

Le Jupiter olympien and the Rediscovery of Polychromy in Antique Sculpture: Quatremère de Quincy between Empirical Research and Aesthetic Ideals

In an article published in 1827 in the *New Monthly Magazine* Stendhal, later to achieve fame with his novel *Le Rouge et le noir*, reported on a meeting of the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres. At one point he remarks that 'le grand M. Quatremère de Quincy fit son apparition. C'est le plus ennuyeux de tous les membres de l'Institut.'¹ This low opinion of the archaeologist and art theorist no doubt resulted from Quatremère de Quincy's championing of the Classicists in their often heated aesthetic dispute with the Romantics, a cause to which he was able to lend powerful support as an important official of the Académie des Beaux-Arts. Pace Stendhal, Quatremère is among the most interesting and original archaeologists of his time, not least by reason of his pioneering research of the polychromy of Antique sculpture, in particular that of Ancient Greece.

Born into a respected merchant family in Paris in 1755, Quatremère studied sculpture in Guillaume Coustou's Paris studio, but broke off his training when the death of his mother in 1776 left him in the fortunate position of receiving a small pension.² This enabled Quatremère to visit Rome to study the sculpture of Antiquity (colour plate VII, fig. 1).³ He did not return to France until 1785. The following year a tract he had written on the influence of Egyptian art on that of Ancient Greece won him the *Prix de Caylus* and, during the first years of the Revolution, he was appointed to a number of influential political posts due to his energetic support in the battle for artists' rights. In 1794, however, he was denounced and arrested, yet, after being created a member of the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres in 1804, he re-entered the public arena as a loyal follower of the monarchy during Napoleon's Hundred Days rule in 1814–15. Inundated with offices and honours, Quatremère became Royal Censor, a member of the Legion of Honour, Inspector of Public Arts and Monuments, a member of the Conseil Honoraire des Musées près de la Maison du Roi, editor of the *Journal des Savants*, Professor of Archaeology at the Bibliothèque du Roi and, for the second time, Deputy for the Département of Paris. His most important post, however, was that of Permanent Secretary of the Académie des Beaux-Arts in Paris, a position he held without interruption from 1816 to 1839 (fig. 1). This key office made Quatremère the most influential and the most hated cultural personality in France, for it enabled him, a pugnacious archaeologist and Classicist, to control artistic activity in the country for over two decades.

Quatremère's significance in the present context is as the author of *Le Jupiter olympien, ou L'Art de la sculpture antique considéré sous un nouveau point de vue* (The Olympic Jupiter, or The Art of Antique Sculpture Considered from a New Point of View), which he published in 1815 and dedicated to Napoleon as the Emperor's 'very humble and loyal subject'.⁴ This volume, its title concealing almost as much as it reveals, contains nothing less than the first history of polychromy in Antique sculpture, with the emphasis, natural at the time, on Greece. Discussions of colour in Antiquity rarely fail to mention *Le Jupiter olympien*, so it comes as something of a surprise to discover that



Fig. 1. Julien Léo-pold Boilly, *A. Ch. Quatremère de Quincy*, 1820; lithograph; Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

图 1. 布瓦伊·卡特勒梅尔·德·坎西，1820年，石版，巴黎国家图书馆。

its methodology and place in the historiography of the subject have never been studied in detail.

In *Les Mots et les choses: Une Archéologie des sciences humaines* (*The Order of Things: An Archaeology of Human Sciences*) the historian and philosopher Michel Foucault used disciplines as various as biology, linguistics and economics to draw attention to a rupture in the intellectual life of the eighteenth century. Caused by a lack of confidence in the possibilities of pure knowledge and the feasibility of depicting the world in linguistic terms, this rupture gave rise to two different movements – positivism, a continuation of eighteenth-century empiricism in a more radical form, and idealism, an attempt to revive metaphysical interpretations of the world.⁵ Quatremère's position between these two poles is ambiguous, the result of his own role as both an archaeologist and a theorist.

His history of coloured Antique sculpture, the product of over thirty years' work, represented an attempt to enrich Classical archaeology by an entirely new topic of study, which, in turn, would revolutionize the discipline as a whole. It thus formed part of a wave of new sciences and specialist subjects that began in the second half of the eighteenth century and continued into the first decades of the nineteenth.⁶ Archaeology itself had been given an impressive foundation by Johann Joachim Winckelmann's *Geschichte der Kunst des Altertums* (History of the Art of Antiquity) of 1764, which tried to place the study of Antique art on a scientific footing.⁷ Quatremère noted in *Le Jupiter olympien* that, together with the Antique works of art that he himself had seen in Rome and Naples, it was Winckelmann's writings that had awakened his passion for the sculpture of Antiquity⁸ and he paid tribute to the German's importance as the founder of modern archaeology: 'Winckelmann donna une grande impulsion à l'étude de l'antiquité...par la seule conception synthétique de son ouvrage'.⁹ Quatremère, too, aimed at a 'synthetic conception', a study that united countless individual observations in a single overall picture. If he wished to equal Winckelmann's achievement he would need to modify, even deconstruct, both the latter's findings and the work of Winckelmann's French counterpart, the Comte de Caylus, to whom Quatremère, as a recipient of the prestigious *Prix de Caylus*, indirectly owed his academic career.

The present-day reader will be surprised by the programmatic single-mindedness and confidence with which Quatremère set about re-inventing the discipline of Classical archaeology. To use the terminology of the philosopher of science Thomas S. Kuhn, he sought deliberately to introduce a shift of paradigms, an approach that can be studied in exemplary fashion in his work. Kuhn showed that crises occur again and again in 'normal' science, which is defined by certain paradigms and exhausts itself in the 'determination of significant facts, matching of facts with theory, and articulation of theory'.¹⁰ Inexplicable anomalies lead to uncertainty in a discipline and to the need for new explanatory models. These cannot gain acceptance among specialists, however, until they have been promoted to the extent that new paradigms are created.¹¹ In Quatremère's day and field the unsettling anomalies were Antique sculptures that showed traces of colouring and that were made of materials of various colours, for they did not accord with the accepted view that sculpture in Antiquity had been monochrome. Propagation and establishment of the new paradigm necessarily entailed the downfall of the proponents of current orthodoxy. In his work of 1815 Quatremère did not hesitate, therefore, to follow his praise of Winckelmann by excusing the German's failings: 'Winckelmann n'avait pu embrasser, ni peut-être soupçonner tous les points de sa circonférence'.¹² Quatremère then delivers the crushing blow: 'le nouvel historiographe de l'art antique [i.e. Winckelmann] n'avait pas pénétré fort avant de la connaissance des divisions que comporta jadis le domaine de la sculpture...il n'avait jeté qu'un coup-d'œil incertain, et répandu que de faibles lumières sur ce qui constitua les diverses manières, les différentes sortes de travail des productions de l'art, les diversités de gout, d'effet, de composition, et de génie propres à chaque genre d'ouvrage'.¹³

Quatremère's criticism was not without justification. In *Geschichte des Altertums* Winckelmann mentions Greek clay figures that were painted red and figures that were partly gilded; sculptures made of gold and ivory or constructed from wood for the torso and marble for the head, hands and feet; figures that

were clothed and, finally, a statue of Diana found at Herculaneum that had painted hair and garments. Yet he either dated these pieces to the early period of Greek sculpture or simply declared them to be exceptions that proved the monochromatic rule, thus failing to recognize their true significance.¹⁴ For him and his contemporaries, sculptures of white marble were both the rule and the ideal in mature Greek art, for, as Winckelmann argued in his characteristically sensuous vein: 'Da nun die weisse Farbe diejenige ist, welche die mehrsten Lichtstrahlen zurückschickt, folglich sich empfindlicher macht, so wird auch ein schöner Körper desto schöner sein, je weisser er ist'.¹⁵ In *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres* and *Récueil des Antiquités* the Comte de Caylus, who was important to Winckelmann by reason of his comparative approach to Antique art, also mentioned sculptures bearing remains of polychromy or made of different-coloured materials, but he considered these pieces peripheral and, even more strongly than Winckelmann, rejected them as aberrations of Antique taste. Of the statue of the Parthenon Athena, which has survived in literary descriptions only, Caylus writes: 'Cette statue de Minerve présente encore une difficulté, elle était d'or et d'ivoire, et elle avait à ses pieds un serpent et un sphinx de bronze. Quel alliage de couleurs et de matières!'¹⁶

