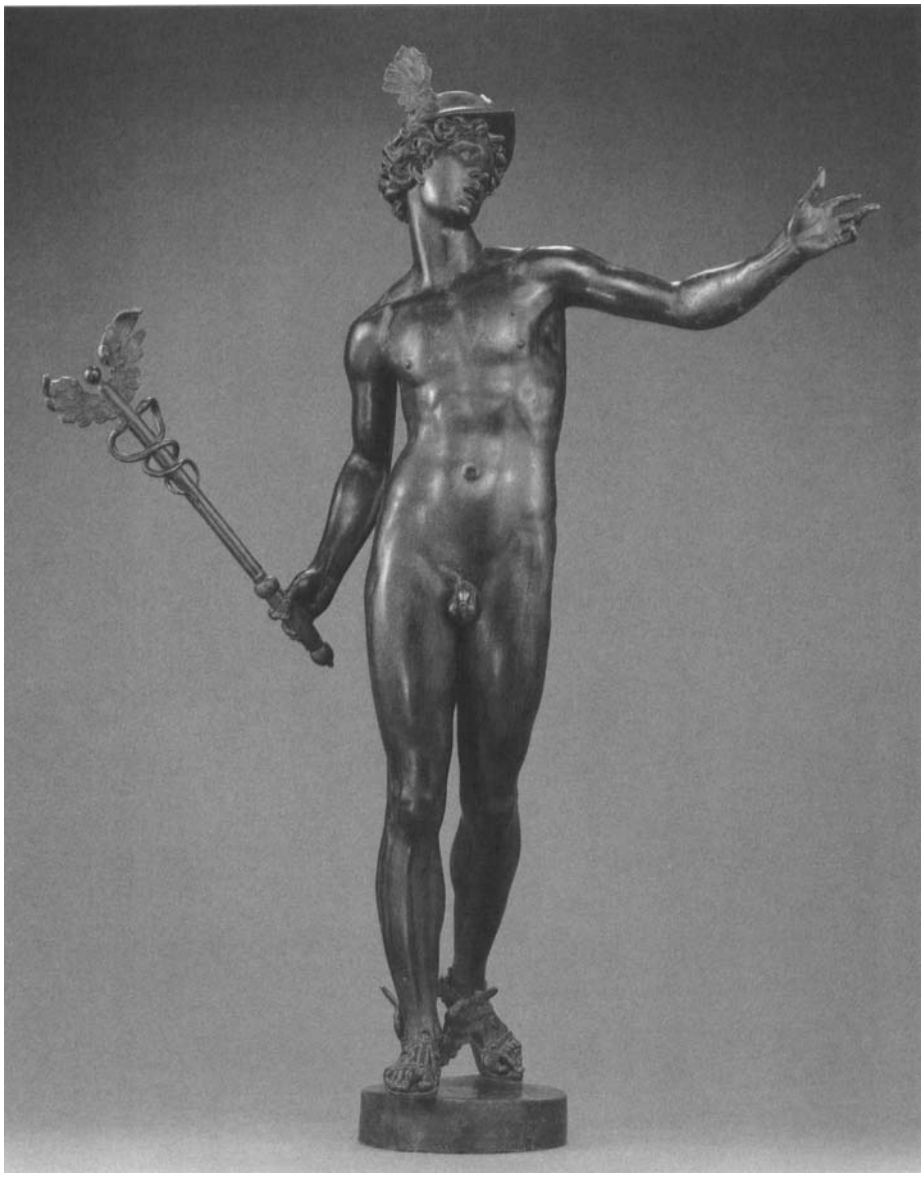
SCULPTURE

85. GIROLAMO DELLA ROBBIA
Italian, 1488–1566
Bust of a Man, 1526–35
Glazed terra-cotta, H: 46.4 cm (18¼ in.)
95.SC.21

This bust belongs to a series produced by Girolamo della Robbia for the Château d'Assier in the south of France, which was built from 1526 to 1535 by Jacques, called Galiot, de Gourdon de Genouillac (1465–1546), a celebrated soldier and *grand écuyer* to King Francis I (r. 1515–47). The quadrangular castle displayed glazed terra-cotta portrait medallions in high relief on the second story of the courtyard facades. Of the three other known, surviving medallions in glazed terra-cotta, one likely represents the emperor Constantine and another Alexander the Great. The classicizing armor and drapery of the Getty bust suggest that it, too, depicts an ancient Roman ruler or Gallic hero. The portrait would have been set into a round frame or wreath and, with its reflective white glaze and expressive modeling, would have created a striking contrast with the flat, gray walls of the château. The *Head of a Man* recalls portrait medallions produced just a few years earlier by the Florentine della Robbia workshop for the Certosa in Val d'Ema, which Girolamo must have seen during his brief return to Florence in 1525.

PROVENANCE: Commissioned by Jacques, called Galiot, de Gourdon de Genouillac, Château d'Assier (near Figeac), between 1526 and 1535; remained in situ on the courtyard facade of Château d'Assier under successive owners until the late eighteenth century; Plantade printing house, Cahors, 1860s until at least 1902; [Guy Ladrière, Paris].

BIBLIOGRAPHY: P. Vitry and G. Brière, *Documents de sculpture française* (Paris, 1911; reprint, New York, 1969), p. 13, pl. 42, no. 3; G. Gentilini, *I Della Robbia* (Florence, 1994), vol. 2, pp. 366–67.



86

86. JOHAN GREGOR VAN DER SCHARDT
Dutch (active Vienna and Nuremberg), ca. 1530–after 1581
Mercury, ca. 1570–80
Bronze, H: 114 cm (44.9 in.)
95.SB.8

