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in Ancient Egypt

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# Contents

Notes on Sticks and Staves in Ancient Egypt	5
HENRY G. FISCHER	
A Gothic Doorway from Moutiers-Saint-Jean	33
WILLIAM H. FORSYTH	
A Lapis Lazuli Medallion of Cosimo I de' Medici	75
KARLA LANGEDIJK	
En Route to the Piano: A Converted Virginal	79
EDWIN M. RIPIN	
Art and Politics: A Staff from the Court of Benin, West Africa	87
SUSAN MULLIN VOGEL	
The Compositional Evolution of David's Leonidas at Thermopylae	101
STEVEN A. NASH	
Thirty Famous People: Drawings by Sergent-Marceau and Bosio, Milan, 1815–1818	113
JAMES DAVID DRAPER	

## Notes

On the Manufacture of Armor in Fifteenth-Century Italy, Illustrated by Six Helmets in The Metropolitan Museum of Art	131
A. R. WILLIAMS	
A New Date for the Choir Screen from Valladolid	143
JESUS URREA	

# Notes on Sticks and Staves in Ancient Egypt

HENRY G. FISCHER

*Lila Acheson Wallace Curator in Egyptology, The Metropolitan Museum of Art*

ALTHOUGH THIS SERIES of notes takes, as its point of departure, a recent book by Ali Hassan, *Stöcke und Stäbe im Pharaonischen Ägypten*, it is in no sense a review; a review appears elsewhere (*JEA* 64 [1978] pp. 158–162). The present article is rather intended to supplement what will doubtless, for many years to come, remain the standard work on the subject, by taking up some points that require additional comment or that have been omitted altogether. Since Hassan's is the first comprehensive treatment of a topic that is both vast and complex, no one need be surprised that something remains to be said about it. And it may be hoped that his work—along with these notes—will stimulate others to make further contributions of the same kind.

## 1. *Imyt-r* staves

The object thus designated in late Old Kingdom coffins and burial chambers is vaguely termed “Geräte” by *Wb.* I, p. 74 (14), referring to Jéquier, *Frisen*, p. 244. Jéquier describes the accompanying representation as a pile of long bands, and thinks that these represent cloth, more specifically bedclothes. He concedes that his interpretation is hardly applicable to a variant that reads <sup>1</sup> but is inclined to dismiss the determinatives in this case as a

scribal error because, in the same period, “on trouve des étoffes représentées de façon identique.”

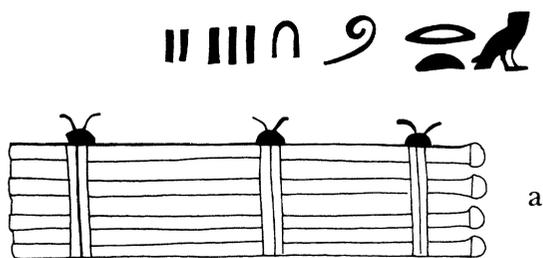
If further representations are considered, however, beyond the single example that Jéquier was able to examine when he gave this opinion,<sup>2</sup> it will be seen that the *imyt-r* objects are consistently squared off at one end and rounded at the other.<sup>3</sup> The rounded end is demarcated by a line and, in at least one case (Figure 1a),<sup>4</sup> the line defines a carinated projection. This case also shows a series of three sealed ties that are identical to those shown in representations of cloth, but it is nonetheless quite clear

1. G. Maspero, “Trois années de fouilles” (*Mémoires publiés par les membres de la Mission Archéologique française au Caire* [Paris] 1, pt. 2 [1885]) p. 204.

2. J. Capart, *Chambre funéraire de la sixième dynastie* (Brussels, 1906) pl. 5.

3. In Jéquier, *Tomb. part.*, fig. 55, p. 51, there is a line at either end, perhaps representing string tying the staves together (compare Figure 1a). An example in T. G. H. James and M. R. Apton, *Mastaba of Khenika* (London, 1953) pl. 40, lacks the line at the knobbed end but shows a triple tie at the center. For another example that conforms to my description, besides those in the preceding note, and Figures 1b and 1c, see Jéquier, *Monument funéraire de Pepi II, III* (Cairo, 1940) pl. 55. All the other examples known to me also conform to the extent that they are squared off at one end, rounded at the other.

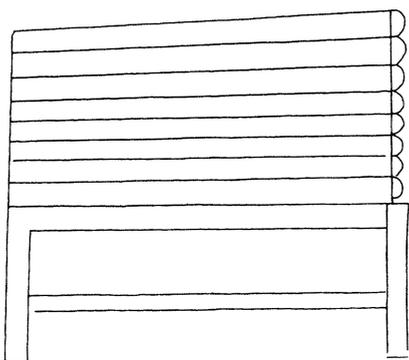
4. C. M. Firth and B. Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries II* (Cairo, 1926) pl. 80.



a



b



c

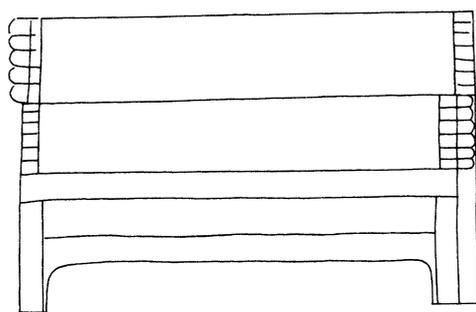


FIGURE 1  
'Imyt-r staves, Old Kingdom

that a bundle of staves is depicted. In another example (Figure 1b)<sup>5</sup> the staves are characteristically wider at the knobbed end than at the other. Two other examples are described as being yellow, which suits the color of wood,<sup>6</sup> and which in turn fits the determinative  in the above-mentioned variant, where the addition of  indicates that the wood was imported: *ht hꜣst* "wood of a foreign land." This term also occurs in Fifth Dynasty temple accounts from Abusir.<sup>7</sup> The representation in Figure 1c<sup>8</sup> evidently shows two bundles of staves bound in a cloth or leather sheath, the knobbed ends turned in opposite directions.

All of this evidence is from Saqqara, but the same term is applied to staves that are being shaped in a Sixth Dynasty scene at Deshasha,<sup>9</sup> where they are specified as     "imyt-r of the southern lake (the Fayum?)."<sup>10</sup> The term   is also applied to a scepter () in a much later listing of ritual equipment from Saqqara, dating to the Eighteenth Dynasty, in the reign of Amenophis III.<sup>11</sup>

Given the constant presence of staves in the hands of officials, one might suppose that the meaning of *imyt-r* is related to that of *imy-r* "overseer," literally "he in whom the mouth is" or "he who is the mouth."<sup>12</sup>

5. Jéquier, *Tomb. part.*, pl. 14.

6. Maspero, "Trois années de fouilles," p. 204; James and Apted, *Khentika*, pl. 40.

7. Paule Posener-Kriéger, *Les Archives du temple funéraire de Néferirkarê-Kakäi I* (Cairo, 1976) pp. 166–167.

8. Jéquier, *Tomb. part.*, fig. 82, p. 73.

9. W. M. F. Petrie, *Deshashah 1897* (London, 1898) pl. 21; *Stöcke und Stäbe*, fig. 8, p. 27. It is uncertain whether or not the last sign of the preceding phrase  belongs to *imyt*. See addendum.

10. The "southern lake" would normally refer to the Fayum at this period, but one must also consider the references to *mdw*-staves of the southern, northern, western, and eastern lakes that appear in the Middle Kingdom series of equipment listed in coffins; compare Griffith in Petrie, *Deshashah*, p. 45, and Jéquier, *Frises*, p. 160.

11. P. A. A. Boeser, *Beschreibung der ägyptischen Sammlung des Niederländischen Reichsmuseums der Altertümer in Leiden IV* (Hague, 1911) pl. 14. Capart, *Chambre funéraire*, p. 24, thinks this indicates that *imyt-r* is some sort of scepter or baton; since the New Kingdom example is an archaism, however, the determinative may be only a vague and inaccurate allusion to the original form.

12. Hardly "he who is in the door," as Edel translates (*Altäg. Gramm.* I, §347). For the alternatives given here, see J. G. Griffiths in *JEA* 28 (1942) pp. 66–67. The later writing  (Dyn. XII and onward) has been taken to prove that the meaning is "he who is in the mouth," but here *r* may have been interpreted as "voice"

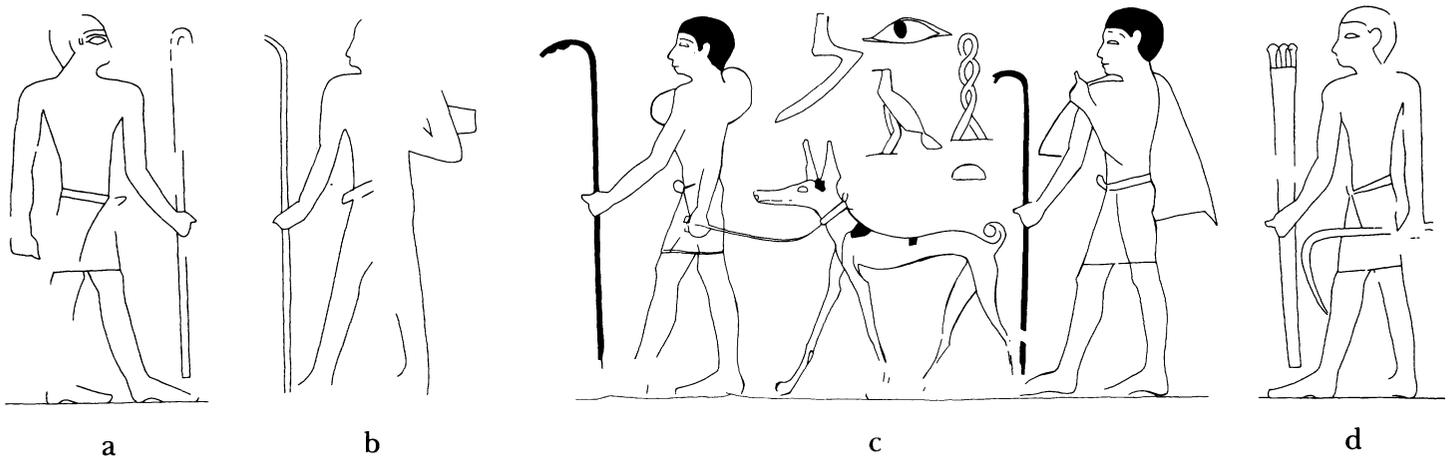


FIGURE 2  
Curved staves in the Old Kingdom

If it seems curious that a staff should thus be regarded as being or having a mouth, one has only to think of the New Kingdom adage: “A boy’s ear is indeed upon his back, and he hearkens to the beating of him.”<sup>13</sup>

A more literal explanation is possible, however. The Deshasha example suggests that the term for staves may mean “that which is on the edge (of a lake or pond),” referring to saplings planted at the margin of a reservoir. But this use of *r* is not otherwise

rather than “mouth.” The tongue would then be “the one in which the voice is” or “which is the voice.” For the second alternative, compare the judicial title *r Nhn*, in which the first element is evidently “mouth,” as also in *r Pw nbw*: “mouth of Nekhen,” “mouth of every Butite” (so *Wb. II*, p. 390; a further discussion of the reading will appear in *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 14 [1979]).

13. Caminos, *LEM*, p. 83 (Papyrus Anastasi III, 3, 13).

14. *Wb. II*, p. 392 (10). Montet (*Scènes*, p. 160) notes the Old Kingdom use of this term for “edge,” but in reference to the edge of a knife. Compare also the use of  $\overline{\text{r}} =$  in Old Kingdom names of estates (*Wb. II*, p. 399 [2]), where *r* may, however, mean “mouth”; compare Helen Jacquet-Gordon, *Les Noms des domaines* (Cairo, 1962) p. 231.

15. For the use of *m* see Fischer, *Dendera*, pp. 160 (a), 161 (c).

16. Figure 2a: Ahmed Moussa and Friedrich Junge, *Two Tombs of Craftsmen* (Mainz, 1975), pl. 3. Figure 2b: *Hier. Texts I*<sup>2</sup>, pl. 23 (BM 1270A [front]). Figure 2c: J. E. Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara 1907–1908* (Cairo, 1909) pl. 62. Figure 2d: *Deir el Gebrâwi II*, pl. 19.

17. For the dwarf bearing the tomb-owner’s sandals, compare Junker, *Giza III*, pl. 5 and fig. 27 following p. 166; V, fig. 1, p. 9 (2–3); Hans Kayser, *Mastaba des Uhemka* (Hannover, 1964) p. 37.

18. Also *LD II*, pl. 104 (b) and Berlin (West) 4/63; W. Kaiser, *Ägyptisches Museum* (Berlin, 1967), no. 235.

known before the Middle Kingdom,<sup>14</sup> and in earlier texts one might rather expect such a meaning to be expressed by *\*imyt-š* “that which is on the lake.”<sup>15</sup>

## 2. Curved staves

Although reliefs and paintings of the Old Kingdom invariably represent the tomb-owner holding the long *mdw*-staff ( $\overline{\text{r}}$ ) and short *rb*-scepter ( $\overline{\text{r}}$ ), his retainers carry a somewhat greater variety of implements of this kind, some intended for their own use, others for the use of their master. The latter interpretation is applicable, in every case, to forms more or less resembling the *rw*-staff ( $\overline{\text{r}}$ ), the upper end of which is curved to a greater or lesser extent, but is not recurved as in the *hk*-crook ( $\overline{\text{r}}$ ) (Figure 2).<sup>16</sup> In all but one instance (Figure 2c), only a single attendant carries such a staff, and the one exception is likewise the only case which does not clearly locate the bearers in the immediate vicinity of the tomb-owner. There is no reason to suppose that the staves are for their own use, however; the bearers are accompanied by a dwarf who holds a pair of sandals, and these certainly belong to the official whom he serves.<sup>17</sup> Moreover, the presence of the tomb-owner is undoubtedly to be recognized in the traces of the large-scale pair of feet immediately above the attendants, in the adjacent register.

The two most common variations are the one

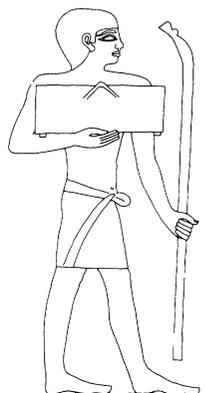


FIGURE 3  
Fifth Dynasty attendant with sack. After Wild

shown in Figure 2a, which most clearly resembles  $\uparrow$ ,<sup>18</sup> and the one in Figure 2b, which resembles the staff in the hieroglyph  $\text{𓆏}$ , for *šms* “follow.”<sup>19</sup> In at least one case, where the staff is somewhat thicker than usual,<sup>20</sup> it might possibly be identified as a long sack, like the one shown in Figure 3,<sup>21</sup> but it will be noticed that the top of the sack is curved toward the bearer rather than away from him, and this distinction is probably significant.<sup>22</sup> The more unusual form in Figure 2c is comparable to a shorter stick that is again carried by an attendant of the tomb-owner (Figure 2d); in his other hand he holds a long sheath containing three *mdw*-staves.<sup>23</sup>

19. Also LD II, pls. 50 (a), 58(a); LD *Ergänzungsband*, pl. 32 (b). Compare the staff that is carried, along with the *ꜥb*-scepter, by the  $\text{𓆏}$  official in F. W. von Bissing, *Re-Heiligtum des Königs Ne-woser-re II* (Leipzig, 1923) Bl. 4, 5, 11, 13, 22; III (1928) Bl. 13, 15. The end is less curved than that of the staff that is carried, along with the *mks*-staff and fan, by an attendant of the king in II, Bl. 13, 22; III, Bl. 3.

20. Alexander Badawy, *Tombs of Iteti, Sekhem ankh-Ptah and Kaemnofert* (Berkeley, 1976) fig. 30.

21. *Ti* II, pl. 126.

22. Strips of cloth are occasionally presented so that the top curves forward, as in Junker, *Giza VI*, fig. 7, but here the top is wider, and is squared off rather than tapering. Another puzzling example is illustrated in Geoffrey Martin, *The Tomb of Hetepka and Other Reliefs and Inscriptions from the Sacred Animal Necropolis, North Saqqâra 1964–1973* (London, forthcoming) pl. 9 (6). Here the tip of the staff is only very slightly curved, and the staff seems to be encased in a sheath, the top of which hangs forward. If this explanation is correct, the sheath is unlike other examples, where it is completely open at the top and contains at least two staves; cf.

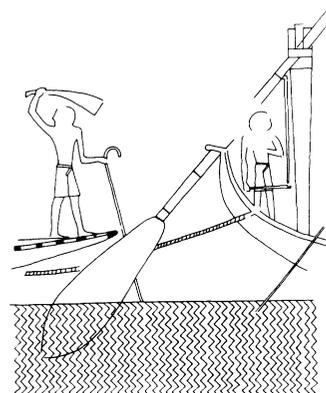


FIGURE 4  
Twelfth Dynasty pilot with sounding pole. After Newberry

The longer form of  $\uparrow$  is less frequently encountered in later scenes. A Twelfth Dynasty chapel at Bersha twice shows a man on a boat wielding a sounding pole of this shape (Figure 4),<sup>24</sup> while an earlier chapel of the same period at Beni Hasan evidently represents something very like  $\uparrow$  in the hand of a cowherd (Figure 5).<sup>25</sup> In other scenes at Beni Hasan the herdsmen who carry such staves are tending cranes, and their crooks again resemble  $\uparrow$  rather than  $\text{𓆏}$ , or are more angular (Figure 6).<sup>26</sup> Three Theban examples of the mid-Eighteenth Dynasty show herdsmen with  $\uparrow$ -crooks driving long-necked fowl—a crane in one case<sup>27</sup> and, in two other cases, flocks of

Figure 2d and *Ti* III, pl. 174. Martin (p. 8) explains the pendant element as a small pennant.

23. This stick might be compared to the object held by a man who stands on the prow of the bark of Amun in E. Naville, *XIth Dynasty Temple at Deir el-Bahari I* (London, 1907) pl. 13 (top right); but this object is more probably a cloth, as in the Middle Kingdom detail shown in Figure 4 below; compare also the Old Kingdom example in *Meir V*, pl. 43, and one of Dyn. XIII, Louvre C 18: Boreux, *Bulletin de l'Institut d'Archéologie Orientale* 30 (1931) pp. 45–48 and pl. 3.

24. *Bersheh I*, pl. 18.

25. Davies in *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 28 (1933) sect. 2, fig. 9, p. 28 (= *Beni Hasan II*, pl. 7, center of second register from top).

26. *Beni Hasan I*, pl. 30; II, pl. 14. In Jean-François Champollion, *Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie, Planches, IV* (Paris, 1845) pl. 371, the tops of the staves resemble  $\uparrow$ .

27. E. Naville, *Temple of Deir el Bahari IV* (London, 1894–1908) pl. 108.

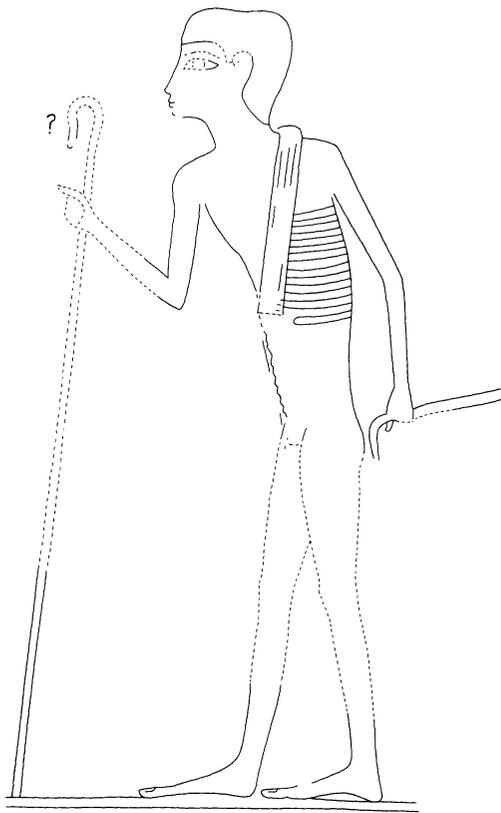
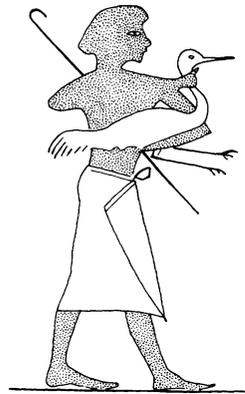


FIGURE 5  
Twelfth Dynasty herdsman. After Davies



cranes, ducks, and geese (Figure 7).<sup>28</sup>

A slightly curved tip appears at the lower end of a Sixth Dynasty staff from Giza, as shown below, in Figure 44, although it is not quite certain that the curve is not the result of accidental warping. A clearer example of this type was excavated in an Eleventh Dynasty tomb at Gebelein, its curved and more pointed tip still covered with earth from contact with the ground.<sup>29</sup> An identical staff, resembling Figure 2b, but held with the curved end downward, is also known from a contemporary Gebelein stela, where it appears in the hands of each of the five sons of the deceased (Figure 8).<sup>30</sup> But representations of this period, Dynasty XI and the beginning of Dynasty XII,

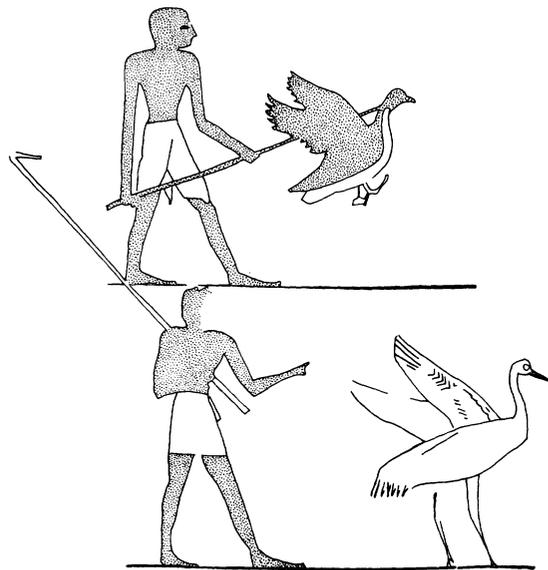


FIGURE 6  
Twelfth Dynasty herdsman. After Newberry

28. N. de G. Davies, *Tomb of Puyemrê I* (New York, 1922) pl. 12 (shown here); *Menkheperasomb*, pl. 13 (the latter more fragmentary).

29. G. Steindorff, *Grabfunde des Mittleren Reichs II* (Berlin, 1901) p. 30 (Berlin 13753).

30. Cairo CG 1651.

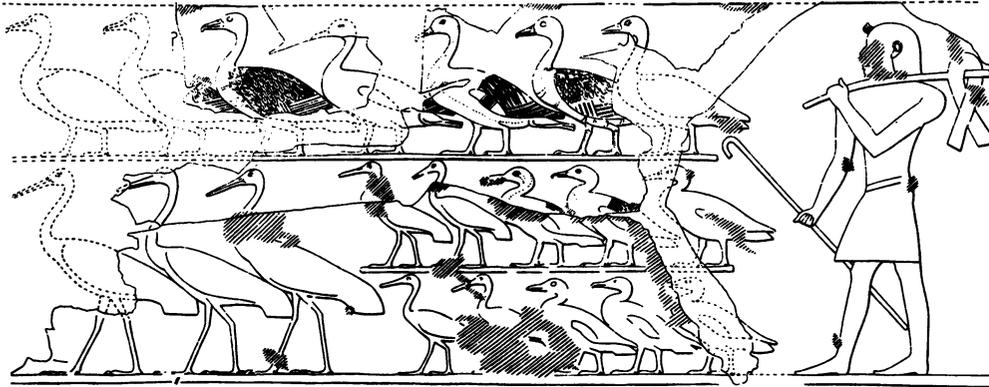
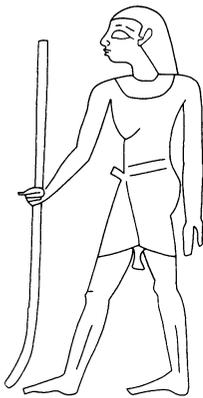


FIGURE 7  
New Kingdom  
herdsman. After  
Davies

FIGURE 8 (below)  
Detail of Eleventh Dynasty stela, Cairo CG 1651



more frequently show a shorter variation (Figure 9), which is held horizontally.<sup>31</sup> Herdsmen also wield such a stick in scenes of this period (Figure 10).<sup>32</sup> At least

31. MMA 16.10.333, from the Asasif at Thebes, probably dating to late Dyn. XI (Hayes, *Scepter* I, p. 331 and fig. 219); other examples: BM 1201 (*Hier. Texts* II, pl. 13); BM. 1628 (V, pl. 2); H. F. Lutz, *Egyptian Tomb Steles* (Leipzig, 1927) pl. 38 (74); W. F. M. Petrie, *Denderah*, 1898 (London, 1900) pl. 11 (bottom left, two Dyn. XI examples); *JEA* 51 (1965) pl. 10 (2).

32. Turin, Dyn. XI painting from the tomb of 'Iti at Gebelein: G. Farina, *La Pittura Egiziana* (Milan, 1929) pl. 21; similarly about the same date, J. Vandier, *Moralla* (Cairo, 1950) fig. 48, p. 101. Dyn. XII examples: *Meir* II, pl. 15; *Beni Hasan* I, pl. 30 (more clearly in LD II, pl. 132); II, pl. 12. In the last case the herdsman also carries a slightly longer stick of similar form over his shoulder, with a sack attached to one end; this detail appears as early as the Old Kingdom, to judge from LD II, pl. 102 (b), but the slightly turned-up end of the stick may be accidental.

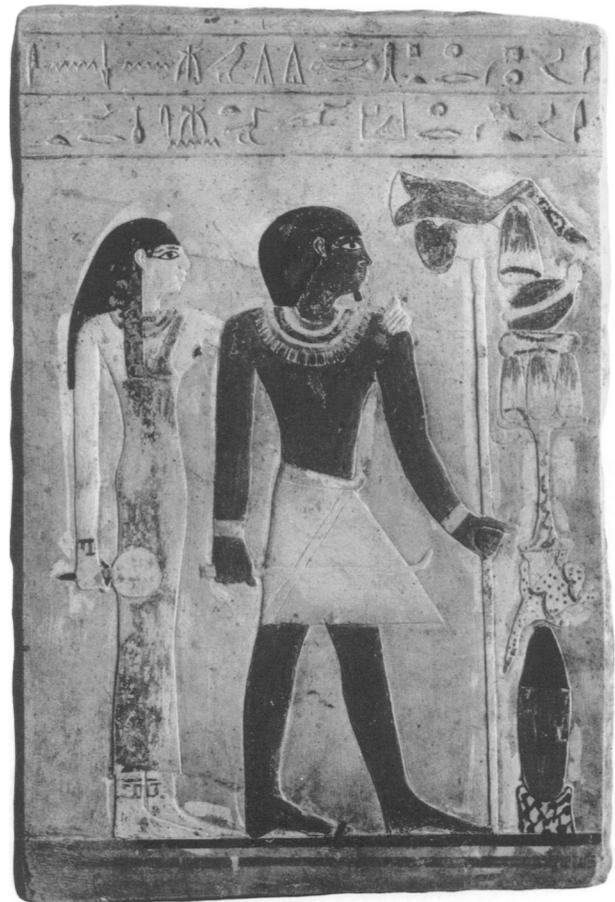


FIGURE 9  
Late Eleventh Dynasty stela, MMA 16.10.333

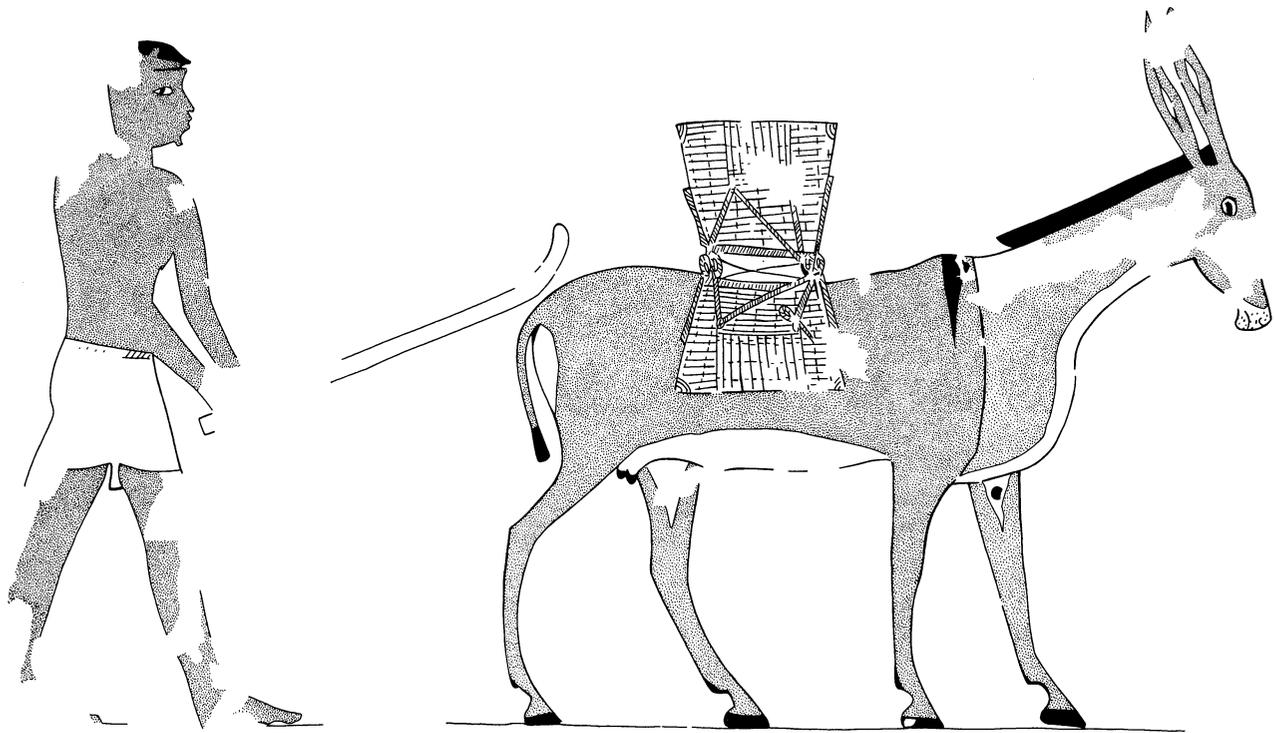


FIGURE 10 Eleventh Dynasty herdsman, Turin

one unmistakable occurrence in the same context is known as early as the Sixth Dynasty (Figure 11),<sup>33</sup> but here the curve is more gradual, and it is again uncertain that there is a direct connection between the exceptional Old Kingdom example and the recurrent type of the Eleventh Dynasty.

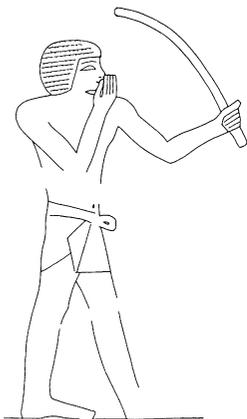


FIGURE 11  
Man driving oxen,  
Sixth Dynasty, Leiden

The evidence from hieroglyphic palaeography is particularly interesting. Although the stick in  occasionally shows a slight curve in inscriptions prior to the Middle Kingdom,<sup>34</sup> it was normally straight until that period,<sup>35</sup> and only then did it regularly assume

33. Herta Mohr, *Mastaba of Hetep-her-Akhty (Mededelingen en Verhandelingen "Ex Oriente Lux" 5, Leiden, 1943) fig. 45, p. 80; fig. 45 bis, pl. 4. Herdsmen with sticks showing a terminal curve also appear in paintings of the late New Kingdom: Held by straight end, curved end up: Vandier, *Moralla*, fig. 11, p. 58 (ostrakon). Same, but curved end down: G. Foucart, *Tombes Thébaines: Le Tombeau d'Amonmos (MIFAO 57 [Cairo, 1928–35]) pl. 2. Held by curved end: G. Foucart, M. Baud, and E. Drioton, Tombes Thébaines: Le Tombeau de Roj (MIFAO 57) fig. 7, p. 12.**

34. Sethe indicates that *Ppy-nht* of Aswan sometimes shows the curved stick in this hieroglyph (as in *Urk. I*, p. 135 [6]), and so too, even more noticeably, an example in the biography of *Wni* of Abydos (*Urk. I*, p. 103 [10]), but the latter is clearly intended to be  (as in *Urk. I*, pp. 102 [13], 104 [1, 7], 105 [3, 4], 108 [2]); this variant is also known from Dyn. XII (Louvre C 1: W. K. Simpson, *Terrace of the Great God at Abydos* [New Haven, 1974] pl. 14 [lines 12, 14]). One Sixth Dynasty example definitely has a curved stick, however: Firth and Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries*, pl. 57 (7).

35. The persistence of the straight stick until this date is illustrated by Fischer, *Dendera*, fig. 23 (4), p. 133.

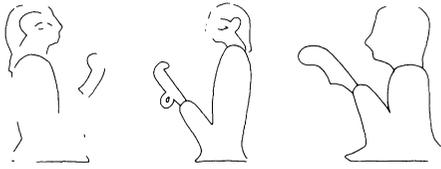


FIGURE 12  
Sixth Dynasty variations of  at Deir el Gebrawi.  
After Davies

FIGURE 13  
Twelfth Dynasty variant of .  
After Engelbach



the form of the curved stick that had recently come into fashion.<sup>36</sup> This is apparently one of those few cases where a hieroglyph was modified by a change in the form of an implement.<sup>37</sup> The same explanation may possibly be applied to , representing a herdsman (*mnw*) or watchman (*sw*), but in this case the stick acquired a curve at a much earlier date, in Up-

per Egyptian inscriptions of the late Old Kingdom.<sup>38</sup> It is true that a curved staff appears even earlier, in  (*hnm*),<sup>39</sup> but that evidence is hardly comparable since the stick is carried on the shoulder. Perhaps the Sixth Dynasty herdsman in Figure 11 might suffice to explain this development, but to judge from some Sixth Dynasty examples of  at Deir el Gebrawi, where the stick is replaced by  (Figure 12),<sup>40</sup> it seems possible that the backward curve might equally well be the result of assimilation to the hieroglyph , representing a foreigner.<sup>41</sup> The same replacement again occurs twice, and even more clearly, on a stela of the late Middle Kingdom (Figure 13).<sup>42</sup> The stick in the hand of  eventually followed the pattern of , but clear hieroglyphic examples are difficult to find in inscriptions earlier than the New Kingdom; some of the earliest cases are simplifications of similar signs, such as  (*hwi*),<sup>43</sup>  (*hrp*),<sup>44</sup> and  (*di*)<sup>45</sup> and these usually take the form , as does another example, of the early Middle Kingdom—one of the first cases where it definitely replaces the hieroglyph  as a generic determinative.<sup>46</sup> In at least one Old Kingdom example at Meir, however, the sign , replacing the determinative  of *hrp*, does show a

36. *Antefoker*, pl. 11; *Bersheh I*, pl. 31; *Beni Hasan I*, pls. 7, 8 (15, 18, 19), 9, 25 (39); W. M. F. Petrie, *Antacopolis* (London, 1930) pl. 24.

37. Compare R. Caminos and H. Fischer, *Ancient Egyptian Epigraphy and Palaeography* (New York, 1976) p. 34.

38. All from Upper Egypt: Cairo CG 1574 (H. Fischer, *Egyptian Studies I: Varia* [New York, 1976] pl. 20); Meir IV, pl. 15; V, pl. 12; forms of Dyn. VIII–IX: Fischer, *Dendera*, fig. 33(5), p. 133. For the earlier form, with straight stick, see N. de G. Davies, *Mastaba of Ptahhetep and Akhetetep I* (London, 1900) pl. 4 (10, 19); also *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* (Chicago) 18 (1959) p. 270 (c), and Junker, *Giza V*, fig. 18, p. 77.

39. Gardiner Sign List A 11, from Davies, *Ptahhetep and Akhetetep I*, p. 4 (8). This sign does not usually show the stick however; see *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 18 (1959) p. 258, and Hassan, *Giza VI*, pt. 2, pp. 258–300; also Cairo CG 1485, where the stick is present, but is straight. In another case (R. Macramallah, *Mastaba d'Idout* [Cairo, 1935] pl. 18) the stick resembles a bow. Late Old Kingdom examples of the hieroglyph  sometimes carry a stick over the shoulder, but here again the stick is straight: *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Abteilung Kairo* 16 (1958) pp. 135–137.

40. *Deir el Gebrawi I*, pls. 3, 17; II, pl. 6.

41. Examples from the funerary temples of Sahure and Pepy II are shown by Clère in *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Abteilung Kairo* 16 (1958) fig. 3, p. 40. See also *Urk. I*, pp. 2 (7), 6 (11), 237 (13). Note that this is the sign that is identified as  (A 47) by D. Arnold in *Tempel des Königs Mentuhotep II* (Mainz, 1974) p. 46 (= pl. 54 [2192]). Twelfth Dynasty examples are to be

seen in Cairo CG 20539 (I, b, 10) and in the first line of Cairo J. 71901 (*ASAE* 39 [1939] pl. 25). In Naville, *Temple of Deir el Bahari III*, pl. 78, the feather seems to have become a throwstick, as elsewhere in the New Kingdom; see my *Ancient Egyptian Calligraphy* (New York, 1979) under A49.

42. R. Engelbach, *Harageh* (London, 1923), pl. 71.

43. *Urk. I*, pp. 281 (5), 283 (1, 4, 6, 16), 286 (17) etc. Note further  as determinative of *srw* (*Wb. IV*, p. 193 [8]), evidently from  in  (*Wb. IV*, p. 193 [7]); compare Hans Goedicke, *Königliche Dokumente aus dem Alten Reich* [Wiesbaden, 1967] pp. 99–100; also  (fisted hand without stick) replacing  in *srwh*: *ASAE* 43 (1943) p. 499, as compared with *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 12 (1976) fig. 13, p. 21.

44. *Bersheh I*, pl. 25, which is incorrectly explained as the equivalent of  in F. Ll. Griffith, *A Collection of Hieroglyphs* (London, 1898) p. 15 (122). That may be seen from another example (Florence 6365; Serge Bosticco, *Le stèle egiziane dall'Antico al Nuovo Regno* [Rome, 1959] pl. 18) which is written   .

45. J. J. Clère and J. Vandier, *Textes de la Première Période Intermédiaire et de la XI<sup>ème</sup> Dynastie* (Brussels, 1948) §17; compare also Gardiner Sign List D 37.

46. *Antefoker*, pl. 11 (det. of *dr* “damn”); a similar, contemporaneous example occurs in *ndr*, Meir II, pl. 4. An example of , with curved stick, is attributed to Dyn. XI by Arnold in *Tempel des Königs Mentuhotep II*, p. 47 (= pl. 52 [4931]), but this is certainly mistaken, as shown by the form of  as det. of *snb*, and by the writing of  *nhtw* “strength,” which is probably not known before the Late Period. See also the det. of *šsp* in Hans Goedicke, *Re-used Blocks from Lisht* (New York, 1971), pp. 98–99, where the stick is again straight; the date may be early Middle Kingdom.

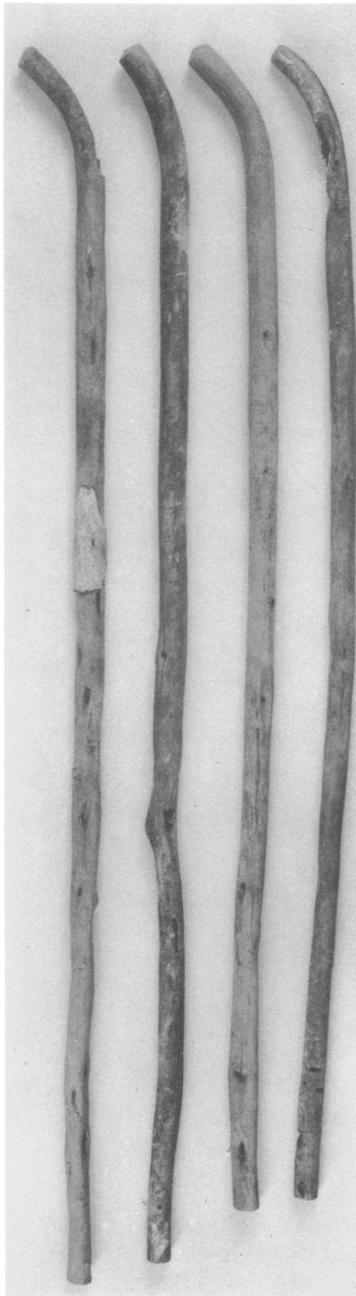


FIGURE 14 (left)  
Eleventh Dynasty  
sticks. MMA  
27.3.44-47

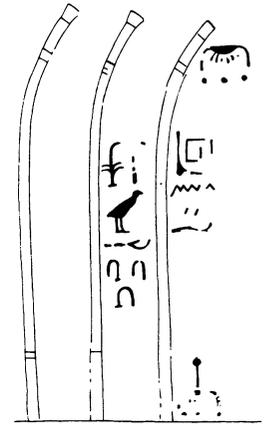
FIGURE 15 (above)  
Early New  
Kingdom stick.  
MMA 12.181.226

curved stick,<sup>47</sup> as in  at the same necropolis (note 38 above), and perhaps influenced by the latter.

Actual specimens of these curved sticks have been found in Theban tombs of the Eleventh Dynasty (Figure 14)<sup>48</sup> and of the early New Kingdom—perhaps as early as Dynasty XVII (Figure 15).<sup>49</sup>

In the Eighteenth Dynasty a rather similar stick was used, but it was handled differently and the end

FIGURE 16  
Eighteenth Dynasty  
staves. After Davies



had a more gradual curve. The labeled example in Figure 16<sup>50</sup> appears among representations of military equipment; here it bears the more distinctive name *ti-sw*, and it is further specified as being made of ebony, with the straight end of silver and the curved end of gold. The length of such sticks seems to have been variable, but in all cases, unlike the earlier usage, they seem to have been grasped at or near the curved end. Two Theban tombs represent statues of King Amenophis II in the guise of a Nubian warrior, and in each case a long staff of this type is held vertically, the curved end upward (Figure 17).<sup>51</sup> A third tomb of the same period shows a general holding a shorter

47. *Meir* V, pl. 30.

48. Deir el Bahri, Tomb 110, from the Metropolitan Museum's excavations of 1926-27. From bottom to top these are MMA 27.3.44-47, the longest measuring 113 cm. MMA 27.3.44 and 46 have been deaccessioned. A sample of one of them has been examined and has proven to be tamarix wood; like most of the identifications of wood in the present article, this service was performed by R. C. Koeppen of the Center of Wood Anatomy Research, U.S. Forest Products Laboratory in Madison, Wisconsin. Other examples: Steindorff, *Grabfunde des Mittleren Reichs* II, p. 30; W. M. F. Petrie, *Gizeh and Rifeh* (London, 1907) pl. 13 (10), both 124 cm. long; MMA 86.1.38, from Gebelein, 114 cm. long. The last is also tamarix.

49. MMA 12.181.226, from Lord Carnarvon's excavations at Thebes. The length is 112 cm.

50. N. de G. Davies, *Tomb of Ken-Amun I* (New York, 1930) pl. 18. Incompletely described in *Stöcke und Stäbe*, p. 52, note 14.

51. Davies, *Tomb of Ken-Amun I*, pls. 16, 17; also, in a register below this, carried by attendants who support a pair of them against one shoulder, with a hand cupped under the lower end (compare Vol. II, pl. 22). The same king is shown in more usual costume, but again wearing a wig of Nubian cut, in Theban tomb 92: Walter Wreszinski, *Atlas zur altaegyptischen Kulturgeschichte* (Leipzig, 1923) pl. 29 (a).

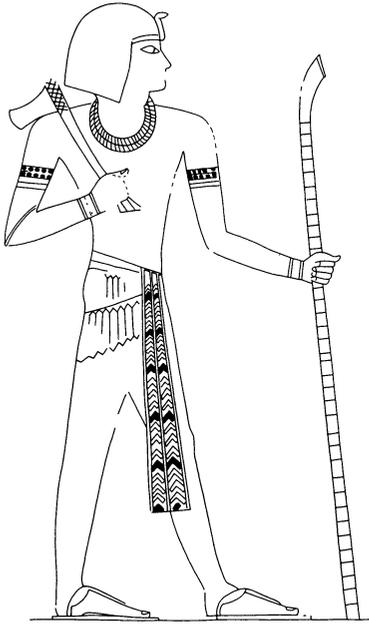
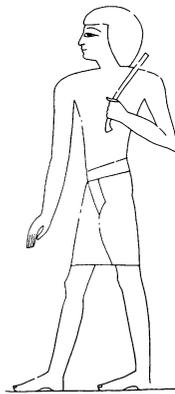


FIGURE 17  
Statue of  
Amenophis II.  
After Davies



FIGURE 20  
Eighteenth Dynasty official with crook and fan. After  
Davies

FIGURE 18  
Eighteenth Dynasty  
attendant. After Davies



staff in the same manner.<sup>52</sup> And a lesser official carries an even shorter version of the curved stick over his shoulder, again grasping the curved end (Figure 18).<sup>53</sup> Some actual examples of such sticks and staves have been preserved.<sup>54</sup>

There are also some cases where the  $\hat{\imath}$ -scepter, or something very like it, is carried by nonroyal persons as a symbol of authority. As has frequently been suggested, there must surely be a connection between the banded curved stick that is carried by the Asiatic Ibisha in a Twelfth Dynasty scene at Beni Hasan, and the designation of him as  $\hat{\imath}$  “ruler of the



FIGURE 19  
Twelfth Dynasty  
Asiatic. After  
Nina Davies

52. Theban tomb 85 (Wreszinski, *Atlas*, pl. 94 [a]). The date is about the same as that of the preceding examples.

53. *Rekh-mi-Rer*, pl. 51.

54. Notably from the tomb of Tutankhamun: *Stöcke und Stäbe*, pl. 3 and *ILN*, Sept. 19, 1925, pp. 524–525.

mountainland” (Figure 19).<sup>55</sup> And the  $\text{ȝ}$ -scepter is quite clearly shown in the hands of New Kingdom viceroys of Kush (Figure 20)<sup>56</sup> as well as, from the time of Amenophis III onward, some other high officials who were not viceroys.<sup>57</sup>

### 3. *ḥnd* “bend”

The curious procedure described, in Old Kingdom scenes, as *ḥnd*, is very clearly represented in the tomb of *Ti* (Figure 21).<sup>58</sup> One end of a long pole is bound between the horizontally positioned forked ends of another heavier pole which is fixed and immovable so that the narrower pole comes straight down upon the other, but only when weight is applied to it by the man who sits on the free end.<sup>59</sup> As this man shifts his weight, with a seesaw action, the grip of the upper pole is alternatively tightened and relaxed. The alternating pressure permits the second man to move a staff in and out so that it momentarily holds fast as needed. This procedure would have enabled him to bend or straighten the staff by degrees upon the rounded surface of the lower pole, after the staff had been wet and heated to give it elasticity.<sup>60</sup> The staff would then have had to be placed in a form so that it kept its altered shape until it dried. In the example illustrated here, however, the requisite elasticity was obtained by means of oil, in which case the drying and setting must have taken much more time; the caption reads: “Press well! It is an oiled staff that is in it.”<sup>61</sup> Here, as in the other representations of the same device, the staff that is inserted is a straight *mdw*-staff that shows no sign of being bent, and *mdw* is the term that refers to it in the caption. Furthermore, although staves with

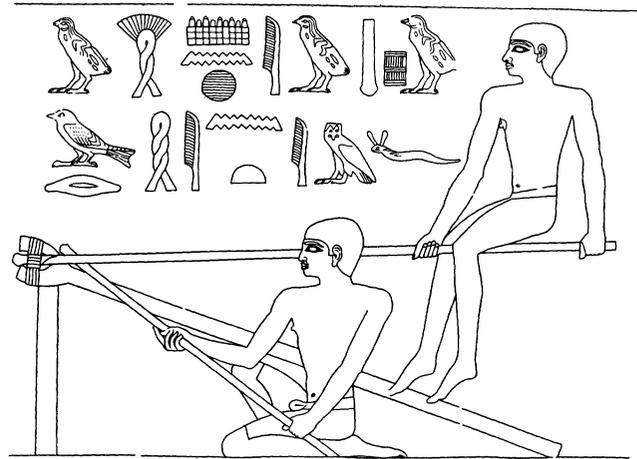


FIGURE 21  
Old Kingdom procedure for straightening staves.  
After Wild

curved ends were occasionally used by nonroyal officials in the Old Kingdom, as described earlier, the straight staff was evidently the predominant form, and it seems odd that the manufacture of a less common type would be so frequently represented. And finally, one must take account of the Middle Kingdom terms for the same activity: *smitt*, which has plausibly been explained as a causative based on *mity* meaning “make the same”;<sup>62</sup> and *ꜥkꜣ*, which is generally taken to mean “make right.”<sup>63</sup>

In view of all these considerations it seems much more probable that the representations show the straightening of staves rather than bending, although the same apparatus was doubtless used for the manufacture of curved staves as well. In either case the alteration of shape was effected by the man who manipulated the staff, and the original meaning of *ḥnd* may derive from  $\text{ḥ}$   $\text{n}$   $\text{d}$  “tread,”<sup>64</sup> referring to

55. *Beni Hasan I*, pls. 28, 30; copy by Nina Davies in C. Vandersleyen, *Propyläen Kunstgeschichte 15: Das alte Ägypten* (Berlin, 1975) pl. XXIX. Compare Montet, *Scènes*, p. 106, and Newberry, *JEA* 15 (1929) p. 85, who also points out that crooks are still used by pastoral peoples of the Eastern and Nubian deserts.

56. N. de G. Davies, *Tomb of Huy* (London, 1926) pl. 20; see also pl. 22; for other examples see Reisner, *JEA* 6 (1920) pp. 80–81 and pl. 9.

57. *JEA* 6, pl. 10 (Amarna examples); T. Säve-Söderbergh, *Private Tombs at Thebes I* (Oxford, 1957) pl. 30; *Menkheperasonb*, pls. 41–42 (both tempus Amenophis III); *Nefer-hotep I*, p. 21 and pl. 9.

58. *Ti III*, pl. 174; *Stöcke und Stäbe*, fig. 6, p. 25.

59. Compare *Stöcke und Stäbe*, pp. 24–25.

60. *Stöcke und Stäbe*, pp. 20–23.

61. *Stöcke und Stäbe*, p. 25, following Edel, *Altäg. Gramm.* I, §587.

62. Montet, *Scènes*, p. 314, and Rosemarie Drenkhahn, *Die Handwerker und ihre Tätigkeiten im alten Ägypten* (Wiesbaden, 1976) p. 113.

63. Drenkhahn, and *Wb.* I, p. 233 (10, 11).

64. Drenkhahn (p. 114) also surmises a connection with this word, but suggests that it might refer to the bending or unbending of the knee.