Behind this rejection of coloured Antique sculpture lay the Neoclassical theory of art, which enjoyed general acceptance at the time. According to this view, a strict division existed between sculpture and painting: the former was defined by form, which, like the 'dessin', the drawing or line in painting, was alone capable of reflecting the genius involved in the act of creation and, above all, the idea of a work of art. Fully conscious of these attitudes, Quatremère presented himself as the bringer of enlightenment who would overturn ideas and scholarship based on prejudice. Confidently, he wrote: 'Je me flatte...à étendre ce nouveau domaine de l'antiquité, et à détruire des préventions dont quelques-unes me paraissent avoir leur source dans le défaut absolu d'observation, et dans l'ignorance même des faits'.¹⁷ As a dispassionate observer, Quatremère found the causes of this ignorance not only in the Neoclassical theory of art, but also in contemporary artistic practice: not only did polychrome Antique sculpture contradict orthodox opinion; sculptors of his own day created works only in white marble and thus set the seal on aesthetic convention. This prevented archaeologists, strongly influenced by artistic theory and practice, from recognizing that Antique sculpture had been coloured: 'Car...la connaissance [de l'art polychrome] n'a manqué jusqu'ici à l'histoire de l'antiquité, que parce que les artistes n'ont jamais dirigés par la pratique de la sculpture moderne, vers la recherche de l'art des assemblages ou les ouvrages à compartiment'.¹⁸ Quatremère here voices the relativist opinion, astonishing for the time, that thinking is determined by experience gained during a particular time.

It was this very knowledge of historical determinants that enabled Quatremère to break through the vicious circle of theory and artistic practice. Exaggerating, one might even claim that it was only the type of historical consciousness developed in the aftermath of the Enlightenment and the French Revolution that permitted the phenomenon of coloured Antique sculpture to be accepted and appreciated.¹⁹ A crucial part of this consciousness consisted in recognizing the difference between one's own times and Antiquity. Quatremère expresses this with exceptional clarity when he says 'le monde ancien...venait se mettre en parallèle avec le monde moderne'²⁰ or speaks of the 'vide immense, que le temps et la destruction ont laissé entre les anciens et nous'.²¹



Fig. 2. The Acropolis, Athens, with the Parthenon, 447-438/32 BC; view from the north-west.

图 2. 雅典卫城，帕台农神庙，从西北方向看，公元前 447-前 438/32 年。

This historical awareness of difference culminates in Quatremère's much quoted saying (which is often misunderstood as pure empiricism): 'Il faut se persuader que les anciens employèrent les arts tout autrement que les modernes.'²² Antique art was so different because, Quatremère held, it came to being in a different social context. Hence, art can be understood, and should be judged, only with reference to its time and to the other conditions under which it arose: 'On doit donc...pour bien juger, rapprocher l'espèce de goût qui fut particulier à ces ouvrages, du genre des causes qui les produisirent et des effets qu'on en exigeait. Il ne faut pas isoler les monuments des opinions, des sentiments, des affections avec lesquels ils étaient nés.'²³ These thoughts lead to a statement that would seem to anticipate the tenets of the famous nineteenth-century German historian Leopold von Ranke: 'Il faut...juger seulement en elles-mêmes, des choses.'²⁴

This remarkably dispassionate, historical view of Antiquity had its roots in France in the 'querelle des anciens et modernes' (dispute between the Ancients and the Moderns) sparked off during a session of the Académie Française on 27 January 1687 by a poem of Charles Perrault's in which, contending that the age of Louis XIV equalled that of Emperor Augustus of Rome, he wrote: '[Les anciens] sont grands, il est vrai, mais hommes comme nous.'²⁵ In its early eighteenth-century continuation as a quarrel between Homer's admirers and detractors, this dispute finally led to the 'historicization' of both Antique and contem-

porary literature and to a 'relativization' of both Antique and modern models.²⁶ These attitudes inform the second part of Winckelmann's *Geschichte der Kunst des Altertums*, in which the history of art is connected with historical and political events to produce a survey of the familiar growth-flourishing-decay type,²⁷ a cyclical biological model to which Quatremère also remained true. Quatremère could scarcely have adopted such a detached view of history, however, had he not experienced at first hand, as a participant in the French Revolution, the speed with which the world can adapt to altered political and social circumstances.

Returning to the subject of polychromy, we note that three inexplicable anomalies gave rise to Quatremère's revolutionary revision of notions of Antique art: references to coloured sculpture by the Ancient writers Pausanias and Pliny the Elder; reports by travellers of new discoveries in Athens; and the observations that Quatremère himself had made at the excavations of Herculaneum and Pompeii, in various Italian museums, particularly in Rome, and in the Musée Napoléon (now the Louvre) in Paris.²⁸ It was above all Pausanias' mention of lost chryselephantine cult statues by Phidias that aroused Quatremère's interest, awakening in him a desire to explore the phenomenon of polychrome sculpture. Aware that, in order to achieve success as the brilliant founder of a science, as a 'second Winckelmann', he would need to appear as a discoverer, Quatremère placed himself in the best possible light in *Le Jupiter olympien*: 'En me représentant ces

grands ouvrages de l'art, la haute célébrité dont ils jouirent, la renommée de leurs auteurs, je fus de plus en plus frappé, et du silence des critiques modernes sur une si noble partie de l'art antique.²⁹

Antique mentions of lost cult images were complemented by first reports of remains of colouring found on sculptures from the Parthenon and the 'Theseion' in Athens. Quatremère, who never visited Greece, was in contact with the collector Choiseul-Gouffier, the engineer Fougerot and the French ambassador in Athens, Fauvel, all of whom had assisted in the removal of the Elgin Marbles from the Parthenon in the early years of the century and told Quatremère on several occasions that the sculptures bore traces of colour (figs. 2, 3).³⁰ Further support for the idea that the sculptural decoration of the Parthenon had originally been coloured was provided in *The Antiquities of Athens* (1787) by the Englishmen James Stuart and Nicholas Revett, who drew attention to the many holes drilled in the sculptures for the attachment of metal reins and various attributes.³¹ These, Quatremère felt, confirmed that the traces of colouring were original.³² From his informants' observations on the polychromy of the Parthenon sculptures he concluded: 'Sans être ce qu'on peut appeler peinte...elle [la sculpture] avait des parties teintées dans différentes manières, qui tantôt la détachaient du fond sur lequel les couleurs étaient appliquées, tantôt indiquaient les plans des figures par les différents tons, soit des draperies, soit de beaucoup d'autres détails.'³³ In Paris Quatremère could ac-

quire for himself possible confirmation that the sculptures had been coloured, for the Musée Napoléon possessed a fragment from the Parthenon frieze. Since the significance of traces of colour was not recognized, they would have been removed during the customary cleaning, yet Quatremère vaguely remembered having seen such traces when the piece was still in the crate in which it had been transported from Athens.³⁴ Further evidence of Antique polychromy was provided in 1811 and 1812 by the archaeologists Johan David Åkerblad and 'Eduardo' Dodwell, who reported remains of colouring on the 'Theseion' in Athens.³⁵

Not relying solely on the polychromy of sculpture from prominent Athenian temples, Quatremère listed all pieces known to him that bore traces of paint, the discoveries made in Herculaneum and Pompeii being particularly welcome in this respect. References to coloured sculpture in the writings of Antiquity completed his material.³⁶ Quatremère proceeded similarly in the case of polylythic sculpture and of coloured bronze pieces,³⁷ amassing an impressive amount of evidence in favour of his theory, which reversed previous ideas and judgements by claiming that polychromed sculpture in all its various manifestations, and not sculpture of white marble, was the chief form in Antiquity: 'On observe alors que la sculpture en pierre ne fut pas celle qui donna jadis le ton aux travaux et au goût des statuaires; qu'au contraire elle le reçut elle-même des autres parties de l'art de sculpter; de sorte que la matière de ses propres ouvrages ...

Fig. 3. Poseidon, Apollo and Artemis from the eastern section of the Parthenon frieze, c. 440 BC; Athens.