The Dutch sculptor Johan Gregor van der Schardt was one of the first sculptors to bring the Italian Mannerist style to Northern Europe, where, after several years of study in Italy, he earned international fame working in courtly circles in Vienna and Nuremberg. Four bronze casts of van der Schardt's *Mercury* survive; the Getty *Mercury* is attributed to the artist on the basis of an abbreviated signature found on a cast of similar size in the National-

museum, Stockholm. The mythological god Mercury, son of Jupiter and Maia, was the divine messenger and patron of travel, commerce, science, and thievery. Depicted as an athletic youth stepping forward, Mercury wears winged sandals, a winged helmet, and carries his magic staff, the *caduceus*. The extended left arm, the turn of the head, the walking pose, and the modeling of the torso indicate that van der Schardt based his *Mercury* on an ancient Roman sculpture, the *Apollo Belvedere*. The *Mercury* belonged to Nuremberg patrician Paul Praun (1548–1616), who may have commissioned the work or purchased it from the artist's estate.

PROVENANCE: Collection of Paul Praun, Nuremberg, by 1616; Praun family, Nuremberg, by descent; sold to Johann Friedrich Frauenholz, 1801; Count Franz Erwein von Schönborn-Wiesentheid, 1818; descended in the von Schönborn family, Reichartshausen in Rheingau, then Schloss Weissenstein, Pommersfelden, 1860s–1994; [Same Art Inc., Zurich].

BIBLIOGRAPHY: C. T. de Murr, *Description du Cabinet de Monsieur Paul de Praun à Nuremberg* (Nuremberg, 1797), p. 230; K. Bott, *Die Grafen von Schönborn, Kirchenfürsten, Sammler, Mäzene*, exh. cat. (Nuremberg, 1989), pp. 243–44, no. 116; *idem*, "Die Grafen von Schönborn, Kirchenfürsten, Sammler, Mäzene, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg 1989. Ergänzungen und Korrekturen," *Anzeiger des Germanischen Nationalmuseums* (1989), pp. 184–87; H. H. de Lichtenberg, *Johan Gregor van der Schardt* (Copenhagen, 1991), pp. 80–84; U. Berger, "Bemerkungen zum Werk von Johann Gregor van der Schardt anlässlich der ersten Monographie über den Bildhauer," *Kunstchronik* 46 (July 1993), pp. 361–70; U. Berger, *Das Praunsche Kabinett*, exh. cat. (Nuremberg, 1994), p. 357, no. 180.