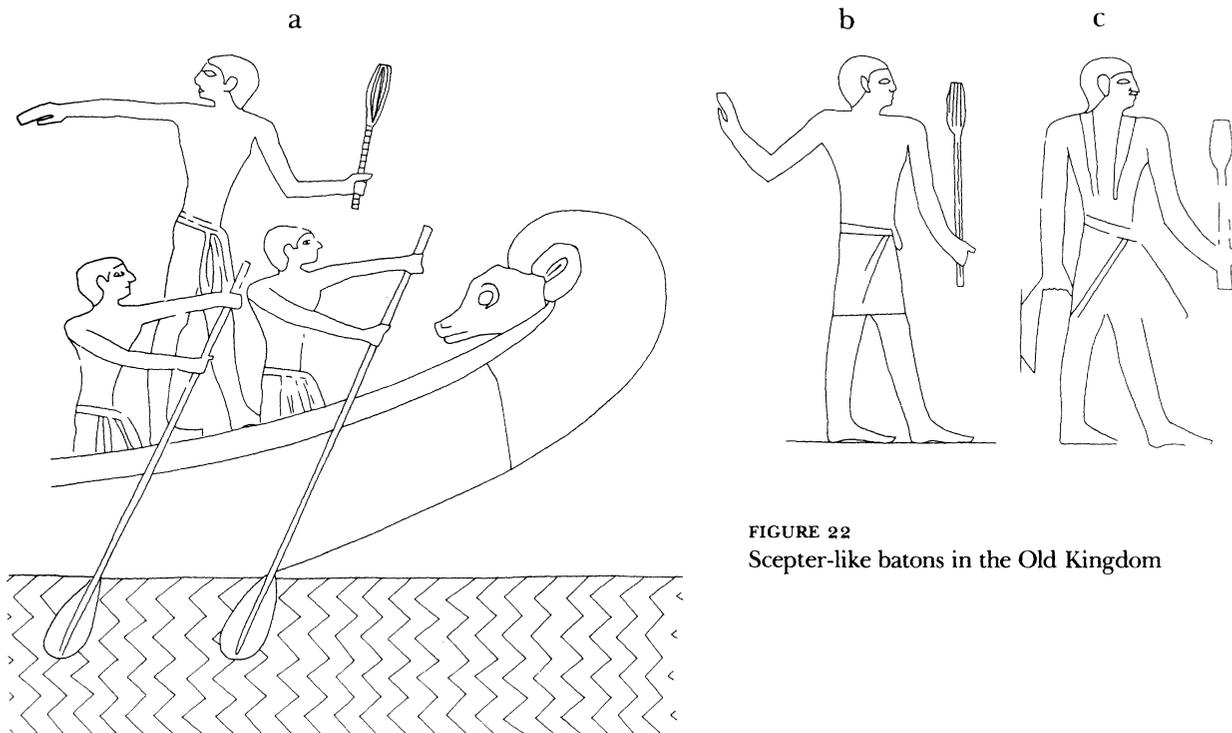


FIGURE 22  
Scepter-like batons in the Old Kingdom

the rhythmic pressure of the giant pincers.<sup>65</sup> There is little doubt, however, that it also came to mean “bend,” and this meaning is perhaps to be recognized in *hndw* “chair,” which, in the early Old Kingdom, was written with the determinative  representing a stool with bent wood reinforcement.<sup>66</sup> A similar use of *hnd*, referring to a chariot part which is “bent,” has been quoted from the New Kingdom.<sup>67</sup>

#### 4. Scepter-like batons

It has been observed by Junker and others<sup>68</sup> that Old Kingdom scenes show a scepter-like baton in the hands of those who direct boats. The enlargement at the end of this object is striated, red on yellow, and has the appearance of a brush or tassel (Figure 22a).<sup>69</sup> In one case it is held by a man who oversees the manufacture of boats,<sup>70</sup> and in another shipbuilding scene it is wielded by a baboon who stands on the prow, aping the gestures of the pilots.<sup>71</sup> The context is not limited to ships and shipbuilding, however. The same baton is held at Meir by an “overseer of troops” who guides the progress of a carrying chair (Figure

65. Is it only because of graphic similarity that the sign representing this implement (  , Gardiner Sign List U 14) replaces the plough in the place name *Sret* (*Medum*, pl. 15), or was this replacement furthered by the semantic similarity of *Sret* “restrain”? Note also that the plough conversely appears after *hnd* in one of the scenes showing staves straightened (N. de G. Davies, *Rock Tombs of Sheikh Saïd* [London, 1901] pl. 4), and in *hnd* meaning “tread” (*Pyr.* 244b, 541d, 663b, etc.).

66. Margaret Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas I* (London, 1905) pl. 2; *Medum*, pl. 13 (BM 1277: *Hier. Texts I*<sup>2</sup>, pl. 2). The Pyramid Texts, inscribed in the later Old Kingdom, abandon this determinative and apply a variety of other determinatives to *hndw*; compare P. Kaplony, *Die Inschriften der ägyptischen Frühzeit I–III* (Wiesbaden, 1963) p. 339 and note 1441 (to p. 238); I doubt the validity of the example in his fig. 566.

67. Černý, *Revue de l'Égypte ancienne* (Paris) 1 (1927) p. 225, cited by Caminos, *LEM*, p. 213, who also cites *mḥ hnd* “twisted wreaths” (p. 363) as well as another example of “twisted” (p. 42) which seems more doubtful; as he says, this last example is paralleled elsewhere by *dnḥ* “pinioned.”

68. Junker, *Giza IV*, p. 62; the examples, many of which are cited, include L. Borchardt, *Grabdenkmal des Königs Saḥu-ḥet II* (Leipzig, 1913) pl. 11; Junker, *Giza II*, fig. 32, p. 186; III, fig. 29, p. 167; A. Vignieu, *Encyclopédie photographique de l'art: Louvre I* (Paris [1935]) pl. 22; Dows Dunham and W. K. Simpson, *Mastaba of Queen Mersyankh III* (Boston, 1974) fig. 5.

69. Junker, *Giza III*, fig. 29, p. 167.

70. *Deir el Gebrāwī I*, pl. 15.

71. A. Moussa and H. Altenmüller, *Tomb of Nefer and Ka-hay* (Mainz, 1971) pl. 23.

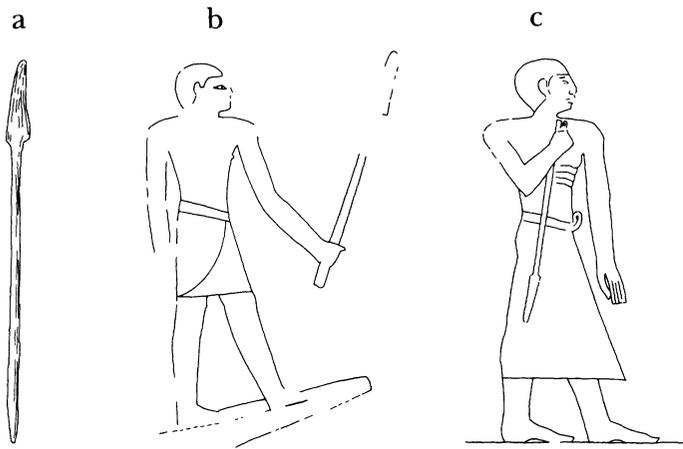


FIGURE 23  
Scepter-like batons in the Middle Kingdom

FIGURE 24  
Twelfth Dynasty hieroglyph for  
“sovereign.” After Griffith



22b),<sup>72</sup> and it evidently is to be recognized in the hands of a row of funerary priests at Saqqara, both examples dating to the Sixth Dynasty (Figure 22c).<sup>73</sup>

I believe that this baton is in turn related to a somewhat longer one, with a smaller, bulbous terminal that occurs in Middle Kingdom representations. One of the earliest examples, dating to the late Eleventh Dynasty, again appears in the hand of a man who pilots a boat (Figure 23b),<sup>74</sup> as also in the case of those who pilot the model boats of *Mkt-Rr*.<sup>75</sup> But the *Mkt-Rr* models also place it in the hands of other supervisors, such as the one who presides over the activities of the abattoir (Figure 23a).<sup>76</sup> In tomb chapels of the Twelfth Dynasty it is sometimes held by officials who are subservient to the tomb-owner (Figure 23c).<sup>77</sup> An actual example is apparently to be recognized in Berlin 17830.<sup>78</sup>

## 5. Forked staves

Although a forked staff appears in the hieroglyph  representing an old man, A20 in Gardiner's Sign List, Gardiner attributes an ordinary staff to , A21,

showing an erect “official” (*sr*). Such a distinction does not exist in the Old Kingdom examples of the two hieroglyphs, both of which show the forked staff with about the same frequency,<sup>79</sup> although in both cases the fork is apt to be omitted. In addition the same type of staff appears occasionally in the Old Kingdom determinative of  *chr* “stand,”<sup>80</sup>  *it* “father,”<sup>81</sup> and  (var. , ) *iti* “master,”<sup>82</sup> as well as in a Middle Kingdom example of  “sovereign” (Figure 24).<sup>83</sup> Since there is no further evidence for the forked staff in Old Kingdom representations of larger scale, whether elderly<sup>84</sup>

72. Meir V, pl. 31.

73. Mereruka I, pl. 83; also pls. 84–86. The same is probably to be recognized in the Sixth Dynasty chapel of *Nhbw*, excavated by Reisner: W. S. Smith, *History of Egyptian Sculpture and Painting in the Old Kingdom* (Oxford, 1946) fig. 80, p. 209.

74. N. de G. Davies, *Five Theban Tombs* (London, 1913) pl. 36.

75. Winlock, *Models*, pls. 34, 45, 46. So too Beni Hasan I, pls. 14, 16.

76. Winlock, *Models*, pl. 61 (F), and for this context see pl. 19.

77. Meir II, pl. 11. Also Meir I, pl. 3; II, pls. 6, 15. *Antefoker*, pl. 9; *Bersheh* II, pl. 8; *Beni Hasan* I, pl. 35 (held under nearer arm). Possibly also Louvre C 166 (A. J. Gayet, *Musée du Louvre: Stèles de la XII<sup>e</sup> dynastie* [Paris, 1886] pl. 24).

78. Illustrated in *Stöcke und Stäbe*, pl. 8 (1), but without any information concerning the site or provenance. Steffen Wenig has kindly informed me that it was found in 1906 in the uppermost level of the kom of Elephantine; thus the provenance provides no confirmation of the date.

79. Cf. Hassan, *Stöcke und Stäbe*, p. 124, who mentions *sr*, perhaps following A. C. Mace and H. E. Winlock, *Tomb of Senebtisi* (New York, 1916) p. 87; no references are given in either case. Hassan nonetheless illogically considers that the *rbt*-staff might have a special association with old age and even death. For this staff in the hieroglyph for *sr* see Hassan, *Giza* II, fig. 185, p. 157; VI, pt. 3, fig. 143, p. 150; Fischer, *Dendera*, fig. 37, p. 193; *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Abteilung Kairo* 16 (1958) fig. 1, p. 131; R. Weill, *Décrets royaux* (Paris, 1912) pl. 9 (two out of three cases, although the detail in question is not observed in the drawing, pl. 4). Here, as in the hieroglyph for *iw* or *šmsw* “old,” the fork is also frequently omitted.

80. Hassan, *Giza* IV, fig. 118, p. 168 (4).

81. Cairo J. 47749 (J. Capart, *Documents pour servir à l'étude de l'art égyptien* I [Paris, 1927] pl. 13).

82. Grdseloff, *ASAE* 42 (1943) fig. 3, p. 39; the first variant is Hans Kayser, *Mastaba des Uhemka*, p. 33 (more clearly printed in *Roemer-Pelizaeus-Museum* [Hildesheim, 1959] pl. 4); the second is Cairo CG 1565 (left side).

83. Griffith, *Hieroglyphs*, pl. 9 (161) (= *Bersheh* I, pl. 15, top right).

84. E.g., those shown in *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 18 (1959) p. 246, as well as the later, more bowed and emaciated figures shown in *Artibus Asiae* 22 (1959) figs. 2, 7, 9, following p. 240 (all Dyn. X–XI).



FIGURE 25  
New Kingdom forking stick. MMA  
12.181.222



FIGURE 26  
Nineteenth Dynasty attendant  
with forking stick. After Davies

or otherwise, this type of staff must be considered a survival from the Protodynastic Period, when its use must have been more common. There is admittedly little further evidence to support this conclusion, other than the existence of similar forms of hieroglyphs on some seal impressions of the First Dynasty,<sup>85</sup> and the lower part of a forking stick, inlaid with ivory studs, which was found in one of the earliest of the great First Dynasty mastabas at Saqqara.<sup>86</sup>

Apart from the mention of forking *rbt*-staves in the Old Kingdom lists of royal burials and in the Middle Kingdom coffin lists that derive from them, there is scarcely any trace of such staves during these periods—a fact that is more surprising since forking punting poles (𓆎𓆏𓆑𓆒 *šmr*) are quite conspicuous in Old Kingdom boating scenes,<sup>87</sup> as also in one of the Eleventh Dynasty models of *Mkt-Rc*.<sup>88</sup> A short forking stick from an early Middle Kingdom tomb at Meir is virtually all that attests its use for walking until the New Kingdom.<sup>89</sup> The New Kingdom offers rather more evidence, however. Several actual staves and

sticks have been found in burials at Saqqara<sup>90</sup> and Thebes (Figure 25),<sup>91</sup> and there are representations of them in Theban tombs. One of the latter shows the staves in a procession bearing burial equipment;<sup>92</sup> the others show them carried by servants and by an attendant who evidently holds such a staff for the official who precedes him (Figure 26).<sup>93</sup>

## 6. Batons for leisure

As noted earlier, Old Kingdom dignitaries are generally represented carrying a *mdw*-staff and *rbt*-scepter while standing or walking, but when they are seated they put aside these cumbersome objects and hold a slender short baton like the present-day swagger stick of military officers (Figure 27).<sup>94</sup> This does

85. Kaplony, *Inschriften* III, pls. 21 (45 B), 22 (46 A).

86. W. B. Emery, *Great Tombs of the First Dynasty* II (London, 1954) fig. 92, p. 65. See also the butt of a forking staff, covered with copper, from Gebel Silsila, as shown in J. de Morgan, *Recherches sur les origines de l'Égypte* II (Paris, 1897) fig. 866, p. 268; presumably this was thought to be pre- or protodynastic, but the date is not specified.

87. For the term see Junker, *Giza* IV, pl. 10 and p. 75. Many examples can be added to the references he gives for representations: *Medum*, pl. 10; *Ti* II, pls. 111, 117, 118; R. Paget and A. Pirie, *Tomb of Ptah-hotep* (London, 1898) pl. 32, etc. The Middle Kingdom offers less evidence: *Meir* I, pl. 3; II, pl. 4.

88. Winlock, *Models*, pls. 45, 50.

89. Kamal, *ASAE* 12 (1912) pp. 99–100, L. 102 cm., and said to be made of mulberry wood (*mürier*). Post-Middle Kingdom burials such as that of *Šnbty.šy* are equipped with dummy staves of this type among others that imitate Osiride funerary equipment (see *Stöcke und Stäbe*, pp. 81 ff.).

90. James and Apted, *Khentika*, fig. 1, p. 3.

91. MMA 12.181.222, said to be of birch wood, L. 104 cm. From Lord Carnarvon's excavations at Dra abu'l Negga prior to 1911. In addition to the foregoing cases, both of which are Dyn. XVIII, several examples of the later New Kingdom are shown by B. Bruyère, *Fouilles de Deir el-Médineh (1934–35), Deuxième Partie: La Nécropole de l'Est* (Cairo, 1937) fig. 69, on p. 123. One of these is the type discussed below, in § 11, and two others may represent broken specimens of the same kind, but at least three of them are symmetrically forked.

92. Davies, *Five Theban Tombs*, pl. 21. A later scene shows a forking staff and two plain ones among the burial equipment: N. de G. Davies, *Two Ramesside Tombs* (New York, 1927) pl. 36.

93. *Nefer-hotep* I, pls. 45 and 47 (the latter shown here).

94. *Meir* V, pl. 32; see also pls. 31, 41, 45; *Meir* IV, pl. 14; Hassan, *Giza* V, fig. 122, p. 266; *Mereruka* I, pl. 95; Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas* I, pl. 7; W. K. Simpson, *Mastabas of Qar and Idu* (Boston, 1976) fig. 38, etc.



FIGURE 27  
Sixth Dynasty official with  
short baton. After  
Blackman

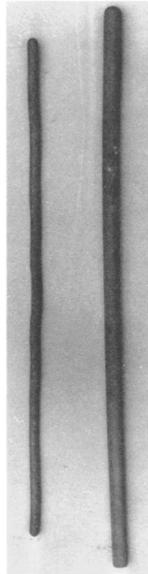


FIGURE 28 (right)  
Eleventh Dynasty batons. MMA  
27.3.8–9 (both deaccessioned)

diameter 1.6–1.9 cm., and the surface looks as though it has been polished by frequent handling. The shorter one is 55.5 cm. long with a diameter of 1–1.3 cm.

## 7. Sticks for policing

As a rule, short sticks were used in the Old, Middle, and New Kingdom for policing men or animals, and one Eighteenth Dynasty representation (Figure 29) shows a tax-collector holding one that has a loop passed through a hole at one end, much like the police truncheon of our own day.<sup>96</sup> A more distinctive form, terminating in an open hand, was sometimes used by the Old Kingdom tax-collector to exact his master's due from recalcitrant farmers (Figure 30).<sup>97</sup> The amusing character of this implement made it

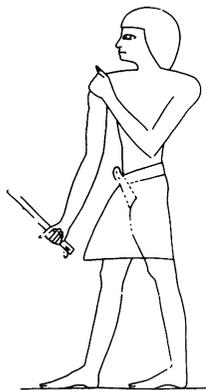


FIGURE 29  
Eighteenth Dynasty tax-collector  
with truncheon. After Davies

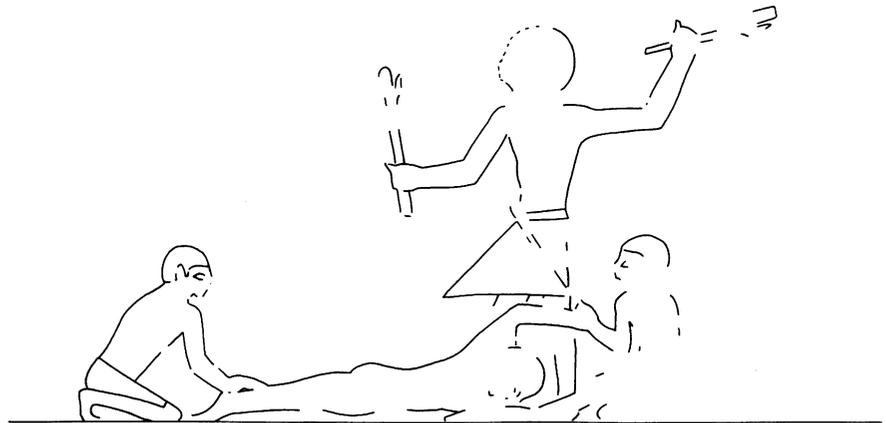


FIGURE 30  
Sixth Dynasty tax-collectors. After Davies

not appear in later representations, but it probably continued to be used at least down to the Eleventh Dynasty, for actual examples of plum wood have been found in a Theban tomb of that date (Figure 28).<sup>95</sup> The length of the larger one is 62.2 cm., the

more suitable, however, for the policing of apes,<sup>98</sup> or for games.<sup>99</sup> There is little evidence of it in later periods, but at least one example is known from the early Middle Kingdom, and here the man who wields it again tends apes.<sup>100</sup>

95. MMA 27.3.8, 27.3.9, both subsequently deaccessioned. Deir el Bahri, Tomb 101, Metropolitan Museum excavations of 1926–27.

96. *Rekh-mi-Rer*, pl. 29 (2). A second example appears in the same scene.

97. *Deir el Gebrâwi* I, pl. 8; also Cairo CG 1541 (Smith, *American Journal of Archaeology* [New York] 46 [1942] fig. 5, p. 517); LD II, pl. 56 (a bis).

98. *Ti* I, pl. 16; II, pl. 126; Cairo CG 1556 (Smith, *American Journal of Archaeology* 46 [1942] fig. 5, p. 517); Selim Hassan, *Excavations at Saqqara 1937–1938* III (Cairo, 1975) p. 24. Probably also Hassan, *Giza* V, fig. 122, p. 266; *Mereruka* II, pl. 158.

99. *Mereruka* II, pls. 162, 164; BM 994 (*Hier. Texts* I<sup>2</sup>, pl. 25).

100. *Beni Hasan* II, pl. 6; also noted by J. Vandier d'Abbadie, *Revue d'Égyptologie* (Paris) 17 (1965) p. 178.

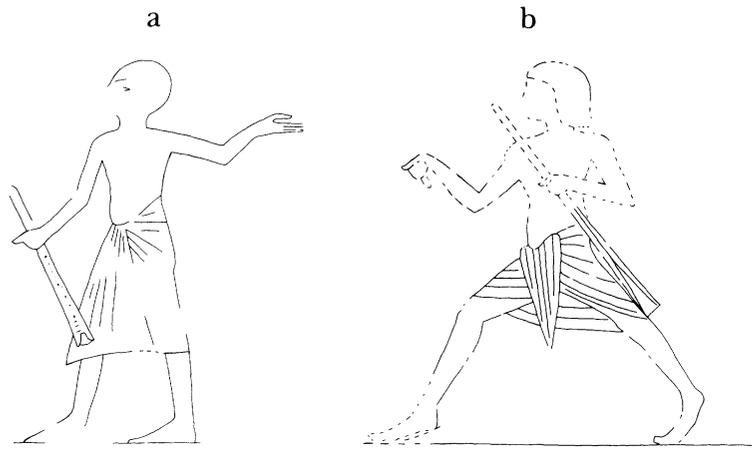


FIGURE 31  
Nineteenth Dynasty police. After Davies

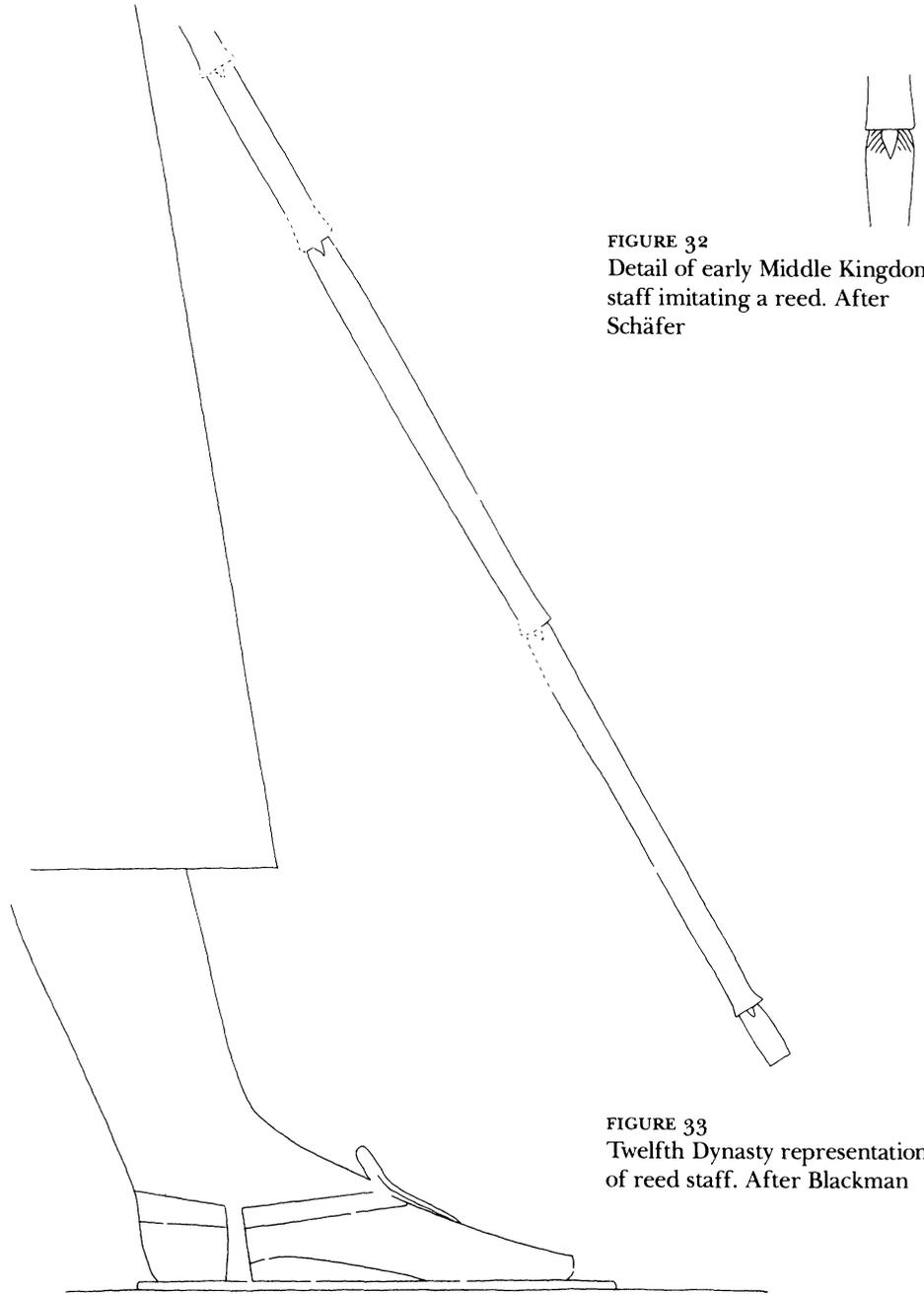


FIGURE 32  
Detail of early Middle Kingdom  
staff imitating a reed. After  
Schäfer

FIGURE 33  
Twelfth Dynasty representation  
of reed staff. After Blackman

Policemen of the later New Kingdom, from the Amarna Period onward, carried a weapon that is probably not a stick at all, but a strap of leather that is partly rolled up so that one end is round, for rigidity and for easy handling, while the other is flat (Figure 31).<sup>101</sup> The noise it produced was probably as effective a deterrent as the pain.

## 8. Imitations of reeds

Ali Hassan has discussed representations of reed staves in some detail and has observed that actual examples have frequently been found in burials.<sup>102</sup> Nearly all of these actual examples prove, however, to be wooden staves carved to imitate the jointing that is characteristic of reed stalks.<sup>103</sup> One fragmentary example, not mentioned by Hassan, comes from an early First Dynasty mastaba at Saqqara; it is carved in wood with rings in relief at regular intervals.<sup>104</sup> Two smaller fragments of wood from the royal tombs at Abydos, belonging to the First and Second Dynasties, show a more natural imitation of reed jointing,<sup>105</sup> and so too some lighter fragments of wooden wands from the same source,<sup>106</sup> as well as ivory rods—perhaps gaming pieces<sup>107</sup>—which have also been found in a First Dynasty burial at Helwan.<sup>108</sup>

No further staves imitating reeds are known before the Middle Kingdom,<sup>109</sup> from which period at

least four more examples may be cited. One from Abusir, dating to the Eleventh Dynasty, shows extraordinarily fine, if stylized, detail in the carved imitation of jointing (Figure 32).<sup>110</sup> The others, from Saqqara, dating to the early Twelfth Dynasty, are less detailed but similar; Quibell says of one of these: “above the joints were some bands of fine punctures made by minute nails.”<sup>111</sup> Further examples are known from the Eighteenth Dynasty, and notably from the tomb of Amenophis II.<sup>112</sup>

It seems very likely that, in most cases, it is imitations of this kind that are represented in the tomb chapels of the Old, Middle, and New Kingdom, and not reeds as such. That is certainly true of the most detailed representation of all—again overlooked by Hassan—which has precisely the same stylized detail that appears in the Abusir staff (Figure 33),<sup>113</sup> and belongs to the same general period, albeit somewhat later.

## 9. Adaptations of the divine *wꜥs*-staff and royal *mkꜥ*

As a symbol of power the *wꜥs*-staff (𓏏) was primarily an attribute of the gods and was not ordinarily carried by the king, although temple scenes as early as the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties occasionally show him holding it in combination with other insignia.<sup>114</sup> It is

101. Davies, *Two Ramesside Tombs*, pl. 13, where the overlapping leather seems to be sewn (Figure 31a). Also Anthes, *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Abteilung Kairo* 9 (1940) pl. 17; Davies, *Nefer-hotep* I, pls. 15, 16 (Figure 31b), 17; also II, pl. 6 (brown outside, black inside). In *Nefer-hotep* I, pl. 43, this is used in beating prisoners; Davies in *Nefer-hotep* I, p. 23, inaccurately describes it as a flattened staff or broom. The leather baton is used by policemen ( *šꜥꜥ* ), as pointed out in *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache* 105 (1978) p. 49. It is probably this baton, and not a trumpet, that is held under the arm of the dedicant on Hildesheim stela 397. For the previous identification see Roeder, *ÄZ* 61 (1926) pp. 59–60 and pl. 5 (2); H. Kayser, *Die ägyptischen Altertümer im Roemer-Pelizaenus-Museum* (Hildesheim, 1973) p. 61.

102. *Stöcke und Stäbe*, pp. 33–36 and note 19.

103. The one exception is the reed that Tutankhamun “cut with his own hand,” but both ends are mounted in gold and electrum: *ILN*, Sept. 19, 1925, p. 525. For the inscription see *Stöcke und Stäbe*, p. 134 (6).

104. Emery, *Great Tombs* II, fig. 95, p. 66.

105. *Royal Tombs* II, pls. 37 (33), 44 (1).

106. Same, pl. 36 (3–13).

107. Same, pl. 32 (59); identified as a gaming stick on p. 36 (§33).

108. Zaki Saad, *Royal Excavations at Helwan (1945–1947)* (Cairo, 1951), p. 37, pl. 45; cited in *Stöcke und Stäbe*, p. 58 and note 13.

109. But a pennant on a reed pole is shown in an early Dyn. IV tomb painting: *Medum*, pl. 28.

110. H. Schäfer, *Priestergräber und andere Grabfunde* (Leipzig, 1908) fig. 28 a, p. 27; compare *Stöcke und Stäbe*, p. 73 and note 4.

111. J. E. Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara (1906–1907)* (Cairo, 1908) p. 17; compare *Stöcke und Stäbe*, p. 74, note 11. The second example, Firth and Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries* I, fig. 60, p. 54, is not recognized as such by Hassan; it is the longest staff in his fig. 21 (cited p. 78, note 20).

112. Cairo CG 24112, inscribed with the names of Amenophis II and his queen (compare *Stöcke und Stäbe*, p. 132 [2]); CG 24116, illustrated in G. Daressy, *Fouilles de la Vallée des Rois* (Cairo, 1902) pl. 19.

113. *Meir* III, pl. 14.

114. F. W. von Bissing, *Re-Heiligtum des Königs Ne-woser-re* II, Taf. 2, Bl. 21 (50 b), 22 (52); III (1928) Bl. 19 (311, 313); G. Jéquier, *Monument funéraire de Pepi II*, II (Cairo, 1938) pls. 46, 50.



Dynasty inscription from Thebes shows the *wš*-staff in the hands of a mummiform determinative of *twt* “statue,” where it is emblematic of the Osiride hereafter (Figure 35c).<sup>122</sup> This last usage is perhaps also exemplified by a stela of the Heracleopolitan Period from Naga ed-Deir, which may again show the *wš*-staff in the hand of a nonroyal individual, but the identification of the staff is not altogether certain (Figure 36).<sup>123</sup>

Apart from a possible example in the hands of men tending cranes (see note 26), I do not know of any other iconographic evidence of this kind in the Middle Kingdom, although Middle Kingdom coffins frequently show  $\uparrow$  among the royal and divine staves that are represented in the frieze of objects, and wooden examples have been found in Osiride burial equipment dating to the end of that period and slightly later.<sup>124</sup>

Officials of the New Kingdom are occasionally shown holding the *wš*-staff in a funerary context, again alluding to the divine nature of the hereafter.<sup>125</sup> One Eighteenth Dynasty context calls for a quite different interpretation, however: an elderly man holds the staff in several scenes representing the surveying of land, and in one case he attests that “as the Great God endures, who is in heaven, the stela is correct as it stands, O my father.”<sup>126</sup> Susanne Berger has suggested that this example may allude to the *wš*-scepter as an emblem of stability, and specifically as the support of heaven, for in other cases boundary stelae are said to be set up “like the sky.”<sup>127</sup> Finally, in an even more dissimilar context, three goatherds carry or

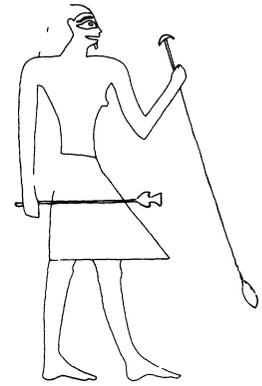


FIGURE 36  
Detail of stela,  
Heracleopolitan Period

lean on *wš*-staves in a Nineteenth Dynasty tomb chapel.<sup>128</sup> This, along with the Eleventh Dynasty writing of *mniw* “herdsman,” is a clear indication of the pastoral origin of  $\uparrow$ , and is reminiscent of the use of  $\uparrow$ -staves by men herding cranes and geese. The very disparate adaptations of the  $\uparrow$ -staff provide an excellent illustration of how important it is to take account of the context in examining ancient Egyptian iconography—as important, in fact, as it is to take account of the very wide range of meaning that may be assigned to one and the same term, depending on the date and context of an inscription. In the Old Kingdom, for example,  $\uparrow$  (*hkr*) as a noun could refer either to nomarchs (as in the example cited earlier) and governors of foreign regions<sup>129</sup> or to humbler foremen of estates;<sup>130</sup> in the Heracleopolitan Period and the Middle Kingdom it was also applied to the king<sup>131</sup> or to a god,<sup>132</sup> and these uses eventually, in the New Kingdom, supplanted the lowlier ones.

122. BM 1164; compare Clère and Vandier, *Textes de la Première Période Intermédiaire*, § 33, line 9. The drawing has been made from a photograph, tracing, and rubbing kindly provided by W. V. Davies.

123. D. Dunham, *Naga-ed-Dêr Stelae* (London, 1937) pl. 2 (2).

124. Jéquier, *Frises*, pp. 176–180. See also Figure 40 below.

125. *Stöcke und Stäbe*, pp. 191–192, and figs. 40–42. Also Brussels E.5183; Jean Capart, *Documents pour servir à l'étude de l'art égyptien I* (Paris, 1927) pl. 63, and a Dyn. XXVI example, Jan Assmann, *Das Grab des Basa* (Mainz, 1973) pl. 9.

126. Nina M. Davies, *Ancient Egyptian Paintings* (Chicago, 1936) II, pl. 68; III, p. 130. The *wš*-staff was first noted by Wiedemann, *Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie . . . égyptiennes et assyriennes* 18 (1896) p. 130. The oath is to be added to those discussed by Wilson in *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 7 (1948) pp. 129–156.

127. *JEA* 20 (1934) pp. 54–56, seconded by Hans Bonnet, *Reallexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte* (Berlin, 1952) p. 840;

both to be added to the references in *Stöcke und Stäbe*, p. 190.

128. Davies, *Two Ramesside Tombs*, pls. 30, 34 (the latter in color); *Stöcke und Stäbe*, fig. 43, p. 193.

129. *Wb.* III, p. 171 (1, 22); Fischer, *Dendera*, pp. 11–12; note 121 above.

130. Junker, *Gîza II*, p. 194; III, pp. 91–97.

131. *Wb.* III, p. 171 (2, 20–22). The earliest references seem to occur in Siut tomb IV, cols. 7–8, 15 (for which see note 120 above), and in the instructions addressed to Merikare: Elke Blumenthal, *Untersuchungen zum ägyptischen Königstum des Mittleren Reiches* (Berlin, 1970) pp. 25–26.

132. *Wb.* III, p. 171 (7, 20–22). One of the earliest references occurs in MMA 25.2.3; Caroline Peck, *Some Decorated Tombs of the First Intermediate Period at Naga ed-Der* (University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, 1959) p. 135, note 2. Illustrated in D. Dunham, *Naga-ed-Dêr Stelae* (Boston, 1937) pl. 28.



FIGURE 37  
Third Dynasty form of sign .  
After Murray

Although Gardiner has identified the object in the hand(s) of  as a “*nḥbt*-wand,”<sup>133</sup> the earliest forms of the hieroglyph suggest that the hand originally held the similar, but more elongated *mkś*-staff (Figure 37).<sup>134</sup> Later, when the single arm replaced the pair of arms, this staff may indeed have been reinterpreted as the shorter *nḥbt*, for, apart from the difference in length, the two are very similar, and they are closely related in the frieze of objects represented in Middle Kingdom coffins.<sup>135</sup> Their proportions may be compared in a representation of Sesostrius from his shrine at Karnak (Figure 38),<sup>136</sup> but this simplifies the form of the *mkś*, which, in other cases, has a rounded top suggesting an attenuated lotus bud.<sup>137</sup>

As the distinctive attribute of  *ḏsr* “holy,” and a symbol regularly wielded by the king in his priestly role as an intermediary between mankind and the gods, the *mkś*-staff was not ordinarily associated with nonroyal persons. But when, by the beginning of the Middle Kingdom, every well-to-do Egyptian had acquired the right to assume the role of the dead king Osiris, this staff was often represented, along with other royal paraphernalia, in the aforementioned frieze of objects in coffins.<sup>138</sup> And, even as early as the end of the Eleventh Dynasty, the staff itself was at least occasionally placed in nonroyal tombs, for a private chapel of that date shows it among the burial equipment (*krśtt*) of the deceased.<sup>139</sup> It is only in tombs

133. Gardiner Sign List D 45 and *JEA* 32 (1946) p. 51.

134. A late Dyn. III example: Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas* I, pl. 37 (6) (= pl. 1 [right]). For a similar Dyn. I example see *Royal Tombs* I, pl. 4 (3).

135. Jéquier, *Frises*, p. 186. Compare his figs. 450–454 on p. 174 (*mkś*) and figs. 489–493 on p. 185 (*nḥbt*). The former more frequently shows a crosspiece at the bottom, but this detail is often applied to *nḥbt* in the Pyramid Texts, as in Pyr. 134c [W], 220b [N], 224b [N], etc.

136. P. Lacau and H. Chevrier, *Une Chapelle de Sésostris I<sup>er</sup> à Karnak*, Planches (Cairo, 1969) pl. 31.

137. Jéquier, *Frises*, fig. 457, p. 175 (from Naville, *Temple of Deir el Bahari* I, pl. 14).

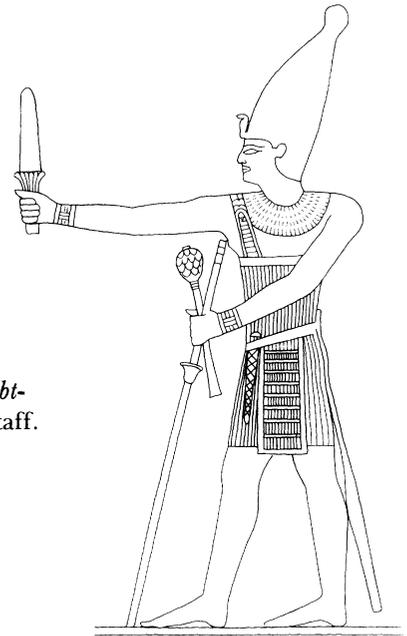


FIGURE 38  
Sesostrius I with *nḥbt*-  
scepter and *mkś*-staff.  
After Chevrier

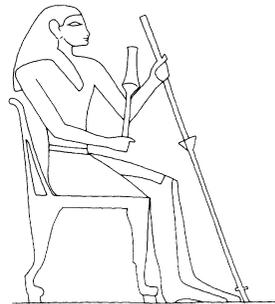


FIGURE 39  
Detail of Twelfth  
Dynasty stela, Cairo CG  
20562

that are somewhat later than the Twelfth Dynasty, however, that actual examples have been found—one belonging to a princess, and the other, more understandably, to a king;<sup>140</sup> the ownership of two others,

138. In the late New Kingdom it was sometimes similarly included among the implements for the “opening of the mouth” ceremony: J. Vandier d’Abbadie, *Deux Tombes ramessides* (Cairo, 1954) pls. 10–11; Davies, *Two Ramesside Tombs*, pl. 36; N. de G. Davies, *Seven Private Tombs at Kurnah* (London, 1948) pl. 16.

139. *Beni Hasan* II, pl. 7.

140. J. de Morgan, *Fouilles à Dahchour, mars-juin 1894* (Vienna, 1895) fig. 253, p. 109; this fact is not noted by Hassan in *Stöcke und Stäbe*, although he reproduces de Morgan’s drawing (*Stöcke und Stäbe*, fig. 29, p. 87). Note also that in addition to the *mkś* of King Hor (discussed by Hassan, p. 92, as a unique occurrence), another example is attributed to Amenophis II (Cairo CG 24119, mentioned by Hassan, p. 132); the form seems doubtful, however.

both from the same tomb at Lisht, has not been identified.<sup>141</sup>

It is rather more surprising to find the *mkš*-staff held by the deceased as represented on a funerary stela of the late Twelfth Dynasty (Figure 39),<sup>142</sup> for this monument was not placed out of sight, in the otherworldly confines of the burial chamber, but was located in a chapel that could be seen by almost anyone. The closest parallel for this case is the occasional appearance, in the New Kingdom, of the *wšš*-staff (𓏏) in the hands of the deceased in funerary contexts.<sup>143</sup> But, as noted earlier, the *wšš*-staff also appears, if only rarely, in a very lowly context, recalling its pastoral origin, whereas the *mkš*-staff is, from the beginning, a strictly royal and sacral implement.

#### 10. A dummy repair

In 1960 I purchased a bundle of wooden fragments from the dregs of the Museum's disposal sale of deaccessioned Egyptian objects, which had then been in progress for several years. It was my hope that some of the pieces might fit together, but only one item—a bow—could be wholly assembled, and it was then presented to the Smithsonian Institution.<sup>144</sup> This and most of the other pieces were subsequently identified as coming from Pit 211 of the "priests' cemetery" at Deir el Bahri, belonging to a certain *Snwst-cnh* (Figure 40).<sup>145</sup> The date is probably no earlier than the end of the Twelfth Dynasty.

Fragmentary as they were, the other pieces proved to be singularly interesting, for several of them be-



FIGURE 40  
Wooden staves, etc., from a late Middle Kingdom burial

141. MMA 14.3.35–36. From Lisht tomb 5102, within enclosure wall of *Imhṯp* (Lansing, *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 10 [Feb. 1915] sect. 2, p. 6, and plan in fig. 3, p. 8).

142. Cairo CG 20562; O. Lange and H. Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reiches IV* (Berlin, 1902) pl. 91 (547); photograph in W. K. Simpson, *Terrace of the Great God at Abydos*, pl. 19 (10.3). The man's long-lappeted wig is likewise an otherworldly attribute; see *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* (Boston/Princeton) 2 (1963) p. 28.

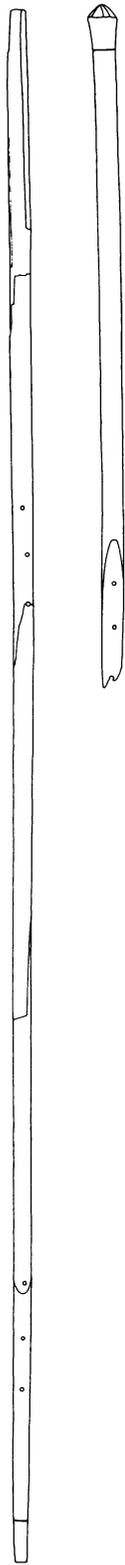
143. *Stöcke und Stäbe*, pp. 191–192, where the funerary context is not sufficiently taken into account.

144. No. 440,017; length 162 cm.; max. diam. at grip 1.93 cm.

145. Excavation photograph M6C 460; the dummy fire-sticks are still in the Metropolitan Museum (MMA 25.3.284 A–D). For the cemetery, see Winlock, *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 17 (Dec. 1922) sect. 2, p. 31.

longed to tamarix staves that had been drilled at regular intervals with sets of three holes, each of which was neatly fitted with a peg of the same material (Figure 41). These could not have been intended as decoration, for the entire surface was painted yellow, and when the staves were new the pegs must have been quite invisible. Nor did they provide any reinforcement; on the contrary, they considerably reduced the strength of the shaft.

The strength of the staves was not a consideration, however, for they were not intended for actual use.



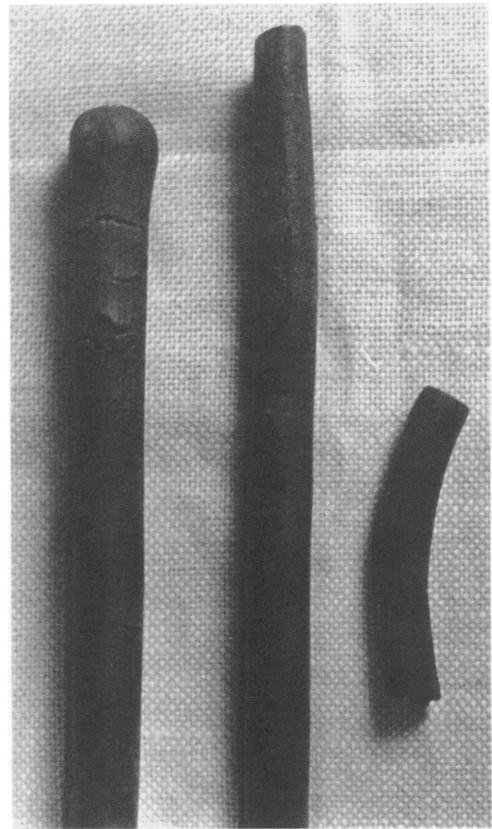
**FIGURE 41**  
Fragments of staves from a late Middle Kingdom burial



**FIGURE 43**  
Old Kingdom staff,  
Boston, MFA 37.1323.  
Drawing by Suzanne  
Chapman



**FIGURE 42**  
Detail of staff, showing  
joint and tenon. After  
Mace and Winlock



**FIGURE 44**  
Old Kingdom staff in Boston, MFA 37.1323

Like the fragmentary wooden dagger, firesticks, and bows that accompanied them, they were only dummies, intended solely for the hereafter. The meaning of the pegs is therefore to be sought in other dummy equipment of the same period—the Second Intermediate Period. The tomb of *Šnbty.sy* at Lisht contained a forked staff that consisted of five pieces that were jointed and pegged as shown in Figure 42.<sup>146</sup> A straight staff from Meir, belonging to the burial equipment of either *Hpi/rnhtyfy* or *Wh-htp*, is spliced identically.<sup>147</sup> And a ceremonial bow of the Second Intermediate Period in Moscow is made of two pieces of equal length that are again similarly united, the joint in this case being reinforced by three wooden pegs.<sup>148</sup>

Since these joints are not functional, but are rather to be considered as an elaboration of the ritual breaking of staves and bows for burial, it seems certain that the jointless sets of pegs are comparable. Indeed, they confirm the ritual nature of the actual joints.

The same explanation is probably to be applied to a staff of much earlier date, from a late Fifth or Sixth Dynasty burial at Giza.<sup>149</sup> This is 109 cm. long, and, as shown in Figures 43 and 44,<sup>150</sup> there is a peg a few centimeters below the bulbous top and another, slightly smaller, about one-third the length from the bottom. The curved tip seems to be intentional, but is possibly the result of accidental warping. Edna

Russmann, who has carefully examined this object for me, says there is no evidence of knots in the wood, or of any joint or weakness that might require a tenon. On the contrary, the upper peg has itself caused some cracking of the adjacent wood, both vertical (along the grain) and horizontal. These points of weakness, both introduced deliberately, suggest that the staff was never intended for actual use, and, if so, that conclusion also applies to a small *rbt*-scepter, 39 cm. long, that was found with it.<sup>151</sup> The use of large-scale dummy burial equipment is less abundantly attested for the Old Kingdom than in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Dynasties, but one might compare the wooden sandals that have been found in burials at Deshasha and Saqqara;<sup>152</sup> these similarly anticipate a usage that continued into the Middle Kingdom.<sup>153</sup> It should be noted that both the staff and scepter are somewhat less than full size, but the body they accompanied is also unexpectedly small, and may have belonged to an ungrown boy rather than to a man.

## 11. A characteristic New Kingdom staff

Throughout the Eighteenth Dynasty and onward, the most favored type of staff was one that has a small curved projection at the top, usually fashioned from a natural fork in the wood. Something very like

146. Mace and Winlock, *Tomb of Senebtisi*, fig. 51, p. 87. For the date: Bruce Williams in *Serapis* 3 (Chicago, 1975–76) pp. 41–57. Discussed by Hassan, *Stöcke und Stäbe*, pp. 83, 124, who rightly compares this with cases such as the four sticks described by Firth in Firth and Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries* I, p. 61 (not 29); these “had been ceremoniously cut through and jointed and mended afresh in several places.”

147. MMA 12.182.62. Although the burial of *Hpy* (Kamal, *ASAE* 14 [1914] pp. 82–86) has an outer coffin of the older type, with frieze of objects (Hayes, *Scepter* I, p. 314), the inner coffin (p. 318) and canopic chest (p. 321) have the later arched lid and projecting ends, and the other finds include a flail (p. 287); thus it cannot be far in date from *Šnbty.sy*. The burial of *Wh-htp* contained a coffin and canopic box of the older form (pp. 315–316, 321), but also included Osiride equipment such as a wooden mace (p. 283) and a *wst*-staff (p. 286), as well as two funeral barks (p. 273 and fig. 179; Fischer, *Egyptian Studies* I, pl. 13 [6]); this may be late Dyn. XII.

148. Moscow I, 1a, 1804: O. D. Berlev, *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica* (Leuven, Belgium) 6/7 (1975–76) p. 35.

149. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 37.1323, from Reisner's excavations, G 2011 A III. The museum's research laboratory has identified the wood as cedar; it is desiccated, however, and is extremely light and fragile.

150. I am indebted to Edna Russmann for the photograph, and to Suzanne Chapman for the drawing.

151. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 37.1318. Both scepter and staff were placed to the east of the body, which was turned in that direction.

152. Petrie, *Deshasheh*, p. 34; Moussa and Altenmüller, *Tomb of Nefer and Ka-hay*, p. 43 and pl. 42b. One might also compare the wooden mace and crooks in Meydum mastaba 17 but these are evidently much smaller in scale (W. M. F. Petrie, E. Mackay, G. Wainwright, *Meydum and Memphis* [III] [London, 1910] p. 14 and pl. 11; compare *Stöcke und Stäbe*, p. 59).

153. See R. Engelbach, *Harageh* (London, 1923) pl. 77 (8); and especially Hayes, *Scepter* I, p. 240.

FIGURE 45  
Detail of Eighteenth  
Dynasty staff. After Davies

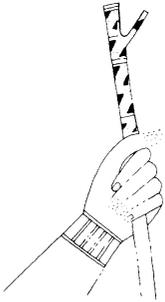


FIGURE 46 (below)  
Detail of Syrian carrying  
wood. After W. Max Müller

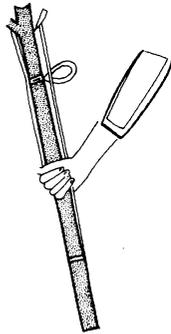
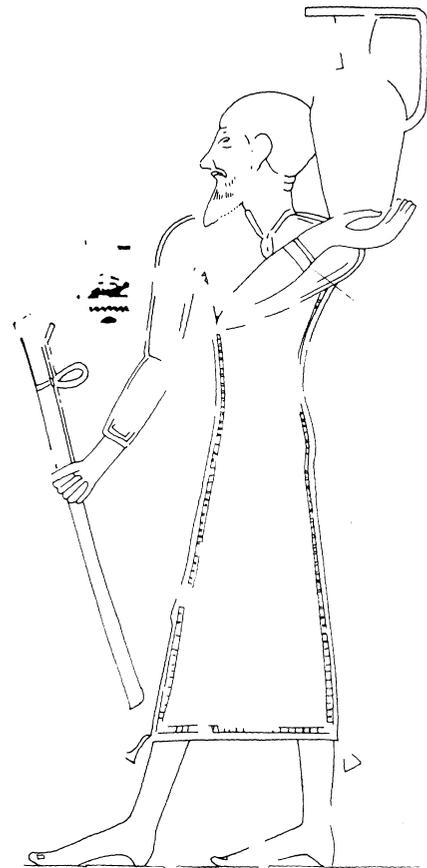


FIGURE 47  
Syrian carrying wood. After  
Nina Davies



it occurs in the mention of  "a *msy*-staff" as early as the Sixth Dynasty,<sup>154</sup> but there is no further evidence for its use during the intervening period of about seven centuries. As may be seen from representations, this New Kingdom staff was frequently ornamental with a banded design at the upper end (Figure 45).<sup>155</sup> The representations provide only a meager impression, however, of the elaborateness of the pattern, as will be seen presently.