图 3. 雅典，帕台农神庙东面饰带，波塞冬、阿波罗、阿耳忒弥斯，约公元前 440 年。



participa plus qu'on ne pense, du goût de variété, de richesse extérieure et de parure qu'expriment les mots de Sculpture Polychrome.³⁸

Quatremère thought that the key to determining which techniques were used in Antiquity to polychrome marble sculptures was provided by a particular philological interpretation of the well-known passage in which Pliny the Elder reports that the sculptor Praxiteles valued especially highly those of his statues that had been coloured by the painter Nicias: 'Hic est Nicias, de quo dicebat Praxiteles interrogatus quae maxime opera sua probaret in marmoribus: Quibus Nicias manum admovisset. Tantum circumlitioni eius tribuebat.'³⁹ The painted decoration is here denoted by the term 'circumlitio', which Quatremère's predecessors, including the Comte de Caylus and the sculptor Etienne-Maurice Falconet, had interpreted as signifying varnish. Yet since Nicias painted in encaustic, Quatremère concluded that this must have been the technique employed to colour sculpture.⁴⁰ Again, he supports his hypothesis by quoting other passages from Antique writings and by adducing the empirical evidence of traces of paint on Antique sculptures that he himself had examined in Rome and Paris.⁴¹ Quatremère describes the encaustic technique as a way 'de colorer et de teinter les marbres, sans y produire aucune épaisseur'.⁴² He adds: 'Ces teintes incorporées par l'encaustique, n'ayant aucune épaisseur, et n'étant qu'une approximation du ton réel des objets, ne détruisaient pas l'opinion d'unité dans la matière, et pouvaient sembler n'être que le jeu des nuances d'un marbre que la nature se serait plu à diversifier.'⁴³ Time and again Quatremère insists that Antique marble sculptures were not painted in the conventional sense but bore only 'teintes légères'.⁴⁴ In his opinion the Parthenon and 'Theseion' sculptures were also tinted, in a way comparable to the hues displayed by cameos: 'sans être de la sculpture peinte, [ils] étaient ce que j'appelle de la sculpture polychrome, c'est-à-dire, qu'ils jouaient quelques-unes des apparences de la peinture, sans prétendre en contrefaire les effets'.⁴⁵ Quatremère supposed the latter type of painted sculpture to have existed only during the early period of Greek sculpture, which had thus attempted to satisfy the instinctual 'eye of a savage or child' by producing a complete illusion of reality.⁴⁶

We now know that this monolithic view of the colouring of Antique sculpture, which permits works from the mature phases of Greek sculpture to be only lightly tinted rather than painted, is false. The fact that certain especially well preserved examples of polychromed Antique sculpture, such as the statue of Augustus from Prima Porta, were unknown at the time and that suitable methods of scientific investigation were not available no doubt explains this error.⁴⁷ Even so, it is surprising that Quatremère – someone who otherwise always bore in mind the problems posed by the age of the sculptures and the loss of their polychromy⁴⁸ – never seems to have considered the possibility that what presented itself in his time as a light tinting could originally have been a far stronger colouring. Moreover, it is striking that not once does he describe in detail colour traces that he himself saw, preferring instead to report on their general effect. One suspects that Quatremère's view of the polychromy of Antique sculpture was ultimately guided by notions he entertained as a Classical theorist of art, that the primacy of line and form and the strict separation of painting and sculpture simply did not allow him to conceive of Antique sculpture as 'painted'. He attacked his predecessors as subject to preconceptions because they had largely ignored the colouring of sculpture in Antiquity, but one could equally well accuse Quatremère himself of preju-

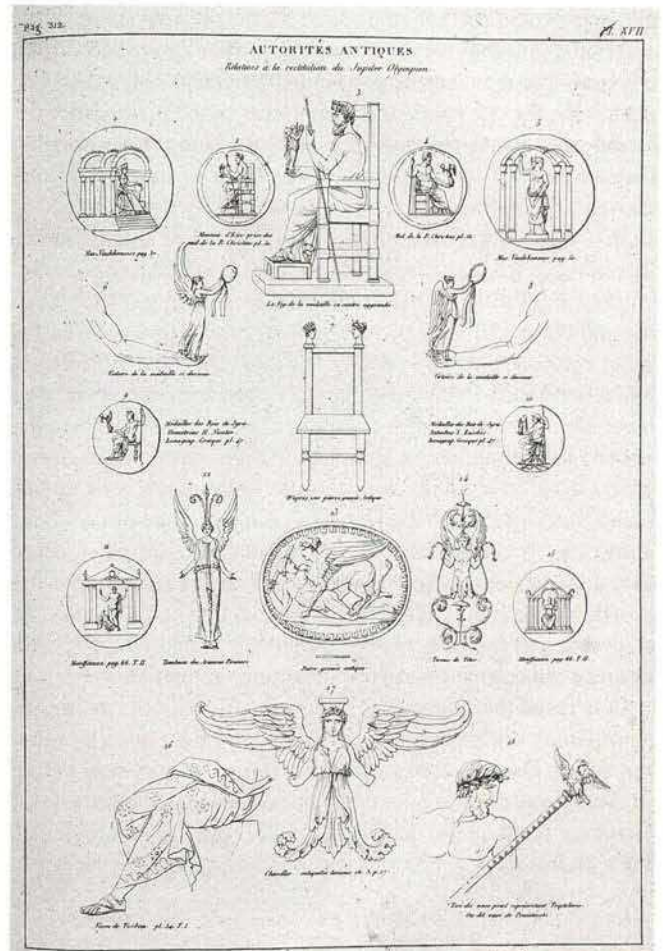


Fig. 4. Items used in reconstructing the 'Olympic Jupiter'; coloured lithograph from A. Ch. Quatremère de Quincy, *Le Jupiter olympien*, Paris, 1815, plate XVII; Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich, Res. Arch. 218m.

图 4. 复原奥林匹斯的朱庇特像所参考的式样图, 卡特勒梅尔·德·坎西:《奥林匹斯的朱庇特像》, 巴黎, 1815年, 图版 XVII, 彩色版画, 慕尼黑巴伐利亚州国家图书馆, Res. Arch. 218m。

dice: he would seem to be interpreting evidence, even if less completely so than his predecessors, in subjective terms that, governed by specific notions of taste, represent an attempt to bring the results of empirical study into line with a particular theory of art. Hence, the term 'polychromy', coined by Quatremère in 1806 as an alternative to 'painting',⁴⁹ originally possessed Classical connotations of which we are no longer conscious.

The culmination of *Le Jupiter olympien*, prepared for throughout the book, is the attempted reconstruction of famous examples of the goldsmith's art from Antiquity, such as the legendary shield of Achilles, described by Homer and believed by Quatremère to have actually existed, and the cult images of gold and ivory from the time of Phidias, all known only from the writings of Antique authors.⁵⁰ Quatremère's intention was not purely archaeological: his reconstruction of these works, which he terms 'incomparably the greatest masterpieces of Greek art',⁵¹ was to provide contemporary artists with a hitherto lost source of inspiration and models.⁵² He therefore illustrated his text lavishly with hand-coloured lithographs of the pieces he had reconstructed, turning the volume into a precious artefact.⁵³ Pride

of place went to the 'Olympic Jupiter', the colossal statue of the enthroned god that had been created for the Zeus sanctuary at Olympia and that lent its name to Quatremère's study (colour plate VIII, fig. 3). Its reconstruction was based on the brief description by Pausanias and on coins, gems and other, comparable statues (fig. 4).⁵⁴ Without his admitting as much, the polychromy – gold reliefs on variously coloured backgrounds and so forth – were largely the product of Quatremère's imagination. Revealingly, the author encourages readers to understand his reconstruction of the statue's colouring by thinking of Raphael's decoration of the Vatican loggias.⁵⁵ Quatremère employed the same method in reconstructing the other famous cult images, whether it be the Parthenon Athena or Polyclitus' renowned statue of Hera at Argos (colour plate VIII, fig. 2), both of them described by Pausanias and Tertullian.⁵⁶ Such masterpieces of Ancient Greek art form the keystone of Quatremère's book and he uses them to establish that Antique sculpture had always been coloured: 'l'exécution de ces sortes d'ouvrages ont existé, et se sont soutenus dans tout les siècles, et à toutes les périodes des arts de l'antiquité'.⁵⁷ With the notion that in Antiquity coloured sculpture was the rule, not the exception,⁵⁸ Quatremère revolutionized the conventional view of Antique sculpture.