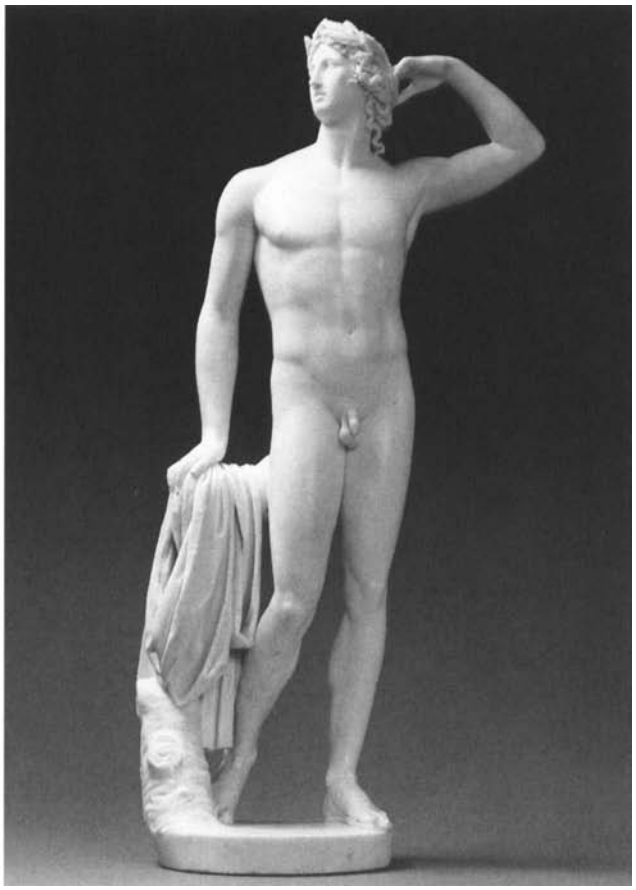
87

87. ATTRIBUTED TO FRANCESCO MOCHI
Italian, 1580–1654
Tabernacle Door with the Crucifixion, ca. 1635–40
Gilt bronze, H: 54.3 cm (21⅜ in.); W: 28.8 cm (11⅜ in.). Inscribed: on the reverse in a later hand *Francesc[us] Mochi.*
95.SB.2

The relief depicts Christ crucified, Mary and John standing to either side, and Mary Magdalene kneeling and embracing the foot of the cross. The elongated, rectangular shape and large size of the relief, as well as the gilding, keyhole, and hinges, indicate that it functioned as the door of a sacrament tabernacle. Such tabernacles were placed on the main altars of churches and could rise as high as fifteen feet above the ground; this placement explains the use of foreshortening in the composition, which is meant to be seen from below. The relief is attributed to Francesco Mochi, a contemporary and rival of the Roman Baroque sculptors Gian Lorenzo Bernini and Alessandro Algardi. The attribution is based on the relief's stylistic similarities with Mochi's bronze reliefs for the equestrian monuments of Ranuccio and Alessandro Farnese in Piacenza (1612–29). Its dating is based on a comparison with the marble *Saint Veronica*, which Mochi carved in the 1630s for the crossing of Saint Peter's in Rome. The relief also reflects Mochi's experience of contemporary Roman painting; the composition has a direct prototype in Guido Reni's altarpiece of the *Crucifixion*, completed in 1639 for the church of Santa Maria della Vittoria.

PROVENANCE: [Trinity Fine Art Ltd., London, 1993]; [Daniel Katz, London].