The term *cwnt* is regularly applied to this type of staff by Ali Hassan in his *Stöcke und Stäbe*.<sup>156</sup> Although he cites no evidence, his source is almost certainly Theban tomb no. 84, where one of a row of Syrians bearing gifts holds a bundle of sticks labeled ; the inscription is partly effaced and the determinative [  ] should perhaps be restored. As K. Sethe shows it in *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie* IV (Leipzig, 1909) p. 952, the bundle has the appearance of a single stick with a loop attached (  ), and the projection at the top is clearly indicated in a copy of the

scene published by W. Max Müller (Figure 46).<sup>157</sup> But the most accurate copy, by Nina M. Davies, does not display this detail (Figure 47).<sup>158</sup> Even if the projection actually existed, it far more likely represented an untrimmed stump of a branch than the top of a finished staff. As Jéquier has pointed out, the label probably refers to the variety of wood rather than staves as such.<sup>159</sup> Norman de G. Davies compares similar bundles of wood that are carried by northern

154. *Urk.* I, p. 216 (11); the present copy of the sign is made from a facsimile in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

155. *Menkheperasonb*, pl. 10; also pls. 8, 9 (temp. Tuthmosis III); Säve-Söderbergh, *Private Tombs* I, pls. 22, 23 (temp. Amenophis II ?).

156. Initially on p. 38, note 7, with wrong reference to pl. XIX, 7, instead of VIII, 7; pp. 130, 190, 193. In addition to the references to *cwnt* on p. 94, note 67, add Caminos, *LEM*, p. 217.

157. W. Max Müller, *Egyptological Researches* II (Washington, D.C., 1910) pl. 28.

158. Nina M. and N. de G. Davies, *JEA* 27 (1941) pl. 13.

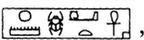
159. Jéquier, *Frises*, p. 165.

Syrians in his *Paintings from the Tomb of Rekh-mi-Rēc*, pl. 11.<sup>160</sup> Since we know, from the examples described below, that imported cherry wood was sometimes used for the type of staff in question, it remains possible that the term *ꜥwt* applies to that wood and to the staves made from it, but that possibility cannot be proven on the basis of the evidence that is thus far available. Furthermore, such staves were not always made of cherry; two very similar ones from the tomb of *Hc*, dating to the reign of Amenophis III, were made of native sidder (nabk).<sup>161</sup> Nor was imported wood employed exclusively for staves; the Metropolitan Museum has an *ꜥbt*-staff and three composite bows, all dating to the early New Kingdom, and all said to be of birch wood, but perhaps also to be identified as cherry.<sup>162</sup>

## 12. Some New Kingdom staves

Among the several New Kingdom staves in the Metropolitan Museum's Egyptian collections, three are of special interest because of their material and decoration, or because they are inscribed (Figure 48). Two (a and b),<sup>163</sup> one showing the New Kingdom form that is discussed in the preceding section, have been identified as cherry wood, which must have been imported from a cooler mountainous region such as Cappadocia.<sup>164</sup> The forked projection appears to be natural, and in both cases the upper end re-

tains some of its natural bark, part of which has been cut away to form a series of banded patterns; some portions of the bark have been stained red or black, while others show their original silvery hue and striated texture. A natural bark ferrule is also left at the top of a birch(?) *ꜥbt*-staff, mentioned earlier,<sup>165</sup> but in this case the bark has not been embellished.

One of these two staves is inscribed (Figures 48b, 49a) for “the *wꜥb*-priest of Amun of *Mn-hꜥpr-Rc* (Tuthmosis III) in . . . -*Mntw*, repeating life.” The hieroglyphs are neatly incised and filled with blue pigment. William C. Hayes has very plausibly proposed that the preposition “in” was followed by the name of the king's funerary temple *Hnkt-ꜥnh* (  ), but this scarcely fills half the lacuna,<sup>166</sup> unless one assumes that the name was written more fully in the form , in which case a quadrant of space would still be left.<sup>167</sup> It is, of course, possible—indeed likely—that the name is incomplete and that the first part of it might have occupied the remaining one or two quadrants. The bottom of a vertical stroke is traceable above the right end of  and this trace might belong to <sup>168</sup> yielding [*Wsr*]-*Mntw*. There are doubtless other possibilities, however,<sup>169</sup> and the restoration of the owner's name must therefore remain uncertain.

The title that precedes the name is likewise somewhat puzzling, quite apart from the problem of its restoration. Does it refer to a *wꜥb*-priest of Amun

160. New York, 1935.

161. E. Schiaparelli, *La Tomba intatta dell'architetto Cha* (Turin [1927]) p. 87.

162. MMA 12.181.222 (see note 91 above), 25.3.303-4, 28.9.9. Identified as birch by Dr. Elmer Merrill; see, however, note 164 below.

163. MMA 26.7.1443 (with inscription), length 44 cm., formerly in collections of Hood and Carnarvon; MMA 26.7.1444, length 34.5 cm.; for both, see Burlington Fine Arts Club, *Catalogue of an Exhibition of Ancient Egyptian Art* (London, 1922) p. 117 (2, 3).

164. The wood was identified as birch by Dr. Elmer Drew Merrill, Director of the Bronx Botanical Gardens, 1935, along with the other objects mentioned at the end of the preceding section. More recently, however, samples of 26.7.1443-4 have been submitted to R. C. Koeppen for microscopic examination and he reports that they are definitely *prunus*, while the bark (similar to that of birch) narrows down the species to the cherry group. The source was probably the highlands of Persia or Anatolia; although cherry

trees are now cultivated in the Lebanon, they are not native to that region. For the problem of differentiating the bark of cherry and birch, see A. Lucas and J. R. Harris, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries* (London, 1962) pp. 454-455.

165. See note 91 above.

166. Hayes, *Scepter* II, p. 118; so too W. Helck, *Materialien zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Neuen Reiches I* (*Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur in Mainz, Abhandlungen der Geistes- und Sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse*, 1960, Nr. 10, Wiesbaden) p. (96). Helck lists several other *wꜥb*-priests of Amun in this temple.

167. Examples of this writing in G. Legrain, *Répertoire généalogique et onomastique* (Geneva, 1908) nos. 129, 162, the second referring to one of the *wꜥb*-priests cited by Helck (preceding note).

168. For *Wsr-Mntw* see *PN* I, p. 85 (18). This writing of *wsr* might not seem to be very common in the early Dyn. XVIII, but it occurs even earlier (*PN* I, p. 85 [23]).

169. One such possibility is \**Snb-Mntw*, like the Dyn. XVIII name  (*PN* I, p. 313 [3]).

FIGURE 48  
Fragments of New  
Kingdom staves. MMA  
26.7.1443-1444, 26.2.58



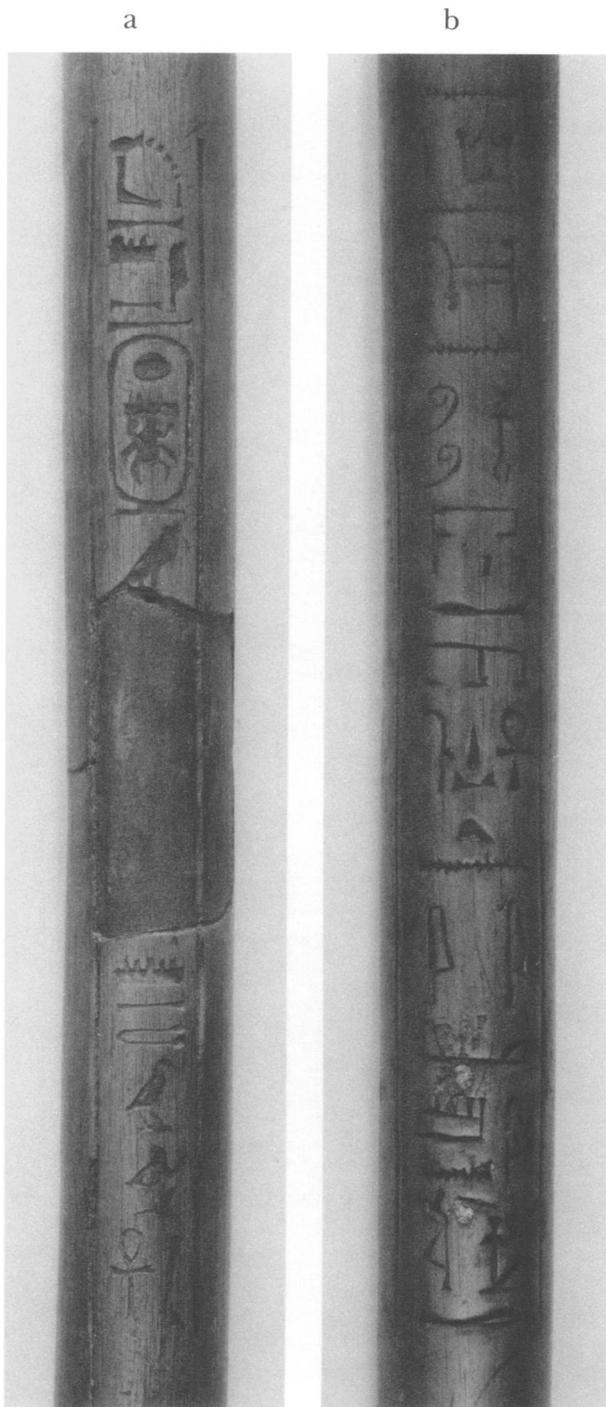


FIGURE 49  
Inscriptions of New Kingdom staves.  
MMA 26.7.1443, 26.2.58

who belongs to Tuthmosis III, or to a *wb*-priest of the Amun who belongs to Tuthmosis III? Hayes adopts the latter alternative. There is much evidence for a distinct form of Amun in the various royal mortuary temples of the New Kingdom, but there does not seem to be any other case where the god is specified in this manner.<sup>170</sup>

The third staff (Figures 48c, 49b) is of dark wood inlaid with three rings of ivory.<sup>171</sup> It is inscribed “to the spirit of the Scribe of the Workshops of the Great House (Life, Prosperity, Health!), *Kny-Imn*, justified.” Although it has previously been dated to the Tuthmoside Period,<sup>172</sup> the use of the term *hmuww* “workshops” suggests a later date,<sup>173</sup> as does the name-determinative  $\text{𓂏}$ , which clearly points to the Rameside Period, either Dynasty XIX or XX.<sup>174</sup> In view of the introductory phrase “to the spirit of,” the inscription may have been added to the staff when it was decided to place it among the owner’s burial equipment, but the hieroglyphs seem to be worn by use, or possibly by reuse in the hands of another person.

170. See Nelson, *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 1 (1942) pp. 127–155; usually the god is called Amun of such-and-such a temple (p. 132).

171. MMA 26.2.58, length 54.5 cm.; it was bought in 1926 from a native of Luxor, who said it came from a tomb at Dra abu’l Negga.

172. Hayes, *Scepter* II, p. 215.

173. *Wb.* III, p. 86 (11).

174. J. Černý, *A Community of Workmen* (Cairo, 1973) p. 192, note 2, seems to say it indicates Dyn. XX, but it is known earlier, temp. Ramesses II, in the Saqqara tomb of *Mš* (Charles Nicholson, *Aegyptiaca* [London, 1891] pls. 1–4 following p. 112; Anthes, *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Abteilung Kairo* 9 [1940] pl. 17); see also the stela of *Hr-m-ipt*, W. Spiegelberg and B. Pörtner, *Aegyptische Grabsteine und Denksteine* I (Strasbourg, 1902) no. 32.

#### ABBREVIATIONS

- Antefoker*—N. de G. Davies, *The Tomb of Antefoker* (London, 1920)  
*ASAE*—*Annales du Service des Antiquités de l’Égypte* (Cairo)  
*Beni Hasan*—P. E. Newberry, *Beni Hasan* I–IV (London, 1893–1900)  
*Bersheh*—P. E. Newberry and F. Ll. Griffith, *El Bersheh* I–II (London [1895])  
 BM—British Museum

- Cairo CG + number—Monuments in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo; numbers referring to *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire*:  
 CG 1295–1808: L. Borchardt, *Denkmäler des Alten Reiches I–II* (Berlin-Cairo, 1937–64)  
 CG 20001–20780: H. O. Lange and H. Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reichs I–IV* (Berlin, 1902–25)  
 CG 24001–24990: G. Daressy, *Fouilles de la Vallée des Rois (1898–1899)* (Cairo, 1902)
- Cairo J. + number—*Journal d'entrée*, Egyptian Museum, Cairo; unpublished unless otherwise noted
- Caminos, *LEM*—R. A. Caminos, *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies* (London, 1954)
- Deir el Gebrâwi*—N. de G. Davies, *The Rock Tombs of Deir el Gebrâwi I–II* (London, 1902)
- Edel, *Altäg. Gramm.*—E. Edel, *Altägyptische Grammatik I–II* (Rome, 1955–64)
- Fischer, *Dendera*—H. G. Fischer, *Dendera in the Third Millennium B.C.* (Locust Valley, N.Y., 1968)
- Gardiner Sign List—List of Hieroglyphic Signs in A. H. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, 3rd ed. (Oxford, 1957) p. 442 ff.
- Hassan, *Gîza*—Selim Hassan, *Excavations at Gîza I–X* (Oxford-Cairo, 1932–60)
- Hayes, *Scepter*—W. C. Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt I–II* (New York, 1953–59)
- Hier. Texts*—*Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae, etc., in the British Museum I–IX* (London, 1911–70)
- Hier. Texts I<sup>2</sup>*—*Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae, etc., in the British Museum I*, 2nd ed., edited by T. G. H. James (London, 1961)
- ILN*—*Illustrated London News* (London)
- JEA*—*Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* (London)
- Jéquier, *Frises*—G. Jéquier, *Les Frises d'objets des sarcophages du Moyen Empire (MIFAO 47 [Cairo, 1921])*
- Jéquier, *Tomb. part.*—G. Jéquier, *Tombeaux de particuliers, contemporains de Pepi II* (Cairo, 1929)
- Junker, *Gîza*—H. Junker, *Gîza I–XII (Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien. Philosophisch-historische Klasse. Denkschriften. [Vienna, 1929–55])*
- LD*—C. R. Lepsius, ed., *Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Äthiopien I–XII* (Berlin, 1849–59)
- LD Ergänzungsband*—C. R. Lepsius, ed., *Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Äthiopien. Ergänzungsband*, edited and revised by E. Naville, L. Borchardt, and K. Sethe (Leipzig, 1913)
- Medum*—W. M. F. Petrie and others, *Medum* (London, 1892)
- Meir*—A. M. Blackman, *The Rock Tombs of Meir I–IV* (London, 1914–24), A. M. Blackman and M. R. Apton, *The Rock Tombs of Meir V–VI* (London, 1953)
- Menkheperasonb*—Nina and N. de G. Davies, *The Tombs of Menkheperasonb, Amenmosë, and Another* (London, 1933)
- Mereruka*—Oriental Institute, University of Chicago, *The Mastaba of Mereruka I–II* (Chicago, 1938)
- MIFAO*—*Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut français d'Archéologie orientale* (Cairo)
- MMA*—Metropolitan Museum of Art
- Montet, *Scènes*—P. Montet, *Les Scènes de la vie privée dans les tombeaux égyptiens de l'Ancien Empire* (Strasbourg, 1925)
- Nefer-hotep*—N. de G. Davies, *The Tomb of Nefer-hotep at Thebes I–II* (New York, 1933)
- PN*—H. Ranke, *Die Ägyptischen Personennamen I–II* (Glückstadt, 1935–52)
- Pyr.*—Pyramid Text reference, in terms of Sethe's arrangement in *Die altägyptischen Pyramidentexte* (Leipzig, 1908–22)
- Rekh-mi-Rer*—N. de G. Davies, *The Tomb of Rekh-mi-Rer at Thebes I–II* (New York, 1943)
- Royal Tombs I*—W. M. F. Petrie, *The Royal Tombs of the First Dynasty* (London, 1900)
- Royal Tombs II*—W. M. F. Petrie, *The Royal Tombs of the Earliest Dynasties* with volume of extra plates (London, 1901)
- Stöcke und Stäbe*—Ali Hassan, *Stöcke und Stäbe im Pharaonischen Ägypten (Münchener Ägyptologische Studien 33 [Munich-Berlin, 1976])*
- Ti*—*Le Tombeau de Ti I–III (MIFAO 65 [Cairo, 1939–66])*: I by L. Épron, F. Daumas, G. Goyon, P. Montet; II and III by H. Wild
- Urk. I*—K. Sethe, *Urkunden des Alten Reichs (Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums, pt. I, 2nd ed. [Leipzig, 1933])*
- Wb.*—A. Erman and H. Grapow, eds., *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache I–V* (Leipzig, 1926–31)
- Winlock, *Models*—H. E. Winlock, *Models of Daily Life in Ancient Egypt from the Tomb of Meket-Rer at Thebes* (Cambridge, Mass., 1955)

#### ADDENDA

Long after I had written the foregoing article, in April 1977, I came upon the remarks of Karl-J. Seyfried in *Göttinger Miscellen* 23 (1977) pp. 65–70, who similarly identifies the *imyt-r* staves. By the time I saw this, the excision of my own comments would have been difficult, particularly since they appear in the initial section. Furthermore, as is usual in such cases, my emphasis is somewhat different from his. I have therefore allowed this portion of my article to remain as it was initially written. It may be noted, however, that Seyfried suggests that the incomplete word mentioned in my note 9 is to be restored *s(rʿ?)* “straightened,” in which case the final sign would indeed belong to *imyt*.

To note 89 above, another example of a Middle Kingdom forked staff should be added: G. Steindorff, *Grabfunde des Mittleren Reichs I* (Berlin, 1896) p. 46.

# A Gothic Doorway from Moutiers-Saint-Jean

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DEDICATED TO THE MEMORY OF JAMES J. RORIMER

IN THE PERIOD SINCE The Cloisters opened in 1938, many thousands of visitors have walked through a Gothic portal leading from the Romanesque Hall into the Langon Chapel (Figure 1).<sup>1</sup> This doorway, which depicts the Coronation of the Virgin, is worthy of its prominent setting, for it is without doubt the finest Gothic portal in America. Although published while still in situ at Moutiers<sup>2</sup> and discussed briefly in several of the Museum's publications,<sup>3</sup> the doorway has not yet had the full study it deserves. Few who have stopped to admire its rich carvings can have realized that it comes from what was in its day one of the most distinguished and probably the oldest of the monasteries of Burgundy, Moutiers-Saint-Jean, whose abbots were the confi-

dants of princes and whose holdings once included over a hundred dependencies throughout western Burgundy.<sup>4</sup> This venerable house might be called the fostering mother of Burgundian monasticism, since from her walls monks went out in all directions to found other religious houses, including Saint-Bénigne in Dijon. Her sons were among the first monks at many other great abbeys of Burgundy, including those of Cluny, Molesmes, Cîteaux, and Flavigny. Today the abbey has been all but forgotten in the sleepy village that bears its name, set in the hilly region of the Auxois northwest of Dijon.

Moutiers-Saint-Jean—that is, the moustier or monastery of Saint Jean<sup>5</sup>—is said to date back to the fifth century, when a hermit known later as John of

1. As first curator of The Cloisters, James J. Rorimer played an important role in the acquisition and installation of the portal. I first studied and catalogued it in the 1930s as a member of his department. Much of the recent research was done in the Marquand Art Library, Princeton University, whose former librarian, Frederica Oldach, and her staff were most kind. My thanks for special assistance also go to the Index of Christian Art at Princeton, and in particular to its director, Professor Rosalie B. Green.

2. Henri Chabeuf, "Séance de la Commission des antiquités. Compte-rendu des travaux," November 17, 1897, *Mémoires de la commission des antiquités du département de la Côte-d'Or* 13 (1895–1900) pp. xv, xvi, xxiv, xxxiii, cxvii–cxviii; Chabeuf, "Porte de l'église abbatiale de Moutier-Saint-Jean (Côte-d'Or)," *Revue de l'art chrétien* (1899) pp. 6–10.

3. Notably, James J. Rorimer, *The Cloisters: The Building and the Collection of Medieval Art in Fort Tryon Park*, 3rd ed. (The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1963) pp. 16–19; James J. Rorimer, *Medieval Monuments at The Cloisters: As They Were and As*

*They Are*, rev. ed. by Katherine Serrell Rorimer (The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1972) pp. 28–31 (includes photographs showing earlier conditions of the figures of the kings on the doorway).

4. Alfred Vittenet, *L'Abbaye de Moutier-Saint-Jean. Essai historique* (Mâcon, 1938) pp. v, 102 (photo of door in situ), 104, 105, with map of Moutiers holdings. Claude Courtépée, *Description générale et particulière du duché de Bourgogne* (Paris, 1867), esp. 3rd ed. with preface and corrections by Pierre Gras and Jean Richard (1967–68, F.E.R.N.) III, pp. 545–548. *Gallia Christiana* IV (Paris, 1715–85), col. 125, note 1.

5. Ernest Petit, *Histoire des ducs de Bourgogne de la race capétienne avec les documents inédits et des pièces justificatives* I (4 vols., Société bourguignonne de géographie et d'histoire, 1885) pp. 240, 364. The monastery has been known by several other names, including Sancta Maria et Sanctus Johannes de monasterio Reomensis, also spelled Reomaus, Reomus, or Réôme. I use Moutiers, also often spelled Moutier, in conformance with current postal usage.

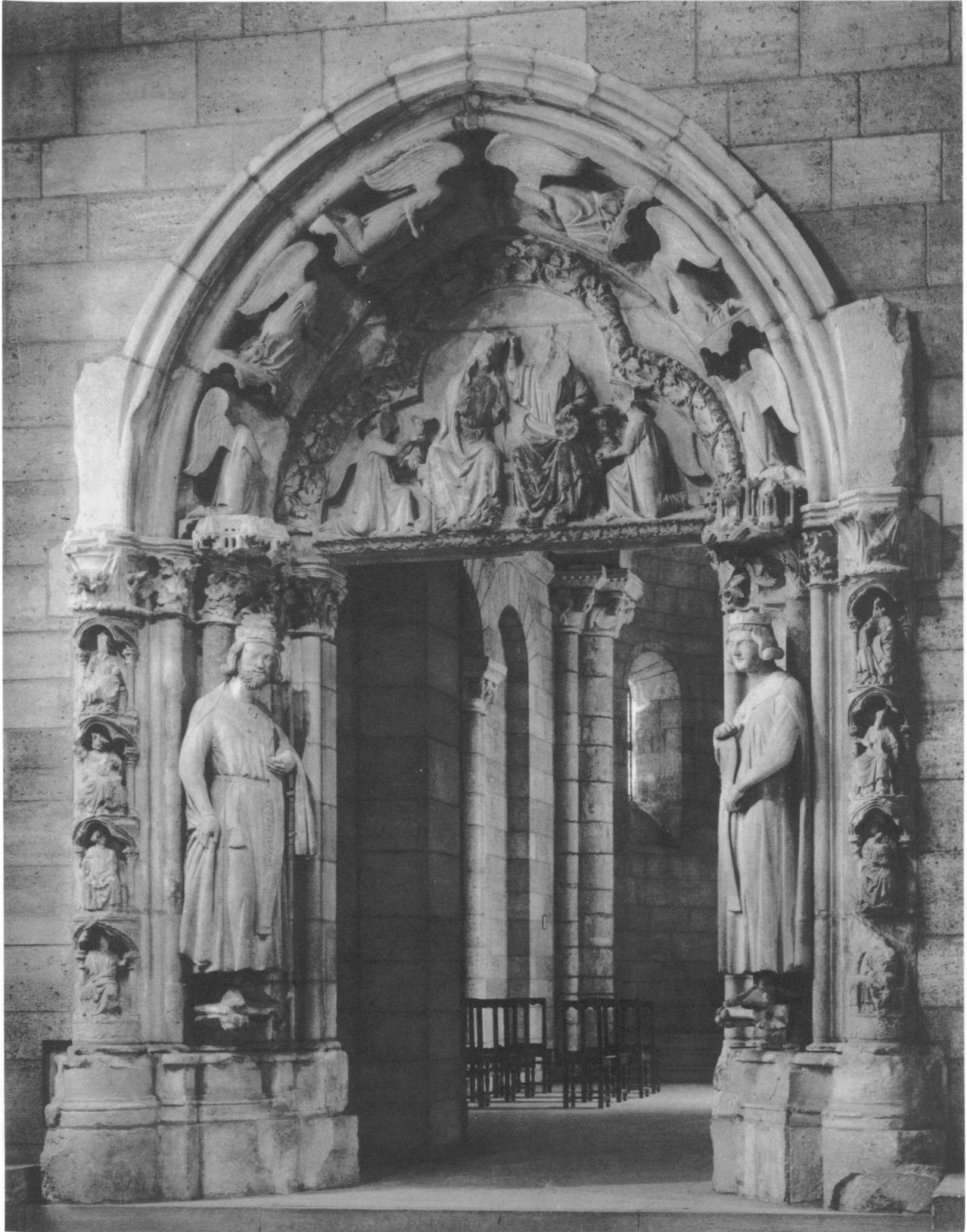


FIGURE 1

Doorway from Moutiers-Saint-Jean. H. 15 ft. 10 in., W. 10 ft. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cloisters Collection, 32.147 (doorway), 40.50.1,2 (kings)

Réôme settled in an uninhabited forest region on the banks of the Réôme. His sanctity drew others to him and enabled him to found a religious community dedicated to the Virgin. Such monasteries grew up in Burgundy and elsewhere from the cells of the disciples clustered around the hermitage of a holy person.<sup>6</sup> An old tradition that the monastery was founded by Clovis and his son Clothar in the late fourth and early fifth centuries is based upon two charters supposedly granted to Saint John of Réôme by these Merovingian kings (Appendix 1).

The history of Moutiers-Saint-Jean during the medieval period is only partly known because of the destruction of almost all of its archives. An eleventh-century monk, Raoul Glaber, left some vivid accounts of its life and liturgy, and a seventeenth-century member of the congregation, Father Pierre Royer, wrote a very incomplete and dutifully dull chronicle of Moutiers.<sup>7</sup> The monastery was sacked three times, in 1567, in 1595, and again in 1629, and it was largely destroyed during and immediately after the French Revolution.<sup>8</sup> In 1797 most of what remained was sold to five individuals. Today, as in the nineteenth century, it is used as a farm.

#### ORIGINAL SETTING OF DOORWAY

Set into the south wall of the church, the doorway formed an entrance to the sanctuary from the main cloister of the monastery. Both church and cloister long ago disappeared, the church replaced by a large stone farm building, evidently constituted from the remains of the older structure, the cloister and its garth replaced by an open court used as a farmyard. The church's south wall where the doorway stood became the south wall of the farm building and faced the courtyard.

The central location of the old cloister and hence of the doorway is indicated by an engraving of the late seventeenth century (Figure 2).<sup>9</sup> Here one can

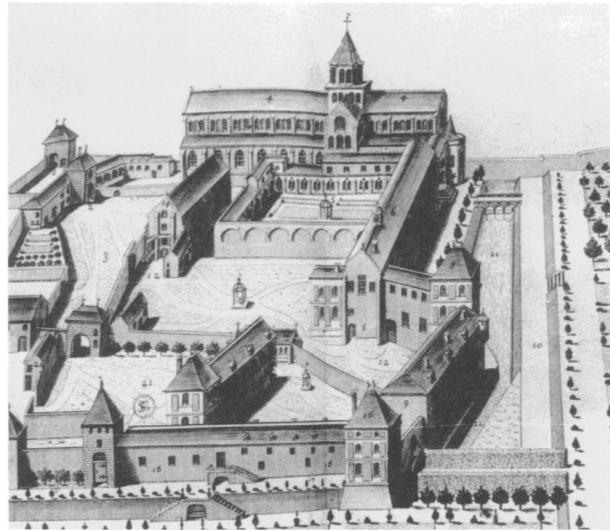


FIGURE 2

Moutiers-Saint-Jean. Engraving (detail), 1689. Cabinet des Estampes, Ve 22–43, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (photo: Archives Photographiques)

see the north ambulatory walk and the church. The doorway itself is invisible, hidden by the enveloping architecture sheltering the walk. Old photographs suggest that by the late nineteenth century this remaining walk had disappeared, since the doorway was then sheltered by a crude lean-to roof. It was then almost entirely blocked up and served as the

6. Jean Richard, *Les Ducs de Bourgogne et la formation du duché du XI<sup>e</sup> au XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Société des Belles-Lettres, Paris) p. 65; Richard, *Histoire de Bourgogne* ("Que sais-je?" édition 746, n.d.) pp. 27, 28.

7. *Reomans seu historia monasterii S. Ionnis Reomaensis in tractu Lingonensi, primariae inter Gallica coenobia antiquitatis, ab anno Christi CCCCXXV a P. Petro Roverio e societate Jesu Parisiis apud Sabastianum* (Cramoisy, Paris, 1637). See also Petit, I, pp. 23, 24.

8. Vittenet, pp. 208, 209. In 1791 the district of Semur joined the municipality of Moutiers-Saint-Jean in a request to the National Assembly to make the abbey church the parish church (Appendix 1).

9. First published in *Monasticon Gallicanum* (Dijon, 1781), by Dom Michel Germain (d. 1694), as plate 41 in a set of 168 plates "représentant les monastères d'ordre de Saint-Benoît, congrégation de Saint-Maur"; republished Paris, 1871, under direction of Peigné-Delacourt with preface by Léopold Delisle. Plate 41 is described as "Saint Jean de Réoman ou Moutiers, ruines importantes et partie anciennes, belle porte du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle," a reference to our doorway; this description forms the basis of that given in the *Guide Joanne* for Burgundy, 1972, and in L. H. Cottineau, *Répertoire topobibliographique des abbayes et prieurés* II (Mâcon, 1937) p. 2006.

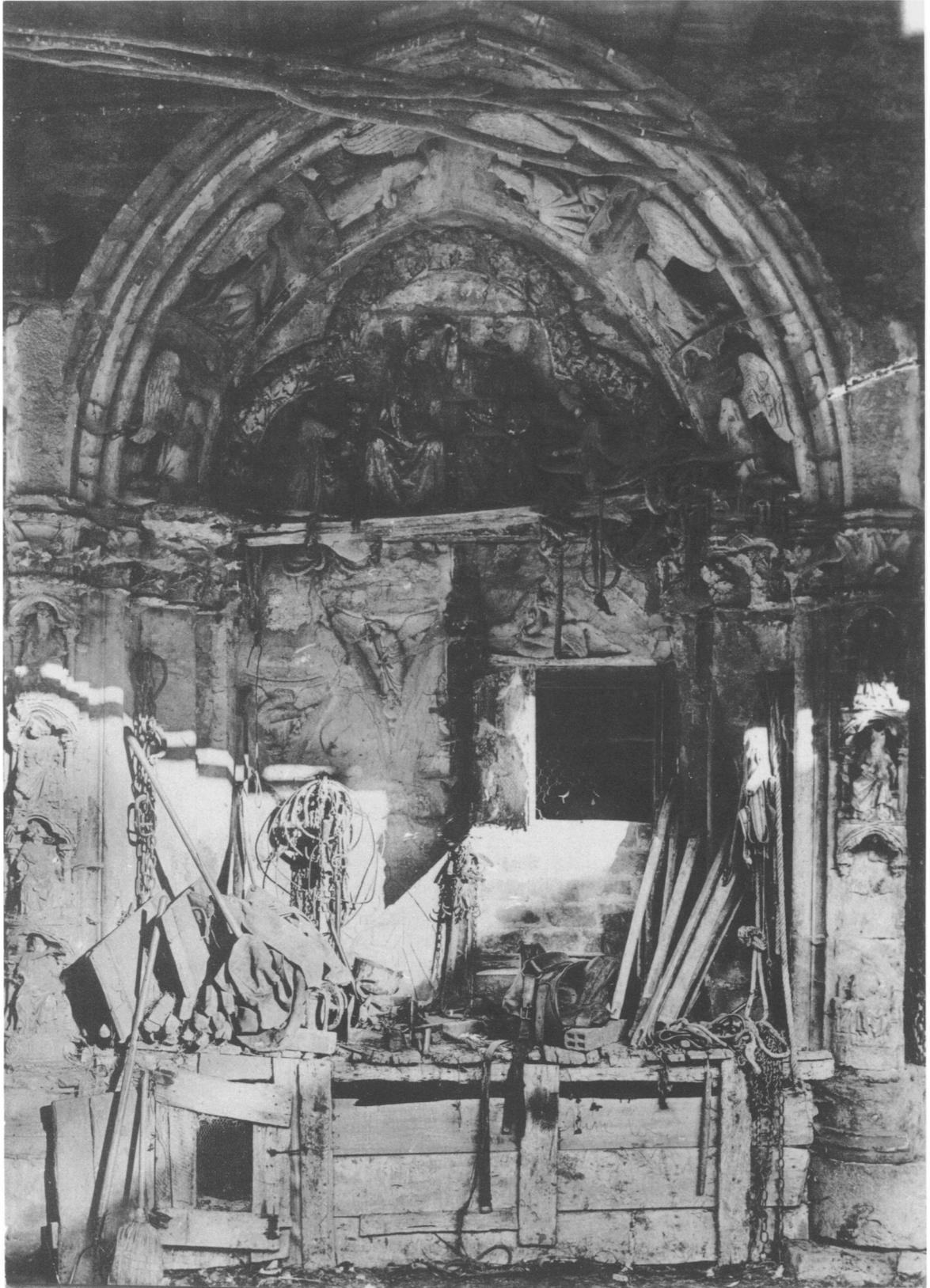


FIGURE 3

The doorway at Moutiers-Saint-Jean, before removal.

back wall of a shed for farm equipment (Figure 3). Today one can still see, from the new brickwork in the wall, where the door once stood. The arcade walks that now surround other parts of the old courtyard do not appear in the engraving and must be of later date.

The doorway is the principal medieval architectural relic to have survived from Moutiers-Saint-Jean. The richness of its carving as well as its original location suggest that it served as the chief entrance from the cloister into the south transept of the church. This location seems confirmed by a description of the door made in 1567 by a notary who recorded the damage done to the monastery during the pillaging of that year (Appendix 1):

... on the portal of the church facing the aforesaid cloister we saw that the two statues of kings Clovis and Cotide [sic] that are erected on either side of the said portal have their heads broken off, and other small statues and images above that were on the said portal have been broken.<sup>10</sup>

Other relics from Moutiers include a series of very fine Romanesque capitals, probably from the nave of the church, most of them now in the Fogg Art Museum<sup>11</sup> and in the Louvre.<sup>12</sup> Several more are in a collection at Bard-lès-Epoisses, and there are fragments

10. Dom Plancher, following this source, stated that "the statues of the saints and those of the founding princes Clovis and Clothar were broken" (*Histoire générale et particulière de Bourgogne* IV [Dijon, 1739, reprinted 1968] pp. 569, 598).

11. Arthur Kingsley Porter, *Romanesque Sculpture of the Pilgrimage Roads* (Boston, 1923) I, pp. 91, 114, 115; II, pls. 62–66. Porter, "Romanesque Capitals," *Fogg Museum Notes* (June, 1922) pp. 23–30. Linda Seidel, "Romanesque Sculpture in American Collections. IX Fogg," *Gesta* 11 (1972) p. 59. Curtis Rasek, "Sculptural fragments from Moutier-Saint-Jean," unpublished essay for Master of Arts degree, University of Michigan. Pierre Quarré, "Notes d'archéologie bourguignonne," October 15, 1969, *Mémoires de la Commission des antiquités de la Côte-d'Or* 26, p. 16, figs. 23, 23 bis. Willibald Sauerländer, *Von Sens bis Strassburg. Ein Beitrag zur kunstgeschichtlichen Stellung der strassburger Querhaus-skulpturen* (Berlin, 1966) note 206, suggests that other fragments from Moutiers may be in the nearby museum at Semur-en-Auxois, but he writes me that he knows of no supporting documentary evidence for this.

12. Marcel Aubert and Michèle Beaulieu, *Description raisonnée*

of other capitals at Moutiers and nearby. Romanesque and Gothic architectural fragments, some with figural decoration, have been found on the site; these have been collected by the farmer who occupies part of the imposing eighteenth-century structure of the former monastery on the south side of the courtyard. Three keystones of vaults are at a neighboring farm; a fourth, published in 1897,<sup>13</sup> has disappeared. Two spandrels (Figures 32, 33) from an arcade (visible in Figure 3) are in the Wellesley College Museum, Wellesley, Massachusetts (Appendix 2). A half-length Romanesque figure of an angel at The Cloisters, previously attributed to Autun, has recently been more plausibly attributed to Moutiers.<sup>14</sup> A pair of late Gothic statues of bishops may have come from the abbey church; one of these is at The Cloisters, the other is in the parish church at Moutiers, where it was probably placed during the revolutionary period along with other sculptures and objets d'art.<sup>15</sup>

The doorway seems to have been removed from its original setting in the 1920s, probably when it was sold by Mlle. Cambillard, the owner of the property, to Jean Peslier, a dealer at Vézelay. Peslier then sold it in 1929 to Joseph Brummer, the well-known art dealer, who in turn sold it in 1932 to the Metropolitan Museum for The Cloisters.<sup>16</sup>

About a year after the doorway was installed, James J. Rorimer, who had been largely responsible for its acquisition, identified two statues offered to the Museum by the Duveen Gallery of New York as the two kings that belonged to the sides of the door.<sup>17</sup> They

*des sculptures du moyen-âge, de la renaissance et des temps modernes*. I, *Moyen-Age* (Paris, 1950) nos. 25 by Francis Salet, 26 by Beaulieu.

13. Chabeuf, *Mémoires* 14 (1901–1905) p. xxiv, ill.

14. Stephen Scher, *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century*, exhibition catalogue, Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design (Providence, 1969) p. 35; Seidel, p. 59.

15. W. H. Forsyth, "A Burgundian Bishop at The Cloisters," *Intuition und Kunstwissenschaft. Festschrift für Hanns Swarzenski* (Berlin, 1973) pp. 367–377. Two other late Gothic sculptures now in the church are probably also from the former abbey.

16. Mlle. Thurquit, secretary at the mairie of Moutiers-Saint-Jean, confirmed the first part of this information in 1958; it was later corroborated by the curé of Fains and Moutiers. Ella Brummer, sister-in-law of Joseph Brummer, further verified the names and dates.

17. James J. Rorimer, "Thirteenth-Century Statues of Kings Clovis and Clothar at The Cloisters," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 35 (1940) pp. 122–126.

may have been removed in 1790 or 1791, when sculptures as well as the treasures of the monastery were dispersed, or in 1797, when the property was sold. In 1897 the statues were published as in the garden of a M. Ohresser in Moutiers-Saint-Jean.<sup>18</sup> In 1909 they were sold by a brother of Mlle. Cambillard. Acquired by Michel Manzi, they were included in the auction of his collection in Paris in 1919.<sup>19</sup> At some point during this period, the statues' heads were transposed. After the Museum acquired the statues in 1940, the heads were reset in their original positions. The statues fitted exactly into the places in the doorway for which they obviously had been made (Appendix 3).

There is every reason to believe that the doorway was originally placed beneath vaulting that must have covered the ambulatory walk on the north side of the cloister. The size and shape of the piers now flanking the door, as well as the width of the spring blocks they carry, suggest that the piers were meant to support groin or rib vaults as well as transverse arches. One can see that the moldings for such ribs and arches must have been chipped away from the surfaces of the spring blocks after the vaulting had disappeared. In an old photo the remains of a molding for one of the transverse arches can still be seen on the spring block above the left pier of the doorway. If the walk had been covered by a simple wood roof, there would have been no need for stone piers and arches but only for corbels to support wood cross-beams under the roof.

Further evidence for vaulting appears in the 1689 engraving. Here double arcades are shown in the cloister ambulatory wall, behind which the door must have stood. Between each pair of openings forming the arcade is a flat wall buttress that would have been necessary to counteract the outer thrust of the cloister vault at these points. There probably was a corresponding series of supporting piers on the inner walls of the cloister walk. The piers flanking the door would have been part of this series. Thus one can suppose that the door faced one of the double arcades seen in the engraving, and that it was placed directly under one of the vaults that covered the cloister walk. The height and width of the door must, therefore, have been determined by the amount of wall space beneath the bay of the vault. The parapet

on which the cloister arcades rested may have been of the same general height as the base of the doorway, and the oculus seen in the engraving above each pair of lunette openings may have roughly corresponded in height to the apex of the doorway. The double lunette with oculus suggests the outline of the upper arch of the door.

The doorway was skillfully designed to fit into the restricted space. In spite of the slight crowding of the sculptures that resulted, it has an air of amplitude in its sturdy proportions, soft rounded moldings, and clustered columns, all typical of Burgundian architecture. The composition is vigorous and clear, in the best traditions of the thirteenth century, with little, if any, of the clumsiness seen in some provincial work, yet with ample evidence of provincial affiliations.

## STRUCTURE AND TYPE

The doorway has been well described as “un grand monument en petit, précieux et peu connu”—“a large monument in condensed form, precious and little known.”<sup>20</sup> Indeed, it follows the program of the main portal of a church with its richly carved tympanum (Figure 4), its delicately foliated capitals, the large figures set in the embrasures, and the clustered groups of statuettes set in the piers on the outer sides of the embrasures, as well as in the rather elaborate architectural frame formed by the voussoirs of the arch around the tympanum.

All these elements have been highly condensed without disturbing the architectural structure of the doorway. The arches framing the tympanum are a direct continuation of the middle section of the embrasures of the door. The two kings in the embrasures stand beneath their canopies like caryatids supporting the angels of the archivolts directly above them. The colonnettes that flank the kings also seem to carry the moldings above them.

18. Vittenet, pp. 195, 201, 203. Chabeuf, *Mémoires* 13, pp. cv, cxvi, cxviii.

19. *La Collection Michel Manzi. Galerie Manzi, 3<sup>e</sup> vente* (Paris, 1919) nos. 100, 101, ill. *La Chronique des arts et de la curiosité* (1920) p. 7, notes the sale of the two statues from the abbey of Moutiers-Saint-Jean in this auction.

20. Chabeuf, *Mémoires* 13, p. cv.

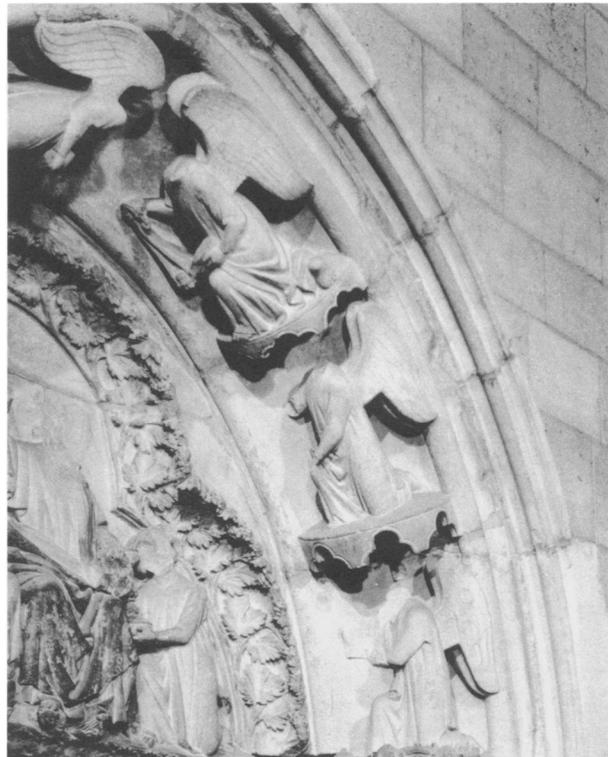
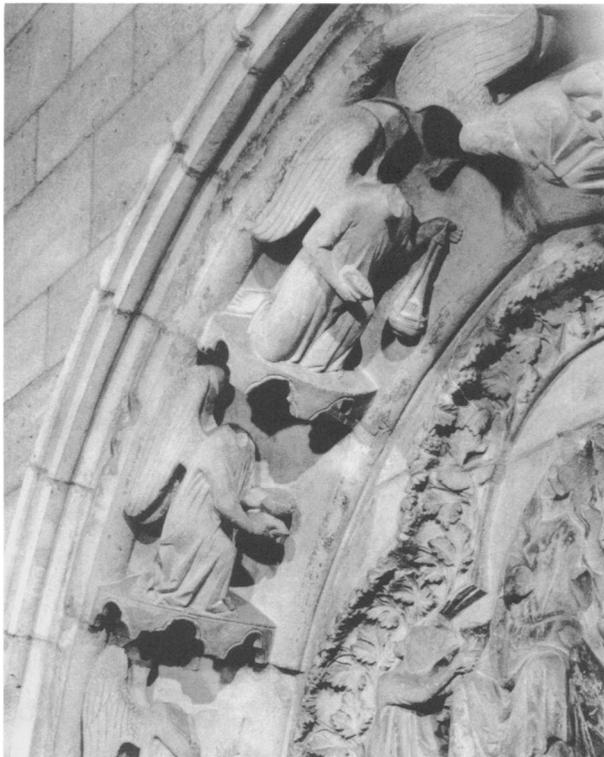
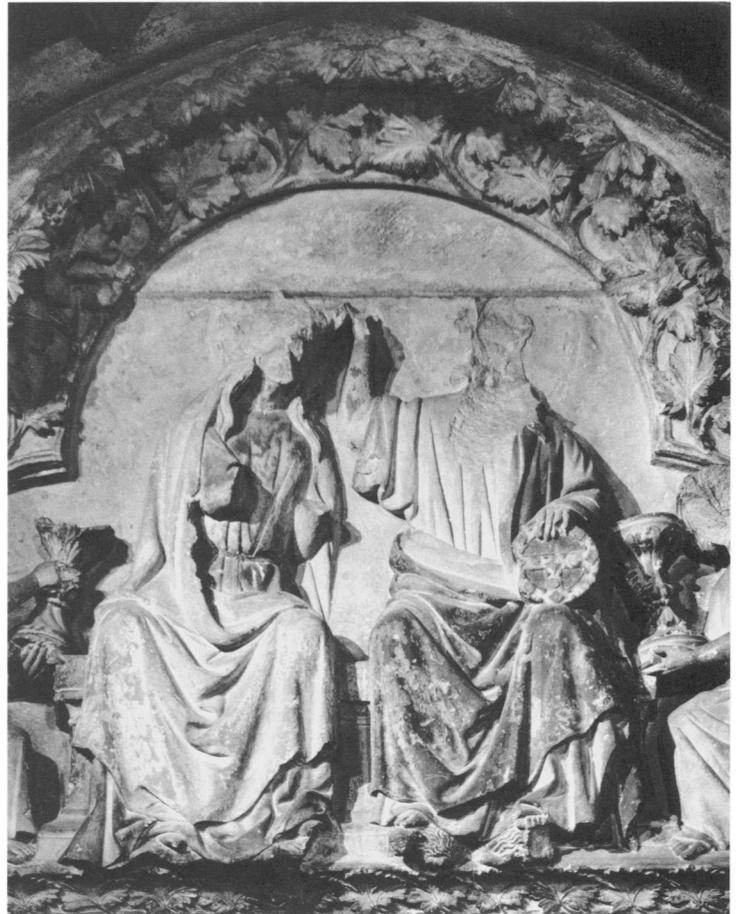
FIGURE 4  
Coronation of the Virgin in the tympanum

The door is bound together horizontally as well as vertically. The torus moldings of the bases run across the bottom of the embrasures in unbroken lines typical of Burgundian architecture.<sup>21</sup> The same strong horizontal band is formed by the leafy frieze decorating the capitals of the embrasures. Such continuous moldings, which had appeared earlier at Chartres, Reims, and Le Mans, became a hallmark of the Burgundian style.

One has the impression that there are three arches over the door: the trilobed arch on the tympanum, which forms a canopy over the figures and seems to be supported by the inner colonnettes of the jambs; a middle arch consisting of the kneeling angels in the voussoirs above the two kings (Figures 5, 6); and finally the outermost arch, which rests upon the richly sculptured piers. One could say that the innermost arch is floral, the next sculptural, and the third purely

21. Robert Branner, *Burgundian Gothic Architecture* (London, 1960) p. 62, pl. 42a.

FIGURES 5, 6  
Kneeling angels in the voussoirs



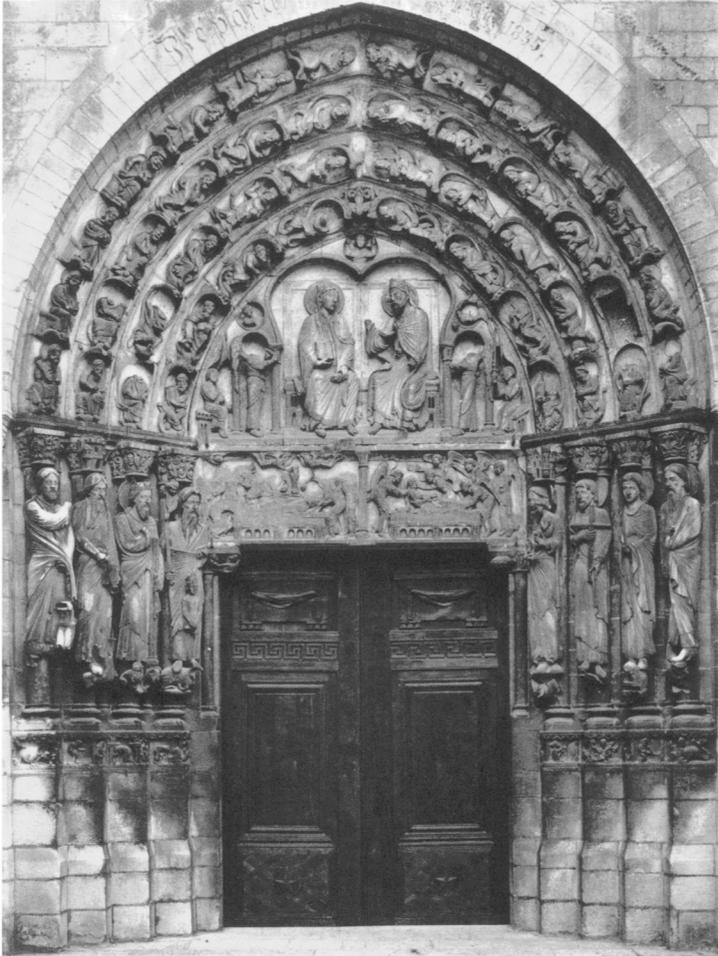


FIGURE 7  
Senlis Cathedral, west portal, about 1170 (photo: Hirmer Fotoarchiv)

architectural, linking the doorway to its overhead vault.

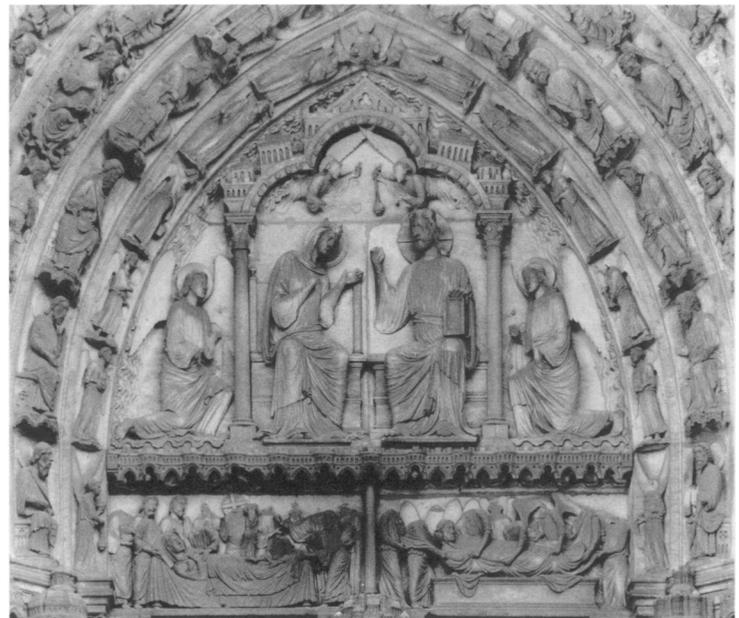
While leaf ornament had become fairly common in churches of the period, it is unusual to find such a rich foliation on a doorway not incorporated into a church facade. As we shall see, there was probably more than decorative significance in the trefoil arch of the tympanum. A deeper meaning may also be intended in the leafy exuberance of the doorway. On the feast of the Assumption of the Virgin (August 15), it was the custom to bring plants and herbs to church to be blessed under the patronage of the Virgin.<sup>22</sup> Consequently, it would seem appropriate to

22. Mario Righetti, *L'Anno liturgico*, vol. 2, *Manuale di Storia liturgica* (Milan, 1969) p. 379.

FIGURE 8  
Notre-Dame-de-la-Couture, Le Mans, detail of west portal, about 1250 (photo: Bildarchiv Marburg)



FIGURE 9  
Chartres Cathedral, tympanum of central north transept portal, 1205–10 (Hirmer)



adorn a doorway celebrating the Coronation, the climax of the Assumption, with an abundance of leafy branches. The same motive could have stimulated the even greater use of foliate ornament on the inside and outside of the west facade of Reims, whose central portal is also topped by a Coronation scene. The Reims Coronation is set in the gable, ceding its traditional position in the tympanum to a rose window.<sup>23</sup>

The architectural structure of the Moutiers doorway conforms to that developed in the first half of the thirteenth century in France. On the west facade of Saint-Denis one finds in embryo the essential elements: the large columns alternating with colonnettes on the embrasures, the recessed arches directly above them, the richly carved tympanum, the related figures on the vousoirs of the arches, the sculptures of the embrasures (now missing) originally attached to the columns, and the vertical rows of figures beneath canopies framing the doorway.