Convinced that the idea of beauty itself was reflected in Ancient Greek sculpture and needed only to be imitated by modern artists, Quatremère saw his comprehensive survey of colour in Antique sculpture as a contribution to contemporary art.⁵⁹ However tenuous the link between the two, he continued to view archaeology as the servant of modern art or, as he put it:

'nous appellons l'érudition au secours de l'art'.⁶⁰ He was naturally aware that, as already noted, coloured sculpture contradicted Classical ideals of art. At the end of *Le Jupiter olympien* he therefore marshalled a wealth of arguments to reconcile archaeological findings with modern artistic doctrines, but his tortuous thought processes and often purely rhetorical language served only to make more apparent that the two were in fact irreconcilable.⁶¹ While accepting the principles of Classical theories of art, Quatremère time and again pleaded for exceptions to be made and for the theories not to be applied all too rigorously. His arguments encompass aesthetic effects, as when he claims that an affinity exists between the colour of gold and of ivory that annuls the chromatic monotony of a sculpture – what he calls, polemically, 'the law of monotony'.⁶² He agrees in principle with the opposing view, that external lavishness obscures the idea embodied in a work of art, but feels that the importance of such abstract notions should not be exaggerated. In any case, an iconology of materials exists that can enhance certain of the work's ideas. The beauty of colour is only an addition, but it does not detract from the beauty of the sculpture.⁶³ Further, to the argument that sculpture is governed by form and not by colour, which in three-dimensional work can only blur the distinction between painting and sculpture and lead to excessive illusionism, Quatremère replies that, although this opinion is basically correct, the Ancients used colour not in the manner of illusionistic painting but simply to tint their sculptures.⁶⁴ Here he confirms indirectly the suspicion expressed above that he interpreted empirical findings so as to bring them into har-

Fig. 5. Jean-Baptiste Clésinger, *Woman Bitten by a Snake*, 1847; coloured marble, Musée d'Orsay, Paris.

图 5. 克莱桑热: 被蛇咬的女子, 上色大理石, 巴黎奥赛博物馆。



mony with an existing theory of art. Having set out to legitimize the use of coloured Antique sculpture as a model, Quatremère ends up by cutting the argumentational ground from under his own feet: in the concluding section of his book he points out that the ultimate purpose of colouring sculptures had been to provide convincing evidence of the existence of the gods, that art was practised in the service of religion, that it was therefore a part of history and, as such, could be understood only by applying historical criteria.⁶⁵ It seems not to have occurred to him that, in thus allowing relativism to have the last word, he destroyed the very connection with modern art that he had wished to strengthen.

I think it will have become clear that archaeology and the theory of art are here incompatible. In fact, Quatremère's book provides an exemplary demonstration of the epoch-making rupture between empirical study and metaphysical theory that characterizes the post-French Revolution world. Not only could the results of empirical research not be reconciled with the tenets of an idealistic theory of art; they actually called that theory into question, since they had shown that the Classical model differed from conventional views of it. The contradictions become even more glaring if one takes into account Quatremère's theoretical writings. In *Essai sur la nature, le but et les moyens de l'imitation dans les Beaux-Arts* of 1823, for example, the Neoplatonic theorist of art even went so far as to promote the total lack of colour in sculpture, for, in encouraging imitation that consists solely in producing a similarity to the imitated objects, it aspires to a complete illusion, and that goes against the idea of beauty.⁶⁶ The rift between Quatremère the archaeologist and Quatremère the theorist⁶⁷ has here become quite obvious. Indeed, the findings of archaeology actually undermined his Neoclassical theories of art, developed as a vehement riposte to the Romantics and their notion of the Picturesque.

Quatremère's inconsistency, ultimately the result of the increased historical and empirical awareness that marked the pursuit of knowledge in the second half of the eighteenth century, caused his theories about polychrome sculpture in Antiquity to meet with a mixed response. Staunch supporters existed alongside opponents, among them the German art historian Friedrich Theodor Kugler who, himself a Classicist, claimed that the Ancients painted their sculpture in an even more restrained manner, not including the flesh in their colour schemes.⁶⁸

The limitations and contradictions inherent in Quatremère's approach also become apparent in the discussions of colour in Antique architecture that were sparked off by reports of discoveries made in Sicily. Grippled by enthusiasm for *Le Jupiter olympien*, Jacques-Ignace Hittorff, a pupil of Charles Percier and a colleague of François Belanger, used finds made during excavations in Selinunte and Agrigento to propose that not only sculpture had been completely painted in Antiquity but architecture too,⁶⁹ giving visual form to his ideas in an 1851 colour lithograph depicting the Temple of Empedocles at Selinunte (colour plate VIII, fig. 4). This was far too radical for Quatremère. However, instead of taking part himself in the heated debate that ensued throughout Europe, he enlisted the services of Raoul-Rouchette in attacking Hittorff. This was a matter of considerable delicacy because Raoul-Rouchette, a younger colleague who hoped to become Quatremère's successor as Permanent Secretary of the Académie des Beaux-Arts, had already published an article expressing complete agreement with Hittorff's theories.⁷⁰ Despite Raoul-Rouchette's intervention, the ghosts that Quatremère had aroused continued to haunt him: the idea



Fig. 6. Edgar Degas, *Little Dancer of Fourteen Years*, 1878-81; bronze, cotton, satin and wood; Musée d'Orsay, Paris.

图 6. 德加：十四岁的舞女，青铜、棉、丝和木，巴黎奥赛博物馆。

that Antique architecture had been entirely coloured gained rapid and widespread acceptance.⁷¹

Le Jupiter olympien also had an effect on contemporary art, although in 1815 widespread polychroming of sculptures lay many years in the future. A major early exponent of coloured sculpture was Jean-Baptiste Clésinger who, in *Woman Bitten by a Snake* (*Femme piquée par un serpent*) of 1847, used the encaustic method of painting marble described by Quatremère (fig. 5). Artists such as Edgar Degas (fig. 6), Gustav Klimt and Max Klinger were to follow suit in the second half of the nineteenth century.⁷² Quatremère's work had caused a general increase in awareness of colour in three-dimensional contexts, leading eventually to research into, and reappraisal of, coloured sculpture in epochs other than Classical Antiquity. As late as 1866, for example, Eugène-Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc, the great promoter of the Gothic Revival, explained his interest in the polychromy of medieval sculpture by referring to the fact that the Ancient Greeks had coloured their sculpture.⁷³

By proving that Antique sculpture had been coloured, Quatremère's *Le Jupiter olympien* revolutionized modern images of Antiquity. I do not think it is claiming too much to say that, ultimately, we owe it to Quatremère that we are discussing with our Chinese colleagues methods of conserving Emperor Quin's

army of clay warriors and the history of Antique polychromy. Yet the work of this archaeologist and theorist of art, full of contradictions as it is, should also make us aware of how much we are tied to the times in which we live, of how relative each of our ideas and activities must be. Although all research and

restoration work should aim to be free of preconceptions, Quatremère de Quincy reminds us this goal can never be attained completely.