88



89

88. LORENZO OTTONI
Italian, 1648–1726
Portrait Medallion of Pope Alexander VIII, 1690–91
White marble medallion mounted on a *bigio antico* marble base, H: 88.9 cm (35 in.). Inscribed: on the medallion around the portrait image *ALEX. VIII. P. O. M. FRAN. CARD. BARB. F. F.*
95.SA.9.1–.2

The marble medallion depicts Pope Alexander VIII Ottoboni (r. 1689–91) in papal vestments usually worn for informal audiences. The inscription indicates that the object was commissioned by Cardinal Francesco Barberini (1662–1738) in honor of the Pope. The double-headed eagle, an emblem of the Ottoboni family, is carved from the same marble as, and seems to rise out of, the base, and serves to hold the medallion aloft.

PROVENANCE: Commissioned by Cardinal Francesco Barberini, probably 1699–1700; Private collection, Switzerland, by the 1940s; [Same Art Inc., Zurich].

89. ANTONIO CANOVA
Italian, 1757–1822
Apollo, 1781–82
Marble, H: 84.7 cm (33⅜ in.). Inscribed: at the base of the tree stump *ANT. CANOVA/VENET. FACIEB./ 1781.*
95.SA.71

This statuette was the first marble Canova executed in Rome and marks a critical turning point in his stylistic development. While still a visitor in Rome from Venice, Canova was asked by Don Abbondio Rezzonico, nephew of Pope Clement XIII, to execute a figure of Apollo. Canova's figure was intended to demonstrate his study and assimilation of the famous ancient sculptures in Rome, as well as his progress away from a late Baroque or Rococo aesthetic and toward a Neoclassical ideal of beauty and composition. Canova's statuette, which was judged in competition with a figure of *Minerva*, now lost, by the Roman sculptor Giuseppe Angelini, was favorably received by Rezzonico and helped launch Canova's career. In order to concentrate fully on the depiction of a heroic male nude based on ancient prototypes, Canova selected a relatively calm moment in Ovid's dramatic story of Apollo and Daphne (*Metamorphoses* 1.557– 59). Having lost his love Daphne, who was transformed into a laurel tree, Apollo crowns himself with laurel and laments, "Since you cannot be my bride, at least you will be my tree. My hair, my lyre, my quiver will always be entwined with you, O laurel."

PROVENANCE: Don Abbondio Rezzonico, Rome, 1781, until his death on March 1, 1810; by bequest to Filippo Bernardo Orsini, former Duke of Gravina; by 1816 in the collection of Baron Martial Daru of Montpellier, who took the sculpture to France before 1824; Duke of Treviso; Marcel Schwob d'Héricourt; sold, Galerie Charpentier, Paris, April 17, 1951, lot 73; George Encil, 1957–1990 (Sotheby's, London, December 13, 1990, lot 94, unsold); [Rainer Zietz Limited, London].

BIBLIOGRAPHY: L. Cicognara, *Biografia di Antonio Canova* (Venice, 1823), pp. 13, 58, 82; I. Albrizzi Teotochi, *Opere di scultura e di plastica di Antonio Canova* (Pisa, 1824), vol. 4, pp. 102–4; H. Honour, "Canova's Theseus and Minotaur," *Victoria and Albert Museum Yearbook* 1 (1969), pp. 4–5; G. Pavanello, *L'Opera completa del Canova* (Milan, 1976), p. 91, no. 19;

90

91

G. Pavanello, "Antonio Canova: Apollo Crowning Himself," in *Experience and Adventures of a Collector* (Paris, 1989), pp. 350–61; G. Pavanello, "Una scheda per l''Apollo che si incorona' di Antonio Canova," *Antologia di Belle Arti*, n.s., nos. 35–38 (1990), pp. 4–12.