One can trace the development of the Saint-Denis type that led up to the Moutiers doorway in cathedral doorways at Senlis (Figure 7), at Chartres (the west facade), at Mantes, at Sens (the west facade), again at Chartres (both transepts), at Reims, and finally at Notre-Dame-de-la-Couture in Le Mans (Figure 8).<sup>24</sup> On three of these doorways, those at Senlis, Mantes, and one of those at Chartres (Figure 9), the Coronation is carved on the tympanum and the fore-runners of Christ are on the embrasures, as they are in miniature at Moutiers. On the west facade of Sens the canopies over the embrasure figures (now missing) project out from the tops of the capitals as they were to do at Moutiers. On the north transept porch of Chartres they approximate more closely those of Le Mans and Moutiers. At Sens the capitals of the embrasures are also decorated with large sprays of leaves, which, however, grow straight up from the base moldings of the capitals. At Chartres and on the Last Judgment doorway of the north transept of Reims the leafy decoration of the capitals loses its earlier functional structure and is treated more as a leafy frieze running across the width of the embrasure, as at Moutiers. The capitals and turreted canopies of Le Mans are so similar to earlier ones of the north transept at Chartres that one can trace a direct dependence. Moutiers in turn seems to be directly dependent upon Le Mans even to the rib

moldings on the undersides of the canopies. Thus the architectural ornament of Moutiers shows at least an indirect dependence upon Sens, Chartres, and Reims, as does the sculpture.

The two vertical rows of little figures placed in canopied niches in the outer piers of the Moutiers doorway (Figures 10, 11) also have a long line of descent. Such vertical rows already appear inside of the embrasures of the door at Saint-Denis, and they often recur on later portals at Sens, Chartres, Paris, Amiens, and Reims. On the west facade of Chartres they are on the outsides of the doorways, as at Moutiers, but are not yet given the same architectural prominence. On the south transept porch of Chartres, however, their positions—incorporated into the piers of the porches within trefoiled niches—suggest more closely those of Moutiers.<sup>25</sup> The Moutiers piers containing these figures, however, are rounded, not flat as at Chartres. This rounded form of pilaster follows Burgundian usage.<sup>26</sup>

There seem to have been at least two different hands, perhaps more, at work simultaneously on the architectural parts of the doorway, as there apparently also were on its sculpture. The capitals of the left embrasure differ enough in style and type from those on the right to suggest two different hands, both working under the same master and in the same workshop. The differences can be traced in the decoration of the large canopies over the heads of the two kings, in the spandrels of the trefoil arches over the pier niches of the left and right sides, and even in the scale and execution of the bands of geometric ornament around the bases of the piers. That there are also two styles in the figure sculpture may be only a coincidence. Both sculptors, however, must have worked on both embrasures, so that one figure style does not necessarily go with one style of architectural ornament.

There is a curious parallelism between the figure sculpture and the foliate decoration on the capitals.

23. J. Vanuxem, "Les Portails détruits de la cathédrale de Cambrai et de Saint-Nicolas d'Amiens," *Bulletin Monumental* 103 (1945) p. 91.

24. Willibald Sauerländer, *Gotische Skulptur in Frankreich 1140–1270* (Munich, 1970) pls. 14, 42–47, 58, 59, 76–87, 100–125, 218, 219, 246, 247, 290.

25. Sauerländer, *Skulptur*, pls. 14, 106, 125.

26. Branner, *Architecture*, pp. 38, 53, 60.

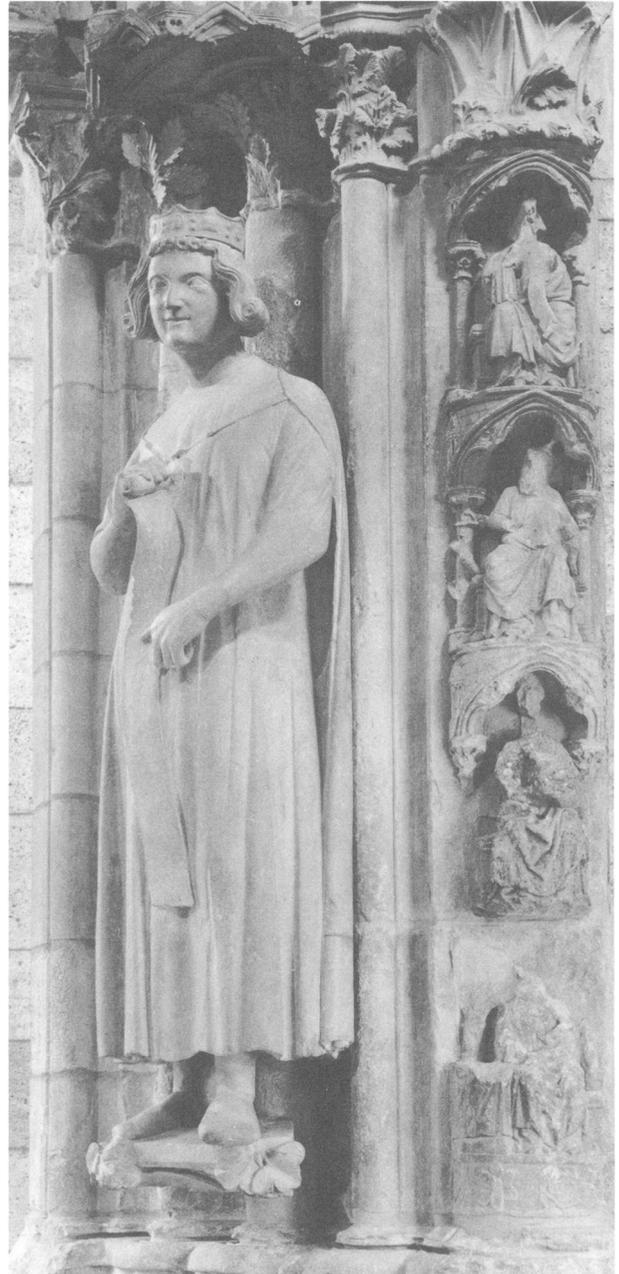
Both exhibit a pseudo-realism. Just as the heads of the figures at first give an impression of being true portraits but on further examination turn out to be simply types, so the leaves on the capitals first appear to be completely naturalistic but, looked at closely, prove to be too generalized in shape and texture to

be botanically identifiable. The heads lack the slight irregularities of an individual person just as the leaves lack the minute differences that distinguish a particular species. The leaves on the left embrasure are all given a general trilobate shape common to grape leaves, whereas those on the right all tend to be more

FIGURE 10  
Bearded king and left pier figures,  
Moutiers-Saint-Jean doorway



FIGURE 11  
Beardless king and right pier figures



ovate and to have more serrate edges, like those of a chestnut tree. On both sides there are nevertheless enough differences to imply a number of different species. The pseudo-naturalism of these leaves relates them to those on the embrasures and inner face of the west facade of Reims. They also bear a close relationship to those on the doorway of Notre-Dame-de-la-Couture in Le Mans, the structure with embrasures so similar to those of Moutiers. The ultimate source of the ornament and architecture of both Le Mans and Moutiers seems to have been Reims, although Chartres also had a strong influence.

The capitals of the two outer piers also differ, in spite of general similarity of form. The upper part of the two outer piers also differ, in spite of general similarity of form. The upper part of the bell-shaped form is more exposed on the left capital than on the right, where it is shrouded with leaves, as are several other smaller bell-shaped capitals on the right side. These differences are more remarkable than those on the other capitals since the pier capitals are evidently part of the architecture of the former cloisters vaulting in front of the doorway where one might expect greater uniformity. They are earlier in style and more architectonic than the other capitals. Even the small torus moldings at the bases of the pier capitals have differences. Although both moldings are composed of leaves carefully worked to imitate a true architectural molding in the manner of those on the pier capitals in the nave of Reims, the right molding consists of miniature grape leaves interspersed with clusters of grapes, exactly in the manner of the grapevine forming the trefoil arch in the tympanum. It could be that the same hand that cut the tympanum arch worked on the right embrasure.

## THE CORONATION SCENE: ORIGINS

Although portrayal of the Coronation was unusual before the late twelfth century, the glorification of the Virgin after her death had been a subject of meditation for centuries. In the Greek apocryphal writings of the early church, the Virgin was pictured as adored by saints, patriarchs, prophets, and all the heavenly hosts.<sup>27</sup> As early as the fifth century her bodily ascension was called a pious belief of the faithful.<sup>28</sup> The feeling gradually arose that Christ

would not let his mother's body decay, since, as John of Damascus declared in the eighth century, she had been the temple of God on earth, having borne Christ in her womb.<sup>29</sup>

By the eleventh and twelfth centuries, under the influence of the liturgy, the Koimesis, the death or Dormition of the Virgin, had become one of the chief feasts of eastern Christendom. In the Byzantine Koimesis the Virgin's soul was received by Christ and his angels standing behind her bier. This image was found at first in the West also, but it was surpassed in importance by the new image of the Virgin's Coronation in heaven, specifically emphasizing her bodily Assumption rather than the mere spiritual resurrection portrayed by the Koimesis. Beginning with Gregory of Tours in the sixth century, the Gallican church adopted with great enthusiasm the feast of the Assumption.<sup>30</sup>

This theological conception, which eventually gave rise to the Coronation portals, was based upon interpretations of biblical texts taken from the Psalms, from the Song of Songs, and from the New Testament.<sup>31</sup> Passages from the Song of Songs were interpreted as identifying Christ with the heavenly lover or bridegroom, and the Virgin, who personified the church, as his beloved, his mystic spouse:

Come, my chosen one, and I shall place thee upon my throne for I have desired thy beauty. (Ps. 45:11, 44:11 in the Vulgate)

Come from Lebanon my spouse, come from Lebanon: thou shalt be crowned. (Song of Songs 4:8)<sup>32</sup>

Who is this that cometh up from the wilderness leaning on her beloved? (Song of Songs 8:5)

27. M. R. James, *The Apocryphal New Testament* (Oxford, 1926) pp. 209, 216.

28. Otto Sinding, *Mariae Tod und Himmelfahrt* (Christiana, 1903) pp. 17, 18, 20.

29. Adolf Katzenellenbogen, *The Sculptural Programs of Chartres Cathedral. Christ. Mary. Ecclesia* (New York, 1964; 1st ed., Baltimore, 1959) pp. 56-58.

30. The bodily Assumption of the Virgin was finally proclaimed a doctrine of the church in 1950.

31. Karl Künstle, *Ikongraphie der christlichen Kunst I* (Freiburg-im-Breisgau, 1928) pp. 570-584.

32. The text of the Vulgate for Song of Songs 4:8 is pertinent to the Coronation theme: "Veni de Libano sponsa mea, veni de Libano, veni: coronaberis de capita amana." Only the Vulgate speaks of the crowning. Erwin Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting: Its Origins and Character I* (New York, 1971) pp. 145, 415, note 2.

Commentaries on the Song of Songs were written by Honorius of Autun and Saint Bernard, whose ecstatic sermons for the feast of the Assumption developed their rich imagery in order to glorify the Virgin as the bride of Christ, the queen of heaven, the personification of the church triumphant, and the co-redemptrix of mankind enthroned in majesty at the right hand of her son.<sup>33</sup>

The relation of the Coronation to the Song of Songs is clearly seen in two Roman mosaics of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries decorating the apses of Santa Maria in Trastevere and Santa Maria Maggiore.<sup>34</sup> In both mosaics there are texts incorporated taken directly from the Song of Songs and from passages dependent on them out of the liturgy of Assumption week. In the first mosaic Christ embraces his mother as Solomon did his beloved. In the second, he crowns her as in some French Coronation groups. The figures wear the imperial court robes of Byzantium, and their throne is copied after a Byzantine throne, since the mosaics derive from a Byzantine secular image known as the *synthronos*, in which the emperor sits enthroned beside his royal consort.<sup>35</sup>

The Coronation of the Virgin was a popular theme in thirteenth-century France for the tympana of church doorways. Many of the churches where it was used were dedicated to the Virgin. The Coronation may appear over a transept doorway, as at Moutiers, over one of the side doorways of the main entrance at the west end of the church, or even over the main portal itself.<sup>36</sup>

In spite of missing heads and hands, the essential elements of the Coronation scene in the Moutiers tympanum are easy to reconstruct. The Virgin, seated in the place of honor at Christ's right, bends her head toward him as he crowns her with his right hand. She



FIGURE 12  
Adder(?) and two lion heads, detail of Moutiers-Saint-Jean tympanum

raises her arms in a gesture of adoration. In his left hand Christ holds a disk decorated with jeweled bands, in token of his dominion. He treads upon two lions while the Virgin treads upon a serpent-like creature, apparently an adder (Figure 12).

Christ was to sit at God's right hand, according to the Christian interpretation of Psalm 109:1: "The Lord said to my lord, sit thou at my right hand." This text is quoted by Christ in reference to himself in Matthew 22:42–45. The idea is taken up by Christ again in Mark 14:62: "And Jesus said, I am he and ye shall see the son of man sitting on the right hand of power."

It was believed that Christ in turn would place his mother at his right, as his predecessor Solomon had placed his mother, Bathsheba:

And the king [Solomon] rose up to meet her [Bathsheba], and bowed himself unto her, and sat down on his throne, and caused a throne to be set for the king's mother; and she sat at his right hand. (1 Kings 2:19)

Passages from the Psalms were interpreted as foreshadowing the Coronation. In Psalm 45, the princess, considered to be the Virgin, is brought into

33. *Saint Bernard's Sermons for the Seasons and Principal Festivals of the Year* (Carroll Press, Westminster, Maryland, 1950).

34. Giovanni Battista de Rossi, *Mosaici cristiani e saggi dei pavimenti delle chiese di Roma anteriori al secolo XV* (Rome, 1899) pp. 50, 251, 255, 256, pls. 30, 39.

35. E. H. Kantorowicz, "Synthronos," *American Journal of Archaeology* 57 (1953); Kantorowicz, "The Quinity of Winchester," *Art Bulletin* 29 (1947) pp. 73–85, discusses the Christian adaptation of the pagan custom of *synthronos* (throne-sharing) in psalter illuminations of David and Christ, and of the Trinity.

36. The Coronation is over a transept doorway at Senlis,

Chartres, Villeneuve-l'Archevêque, Saint-Germain at Reims, Dixmont, Strasbourg, Mainz, Longpré, and in the gable over the Portail de la Calende, Rouen; over the side door from the cloister at Saint-Wandrille (as at Moutiers); over a side door on the Porte Rouge at Paris, Uzeste, Hal in Belgium, and Freiburg-im-Breisgau in the upper Rhine region. It is over a side doorway of the west facade at Paris, Amiens, Sens, Meaux, Poitiers, Bazas, Rampillon, Auxerre, and Noyon. It is over the main doorway at Laon, Mantes, Braine, Notre-Dame at Dijon, Corbie, Beauvais, Kaysersberg, Lemoncourt, Longpont, Saint-Nicolas at Amiens, Mouzon, Niederhaslach, Seéz, Thann, and in the gable at Reims.

the presence of the king, considered to be Christ. So Paul the Deacon, in commenting on Psalm 43:10, had declared of the Virgin: "Behold she is raised above the angelic choirs even to the right hand of her son and is made the mighty mother of all in the house of the Lord and called the queen of heaven."<sup>37</sup>

The Coronation on the Moutiers tympanum takes place beneath a grapevine growing in the shape of a trefoil arch. The vine forms two sharp points to imitate the cusps of the arch, and the leaves of the vine carefully curl to imitate its concave moldings.<sup>38</sup> Along the bottom edge of the tympanum is a row of similar leaves. Thus the scene is framed in foliage. Like a trellised arbor, the vine that grows over the heads of Christ and the Virgin is loaded with grapes. In medieval imagery an arch was often used as a shorthand method of indicating a church, a palace, a royal or liturgical canopy, or some other important structure. In a Coronation scene, customarily placed under a trefoil arch, it specifically represented the palace of heaven. This meaning can be found in the liturgy in a twelfth-century hymn, part of a sequence sung during the feast of the Assumption, which declares of the Virgin, "They [the hosts of heaven] have raised you to the starry palace." In the thirteenth century Bartholomew of Trent spoke of the great honor done the Virgin "in the palace of heaven."<sup>39</sup> A letter read during the octave of the feast of the Assumption, ascribed to Saint Jerome but probably composed in the ninth century by Paschasius Radbertus, proclaimed that Mary, the queen of the world, had this day reached the palace of heaven where with joy the savior let her share his throne and where she ruled forever with Christ.<sup>40</sup>

The Moutiers Coronation may be the only monumental sculpture where the palace of heaven is represented by a leafy bower instead of the more formal arch. At Chartres the trefoil arch over the Coronation carries several miniature towered structures, evidently meant to suggest the heavenly Jerusalem in which the palace was set.<sup>41</sup> The dome of heaven is represented by wavy lines of striated clouds enclosing the scene.

Leafy branches and vines were freely shown as growing on church portals of the period.<sup>42</sup> It is generally assumed, perhaps correctly, that such use was mainly decorative. Certainly the grape vine was an

appropriate decoration for an abbey situated in the vine country of Burgundy, with its ample holdings in vineyards. One of the Romanesque capitals from Moutiers in the Louvre shows a strikingly picturesque vintage scene of a type that appears elsewhere in Burgundian sculpture.<sup>43</sup>

Beyond its decorative aspect, the Moutiers grape arbor may not only represent the palace of heaven but refer to the heavenly Eucharist Christ said he was to take with his disciples. It may also refer to the mystic marriage of Christ to the church, since the imagery of the vine is so important in the Song of Songs.

The Moutiers grape arbor may be a new form of the tree of Jesse, shown in earlier doorways at Senlis, Mantes, Braine, and Chartres as a vine growing in the arches around the Coronation scene.<sup>44</sup> The

37. *Ecce enim exaltata est super choros angelorum usque ad dexteram filii, et facta est potens mater-familias in universa domo Domini, et regina coelorum appellata est . . .* (Homily 45, Paul the Deacon on the Assumption of the Virgin, *Patrologia Latina* XCV, col. 1492A).

38. Katzenellenbogen, pp. 56–65, gives an excellent résumé of the liturgical and textual background for the representation of the Coronation of the Virgin, including the architectural framework of the scene.

39. Sinding, pp. 120, 121; Stephen Beissel, *Geschichte der Verehrung Marias in Deutschland während des Mittelalters* (Freiburg-im-Breisgau, 1909) p. 215.

40. *Regina mundi hodie de terris . . . eripitur . . . ad coeli jam pervenit palatium* (col. 130); *Salvator . . . cum gaudio eam secum in throno collocavit* (col. 134); . . . *ineffabiliter sublimata cum Christo regnat in aeternum* (col. 130) (Epistle IX to Paul and Eustochius on the Assumption of the Virgin, *Patrologia Latina* XXX).

41. The use of an arch to suggest a palace or a church derives from late Roman and early Byzantine art. It is so used on the so-called missorium of Theodoric in Madrid, on the Cyprus silver David plates in the Metropolitan Museum, and in the mosaics of San Apollinare in Classe, Ravenna.

42. Sauerländer, *Skulptur*, pls. 223–225, 269, 271, 277.

43. Aubert and Beaulieu, *Description*, no. 25.

44. On the following doorways the tree of Jesse is carved in arches above the Coronation in the tympanum: west portal of Senlis; central doorway of west portal of Mantes; central doorway of west portal of Laon; west portal of Braine; central doorway of north transept portal of Chartres; central doorway associated with the Last Judgment, and right doorway of west portal of Amiens; central doorway of west portal of Notre-Dame, Dijon; west portal of Saint-Etienne, Beauvais; north portal of Ville-neuve-l'Archevêque; right doorway of west portal of Reims. See Sauerländer, *Skulptur*, pls. 44–47, 75, 77, 164, 165, figs. 69, 92; Pierre Quarré, "Les Sculptures des portails et de la façade de l'église Notre-Dame de Dijon," *Mémoires de la Commission des antiquités de la Côte-d'Or* 26 (1963–69) pp. 310–313.

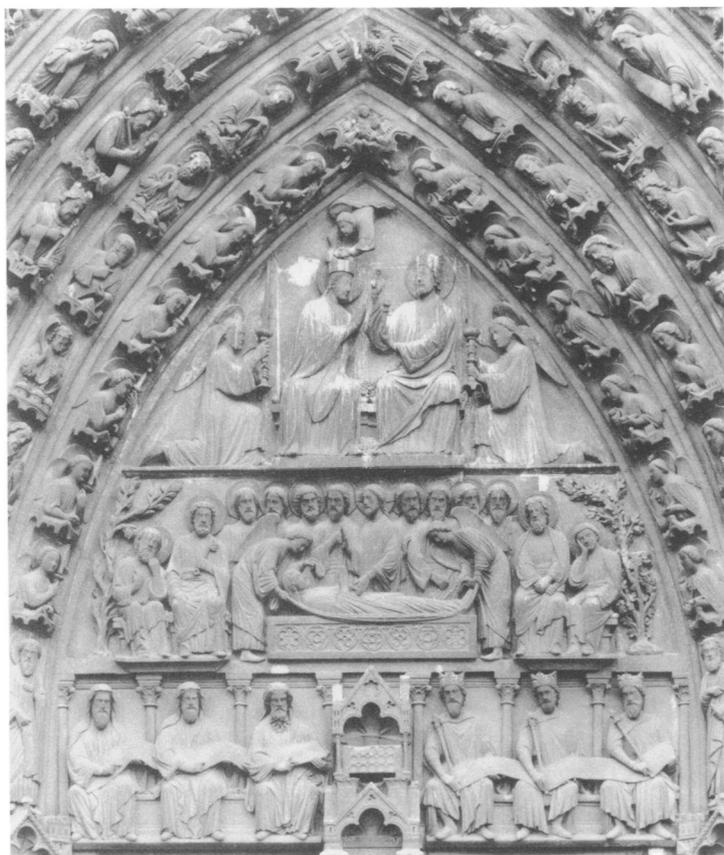
ancestors of the Virgin and Christ were placed within the interlacings of the vine. The unusual shape of the double arches over Christ and the Virgin in the Coronation on the Senlis tympanum resembles the curving forms of the Jesse tree's interlacing vine around the tympanum, and probably refers to it.<sup>45</sup> Indeed, in some medieval manuscripts, the Coronation was placed at the top of the Jesse tree as the culminating scene on the *Beatus* page of Psalm One to depict the royal progeny of David, the reputed author of the Psalms.<sup>46</sup> At Moutiers the Old Testament figures are placed not within vine branches but in niches of the pilasters that parallel the vine stalks growing up both sides of the doorway to meet in the leafy arch framing the Coronation.

#### THE SENLIS CORONATION PORTAL AND LATER VARIANTS

All of the main elements of the Moutiers doorway are present, in fuller measure, on the earliest surviving French Coronation doorway, on the west portal of Senlis Cathedral, constructed about 1170 (Figure

7).<sup>47</sup> On the Senlis tympanum, Christ sits enthroned, raising his hand to bless the crowned Virgin on his right, flanked by attendant angels representing the heavenly hosts. On the lintel beneath the tympanum are represented the Dormition of the Virgin and the Assumption. The lintel is omitted on the Moutiers door for lack of space. In the arches above the tympanum at Senlis, along with the tree of Jesse, are the prophets who foretold his coming. Most of these figures, too, are omitted at Moutiers, again probably for lack of space. Typological figures representing the spiritual forerunners of Christ are lined up full-scale on either side in the embrasures of the Senlis door. Most of these figures are present at Moutiers in the small-scale niches of the piers. Adolf Katzenellenbogen traces the use of these forerunners of Christ back to Saint Augustine.

Senlis was part of the old royal domain, and borrowed from the west facade of Saint-Denis its use of Old Testament figures as forerunners of Christ, the style of a number of the sculptures, as well as the structural divisions of the doorway. One wonders therefore whether Suger, the great abbot of Saint-Denis, or one of his followers, may have had a part in designing the Coronation portal at Senlis. Accord-



45. Sauerländer, *Skulptur*, p. 90; Arthur Watson, *Early Iconography of the Tree of Jesse* (Oxford, 1934); Katzenellenbogen, pp. 58, 59.

46. It so appears in the Huntingfield Psalter in the Pierpont Morgan Library, ms. 43, fol. 33 v., and in the Ormesby Psalter in the Bodleian Library, Douce, 366, fol. 9 v. The Coronation appears without the Jesse tree over David in the Berlin Kupferstichkabinett, 78 A.8, fol. 14 v. The death of the Virgin replaces David on the *Beatus* pages of two other Psalters from Liège, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, McClean 41, fol. 1 v., and British Library, Add. 21114, fol. 10 v. On a capital of Exeter Cathedral the Coronation appears above the Virgin and Child, who are enclosed within the branches of a Jesse tree growing out of Jesse's body (Watson, p. 61; E. K. Prideaux and G. R. Holt, *Bosses and Corbels of Exeter Cathedral* [Exeter, 1910] fig. 287).

47. Sauerländer, *Skulptur*, pp. 34, 90, 91; Sauerländer, "Die Marienkrönungsportale von Senlis und Mantes," *Wallraf-Richartz Jahrbuch* 20 (1958) pp. 115–162. I have not seen A. Conan, "Essai sur l'iconographie du Couronnement de la Vierge en France," *Positions de thèses des élèves de l'École du Louvre* (1956).

FIGURE 13  
Notre-Dame, Paris, tympanum of left doorway of west portal, 1210–20 (Hirmer)

ing to Philippe Verdier, the doorway would have been worthy of the precise theological thinking Suger showed in designing the sculpture and glass of the abbey church of Saint-Denis.<sup>48</sup> The subject would have particularly appealed to him, since his legendary predecessor, Dionysius the Areopagite, was believed to have been present at the death and Assumption of the Virgin. Dionysius was identified in the medieval period with Saint Denis, the patron saint of the abbey and of France. Suger gave a window depicting the triumphs of the Virgin to the cathedral of Paris,<sup>49</sup> and must have been responsible also for a tree of Jesse window in his abbey church.

In the heartland of royal France, the territories nearest Paris, the Senlis type of Coronation prevailed. On such portals, the Virgin in the tympanum scene already wears a crown, the actual crowning occurring almost parenthetically in the subsidiary scene of her Assumption on the lintel beneath, where an angel sometimes holds a crown over her head. On the two Coronations over the portals of Notre-Dame, Paris, an angel crowns Mary as Christ blesses her (Figures 13, 14). More fundamental variations of the Senlis type occur elsewhere, one in Germanic lands

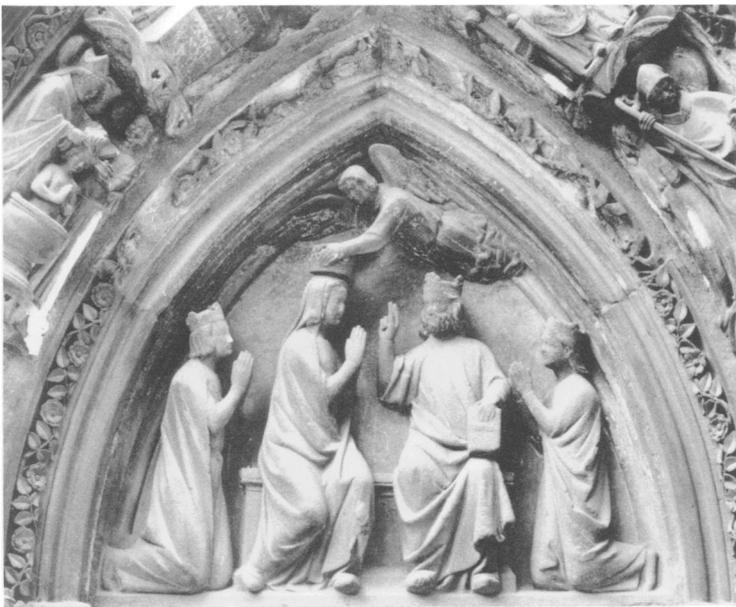


FIGURE 14  
Notre-Dame, Paris, tympanum of the Porte Rouge,  
about 1260 (Hirmer)

and England, the other predominately in the eastern parts of France. In the first, more radical variation, the Virgin is no longer seated to the right of Christ, but to his left. This change of position allows Christ to bless her with his right hand, as at Senlis, and to crown her with his left. Three thirteenth-century examples of this variation are in Alsace: at Annéot, at Kaysersberg, and over one of the south transept doors of Strasbourg Cathedral. Other instances occur in Germanic art of the late Romanesque and early Gothic periods: in a fresco in Saint Cunibert, Cologne; on an enamel plaque in the Kunstgewerbe Museum, Cologne; and in a psalter of Saint Elizabeth in the Cividale Museum. At least two early examples are found in English sculpture: on a capital at Reading Abbey and on a tympanum at Quenington; and in Scandinavia, on a church front at Lyngsjö. The iconography also appears in English manuscripts.<sup>50</sup> Two well-known Coronations in France also follow this variation: one, now mutilated, above the central doorway of the west portal of Notre-Dame, Dijon; the other over the right doorway of the main entrance of Bourges Cathedral.

A second, less radical variation of the iconography established by the Senlis doorway shows the Virgin at Christ's right, being crowned by, but not blessed with, his right hand. This variation, followed on the Moutiers door, also appears on at least five other monuments of eastern France: at Lemoncourt in Lorraine,

48. Emile Mâle, *L'Art religieux de XII<sup>e</sup> siècle en France* (Paris, 1924) pp. 183, 184, was the first to suggest that Suger might have created the iconographic scheme of the Senlis Coronation doorway, but Katzenellenbogen, p. 57, suggests that the roots of the iconography are in earlier models now lost. Philippe Verdier, "Suger a-t-il été en France le créateur du thème iconographique du couronnement de la Vierge?" *Gesta* 25, 1 & 2 (1976) pp. 227–236, plans to publish a book on Suger. See also Françoise Perrot, "Note sur les Arbres de Jessé de Gercy et de St.-Germain-les-Corbeil," *The Year 1200: A Symposium* (The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1975) pp. 417–428, esp. bibliography, p. 418.

49. Pierre Le Vieil, *L'Art de la peinture sur verre et de la verrerie* (Paris, 1774) p. 23, reports that parts of this window were conserved until the eighteenth century in a choir gallery window representing "une espèce de triomphe de la Sainte-Vierge."

50. Bible of William of Devon, British Library, Roy. I.D.I., fol. 4 v.; book of hours (Sarum use) from the Dyson Perrins collection, British Library, Add. ms. 49,999, fol. 61; Huntingfield Psalter, Pierpont Morgan Library, ms. 43, fol. 33 v.

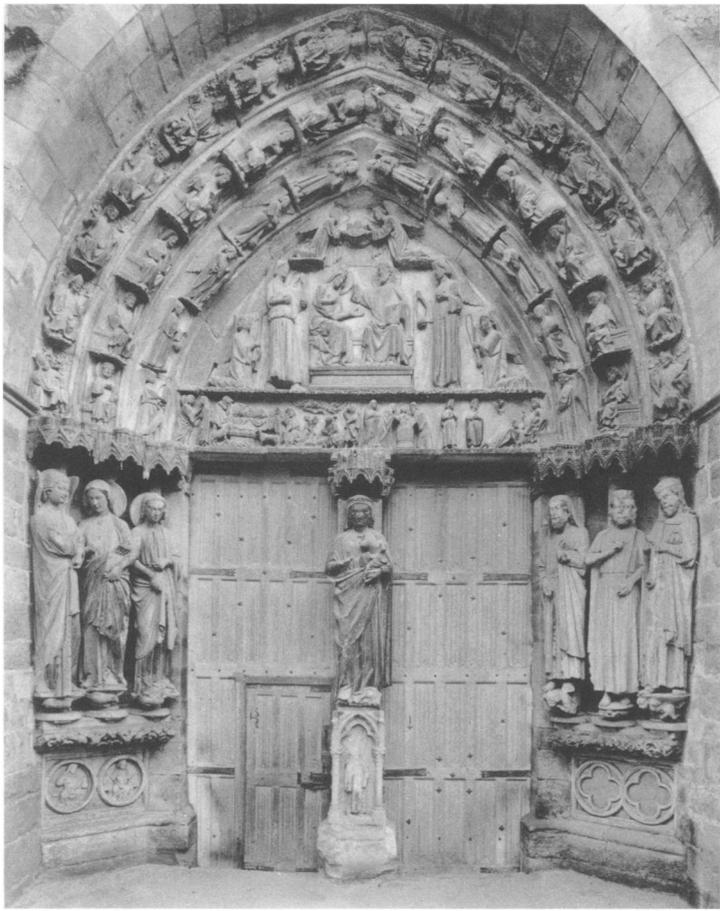
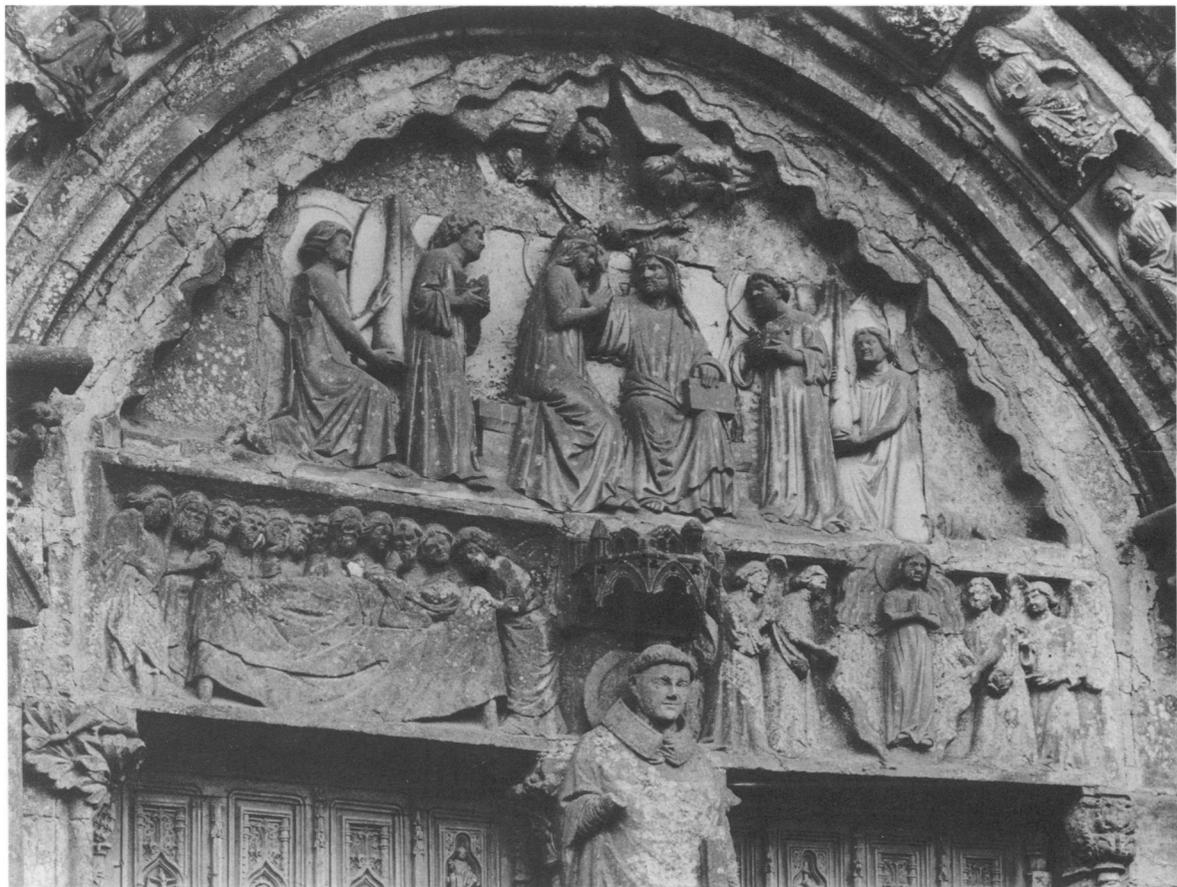


FIGURE 15  
Villeneuve-l'Archevêque, north portal of priory church, about 1240 (Hirmer)

at Villeneuve-l'Archevêque in Champagne (Figure 15), at Mouzon in the Ardennes, at Reims on the central gable over the main entrance, and at Saint-Thibault-en-Auxois, a little south of Moutiers (Figure 16).

These variations in the Coronation iconography are important for this study only as they indicate that the Moutiers doorway, with others in eastern France, stands somewhat apart from the tightly knit group of Coronation tympana deriving from Senlis. Other iconographic elements in the Moutiers door, however, suggest its fundamental relationship to the Senlis group. In spite of certain differences, the iconography as well as the style of Moutiers depends ultimately upon the sculptural traditions of royal France.

FIGURE 16  
Saint-Thibault-en-Auxois, tympanum of north transept portal of priory church, about 1240–50 (Archives Photographiques)



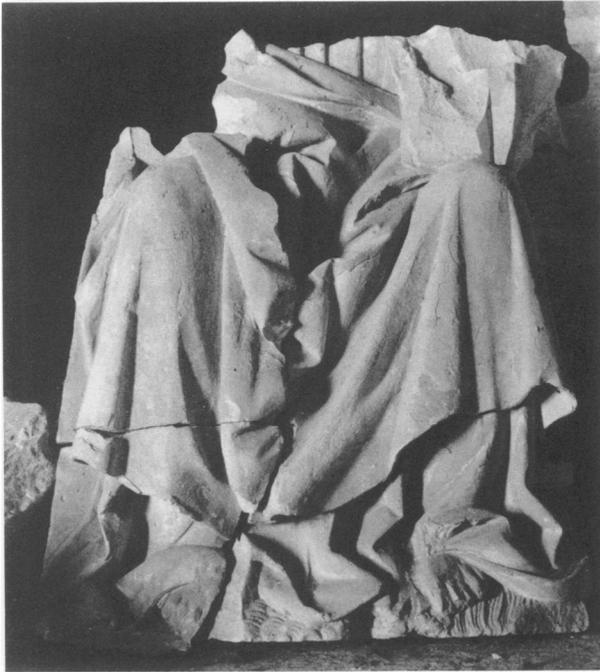


FIGURE 17  
Fragmentary figure formerly in the Musée Lapidaire of the basilica of the Madeleine, Vézelay (Marburg)



FIGURE 18  
Tomb in north aisle of Saint-Père-sous-Vézelay

## THE THRONE OF SOLOMON

The Moutiers Coronation seems to be the only one in French monumental sculpture where Christ sits upon the throne of Solomon, indicated by the two lion heads beneath his feet (Figure 12). Lions also appeared beneath the feet of a fragmentary figure at Vézelay so close in posture and style that one can assume it to have been a Christ and part of a lost relief representing the Coronation, or possibly the Last Judgment (Figure 17).<sup>51</sup> A generally similar figure of Christ, without lions, appears in Last Judgment reliefs in the north transept of the basilica of Vézelay and in the north aisle of the church at nearby Saint-Père-sous-Vézelay (Figure 18).<sup>52</sup>

It is possible that the lions represent Christ's victory over the powers of evil, but this seems unlikely, since both beast heads are definitely those of lions, recognizable by the manes, not the lion and adder or the lion and dragon Christ usually tramples upon to signify his victory over evil, as on the trumeaux of

Chartres, Paris, Amiens, and Reims in fulfillment of Psalm 91:13: "Thou shalt tread upon the lion and adder: the young lion and the dragon shalt thou trample underfeet."

There appears to be more reason to relate the two Moutiers lions to the tribes of Judah, signifying the Jewish people whom David ruled, than to regard them merely as emblems of power. In a manuscript

51. The Vézelay fragment has disappeared. According to the records of Foto-Marburg, when their photograph was taken in 1930/31 it was in the Musée Lapidaire located in the gallery above the narthex of the church. Gerhard Schmidt published the fragment as from a Coronation and as by the same hand as the Moutiers Coronation; he did not discuss the two lions (Schmidt, review of *Gotische Skulptur in Frankreich 1140-1270* by Sauerländer, *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* [1972] pp. 141-143, figs. 19, 20). This fragment, like others in the Musée Lapidaire, apparently was one of the "fragments found in soundings, excavations, or demolitions" carried out at Vézelay by Viollet-le-Duc and others; see Lydwine Saulnier, "A propos du Musée lapidaire de Vézelay," *Bulletin Monumental* 136 (1978) p. 71.

52. Francis Salet, "Eglise de Saint-Père-sous-Vézelay," *Congrès Archéologique de France* (1958) p. 262.

illumination of an eleventh-century psalter from Angers, Christ is shown enthroned in majesty with two lions beneath his feet. These lions seem to refer to his descent from the house of David, since the illustration is placed a little before the *Beatus* page. On the two pages preceding the illumination, this association is specified by an inscription comparing Christ to David: "David filius Jesse, cum esset in regno suo . . . quia David dictus est Christus."<sup>53</sup> As the messiah who succeeded David, foretold by the prophets, Christ was to continue his rule over Judah forever, according to the prophecy of the archangel Gabriel to the Virgin (2 Sam. 7:13, 16; Ps. 89:36, 37; Isa. 9:7; Luke 1:32, 33).

Judah was often compared to a lion, and two lions might refer directly to the Jewish nation, as the Israelites were compared by the prophet Balaam to a lion and a young lion, or in some versions, to a lion and a lioness (Num. 23:24, 24:9). The lion and lioness used as guardian beasts at the door of a church in Zamora may have had the same symbolism. It is here of interest that one of these Zamora lions, now at The Cloisters, supports on its back a small group representing the Coronation.

A more definite connection can be established between the Moutiers lions and the lions that accompanied the throne of Solomon (1 Kings 10:19, 20). Twelve lions were paired on the steps below the throne while two more flanked it. The twelve represented the twelve tribes of Israel while the other two were guardians of the throne. Both the thrones of David and of Solomon symbolized the seat of power and majesty on which Christ was to sit, as in the Moutiers doorway, and, in addition, are signs of the royal rank that he inherited from these earthly ancestors. Solomon, son of David, was the wise and

just king whose throne Christ was to inherit as his greater successor. Solomon's wisdom prefigured the divine wisdom of Christ, and his throne represented the seat of wisdom.

In this last sense, Solomon's throne was even compared to the person of the Virgin, whose lap was the throne upon which the Christ child sat.<sup>54</sup> This image, formulated by the theologians, was first given plastic form in the Romanesque images of the seated Virgin and Child, carved both in the round and in high relief for the tympana of church doorways, until replaced in the thirteenth century by the new image of the Coronation. In the earlier image, Christ glorified the Virgin by his earthly incarnation in her, while in the second he glorified her through her heavenly incarnation. In a sense, one image is the inverse of the other, Christ receiving his mother in heaven as she had received him on earth.

A more literal representation of Solomon's throne evolved in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries when the Virgin holding the Child was no longer represented as herself the throne of wisdom, but as seated upon it. Here the throne of Solomon is clearly visualized with its full complement of lions, two at the sides and twelve on the steps below. To make the connection doubly clear, Solomon could be shown directly under the throne, pointing upward to it, as in a painting from Bebenhausen now in the art gallery of Stuttgart.<sup>55</sup> The Virgin and Child on Solomon's throne with its array of lions is carved in monumental scale on the west facade of Strasbourg Cathedral, parts of which are now preserved in the nearby Musée de l'Oeuvre Notre-Dame.<sup>56</sup> The Virgin holding the Child also occupies the throne of Solomon on the south transept facade of Magdeburg Cathedral.

The throne of Solomon finally came to be associ-

53. Manuscript in the public library of Amiens, Fonds Escopier 2, fol. II bis v. V. R. Leroquais, *Les Psautiers latins des bibliothèques publiques de la France* (Mâcon, 1940-1941) pp. 16, 17, *Atlas*, pl. 23. For Christ and David see citations from Augustine and Jerome, Kantorowicz, "Quinity," pp. 73-85.

54. Ilene H. Forsyth, *The Throne of Wisdom. Wood Sculptures of the Madonna in Romanesque France* (Princeton, 1972) pp. 23-30, gives the most complete statement of this iconography with full bibliography and citations of theological sources. See also Beissel, pp. 113, 484-488; Sinding, pp. 93-99.

55. Francis Wormald, "The Throne of Solomon and St. Edward's Chair," *De Artibus opuscula XL. Essays in honor of Erwin Panofsky* (New York, 1961) pp. 532-539, cites a thirteenth-cen-

tury manuscript illumination in the Verger de Soulas, Bibliothèque Nationale, fr. 9220, fol. 2 v. See Beissel, pp. 487, 488 for illustration of Bebenhausen painting and other examples at Bern, Lübeck, Retz, Freiburg-im-Breisgau, Augsburg, Boppard-am-Rhein, Kappenberg, Cologne, and the Berlin Museum from Wormel. For amplified discussion of significance of the two lions, see Isa Ragusa, "Terror demonum and terror inimicorum: the two lions of the throne of Solomon and the open door of paradise," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 40 (1977) pp. 93-114.

56. Otto Schmitt, *Gotische Skulpturen des strassburger Münsters* (Frankfurt-am-Main, 1924) I, p. 25, pls. 97, 98, 115; II, pp. XIII-XV. Victor Beyer, *La Sculpture médiévale du musée de l'Oeuvre-Notre-Dame* (Strasbourg, 1956) cat. no. 165, ill.

ated with the Coronation of the Virgin. This amplification of the theme may have been the result of a combination of two earlier images, the Virgin and Child enthroned, and Christ on the throne of wisdom. The Moutiers Coronation may show this conflation in that the two lions from the throne are only under Christ's feet.

One finds abbreviated indications of Solomon's throne elsewhere than at Moutiers. A mosaic of the Last Judgment in the apse of the cathedral of Pisa shows Christ enthroned with two lions that crouch on the steps beside the throne. So placed, these lions do not refer to the beasts of the Ninety-first Psalm, which appear on a level beneath his feet.<sup>57</sup> Two lions are placed beneath the feet of the Virgin holding the Child on the tympanum of the south transept of Magdeburg Cathedral. Their meaning is unmistakable since the complete throne of Solomon is carved on the facade above the doorway. A pair of lions flank the throne in a Coronation carved on a retablo from Lübeck in the Rossoff Museum, and in a Coronation painted on a panel of the Mosan school in the van Beuningen collection.<sup>58</sup> Two pairs of lions decorate the Virgin's seat in a number of fifteenth-century Flemish paintings, including the Mérode altarpiece at The Cloisters.<sup>59</sup> Finally, in a carving in the church of Wilten, Austria, dated 1665, Christ is seated above two lions, and accompanied by an inscription taken from his comparison of himself to Solomon: "Ecce, plusquam Solomon" (Matt. 12:42; Luke 11:31).

Two lions beneath the feet of the enthroned figure of King Dagobert, which was once located in the north transept of Saint-Denis, offer the closest and

most interesting parallels to those of Moutiers and Vézelay, to which it is roughly contemporary. The lions of Dagobert were in the same position as at Moutiers, and the figure had a number of similar features, to judge by the drawing published by Montfaucon.<sup>60</sup> It was common practice to compare French kings to David and Solomon in their exercise of wisdom and justice. Sauerländer, therefore, is undoubtedly correct in interpreting Dagobert's lions as a reference to Solomon, particularly in view of the inscription that accompanied the figure: *Justiciae cultor*.<sup>61</sup> The same reference to Solomon seems implied in the two lions that supported the throne of Louis IV in a sculpture of the king that once stood beside the main altar of Saint-Remy at Reims.<sup>62</sup>

The medieval mind sought additional allegorical interpretations for the lions of Solomon's throne. For instance, Rabanus Maurus in the ninth century and the Bible Moralisée in the thirteenth saw the flanking lions as representing the fathers of the Old and New Testaments.<sup>63</sup> The enthroned Solomon himself was linked to the Coronation in other ways: as an ancestor in the Jesse tree, and as a prefiguration of the enthroned Christ both in the Coronation and the Last Judgment.

## THE ORB AS DISK

The Moutiers Christ has been given an emblem of authority in addition to the lions at his feet and the crown on his head. On his left knee he balances a disk representing the world. This disk is really a flattened form of globe, like the imperial orbs often

57. Rossi, *Musaici cristiani*, pp. 251, 255, 256, pls. 30, 39.

58. Hellmuth Bethe, "Ein unbekannter norddeutscher Schnitzaltar des 14. Jahrhunderts," *Cicerone* 19 (1927) p. 303, fig. 1.

59. Panofsky, I, pp. 143, 163, 185; II, pls. 53, 203, 204, 231, 252, 307, 310.

60. Sauerländer, *Skulptur*, p. 172, fig. 101; p. 66, fig. 5, for earlier figure of Dagobert once at Saint-Denis with same iconography. G. S. Wright, "A Royal Tomb Program in the Reign of Saint Louis," *Art Bulletin* 56, (1974) pp. 229, 230, figs. 4-6.

61. Sauerländer, *Skulptur*, p. 172.

62. Alain Erlande-Brandenburg (*Le Roi est mort; étude sur les funérailles, les sépultures et les tombeaux des rois de France jusqu'à la fin du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Bibliothèque de la société française d'archéologie 7 [Geneva, 1975] p. 155, fig. 59) does not seek to identify the lions. In a companion statue, p. 156, fig. 60, Lothair, son of Louis,

gently steps upon a recumbent figure who holds the king's feet almost tenderly. This figure, in the position of Jesse in the Jesse tree schema, could represent a predecessor of Lothair, perhaps even his father, thus affirming the relation of both kings to their Old Testament predecessors. Both kings point down toward these attributes as if to emphasize their importance. The two lions beneath the throne of Louis IV have some analogy to the four lions that supported the tomb slab of Charles the Bald, but this analogy, based on sixteenth-century drawings, is too hypothetical to be pressed. Such lions, also found beneath the tomb slab of Philip I, may be merely decorative symbols of power, like those usually found beneath the feet of many thirteenth-century male effigies of rank (Erlande-Brandenburg, pp. 115, 153, 159, 160, figs. 58, 74-76).

63. Wormald, pp. 534, 535.

held by Christ as well as by earthly rulers since the days of the late Roman empire. A true orb of this size, however, would have been too clumsy and much too large to be easily carried or carved.