(translated by Michael Foster)

Notes

- 1 'the great monsieur Quatremère de Quincy put in an appearance. He is the most tedious of all members of the Institute.' STENDHAL, 'Esquisses de la société parisienne, de la politique et de la littérature: Esquisse XV [1827]', in idem, *Paris-Londres: Chroniques*, ed. Renée Dénier, Paris, 1997, p. 807. See *ibid.*, p. 767, for a scathingly ironic description of a lecture given by Quatremère during a meeting of the Académie des Beaux-Arts in 1826.
- 2 For Quatremère's life, see esp. RENÉ SCHNEIDER, *Quatremère de Quincy et son intervention dans les arts (1788-1830)*, Paris, 1910, and the brief account in SYLVIA LAVIN, *Quatremère de Quincy and the Invention of a Modern Language of Architecture*, Cambridge and London, 1992, pp. 2-4.
- 3 See HANS KÖRNER and FRIEDRICH PIEL, "'A mon ami A. Quatremère de Quincy": Ein unbekanntes Werk Jacques-Louis Davids aus dem Jahre 1779', *Pantheon*, vol. 43, 1985, pp. 89-96.
- 4 ANTOINE CHRYSOSTOME QUATREMÈRE DE QUINCY, *Le Jupiter olympien, ou L'Art de la sculpture antique considéré sous un nouveau point de vue*, Paris, 1815, dedication.
- 5 See MICHEL FOUCAULT, *Les Mots et les choses: Une Archéologie des sciences humaines*, Paris, 1966, pp. 256-8.
- 6 See WOLF LEPENIES, 'Der andere Fanatiker: Historisierung und Verwissenschaftlichung der Kunstauffassung bei Johann Joachim Winckelmann', in *Ideal und Wirklichkeit der bildenden Kunst im späten 18. Jahrhundert*, ed. Herbert Beck, Peter C. Bol and Eva Maek-Gérard, Berlin, 1984, pp. 22-4.
- 7 See JOHANN JOACHIM WINCKELMANN, *Geschichte der Kunst des Altertums* [1764], Darmstadt, 1993, p. 9: 'meine Absicht ist, einen Versuch eines Lehrgebäudes zu liefern.'
- 8 See QUATREMÈRE DE QUINCY (note 4), p. I. For Winckelmann's influence in France, see EDOUARD POMMIER, 'Winckelmann et la vision de l'Antiquité classique dans la France des Lumières et de la Révolution', *Revue de l'art*, no. 83, 1989, pp. 9-11.
- 9 'Winckelmann lent a great impulse to the study of Antiquity...by the single synthetic conception of his work.' QUATREMÈRE DE QUINCY (note 4), p. VIII.
- 10 THOMAS S. KUHN, 'The Structure of Scientific Revolutions', in *International Encyclopedia of Unified Science*, vol. 2/2, Chicago, London and Toronto, 1962, p. 33.
- 11 See *ibid.*, esp. pp. 143-58. For a critical discussion of Kuhn's theories, see the essays by ISRAEL SCHEFFLER, WOLFGANG STEGMÜLLER and LORENZ KRÜGER in *Theorien der Wissenschaftsgeschichte: Beiträge zur diachronen Wissenschaftstheorie*, ed. Werner Diederich, Frankfurt am Main, 1974, pp. 137-246.
- 12 'Winckelmann could not encompass, perhaps not even sense, all the points surrounding his field of study.' QUATREMÈRE DE QUINCY (note 4), p. VIII.
- 13 'The new historiographer of Antique art [i.e. Winckelmann] did not progress far in knowledge of the genres that make up sculpture...he cast only an uncertain eye and threw only a weak light on that which determines the various manners, the different techniques used to produce the works of art, the diversity of taste, of effect, of composition and of the genius of each genre.' *Ibid.*
- 14 See WINCKELMANN (note 7), pp. 30-2.
- 15 'Since white is the colour that sends back the greatest number of light-rays, and is thus most sensitive, a beautiful body will be more beautiful the whiter it is.' *Ibid.*, p. 148.
- 16 'This statue presents another difficulty: it was of gold and ivory and it had at its feet a snake and sphinx of bronze. What a mixture of colours and materials!' ANNE-CLAUDE PHILIPPE DE CAYLUS, *De la Sculpture et des sculpteurs anciens, selon Plin*, Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres, vol. 25, Paris, 1759, pp. 318-19. For the historical importance of the Comte de Caylus and his methods, see CARL BERNHARD STARK, 'Systematik und Geschichte der Archäologie der Kunst', in idem, ed., *Handbuch der Archäologie der Kunst*, vol. 1, Leipzig, 1880, pp. 147-9; ALEX POTTS, *Flesh and the Ideal: Winckelmann and the Origins of Art History*, New Haven and London, 1994, pp. 76-8; and DETLEF RÖSSLER, 'Archäologie in der ersten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts', in *Von der Schönheit weissen Marmors: Zum 200. Todestag Bartolomeo Cavaceppis*, ed. Thomas Weiss, Dessau, 1999, pp. 6-7.
- 17 'I flatter myself...that I have extended this new domain of Antiquity and destroyed prejudices, some of which seem to me to have their source in a complete lack of observation and in ignorance even of facts.' QUATREMÈRE DE QUINCY (note 4), p. XX.
- 18 'For...knowledge [of polychrome art] has hitherto been lacking in histories of Antiquity because artists have never been guided by the practice of modern sculpture to search for an art of assemblage or for works made of various materials.' *Ibid.*, p. XIII.
- 19 In spite of the statement of his just quoted, Quatremère could have found support for his study of Antique polychromy in the sculpture of his own day, which was gradually beginning to introduce colour. One thinks, for instance, of Antoine-Denis Chaudet's personification of Peace, made from variously coloured metals in commemoration of the Treaty of Amiens and displayed in 1806 in the Salon de la Paix in the Tuileries Palace. For detailed discussion of this and other examples, see SCHNEIDER (note 2), pp. 126-8; DAVID VAN ZANTEN, *The Architectural Polychromy of the 1830's*, New York and London, 1977, pp. 24-7; and ANDREAS BLÜHM, 'In Living Colour: A Short History of Colour in Sculpture in the 19th Century', in idem, ed., *The Colour of Sculpture (1840-1910)*, exh. cat., Amsterdam, Van Gogh Museum, and Leeds, Henry Moore Institute (Zwolle, 1996), p. 16.
- 20 'the ancient world is starting to form a parallel to the modern world'. Quatremère de Quincy (note 4), p. II.
- 21 'the immense void that time and destruction have left between the Ancients and us'. *Ibid.*, p. III.
- 22 'One must persuade oneself that the Ancients used the arts quite differently from the Moderns.' *Ibid.*, p. 32.
- 23 'One must...in order to judge well, come close to the type of taste peculiar to these works, to the causes that produced them and to the effects demanded of them. One ought not to isolate the monuments from the opinions, feelings and affections that gave birth to them.' *Ibid.*, p. XXV.
- 24 'One must...judge things solely on their own terms.' *Ibid.*
- 25 '[The Ancients] are great, it is true, but human beings like us.' Quoted in HANS ROBERT JAUSS, 'Ästhetische Normen und geschichtliche Reflexion in der "Querelle des Anciens et des Modernes"', in Charles Perrault, *Parallèle des Anciens et des Modernes en ce qui regarde les arts et les sciences*, Theorie und Geschichte der Literatur und der Schönen Künste, vol. 2, ed. Max Imdahl, Wolfgang Iser, Hans Robert Jauss, Wolfgang Preisendanz and Jurij Striedter, Munich, 1964, p. 10.