90. FRANCESCO ANTONIO FRANZONI
Italian, 1734–1818
Model for a Fireplace Overmantle, ca. 1789
Terra-cotta, H: 53.5 cm (21 1/16 in.)
95.SC.77

Francesco Antonio Franzoni was one of the most important sculptors and restorers of antique sculpture in late eighteenth-century Rome, where he worked on papal and aristocratic commissions. This is a terra-cotta sketch, or *bozzetto*, for a marble overmantle presumably to be placed above the fireplace in a second-floor drawing room of Palazzo Braschi in Rome, the family palace of Pope Pius VI (r. 1775–99). It takes the form of a relief panel in the shape of a frame (intended to hold a mirror in the finished overmantle) set on a narrow ledge, which is a later restoration. Military trophies are displayed along with two putti, a lion, an eagle, and papal insignia. A late eighteenth-century newspaper reports that the Braschi fireplace was in Franzoni's Roman workshop, confirming the attribution of this sketch to the artist. A nineteenth-century photograph shows that Franzoni did complete the marble overmantle, which is now lost. The form of the overmantle may have been influenced by the work of Giovanni Battista Piranesi, who illustrated many elaborate, classicizing designs for fireplaces in his *Diverse maniere d'adornare i Cammini* (Rome, 1769).

PROVENANCE: Private collection, London; [Trinity Fine Art Ltd., London].

BIBLIOGRAPHY: R. Carloni, "Francesco Antonio Franzoni: Il Cammino Braschi," *Antologia di Belle Arti, Il Neoclassico* n.s., nos. 43–47 (1993), pp. 67–70; J. Winter et al., eds., *An Exhibition of Old Master Drawings and European Works of Art*, exh. cat. (New York, 1995), pp. 212–13, no. 113.

91. HENRY WEEKES, R.A.
British, 1807–1877
Bust of Mary Seacole, 1859
Marble, H: 66 cm (26 in.).
Inscribed: at the back *H. Weekes, A.R.A./Sc. 1859.*
95.SA.82

This bust most likely represents Mary Jane Seacole (née Grant; 1805–1881), a Jamaican woman of mixed race who became famous in Britain for her activities as a tireless, compassionate nurse to British soldiers during the Crimean War. Weekes, a student of Sir Francis Chantrey and, later, a professor at the British Royal Academy, conceived his portrait of Seacole in exotic terms, placing her image on a naturalistic socle of tall, delicate leaves, as if she were a sort of mysterious blossom or plant. Seacole's features, which are known from other representations of her in drawings and prints, have been idealized and rendered more youthful. The combination of whimsical and naturalistic elements in the *Bust of Mary Seacole* make it Weekes's most inventive portrait.

PROVENANCE: Private collection, Canterbury, until the mid-1960s; private collection, London (sale, Christie's, London, March 2, 1995, lot 215); [Jonathan Harris, London].

92. JEAN-BAPTISTE CHATIGNY
French, 1834–1886
Head of Saint John the Baptist, 1869
Bronze, Diam: 43.5 cm (17⅛ in.); Depth: 20.4 cm (8 in.). Inscribed: at lower left *J.Chatigny / 1869 Lyon.*
95.SB.78

Trained in Lyons at the École des Beaux-Arts, Chatigny worked in Paris and returned to his native city for the last two decades or so of his life. His close association with the painter-philosopher Paul-Joseph Chenevard (1807–1895) and with leading Lyonnais theosophists like Adrien Peladan père (1815–1890) place Chatigny within the sphere of nineteenth-century occultism. His interest in mystical subject matter is exemplified by his iconic treatment of *John the Baptist* and his emphasis on the sublime aspects of death. John's gaunt face, with its slightly open eyes and parted lips, and his abundant hair, which seems almost to dissolve into the platter that contains it, convey an image of transcendence and surrender rather than suffering. The loose, sketchy treatment of the surface, which anticipates the work of Auguste Rodin (1840–1917), further distances the image from the everyday, real world. Chatigny cast his sculpture with a hole at the top, indicating its intended display as a wall relief.

PROVENANCE: [André Lemaire, Paris]; [David and Constance Yates, New York].

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Audin and E. Vial, *Dictionnaire des artistes et ouvriers d'art du Lyonnais* (Paris, 1918), p. 176.