If one looks at a map of the world as conceived in the thirteenth century, it is at once apparent that the Moutiers disk represents such a *mappa mundi*, drawn in the form of a circle and divided into three parts to represent the three continents of the known world. These divisions are here represented by jeweled bandings such as appear on a regular orb. Asia was placed in the upper half of the circle, Europe in the lower left quarter, and Africa in the lower right quarter. The horizontal band across the middle of the disk represented two rivers, the Tanais or Don on the left dividing Europe from Asia, and the Nile on the right dividing Africa from Asia. The vertical band extending down from this horizontal band to the bottom of the disk represented the Mediterranean or Great Sea dividing Europe and Africa. Such a circular map was first drawn by Isidore of Seville (d. 636). It evolved from the earlier rectangular map of *Cosmos Indicopleustes*, about 545–547. The circular framing band represented the ocean that was thought to surround the continents and to form the outermost bounds of the world.<sup>64</sup>

This map was followed throughout the Middle Ages. A papal bull of 1030 refers to the three-part division of the world: “In medio vero rote sit sculpta triphoria thema orbis: Asia, Africa, Europa.”<sup>65</sup> At least two versions of Isidore’s map have survived to modern times, one in a monastery at Ebsdorf, destroyed in World War II; the other, dated between 1273 and

1283, in Hereford Cathedral.<sup>66</sup> The tripartite division appears on an orb borne by the emperor Augustus in an illustration of a twelfth-century manuscript, the *Liber Floridus* by Lambertus, now in the library of Ghent University, no. 92, fol. 138v. Here each division is given the name of the continent it represents. The orb-disk, with the continents labeled, is carried by King Olaf of Norway (d. 1030) on an ivory relief made about 1300.<sup>67</sup> There are numerous instances where God the Father or Christ carries a similar orb-disk with the continents unmarked but seeming to imply an *orbis tripartitus*.<sup>68</sup> On the left portal of the west facade of Mantes, Christ in majesty holds the orb-disk resting upon the throne instead of his lap, as at Moutiers.<sup>69</sup> God the Father and Christ both carry orb-disks in a Creation scene of a manuscript now in the castle library at Pommersfelden.<sup>70</sup>

## THE VIRGIN AND EVE

As the Christ of the Moutiers doorway represents the new Solomon, so the Virgin is portrayed as the new Eve who treads upon an adder-like serpent representing the devil (Figure 12).<sup>71</sup> In a sermon preached during the octave of the Assumption, Saint Bernard called Mary “the woman promised by God who should crush the serpent’s head with the foot of her virtue.”<sup>72</sup> Bernard here elaborates on Gregory of Tours, who in his preface to the mass for Assumption day had proclaimed Mary as the new Eve who sits at Christ’s right hand as his heavenly bride. There was, therefore, good precedent for introducing this

64. Percy E. Schramm, *Sphaira. Globus. Reichsapfel* I (Stuttgart, 1958) p. 51. I wish to thank Professor Gerhart B. Ladner for suggesting this interpretation.

65. Schramm, p. 53, note 3.

66. Schramm, pp. 51–53, pl. 18, fig. 41.

67. Schramm, pp. 41, 84, pls. 33, 69b.

68. For instance in a Psalter in the British Library, Add. 50,000, fol. 15; another in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, no. 13, fol. 99; in a Coronation scene in a missal in the Bodleian Library, Douce 313, where Christ holds the tripartite orb in his left hand and crowns the Virgin with his right as at Moutiers; and in a Bible in the Pierpont Morgan Library, ms. 638, fol. 1.

69. Sauerländer, *Skulptur*, pl. 48 (above).

70. Schramm, pl. 28, fig. 55d.

71. Eve and the serpent are represented beneath the feet of the Virgin and Child in a series of Italian paintings of the trecento, including panels formerly in the Goodhart Collection, New York, in the Louvre, in the Stalybridge Gallery at Ashley Cheetham, in the city museum, Altenburg, in the Pinacoteca, Parma, and in the Cleveland Museum; as well as paintings in the church at Magione, in San Domenico e Sisto, Rome, and at San Galgano in the sacristy. Other fourteenth-century statues of the subject are in the church at Saint-Pierre du Queyroix, Limoges, and of Saint-Laud, Angers. Several seated statues in the Louvre show the Virgin and Child treading on a beast representing Satan.

72. *Bernard’s sermons* 3, pp. 262, 263. The Vulgate translates God’s curse of the serpent as “She [not it] shall bruise thy head” (Gen. 3:15) to emphasize Mary’s role in the crushing of Satan.

iconography into the Coronation scene. In these passages both Gregory and Bernard refer to Christ as the new Adam.

Similarly, the Virgin stands on a serpent-like creature on the right portal of the west facade of Notre-Dame, Paris.<sup>73</sup> It was most fitting to show the Virgin in this role at the door of a church, whether on a tympanum as at Moutiers or on a trumeau, since, in the words of a medieval epitaph, "The gate of paradise, shut to all by Eve, has been opened again by the Virgin Mary."<sup>74</sup>

### CLOSELY RELATED DOORWAYS

The Moutiers doorway belongs to a group of sculptured monuments centered in western Burgundy and executed in a Burgundian idiom, yet with indications of outside sources of inspiration. Indeed, the finest sculptures of the group are on the other side of France, at Le Mans on the portal of Notre-Dame-de-la-Couture. At Bordeaux, a doorway of Saint-Seurin, slightly less fine, is directly dependent upon Le Mans. The Burgundian members of the group are at Vézelay, just west of Burgundy proper; at Semur-en-Auxois (Figure 19); at Saint-Thibault-en-Auxois, south of Semur (Figure 20); at Moutiers, north of Semur; at Dijon; at Rougemont (Figure 21); and at Chablis.<sup>75</sup> All these sculptures are closer to each other than to Le Mans, which nevertheless they follow. All have similar sturdy proportions and compact bodies wearing heavily draped garments that fall in large shallow folds. All have large, squarish, strongly

marked heads with pronounced features that include large bulging eyes and thickly curled hair and beards that give the figures a shaggy, primitive look.

There is some difference of opinion as to where the group originated. Sauerländer, the first to recognize the group, traces its style, proportions, head types, and drapery folds back to the cathedral of Reims, to the Last Judgment portal of the north transept, to sculptures of the east part of the cathedral, and to the so-called Odysseus figure of the west facade.<sup>76</sup> He believes that the wide distribution of the monuments of the group and of similar monuments may be explained best by the widespread influences from Reims. This thesis seems fundamentally correct and accounts for the almost simultaneous development of centers influenced by Reims in eastern France and elsewhere.

Gerhard Schmidt, in a carefully reasoned critique of Sauerländer's second book, gives good reasons for modifying this thesis of the direct and overwhelming influence of Reims upon the group.<sup>77</sup> Many of Schmidt's points are valid, even if his thesis of substituting Chartres for Reims as the dominating source of influence is not wholly acceptable. The stocky figure style, the stubble-bearded heads with stylized curls so characteristic of thirteenth-century Burgundian sculpture, and the rather brittle style of drapery folds seem more directly related to figures on the Job doorway of the north transept of Chartres and on its former choir screen than to the Last Judgment and Sixtus doorways of the north transept of Reims. Schmidt's comparisons of the eye shapes and curling hair of some Chartres and Sens heads with

73. Sauerländer, *Skulptur*, pl. 168 (left), p. 136, fig. 78. The present statue is a nineteenth-century replacement.

74. Ernst Guldan, *Eva und Maria Eine Antithese als Bildmotiv* (Graz-Cologne, 1966) pp. 80, 81, cites this epitaph of Florian Winkler (d. 1477) from her tombstone now in the city museum of Wiener Neustadt. See also pp. 72, 73, 192, 193, 341, pl. 74.

75. Sauerländer, *Von Sens bis Strassburg*, p. 121, calls the Semur tympanum "a masterpiece of high Gothic sculpture in Burgundy around the middle of the thirteenth century" and as "belonging to a very realistic group of high Gothic sculpture not yet studied which stretches over a wide geographical area." In an "incomplete listing" of the group Sauerländer mentions Le Mans (Notre-Dame-de-la-Couture), Bordeaux (south portal of Saint-Seurin), and Charroux, near Poitiers; in Burgundy, Vézelay (west gable), Saint-Thibault-en-Auxois, and Chablis; and Vitoria in Spain.

Moutiers-Saint-Jean is added to the group, p. 122. The origin lies "apparently in Amiens, at all events in the sculpture under the influence of Amiens on the transept of Reims." In *Skulptur*, pp. 60, 181-183, 189, Sauerländer adds to the group Rougemont and the altar frontal from the Sainte-Chapelle, Dijon, following Quarré's publications, and reaffirms more strongly and specifically the influence of Le Mans upon Saint-Thibault; however, he does not include Charroux, and he also omits the Moutiers door, except to confuse it on page 201 of the index with the larger Romanesque portal of Moutiers, now destroyed, a drawing of which is found in Plancher, I, pp. 515, 516.

76. Sauerländer, *Skulptur*, pp. 60, 183.

77. Schmidt, review, pp. 124-144; discussion of group, pp. 137-143.

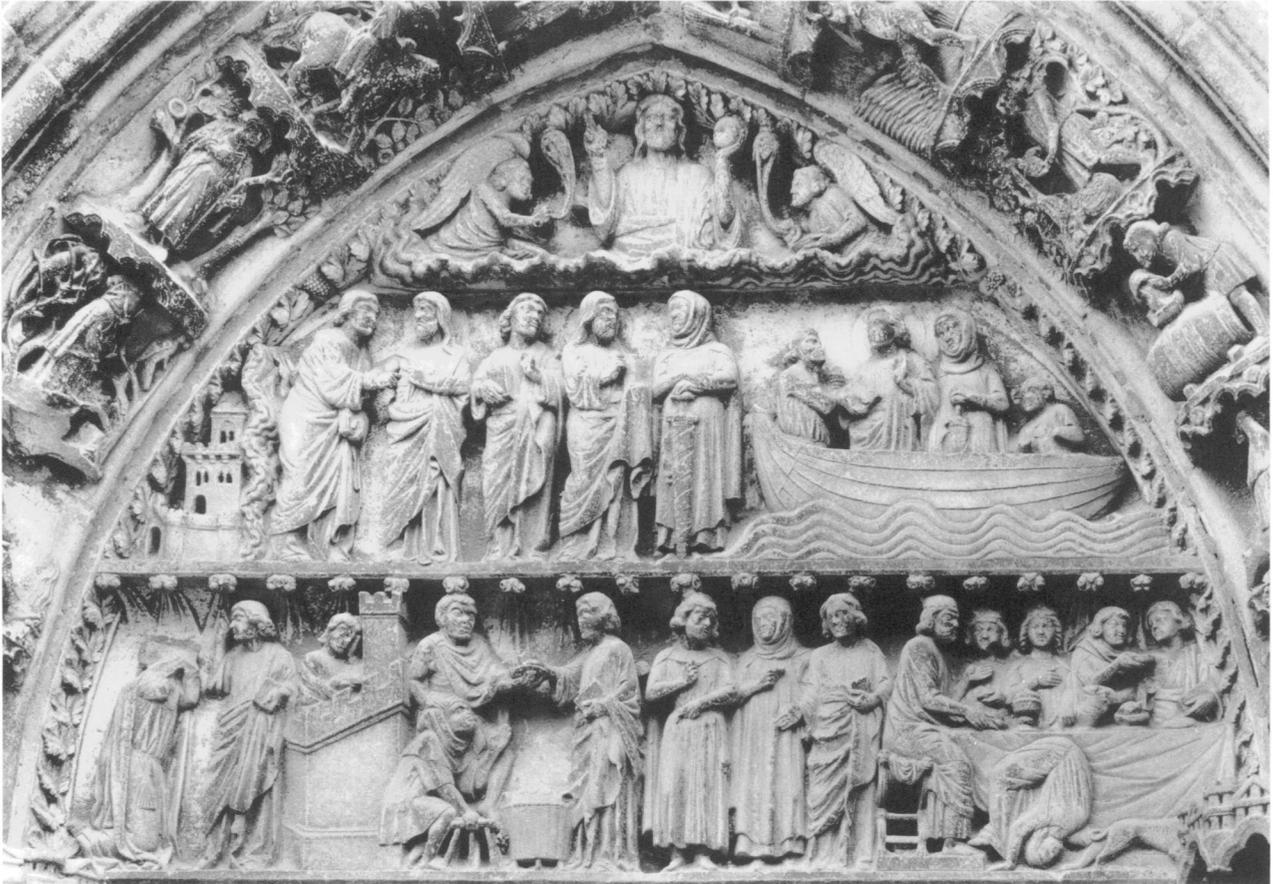


FIGURE 19  
Semur-en-Auxois, tympanum of north transept portal, about 1250 (Hirmer)

those of the group also seem pertinent. Certainly, the architecture of the Moutiers door may have been influenced by the west facade of Sens. Although the fundamental role of Reims is undeniable, Chartres seems to offer a crucial step between Reims and Burgundy.

However, when Schmidt derives the figure style of the group mainly from Chartres, citing the Saint Avitus head on the right portal of the south transept in particular as a prototype for the group, one must consider the influence of Sens upon the transept portals of Chartres, which Sauerländer maintains. Sauerländer also suggests that the Reims Odysseus head was a prototype for bearded heads of the Burgundian group, and perhaps for the Saint Avitus as well.<sup>78</sup> Again, when Schmidt makes the significant comparison between the capitals and their foliation

on the Le Mans and Moutiers doorways, one must also compare the wind-blown leaves on one Moutiers capital with those found in great abundance at Reims. The broad, flat drapery folds typical of the group, which Schmidt calls a variation of the Sens, Chartres, and Strasbourg styles, may owe a considerable amount to Reims.

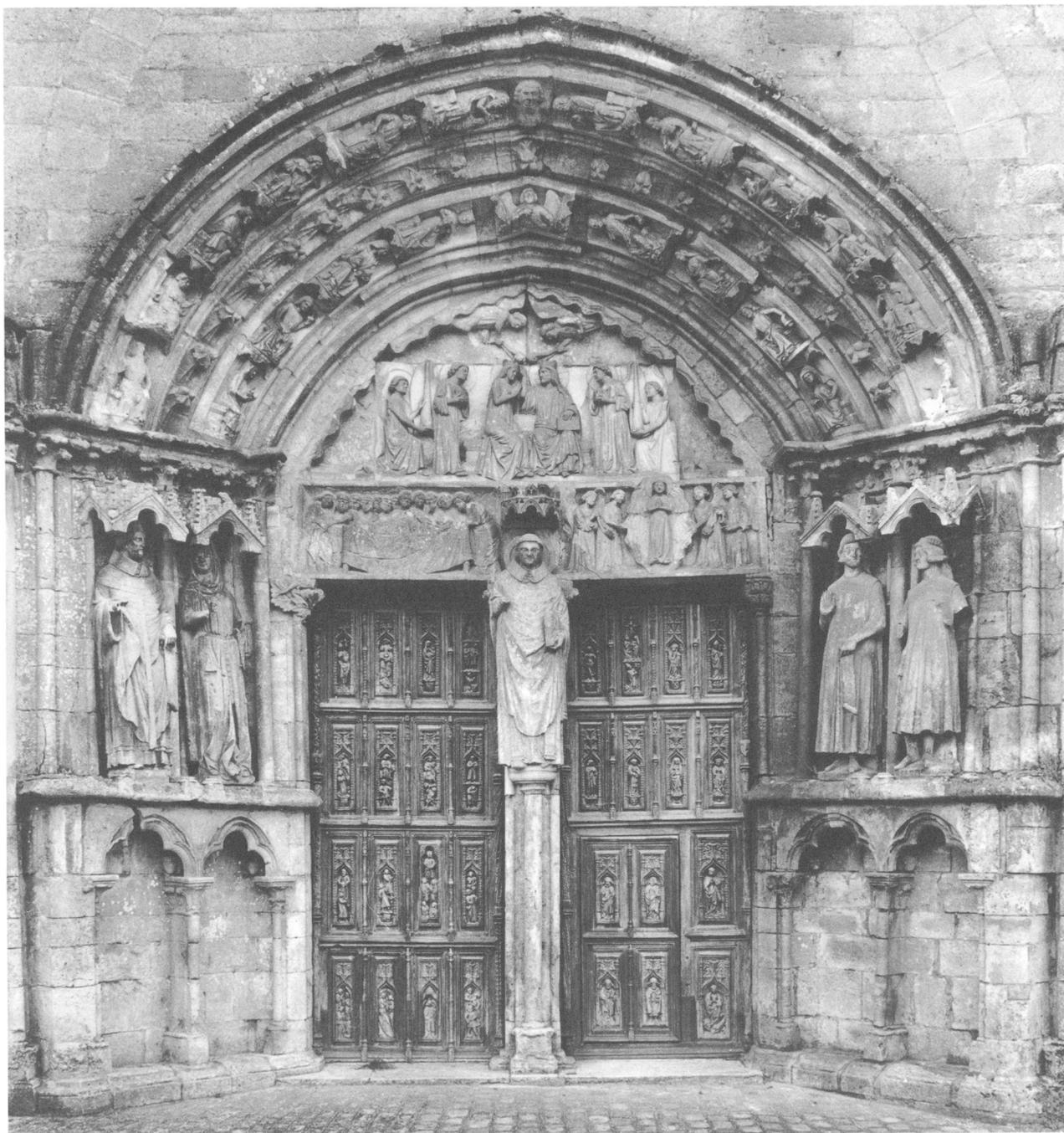
The left doorway of the west facade of the Sens cathedral also seems to foreshadow Moutiers in the way the colonnettes flank the embrasure figures and in the way the canopies project from the capitals over the embrasure sculptures (now missing), as well as in the high bases beneath these figures. Sens also has the same arrangement of statuettes set under trefoil arches, although these are found elsewhere as well. A complex intermingling of influences seems to have

78. Sauerländer, *Skulptur*, p. 117, pls. 123, 204, speaks of the Avitus figure as derivative from Reims. The Odysseus and Avitus heads seem to have a clear relationship.

played upon the group. In spite of the apparently dominating role of Reims, its style probably did not come exclusively from any one place, be it Reims, Chartres, Sens, or Le Mans.

FIGURE 20  
Saint-Thibault-en-Auxois, north transept portal  
(Hirmer)

Schmidt may be correct in suggesting that the workshop was formed in some eastern French center such as Besançon, Sens, or Dijon. However, one workshop could not have accounted for all the generally similar work done in Burgundy, although it is possible that members trained under one master



went out on their own in small groups and this enabled them to develop their own variations. At least the master of the Moutiers group must have had contact with Le Mans and must have felt influences from the north, perhaps through Sens.

As Schmidt admits, it is “not easy to define the horizon of this group, made up of bands of partly independent contemporary workmen, who took their models from the styles of high Gothic cathedral sculpture and translated them on a more clearly provincial level.”<sup>79</sup> It seems wise not to restrict the various possible sources of influences. One can state with both Sauerländer and Schmidt that the Le Mans figures were by the hand of the original master and that the Burgundian sculptures more or less follow his lead with regional variations. That Le Mans was a direct prototype for Bordeaux and a little less directly for Burgundy is supported by both a similarity of figure types and by the distant but still distinct resemblances of the comparatively crude head of Saint Peter at Chablis to the much finer work at Le Mans and Bordeaux. (Incidentally, Sauerländer sees the Chablis head as a final echo of the Odysseus head at Reims, while Schmidt would point to the Saint Avitus of Chartres.) The similar type of geometric ornament used below the figures at Bordeaux and around the bottoms of the pier shafts at Mou-

FIGURE 21  
Rougemont, figures from the facade of the nunnery church (Archives Photographiques)



tiers also argues for a common source. One wonders whether the same tradition led later to the elaborate geometric patterns in the right embrasure of the west facade of Auxerre Cathedral just north of Auxois.

The finest and most closely related Burgundian monuments of the group are those at Semur, Saint-Thibault, and Moutiers-Saint-Jean.<sup>80</sup> To this trilogy may be added the fragmentary seated Christ of Vézelay, so close to the Moutiers and Saint-Thibault Christs, as Schmidt has said. The Rougemont master's work, which Quarré traces also in Chablis and Vézelay, stands somewhat apart as of less importance, although closely related to some of the figures of the Moutiers master.<sup>81</sup>

#### MOUTIERS AND SAINT-THIBAULT

The sculpture of the Moutiers doorway is really a condensed version of that at Saint-Thibault, a consolidation imposed by the need to fit the doorway into its restricted architectural setting. Similarities are at once apparent in the style and content of the Coronation scenes carved on both tympana and of the large statues placed in the embrasures. The Saint-Thibault figures have been reset in modern times, as shown by the fresh cement under their bases. Although Viollet-le-Duc restored the doorway in the nineteenth century, there is no evidence that he changed the position of these or any of the other figures; however, it is possible that some restored parts of the figures are his unrecognized work. The proportions of the figures, both large and small, their soft, thick drapery, and their head types are nearly identical to those of Moutiers. So are the flat tubular folds of the garments, the swelling lines of drapery below the hips, the position of the feet, the gestures and the faces of the embrasure figures. The older bearded man and his youthful companion on the

79. Schmidt, review, p. 137.

80. Pierre Quarré, "Le Portail de Saint-Thibault et la sculpture bourguignonne du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle," *Bulletin Monumental* 123 (1965) pp. 181-192.

81. Pierre Quarré, "Les Statues de l'atelier de Rougemont," *The Year 1200: A Symposium* (The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1975) pp. 579-589.



FIGURE 22  
Saint-Thibault-en-Auxois, left embrasure (Hirmer)

right embrasure of Saint-Thibault must have served as models for the two large figures on the Moutiers door. The bishop on the left embrasure of Saint-Thibault has a bearded head very similar to that of the Moutiers bearded king (Figure 22). The same head type had been used earlier for the Saint James on the Le Mans door and was closely followed on the Saint Peter heads at Bordeaux and Chablis.

The four embrasure figures at Saint-Thibault have been reduced to two at Moutiers. Correspondingly, the two arches over the tympanum have been reduced to one. To fit the smaller space the trumeau figure and the carved lintel have been omitted. Of

the three pairs of angels on the Saint-Thibault tympanum only the kneeling pair bearing candlesticks have been retained; the two other pairs bearing censers and crowns have been placed in the voussours with an additional pair of cherubs (Figures 5, 6). These changes made it necessary to omit all the statuettes found in the voussours at Saint-Thibault. There was space to retain only four of the six forerunners of Christ by placing them in niches inserted in the piers flanking the door. The virtues and vices filling the inner arch at Saint-Thibault, and found on other Coronation doorways as well, had to be omitted entirely. The Saint-Thibault embrasure figures, like those on the Moutiers doorway, are almost too large for their positions, and Quarré has suggested that possibly they, as well as parts of the Coronation scene, were not made in situ at Saint-Thibault, but perhaps at nearby Semur. The same observation could be made about the two Moutiers kings. In fact, the Moutiers voussour angels are also tight for their settings, so that it seems to have been necessary to chisel away part of the canopies over the kings to fit them into position (Appendix 3). One must remember that on the Le Mans and Bordeaux doors the embrasure figures are also almost too large, and barely fit into their places. Probably, therefore, the master of Moutiers and Saint-Thibault was following the scale of figures used by the original master at Le Mans.

It is remarkable how similar the pairs of statuettes in the piers of the Moutiers doorway are to the pairs in the voussours of the Saint-Thibault doorway (Figure 20). Of the eight Moutiers statuettes seven seem to be modeled after those of Saint-Thibault and even the eighth shows some influence. On both doors the bottom left figures, with different attributes, seem to have had identical gestures. Overleaf, the figures are listed as they appear on the two doorways, from top to bottom.

#### THE STATUETTES IN THE PIERS

The small seated figures set into niches in vertical rows at either side of the doorway represent forerunners and ancestors of Christ and the Virgin. At Moutiers the choice of figures and their vertical

## Saint-Thibault voussoirs

LEFT SIDE	RIGHT SIDE
Simeon with Christ child	John the Baptist with disk of lamb of God to which he points
Abraham (?) with scroll	Melchizedek with chalice and loaf of bread
Jeremiah with cross	Nehemiah (?) with tower behind wall (of Jerusalem?)
Solomon (?) with sword (?) in left hand	David (?) with scepter in right hand
Aaron with breastplate	Moses with tablets of the law

## Moutiers pier statuettes

LEFT SIDE	RIGHT SIDE
John the Baptist (apparently)	Simeon with Christ child
Abraham and Isaac	Moses with serpent
David or Jeremiah	Solomon with tower of temple, or Nehemiah with tower of wall of Jerusalem
Elijah with raven	Melchizedek with altar

arrangement recall the tree of Jesse, an image inspired by a verse in Isaiah 11:1, "And there shall come forth a rod out of the stem of Jesse and a branch shall grow forth out of his roots." This verse is quoted several times in the New Testament in reference to Christ's ancestry, notably in Acts 13:23 and Romans 15:12.

The letter attributed to Jerome, read during the canonical hours of the Assumption of the Virgin states that: "The Mother of God ascended from the wilderness of the present life, the rod that once came forth out of the stem of Jesse (*virga de radice Jesse olim exorta.*)"<sup>82</sup> A sermon by Saint Bernard for Sunday within the octave of the Assumption also relates the Virgin to her illustrious ancestry: "She is sprung from a line of kings from the seed of Abraham, from the illustrious stalk of David. . . . She it is who was promised by Isaiah at one time under the image of 'the rod sprung forth out of the root of Jesse.'"<sup>83</sup>

In earlier Coronation doorways, the tree of Jesse appeared in the voussoirs of the arches around the tympanum. The figured niches in the piers at Moutiers must be regarded as a combination of two elements, rather than as an evolution from the Jesse tree alone. The other element is the series of life-size figures representing the spiritual forerunners of Christ. Five of the embrasure figures at Senlis reappear in the niche figures at Moutiers: Abraham, Moses, David, Solomon, and John the Baptist. These elements were brought together on the Moutiers door because its embrasures were too small to house more

than one pair of the large figures, and because the arch over the tympanum was too restricted to contain the usual Jesse tree statuettes.

The Moutiers statuettes are arranged as typological pairs but not in chronological order. These pairs are juxtaposed opposite each other, one on each pier. Some of the identifications are uncertain because of the mutilations. The bottom pair may be the prophet Elijah on the left, identified by the raven who brought him food, here placed in the arch above his head (Figure 23), and Melchizedek on the right, with an altar beside him that probably once supported a chalice. In 1961 Adolf Katzenellenbogen pointed out in a letter that "these two figures form a natural pair. Elijah, because of the raven bringing him bread, and Melchizedek with a chalice both refer to the two elements of the Eucharist." The Bible Moralisée of the thirteenth century says that as Elijah was fed by the ravens, so Christians are fed by Christ's body in his passion.<sup>84</sup> The prophet was among those who visited the Virgin prior to her death, ac-

82. The phrase "ascended from the wilderness" is based upon Song of Songs 8:5, a theological source for the Coronation. Katzenellenbogen, p. 59, note 20, quotes the passage from *Patrologia Latina* XXX, col. 134.

83. *Bernard's Sermons* 3, pp. 267, 268.

84. An illumination in the Bible Moralisée in Toledo (Lib. Bibl. del Cabildo, I, fol. 136), probably made for Louis IX and therefore contemporary with the Moutiers doorway, shows Elijah receiving food from the raven just above the Crucifixion. On fol. 168 the hand of Christ (Logos) in the clouds reaches toward the raven, which has a loaf in its beak before Elijah's cave.

according to early Greek apocryphal texts written before the time of John of Damascus, who adds that Elijah was raised only to the lower heavens whereas the Virgin's soul must have been raised to the highest heaven. Elijah's ascension was thought to foreshadow the Ascension of Christ.<sup>85</sup> Elijah was among the figures represented in small scale on the Senlis voussoirs.

Melchizedek, who blessed Abraham and gave him bread and wine (Gen. 14:18, 19), was an archetype of all priests and in particular of the priesthood of Christ,<sup>86</sup> as Saint Paul interpreted the following text (Ps. 110 [109]:4; Heb. 6:20; 7:11, 15–17, 21): "Thou

85. Sinding, pp. 11, 17, 18; Katzenellenbogen, p. 65. Although Elijah is rarely specifically identified in a Coronation scene, he definitely appears in one in a manuscript from Basel or Lausanne now in the Besançon library, no. 54, fol. 9.

86. Pope Innocent III in the thirteenth century cited Melchizedek to support his claim of supreme authority over all secular rulers. P. Kidson, *Sculpture at Chartres* (London, 1958) p. 34.

FIGURE 23  
Elijah, statuette in left Moutiers-Saint-Jean pier



FIGURE 24  
Solomon or Nehemiah, right pier

art a priest forever after the order of Melchizedek." Melchizedek appeared full-scale on Coronation doorways at Chartres and Saint-Nicolas of Amiens, and on the cathedrals of Amiens and Reims.

It would be normal to identify the next pair of figures as David on the left and Solomon on the right, the latter with a tower symbolic of the temple of Jerusalem, which he built (Figure 24). Although usually shown with a sword, Solomon carries a tower on the Coronation doorway at Laon as well as in some English manuscripts<sup>87</sup> and in a window in the choir of Wells Cathedral. He may appear, with tower, in small scale in the Senlis voussoirs. The temple prefigures the church as well as the mystical body of Christ, according to Isidore of Seville, Ruppert of

87. Psalters: Trinity College, Dublin, no. 53, fol. 7; British Library, Add. ms. 21926, fol. 25 v.; Pierpont Morgan Library G53, fol. 6; Bodleian Library, Rawl. G. 185, fol. 1; breviary in the Bodleian Library, Lat. liturg. d. 42, fol. 20.

Deutz, Walafriid Strabo, and Honorius of Autun,<sup>88</sup> and was an appropriate symbol for Solomon at Moutiers, since it also prefigured the Virgin, whose womb had been the tabernacle containing Christ.

Although one expects representations of David and Solomon, the most important ancestors of Christ, the two Moutiers statuette are closely related to a pair at Saint-Thibault, who, as they now appear, are definitely Jeremiah, holding a cross as on other Coronation doorways, and possibly Nehemiah bearing a crenelated tower within an outer wall, in token of his leadership in rebuilding the walls of Jerusalem. Nehemiah is garbed like a prophet with his mantle drawn up over his head. These two figures at Saint-Thibault definitely are not Old Testament kings, unless they were incorrectly restored by Viollet-le-

88. Reiner Hausscherr, "Templum Solomonis und Ecclesia Christi," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 31 (1968) pp. 101-121.

Duc in the mid-nineteenth century. Because of this difficulty one cannot say with absolute assurance that the mutilated figures at Moutiers are David and Solomon.

The third pair of pier statuette are Abraham sacrificing Isaac, and Moses (Figures 25, 26). Abraham looks up at the angel flying down above his right. The sacrificial ram stands below the angel, and Isaac, now headless, stands on the opposite side. At the side of Moses, the brazen serpent is wound around a colonette. Traces of horns remain on Moses' head, but his main attribute, which he held in his lap, probably the two tablets graven with the commandments, has been broken off. Both Abraham and Moses are Old Testament types of Christ crucified. Christ compared his sacrifice and its healing effect to the brazen serpent whom the Israelites looked upon to be cured of their wounds (John 3:14). Christ was also compared to Moses for his faithfulness (Heb. 3:2),

FIGURE 25  
Abraham sacrificing Isaac, left pier



FIGURE 26  
Moses and the brazen serpent, right pier





FIGURE 27  
John the Baptist, left pier

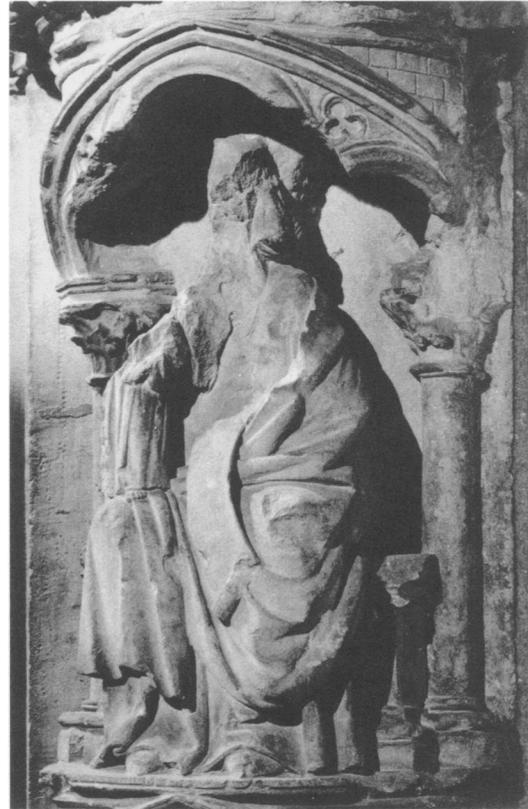


FIGURE 28  
Simeon and the Christ child, right pier

and it was believed that Moses had prophesied Christ's coming (Deut. 18:15; Acts 3:22). Abraham was blessed through his sacrifice as the father of an innumerable host, as by his sacrifice Christ was raised to the highest heaven and offered salvation to all who believed.

The top pair of statuettes are apparently John the Baptist on the left and Simeon and the Christ child on the right (Figures 27, 28). Perhaps John was given the place of honor on the dexter side of the door as a patron saint of Burgundy. John, barefoot as usual, was the last prophet and the immediate forerunner of Christ. In sign of his words "Behold the lamb of God," he probably once bore his attribute of a lamb carved on a disk. John called himself the friend of the bridegroom, or Christ (John 3:29), an implied metaphor of mystic marriage that Christ also used in the parable of the wise and foolish virgins.

Simeon holds the Christ child (now headless)

standing on his lap as he prophesies of Christ's mission and of the sword that was to pierce the Virgin's soul at the Crucifixion (Luke 2:25-35). In a Sunday sermon during the octave of the Assumption, Saint Bernard spoke of the martyrdom of Mary as foretold by Simeon.<sup>89</sup> Thus the figures in this pair are the last to foretell of Christ's and Mary's sacrifice and suffering.

The statuettes of the piers represent a continuity in the history of salvation fulfilled at the Coronation, Christ's divine acclamation of Mary and the church. Abraham and Moses were included by Saint Augustine among "the sons of promise and of grace" who lived in the period of time preceding John the Baptist.<sup>90</sup> Saint Jerome declares in commenting on Hosea 2:19, 20, that Christ married the church three times,

89. *Bernard's Sermons* 3, pp. 277, 278.

90. Katzenellenbogen, p. 52, note 34.

once in faithfulness in the person of Abraham, once by righteousness and the law on Mount Sinai through Moses, and once through grace and resurrection. The mystic marriage of Christ and the Virgin symbolized by these statuettes finds its fulfillment in the Coronation overhead.<sup>91</sup>

## THE TWO KINGS

One of the chief problems of the Moutiers doorway is the identification of the two large statues of kings in the embrasures. Are they Clovis and Clothar, claimed as the founders of the monastery on the evidence of the charters of 496 and 539? Or are they David and Solomon, the kings of Judah usually associated with a Coronation doorway?

Although the charters are now recognized as later forgeries, there is every reason to believe that they were considered authentic in the thirteenth century when the doorway was made.<sup>92</sup> Therefore the claim that the figures represent Clovis and Clothar, each holding a banderole representing the charters, cannot be dismissed as a mere invention of the seventeenth or eighteenth centuries when royal figures on church portals were usually considered Merovingian kings. As early as 1567, as we have seen, a local notary called them Clovis and Cotide. Although he obviously erred in calling the second male figure Cotide (Clotilde), the wife of Clovis, he must have been following current thought and traditional belief.

The charters could have been fabricated in the eleventh or twelfth centuries when the rising power of the French crown made it expedient and highly advantageous for a monastery to be a royal foundation. In 1005 an abbot of the monastery who was hostile to Robert I the Pious was deposed and replaced by a staunch king's man.<sup>93</sup> During the continuous wars of the eleventh century in the Auxois, religious houses were often sacked by local seigneurs and dukes, and there was urgent need for royal pro-



FIGURE 29  
So-called Childebert from trumeau of portal of former refectory, abbey of Saint-Germain-des-Prés, Paris, about 1240. Musée du Louvre, Paris (Hirmer)

91. Katzenellenbogen, pp. 62, 63.

92. This opinion is shared by M. Jean Rigault, head of the archives of the Côte-d'Or, as well as by his colleagues in Dijon.

93. Richard, pp. 67, 68; Petit, I, pp. 83, 365, 366.

tection.<sup>94</sup> King Robert himself gave a number of charters to Burgundian abbeys.<sup>95</sup> Apparently in search of such security, Moutiers, in 1189, associated the king with control of its rights over one of its dependencies, just as Cluny did when it allowed Saint-Thibault-en-Auxois to be placed under the crown.<sup>96</sup>

The practice of granting such charters was continued into the thirteenth century by Philip Augustus.<sup>97</sup> When the doorway was made in the mid-thirteenth century, Saint Louis was a frequent visitor to Burgundy. He often stayed at monasteries, some of which were under royal protection.<sup>98</sup> There is no record that Moutiers-Saint-Jean was one of them, perhaps because almost all of its documents, including the charters of foundation, were burnt or destroyed in wars. In any case the temptation must have been great in the thirteenth century for a wealthy monastery to seek royal protection, if only as a defense against the rapacious local nobility, who were trying to wrest revenues from churches and monasteries in preparation for the crusade proclaimed at Vézelay.<sup>99</sup> At the same time such exorbitant tithing was imposed by Rome that Louis himself, good churchman and crusader though he was, complained in 1247 to the papal legate, declaring that “the king cannot allow the churches of his kingdom founded by his ancestors to be spoiled” in this manner.<sup>100</sup>

What better way would there have been to lay claim to royal foundation, and thus to protection by the reigning king, than for a beleaguered monastery, such as Moutiers must have been, to place statues of its purported royal founders upon a doorway of its church? In so honoring its earliest royal patrons the monastery would be doing honor to their descendants, particularly to the reigning king, Saint Louis.<sup>101</sup>

94. Petit, I, pp. 164, 165.

95. Petit, I, pp. 341, 343, 349, 351, 354, 356.

96. Richard, pp. 183, 184. For the right to be the protector or guardian of a monastery, a lucrative honor eagerly sought by nobility, see Richard, pp. 72, 73, 183–198; and Petit, IV, pp. 152, 153.

97. Richard, p. 191.

98. Richard, pp. 183, 184, 191–195; *Reomaus*, p. 220.

99. Petit, IV, pp. 124, 128.

100. Petit, IV, p. 133.

101. It is not likely that the Moutiers statues alluded directly to Saint Louis as Louis IX or to his eldest son, d. 1260 at the age

The portrayal of French kings on the facades of Gothic churches, although rare before the fourteenth century, was not unknown. Twice on Notre-Dame, Paris, contemporary kings are shown. Louis VII kneels before the Virgin and Child on the tympanum of the right portal of the west facade, and Saint Louis and his queen, Margaret of Provence, kneel on either side of the Coronation on the Porte Rouge of Notre-Dame (Figure 14).<sup>102</sup> On the inner face of the south transept of Saint-Denis the seated figure of Dagobert as founder of the abbey was re-erected in the thirteenth century.<sup>103</sup> Another royal figure, the so-called Childebert, comes from the trumeau of the refectory door of the royal abbey of Saint-Germain-des-Prés, of which he was the legendary founder. This statue, now in the Louvre, is of the same type as the Moutiers kings, although executed with the mannered elegance of the Ile-de-France (Figure 29).

The galleries of kings on the upper facades of Chartres, Paris, Amiens, and Reims have never been satisfactorily identified; some of them at least may represent kings of the Capetian dynasty rather than of the Old Testament.<sup>104</sup> Georgia Wright believes that French kings were represented on the north transept portal of Saint-Denis, and that the mid-thirteenth-century erection of tombs with effigies of former French kings within the abbey was in part to draw attention to the privileges granted the abbey by the kings of France.<sup>105</sup> A similar motive perhaps existed at Moutiers-Saint-Jean. These arguments for identifying the Moutiers kings are hypothetical, but it cannot be said that French kings could not appear on such a doorway.

However, there is a strong case for identifying the Moutiers kings as David and Solomon, preminent

of seventeen. The older figure does not follow the facial type of Louis, nor does the youthful figure follow the type seen on the funeral effigy of his son, Louis of France. Sauerländer, *Skulptur*, p. 170, pl. 272.

102. Sauerländer, *Skulptur*, pp. 88, 170, pls. 40, 271.

103. Described above; see note 60.

104. Gerhard Schmidt, “Bemerkungen zur Königsgalerie der Kathedrale von Reims,” *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 25 (1972) pp. 96–106, esp. pp. 105, 106; Katzenellenbogen, pp. 27–34; Sauerländer, *Skulptur*, p. 35, pls. 106, 107, 161, 258, 260, 261, 262, 264, 265.

105. Wright, “A Royal Tomb Program,” pp. 224–243.

among the royal ancestors of Christ, who were closely, even intimately, associated with the Coronation of the Virgin, appearing often on Coronation doorways both in the Jesse tree and full-scale on the embrasures among the Old Testament forerunners. As the foretold messiah of the line of David, born in Bethlehem, the city of David, Christ was to occupy the throne of David and Solomon forever. Christ was compared by himself and his followers to both: David was known for his humility as Christ was born and lived in humility, and Solomon, as the personification of wisdom and justice, was the precursor of Christ, who exemplified divine wisdom.

If the Moutiers kings are indeed David and Solomon, they have several unusual features. They carry scrolls instead of their usual attributes, the harp for David and the sword for Solomon. However, at Senlis, David carries a scroll and three nails, in reference to the Crucifixion. The scrolls at Moutiers could have contained prophecies of Christ. On most Coronation doorways, Solomon is paired with the queen of Sheba, who usually stands next to him.<sup>106</sup> However, he and David appear without Sheba at Reims on corresponding piers and at Villeneuve-l'Archevêque alongside each other.

Less typical of Solomon would be his portrayal at Moutiers as a beardless youth, garbed more simply than his father, a seeming contradiction to his later magnificence. Yet a beardless Clothar would also be atypical, to judge by his bearded effigy from Saint-Médard, Soissons, whose head is now in the Musée Municipal.<sup>107</sup> Perhaps the intent was to distinguish father from son. As father, David or Clovis is given the place of honor on the dexter side of the door. On the Le Mans doorway Solomon is apparently beardless, wearing the same garment as the beardless figure thought to be Solomon on the Saint-Thibault doorway.

Another example of a bearded king and his beardless son is found in Montfaucon's drawings of two tomb plaques of Clothar and his son Sigebert, originally in the crypt of Saint-Médard, Soissons. Here the beardless Sigebert is placed at the spectator's right, while his bearded father has the heraldic place of honor opposite.<sup>108</sup> As founder and builder of the church, each holds a model of the building.

In their gestures and costume accessories, as well,

the Moutiers kings are related to other statues of David and Solomon and of bearded and beardless types. On the tympanum of the Porte des Bleds at Semur, by the same workshop, a bearded king wears a purse at his belt and flexes his right leg slightly, as does the bearded Moutiers king (Figure 19). Moreover, this figure has the gestures of the beardless king, pointing downward with one hand and holding his mantle strap with the other upturned hand.

There is the possibility that both attributions are correct—that the Moutiers kings represent Clovis and Clothar under the guise of David and Solomon. Close comparisons between the reigning French kings and David and Solomon were frequent, customarily found in the prayers said at coronations and in eulogies.<sup>109</sup> Such double identities may be implied in some of the kings decorating the royal portals of Saint-Denis and Chartres, as Ernst Kitzinger and Katzenellenbogen have proposed. The Old Testament kings of Saint-Denis could be considered not only forerunners of Christ but also of French kings “who are honored in the image of Old Testament personalities.”<sup>110</sup> There may be a similar implied association between David and Solomon and French royalty on the Coronation portal of Villeneuve-l'Archevêque which, like Moutiers, dates from the time of Saint Louis, who played an important role in connection with the church.<sup>111</sup>

The Moutiers kings are especially close to the

106. Among these: Nesle-la-Reposte; Notre-Dame at Dijon; west portal of Saint-Bénigne at Dijon; Château-Chalon; Saint-Nicolas at Amiens; Germigny-l'Exempt; Saint-Pierre at Nevers; north portal, right side of Chartres Cathedral; west portal of Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois at Paris; west portal, right side of Amiens Cathedral; west portal, center of Reims Cathedral. Sauerländer, *Skulptur*, pp. 54, 74, 75, 105, 106, 112, 118, 138, 158; pls. 92, 157, 166, 204, 205; figs. 9, 24, 43, 45, 53; Quarré, “Notre-Dame de Dijon,” pp. 310, 312.

107. Erlange-Brandenburg, pp. 137, 138, figs. 68, 69.

108. In a statue placed above his tomb, however, Sigebert was bearded. Erlange-Brandenburg, pp. 54, 55, 119, 137, 138, figs. 63, 65, 66.

109. Hans Reinhardt, *La Cathédrale de Reims* (Paris, 1963) p. 216. Charlemagne was called “the new Solomon,” an ascription repeated for his successors Louis the Pious, Charles the Bald, and Lothar. In a twelfth-century manuscript Henry VI is seated on Solomon's throne with twelve lions and the inscription *sedes sapientiae*. I. H. Forsyth, *Throne*, pp. 80, 90, fig. 23.

110. Katzenellenbogen, pp. 28–30.

111. Sauerländer, *Skulptur*, pp. 149, 150; pls. 178, 179.



FIGURE 30  
Saint-Thibault-en-Auxois, right embrasure (Archives  
Photographiques)

bearded and beardless secular figures on the right embrasure of the Coronation doorway at Saint-Thibault (Figure 30).<sup>112</sup> In fact, in their general style and appearance, their proportions, their postures, the positions of their feet, and their heads they resemble each other enough to give the impression that they represent the same persons. Similarities extend to such minute details as the way they hold their mantle straps by one finger, and their scrolls, rolled up so that the centers have the same tight knobs. Their thumbnails even have the same shapes. As at Moutiers, the Saint-Thibault bearded figure carries a scroll and raises one hand as if to hold the strap across his chest, although he wears no mantle. One suspects that both strap and gesture are hangovers from an

earlier model. The bearded figure of Christ in the Saint-Thibault Coronation is as similar to the Moutiers Christ as these four embrasure figures are to one another.

In spite of their many resemblances, however, it is not certain that the Moutiers and Saint-Thibault figures represent the same persons. The Saint-Thibault figures are not crowned,<sup>113</sup> and there are slight differences in costume, both of which imply that they were of lower rank. Moreover, they are not really portraits, but merely types. The beardless young figure at Saint-Thibault originally wore a sword, if one can judge by traces of the handle and scabbard and of the strap over his right shoulder, but the sword alone without a crown does not serve to identify him as Solomon.

The drapery and coiffures of the Moutiers figures are more carefully carved than those of Saint-Thibault, as are the architectural elements of the Moutiers doorway. These differences, however, are not marked enough to imply different hands in the workshop. The same master could have made both sets of figures at different times, under different conditions. One can conclude that all four figures were produced by the same workshop using the same models from its repertory. These models appear to be related to the types of royal figures then current in the Ile-de-France, including those of Clovis and Clothar.

A clue to such a model as the bearded kings imply may be found in a series of figures from the facade of the nunnery church at Rougemont, an abbey that was dependent on Moutiers-Saint-Jean. In spite of damages, these figures show a stylistic relationship to those of Saint-Thibault and Moutiers. Although the Rougemont figures are by a different master, the types of their heads, most of which have been broken off, are basically similar to those of Saint-Thibault, Semur, and Moutiers.

One headless figure resembles the Moutiers

112. Quarré, "Saint-Thibault," pp. 184, 185, suggests that the Moutiers figures represent kings of Judah.

113. The crowns now worn by the Moutiers kings and those worn in the 1897 photographs are modern, but the bottom edge of a still earlier crown base can be seen on Clothar's head. One may assume by their original coiffures that the two figures were originally crowned.

bearded king in his stance, in his mantle falling straight down on both sides, and in his inner garment, similarly girdled with a purse attached, its tie-strings carefully carved (Figure 21). There are traces of a scroll on his right side. Quarré identifies this Rougemont figure with the king whom Dom Plancher described in the eighteenth century as “holding a large scroll opened that falls down halfway on his legs.”<sup>114</sup> Plancher indicates that this figure was paired with that of a queen and that both figures had “the finger of the right hand beneath the strap of their mantle, which hangs down the back and is fastened in front at the neck.”

Might this figure and its mate at Rougemont have represented Solomon and the queen of Sheba? This

FIGURE 31

Saint-Germain-l’Auxerrois, Paris, left embrasure of west portal, about 1220–30 (Hirmer)



hypothesis suggests as a possible iconographic source for the Burgundian figures at Rougemont, Saint-Thibault, and Moutiers, the pairs of Solomon and Sheba sculptures on earlier French doorways, including the right doorway of the north transept portal of Chartres, the left doorway of the west portal of Saint-Germain-l’Auxerrois in Paris (Figure 31), the right doorway of the west facade of Amiens, and the two figures on the projecting piers flanking the central doorway of the west facade of Reims.<sup>115</sup> In these pairs the queen of Sheba holds the side of her open mantle with one hand and usually wears a purse hanging from her belt. Solomon and Sheba probably represent Old Testament types of sponsus and sponsa, the mystic bridegroom and bride celebrated in the Song of Songs, whose imagery influenced Coronation iconography.

The Reims David, wearing a heavily curled beard, holds his mantle strap and stands next to a more lightly bearded Solomon. On the other side of the doorway next to Sheba is the figure with the Odysseus head, with very curly hair, and a tightly curled beard. This head has been discussed above as the archetype of the Burgundian bearded heads of the group. At Chartres a Solomon standing next to Sheba also has a head type very close to some in Burgundy, although the type may have been brought to Chartres from Reims. The Chartres Solomon apparently held his mantle strap with one finger and the Sheba grasps hers and holds her cloak with the other hand. Both wear open mantles. Both the Reims and the Chartres Solomons seem to have influenced the figures of Moutiers.

It seems quite possible that the substitution of David for Sheba at Saint-Thibault and Moutiers occurred as a result of a juxtaposition and condensation of the figures at Reims.<sup>116</sup> At Reims and Saint-Thibault, David seems to have originally grasped his

114. Quarré, “Rougemont,” p. 581.

115. Sauerländer, *Skulptur*, pls. 92, 157, 166, 204, 205.

116. Quarré, “Saint-Thibault,” pp. 188, 191, does not believe that Sheba was omitted at Saint-Thibault; he identifies her as the elderly, heavily coiffed, uncrowned woman opposite the bearded man and youth, who may be David and Solomon. The bishop next to her may represent Aaron. If Sheba, the figure is unique in its matronly, nonregal aspect and has no relation to other Sheba figures. Quarré, pp. 186–188, is surely right to reject the

mantle strap by his forefinger; the bearded heads at Moutiers and Saint-Thibault are reminiscent of the Reims David and Odysseus; and the figure of Sheba at Reims holds the side of her cloak and wears the hanging purse as does Solomon at Moutiers. It is as if the Reims Odysseus head were transferred to the statue of Sheba, creating the Moutiers David, and as if the Solomon's head at Reims were transferred to the adjacent statue of David and the light beard removed, to create the Moutiers Solomon. Although this parallelism should not be forced, the affiliations of the Moutiers kings and those of Saint-Thibault and Rougemont to earlier statues of David, Solomon, and Sheba serve to strengthen the identification of the Moutiers kings as David and Solomon.

However, the convention of holding the mantle strap and the side of the cloak was by no means confined to David, Solomon, and Sheba. It was especially common at Reims, but it had been used earlier at Chartres and is also found on earlier royal figures, including the effigy of Clovis, now in Saint-Denis, whose purse hangs from his belt; the statues of Clothar and Sigebert at Saint-Médard, Soissons; the figure of the so-called Childebert from Saint-Germain-des-Prés, Paris, now in the Louvre; and the later effigy of Robert the Pious, also at Saint-Denis.<sup>117</sup>

## FINAL COMPARISONS AND DATING

Reims seems to have played an important role in the development of thirteenth-century Burgundian sculpture and of the Moutiers group in particular, but its influence appears to have been mediated to a large extent through Chartres and Sens. The Le Mans doorway, the key monument from which the Burgundian sculptures of the Moutiers doorway derive their style, shows just such mixed influences

identification of the four figures as Robert II, duke of Burgundy, his wife, his heir, and his episcopal advisor, all of whom died some fifty years after the construction of the doorway. For this earlier interpretation, Mme. Lefrançoise-Pillion, "L'Eglise de Saint-Thibault-en-Auxois et ses oeuvres de sculpture," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 1 (1922) pp. 137-157.