- 26 See *ibid.*, pp. 8-10.
- 27 See WINCKELMANN (note 7), pp. 295-7.
- 28 See QUATREMÈRE DE QUINCY (note 4), esp. pp. 34-6, 40-2 and 54-5.
- 29 'Imagining these great works of art, the fame they enjoyed, the celebrity of their creators, I became more and more astonished, also by the silence of modern critics about such a noble area of Antique art.' *Ibid.*, p. X.
- 30 See *ibid.*, p. 31. The latest, highly informative history of the Elgin Marbles and of Lord Elgin himself is WILLIAM ST CLAIR, *Lord Elgin and the Marbles*, Oxford and New York, 1998. For the Pantheon and its sculptures, see KARL SCHEFOLD, *Die Griechen und ihre Nachbarn, Propyläen Kunstgeschichte*, vol. 1, repr. Berlin, 1984, pp. 180-2 and 252-4.
- 31 See JAMES STUART and NICHOLAS REVETT, *The Antiquities of Athens*, vol. 2, London, 1787, p. 14, commentary on plate XXX.
- 32 See QUATREMÈRE DE QUINCY (note 4), p. 31.
- 33 'Without being what one might call painted...[the sculpture] had parts tinted in various ways, sometimes placing it in contrast to the background to which the colours were applied, sometimes indicating the plane in which the figures were situated by various hues, whether on the drapery or on any of the many other details.' QUATREMÈRE DE QUINCY (note 4), p. 31.
- 34 See *ibid.*, p. 31.
- 35 See JOHANN D. ÅKERBLAD, *Sopra due laminette di bronzo, trovate ne' contorni di Atene: Dissertazione d'un membro ordinario dell'Accademia libera d'Archeologia di Roma*, Rome, 1811, pp. 9-10, and EDUARDO DODWELL, *Alcuni bassirelievi della Grecia*, Rome, 1812, p. VI. Quatremère de Quincy (note 4), p. 32, cites only Åkerblad's work.
- 36 See QUATREMÈRE DE QUINCY (note 4), pp. 33-5.
- 37 See *ibid.*, pp. 37-9.
- 38 'One sees, therefore, that it was not stone sculpture that once set the tone for the works and the taste of sculptors, but that, on the contrary, sculptors in stone took from other areas of the art of sculpture, so that the materials of their own work...played a part, larger than hitherto supposed, in a taste that was governed by variety, by external richness and by decoration, and that is denoted by the words Polychrome Sculpture.' *Ibid.*, p. 44.
- 39 'This is the Nikias of whom Praxiteles, asked which of his marble works he liked best, replied: those in which Nikias had a hand. That is how he valued his colouring.' PLINY THE YOUNGER, *Historia Naturalis*, XXXV, ed. Roderich König, Darmstadt 1997, p. 133.
- 40 See QUATREMÈRE DE QUINCY (note 4), pp. 45-6.
- 41 See *ibid.*, pp. 49 and 52-4.
- 42 'of colouring and tinting marble sculptures without producing any thickness'. *Ibid.*, p. 49.
- 43 'The tints provided by encaustic had no thickness whatsoever, were no more than an approximation to the actual colour of the objects, did not destroy the impression of the material's unity and could appear simply as a play of nuances in a piece of marble that Nature had been pleased to diversify.' *Ibid.*, p. 50.
- 44 For mention of these 'light tints', see *ibid.*, pp. 29, 31, 33, 36, 53 et *passim*.
- 45 'without being painted sculpture, [they] were what I call polychrome sculpture, that is to say, they enjoyed some of the features of painting without pretending to imitate its effects'. *Ibid.*, p. 32.
- 46 'l'oeil d'un sauvage ou d'un enfant.' *Ibid.*, p. 3.
- 47 The fundamental study of Antique polychromy remains PATRIK REUTERSWÄRD's *Studien zur Polychromie der Plastik: Griechenland und Rom – Untersuchungen über die Farbwirkung der Marmor- und Bronzeskulpturen*, Stockholm, 1960.
- 48 See QUATREMÈRE DE QUINCY (note 4), esp. p. 29.
- 49 See ROBIN D. MIDDLETON, 'Hittorff's Polychrome Campaign', in *idem*, ed., *The Beaux-Arts and Nineteenth-century French Architecture*, London, 1982, p. 176, and VAN ZANTEN (note 19), pp. 83-4, n. 33.
- 50 See QUATREMÈRE DE QUINCY (note 4), pp. 64-387.
- 51 'sans aucune comparaison les chefs-d'oeuvre de l'art des Grecs'. *Ibid.*, p. XVIII.
- 52 *Ibid.*, pp. XVI-XVIII.
- 53 For the lithographs, see MICHAEL GREENHALGH, 'Quatremère de Quincy as a Popular Archaeologist', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, vol. 71, 1968, pp. 249-51.
- 54 See QUATREMÈRE DE QUINCY (note 4), pp. 268-70.
- 55 See *ibid.*, p. 279.
- 56 See *ibid.*, pp. 219-21 and 326-8.
- 57 'works executed in this way existed, and they existed throughout all the centuries and periods of the art of Antiquity'. *Ibid.*, p. XIX.
- 58 See also *ibid.*, pp. XX-XXI.
- 59 See *ibid.*, pp. IV, XXIII and 29.
- 60 'we appeal to learning to help art'. *Ibid.*, p. IV.
- 61 See *ibid.*, pp. 388-90.
- 62 'la loi de la monotonie'. *Ibid.*, p. 390.
- 63 See *ibid.*, pp. 390-1.
- 64 See *ibid.*, p. 391.
- 65 See *ibid.*, pp. XXIII-XXV and 392.
- 66 See ANTOINE CHRYSOSTOME QUATREMÈRE DE QUINCY, *Essai sur la nature, le but et les moyens de l'imitation dans les Beaux-Arts*, Paris, 1823, pp. 39-41, and, for a general discussion, RENÉ SCHNEIDER, *L'Esthétique classique chez Quatremère de Quincy (1805-1823)*, Paris, 1910, pp. 33-5.
- 67 See SCHNEIDER (note 66), esp. pp. 29-31 and 75-7, and KARINA TÖRR, *Farbe und Naturalismus in der Skulptur des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts*, Mainz, 1994, pp. 13-15.
- 68 See REUTERSWÄRD (note 47), pp. 28-9.
- 69 See MIDDLETON (note 49), pp. 175-7.
- 70 See JACQUES-IGNACE HITTORFF, *Restitution du Temple d'Empédocle à Sélinonte, ou L'Architecture polychrome chez les grecs*, Paris, 1851, pp. 10-11, and MIDDLETON (note 49), pp. 185-6.
- 71 See MIDDLETON (note 49), pp. 185-7; VAN ZANTEN (note 19), pp. 119-21; *idem*, 'Architectural Polychromy: Life in Architecture', in Middleton (note 49), pp. 197-9; HANNO-WALTER KRUF, *Geschichte der Architekturtheorie: Von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart*, Munich, 1985, pp. 316-18; and WOLFGANG DORST, 'Colour, Sculpture, Mimesis: A 19th-century Debate', in Blühm (note 19), pp. 67-9.
- 72 See SCHNEIDER (note 2), pp. 121-3, and TOM FLYNN, 'Amending the Myth of Phidias: Quatremère de Quincy and the Nineteenth-century Revival of Chryselephantine Sculpture', *Apollo*, vol. 145, no. 419, 1997, pp. 6-10.
- 73 See EUGÈNE VIOLLET-LE-DUC, *Dictionnaire raisonné de l'architecture française*, vol. 8, Paris, 1866, p. 275: 'Le moyen âge a très-fréquemment coloré la statuaire et l'ornementation sculptée. C'est encore un point de rapport entre ces arts et ceux de l'antiquité grecque.'

奥林匹亚的朱庇特像及古代雕塑彩绘的再发现： 在经验研究和审美理想之间徘徊的卡特勒梅尔·德坎西

后来通过其小说《红与黑》闻名的司汤达，在1827年给《新月刊》写的一篇文章中，对铭文和纯文学学院的一次会议做了报导。他以贬低的口吻评论考古学家和艺术史家卡特勒梅尔·德坎西：“……伟大的卡特勒梅尔先生露面了。此人系整个学院所有院士中最无聊者。”这轻蔑之词掩盖着一场浪漫派和古典派之间进行的、有时颇为激烈的有关艺术理论之争，卡特勒梅尔在官方美术学院任职，他在这场争论中自然固守古典派的立场。而在考古学领域，卡特勒梅尔无疑属于——这里我们不禁要反对司汤达的意见——最有意思而又最具创新精神的人物，他的意义首先在于他是研究古代雕塑彩绘的先驱。

但是我们下面要关注的乃是他的著作《奥林匹亚的朱庇特像，以新眼光看古代雕塑艺术》，此书于1815年出版，作者将它作为“非常谦恭和真诚的主题”献给了皇帝陛下拿破仑。在这含糊其词的书名之后所隐藏的正是第一部古代雕塑彩绘史。按照时人的观点，此书的重点自然放在古希腊的雕塑。探讨古代彩绘的论文，几乎无不引用此书，尽管如此，事实还是令人惊讶，因为迄今为止，还无人特别是从方法论和在科学价值和意义上对这本著作作出评价。

历史学家米歇尔·福柯在他那给人印象至深的《词与物。人文科学考古》一书中，依据对不同领域如生物学、语言学和经济学的研究，展示了18世纪中思想的变革，这一变革后来走向怀疑认识和用语言表现世界是否可能，并激发了两个朝彼此相反的方向发展的思想运动：即作为18世纪经验主义之继续但更为激进的实证主义和作为复兴形而上学地解释世界之尝试的唯心主义。这当中，卡特勒梅尔·德坎西采取的是奇特的模棱两可的立场，其原因在于他扮演考古学家和艺术理论家的双重角色时所发生的冲突。