92

Trustees

Robert F. Erburu
Chairman
Harold M. Williams
President and Chief Executive Officer
John F. Cooke
Ramon C. Cortines
David I. Fisher
David P. Gardner
Gordon P. Getty
Vartan Gregorian
Agnes Gund
Helene L. Kaplan
Herbert L. Lucas, Jr.
Stuart T. Peeler
J. Patrick Whaley
Blenda J. Wilson
Ira E. Yellin

Harold E. Berg
Norris Bramlett
Kenneth N. Dayton
John T. Fey
Jon B. Lovelace
Rocco C. Siciliano
Jennifer Jones Simon
John C. Whitehead
Otto Whittman
Trustees Emeriti

Staff List (as of June 30, 1996)

John Walsh
Director
Deborah Gribbon
Associate Director and Chief Curator
Barbara S. Whitney
Associate Director for Administration and Public Affairs

ADMINISTRATION

DIRECTOR'S AND ASSOCIATE DIRECTORS' OFFICES
Frances Biral
Executive Assistant to the Director
Angela Duncan
Julia Tranner
Administrative Assistants
Evelyn Bassel
Administrative Coordinator
Amy Fisk
Margeaux La Brew
Staff Assistants 3
Guy Wheatley
Research Associate

TRANSITION
K. Quincy Houghton
Transition Manager
Peggy Hanssen
Staff Assistant 2

PERSONNEL AND ADMINISTRATIVE SERVICES
Kristin Kelly
Manager of Administration
Ellen Wirth
Manager of Office Services
David Blair
Budget Manager
Deborah A. Hazen
Assistant Manager, Administrative Services
Gertrude Geeraerts
Accounting Services Coordinator
Lynette T. Haynes
Accounts Payable Clerk 2
Ronald J. White
General Services Clerk
Therese Whalen
Administrative Services Assistant
Eve A. Bailey
Staff Assistant 3
Lorraine K. Forrest
Nancy Smith
Receptionists
Jennifer S. Hickman
Research Assistant

INFORMATION SYSTEMS
Robin R. Lilien
Manager of Information Systems
Sally J. Gutierrez
Database/Systems Analyst
Jason M. Patt
Microcomputer Support Specialist
Jessica M. Dobratz
Research Assistant
Peggy Hanssen
Staff Assistant 2

CURATORIAL

DEPARTMENT OF ANTIQUITIES
Marion True
Curator
Kenneth Hamma
John Papadopoulos
Associate Curators
Marit Jentoft-Nilsen
Associate Curator for Research
Janet B. Grossman
Karol Wight
Assistant Curators
Elana B. Towne-Markus
Despoina Tsiafakis
Curatorial Assistants
Dorothy T. Osaki
Staff Assistant 2

DEPARTMENT OF DECORATIVE ARTS
Gillian Wilson
Curator
Charissa Bremer-David
Jeffrey Weaver
Assistant Curators
Nina Banna
Staff Assistant 2

DEPARTMENT OF DRAWINGS
Nicholas Turner
Curator
Lee Hendrix
Associate Curator
Nancy E. Yocco
Assistant Conservator
Stephanie Schrader
Curatorial Assistant
Kathleen Kibler
Staff Assistant 2

DEPARTMENT OF MANUSCRIPTS
Thomas Kren
Curator
Nancy Turner
Associate Conservator
Kurtis Barstow
Elizabeth Teviotdale
Assistant Curators
Adam Cohen
Curatorial Assistant
Tulis McCall
Staff Assistant 2

DEPARTMENT OF PAINTINGS
David A. Jaffé
Curator
Dawson W. Carr
Associate Curator
Denise Allen
Assistant Curator
Arianne Faber Kolb
Jennifer Helvey
Curatorial Assistants
Jean Linn
Staff Assistant 2