117. Sauerländer, *Skulptur*, pp. 57, 149, pl. 175. The gesture is common to many thirteenth-century royal figures. Erlande-Brandenburg, figs. 28, 35, 37, 40, 55, 56, 66, 70-76, 101, 133-139, 141, 147-155, 157-159.

from Reims, Chartres, and Sens in both its sculpture and its architecture. The iconography of the Moutiers doorway is not wholly dependent upon Senlis and the possible inspiration of Abbot Suger of Saint-Denis, but shows the same mixed influences.

Quarré is surely correct in distinguishing, despite many resemblances, the work of the Rougemont master from the somewhat finer work of the Moutiers master on the portals of Moutiers, Semur, and Saint-Thibault. The similar geometric ornament around the bases of the figures at Bordeaux and of the piers at Moutiers appears more modestly on the bottom of the liturgical vestments worn by statues of Saint Stephen on the Saint-Thibault door, Aaron at Rougemont, and the Chablis bishop at The Cloisters. Again the master of the Le Mans doorway is probably the common source. Earlier, similar ornament had appeared on the bottom of a doorway at Sens, whose architecture, through Le Mans, may have been a source for the Moutiers door. Later, the same ornament appeared in larger scale on the west facade of Auxerre where one finds a Coronation scene similar to Moutiers.

The style of the tympanum and the voussoirs on the so-called Porte des Bleds, the north transept portal of the collegiate church of Semur-en-Auxois, is close enough to that of Saint-Thibault and Moutiers to be ascribed to the same workshop and probably in large part to the same master. The proportions of the heavy-set figures, their drapery folds, the types of their rectangular heads, their coiffures, and their stances are similar. Specific details, trademarks of the workshop, link Semur to Moutiers. The God the Father at the apex of the Semur tympanum (Figure 19) and the seated Christ of Moutiers each wear a thickly folded cloak over the left shoulder and around the front in exactly the same way, a mannerism repeated on the statuettes in the pier niches of Moutiers. The same dark lines indicate the feathers on the angels' wings at the top of the Semur tympanum and on the Moutiers voussoir angels. These lines are also found on at least one of the Wellesley spandrels. The same flattened trefoil arches ornament the canopies of the voussoirs of both doorways, and exuberant foliage is used around the tympanum and on the voussoirs of Semur as at Moutiers. The left corbel under the tympanum at Saint-Thibault is

decorated with the same type of windblown leaf as the right embrasure of Moutiers.

One expects that the Moutiers doorway would have some relationship to the portal of the west facade of Notre-Dame, Dijon, which has been called the earliest Gothic sculptural ensemble in Burgundy. Unfortunately, the sculptures on the three doorways of this facade were systematically chipped off in the Revolution except for a very few fragments. The central tympanum, a Coronation, shows only that the figures of Christ and the Virgin are reversed from the more usual position as followed at Moutiers. The architecture of the church at Semur, however, does show a dependency upon Dijon work, at least in parts of the structure earlier than the Porte des Bleds, which is by the Moutiers workshop. The same type of corbeled heads as at Dijon and Semur are found at Saint-Thibault in the chapel of Saint Giles, just inside the doorway made by the Moutiers workshop, where one sees the same trefoil arches with soft torus moldings, the same kind of leafy vine growing horizontally as on the bottom edge of the Moutiers tympanum, and much the same sort of leafy capitals as at Moutiers. The stocky figures and facial types common to both masters are found on an altar frontal of Saint Peter from the Sainte-Chapelle of Dijon, now in the museum of Dijon. These figures are closer to those of the Rougemont master but the seated Christ carries the same type of disk as on the Moutiers doorway. One cannot, therefore, deny the possibility that the Moutiers master, along with the Rougemont master, had some connection with Dijon, despite the difference in the Coronation iconography of Dijon and Moutiers.

A comparison with other monuments, as well as the sequence of style of the workshop, makes it reasonable to date the Moutiers doorway about the middle of the thirteenth century when the monastery seems to have reached the zenith of its power, before the severe economic decline that became so acute by 1289 that the pope authorized the abbot of Moutiers to take the revenues of a dependent priory for five years to pay its debts.<sup>118</sup> The doorway could well have been a part of the general rebuilding of the monastery, which must have been going on by October 1257, when Hugues, viscount of Tonnerre and of Quincy-le-Vicomte, left a bequest of 100 sols

“for the works of the church of Saint-Jean of Réôme” (Appendix 1). Another document that points to building activity at this time is the entry in an obituary of the monastery, datable about 1250, which lists Pierre de Sarrigny, a monk of Moutiers, as leaving thirty pounds for the construction of a new kitchen (Appendix 1). Because of the relation of the Moutiers doorway to those at Saint-Thibault, Semur, and Rougemont, it is of interest that in his will Hugues also left monies to these places for construction work, and that the abbot of Moutiers was listed first of the executors of the will. Another local family of note who were active as donors during the doorway’s construction and who could have aided in its costs were seigneurs of the château of Epoisses, only a few miles away.<sup>119</sup>

## CONCLUSIONS

The Moutiers doorway was certainly by a regional master who must have stood at or near the top of his profession in mid-thirteenth-century Burgundy. Burgundian Gothic architecture first appeared in the second decade of the thirteenth century, paralleling the development of Gothic sculpture in Burgundy, and, like the sculpture, it seems to have reached a culmination about the middle of the century.<sup>120</sup> The unusual iconography of the door, particularly of the tympanum, points to an original scholarly mind, perhaps to one of the monks of the abbey, who could have planned its program.

The master seems to have done most of his work in the Auxois, and to have had close connections with the master of the sculpture at Rougemont, long a dependency of Moutiers-Saint-Jean. Both were at least partly influenced by the master of the Le Mans doorway. Yet their work has a distinctly provincial Burgundian flavor, different from Le Mans. It is possible that both masters had connections with the Dijon workshops that had already produced the sculpture on the facades of Saint-Bénigne and Notre-

118. Petit, IV, pp. 148, 520.

119. Moutiers had a priory at Epoisses; Petit, IV, p. 476; *Reomaus*, p. 271.

120. Branner, *Architecture*, pp. 8, 60, 62.

Dame. Although these sculptures have almost entirely disappeared, Quarré has noted that head types on corbels in Dijon, Semur, and Saint-Thibault have a family resemblance indicative of a relationship between Dijon and the Auxois.<sup>121</sup> It is puzzling that the Coronation iconography on the tympanum of Notre-Dame differs from the Moutiers Coronation, but this difference may mean only that the Moutiers master had connections outside of Burgundy, as in the case

of the Le Mans sculptures. After all, the great centers of Reims and Sens were not too distant, and the Senlis type, too, appears to be related to the Moutiers Coronation. One of the finest remaining pieces of Burgundian architectural sculpture, the doorway suggests what has been lost in the destruction of the great sculptural ensembles that once decorated the portals of Saint-Bénigne and Notre-Dame in Dijon.

## Appendix 1

### THE CHARTERS

Modern scholarship has accepted the opinion of Pertz that both the charters supposedly granted Moutiers-Saint-Jean by Clovis and Clothar are spurious.<sup>122</sup> They may have been composed in the eleventh or twelfth centuries. The charters are given by a number of authors, including Father Royer, who copied them in 1637 from the cartulary then at the abbey. Pérard, dean of the *Chambre des Comptes*, Dijon, claimed to have transcribed them from an original manuscript there, which has also disappeared. The charters were cited in 1324 to claim guardianship rights for King Charles IV.<sup>123</sup>

In the charter said to have been issued at Reims, December 29, 479, Clovis is recorded as granting to Jean de Réôme for Reomaus (later Moutiers-Saint-Jean) in the countship of Tonnerre as much land as could be ridden around in a day on an ass and to have exempted the monks from all taxes and levies:

Chlodoveus rex Francorum, vir illustris. . . . Quapropter notum sit omnibus episcopis abbatibus et illustribus viris . . . per nostrum regnum discurrentibus . . . quia dominus Ioannes clarus virtutibus locellum suum, in pago Tornotrinsie [Tonnerre] sub regula beati Macarii ad habitationem monachorum constructum, qui Reomaus vocatur . . . ut sub nostra emunitate et mundiburdio nostrorumque successorum regum semper maneat. Propterea et nos ipsum peculiarem patronum nostrum . . . taliter honoravimus, ut quantumcumque suo asino sedens una die circa locum suum nobis traditum et commendatum de nostris fisis circuisset, perpetuo per nostram regalem munificentiam habeat. . . . Monachis vero ibidem per diversas cellu-

las manentibus seu mansuris omnia necessaria secundum numerum, quo fuerint, a nobis et successoribus nostris regibus ex censu nostro regio praebeantur; ideoque has litteras, manu nostra firmatas, ipsi nostro patrono domino Ioanni dedimus. . . . Signum Chlodovei, regis Francorum. Datum sub die quarto Kalendas Ianuarias. Indictione quinta. Actum Remis civitate . . . anno Chlodovei XVI.<sup>124</sup>

In the charter said to have been issued at Soissons, February 22, 539, Clothar confirms the monastery in the rights and privileges granted by his father:

Chlotarius rex Francorum, vir illustris. . . . Igitur notum sit omnibus, quoniam, sicut divae memoriae genitor noster Clodoveus monasterium domni patroni nostri Ioanni ex dono ipsius sub sua emunitate recepit, tenuit et honoravit . . . ita et nos venerabilem Silvestrum, abbatem ipsius loci et domni Ioannis nostri generis peculiaris patroni et oratoris, discipulum ac successorem . . . recipimus et revocamus, decernentes ut semper sub nobis et regibus nostris successoribus tam abbas quam monachi . . . semper maneant et abbatem ex suis constituent, nullasque requisitiones nec nos nec publici iudices ab ipso loco vel a dominis

121. Pierre Quarré, "Le Visage humain dans la sculpture monumentale du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle en Bourgogne," *Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire de l'art français* (23 April 1967) pp. 7–12.

122. G. H. Pertz, *Monumenta germaniae historica. Diplomatum imperii I* (Hannover, 1872) "Diplomata Spuria," pp. 113, 114, 125, 126.

123. Estienne Pérard, *Recueil de plusieurs pièces curieuses servant à l'histoire de Bourgogne* (Paris, 1664) p. 1; Plancher, II, pp. 172, 173.

124. Pertz, pp. 113–114.

eiusdem monasterii requiramus. . . . Signum incliti regis Chlotari. . . . Datum sub die VIII. Kalendas Martii. Anno V. regni nostri. Actum Suessionis civitatis.<sup>125</sup>

## BEQUESTS

Bequests of Hugues, viscount of Tonnerre and seigneur of Quincy-le-Vicomte, October 1257:

. . . Item, operi ecclesiae Sancti Johannis de Reome [Moutiers-Saint-Jean] C solidos.

. . . Item, operibus ecclesiarum Sancti Theobaldi, beate Marie Sinemuri, beate Marie Rubeimontis quibuslibet XL sol [churches of Saint-Thibault, Semur, and Rougemont].

. . . Volo autem et percipio quod omnia debita mea quod legitime prelibari poterunt . . . et omnia que injuste rapui vel extorsi . . . in primis de mobilibus meis per viros et religiosos Reomaenses et Fontenetenses abbates et per nobilem virum . . . quod hujus mei testamenti executores constituo.<sup>126</sup>

From the obituary and martyrology of Moutiers-Saint-Jean:

Januarius X kal. Petrus de Sarrigne, monachus, qui dedit XXXa libras, que misse fuerunt in opere nove coquine.<sup>127</sup>

DEVASTATION OF MOUTIERS-SAINT-JEAN, October 1, 1567

Report by the bailiff and notary “of the parts and seigneuries” of Moutiers-Saint-Jean, October 17, 1567:

Nicolas ordin licencier es droits, bailly et juge ordinaire des partes et seigneuries de Moustier St. Jean. Scavoir faisons que nous étans été adverty que plusieurs personnes armez de bastons à feu et autres en nombre de sept cent tant de pied que de cheval . . . par force et violence avoient entré en l’abbaye dud. Moustier St. Jean . . . et en icelle avoient rompu les reliques images chasses et autres, pris et emporté les orfevrees, argenteries, titres et ornements d’Eglise, pilliez les meubles de bois . . . ce jourhuy dix septieme jour dud. mois d’octobre mil cinq cent soixante sept nous sommes transportez aud. Moustier St. Jean pour en informer. . . . De la sommes allez en l’Eglise dicelle abbaye . . . au portal de l’eglise devant led. cloitre nous a apparu que les deux statues de Roys Clouïs et Cotide qui sont elevés de costé et d’autre dud. portail ont les tetes abbatues, et pardessus autres petites statues et images qui étoient aud. portail rompus. . . .<sup>128</sup>

## REQUEST TO NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

13 mars matin: Sursis à la vente de l’église abbatiale de Moutier-Saint-Jean, que la municipalité demande d’affecter au service paroissial (liasse 33, fol. 61 [Régistre] 1791).

13 déc. matin: . . . échangé demandé de l’église paroissiale de Moutier-Saint-Jean contre l’abbatiale, à étudier par le District de Semur. (Envoi à l’Assemblée nationale de cette demande d’échange avec proposition de rendre un décret conforme étant reconnu que l’église paroissiale est très ancienne, trop petite et à l’extrémité du bourg. 26 mai 1792) (liasse 40, fol. 147).<sup>129</sup>

125. Pertz, pp. 125–126.

126. Petit, IV, pp. 416, 446, 447, doc. no. 2916.

127. Petit, I, p. 369; original in municipal library of Semur-en-Auxois, ms. no. 24.

128. Ms. in Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Fonds Bourgogne

9, fols. 126, 127; excerpts copied from microfilm in Archives Départementales of the Côte-d’Or, Dijon.

129. *Inventaire sommaire des archives départementales de la Côte-d’Or, postérieures à 1789. Période Révolutionnaire, série L*, ed. Ferdinand Claudon (Dijon, 1913) pp. 191, 317.

## Appendix 2

### TWO SPANDRELS FROM MOUTIERS

That the Moutiers doorway was part of a larger building program is suggested by the documents of 1250 and 1257 and more clearly indicated in the 1898 photograph (Figure 3) by the two spandrels embedded in the blocked opening. Tania Bayard is undoubtedly correct in suggesting that these spandrels (Figures 32, 33), stylistically similar to the doorway, came from the adjoining cloister.<sup>130</sup> Their shape and the moldings at their sides and tops show

130. *Transformations of the Court Style: Gothic Art in Europe, 1270 to 1330* (exhibition catalogue, Rhode Island School of Design, Providence, 1977) p. 26; see also pp. 26, 27, entry by Joan Holladay.

that they were spring blocks of double arcades topped by an oculus, similar to the arcades used in the cloister walk as it appeared in the 1689 engraving (Figure 2). Their comparatively fresh surface shows that they were never exposed to the weathering they would have received as part of the outer face of the cloister arcade. Bayard has suggested that they could have come from the garth wall on the inner side of the walk, above the tomb of Bernard II, the abbot

FIGURE 33

Saint Michael overcoming the dragon, spandrel from Moutiers-Saint-Jean. Wellesley College Museum, Rogers Fund, 1949.26 (photo: H. Edelstein)

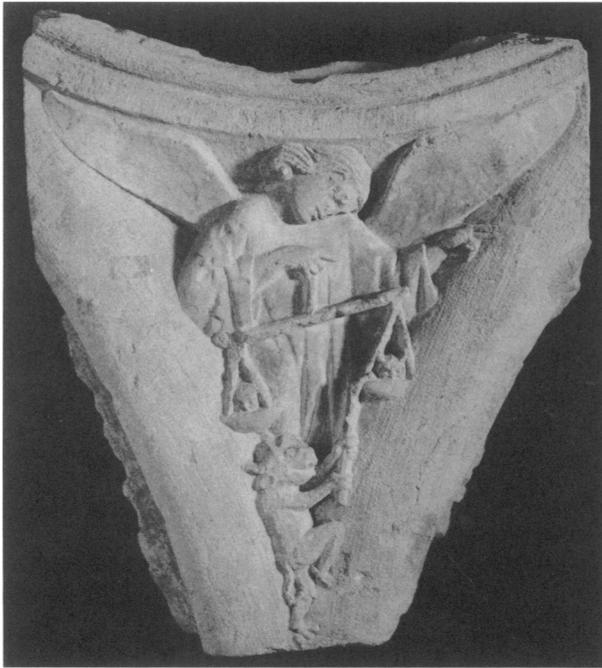
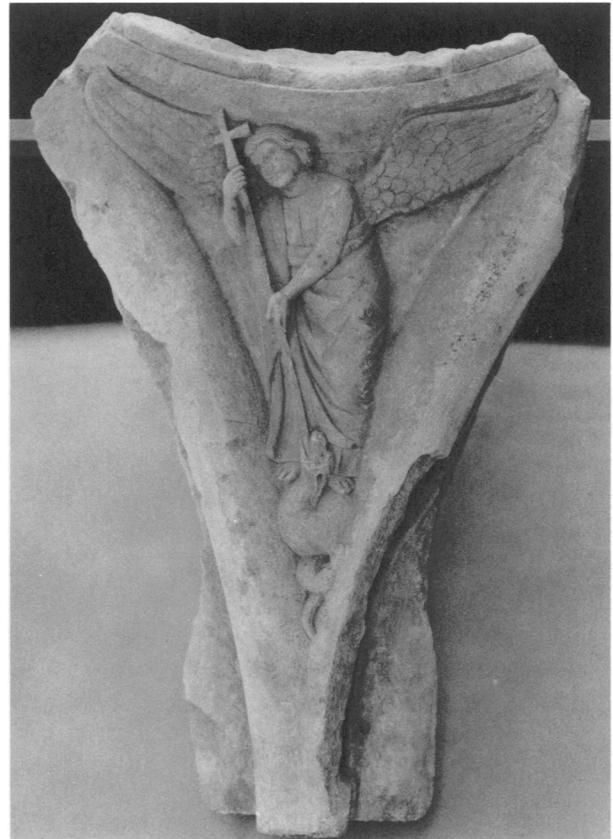


FIGURE 32

Saint Michael weighing a soul, spandrel from Moutiers-Saint-Jean. Wellesley College Museum, Rogers Fund, 1949.25 (photo: Herbert P. Vose)



from 1109 to 1133, who initiated the rebuilding of the church and was buried in the cloister. Here they could have been part of a wall arcade following the form of the free-standing arcades on the outer walls of the cloister walk.

The two figures of Saint Michael carved on the spandrels would have been appropriate to such a tomb. They are quite similar to the angels in the vousoirs of the doorway in their stocky proportions and drapery folds, and their wings are painted with dark lines. Their heads are comparable to those of the large kings, but unlike the kings' heads, they seem to be unrestored, thus giving evidence of the relation of the kings to other sculptures by the doorway workshop. The Saint Michael heads are comparable to heads on the tympana of the Semur and Saint-Thibault doorways, and they show a relationship to the heads by the Rougemont master on the altar frontal of the Sainte-Chapelle of Dijon, now in the Dijon Museum, as well as to several other sculp-

tures by the master in the Musée Lapidaire of Vézelay. In one spandrel (Figure 33) Michael's left arm is held in the same way as the arm of the Moutiers king on the right door jamb (Figure 11), and his sleeve has similar proportions. His drapery formula, with the folds of the cloak looped low on one side, appears on the Rougemont Saint Andrew and on the earlier Saint Peter of the Le Mans doorway.

Although different in size because of breakage, these spandrels may be considered a pair because of their similar scale and subject matter. There is only a half-inch difference in the wing span of the two Saint Michaels. The spandrels as well as the two kings were once owned by Demotte, Inc., and were sold in 1949 at the auction of Joseph Brummer's estate to the Wellesley College Art Museum. I am indebted to Ann Gabhart, director of the museum, for information about the spandrels and for the photographs I reproduce.

## Appendix 3

### CONDITION OF DOORWAY

The doorway is composed of a fine-grained limestone with crinoid stems, of the Early Middle Jurassic period ("un fin calcaire à entroques du Bajocien") that must have come from a quarry in the region of Dijon.<sup>131</sup> Like other Gothic monuments, it was originally painted, as in Greek and Roman architectural sculpture, in contrasting colors that enlivened the sculpture and also helped to differentiate parts of the figures from each other and from their backgrounds. Blues, reds, and gold (gilding) seem to have been the main hues, at least on the tympanum. Browns and blacks were used as borders of clothing and to delineate the feathers of the angels' wings. Wide haloes were painted around the heads of Christ

and the Virgin. The various parts of the architecture must have been similarly differentiated from each other. Shades of red and black accentuated the moldings of the tympanum and of the thrones of Christ and the Virgin. The carvings on the capitals were painted in different colors from those used on the background. Though only traces of these colors remain by which to judge the brilliance of the original, one can be sure that every part of the doorway was covered with such color.

Both Joseph Brummer and Jean Peslier, who sold the door to him, reported that the pier statuette of the second niche from the bottom on the right was found buried in the ground in front of the portal. The statue was missing in the photograph published in 1897 by Chabeuf. Its burial would account for its pitted surface.

131. According to Professor Tintant, Faculté des Sciences de la Terre, University of Dijon (transl. by Professor Erling Dorf).

Rudolf Meyer, master restorer at The Cloisters, wonders whether the top part of the tympanum is original, since the surfacing of the stone is different, the foliage is not so precisely carved, and the background shows no carving at all, so that the rest of the haloes must have been painted, not carved in relief.<sup>132</sup> These inconsistencies might have been due to the work of a different hand or to a partial reconstruction or repair of the church or the cloister.

There have been restorations at different times to the two large kings' faces, particularly that of the young king, as well as to their necks, feet, and bases. Early repairs must have been made after the sack of 1567 when the heads were knocked off. Further mutilation may have occurred in the two subsequent sacks and during the Revolution. In two late nineteenth-century photographs taken in the Ohresser garden at Moutiers, the kings wear restored crowns. In the photograph published by Chabeuf in 1897, as Meyer notes, "restorations seem to have been restricted to the necks, the legs, and the scrolls." The faces do not yet seem to have been restored, but Meyer adds that "major constructional devices must have already been attached to the backs" to give the support that the figures must have needed even when they stood in the door. Because of their size, Chabeuf thought that they did not come from the doorway. Later, the heads were remounted on the wrong bodies, as one can see in photographs published in the sale catalogue of the Michel Manzi collection in 1919. One may presume that Demotte, an art dealer too well known for such "improvements," was responsible for this change as well as for "the many restorations of this period done in stone for which the original surface had to be cut even and holes for iron dowels drilled" (Meyer).

The next round of restorations noted by Rorimer<sup>133</sup> "were for the most part added at the direction of Duveen Brothers, such as the two modern crowns (now just set on top of the heads), the fingers, pieces

of drapery, etc." Rorimer thought that the iron bars he found cemented into the backs were installed by Duveen, but Meyer believes that such supports would have been necessary when the statues were first set up independently. Meyer also believes that during this period "the statues were extensively beautified. Former restorations were replaced, new crowns added, scrolls and other parts reshaped and the pedestals transformed into capitals. Chipping marks visible in many areas seem to stem from the restorations of this period."

When the Museum acquired the sculptures in 1940, Rorimer says that most of the restorations were removed. "With the aid of the Chabeuf photographs and ultra-violet rays I removed the various restorations with hammer and chisel. . . . The necks were replaced with the help of the Chabeuf photographs and of the old breaks which were revealed when I removed the modern sections of the necks. The columns are modern restorations. . . . Plaster restorations were made to cover the breaks and small missing areas and the restorations were then colored to match the stone." He adds: "The corbels and feet of Clothar were removed and put back as they originally were." The Museum added galvanized iron plates and an iron fastening at the top of each figure to attach it to the door.

In the back of the statue of Clovis, Rorimer found remains of an old iron dowel that seemed to correspond with a section of stone cut out of the doorway for the dowel's insertion. In his words, this correspondence was "proof positive that the figures belonged in the niche" and indicated also "how and where Clovis was fastened to the door." Their original position was further confirmed when Rorimer found traces of the same red paint on the statue and the door. Meyer believes that the figures were part of a columnar shaft and that they had been "chipped away" from their original stone attachments. Although Meyer did not have the advantage of seeing the figures out of their setting, he found that the "pick-marked and crude surfaces of their backs" supported the columnar theory, as do the capitals and bases above and below the figures. It is possible that both opinions are correct—that the statues were once attached to stone shafts, then removed and

132. I am indebted to Rudolph Meyer for two detailed reports on the condition of the doorway (July 1975 and July 1977) and for his permission to quote from them here.

133. James J. Rorimer, unpublished memorandum, c. 1940, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Department of Medieval Art files.

reattached to the door with iron dowels, the shafts being omitted.

The bases of both figures have been readjusted. Meyer notes that the feet and bases, broken off perhaps when the statues were removed from the doorway, "are probably not in a correct position now. The pedestals are mounted at quite different angles. That of the younger king seems to be in a wrong position. If one imagines its curving ornament completed, there would not be space for it on the door jamb." One must therefore conclude that the bases and feet were reconstructed after the statues were removed from the door.

According to Meyer, "The bases of the bottom angels of the tympanum arch have been roughly chipped off. They seem to have been fully executed originally, but the canopies above the kings would not have fitted into the given space without this alteration. The canopies have also been altered, their sides abruptly cut off, and their height reduced. This is especially clear in the one over the young king."

One surmises that the kings were fully carved before they were installed, and that there must have been some difficulty in mounting the young king into the space left for it when the doorway was put up. The same type of crowding can be seen in the archivolts where the canopies over the angels are made as shallow as possible for lack of space. Here there is no sign of chipping to make them fit.

This trimming may have had to be done during the erection of the door, or possibly during a reconstruction. The different stone texture and foliage cutting on the smaller upper segment of the tympanum suggest to Meyer a restoration that could have occurred in a reconstruction. However, if different hands were at work on the tympanum, as they appear to have been on the capitals of the door, the two segments might be contemporary. It is possible that the trimmings of the stones were necessary to accommodate the statues if they were carved elsewhere and then brought to Moutiers. Quarré has supposed a similar situation for Saint-Thibault.

#### ADDENDUM

As this article was going to press, I learned from Professor Philippe Verdier of his forthcoming book on the Coronation of the Virgin as an iconographic theme (Philippe Verdier, *Le Couronnement de la Vierge: Origines et premiers développements d'un thème iconographique* [Montreal, 1979]). I regret not having been able to consult Professor Verdier's work and in particular his comments on the Moutiers-Saint-Jean tympanum.

# A Lapis Lazuli Medallion of Cosimo I de' Medici

KARLA LANGEDIJK

A MEDALLION of Grand Duke Cosimo I de' Medici (Figure 1),<sup>1</sup> the only one in lapis lazuli among six surviving gems that bear his portrait, entered the Museum as part of the Milton Weil Collection, a gift of Ethel Weil Worgelt in 1938.<sup>2</sup> The identity of the sitter is ascertained by comparison with the medal by Pietropaolo Galeotti (Figure 2), which served the gemcutter as model. Galeotti's medal cannot be dated before 1567 nor after 1569.<sup>3</sup> The uniqueness of this gem made possible its identification in four inventories of collections of the Medici, the earliest 1588, the last 1628.

"Una testa del G. D. Cosimo di Lapislazzeri con ornamento quadro di ebano alto e largo  $\frac{1}{8}$  braccio" (a head of the Grand Duke Cosimo in lapis lazuli with ebony frame 7.25 cm. in both height and width)<sup>4</sup>

1. On the relatively infrequent use of lapis lazuli for cameos, see Dorothy Miner and Emma J. Edelstein, "A Carving in Lapis Lazuli," *The Journal of the Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore* 7–8 (1944–45) pp. 83–103, esp. notes 16, 24.

2. Ernst Kris, *Catalogue of Postclassical Cameos in the Milton Weil Collection* (Vienna, 1932) no. 25, fig. 25.

3. Galeotti made a set of 12 medals, using two different effigies of Cosimo for obverses. One of these effigies, after Domenico Poggini, is dated 1567; the other, presumably by Galeotti himself and upon which the lapis lazuli is based, is undated, but since Cosimo is not referred to as Grand Duke, it cannot be later than September 1569. In January 1567 (common style), Galeotti received gold to cast the medals (Karl and Herman Walther Frey, *Der literarische Nachlass Giorgio Vasaris II* [Munich, 1930] p. 288). Vasari mentions in 1568 that Galeotti did the set recently (*Vasari-Milanesi* 5, p. 390; 7, pp. 542–543). I. B. Supino, *Il Medagliere Mediceo nel R. Museo Nazionale di Firenze (secoli XV–XVI)* (Florence, 1899) nos. 383–399. Georg Habich, *Die Medaillen der italienischen Renaissance* (Stuttgart–Berlin, 1922) pl. LXXXII–4, gives the Galeotti obverse mistakenly as by Domenico di Polo.

4. The *braccio fiorentino* = 58 cm.



FIGURE 1  
Anonymous, between 1567–88. Cosimo I de' Medici. Lapis lazuli, H. 6.3 cm., actual size. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Ethel Weil Worgelt, 1938, 38.150.13

FIGURE 2  
Pietropaolo Galeotti, 1567–69. Medal of Cosimo I de' Medici. D. 4.2 cm. (photo: Soprintendenza alle Gallerie, Florence)





FIGURE 3  
Anonymous, after 1569. Cosimo I de' Medici. Chalcedony, 3 × 2 cm. without frame, actual size. Museo degli Argenti, Florence (Soprintendenza alle Gallerie)

is listed in the inventory of Don Antonio's possessions at the Casino di San Marco in Florence, compiled March 8, 1588.<sup>5</sup> The gem reappears May 1621 in the estate of Don Antonio and is described as "Un bassorilievo in lapislazzoli con la testa del Granduca Cosimo alto ⅛ braccio."<sup>6</sup> On November 30 of the same year, it is listed among Don Antonio's properties admitted into the grand-ducal Guardaroba: "Uno quadro in asse d'una testa del Duca Cosimo P<sup>o</sup> di lapislazzero di bassorilievo con adornamento debano alto ⅛ braccio" (a wooden panel with a head of the Duke Cosimo in lapis lazuli in bas-relief with a frame of ebony, 7.25 cm. high).<sup>7</sup> It is mentioned again September 27, 1628, as acquired from the estate of Don Antonio: "Un quadrettino duna testa del Duca Cosimo P<sup>o</sup> di lapislazzero di bassorilievo con adornamento debano" (a small panel of a head of the Duke Cosimo I in lapis lazuli in bas-relief, with an ebony frame).<sup>8</sup> It was consigned that day to Bastiano

Bianchi Buonavita, the keeper of the Guardaroba, to be included among the treasures of the Tribuna of the Uffizi. What happened to the stone in the next three centuries eludes us for the moment. It was no longer listed in the inventory of the Tribuna of 1704, and may have left the grand-ducal collections by that time, perhaps as a gift.

The inventories provide interesting information concerning the mounting of the stone. Apparently it was fixed to a panel only slightly larger and furnished with a narrow ebony frame about half a centimeter wide. The blue stone must have been very striking against the dark ebony, an effect often achieved in Florentine furniture of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Only one of the six cameos of Cosimo I has what might be a contemporary frame, in gold and enamel (Figure 3). The well-known large gem in agate by Giovanni Antonio de' Rossi (Figure 4) was kept in a box together with other cameos.<sup>9</sup>

Because of the completeness of the Florentine inventories, there is every reason to assume that this group of six cameos represents the complete production of gems with the likeness of Cosimo I, the New York gem alone having ever left Florence. We will quickly review these other cameos.

Apparently, the artists who cut the gems with Cosimo's profile quite naturally turned to the existing medals for models. The same medal by Galeotti that served as model for the piece in New York was used for the larger cameo in chalcedony in the Museo degli Argenti in Florence (Figure 5).<sup>10</sup> That the size of the medal did not necessarily determine the size of the cameo is proved also by the framed chalcedony piece in Florence (Figure 3),<sup>11</sup> which copied a medal by Domenico Poggini (Figure 6).<sup>12</sup> The inscription on the medal, giving Cosimo's title of Grand Duke, provides the earliest date possible for the

5. Archivio di Stato, Florence, Guardaroba Medicea 136, c. 157 verso.

6. Guardaroba Medicea 399, quoted after P. F. Covoni, *Don Antonio de' Medici al Casino di San Marco* (Florence, 1892) p. 237.

7. Guardaroba Medicea 373, c. 283 right.

8. Guardaroba Medicea 435, c. 152 right.

9. Eugène Müntz, "Les Collections d'antiques formées par les Médicis au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle," *Mémoires de l'Institut National de France. Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 35, 2 (1895) pp. 84–168; "Un cammeo che è ritratto di basso rilievo il Gran Duca Cosimo, sua consorte e figli, in una scatola bianca. . . . Tredici pezzi di cammeo d'altre sorte in detta scatola . . ." (p. 151). Inventory 1587–91, Guardaroba Medicea 132.

10. Inventory Gemme 1921, no. 114; Cristina Piacenti Aschengreen, *Il Museo degli Argenti a Firenze*, (Florence, 1967) no. 971.

11. Inv. Gemme 1921, no. 117; Piacenti Aschengreen, cat. no. 974. Ernst Kris, *Meister und Meisterwerke der Steinschneidekunst in der italienischen Renaissance* (Vienna, 1929) no. 319, ill. Inventory Tribuna 1704, Soprintendenza Florence, ms. 82, c. 264.

12. Rev. inscr.: · DE GALLIS · ET · TVRCIS · Winged Victory crowning Cosimo dressed in antique armor, enemy kneeling, Historia-Victoria writing. A. Armand, *Les Médailleurs italiens des quinzième et seizième siècles I* (Paris, 1883) p. 174. no. 3 (attr. to Cesare da Bagno); Habich, pl. LXXXI-1; Warburg Institute photo-list, British Museum 531, 607/46.

cameo: 1569. In these three instances of gems based upon medals, the gems are fairly exact though somewhat abbreviated copies. A rock crystal representing Cosimo as a beardless youth, made soon after his accession in 1537,<sup>13</sup> cannot be regarded as the copy of a medal, although the head closely resembles another medal by Domenico di Polo.<sup>14</sup>

This situation is reversed in the case of Giovanni Antonio de' Rossi's large cameo in agate (Figure 4), representing Cosimo and Eleonora of Toledo with their five sons,<sup>15</sup> and Galeotti's medal. We know that de' Rossi worked at it from 1559 to 1562. Therefore,

13. Oval, 3.3 × 2.8 cm. Florence, Museo degli Argenti, Inv. Gemme 1921, no. 332; Piacenti Aschengreen, cat. no. 1189 (as Francesco I).

14. Diam. 3.5 cm. Armand, I, p. 144, nos. 3, 4; A. Heiss, *Les Médailleurs de la Renaissance. Florence II* (1892) p. 17, pl. Warburg Institute photo-list, British Museum 530, 230/15, 228/15.

15. Inv. Bargello 1917 (VII) no. 1. Vasari-Milanesi 5, p. 387; Gio. Poggi, "Di un cammeo di Giovan Antonio De' Rossi nel R.



FIGURE 5  
Anonymous, after 1567. Cosimo I de' Medici. Chalcidony, 6.9 × 5.3 cm. without frame. Museo degli Argenti, Florence (Soprintendenza alle Gallerie)

FIGURE 4  
Giovanni Antonio de' Rossi, 1559–62. Cosimo I de' Medici and Eleonora di Toledo with their sons. Agate, 18.5 × 16.5 cm. Museo degli Argenti, Florence (Soprintendenza alle Gallerie)



FIGURE 6  
Domenico Poggini, after 1569. Medal of Cosimo I de' Medici. D. 7.8 cm., actual size (photo: Warburg Institute, London, copyright)



the medallist took his inspiration from the cameo. The agate family portrait represents the largest cameo cut since classical antiquity. The *paragone*, or contest with antiquity, always played a part in gem-cutting, especially in Cosimo's time. A cameo in onyx in the Museo degli Argenti, representing in profile Eleonora and Cosimo with radiating crown facing one another, was based on an ancient model, of the type represented by no. 79 in the same museum.<sup>16</sup>

The choice of lapis lazuli for the gem in New York reflects in a special way this frame of mind that takes antiquity for measure. Significant in this respect is the appearance of a book closely connected with the artistic activities of the court of Francesco I de' Medici, the *Nova Reperta*, a set of engravings made by Theodoor Galle and Johan Collaert after drawings by Giovanni Stradano. The date of its publication in Antwerp by Philip Galle,<sup>17</sup> is unknown; Borghini does not mention it in his 1584 list of sets of engravings after Stradano.<sup>18</sup> The engravings of the *Nova Reperta* illustrate features of modern times unknown to antiquity: inventions such as printing, horseshoes, eyeglasses and olive-pressing methods, as well as events such as the discovery of America.

I think that it is against this background that we should view the use of lapis lazuli for carving in Florence under Cosimo's successor Francesco I. Pliny had written in *Historia Naturalis* (37.39) that lapis lazuli was useless for sculpture, because of its hard cores ("sappiri<sup>19</sup> . . . inutiles sculpturis intervenientibus crystallinis centris"). The relative infrequency of its use in glyptics throughout the centuries confirms this observation. Pliny's text must, however, have been a challenge to Francesco de' Medici, who

was well aware of the origins of the *Naturalia* (the marvels of nature) and highly knowledgeable in the field of manufacturing the *Artificialia* (the marvels of art): witness the Studiolo in the Palazzo Vecchio as well as the *Nova Reperta*. In 1572 he inaugurated the artistic activities at the Casino di San Marco by installing there the Caroni brothers from Milan.<sup>20</sup> Their workshop produced such masterpieces as the lapis lazuli vases in Vienna (early 1570s) and the chain-vase in Florence (1583), both made after designs of Francesco's favorite architect, Bernardo Buontalenti.<sup>21</sup> The working of lapis lazuli on this scale became and remained a Florentine specialty. Lapis lazuli vases were displayed among the showpieces of the Tribuna in the Uffizi.<sup>22</sup> What a triumph, for the Medici prince, to be successful in a branch of art which had defeated the Ancients!

The workshop of the Casino di San Marco moved to the Uffizi in 1586. The mention of the New York gem at the Casino in 1588 suggests that it was made and simply remained there. In that case it would be logical to date it after 1572. Work in lapis lazuli was, however, already done for the Medici in the 1560s,<sup>23</sup> so the possibility cannot be excluded that the stone was cut earlier, perhaps for Cosimo I himself as a trial example.

The only gem in lapis lazuli comparable in size to the Cosimo I in New York, though smaller, is the bust of the Genoese admiral Andrea Doria (1466–1560) in antique dress, 5 × 4.1 cm., including a small frame in gold and enamel, in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.<sup>24</sup> As a gem in lapis lazuli, the portrait of Cosimo I de' Medici is almost unique in sixteenth-century glyptics.

Museo Nazionale di Firenze," *Rivista d'Arte* 9 (1916–18) pp. 41–48, docs., pl.; Kris, *Meister und Meisterwerke*, pp. 79–80, no. 309, pl. I, p. 171; Piacenti Aschengreen, cat. no. 306, pl. xvi (color); Karla Langedijk, *De Portretten van de Medici tot omstreeks 1600* (Assen, 1968) p. 81.

16. Piacenti Aschengreen, cat. no. 936. See also A. F. Gori, *Museum Florentinum . . . Gemmae antiquae thesauro medico et privatorum dactylolithecis Florentiae exhibitae tab. CC, I* (Florence, 1731) pls. 2-x, 14-x.

17. F. W. H. Hollstein, *Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts of ca. 1450–1700* (Amsterdam, n. d.) 4, nos. 129–148; 7, nos. 410–430, pls. J. A. F. Orbaan, *Stradanus te Florence 1553–1605* (Amsterdam, 1903) pp. 78, 89, 94, note 7.

18. Vincenzo Borghini, *Il Riposo* (Florence, 1584) pp. 583–584.

19. Sappirus = lapis lazuli, as both words were used in the

twelfth century. Early sources indicate lapis lazuli only as sappirus, which in later sources means sapphire. For the terminology, see Miner and Edelstein, p. 84.

20. W. Fock, "Vases en lapis-lazuli des collections Médicéennes du seizième siècle," *Münchener Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst* 27 (1976) pp. 119–154, esp. p. 127. Fock, "Der Goldschmied Jaques Bylivelt aus Delft und sein Wirken in der Mediceischen Hofwerkstatt in Florenz," *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien* 70 (1974) pp. 89–178, esp. p. 108.

21. Fock, "Bylivelt," pp. 102–105, 117 ff., pls. 81–82, 94–95.

22. Agostino del Riccio (d. 1598), *Istoria delle Pietre*, ed. Paola Barocchi (Florence, 1979) chap. 125.

23. Fock, "Vases," pp. 120–121; Vasari, 1568, ed. Milanese 5, p. 389.

24. Ernest Babelon, *Catalogue des camées antiques et modernes de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris, 1897) no. 965, pl.

# En Route to the Piano: A Converted Virginal

EDWIN M. RIPIN

OF ALL THE CHALLENGES presented to makers of musical instruments by the changes in musical styles that took place in the second half of the eighteenth century, none was so great as that posed by the gradual rise to popularity of the piano. This challenge was met, on the one hand, by the development of several different types of piano-like instruments and a number of types of piano differing in various ways from the one created by Bartolomeo Cristofori in Florence and, on the other, by various attempts to adapt or convert existing instruments so as to provide them with at least a minimal ability to produce the dynamic nuance of which the piano was capable.

A disadvantage of Cristofori's instrument that seems to have militated against its ready acceptance despite its great musical capabilities was the extraordinarily sophisticated and complicated mechanism that Cristofori had devised to impel the hammers of his "gravicembalo col piano e forte" toward the strings, and later instrument makers expended an enormous amount of effort and ingenuity in the attempt to achieve a comparably sensitive and reliable

instrument more simply and cheaply.<sup>1</sup> At the same time, owners of existing keyboard instruments, many of which were elaborately decorated and which, in any event, were generally quite costly, did not wish to discard these instruments if any means could be found to update them. Accordingly, a fashionable harpsichord maker of the time such as Pascal Taskin of Paris might find himself engaged in both aspects of meeting the piano's challenge—both building pianos with a simple hammer mechanism of his own devising and equipping existing harpsichords with crescendo mechanisms.<sup>2</sup>

The surviving legacy of efforts of this kind on the part of a large number of craftsmen is a group of short-lived or experimental instruments not in the direct line of descent of the modern piano, most of which are found today only in small numbers, and a far larger group of converted instruments of different kinds and widely differing degrees of sophistication. There is no doubt that many of the expedients used to adapt preexisting instruments, despite their extraordinary ingenuity,<sup>3</sup> merely had the effect of

1. It should, perhaps, be noted that this attempt did not meet with any very great success, since all the numerous parts of Cristofori's mechanism (or something very like them) are, in fact, necessary for any reliable and sensitive keyboard instrument employing strings struck by a hinged or pivoted hammer. As a result, the history of the piano in the eighteenth century can reasonably be viewed in terms of the gradual reintroduction or reinvention of many features already present in Cristofori's original design.

2. Pianos by Taskin are preserved in the Palace of Versailles, the Musée Instrumental of the Conservatoire National de Musique, Paris, the Instrumenten Sammlung of the Institut für Musikforschung, Berlin, and there is an apparent conversion by Taskin of an earlier harpsichord to a piano in the Yale University Collection of Musical Instruments. Taskin's highly sophisticated crescendo devices are discussed in detail in the present writer's

"Expressive Devices Applied to the Eighteenth Century Harpsichord," *The Organ Yearbook* I (1970) pp. 64–80.

3. One English maker, Joseph Merlin, even created an attachment to the harpsichord that enabled it to be played as a piano when a special pedal was depressed (Patent No. 1081 dated September 12, 1774). Merlin is said also to have created the roller skate and the type of wheelchair in which the user can propel himself (Donald H. Boalch, *Makers of the Harpsichord and Clavichord 1440–1840*, 2nd edition [Oxford, 1974] pp. 112–113). A single example of Merlin's attachment to a preexisting harpsichord survives (*Newsletter of the American Musical Instrument Society* III, 2 [June, 1974] pp. 1–3), now in the Edwin M. Ripin Collection of Musical Instruments, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Thomas Jefferson contemplated buying one of Merlin's combined harpsichord-pianos in 1783 (Helen Cripe, *Thomas Jefferson and Music* [Charlottesville, Virginia, 1974] pp. 66–67).



FIGURE 1  
Italian polygonal virginal converted to a tangent piano. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Crosby Brown Collection, 89.4.2765

converting fine harpsichords, virginals, and clavichords into very mediocre pianos; nonetheless, these conversions are of great technical interest and provide an important measure of the enormous value that eighteenth-century musicians set on any instrument that could even approximate the piano's ability to yield gradations of loudness in response to variations in the force with which a player struck its keys. Moreover, the means of conversion employed in a virginal in the Crosby Brown Collection of the Metropolitan Museum (Figure 1) provides a possible clue to the nature of two mysterious instruments—one shown in a painting, the other described in a contract—which suggest that a keyboard instrument with struck strings capable of both the dynamic control of the piano and of playing more loudly than the clavichord may have existed more than fifty years before Cristofori's invention of the piano as we know it in the 1690s.<sup>4</sup>

4. Cristofori's invention, formerly believed to date from 1709 on the basis of the article about his piano by Scipione Maffei published in the *Giornale de' letterati d'Italia* V (1711) pp. 144–159, has been established as dating from before 1700 by Mario Fabbri ("L'Attività fiorentina di Perti, Cristofori e Haendel," *Chigiana* XXI [1964] pp. 163–172; *L'Alba del pianoforte* [Milan, 1968], reprinted in Federico Momepellio [ed.] *Dal clavicembalo al pianoforte. V Festival pianistico internazionale Arturo Benedetti Michelangeli* [Brescia, 1968] pp. 34–53). According to an entry in the diary of Francesco Maria Mannucci for February 16, 1711, Cristofori had undertaken the making of "new harpsichords with piano e forte at the wish of Prince Ferdinando [de' Medici] be-

This possibility should not be as surprising as it may at first appear to be. With the growing realization that the music of the baroque period was not completely dominated by a rigid system of so-called "terrace dynamics," in which fixed levels of sound were contrasted with one another to the exclusion of intermediate levels and crescendos or *dimenuendos*, it has become increasingly clear that one of the great preoccupations of musicians throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was with problems of finely controlled dynamic expression.<sup>5</sup> Accordingly, it would seem only natural that instruments would be created to meet this musical need, even if clear records of their existence before Cristofori's epoch-making invention are lacking. Thus, although it is certainly true that the principal keyboard instruments of the baroque period, the organ and the harpsichord, were incapable of producing dynamic nuances,<sup>6</sup> this was felt to be a defect by musicians of

ginning two years before the Centenary [du'anni prima del Giubileo]." Fabbri further showed that an "arpicimbalo" listed in the inventory of the Medici instruments drawn up in 1700 was actually one of Cristofori's pianos, substantiating Mannucci's report.

5. For citations to sources dating from 1602 forward, see Rosamond E. M. Harding, *Origins of Musical Time and Expression* (Oxford, 1938) pp. 85–89, and Robert Donington, *The Interpretation of Early Music* (London, 1963) pp. 416–424.

6. The clavichord, although it is capable of producing the finest gradations of loudness, is excluded from this category because its sound was too soft to permit its use in public per-

the time. Even such a composer as François Couperin, whose music shows an unsurpassed skill in the manipulation of harpsichord sound, indicated a dissatisfaction with the harpsichord's dynamic inflexibility:

The sounds of the harpsichord are determined, each specifically; and for this reason they are incapable of swelling or diminishing; up to now it has appeared almost impossible to maintain that one could impart soul to this instrument. . . .<sup>7</sup>

and:

The harpsichord is a complete instrument by virtue of its range and brilliant in itself; however, since one can neither swell nor diminish its sounds, I shall always be grateful to those who, by consummate skill supported by good taste, are able to render the instrument capable of expression. . . .<sup>8</sup>

Despite the numerous attempts made during the

formance or, as a rule, in ensemble with other instruments. Similarly, because of their rarity, one must exclude the keyboard instruments having bowed strings, such as Hans Haiden's *Geigenwerck* (pictured by Michael Praetorius, *Syntagma musicum* II, *De organographia* [Wolfenbüttel, 1618–19] pl. III, with a description based on Haiden's own published account, pp. 66–72), which were said to be capable of producing all shadings of loudness. However, the very assertion of such a claim on the part of the instrument's inventor and the amount of space that so serious a writer as Praetorius devotes to the instrument attest to a deep concern with problems of dynamic expression even at that very early date.

7. *L'Art de toucher le clavecin* (Paris, 1717) p. 15: Les sons du clavecin étoient décidés, chacun en particulier; et par conséquent ne peuvent être enflés, ny diminués: il a paru presque insoutenable, jusqu'à présent, qu'on put donner de L'âme à cet instrument. . . .

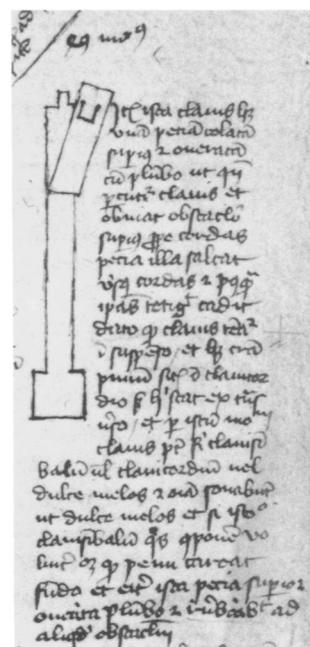
8. *Pièces de Clavecin* (Paris, 1713) *Préface*: Le Clavecin est parfait quant à son entendüe, et brillant par luy même; mais, comme on ne peut enfler ny diminuer ses sons, je sçauray toujours gré à ceux qui, par un art infini soutenu par le goût, pouront ariver à rendre cet instrument susceptible d'expression. . . .

9. The reason for the small volume of the clavichord's tone is frequently misunderstood. It derives from the fact that the point at which the strings are struck becomes one end of their sounding length. The string is sounded by being struck by a brass blade rising from the back of the key lever, with the part of the string to the left of this blade, or "tangent," being damped by cloth woven between the strings so that only the right-hand portion sounds. As a result, the tangent excites the string at the extreme end of the sounding portion, a point at which such excitation is, in physical terms, far less efficient than striking the strings at some distance from the end. The difference becomes quite clear if one compares the sound produced by forcibly striking a string of a guitar against one of the frets on the fingerboard with the sound produced by flicking the string with a finger at the point where it would normally be plucked.

third quarter of the eighteenth century to provide the harpsichord with a modicum of dynamic flexibility, the answer to the problem, as Cristofori had already discovered, lay in the development of keyboard instruments in which the strings were struck rather than plucked and in which (unlike the clavichord) the striking point was at an appreciable distance from the end of the string, making it possible to produce a sound comparable in loudness to that of the harpsichord.<sup>9</sup>

In fact, an instrument employing these principles existed as early as the mid-fifteenth century, as is known from the treatise on instruments compiled by the Burgundian physician and astrologer, Henri Arnaut of Zwolle.<sup>10</sup> Although his description and diagram of the action of this instrument (Figure 2) are far from unambiguous,<sup>11</sup> Arnaut's mechanism (which he says could be used in either harpsichord-shaped

FIGURE 2  
Diagram and description of Arnaut of Zwolle's mechanism for keyboard instruments with struck strings. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Ms. lat. 7295, fol. 128, detail (actual size)



10. Facsimile reprint with transcription, French translation, introduction, and notes, G. Le Cerf and E.-R. Labande, *Instruments de musique du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle* . . . (Paris, 1932).

11. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Ms. lat. 7295, fol. 128. Arnaut's diagram is the last of four at the top of a page devoted to the layout diagram of a harpsichord and showing the means by which its strings might be set into vibration. The accompanying caption reads: "Quartus modus. Item ista clavis habet unam petiam colatum superius et onoratem cum plumbo ut quando

or rectangular instruments) would appear to have employed a weighted slip of wood hinged to the upper surface of each of its keys near the back. When a key was struck, the upward motion of the back of the key was arrested by a fixed rail, but the hinged slip of wood continued upward under its own momentum until a staple-shaped “hammer” driven into it struck the strings, from which it rebounded instantly and fell back to the key, leaving the strings free to vibrate. This mechanism, which prefigures that of certain early pianos to an amazing degree,<sup>12</sup> seems to have borne no fruit at the time (as, indeed, the initial development of the piano bore very little for at least fifty years), and one searches the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century written sources in vain for any suggestion of a keyboard instrument having strings struck by a rebounding device of any sort.