卡特勒梅尔·德坎西完成他的多彩雕塑史耗费了30多年的精力，他以此试图对考古学进行革命并想为它增加一门新的、要整个改变这个学科的专科。他身处新建科学和专科的时代浪潮之中，这股浪潮从18世纪下半叶一直持续到19世纪上半叶。在考古学领域，约翰·约阿希姆·温克尔曼实现了这一目标，他1764年出版的《古代艺术史》给读者留下深刻的印象，温克尔曼借此要“对学科的整体体系进行尝试。”卡特勒梅尔也了解温克尔曼作为现代考古学奠基人的革命意义。在他那论奥林匹亚的朱庇特像的专著前言里，他承认除了那些他在罗马和那波利所见的古代艺术品之外，正是温克尔曼的著作唤起了他对古代雕塑的激情。他在评价他对考古学的意义时说：“通过他著作的独一无二的综合性构思……温克尔曼对研究古代起了巨大的推动作用。”卡特勒梅尔也在试图进行综合性构思，即采取一种总括各项观察结果并对其彼此联系进行综述的描述方式。他若要作出与温

克尔曼同样的建树，他就得对温克尔曼做相对的评论，在某种程度上对他还要象对法国考古学创始人物凯吕斯伯爵那样做解构处理，卡特勒梅尔在学术上取得的成功甚至还要间接地感谢后者，他曾获著名的凯吕斯奖。卡特勒梅尔尝试新建考古学，目标及其明确，意识及其坚定，今日的读者对此会感到诧异。他想有目的地引入——借用库恩的术语——范式的转换，他的著作作为了解他的这一思想恰恰提供了一个范例。科学理论家托马斯·库恩指出，“正常科学”系由某种范式确定，它不停地“确定重要的事实、事实和理论的联系以及理论的描述”，在“正常科学”中不时会出现不确定和危机的时刻。不能解释的异常情况会给这个专业带来不安，这种情况下便需要寻求新的解释模式。这些模式只有通过相应的宣传，然后建立起新的范式，才有可能在一个研究群体中得到贯彻。在卡特勒梅尔的时代，令人不安的异常情况是古代雕塑上的彩绘残迹以及由不同颜色材料制成的雕塑，它们无法与当时广泛流行的古代雕塑为单色的形象相吻合。说到成功地宣传和贯彻新的范式，必然少不了专业带头人的“众神的黄昏”。与此相应，卡特勒梅尔在他1815年的著作中先是毫不犹豫地赞赏温克尔曼，接着对他的不足表示谅解：“温克尔曼在他研究的领域未能面面俱到，也许也未能意识到。”可是随后他又发出了致命的一击：“……新的古代艺术史学家尚未达到把握雕塑的认识深度；……他的眼光并不敏锐，至于各种做法取决于什么，艺术品的不同工艺、趣味、效果、构图乃至不同门类的天才的各异，对这些问题，他均未能说透。”卡特勒梅尔的批评并非胡诌。温克尔曼尽管在他的《古代艺术史》中提到涂着红色的希腊陶俑，包括部分包金的雕像，由黄金和象牙作的雕刻和躯干由木材、头和手脚却由大理石组成的雕像，他还提及着衣的雕像以及一座1760年在海格立斯城发现的狄安娜像，其头发和长袍均彩绘。然而这些艺术制品不是被粗略地归于希腊雕塑尚不发达的早期就是被简单地称为例外，证实单色雕塑乃是常规，这样彩绘意义便未得到正确的认识。对温克尔曼而言，就象对他的同时代人那样，白色大理石雕刻不啻希腊成熟艺术的常规和典范。就是以他带有比较性质的古代研究而对温克尔曼有重大影响的凯吕斯伯爵也偶尔在《铭文和纯文学学院的论文集》或是在他那于1752-1767年间发表的代表作《古代埃及、伊特拉斯坎、希腊和罗马艺术集》中提到彩绘痕迹或是不同颜色材料的雕刻，但他认为这些现象并不重要并把它们作为偏离正道的古代趣味加以拒绝，态度上比温克尔曼还要坚定。对古代彩色雕塑无动于衷和拒绝的态度，归根结底还是受到当时占统治地位的古典艺术理论的影响。古典艺术理论对雕塑和绘画作严格的门类等级区分，雕塑以形式界定，如同素描或线条，形式本身便能反映出天才

般的创造活动尤其是艺术品的思想。卡特勒梅尔对此深有领悟，他以启蒙的姿态登台，意在摧毁研究中的偏见思想。他自信地写到：“我可以自夸说，我要扩展古代研究的这一新领域，消灭偏见，看来有些偏见的根源就在于完全匮乏观察和对事实无知。”作为有保留的分析家，卡特勒梅尔认为造成这种无知除了有当时艺术理论的影响，另外也与同时代艺术家的实践有关。不仅是因为古代彩绘雕塑与艺术理论相矛盾，而且由于当时现代雕塑只认白色大理石雕刻，从而确认了审美习惯，深受艺术理论和艺术实践影响的考古学家因此便不可能看到古代彩绘雕塑的现象。对于当时的时代来说，卡特勒梅尔阐述的这些正是令人惊讶的、相对主义的认识，即思想乃是由受时代制约的经验决定的。

正是由于有了这种对历史制约的敏锐意识，卡特勒梅尔才有可能冲出这种循环论证。可以不过分地说，幸亏有了现代早期的历史意识，古代雕塑彩绘的现象才得到了认识以及相应的评价。历史意识的一个十分重要的组成部分就是对自己时代和古代之差别意识。这一点在卡特勒梅尔身上表现得再清楚不过了，他这样说过，“古代世界正好与现代世界对照”，他强调，“从古迄今所流逝的时光和带来的破坏留下了无法估量的空白。”卡特勒梅尔有一段常被引用的话，但被误解为纯粹的经验之谈，它再充分不过地表达了对差别的这种历史意识：“要确信，古代人对艺术的利用与现代人完全不一样。”按卡特勒梅尔的观点，古代艺术不同于今日，是因为它是在不同的社会环境下产生的，因此艺术只有通过其产生的时代和历史条件才能理解和评价：“为了判断正确，就得设法从作品产生之因及其当时所具有的作用来了解这些作品特别含有的趣味种类。”这些想法最后汇集到看起来在利奥波德·兰克之前的一句话：“判断事物必须从事物本身出发。”在法国，这种看待古代明显带有历史性保留眼光的思想史根源在于“古代和现代之争”。卡特勒梅尔是法国1789年大革命的积极参与者，倘若他本人没有经历其间由政治社会条件所决定的世界迅速变化和可变性，他对历史也不会采取这么一种保留的态度。

让我们回到彩绘问题上来：促使卡特勒梅尔对古代雕塑的历史形象进行革命的是那些无法解释的异常情况，古代作家保萨尼阿斯和普林尼在他们的著作中便提到古代雕塑的色彩，介绍雅典新发现的游记也有这方面的报导，卡特勒梅尔自己在海格立斯城和庞培发掘现场，在意大利尤其是罗马的众多博物馆以及拿破仑博物馆，即今日巴黎卢浮宫，也观察到了这些异常情况。特别是保萨尼阿斯对今已不存的由菲迪亚斯用黄金和象牙制成的神像的描述，唤起了深入研究多彩雕塑现象的兴趣和热情。对已失神像的描绘还包括第一批对雅典帕台农神庙和忒修斯神庙组雕色彩残迹的报导。卡特勒梅尔从未到过希腊，但他与19世纪初参与拆卸帕台农神庙所谓埃尔金大理石雕的舒瓦瑟尔-古菲耶、工程师富热龙以及驻雅典的法国大使福韦尔有联系，他们多次向他证实色彩残迹的存在。帕台农神庙的雕刻装饰原来敷彩的看法也通过斯图尔特和里维特的观察结果得到了证实，1787年出版的《雅典古迹》一书记载了他们的观察结果，其中提到许多用于加固金属缆绳和标志的钻孔，卡特勒梅尔由此作出推论，颜色痕迹是原有的。卡特勒梅尔从他的情报人士对帕台