DEPARTMENT OF PHOTOGRAPHS
Weston Naef
Curator
Gordon Baldwin
Judith Keller
Associate Curators
Marc Harnly
Associate Conservator
Ernest Mack
Assistant Conservator
Julian P. Cox
Joan Gallant Dooley
Katherine Ware
Assistant Curators
Anne Lyden
Curatorial Assistant
Michael Hargraves
Cataloguing Assistant
Marcia Lowry
Staff Assistant 2
Jean Smeader
Sarah Sullivan
Senior Office Assistants

DEPARTMENT OF SCULPTURE AND WORKS OF ART
Peter Fusco
Curator
Peggy Fogelman
Catherine Hess
Associate Curators
Dottie Goggin
Staff Assistant 2

EXHIBITIONS
Irene Martín
Exhibitions Manager
Kevin F. Murphy
Staff Assistant 2

EXHIBITION DESIGN
Merritt Price
Exhibition Design Manager
Timothy McNeil
Senior Designer, Exhibition Graphics
Mary Beth Trautwein
Designer
Nicole Hagedorn
Design Technician
Kevin F. Murphy
Staff Assistant 2

CONSERVATION

ANTIQUITIES CONSERVATION
Jerry C. Podany
Conservator
Maya Elston
Lisbet Thoresen
Associate Conservators
Jeffrey P. Maish
Susan Lansing Maish
Eduardo P. Sánchez
Assistant Conservators
Robert Sieger
William W. Thornton
Conservation Technicians/ Mountmakers
Eileen Ehmann
Staff Assistant 2

DECORATIVE ARTS AND SCULPTURE CONSERVATION
Brian B. Considine
Conservator
Jane L. Bassett
Joseph J. Godla
Gordon P. Hanlon
Associate Conservators
Abigail G. Hykin
Cynthia Moyer
Assistant Conservators
George Johnson
Mark Mitton
Adrienne Pamp
Conservation Technicians/Mountmakers
Patricia M. Howard
Staff Assistant 2

PAINTINGS CONSERVATION
Andrea Rothe
Conservator-in-Charge
Mark Leonard
Conservator
Elisabeth D. Mention
Yvonne J. Szafran
Associate Conservators
D. Gene Karraker
Conservator of Frames
Diane Mooradian
Staff Assistant 2

COLLECTIONS SUPPORT

PHOTOGRAPHIC SERVICES
Charles Passela
Head of Photographic Services
Gerald W. Schneider
Imaging Specialist
Louis Meluso
Jack Ross
Senior Photographers
Ellen M. Rosenbery
Photographer 2
José Sanchez
Photographer 1/Technician
Rebecca Vera Martinez
Photo Technician
Sam Sciarillo
Scanning Technician
Jacklyn Burns
Rights and Reproductions Coordinator
Laura Sanders
Staff Assistant 2
Militza Savalas
Research Assistant

PREPARATION
Bruce A. Metro
Head of Preparation and Machine Shop
Rita Gomez
Principal Preparator—Packing/Crating
Gary K. Lopez
Kevin L. Marshall
Principal Preparators—Art Movement
Mike Mitchell
Principal Preparator—Fabrication
Alfonse Aguilar
Senior Preparator
Stepheny Dirden
Audio/Visual Specialist
Tracy Du Vernet
Lynne R. Kaneshiro
Tony Moreno
Tracy G. Witt
Preparators
Bruce M. Wallin
Assistant Preparator
Michael Easley
FrederickWilliams
Audio/Visual Assistants
Gretchen Greenwood
Staff Assistant 2

REGISTRATION
Sally Hibbard
Registrar
Amy Noel
Collections Management Systems Manager
Cory Gooch
Associate Registrar
Monique Gibbons
Assistant Registrar
Brenda Podemski
Collections Management Systems Assistant
Carla Williams
Susanne Winterhawk
Carl A. Zuber
Research Assistants
Teruko Burrell
Staff Assistant 2
Sofia C. Gutierrez
Lisa V. Kandra
Laura Lewis
Barbara Schreiber
Anne Spackman
Jacqueline Sutton
Clare Ann Van Vorst
Gallery Teachers
L. Courtney McNeil
Staff Assistant 3
Ramona Barnwell
Nancy Benedict
Jennifer Kellen
Staff Assistants 2
Jackie I. Goldfield
Scheduling and Reservations Assistant
Naomi Yamada
Slide Library Assistant