However, the simple means used to convert the Museum’s virginal into an instrument whose strings were struck rather than plucked suggest that one should not abandon the search for traces of keyboard instruments employing strings struck by a rebounding mechanism in the baroque period, especially as keyboard-activated striking mechanisms for other types of instruments were certainly known in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Not only were the famous carillons of the Low Countries

percutitur clavis et obviat obstaculo superius prope cordas pecia illa saltat versus cordas et postquam ipsas tetigerit cadit dato quod clavis tenatur in suspenso; et habet crampinum sicut in clavicordio sed hic stat ex transverso; et per istum modum clavis potest fieri clavisimbalum vel clavicordium vel dulce melos et omnia sonabunt ut dulce melos et si isto clavisimbalum componere voluerit oportet quod penu careat fundo et erit ista pecia superior onerata plumbo et reverabit ad aliquid obstaculum.” (“Fourth method. Item, this key has a piece attached to its upper part, which is weighted with lead so that, when the key is struck, this piece jumps toward the strings and, after touching them, falls back, given that the key is held in suspension; and it has a crampin as in the clavicord, but here it stands transversely; and by this method one can make a harpsichord, a clavicord, or a *dulce melos*, and all will have the sound of a *dulce melos*; and if you wish to build a harpsichord by this method, it is necessary that the case lack a bottom and this upper piece be weighted with lead, and it will rebound from any obstacle.”)

12. The principal difference between Arnaut’s mechanism and that of virtually all eighteenth-century pianos and piano-like instruments is that Arnaut provides no means of accelerating his “hammer” to a velocity greater than that of the key to which it is attached. Thus, even in the very simple action found in a

played from keyboards of a sort, but Marin Mersenne in 1636 showed a keyboard-equipped xylophone in his *Harmonie universelle* (Figure 3).

The Museum’s virginal is a polygonal instrument of typical Italian pattern, made of cypress and unusually lavishly decorated with ivory buttons and applied ornaments, not all of which appear to be original. The front of the removable name batten behind the keys bears an elegantly lettered inscription FRANCISCUS BONAFINIS MDLXXXV (Figure 4); the back of this batten (Figure 5) has a rather crudely written notation *Factum anno 1587* (suggesting a two-year discrepancy in the date of the instrument for which there is no apparent explanation) and an inscription in a neater hand reading *Post spacium centum triginta duos anorum Restauratum à me N:N: anno 1717* (“After a lapse of 132 years, restored by me, N:N:, 1717”).<sup>13</sup> It does not seem likely that this otherwise unknown restorer was responsible for the conversion of the instrument. The wood-framed cloth dust cover with which the instrument is now fitted seems to be of a far later date than 1717, resembling the similar covers found in many late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century pianos; furthermore, the numbering on the freely moving parts that now strike the strings does not appear to be in the same hand as that of the 1717 inscription. In addition, although this inscription, like the instrument itself, appears to be of Ital-

converted clavicord in the Württembergisches Landesgewerbemuseum, Stuttgart (Rosamond E. M. Harding, *The Pianoforte* . . . [Cambridge, 1933; reprinted New York, 1972] fig. 12, pl. v-a), and in a highly interesting square piano in the Metropolitan Museum with an almost identical action (accession number 11.176.4, Gift of Bernardus Boekelman), the hammer does not simply fly toward the strings when the upward motion of the key is arrested. Instead, in both these instruments, the shank of the hammer extends beyond the hinge, so that it, rather than the end of the key, makes contact with the fixed rail. As a result, the hammer is “pitched” toward the strings rather than merely flying freely toward them. The distance from the end of the extension of the hammer shank to the hinge is only half that from the hinge to the hammer head; consequently, the hammer head moves at twice the speed of the key.

13. The vertical splice in the batten on which the inscriptions appear, coinciding with the left edge of the B in “Bonafinis” and missing all of the inscription on the back except for a terminal serif in the second line, suggests that the left-hand portion of the batten is a later replacement. This suggestion is confirmed by the slight differences in the lettering of “Franciscus” from the rest of the lettering on the front of the batten, apparent in Figure 4.

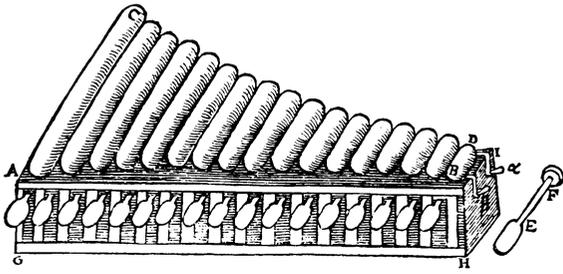


FIGURE 3  
Keyboard xylophone from Marin Mersenne, *Harmonie universelle* (Paris, 1636)

by the player's fingers; an overhead rail now arrests the motion of the keys so that when a key is depressed the shorter piece of wood is tossed upward and flies freely until its leather-covered head strikes the string that had originally been plucked. As in Arnaut's mechanism, there is no provision for making the striking element move faster than the key; nonetheless, it strikes the string with a force that varies with the forces applied to the key, and the sound produced varies in loudness in response to changes in the player's touch.<sup>14</sup>



FIGURE 4  
Inscription on the front of the name batten of the virginal shown in Figure 1

FIGURE 5  
Inscriptions on the back of the name batten



ian origin, the instrument seems to have been worked on outside of Italy as well, presumably at a later date. The natural keys are covered with bone plates having a decorative notch on each side just ahead of the sharps, like those on Flemish keyboards, rather than the plainer boxwood ones usually found on Italian keyboards. However, what is of primary interest in the rebuilding of this instrument is not the date or even the place at which it might have taken place but, rather, the means employed to effect it.

The conversion of the Museum's virginal from an instrument whose strings were plucked to one whose strings were struck involved nothing more than the replacement of the original jacks (which rose between the strings and carried the quills that plucked them) with shorter pieces of plain wood topped by an offset leather-covered head (Figure 6). The original jacks rested on the strings and were carried upward when the front ends of the keys were depressed

Instruments employing a mechanism of this kind rather than the hinged hammer used by Arnaut or the pivoted hammer used by Cristofori are called tangent pianos. Although such instruments have been largely forgotten, they aroused considerable interest in the eighteenth century, beginning with a proposal for a mechanism employing the tangent-piano principle in an upright instrument (the third of four *clavécins à maillets*) submitted to the Académie des

14. The striking elements are shorter than the distance from the ends of the keys to the strings when the front of the key is fully depressed. Consequently, the striking elements are not held against the strings even if the keys are held down, and they rebound from the strings and fall back by their own weight immediately after the strings are struck. When a key is released, its striking element falls until the padded underside of its head rests on the soundboard, suspending the entire element well above the end of the key so that the key can attain substantial upward velocity before beginning to impel the striking element toward the string.

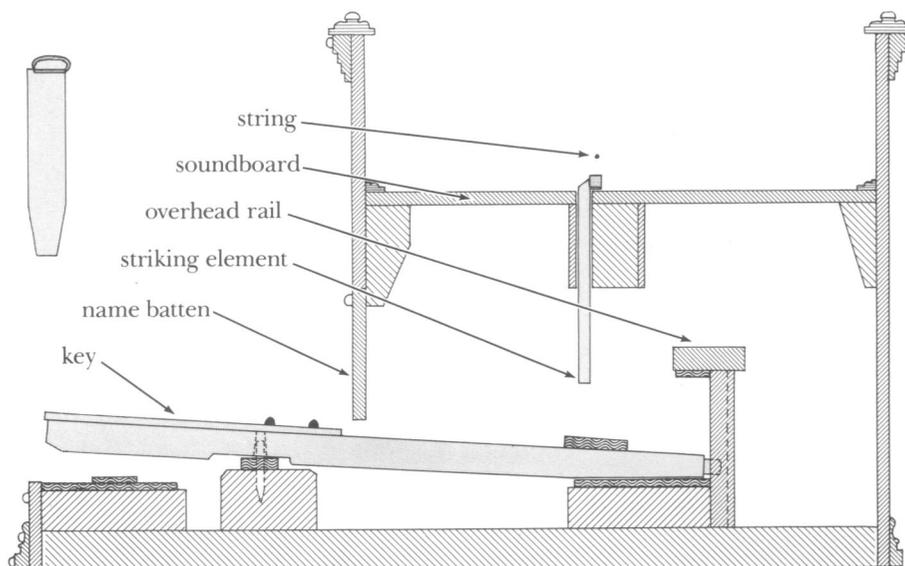


FIGURE 6  
Cross section of the converted virginal with a front view of one of its jack-like striking elements at upper left (one-half actual size)

Sciences in Paris by one Jean Marius in 1716.<sup>15</sup> However the principle, especially as applied to the Museum's virginal, is one of such obviousness and simplicity that it is difficult to believe that its discovery had to wait until the eighteenth century, and a well-known group portrait probably painted between 1635 and 1640 by Jan Miense Molenaer<sup>16</sup> and now in the Rijksmuseum suggests that, in fact, it may have been applied a good deal earlier. The painting (Figure 7) shows a woman seated at a rectangular keyboard instrument that at first sight would appear to be an ordinary virginal, except that it is much more nearly square in shape than any of the surviving virginals of similar size. Closer inspection, moreover, reveals that the instrument has no jackrail (as

all ordinary harpsichords and virginals must have in order to keep the jacks from flying out of the instrument when the keys are struck)<sup>17</sup> and that there are not even any jacks visible, as there certainly would be if for some reason Molenaer had chosen to depict an ordinary virginal with the jackrail removed. Instead of a row of jacks, there is a series of small square pieces that seem to be resting on the strings, the only apparent function for which would seem to be that they were dampers attached to hidden jack-like striking elements like those in the Museum's converted virginal. If this interpretation is correct, when the keys on the instrument were released, the striking elements would fall only until the attached dampers touched the strings, silencing them.<sup>18</sup>

15. *Machines et Inventions approuvées par l'Académie Royale des Sciences* . . . III (Paris, 1735) p. 87, pl. III. The fullest printed account of the tangent piano is given in Heinrich Herrmann, *Der Regensburger Klavierbauer Späth und Schmahl und ihr Tangentenflügel* (Erlangen, 1928) pp. 1–20, 49–100.

16. *Catalogue of Paintings in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam* (Amsterdam, 1960) p. 210.

17. It may be noted in this regard that the jackrail of the Museum's virginal is also lacking. A jackrail is, in fact, no longer necessary for its operation as a tangent piano.

18. A tangent-piano mechanism in which each striking element carried its own damper above it was actually claimed to have been incorporated into an instrument designed by Christoph Gottlieb Schröter, one of the most vociferous of the eighteenth-century claimants to the invention of the piano. Schröter

wrote in 1763 that an instrument employing this mechanism had been built under his supervision in 1739. His diagram of the mechanism and his claim to its use over twenty years earlier were published in Letter 90 of J. W. Marpurgh's *Kritische Briefe* III (Berlin, 1764). The Museum's instrument, it should be emphasized, has no provision for damping of any kind, and its strings continue to sound whether or not one holds down the keys. A few extra striking elements found in the toolbox that is built into the virginal's outer case are, in fact, equipped with wire-supported overhead dampers; however, these appear to be far less old than the complete set of damperless ones in the instrument. Moreover, the padding of the underside of the heads of the complete set of striking elements makes it clear that they were intended to rest on the soundboard before being struck rather than to hang from overhead dampers.



FIGURE 7  
Jan Miense Molenaer, "Dame aan clavecimbel" (1635–40). Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, Catalogue No. 1635

It is even possible that this is the kind of instrument contemplated in a mysterious contract drawn up at Hasselt in Belgium in 1621.<sup>19</sup> This document describes a “clavechordium,” specified as having to be “5 feet long and wide enough so that each key can have two strings, with two soundboards, straight keys (bone covered), [and] brass pins throughout, covered with cloth inside and [painted] green outside” and goes on to itemize various expenses incurred in making the instrument, including payment “to the piper for tangent wood” and a small sum for the beer drunk to seal the bargain. Since clavichords seldom if ever had straight keys at this period, since clavichords do not have two soundboards, and since clavichord tangents are made of brass rather than wood, it would seem that this “clavechordium” must have been something other than a clavichord.

The answer to the question of what kind of instrument the contract described may well lie in the fact that the term “tangent” is often applied to a harpsichord or virginal jack in Dutch and German writings (a usage from which the German *Tangentenflügel* and its English equivalent “tangent piano” derive), since harpsichord and virginal jacks are made of wood. Moreover, both harpsichord and virginals usually have straight keys, which would normally be covered with bone in the Low Countries. In addition, although harpsichords do not have two soundboards, there is one type of Flemish virginal that does, in the sense that both of the bridges over which its strings pass rest on substantial areas of free soundboard that are completely separated from one another by the row of jacks whose quills pluck the strings. Nonetheless, it appears unlikely that the Hasselt “clave-

chordium” was a virginal, since other names for virginals seem to have been in very general use in the Low Countries at this period and since no double-strung virginal from the Low Countries is preserved or recorded in any of the known written or pictorial sources.

On the other hand, the instrument shown in the Molenaer painting seems to fit the contract description quite neatly, except for its decor, which includes no cloth and has instead a handsome painting inside the lid and printed paper on the front, the inside of the fallboard, and in the key well. The unusually square outline of the case would certainly permit there to have been two strings for each note, especially in view of the limited range implied by the narrow key well; the row of square pieces resting on the strings certainly gives the impression of creating two soundboards of nearly equal size; and the spacing of these pieces clearly implies that the keys that lifted them were straight rather than fanning outward or turning inward within the instrument. The hypothesis is obviously not proven; but if the instrument shown in Molenaer’s painting and the one described in the Hasselt contract actually worked in the same way as the Museum’s converted virginal, they were representatives of a tradition of keyboard instruments with struck strings that had its roots in the fifteenth century and which, despite the different approach taken by Cristofori and his numerous successors, includes the piano we know today.

NOTE: This article was written in 1974, a year before the author’s death.

19. Hasselt, Gemeentearchief, *Inventaris* No. 1058, transcribed by C. C. Vlam and M. A. Vente, *Bousteenen voor een geschiedenis der toonkunst in de Nederlanden*, I (Utrecht, 1965) p. 99: Den 15en January 1621 ten huysse ende in bijwesen van Dierick in den Moriaen met mr. Martinus geacordeert ende hem aenbestadet een clavechordium voor vijftien Caroli gulden naedat hij hadde geeyschet achtien deselver guildens ende saltselve clavechordium gemaect worden in manere als volght, voort verdingh van 15.-.-.

In den eersten salt’ lanck sijn 5 voet ende soo briet dat yder clavier kan hebben twee sneeren—met twe sanckbodemen—rechte clavieren, bienen bladeren, coperen stiften over all—binnen becleet ende buyten groen.

Hyer op hebben wij gedroncken elck twee kannen biers toe wincoop.

Den 28en Januarij hyerop betaelt aen ryet gelt	2 – 10
Den 22en Februarij door bede van mr. Martyn an Dierck in de Moriaen so voor vetering, torff ende andersints	6 – 10
Aen Borgmr. Henrick Jansen voer plancken	4 –
Noch Martyn gedaen om torff te kopen	1 – 4
Aende Rademaker voor clayvr holt	– 18
Aen Hemo Lubbers voor bier	– 6
Aen snaren	– 10
Aen de pijper voor tangent holt	– 6

# Art and Politics: A Staff from the Court of Benin, West Africa

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IN 1974, the Metropolitan Museum acquired a Benin bronze rattle staff, or *ukhure*, of exceptional interest (Figures 1–8).<sup>1</sup> Surely one of the most intricate iconographic statements known from the court of Benin, this staff is also notable for its probable historical references, and for the unusual function it seems to have served.

Its traceable history is short. Seized by the British army when Benin was taken by the Punitive Expedition of 1897, the *ukhure* came up for auction in April 1900 at Henry Stevens' establishment, where it was purchased by Lieutenant-General Pitt Rivers for the handsome price of 37 guineas.<sup>2</sup> The new owner published it the same year in his *Antique Works of Art from Benin*,<sup>3</sup> and deposited it in the family museum in Farnham, Dorset. There it remained until a few years ago.

The Museum's staff is a unique version of an *ukhure*, an object found in great numbers in Benin. Most common *ukhure* are made of wood with a human head carved at the top, a hollow rattle chamber containing a wooden clapper below, and a characteristic segmented shaft resembling bamboo at the bottom. *Ukhure* are kept in large numbers on family ancestral altars, and on altars to the ancestors of cults such as the Ovia cult,<sup>4</sup> or groups such as the association of hunters (Figure 9).<sup>5</sup> *Ukhure* are shaken or banged on the ground for emphasis in praying or cursing, and are carried by masked performers during the Ovia, Odudua, and Ekpo masquerades (Figure 10).<sup>6</sup>

*Ukhure* have strong ancestral connotations and may be said to stand for the collective authority of ancestors. A given cult attributes to *ukhure* its own set of associations; in the case of the Ovia cult, for example, *ukhure* are identified with the goddess Ovia herself, who is believed to enter them at certain times.

Wooden *ukhure* take two forms: those that are

1. The staff, made by the lost wax process, was examined by L. van Zelst of the Museum's Research Laboratory. X-ray radiographs revealed the presence of a copper rod running the entire length of the staff up to the bottom of the rattle chambers. The staff appears to have been cast around this rod. (Two bronze *ukhure* in the Field Museum were cast on iron rods, a third is solid bronze.) The *ukhure* was probably cast all at once, a remarkable feat, as it is 64 inches long and has extremely fine textures and details. No joins were discovered in the X-ray radiography, but the possibility cannot be excluded that the staff was cast in stages, i.e., additional sections cast onto existing ones. The clappers in the rattle chambers are made of iron and were apparently packed in the clay core before the bronze was poured. Scientific analysis of the metal content has not been made yet. In this essay I use the term "bronze" in conformity with current practice, though the metal could well be brass.

2. E. G. Allingham, *A Romance of the Rostrum* (London, 1924) p. 194.

3. Lieutenant-General Pitt Rivers, *Antique Works of Art from Benin* (London, 1900) pp. 22–23.

4. R. E. Bradbury, *Benin Studies* (London, 1973) pp. 190, 194, 201, for this and other information on *ukhure* used in the Ovia cult.

5. W. B. Forman and Philip Dark, *Benin Art* (London, 1960) p. 35.

6. William Fagg, *Divine Kingship in Africa* (London, 1970) pl. 22; Paula Ben-Amos and Osarenren Omoregie, "Ekpo Ritual in Avbiama Village," *African Arts* II, no. 4 (1969) p. 13, ill. 7 and cover.



**FIGURE 1**  
Ukhure rattle staff. H. 64 in. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Anne and George Blumenthal Fund, 1974.5

**FIGURE 2**  
Ukhure, top (photo: Benyas-Kaufman)

**FIGURE 3**  
Ukhure, top showing rattle chambers (photo: Jerry L. Thompson)



**FIGURE 4**  
Ukhure, top. Oba's thumbs are prominent and extended in manner characteristic of Hand imagery (Thompson)



FIGURE 5  
Ukhure, bottom front (Thompson)



FIGURE 6  
Ukhure, bottom back (Thompson)

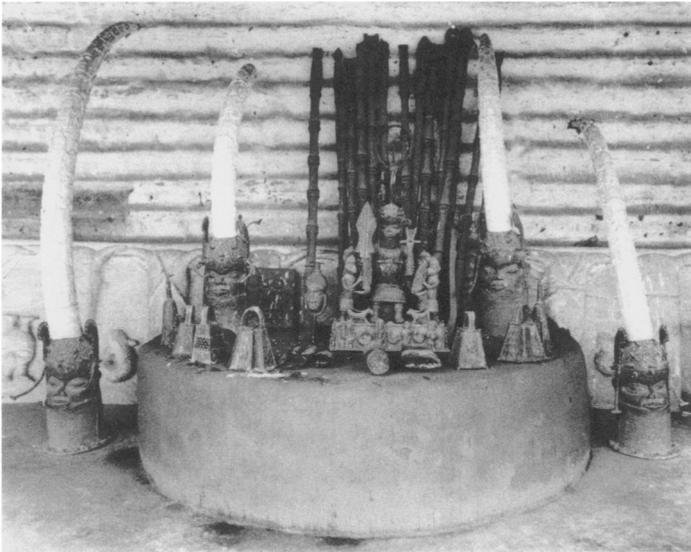
surmounted by a head or single motif, and those that are carved with whole figures or figure groups at the top and at intervals on the shaft. This difference seems to correspond to the use and ownership of the staffs, the figurative ones belonging to village cult groups, the plainer ones to the ancestral cults of kings and chiefs. It is possible that the difference is also chronological, since we have no evidence of figurative ukhure until the late nineteenth century.<sup>7</sup> The evidence, however, is incomplete, since the plain ukhure from earlier periods come down to us only as depictions on bronze plaques and other royal

7. Figurative ukhure appear in two photographs taken in Benin in 1897: H. Ling Roth, *Great Benin, Its Customs, Art and Horrors* (Halifax, 1903) figs. 75, 163.

FIGURE 7  
Ukhure detail, bottom front showing figure with cross on breast and blacksmith's hammer (Benyas-Kaufman)

FIGURE 8  
Ukhure detail, top showing Oba's hand position (Benyas-Kaufman)





**FIGURE 9**  
Altar in the palace at Benin. Wooden ukhure at the back and celts at the front (photo: Museum of African Art, Eliot Elisofon Archives)

**FIGURE 10**  
Ekpo dancers near Benin carrying wooden ukhure (photo: Dan Ben-Amos)



**FIGURE 11**  
Medicine horn. Bronze, L. 11 $\frac{7}{8}$  in. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Crosby Brown Collection of Musical Instruments, 89.4.3561 (probably entered the Museum in 1903)



sculptures in which village cult objects rarely appear (Figures 11, 12, 14, 16).<sup>8</sup>

Royal ukhure of wood have a form of their own: they may be surmounted by a head, a clenched fist, or a hand grasping a mudfish.<sup>9</sup> A small number of ukhure made of bronze or ivory with various other surmounting motifs were surely also royal works, as these materials were reserved for the exclusive use of the court.

The Museum's ukhure is the most elaborate one known. Its iconography suggests not only that it was the property of the king, but that it served an un-

usual function. Pitt Rivers describes it as "the historic mace of office of Duboar, late King of Benin," and relates that when the king was shown the staff, he recognized it and "stated that it had been handed down for many years from king to king."<sup>10</sup> The late R. E. Bradbury felt that "this staff was a kind of sceptre that the Oba [king] held on ceremonial occasions."<sup>11</sup> The fact that it was found at the palace "in the state apartment of the palaver house,"<sup>12</sup> a meeting and reception area, and not found on an altar, tends to confirm this unconventional usage. The unusual material and iconography make it even more likely

8. Paula Ben-Amos, personal communication, June 1977.

9. Philip J. C. Dark, *The Art of Benin*, catalogue, Chicago Natural History Museum (Chicago, 1962) p. 50.

10. Pitt Rivers, *Antique Works*, p. 22.

11. Philip J. C. Dark, *An Introduction to Benin Art and Technology* (Oxford, 1973) p. 33, note.

12. Pitt Rivers, *Antique Works*, p. 22.

FIGURES 12, 13

Altar to the Hand, front and back. Bronze, H. 17¾ in. British Museum, 1897 10-11 2. Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum (photo: Christopher Danes)





FIGURES 14, 15

Altar group: oba with celt and ukhure. Bronze, H. 24¾ in. Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin, III C 8164 (photo: Museum für Völkerkunde)

that the Museum's ukhure was intended as a public, political statement to be displayed during public, political occasions.

At the top of the ukhure is a group that includes the Oba, an elephant, and two leopards; at the bottom appear a crocodile, two mudfish, two pythons, a severed head, ax heads, human hands, two "messenger" figures, and another elephant. Iconographically the group at the top seems to form a statement about the legitimate origins and nature of the king's authority and his relation to the power of chiefs, while the figures at the bottom describe the base of his power in the resources at his command.

Two key ideas, variously expressed in the iconog-

raphy, were of vital interest to the ruler who commissioned the ukhure: the Oba is legitimate; the Oba is powerful. The ukhure was cast in a period following the restoration of the monarchy, and it is against this background that we will consider the iconography and the two claims of legitimacy and power. These reiterated statements reinforce each other as they reinforce and justify the restoration.

Authorities<sup>13</sup> on Benin art have dated this ukhure

13. Paula Ben-Amos, personal communication, May 14, 1974. William Fagg, personal communication, August 1975. Dark describes the elephant with trunk ending in a hand, a snake eating something, and a guilloche with bosses in the spaces as diagnostic of Eresonye's time (Forman and Dark, *Benin Art*, p. 40). The

to the time of Oba Eresonye, who ruled about 1735–50.<sup>14</sup> On the basis of style and iconography it seems likely that the staff was cast for Eresonye's father and predecessor, Akenzua I, who became Oba about 1713. The mid-seventeenth century saw the Oba of Benin reduced to a position of relative poverty and powerlessness until, about 1690, Akenzua's father, Ewuakpe, began to reassert the authority of the king over the wealthy town and palace chiefs. A civil war ensued that lasted twenty years, devastating many parts of the kingdom and the capital.<sup>15</sup> At Ewuakpe's death, his younger son, Ozuere, usurped the throne and another war was fought before the rightful heir, Akenzua, was finally crowned. The Iyase, leader of the town chiefs, of the day was Iyase n'Ode, who supported the usurper Ozuere in his unsuccessful fight against the king.<sup>16</sup> It is significant for an understanding of the staff that informants in Benin today associate Iyase n'Ode with an elephant.<sup>17</sup> At the end of the war Akenzua I emerged triumphant, having reduced the power of the Iyase and replaced him as war chief with the Ezomo, a palace chief.<sup>18</sup>

These events inform the choice and placement on the staff of the five animals that the Bini classify as dangerous or hostile; they include all the animals that represent legitimate authority in Bini thinking.<sup>19</sup> Domestic and game animals, though often depicted elsewhere in Benin art, are absent here. Like the

Oba, the dangerous animals have the power to take human life; like him, they are strong, beautiful, and predatory. Each is the king of its domain: the vulture is "king of the day birds"; the leopard is known as "king of the bush" (the king is called "the leopard of the house"); the python is the largest snake; and the crocodile is called "Ogun [god of iron and war] of the waters." The elephant with its great size and strength is compared to chiefs: when an important man dies in Benin, it is said that "an elephant has fallen out of society."<sup>20</sup>

Ben-Amos, in an unpublished manuscript, suggests that in the light of this history, the Oba standing on a diminutive elephant takes on a particular

FIGURE 16

Altar group: oba with celt and ukhure. Bronze, H. 21 $\frac{3}{8}$  in. Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin, III C 8165 (Museum für Völkerkunde)



Metropolitan Museum's ukhure has all of these traits. Figures holding celts and ukhure, as on this staff, first appear at the beginning of the late period.

14. Dates used here are approximate, according to Jacob Egharevba, *A Short History of Benin*, 3rd ed. (Ibadan, 1960) pp. 40–42.

15. A. F. C. Ryder, *Benin and the Europeans, 1485–1897* (London, 1969) pp. 18–19.

16. Bradbury, *Benin Studies*, p. 28.

17. Paula Ben-Amos, "Men and Animals in Benin Art," *Man*, n.s. 11 (1976) p. 251.

18. According to some accounts, the new Ezomo, Ehenua, was the illegitimate older brother of the Oba Akenzua. Ehenua had been raised by Iyase n'Ode. Such children, born before the Oba had undergone a particular rite of passage, were known as "children the leopard has thrown away." Tradition holds that the bronze ikegobo described by Bradbury was made for Ehenua (*Benin Studies*, pp. 254, 255), although the ikegobo in Figure 17 may be the original one made for him. There seems little doubt that bronze ikegobo for males began to be made about this time.

19. Ben-Amos, "Men and Animals" (1976) p. 246.

20. *Ibid.*, p. 247.

meaning having to do with the restoration of the monarchy. The elephant, symbol of chiefs, and specifically associated with the rebellious Iyase n'Ode, is shown completely dominated by the figure of the king and is hemmed in on either side by leopards, the Oba's symbol. Following the conventions of Benin art, both elephants on the staff have trunks that terminate in closed human fists. The elephant identified with Iyase n'Ode is shown as helpless with an empty left hand, in contrast to the elephant at the bottom of the staff whose different meaning accords it a right hand full of leaves (Figure 5).

The flanking and dominating motif is repeated with the same significance just below the rattle chamber on the top segment of the shaft (Figure 3). There we find two curved *ada*, ceremonial swords, on either side of an *eben* or "sword of authority." The curved swords are the exclusive prerogative of the Oba and a few high-ranking chiefs and priests, while the *eben* is widely used by chiefs of lower rank. The two *ada* are a reminder of the king's right to take life, and appear here as an image of his domination over the chiefs of the realm, represented by the single *eben* between them. Again, the lesser chiefs are shown surrounded by the authority of the Oba personified in the pair of swords below and in the pair of leopards above the *eben*.

The figure at the top of the staff represents the Oba wearing crossed baldrics and the coral bead regalia worn only by the king. The royal coral was the object of an important annual festival that included human sacrifice. The Oba's prayer during the ceremony emphasized the sacred, protective nature of his beads: "Oh, beads, when I put you on, give me wisdom, and don't let any Juju or bad thing come near me."<sup>21</sup> The figure on the ukhure is thus depicted, as the king customarily was, in a state of supernatural protection and heightened mental power.

The figure wears a small beaded cap with an erect feather on its left side. Like the beaded or real feath-

ers in the caps depicted on wooden heads from Benin, this is "the eagle's feather that tops the beads."<sup>22</sup> Chiefs commonly wore feathers of the vulturine fish eagle as a symbol of legitimate authority and of longevity because, like the hair of elders, the feathers are white. Worn by the Oba, the feather also recalls the predatory, vicious nature of the bird, and it becomes a metaphor for the character of kingship itself.

The Oba carries in his right hand a short ukhure with a plain top and clearly marked rattle chamber, and in his left hand a stone celt. Believed to be thunderbolts, such neolithic celts are a mark of supernatural power and are used as altar objects in many cults (Figure 9). They are particularly associated with war-connected deities: Ogun and Osun, gods of medicine, who are referred to elsewhere on the ukhure, and Ogiuwu, "king of death," who controls the thunder.<sup>23</sup> Neolithic stone celts are accidentally unearthed by the Bini, who assert, "We only find these things where lightning has struck the ground."<sup>24</sup>

Celts are depicted in many places in Benin art, quite frequently, as here, carried sharpened edge up in the left hand of a central figure who carries an ukhure in his right (Figures 11, 12, 14, 16). The figure, often the Oba himself, is frequently flanked by leopards or chameleons. He appears either in a medicine context, on staffs or horns bearing other medicine cult iconography, or in a ritual context, as a free-standing figure on an altar.<sup>25</sup> These contexts suggest that the figure is cast in a ritual rather than a political role. When a celt is held upright by the Oba, it is known as *isavan*, feces of thunder, and is used to increase the potency of a curse or blessing.<sup>26</sup>

The image of the Oba on the Museum's ukhure thus refers to his earthly and his divine right to rule. The ukhure in his hand alludes to the authority transmitted to him from his father and all his royal ancestors who are the previous kings of Benin, while the celt is a reminder of his supernatural power and

21. Charles Hercules Reed and Ormonde Maddock Dalton, *Antiquities from the City of Benin* (London, 1899) p. 7.

22. Bradbury, *Benin Studies*, p. 269.

23. *Ibid.*, p. 257.

24. Graham Connah, *Polished Stone Axes in Benin* (Apapa, 1964) p. 7.

25. Such figures occur on medicine staffs in Felix von Lus-

chan, *Die Altertümer von Benin* (Berlin and Leipzig, 1919) III, pls. 111, 112; I, figs. 714B, 715; on a medicine horn, fig. 732; on altar groups, figs. 79, 81; on another medicine staff in Forman and Dark, *Benin Art*, pl. 73; on an ikegobo, pls. 83-84; and on a staff with some medicine references in Pitt Rivers, *Antique Works*, figs. 279-280.

26. Connah, *Stone Axes*, p. 7.



FIGURE 17  
Altar to the Hand. Bronze, D. 13<sup>7</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in. Nigerian Department of Antiquities, Jos Museum (photo: William B. Fagg)

divinity, and perhaps a warning to enemies that his curses are to be feared. This warning may have a historic dimension, for the exiled and defeated usurper Ozuere is said to have been killed by a thunderbolt.<sup>27</sup> The thunderbolt celt in the Oba's hand in this case may allude to a historic act of supernatural justice, and threaten those who dare to challenge legitimate succession.

The chiefs' swords (*eben*) repeated in each segment down the front of the shaft seem to shift from the meaning they had at the top. If the sword above expressed the subservience of the chiefs to the Oba, the rhythm and placement of the four lower ones suggest that the chiefs are also numerous and constant. As the shaft of the *ukhure* itself rests heavily upon a second elephant at the bottom, so does the Oba's power depend upon the support of his loyal chiefs who represent him outside of the capital (Fig-

ure 5). Unlike the elephant above that represented the subdued rebel chief *n'Ode*, the second elephant's trunk terminates in a right hand like those on altars to the Hand where a man celebrates his competence and success (Figure 17). The leaves grasped in the hand are probably a reference to the special powers that elephants and all bush animals have through their knowledge of leaves and herbs.<sup>28</sup> The chiefs here are shown to be able and knowing.

The lower elephant serves both as a reprise of the elephant motif from the top and as an introduction to the two major iconographic themes of the bottom: the cult of the Hand and the medicine cult. Where the iconography of the staff top refers to the nature of the Oba's authority, the bottom deals with the base of his power, the forces he can marshal behind him. These forces are herbalism, medicine, magic, and his power of accomplishment through the cult of his Hand. The lower part of the staff alludes to two particular cults that were newly emphasized in the time of Akenzua and Eresonye: the Odudua masquerade and the cult of the Hand.

We are told that the kingship at the time of Akenzua I and Eresonye had undergone a fundamental change, that in contrast to their warrior ancestors, Akenzua I and his son placed increasing importance upon their personal majesty and mystery, and stressed their ritual function as guardians of the nation's prosperity and security.<sup>29</sup> The figure of the Oba in a ritual role on the top of the *ukhure* is in keeping with this new emphasis. Egharevba<sup>30</sup> records that Oba Eresonye introduced the Odudua masquerade, a cult that stresses royal ancestors, and forbade in Benin city the performance of the village-based *Ovia* masquerade. The introduction of Odudua was thus both a sign and an implement of the Oba's re-establishment of his supremacy: the allusion to it on the *ukhure* is another historical reference to the restoration of the monarchy.<sup>31</sup>

The Odudua performance involves the use of bronze masks (Figure 18) with a particular iconography, many of whose features appear on the bottom

27. Egharevba, *Short History*, p. 40.

28. Paula Ben-Amos, "Men and Animals in Benin Art," paper presented at the Third Triennial Symposium of Traditional African Art (New York, 1974) pp. 6-7.

29. Ryder, *Benin*, pp. 19-20.

30. Egharevba, *Short History*, p. 42.

31. Paula Ben-Amos, personal communication, May 14, 1974.



FIGURE 18  
Odudua mask.  
Bronze, H. 27¾ in.  
Collection of Paul  
and Ruth Tishman  
(photo: Courtesy of  
the Los Angeles  
County Museum of  
Art)

of the Museum's ukhure. The masquerade iconography is very close to that of the medicine (or spirit) cult,<sup>32</sup> and on the ukhure Odudua and medicine iconography overlap and merge to express simultaneously both complexes of ideas. The medicine cult is based on the identification of the welfare of the nation with the person of the king: if the Oba was weak or infirm, lacking in life force, it was a sign that the kingdom was vulnerable. Medicine allusions on the ukhure reflect the new emphasis upon the king as repository of the welfare of the state and imply that harm to the legitimate Oba could harm the kingdom itself.

Medicine iconography frequently makes use of the theme of creatures issuing from orifices (Figure 11). On one Odudua mask, snakes and crocodiles emerge from the ears and nostrils (Figure 18); on

another, from the mouth issue hands like those on Hand cult objects, arm bent at the elbow, thumb out, fingers closed grasping a stem with three leaves. On the Museum's ukhure, out of the jaws of the crocodile comes a human head from whose severed neck issue two undulating pythons that in turn have human hands emerging from their mouths (Figure 5). This medicine-related circuit of living, issuing things is given great prominence; it descends the center front of the staff and mounts the two sides to connect all the elements of the bottom except for the two human figures and the mudfish.

Other references to medicine appear on the top of the staff: the figure with celt and ukhure occurs primarily in a medicine context; the celt alone is often depicted on medicine cult objects. Because it represented the powers of curing and dominating, the ability to command medicine and magic was important for the Oba and for warriors.<sup>33</sup> Today "the Bini believe that their great success as warriors in the olden days was due to magic."<sup>34</sup>

On the base of the staff, front and back, appear two small human figures that wear Maltese crosses on their breasts and carry L-shaped blacksmiths' hammers (Figure 7). Such figures with round caps, cat-whisker scarifications, crosses, and hammers, are believed to represent the "messengers" that the Oghene, the distant ruler usually identified with the Oni of Ife, sent to Benin to confirm the accession of a new Oba.<sup>35</sup> They occur frequently in Benin art and can be taken as a symbol of legitimacy, one of the principal messages expressed here.

The cult of the Hand is a central theme of this ukhure and of other objects attributed to the reign of Eresonye. While the cult existed long before his time, it seems to have come to new prominence at the beginning of the eighteenth century.<sup>36</sup> The elephant trunk terminating in a hand holding a trefoil

32. William Fagg, *Divine Kingship*, p. 29.

33. Bradbury, *Benin Studies*, pp. 259–260.

34. Ben-Amos, "Ekpo Ritual," p. 13.

35. Frank Willett, "New Light on the Ife-Benin Relationship," *African Forum* 3, no. 4 and 4, no. 1 (1968) p. 29.

36. Bradbury, *Benin Studies*, p. 265, refers to it in connection with Ewuare (about 1440–73). For a description of the cult of the Hand, see Susan Vogel, *Gods of Fortune, the Cult of the Hand in Nigeria* (New York, 1974).

is the central image of the cult of the Hand, appearing on *ikegobo* (altars to the Hand) usually in the abbreviated form of trunk-hand, but occasionally as a complete elephant in the round (Figure 17).<sup>37</sup> The trunk-hand that appears on *ikegobo* is probably not a reference to elephants, but to the Hand magnified enormously: the supreme Hand of the bush, an ultimate Hand of Hands. Right and left hands are depicted on *ikegobo*, usually in symmetrical pairs (Figure 12). Unlike the Ibo, the Bini do not seem to prefer the right hand as the cult's symbol.

On the Museum's *ukhure*, from the serpents' mouths emerge right and left hands with the fingers closed and the thumbs out in the Hand position. The most common sacrifice to the Hand is a fish,<sup>38</sup> and a pair of mudfish are cast in relief on the back of the staff near the hands (Figure 6). The association here is with Olokun, god of the sea and of wealth, because wealth is procured by means of one's Hand. The sacrifice par excellence for the Hand, however, is a crocodile,<sup>39</sup> again for its connection with wealth and

the sea, but also probably for its association with war, as "Ogun of the waters."<sup>40</sup> Significantly, since the Hand is concerned with both wealth and warfare, the circuit on the staff that culminates in the hands begins with the crocodile.

In the light of allusions to the Hand on the staff, the particular rendering of the hands of the Oba figure on the top seems significant. He is shown grasping the celt and *ukhure* with his fingers only: both thumbs are prominent and extended vertically in the Hand position (Figures 4, 8, 14). That this posture is deliberate and significant is revealed by its consistent occurrence in a limited number of contexts. Figures shown with the fingers-folded-thumbs-out gesture are not random and are never secondary. On plaques, only the Oba or a warrior is shown this way (Figure 19). Free-standing figures of the

40. Ben-Amos, "Men and Animals" (1974) p. 5.

37. Elephants in the round are rare in Benin art; only eleven works that include them are known to me. In addition to the Museum's staff, they are: a bronze *ikegobo* in the Jos Museum (Figure 17); a bronze altar, probably an *ikegobo*, in Berlin (von Luschan, *Altertumer II*, pl. 85); a bronze *ukhure* in Dresden (Siegfried Wolf, "Elfenbein und Bronze, Vergleich zwischen Benin-Arbeiten verschiedenen Materials," *Abhandlungen und Berichte des Staatlichen Museums für Volkerkunde Dresden* 30 (1969) figs. C6-C7); a bronze *ukhure* top (Fagg, *Divine Kingship*, p. 41); a bronze elephant cut off an *ukhure*, and a complete ivory *ukhure* (Reed and Dalton, *Antiquities*, pl. 8, no. 4); the last three are in the British Museum. Two works in the University Museum, Philadelphia, are loosely related: a bronze altar group with free-standing elephants in a distinctly non-Benin court style (William Fagg, *Nigerian Images* [New York, London, 1963] pl. 67), and a wooden *ukhure* with a highly stylized elephant at the top surmounted by a standing figure (unpublished). There is an ivory scepter cup in the Nigerian Museum, Lagos (Ling Roth, *Great Benin*, figs. 209-211), and reportedly, another ivory *ukhure* with an elephant in the Benin Museum. To the best of my knowledge, no elephants appear on the plaques. The motif may be assumed to have been introduced at the beginning of the late period, though a fragmentary hip mask with a humanized elephant head in the Hamburg Museum is dated by Fagg to the mid-sixteenth century (*Nigerian Images*, pl. 28b). Dark considers the elephant with the trunk ending in a hand holding a trefoil to be characteristic of the Eresonye period (Forman and Dark, *Benin Art*, p. 40). I know of no elephants in Benin art without the trunk-hand, so I infer that Dark would date all the elephants listed above to Eresonye's time.

38. Bradbury, *Benin Studies*, p. 267.

39. *Ibid.*



FIGURE 19  
Plaque with mounted oba. Bronze, H. 19½ in. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Michael C. Rockefeller Memorial Collection, P57.231 (photo: Charles Uht)

king and of “messengers” often have extended, prominent thumbs. Hands so rendered may be empty, or may hold an object as on the ukhure. As in all Hand cult objects from Benin, there is no preference for right over left; either or both may be in the Hand position. It now seems likely that wherever in Benin art this representation of the hand occurs, it is an explicit reference to the cult of the Hand.

One wonders why the cult of the Hand should be referred to on this royal ukhure, and what its relevance is to the themes of power and legitimacy elaborated here. Bradbury underlines its similarity to the cult of the Head, saying “the Head and the Hand are concerned with what a man can achieve in life through his own efforts.”<sup>41</sup> The cult of the Head has a greater relevance to the kingship; in fact, the main public event of the state ritual at Benin was the annual blessing of the Oba’s Head. This ceremony was important for the well-being of the whole people because the Oba worshiped his Head not merely for himself, but for all his dependents, and during the ritual blessed the Heads of all his chiefs.<sup>42</sup> In contrast, the cult of the Hand has a much more individual flavor, and the references to it on the Museum’s ukhure are probably reminders of the Oba’s vigor and enterprise on his own behalf in competition with the community of chiefs and the outlying parts of his domain.

Hand worship is particularly important for craftsmen, and its appearance here is an allusion to the blacksmith-craftsman, another minor theme of the staff. Blacksmiths, who were also bronze casters, are alluded to in the L-shaped hammers carried by the human figures, in the several references to Ogun, and perhaps in the presence of ax heads lashed to the serpents’ necks (Figure 7). Blacksmith imagery is prominent on a number of the objects associated with the reign of Eresonye, most notably in a bronze stool (Figures 20, 21), probably because of the great flourishing of bronze casting that Egharevba tells us occurred during his reign.<sup>43</sup> Akenzua and his son Eresonye are remembered as two of the richest kings in Benin’s history.<sup>44</sup> Blacksmith imagery becomes here a testament to the Oba’s prosperity.

Because of Egharevba’s statement that there was “an abundance of brass”<sup>45</sup> during Eresonye’s reign, a considerable number of late period objects have been

attributed to his time. Among them are five objects closely related to the Museum’s ukhure that I propose to identify as the Eresonye group of bronzes, a corpus that may prove useful to scholars as chronological reference. These works can be dated with some assurance to the end of Akenzua’s reign and the beginning of Eresonye’s.

The bronzes attributed to Eresonye’s reign prove, on examination, to be so numerous and so diverse in style that their production over a longer period seems more likely. The peaceful and prosperous reigns of Akenzua I and Eresonye had been preceded by over fifty years of civil war and political turmoil. Strife erupted again about 1750 after the death of Eresonye, and lasted until the end of the century. Since peace and prosperity are more conducive to the creation of art than turmoil is, we can probably assume that some of the objects now attributed to Eresonye’s time are in fact earlier, dating from the peaceful reign of his predecessor Akenzua I rather than from that of his embattled successor Akenbuda. According to Egharevba, the Obas Akenzua I and Eresonye ruled for close to forty years (1713–35 and 1735–50).

Egharevba gives us the only hard facts we have about the art of the period, and all his information relates to Eresonye.<sup>46</sup> He tells us that Eresonye invented ivory flutes and introduced the Odudua masquerade (Figure 18), thus making it theoretically possible to date these two kinds of objects to Eresonye’s time. On the basis of style, it seems unlikely that any of the Odudua masks known today were made as early as 1750, but the iconography of Odudua is probably of the period, and it is characteristic of the objects I tentatively call the Eresonye group. The key to this group is a bronze stool: Egharevba records that such a stool was made for Eresonye.

Today three bronze stools are known from Nigeria. One in the University of Ife collection is not in my opinion a Benin work but was probably made

41. Bradbury, *Benin Studies*, p. 272.

42. *Ibid.*, p. 263.

43. Egharevba, *Short History*, p. 42.

44. *Ibid.*, pp. 40–41.

45. *Ibid.*, p. 42.

46. *Ibid.*

in Owo, and is an earlier prototype on which the other two are based. The others, both in the Berlin Museum and both found in Benin in 1897 by the Punitive Expedition, share a peculiar non-Benin iconography with the University of Ife stool. The larger and more elaborate of the two is the only one with a decorated seat (Figures 20, 21). The motifs on the seat are predominately Benin motifs and are closely related to those of the Eresonye group.

Spread across the stool top, against a textured background, are isolated objects, some of which seem particularly characteristic of Eresonye's period: a disc and crescent, a Maltese cross, an L-shaped blacksmith's hammer, a curved ada sword and an eben sword, two trunk-hand motifs, and a face with mud-fish issuing from the mouth. Around the rim are two undulating serpents with hands in the Hand posture issuing from their mouths. These motifs are all related to those on the Museum's ukhure and also appear on Odudua masks.

Of the six masks used in Odudua ceremonies, two

are plain, one has the trunk-hand issuing from the mouth, one a Maltese cross on the chin, one a disc and crescent on the chin. The last has what appears to be a fish on the chin (Figure 18). Serpents and crocodiles figure prominently on Odudua masks, but they are too pervasive in Benin art to be identifying features of the Eresonye group in themselves. They do, however, appear with unusual frequency in the Eresonye objects in compositions that include the theme of issuing.

The British Museum's large royal ikegobo, altar to the Hand, usually attributed to Eresonye, in my opinion also belongs to this group (Figures 12, 13). Around the sides are prominent pairs of Maltese crosses separating all the large figures. On the back appear figures wearing Maltese crosses and carrying blacksmiths' hammers.

The ikegobo described by Bradbury,<sup>47</sup> although not of the Eresonye group, is of the period. Though the

47. Bradbury, *Benin Studies*, pp. 251–270.

FIGURES 20, 21

Stool, side and top. Bronze, H. 14¾ in. Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin, III C 20295 (Museum für Völkerkunde)



present casting of the upper part is a modern replacement for the lost one of the early eighteenth century,<sup>48</sup> according to tradition, this ikegobo was made for the war chief Ezomo Ehenua, who was raised to prominence by Akenzua I and lived on to victorious service under Eresonye. It seems possible that the lost original is the rather different ikegobo now in the Jos Museum (Figure 17). Connected by its iconography and style to the Eresonye group, the Jos altar is one of the few Benin works that depict elephants in the round. The peculiar positioning of the elephant (chief) and leopard (king) suggests that this ikegobo may have been cast for a chief rather than an Oba. The largest and most prominent figures are those of the elephants whose trunks rest—assertively or protectively—across the leopards' backs. One could speculate that this ikegobo, which is much finer in workmanship than the present Ezomo's and whose elephants closely resemble those on the ukhure, was the one originally cast for Ezomo Ehenua by a court artist late in Akenzua's reign or at the beginning of Eresonye's.

A large figure group in the Berlin Museum can also be placed in the Eresonye group of objects (Figures 14, 15). Stylistically close to the British Museum's ikegobo, it has the circle and crescent, Maltese cross, and swords on the Oba's skirt, while the trunk-hand is prominent on the base. Of exceptional interest is the fact that this figure group depicts an Oba carrying the Museum's ukhure. The two protruding elephant trunks are recognizable on the staff, as are the horizontal ax heads at the bottom and the sword on the front of the shaft. The figure of the Oba standing on the elephant carrying ukhure and celt is clearly the same. Only the Oba's headgear is different from the original. It has been updated to match that worn by the Oba who is the main figure of the altar group.

The identification of the staff depicted in this altar group confirms what a stylistic comparison would suggest: that the Metropolitan Museum's ukhure is earlier than the altar group. A similar altar group may be an earlier version of this one (Figure 16). It is slightly smaller and more refined in workmanship,

and lacks the notched eyelid that seems to appear as the late period moves into full swing. The Museum's ukhure also lacks this trait. I would suggest that the earlier one was made for Akenzua I and depicts him holding his father's ukhure (now lost), and that the later one was made for Eresonye, in turn depicting him holding his father Akenzua's ukhure, now in the Metropolitan Museum. The Museum's staff was thus probably cast for Akenzua, as was the first altar group.

From these objects we can infer a chronological relationship for the others. The bronze stool with decorated seat (Figures 20, 21), which, like the Museum's staff, lacks the notched eyelid, is probably close in date to the staff, as is the Jos ikegobo. These two objects, along with the ukhure, should be dated to the time of prosperity following the restoration of the monarchy late in Akenzua's reign or early in Eresonye's. The altar depicting the Museum's staff and the ikegobo in the British Museum would be slightly later during Eresonye's reign. Since we lack the original Odudua masks with which to make stylistic comparisons, they cannot be precisely placed within this group, though they belong to Eresonye's reign on the basis of oral tradition.

This hypothetical dating of the Eresonye group of bronzes is offered in the hope that it will provoke other attempts to refine the dating of Benin art. The iconographic and historical interpretation of the ukhure is a happy accident, possible in the case of this particular complex object, but not usually available for African art once it has left its original context.

#### ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to thank Paula Ben-Amos, who generously read and commented on several versions of this paper and first expressed one of the seminal ideas, that the staff is about the restoration of the monarchy. Douglas Fraser and William B. Fagg also kindly read earlier versions of the paper and both made helpful comments for which I am grateful.

48. Fagg concurs (*ibid.*, p. 260).

# The Compositional Evolution of David's Leonidas at Thermopylae

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ONCE DISMISSED AS an ambitious failure, overly labored and indicative of an incipient decline in David's artistic powers, the *Leonidas at Thermopylae* (Figure 1) has more recently been recognized by art historians as a key, evocative statement of certain principles highly important to David's later development.<sup>1</sup> The last of his large-scale, multifigured history paintings, it was conceived as a pendant to his

1. Klaus Holma (*David, son évolution et son style* [Paris, 1940] p. 88) called the composition "morne," claiming that "la main du maître a perdu de cette sûreté qui lui a fait honneur pendant des dizaines d'années," and even David's sympathetic biographer Hautecoeur felt compelled to write about this painting defensively: "Il est facile, certes, de critiquer aujourd'hui ce tableau . . ." (*Louis David* [Paris, 1954] p. 232). Representative of a more recent and more positive critical attitude is Martin Kemp ("J. L. David and the Prelude to a Moral Victory for Sparta," *Art Bulletin* 51, no. 2 [June 1969] pp. 178–183), who writes, "It is this latter work [the *Leonidas*] which provides the key to David's later ideals" (p. 178). See also J. Bean and D. von Bothmer, "A propos du 'Léonidas aux Thermopyles' de David," *Revue du Louvre* 14 (1964) pp. 327 f.; James Rubin, "J.-L. David's Patriotism," *Art Bulletin* 58, no. 4 (Dec. 1976) esp. pp. 563–567.