农神庙的雕刻色彩的观察得出结论：“这些雕刻不能称之为画过，它们有的地方以不同方式上了色，时而使雕刻突出于涂了颜色的背景，时而又通过不同的色调，这或是衣褶的色调，或是通过许多其它的局部来显示雕像的层面。”即使在巴黎，卡特勒梅尔也使自己确信色彩的存在，这是因为拿破仑博物馆藏有一块帕台农神庙饰带的残块，按习惯作法，人们对残块做了除污处理，将当时其意义尚未被认识的所有颜色痕迹一并清除。不过卡特勒梅尔想起，当残块还在运输箱中时，他曾见到色彩痕迹，只是记得不那么清楚罢了。1811至1812年间，考古学家阿克布莱和多德韦尔的著作问世，书中亦指出，雅典忒修斯神庙有色彩遗迹。

除了提及雅典著名神庙的雕刻装饰的色彩之外，卡特勒梅尔将他当时所知具有彩绘痕迹的所有雕刻作了汇编，并引用了古代文献，材料翔实。在使用多块石料制作雕刻的领域，在彩绘处理的青铜塑像领域，他也作了同样的尝试，尤其是海格立斯城和庞培的发现让他高兴，这样他便为他的论点排好了确凿的证据，从而将在此之前的观点和价值标准一举颠倒了过来。在古代雕塑种类中，占主导地位的不是白色大理石雕刻，而是各种各样的多彩大理石雕刻。确定大理石雕刻着色技术的关键，卡特勒梅尔认为可以在著名的普林尼那段文字说明中找到，普林尼讲，雕塑家波拉克西特列斯对他的那几座由画家尼基亚斯彩绘过的雕像别有钟情。那儿使用了概念“*circumlitio*”来形容彩绘，卡特勒梅尔的前辈如凯吕斯伯爵或者雕塑家法尔科内把它解释为清漆。由于尼基亚斯是一位使用蜡画法的画家，卡特勒梅尔推断，雕刻的彩绘也必然使用的是这一技术。这一假设也在其他古代作家的著作中，同时通过对收藏在罗马和巴黎的古代雕像上的颜色遗迹的经验验证得到证实。卡特勒梅尔将用蜡画法彩绘雕刻的效果描绘成一种“给大理石染色和上色而又不造成颜色堆积”的技术。他在他的著作中一再固执地认为，古代大理石雕刻不是绘有重彩，而是仅含淡妆。他将帕台农神庙和忒修斯神庙的雕刻装饰与浮雕宝石作色彩结构上的比较，象业已流露的想法，他认为这些雕刻装饰上了色，“但不是浓绘的雕刻，我称它们为彩饰雕刻，也就是说，它们有些绘画的表象，却不刻意模仿绘画的效果……”。后种意义上涂绘的雕刻，在卡特勒梅尔看来，当属古希腊雕刻的早期，那时的人们本能地以“一个野蛮人或一个孩子的眼睛”试着借此造成一种彻头彻尾的幻觉。正象我们今天所知，就古代雕刻彩绘而论，这种只许古代盛期有淡抹而不容许有浓妆的观点乃是单一和错误的，造成错误认识的原因在于，一些保存状态甚佳的古代彩绘雕刻如普里码坡尔塔的奥古斯都像还未被发现，再就是广泛缺乏合适的技术检测手段。同时这也是怪事，卡特勒梅尔完全清楚雕刻褪色和老化的问题，但他却不考虑，此时的浅色在当时有可能表现为强烈的色彩。还有一点十分明显，他在谈论颜色残迹时，从未作过近观技法上的描述，所表达的不过是他对色彩总的印象而已。这不免使人疑窦丛生，把古代雕刻的彩绘估计为淡彩浅色的终究不是别人，而是艺术史家和古典主义者卡特勒梅尔，他重线条和形式，区分雕塑和绘画的门类等级，自然不能允许“彩绘的”古代雕刻。因此人们也可以用他在反对他的无视色彩的前辈时所说的话来指责他：偏见！我们将会看到，虽然比他的前

辈更有限，为了使艺术理论和经验相一致，他也赋予经验科学一种与趣味判断相关的、受时代制约的主观性解释。卡特勒梅尔 1806 年第一个使用多彩概念，它初期作为与“彩绘”相对的概念而具有古典主义艺术理论的涵义，今天使用它时，我们已经意识不到这层涵义了。

其书的高潮，乃是卡特勒梅尔尽各种努力对古代著名的金银制品的复原所作的尝试，这些作品包括传奇性的由荷马描述过、但卡特勒梅尔却信以为真的阿喀琉斯的盾牌，尤其是菲迪亚斯时代完成的由黄金和象牙制成的神像，这些神像已无一存世，现仅见于古代作家的记载。位于中心的乃是标题提到的奥林匹亚的朱庇特像，这座端坐的巨像是菲迪亚斯为奥林匹亚宙斯神庙制作的。该像的复原是借助于保萨尼亚斯的简短描述以及参考硬币、浮雕宝石和可作比较的雕像完成的。复原的色彩，多为各色衬托的金色浮雕等等，在很大的程度上出于想象，虽然作者并没有承认这一点。

卡特勒梅尔坚信，在希腊雕刻作品中，美的观念会自行再现，现代人只需模仿即可，他想用古代雕刻的彩色史为当时的艺术发展作贡献。尽管站不住脚，他还是坚持他的考古学是现代艺术的仆人的观点不放，如他说到：“……我们呼唤学识为艺术服务。”这其中他当然意识到，——这已让人感觉得出——在原则上，雕刻的色彩与古典的艺术教条是矛盾的。因此他在他的著作的结尾处找了不少和解考古认识和现代艺术教条的理由，这些缠绕一团、常常停留在修辞上的论证反而更加清楚地表现出两者的不可调和。在论证方式上引人注目的是，卡特勒梅尔接受古代艺术理论的原则，但他又一再为规则的例外辩护，而且叱骂理论上的严肃主义。可是他也在美学上初涉色彩的作用，如在黄金和象牙中间存在色调的“友谊”，它可以扬弃雕刻色彩的单调作用，这种作用被他论战式地称作“单调原则”。反对雕刻外表的华丽及奢侈的理由，因为这与艺术品的思想格格不入，他认为在原则上是正确的，但是抽象的原则不应过分夸张。决定雕刻的是形式而不是仅逾越门类界限而造成极大错觉的色彩，他承认，从根本上来说，纵使这种论点也是正确的，只不过古人给雕刻上色并非要追求错觉绘画的效果，他

们用色是只想对其淡妆素裹而已。他这样一来便直接使怀疑得到了证实，为了取得与艺术理论的和谐，他对实践成果作了主观解释。

我想，考古学和艺术理论在这里不再配合，这一点已显而易见。对现代早期而言，经验研究和形而上学理论之间的分离乃是意味深长和具时代意义的，卡特勒梅尔的著作恰恰为我们了解这个时期实践和理论的分离提供了一个范例。经验研究的结果和艺术理论的理想不再协调一致，它甚至还向后者提出了质疑，很清楚，古典艺术理论从前的榜样与人们那时想象的有出入。

这种在 18 世纪下半叶由对科学进行历史化和经验化造成的内在矛盾，也是造成接受卡特勒梅尔关于古代彩色雕刻理论时意见相左的原因。除了热情的拥护者之外，也有象德国艺术史家弗里德里希·特奥多尔·库格勒这样的反对者，库格勒虽然同样是古典主义者，但他更为严厉，他只赞成非常有限的、大理石局部的彩绘，连肉色部分都不提。

卡特勒梅尔 1815 年发表的著作也在同时代的雕塑界掀起了波澜，可是还要等几十年，彩色雕塑的艺术问题才得到了广泛的探讨。1847 年创作《被蛇咬的女子》(巴黎奥赛博物馆)的让-巴蒂斯特·克莱桑热属于彩色雕刻的前驱，他在给大理石上色时使用的就是卡特勒梅尔描述过的蜡画法。他的继承者有 19 世纪下半叶的艺术家如德加、克里姆特和克林格尔。卡特勒梅尔·德坎西以其论奥林匹亚的朱庇特像的著作，提出了古代雕刻是有色彩的证据，从而为现代的古代表象的革命作出了贡献。当今，我们同中方同事一起探讨保护兵马俑的方法和古代彩绘史，这还要特别感谢卡特勒梅尔，说这话当未言过其实。同时，作为考古学家和艺术史家的这么一个充满矛盾的人物，也应提醒我们，我们的努力要合乎时代潮流和它的相对性。毫无成见应该成为所有研究和修复工作的一个目标，即使完全实现这个目标最终只是幻想也罢。

(德译中：陈钢林)