EDUCATION AND PUBLIC AFFAIRS

EDUCATION
Diane Brigham
Head of Education
Ellen Broderick
Manager—Family, Teacher, and Student Services
Karen E. Giles
Manager—Adult and Community Audiences
Lisa Vihos
Manager—Education Resources
Diane M. Manuel
Program Evaluator
Andrew Clark
Elizabeth Escamilla
Jill Finsten
Ann Friedman
Marni Gittleman
Claudia Hanlon
Carrie Sutton
Education Specialists
Martha Godfrey
Slide Librarian
Ceres Bainbridge
Amyra Braha
Alison Glazier
Education Project Specialists
Mari-Tere Alvarez
Todd Conatser
Rowanne M. Henry
Project Coordinators
Mary Ackerman

PUBLIC INFORMATION

Andrea Leonard
Visitor Services Manager
Norman Keyes, Jr.
Public Information Associate, Press and Media Relations
Ivy Okamura
Special Events Manager
Jean Lin
Public Information Assistant, Press and Media Relations
Maureen McCormick
Volunteer Coordinator
Susan M. Adam
Special Events Assistant
Patty Vargas
Staff Assistant 2
Judy McCormick
Staff Assistant 1
Amy L. Drezner
Amie M. Edmonds
Tonii Fowler
Patricia Freeman-Wright
Tambusi M. Green
Mabel A. Hardmon
Anita C. Krick
Michael P. Patnaude
Louis Recupito
Steve Watson
Earl Michael Young
Visitor Services Assistants

PUBLICATIONS

Christopher Hudson
Publisher
Mark Greenberg
Managing Editor
John Harris
Senior Editor
Benedicte Gilman
Editor
William Peterson
Associate Editor
Catherine Comeau
Mollie Holtman
Assistant Editors
Leslie Rollins
Publishing Assistant
Kimberly Palumbo
Editorial Assistant
Maura Christensen
Staff Assistant 2

BOOKSTORE

Julie Wick
Bookstore Buyer/Manager
Christopher Jacobs
Assistant Bookstore Manager
Joyce Ball
Marge Bernstein
Julie Blumberg
Philip G. Hicks
Ivan Monforte
Nora A. Murphy
Bookstore Assistants
Darcy Estes
Research Assistant
Jennifer Homer
Shipping/Receiving Assistant

MAINTENANCE AND FACILITIES

GROUNDS

Richard Naranjo
Manager of Grounds and Gardens
Juan Romero
Grounds Foreman
Michael DeHart
Horticulturist
Roberto Guerrero
Rogelio Oropeza
J. Pablo Rodriguez
Senior Gardeners
Luis Brambila, Sr.
Luis Brambila, Jr.
Eliseo Salazar
Gardeners
José Luna
Rosario Raya
Isabel Segura
Assistant Gardeners
Theresa Williams
Senior Office Assistant

PLANT

Ron Meza
Assistant Chief Engineer
Wayne Branham
Senior Engineer/Electrician
Alexander McDermott
General Engineer/Plumber
Oswald Blake
General Engineer
Rosa Maria Urrutia Morales
Staff Assistant 2

MACHINE SHOP

James Davies
Supervisor, Machine Shop
Peter Shapiro
Supervisor, Woodworking Shop

Project Staff

Michelle Ghaffari
Manuscript Editor
Stacy Miyagawa
Production Coordinator
Leslie Thomas Fitch
Designer
Charles Passela, Jack Ross, Louis Meluso, Ellen Rosenbery
Photographers

Typography by
G & S Typesetters, Inc.,
Austin, Texas
Printed by Gardner Lithograph,
Buena Park, California

ISBN 0-89236-397-5