2. David referred to the *Leonidas* in a letter of 31 May 1814 as "un pendant à mes Sabines" (Daniel and Guy Wildenstein, *Documents complémentaires au catalogue de l'oeuvre de Louis David* [Paris, 1973] no. 1689). Numerous authors have discussed the stylistic reform represented in the *Sabine Women*, most notably Robert Rosenblum in "A New Source for David's *Sabines*," *Burlington Magazine* 104 (April 1962) pp. 158–162, and in his *Transformations in Late Eighteenth Century Art* (Princeton, 1967) pp. 182–183. The change in David's attitude toward expression manifested in these works, however, has never been adequately explored. Briefly, it involved a rejection of what David saw in his early work as a "Roman" and too theatrical dramatic language,

earlier *Sabine Women* and reasserted the "reformed and purified" classical mode first announced in that work, with implications for both the treatment of form and the overall expressive approach of the painting.<sup>2</sup> Emphasis is placed on heightened idealization of anatomy, on purposefully additive or "archaic" composition, and on a restrained or rarified expression in the gestures and faces of the figures.

with gestures and facial expression tending toward exaggeration and grimace, and the substitution of more inward, less emotive expression in an attempt to approach more closely the true antique, Greek pictorial canons. As he stated in his pamphlet on the *Sabine Women* (1799), "nous cherchons à imiter les anciens dans . . . l'expression de leur figures et les graces de leurs formes"; to resort to exaggerated gesture and distorted facial expression in order to portray passion was considered a violation of antique principles and a debasement of a figure's physical and moral decorum. David is known to have criticized certain contemporary painters, such as Girodet, on these grounds (Jules David, *Le Peintre Louis David* [Paris, 1880] pp. 502–504), and was also critical of his own Horatii, which he found "théâtrale" (M. E. J. Delécluze, *Louis David, son école et son temps* [Paris, 1855] p. 120). The *Sabine Women* and *Leonidas* represent on his part a concerted effort to institute a more idealized, more purely Greek mode of expression, in which figures display calm exteriors and graceful gestures even through the most intense of emotions. As the artist told Delécluze: "Je veux essayer de mettre de côté ces mouvements, ces expressions de théâtre auxquels les modernes ont donné le titre de peinture d'expression," and also, "Je ne veux ni mouvement ni expression passionné . . ." (Delécluze, pp. 225–226). This attitude concerning the necessary composure of figures and the dangers of the grimace was one shared with, and possibly derived from, such eighteenth-century theorists as Lessing, Winckelmann, Diderot, and Quatremère de Quincy.

101

True to his belief in history painting as a vehicle for contemporary political message, David dramatizes an ideal of extreme loyalty to country, particularly meaningful in light of the unstable international situation of post-Revolutionary France and the fact that David's own patriotism had recently been questioned. Leonidas, leader of the forces of Sparta, is depicted with his troops in the final moments before the battle of the Thermopylae pass in which they would heroically sacrifice their lives in order to halt Xerxes' invading Persian army. This subject was one of the incidents from ancient history most frequently invoked during the Revolution and its aftermath as

an *exemplum virtutis* and would take on heightened significance with the fall of Napoleon.<sup>3</sup> Furthermore, it has recently been shown that David may have in-

3. Literary sources for the subject include Herodotus, *History*, book 7; Plutarch, *Life of Lycurgus*; Xenophon's *Constitution of Sparta* (which Kemp, p. 179, attempts to show that David knew and used); and J. J. Barthélemy's popular *Voyage du jeune Anarcharsis en Grèce*. The latter has been overlooked as a source for the Leonidas, but is specifically referred to in an inscription on a drawing of Leonidas by David now in the Musée Fabre, Montpellier. Concerning the popularity of this theme in Revolutionary rhetoric see R. Herbert, *David, Voltaire, "Brutus" and the French Revolution* (London, 1972) note 122; Rubin, "David's Patriotism," pp. 565-566; and H. T. Parker, *The Cult of Antiquity and the French Revolutionaries* (Chicago, 1937) p. 118.

FIGURE 1

Jacques-Louis David, *Leonidas at Thermopylae* (1800-14). Canvas, 3.92 × 5.33 m. Musée du Louvre (photo: Bulloz)



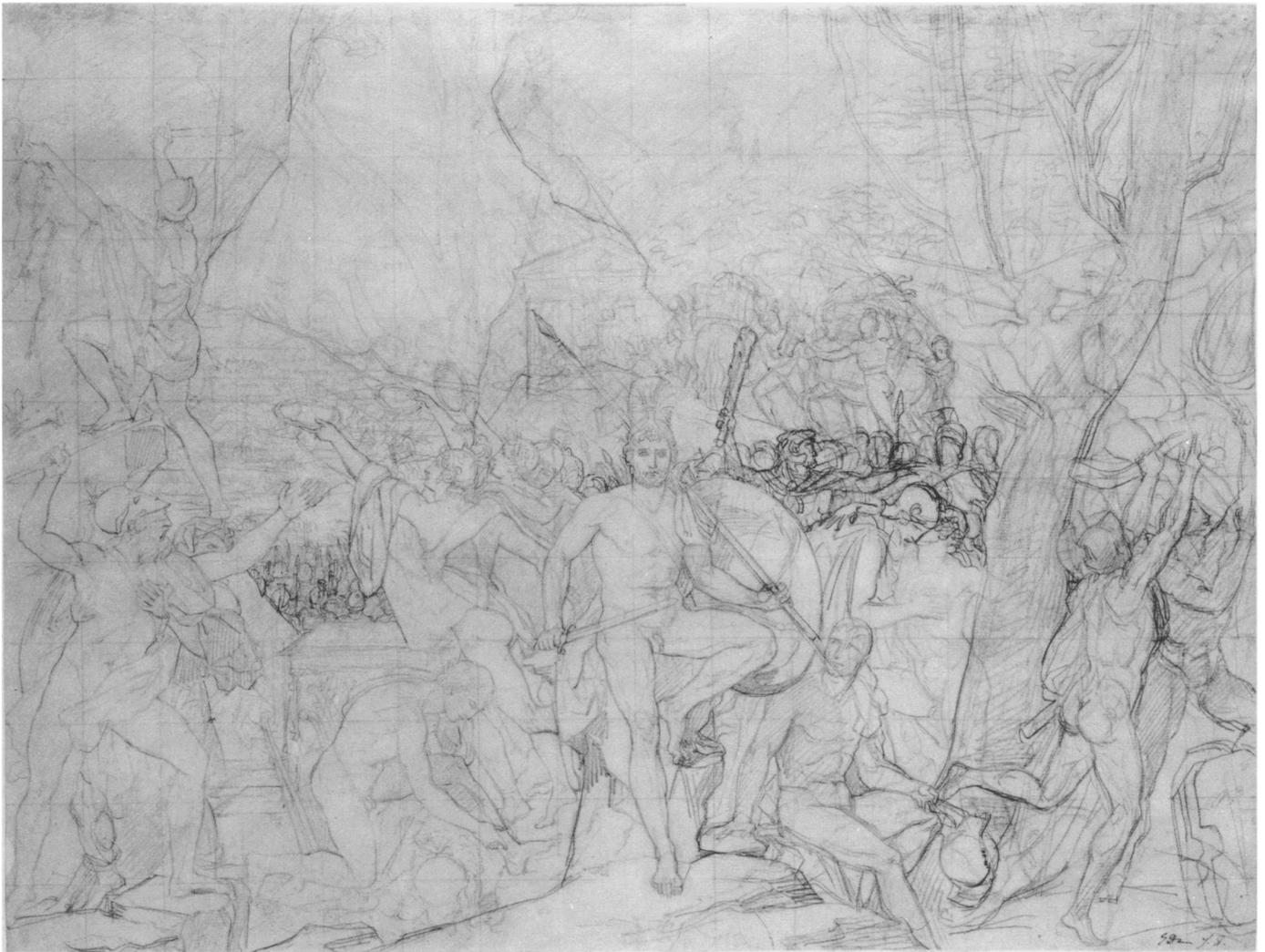


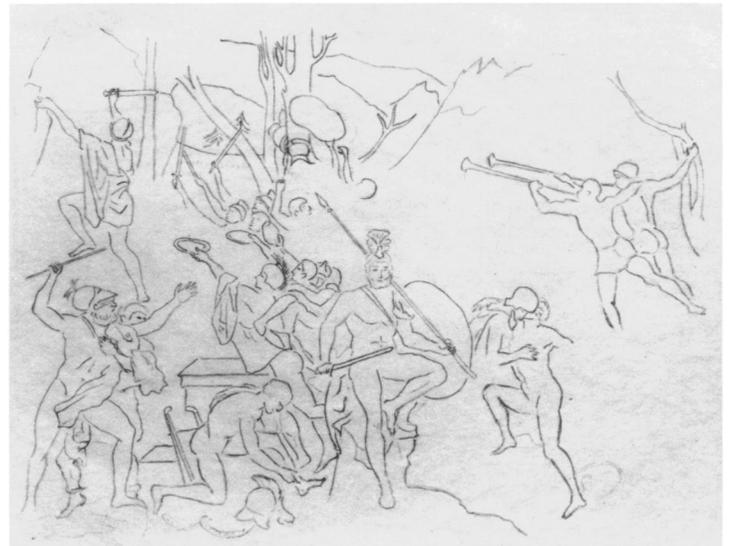
FIGURE 2  
David, study for Leonidas. Pencil, 40.5 × 55 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 63.1

FIGURE 3  
Tracing of underdrawing in Figure 2

tended in this work a couched and very personal statement of Republican sentiment.<sup>4</sup>

The primary concern of this article, however, is interpretation not of the composition's iconography but rather of its formal evolution through various generative stages. From David's long preliminary study for the Leonidas, many drawings resulted that, considered as a whole, greatly illuminate the artist's

4. Rubin, "David's Patriotism," pp. 563–567.



working method, the sources he drew upon, and the inventive decisions that inform the final image. The history spelled out by these studies is particularly extensive and complex, as work on the project continued fitfully over many years and was marked by constant revision and modification. Especially important to an understanding of this long evolution is a drawing in the Metropolitan Museum (Figure 2) that actually is comprised of two distinct stages: it evidences a faint underdrawing (Figure 3) that was worked over in a firmer hand and with important changes in the arrangement of figures. Although the drawing has often been exhibited and published, this curious two-stage progression remains unexplained.<sup>5</sup> Viewed in the context of other compositional studies, a number of which have never before been published, as well as documentation relevant to the chronology of the *Leonidas*, it emerges that the Museum's drawing was executed late in the project and records a decisive transformation of the composition. Its first stage appears to be based on an oil version that existed some years earlier when David temporarily abandoned work on the *Leonidas*. The second stage shows the drastic compositional changes he made preparatory to repainting the abandoned canvas. The drawing, therefore, documents a crucial turning point in the painting's evolution and the inception of its final form.

The story of the interrupted development of the *Leonidas* is well known but bears retelling so as to establish in detail the chronology involved. David had completed his large *Sabine Women* by October 1798, and although his history painting proceeded simultaneously during these years with several portrait commissions, he presumably started work on the *Leonidas* soon thereafter. The project is recorded in documents as early as November 1799<sup>6</sup> and considerable effort must have gone into preliminary drawings by September of the following year when Lullin, one of David's students, wrote from Paris to his fellow student Delécluze, who was vacationing in the country: "David est de retour avec une nouvelle composition de son tableau (le *Léonidas*), qui, dit-on, vaut mieux que celle que nous connaissons."<sup>7</sup> Already, however, David was being swept up in the events surrounding Napoleon's rise to power and politicization of the arts, events that would

eventually cause him to suspend altogether his work on the *Leonidas*. In February 1800 he received his first offer to become the government painter,<sup>8</sup> and from July 1800 to June 1801 he worked on his first major Napoleonic commission, *Bonaparte Crossing the St. Bernard Pass*. In December 1803 he wrote to Vivant Denon, then director of the Musée Napoléon, asking for antique casts to be used as models in the production of his *Leonidas*.<sup>9</sup> A year later, he was present at Napoleon's coronation. Soon after, he was made Premier Peintre de l'Empereur and given a studio in the Cluny church for use in preparation of the *Coronation of Napoleon*.<sup>10</sup>

In August 1805, he could speak only longingly of his desire to finish the *Leonidas*.<sup>11</sup> It is safe to assume that once David began the two monumental canvases, the *Coronation* and the *Distribution of Eagles*, projects that would continue until November 1810, he was forced to postpone indefinitely the *Leonidas*, although it is also clear that by then he had developed a painted version of the composition to quite an advanced stage, a fact not previously noted in the literature. The critic Chaussard, in his book on the Salon of 1806, gives the following observations in a short biography of David:

On admire plusieurs détails du Passage des Thermopyles, tableau que l'artiste n'a pas achevé. C'est dans l'exécution qu'on retrouve tout son talent; mais la composition en paraît vicieuse. On y voit parmi les principaux personnages, un soldat aveugle, remarquable par l'enthousiasme et presque par l'exagération de ses mouvements. Il a l'air de crier, et prêt à frapper comme un sourd.<sup>12</sup>

5. The drawing is inscribed with the paraphs of David's two sons, added at the time of the David atelier sale of 1826, in which it was probably lot no. 92, not 96 as stated in *The Age of Neo-Classicism*, Arts Council of Great Britain (London, 1972) no. 556, wherein Arlette Sérullaz suggests that the underdrawing was "a first study for the picture" but gives no further explanation. See also Bean-von Bothmer.

6. Wildenstein, *Documents* no. 1319.

7. Letter of 23 Sept. 1800; Delécluze, p. 103.

8. Wildenstein, *Documents* no. 1339.

9. Wildenstein, *Documents* no. 1413.

10. The coronation, which David attended and sketched, took place 2 Dec. 1804. He was appointed Premier Peintre 18 Dec. (Wildenstein, *Documents* no. 1425) and given his studio 6 Feb. 1805 (Wildenstein, *Documents* no. 1429).

11. Wildenstein, *Documents* no. 1452.

12. Chaussard, *Le Pausanias Français, ou Description du Salon de 1806* (Paris, 1808) p. 164. Arlette Sérullaz (*Age of Neo-Classicism*

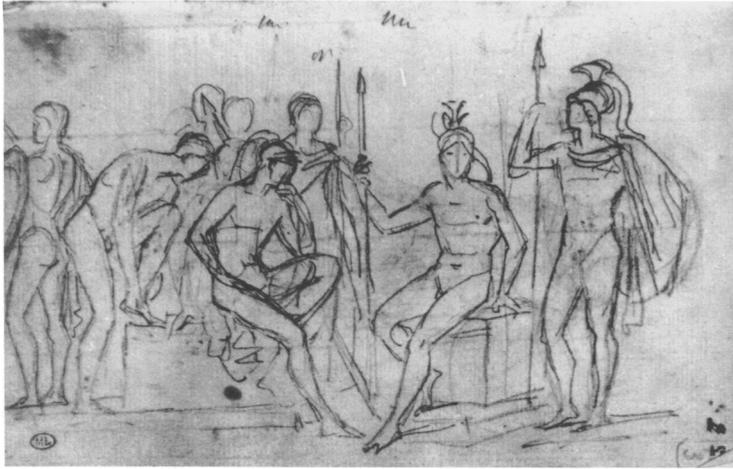


FIGURE 4  
David, study for Leonidas. Pencil, 11 × 17 cm. Cabinet des Dessins, RF6071, p. 3, Musée du Louvre (photo: Musées Nationaux)

Chaussard must have seen the unfinished painting in David's studio. The very fact that he was able to comment on both technique and composition testifies to its relatively advanced development.

The *Distribution of Eagles* was finally completed in November 1810, leaving David free at last to return to his favored genre, that of ancient history painting. On April 23, 1811, the young artist Pierre Suau, a student in David's atelier, mentioned in a letter to his father, "M. David va continuer son tableau des Thermopyles qu'il avait abandonné et dont il disait qu'il n'était pas content."<sup>13</sup> David's involvement with various other projects in 1811–12 seems to have again diverted his efforts from the *Leonidas*,<sup>14</sup> but in 1813 he was able to concentrate on it more fully, as we know from comments in Suau's letters. On June 13, July 28, and August 22, 1813, he notes that David

no. 556) expresses the opinion that David never ceased working on the *Leonidas*, but the evidence she cites (similarity of poses in drawings with figures in the *Distribution of Eagles*) is unconvincing since David often borrowed poses from earlier works, and given the extent of his other obligations during 1805–10, it is highly unlikely that he would have had any time for work on the *Leonidas* other than perhaps a few figure sketches.

13. Paul Mesplé, "David et ses élèves Toulousains," *Archives de l'art français* 14 (1969) p. 101.

14. The *Portrait of Napoleon in his Study* dates from 1811–12, and in 1812 David executed an oil sketch of Alexander and

was working steadily on the canvas, that he had models coming to the studio almost daily and had made a number of important changes, and that, by August, he was approaching the final stages of execution.<sup>15</sup> David and his assistants required another year, however, to finish the huge composition, finally exhibited in his studio in September 1814.

It can therefore be said that the *Leonidas* was in production off and on for at least six years, and we know from the testimony of both witnesses and drawings that it taxed David's inventive powers perhaps more than any other of his works, as it proceeded through innumerable modifications and compositional transformations. In the front of a sketchbook in the Louvre that contains many preparatory studies for the *Leonidas*, a small study documents what appears to have been one of the earliest, still quite experimental stages of development (Figure 4).<sup>16</sup> It was characteristic of David that he started not with an overall sketch of a preconceived composition but rather with studies of individual figures that were then combined and inductively organized into increasingly definitive designs. Here, in what seems an almost random assemblage of certain conventional academic and antique poses, David has struck upon several motifs that continue through later studies. The figure second from the right, for example, anticipates to a high degree the seated posture of Leonidas in the final composition, and the figure to his right was eventually transposed to a seated position at Leonidas' feet. In this stage, however, the figures are simply spaced more or less evenly across the foreground, with no psychological interaction and little of the balanced hierarchical placement they later display.

From experimentation on a limited scale, David soon progressed to a full and complex composition.

Campaspe. Two drawings in the Louvre, both dated 1812, apparently derive from a short-lived project of apartment decoration in which David was involved (Guiffrey and Marcel, *Inventaire général des dessins du Musée du Louvre et du Musée de Versailles* 4, nos. 3189, 3190).

15. Mesplé, pp. 101–102.

16. The drawings for the *Leonidas* in this album seem to derive in general from the earlier stages of work on the project. The second half of the album contains studies for the *Distribution of Eagles* and *Cupid and Psyche*.

Three closely related drawings record the sequence of development: one, the most cursory, is known only through a lithograph published by Jules David (Figure 5);<sup>17</sup> a second, somewhat more firmly drawn, is in the Musée Fabre at Montpellier (Figure 6);<sup>18</sup> and what would appear to be the latest of the three (Figure 7) is executed on a page in one of the albums of studies for the Leonidas now in the Louvre<sup>19</sup> and shows a considerable increase in clarity and confidence of handling. It was almost certainly some point in the process of change represented by these drawings that Lullin was referring to when he wrote in September 1800 that David had achieved “une nouvelle composition de son tableau.” All three drawings were developed in conjunction with sketchbook studies in which David researched individual figures and poses. Literally hundreds of these freely executed studies survive, allowing one to trace the evolution of each figure in the composition and David’s search, often starting with antique motifs, for attitudes at once noble and expressive.<sup>20</sup> Exemplifying this technique are three studies for the figure of Eurytus, an old and blind Spartan warrior who, according to Herodotus, refused to accept Leonidas’ order that he be escorted from the field of battle and instead had himself positioned by a slave directly in the path of the approaching enemy (Figures 8–10).<sup>21</sup> He appears in the final painting at the extreme left. The last of these studies is particularly interesting, as it shows David’s draughtsmanship at its most fluid and best.

The compositional drawings discussed above (Fig-

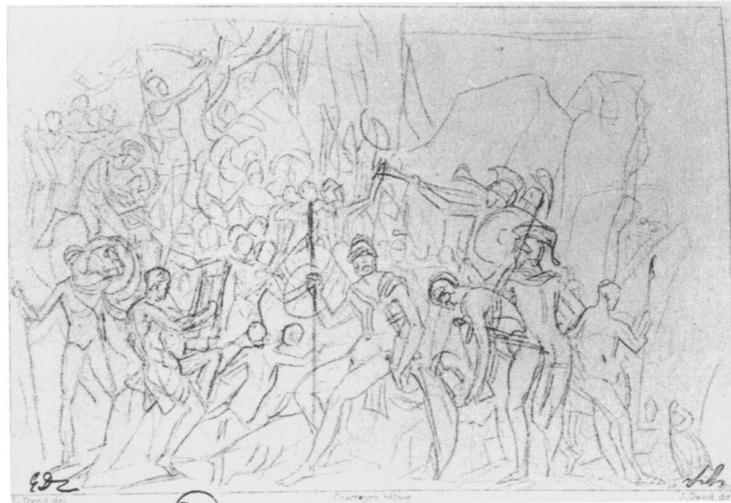


FIGURE 5  
Study for Leonidas. Lithograph by Jules David after pencil drawing by David

ures 2, 5–7) reveal that David had determined quite early the basic narrative program of his painting. He chose to depict not the actual combat but rather the prelude to combat when the Spartan troops anticipate and prepare for the impending crisis. This was an important theoretical point for David, summarized in a statement to Delécluze: “A l’imitation des artistes de l’antiquité, qui ne manquaient jamais de choisir l’instant avant ou après la grande crise d’un sujet, je ferai Léonidas et ses soldats calmes et se promettant l’immortalité avant le combat.”<sup>22</sup> Thus, he depicts Leonidas seated pensively in the midst of

17. Jules David, *Le Peintre Louis David*, p. 662. It is noted there that the drawing was in Jules David’s private collection, that it measured 12 × 18 cm., and that it was lot no. 159 of the David atelier sale of 1826. To the best of my knowledge, neither the drawing nor the lithograph has been mentioned in the modern literature on David.

18. This drawing may have been part of lot no. 92 in the David atelier sale, although it lacks the sons’ identifying paraphs. It is listed by Jules David, p. 662, and has been published by Bean-von Bothmer, pp. 327–329 and Kemp, p. 178.

19. Published in the exhibition catalogue *Dessins français de 1750 à 1825: Le néo-classicisme* (Louvre, 1972) no. 57. The statement in the catalogue that Louvre album no. 9136 corresponds to lot no. 30 in the Destailleur sale of 1893 is incorrect, since the Destailleur notebook is known to have been broken up.

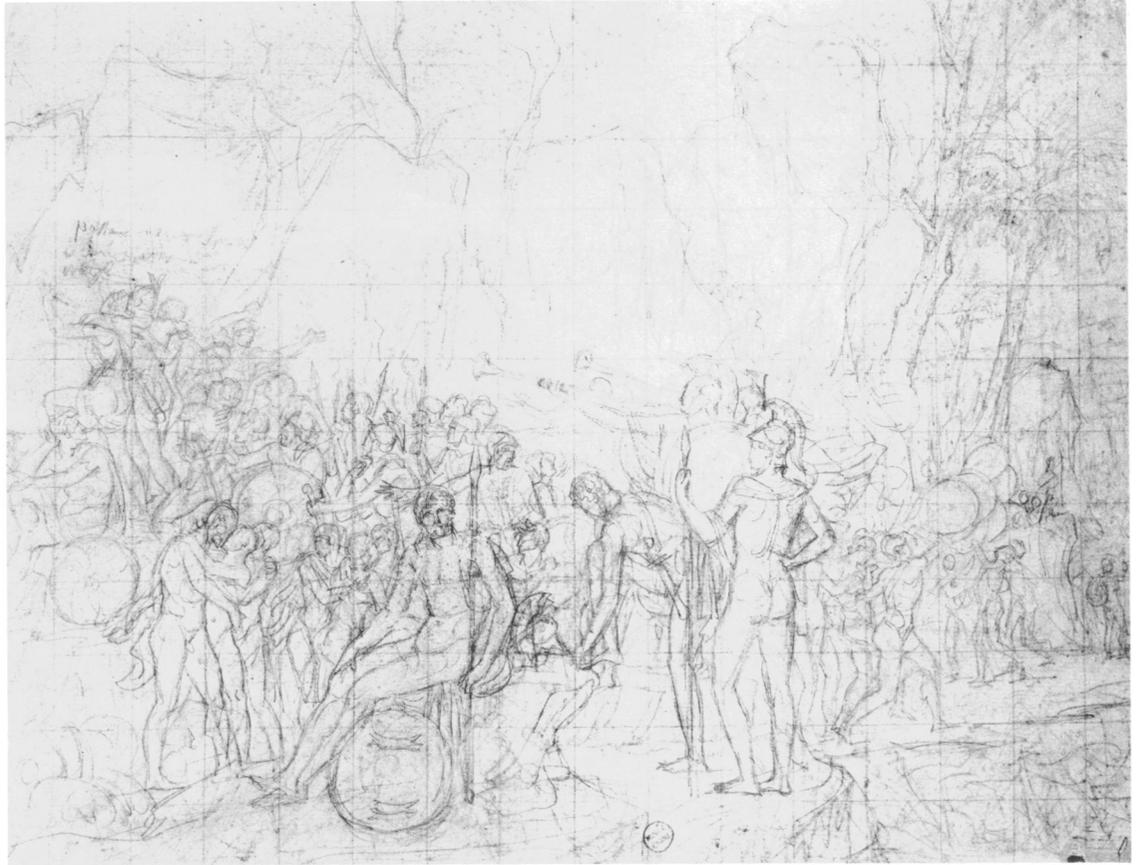
20. Albums containing figure studies for the Leonidas are in the Louvre (nos. RF6071, RF9136, RF9137), in the Musée Wicar at Lille, and in the Versailles museum (album devoted largely to the Serment du Jeu de Paume). A group of studies obviously from a single dispersed album is in the Musée des Arts Décoratifs,

Lyon (published by Pierre Rosenberg, *La Revue du Louvre* 24, no. 6 [1974] pp. 421–28). In addition, numerous single sheets are known in private and public collections. The compositional studies and the figural drawings progressed simultaneously, mutually dependent and supportive. Having first defined a particular figure in his notebook sketches, David would then test it in the composition. The figure might be discarded entirely, or several more studies might ensue before it appeared in another full compositional drawing. The notebook sketches are often based on antique models or figures in earlier paintings or (as an indication of how David would preserve and recycle certain motifs) directly on his own earlier sketches.

21. On the story of Eurytus, see Kemp, p. 179.

22. Delécluze, p. 226. David possibly derived this notion about the choice of moment in antique art from Lessing, who, in his influential study *Laokoon* (1766), made a similar observation and advised artists to avoid the culmination of action in a narrative. The idea that the choice of a moment preceding or following the climax of action allowed greater play of the imagination became a standard element of academic theory.

**FIGURE 6**  
David, study for  
Leonidas. Pencil,  
32 × 42 cm.  
Musée Fabre,  
Montpellier, 837-  
1-N198 (Bulloz)



**FIGURE 7**  
David, study for  
Leonidas. Pencil,  
20.3 × 25.5 cm.  
Cabinet des  
Dessins, RFg136,  
p. 19, Musée du  
Louvre (Musées  
Nationaux)



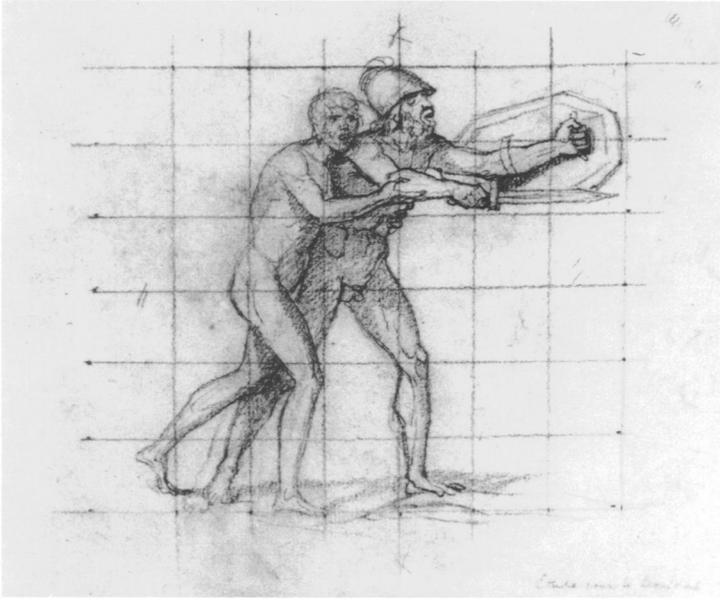


FIGURE 9  
David, figure study. Pencil, 17 × 11 cm. Cabinet des Dessins, RF6071, p. 25, Musée du Louvre (Musées Nationaux)



general activity, contemplating “avec une joie douce à la mort glorieuse qui l’attend ainsi que ses compagnons d’armes.”<sup>23</sup> Behind him, trumpeters sound the call to arms and the troops hurriedly respond, some preparing their armaments, others embracing their comrades in emotional farewells, and one soldier carving in rock with the hilt of his sword the fateful epitaph: “Go stranger and to Lacedaemon tell/That here, obeying her behests, we fell.”<sup>24</sup> One can glimpse

23. Delécluze, p. 226.

24. The origins of this anachronistic epitaph are examined by Kemp, p. 179, who quotes the translation by G. Rawlinson, New York, 1928.

FIGURE 8 (left)

David, figure study. Pencil, 20.3 × 25.5 cm. (full sheet). Cabinet des Dessins, RF9136, p. 20, Musée du Louvre (Musées Nationaux)

FIGURE 10

David, figure study. Pencil, 25.5 × 20.3 cm. Cabinet des Dessins, RF9136, Musée du Louvre (Musées Nationaux)



in the background the departure up a mountain trail of the last of the Greek allies, sent away by Leonidas because (in Herodotus' words) "he cared for them, that they might not be destroyed."<sup>25</sup> This is an important thematic note since it emphasizes the magnanimity of Leonidas, the depleted number of Greek troops, and the desperateness of their position. The abstract ideal developed through all of these details is that of stoic self-sacrifice as a reflection of moral beauty and a means to eternal glory. As Kemp has put it, "Though Leonidas was to be defeated militarily, David wished to make it clear that the moral and spiritual victory after death was to belong to him, the virtuous martyr."<sup>26</sup>

There are a number of important compositional features that these drawings have in common. The point of view is more or less perpendicular to the direction of the mountain pass occupied by Leonidas and his men, that is, toward the rocky elevation of one side of the pass, which opens downward into the distance at the right toward the advancing Persian troops. To emphasize this, the lower right corner of the composition is left relatively open and the figures are massed toward the other side. A large profile of rock juts out to the upper right, serving as a repoussoir for the distant perspective to the side and as a balance for the upraised figures at the left. The basic compositional structure within which the figures are arranged is an uneven triangle tipped back into depth. Along the foreground base of the triangle, Leonidas is given an increasingly centralized, isolated, and commanding position with a decisive change in his pose coming in the early stages of development. Slack and rather casual in the first studies (Figures 5, 6), it becomes far more alert and resolute in the notebook drawing (Figure 7), already closely resembling the pose Leonidas strikes in the final painting.<sup>27</sup> It has the quality of a tensed spring: static (and therefore in keeping with Leonidas' mood of tranquil spirituality), yet predictive of imminent action.<sup>28</sup>

The poses not only of Leonidas but of several other figures in the foreground, as well as the relative placement of several of the motifs, are carried over to the Museum's drawing (Figure 2), which can be placed next in the chronological sequence of surviving compositional studies. As noted above, the

drawing is actually a palimpsest. Having lightly laid in the underdrawing, David then reworked the entire composition, reinforcing in a firmer hand certain motifs from the first stage (for example, the figures of Leonidas, the soldier carving the epitaph, and the one kneeling to tie his sandal, the group of three soldiers reaching forward with wreaths, the blind soldier and companion at the left, the trumpeters, and below them, the two figures embracing). Probably at the same time, and with the same pressure of touch, he added over the underdrawing the vignette of the packtrain making its escape up a trail on the right, and also restructured the wall of rock in the background so that the pass opened directly away from the viewer. Other sections of the final composition, including the group of men behind Leonidas with a leader in Herculean garb<sup>29</sup> and the

25. *History*, book 7. David's idea of showing these men escaping up a mountain path is pure artistic license. According to Herodotus, there was indeed a mountain path but it was the route through which the Persians attacked Leonidas from the rear. The retreating Greeks would simply have crossed over the pass occupied by their countrymen.

26. Kemp, p. 183.

27. The pose in the first studies—legs stretched out to the side, one arm extended to the knee, the other at the side—seems to have been based on an antique statue of Mercury (Reinach, *Répertoire de la statuaire grecque et romaine* I [1906] pp. 365, 367, 368). Studies in David's albums reproduce the pose of this sculpture exactly (e.g., Louvre album RF6071, p. 13). It has often been observed that the definitive Leonidas pose is based on an engraved antique gem representing Ajax, published by Winckelmann (*Monumenti antichi inediti* [Rome, 1767] pl. 142; reproduced by Kemp, fig. 4).

28. Sources of other figures in this drawing: the pose of Eurystus derives from a study for the Serment du Jeu de Paume in David's Versailles notebook, which goes back ultimately to a figure in Raphael's *Sacrifice at Lystra*. The soldier engraving the inscription is thought by Holma and Hauteceur to be based on a figure in the Farnese Bull, but if one traces this pose back through various drawings it can be seen to derive from a figure that David first developed for the Jeu de Paume. The youth binding his sandal appears to be based on a figure in Giulio Romano's *Stoning of St. Stephen*, and the motif of the emotional embrace is common in David's earlier studies. The standing figure with a spear, prominent in the Montpellier drawing but eliminated thereafter, was copied directly from a drawing in David's Berlin notebook after an antique representation of Meleager.

29. This figure is a disciple of the cult of Hercules, from whom Leonidas was said to be descended. Herodotus mentions an altar to Hercules in the Thermopylae pass, and in the final painting David added the inscription "Herakleos" to the cubical altar in the foreground.

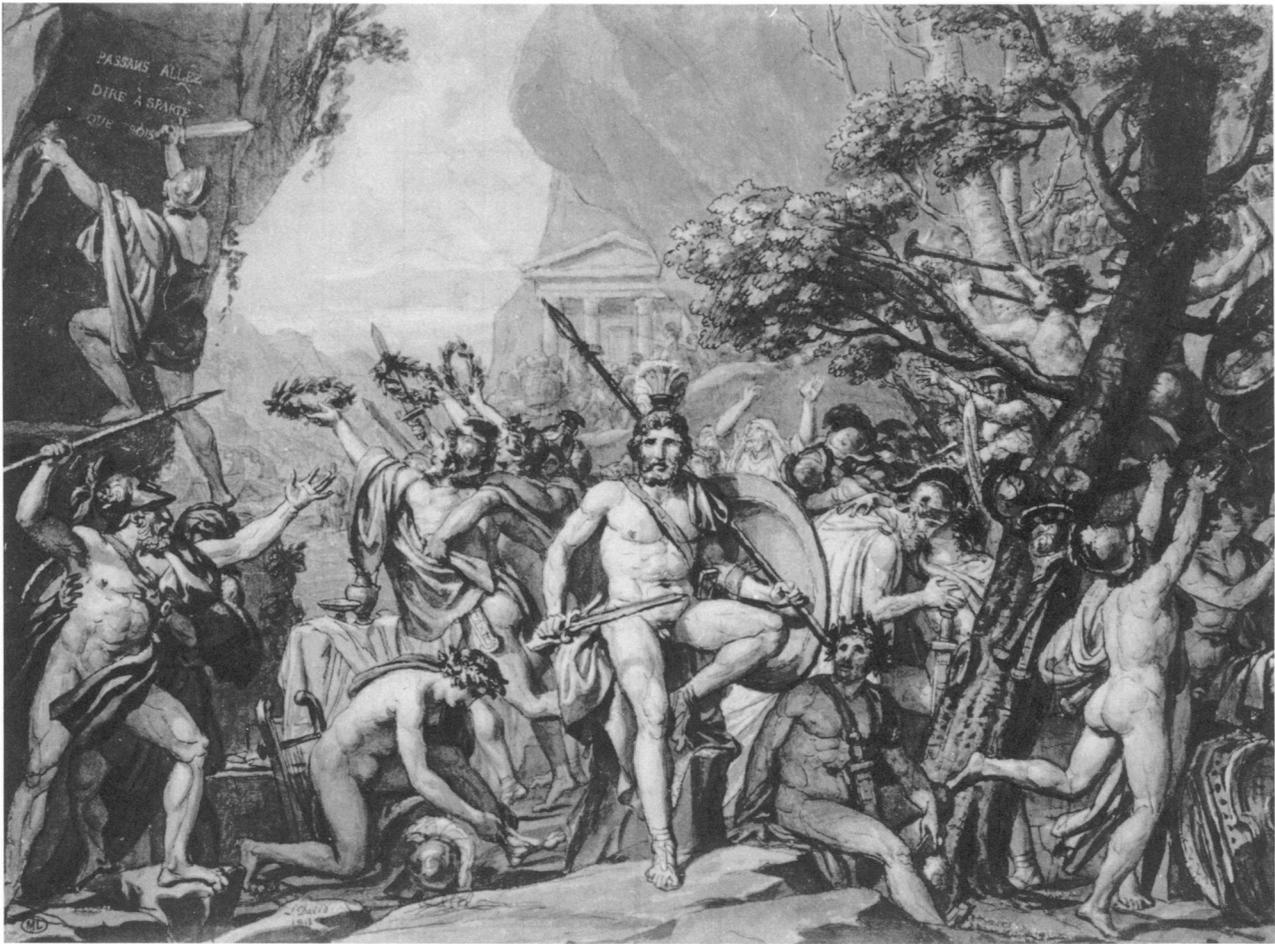


FIGURE 11

David, study for Leonidas. Pen, ink, and wash, 21 × 28.2 cm. Signed lower left: L. David, 1813. Cabinet des Dessins, Musée du Louvre, 26.080 (Musées Nationaux)

tree and two soldiers reaching for armor at the far right, are more darkly and somewhat more roughly drawn and seem to have been the latest additions.

If the tracing of the underdrawing (Figure 3) is examined, it will be seen that in composition it resembles rather closely the Louvre notebook drawing (Figure 7). The trumpeters have been shifted to the upper right, and a tree with hanging armor blocks the cleft in the rocks behind, but the direction of the pass downward to the right is apparently the same, as are several of the figures. It is my contention that the underdrawing recreates a composition that was developed soon after the Louvre study and is identical or very similar to the painted composition as it

existed when David stopped work on the project in 1805; further, that the Museum's drawing as a whole represents a crucial rethinking and restructuring of the overall design at some point after work commenced anew in 1811. A light sketch of the existing composition would have provided a reference field and point of departure, over which the necessary changes could be made.

It will be recalled that Suau's letters furnish evidence that David effected extensive changes on his painted canvas in its late stages of development. He wrote on June 13, 1813, that David was going to "terminer son tableau des Thermopyles ou pour mieux dire le recommencer sur une autre toile," and

then added on July 28, “Le tableau des Thermopyles se continue sur la même toile et non sur une nouvelle . . . mais il y a fait beaucoup de changements, il y a très peu d’anciennes figures qui resteront.” On August 22 he noted that “tous les changements qu’il y a fait sont ébauchés.” Delécluze’s discussion of the painting also stresses that several complete figures were added as late as 1813–14.<sup>30</sup> Since the second stage of the Museum’s drawing relates closely to a finished wash drawing of 1813, the latest extant study for the composition (Figure 11), it must date from approximately the same time and therefore must manifest the changes alluded to by Suau in his letters.<sup>31</sup>

What evidence is there to support the theory that the first stage of the Museum’s drawing records the composition as it existed in the oil of around 1805? It can be assumed, first of all, that the 1805 canvas embodied certain features common to the early drawings and would have shown, for example, the pass running parallel to the picture plane and the soldiers massed in a triangular configuration, elements shared by the underdrawing. It was, perhaps, this elevated crowding of figures that caused Chaussard to find the composition “vicieuse” when he saw it in David’s studio, and it is interesting to speculate on the possibility that Chaussard’s published criticism fed David’s own eventual dissatisfaction with the composition.

Secondly, there is evidence that the figure of the blind Eurytus was the same in the painting Chaussard saw as in the underdrawing and all subsequent versions of the composition. Chaussard wrote, “On y voit parmi les principaux personnages, un soldat aveugle, remarquable par l’enthousiasme et presque

par l’exagération de ses mouvements.” The stumbling figure found in the preceding drawing (Figure 7) can hardly be described as remarkable for its enthusiasm and exaggerated movement.

And thirdly, a hint of repainting on the final canvas, the only one detectable on the glossy surface as the painting now hangs in the Louvre, further supports this theory. This pentimento comprises a slight ridge that cuts across the tree trunk on the right as a ghost contour for the back of the outermost trumpeter. It corresponds to the contour found in the underdrawing and indicates that, rather than being painted simultaneously, the tree was painted over the trumpeter. He must have been fully visible in the early version of the painting without the impediment of the tree, as is precisely the case in the underdrawing.

Although only an X-ray of the painting would make this a certainty, the available visual and documentary evidence does justify the conclusion that the composition in the underdrawing is the same or very similar to the 1805 oil version.<sup>32</sup> David, seriously dissatisfied with the composition as it existed, must have lightly sketched the disfavored design on what was intended as a type of worksheet and then executed the desired revisions in darker outline, preserving certain figures, eliminating and adding others, and altering the basic compositional structure. Thus, the two stages of the Museum’s drawing can be seen as one continuous creative act rather than as two distinct operations separate in time. The second stage embodies all the essential features of the final composition, and progress from there to the finished wash drawing (Figure 11), in which David clarified certain ideas and briefly experimented with other

30. Delécluze, p. 337.

31. Published most recently by Kemp, fig. 2. Bean (Bean-von Bothmer) cites stylistic evidence for dating the Metropolitan’s drawing to late in the project, finding the style of this work “plus avancé” than that of earlier pencil studies. The treatment, however, is not more advanced in terms of stylistic development, but simply manifests the more precise and sharply linear style that David reserved for relatively definitive studies and has parallels in his work as early as the *Serment du Jeu de Paume*.

32. The only problem with this theory is one raised by Delécluze’s account of the order in which the figures on the final canvas were painted. He claims that the figure binding his sandal, the soldiers offering wreaths, the man carving the inscription, and the pair embracing were conceived and almost entirely

painted in the early stages (that is, in 1804 or before), and that the blind Eurytus, the figure seated to the right of Leonidas, the soldiers retrieving their arms, and Leonidas himself all took form only in the late stages (Delécluze, p. 337; this account repeated by Holma and Hauteceur). This order of progression, however, is at odds with other evidence. We know that David had determined the attitude of Leonidas as early as the Louvre notebook study, and it was probably the finalized Eurytus motif that Chaussard saw on the canvas prior to 1808. Delécluze’s further contention that there is a striking disparity in the stylistic treatment of figures dating from the two different periods of execution (“au point d’en devenir parfois choquant”) is unfounded, tending to throw further into doubt his reliability on this general issue.

new ones, and then to the painted canvas, involved no major changes.<sup>33</sup>

David's preparatory drawings for the Leonidas comprise a unique case history: they far outnumber those surviving from any other of his projects and provide a classic illustration of his methodical, highly inductive approach to composing. Furthermore, they make explicit the formalistic concerns and decisions that guided David in his development of the image. The process of gradual evolution evidenced by the drawings had as its constant objectives increased clarity and tectonic strength of composition as well as heightened narrative impact. From the tangled profusion of figures in the early studies and the many inexpressive poses—evidence of the difficulties of casting into plastic form such a grandiose theme—David slowly refined and tightened his design, although the final solution was to come only through a radical revision of form. This revision, as documented by the Museum's drawing, involved substituting for an unstable diagonal pattern a far more rigid rectilinear and symmetrical structure.

Where there had been a triangle of figures David created a dense friezelike arrangement with Leonidas as a resolute formal and psychological fulcrum. The figures to either side are matched across the composition in placement and rhyming gestures. Upraised, balanced motifs at each end complete the lateral symmetry. And by redirecting the pass straight into the distance David substituted another right angle for a former diagonal and heightened the narrative drama by bringing into full view the menacing army and emphasizing the narrowness of the Spartan stronghold. In other words, all elements of design have been subjected to rigorous calculation to create an image which, in its synthesis of passion and contemplation, baroque excitement and highly disciplined order, realism and abstraction, forms a visual equivalent of the stirring moral ideals being celebrated. The final solution may strike modern eyes as labored, but considered in the light of David's own formal and theoretical expectations it can more justifiably be seen as a major achievement.

33. A poorly preserved oil *esquisse*, created after the wash drawing and before the final painting, is in the reserves of the Louvre (Sterling and Adhémar, *La Peinture au Musée du Louvre: école française XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle 2* [1959] no. 560, pl. 185). Bean (Bean-von Bothmer) believes that this *esquisse* is the work of a copyist, but stylistically it is quite consistent with other oil *esquisses* by David and is, I believe, by the master himself. A pencil drawing of the full composition is in the Musée Magnin, Dijon. This is inscribed with David's initials in the lower left corner but is almost certainly a copy after the painting and not by David.

# Thirty Famous People: Drawings by Sergent-Marceau and Bosio, Milan, 1815–1818

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DEDICATED TO THE MEMORY OF ANTHONY M. CLARK

WHILE PREPARING an exhibition of The Metropolitan Museum of Art's holdings of French Empire objects, I had occasion to investigate a curious assortment of once-famous people. Colleagues in the Print Department called attention to thirty neoclassical portrait drawings, acquired in 1949.<sup>1</sup> Twenty-seven have penciled ascriptions to G. B. Bosio on their mounts and three bear the name Sergent-Marceau. Only three portraits, those of the soprano Catalani, Benjamin Franklin, and the Polish patriot Kosciuszko, had been positively identified (Figures 4, 7, 12). Upon examination, more names came to mind; the painter Pompeo Batoni, for example, was eminently recognizable (Figure 23). A few of my identifications were secure—the poet Alfieri and the naturalist Buffon (Figures 14, 17)—but they brought with them a treacherous confidence.

Discovering that the drawings were produced for

1. I am grateful to Janet S. Byrne and Mary L. Myers for their help with the study of these drawings, three of which were included in the Metropolitan Museum exhibition, *The Arts under Napoleon* (New York, 1978) nos. 47–49.

three volumes entitled *Serie di vite e ritratti de' famosi personaggi degli ultimi tempi*, a Milanese publication of 1815–18, I had a humbling lesson in the need to establish certainties when dealing with portraiture, for half of the identities I had proposed would have been madly wrong. Not Frederick the Great but his brother, Prince Henry of Prussia, is represented in Figure 26, and not Lafayette but General Dumouriez in Figure 19. A man strolling on the shores of Lake Geneva, who appeared to be a peculiarly corpulent Rousseau, proved instead to be the Swiss naturalist and philosopher, Charles Bonnet (Figure 27). For that matter, hardly anyone today could have succeeded in identifying all thirty of these celebrities of an earlier age by mere intuition or clues such as lakes and battlefields, plumed hats and scrolls.

Fame and greatness had a strong fascination for the neoclassical age of Napoleon, when books about the lives and deeds of the great, illustrated with their portraits, proliferated. The Museum's thirty drawings brought to light one of these publication ventures, and two engaging French draughtsmen active

in Milan at a critical moment in her history. The keystone of Napoleon's Italian conquests, Milan was the scene of his coronation as king of Italy. The viceroyalty of his stepson, Eugène de Beauharnais, introduced French organization, industry, and fashion as a matter of course. The news of Napoleon's defeat at Leipzig led to a popular uprising and the flight of Prince Eugène. Austrian troops entered the city under Count Heinrich von Bellegarde on 20 April 1814, but even during the lengthy Austrian domination it would have been impossible to uproot all signs of modern French culture.

## THE PUBLICATION

The series of portraits, while encyclopedic in intent, was not particularly expensive to produce. The three small volumes, handsome but by no means luxurious, were designed for intimate consultation. Each portrait, etched on a copper plate with the use of stipple, accompanies a biographical essay of two to three pages.

The first volume, with one hundred portraits, appeared in 1815. It was amassed rapidly, in view of the brisk pace of military and political events in Milan—which will be familiar to readers of Stendhal's *The Charterhouse of Parma*—and was dedicated to the Austrian viceroy, Bellegarde. Bosio's not very flattering drawing of the viceroy (Figure 22) was considerably glamorized by the engraver.

The dedication observes that

Nessuna età fu, quanto la nostra, feconda di potentissimi ed illuminati monarchi, di ardentissimi e sapientissimi condottieri d'esercito, di abili ministri, di profondi filosofi, di faticose e felici collaboratori delle scienze, delle lettere e delle arti.

This is hardly an arguable assessment of the period covered, the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century (*degli ultimi tempi*, as indicated in the title), incomparable for its geniuses and persons of distinction.

Although the scope of the series was European, even global, and its aim was primarily to educate, not to spread nationalistic propaganda, there is a slight predominance of northern Italian subjects, frankly acknowledged in the foreword. The mathematician

Maria Gaetana Agnesi and the economist Cesare Beccaria figure among the Lombards of genius in the drawings (Figures 9, 10). These heroes of the recent past having set lofty examples, the writer of the foreword anticipates a new generation that will spread "un qualche nuovo raggio di gloria!" If a tinge of chauvinism is not absent, the inclusion of Kant and Swedenborg, to cite just two, shows how discerning the selection was on a broader scale.

The compiler identified himself only as the "Editore de' poemi inglesi di T. Gray recati in verso italiano." Penciled in the New York Public Library's copy of the *Serie* is a notation identifying him as Davide Bertolotti. Bertolotti (1784–1860) was an indefatigable journalist, editor of periodicals (the *Spettatore*, the *Ricoglitore*, and *Nuovo Ricoglitore*), a dramatist (*Tancredi*, *Ines de Castro*), poet, travel writer, pamphleteer, and translator of Dryden, Pope, Gray, and Madame de Staël.<sup>2</sup> Even before the *Serie* appeared, he was vociferously anti-French, incensing the Bonapartes with his polemic *Alla culla di S. M. il Re de Roma*. Stendhal, however, that mine of observations on the Italian scene, admired Bertolotti's style: ". . . de tous les journalistes de la Lombardie, il est celui qui a le plus de verve (si quelqu'un peut avoir de la verve sous l'engourdissement de l'Autriche)."<sup>3</sup>

The series opens with Frederick the Great and contains distinguished monarchs, soldiers, and statesmen among the Allies (for example, Alexander I, Wellington, Fox). Louis XVIII and the Duchesse d'Angoulême are there, and so is the pathetic Princesse de Lamballe. Napoleon is glaringly absent; neither he nor Prince Eugène appears in any of the volumes. But several lights of the Empire are present, including members of the imperial family, and the texts are conciliatory under the circumstances. Josephine's is the fifth portrait, and the text for her concludes: "La Religione ha chiuso nella pace i suoi occhi, e le lagrime degli sventurati ch'ella asciugava, sono cadute sulla sua tomba ed hanno giustificato la sua memoria." Joseph Bonaparte (Figure 25, looking

2. For Bertolotti, see G. Ponte, *Dizionario biografico degli italiani* IX (Rome, 1967) pp. 613–615.

3. Stendhal, *Courrier anglais*, *New Monthly Magazine* II, ed. H. Martineau (Paris, 1935) p. 250.

very like Napoleon), is said to have found in America “un asilo, dove goder potrà forse la quiete che da lui fuggiva sotto il peso di uno splendente, ma a lui non appropriato diademo.” As for Joachim Murat, executed so very recently, a matter-of-fact account of his career (Vol. I, no 70) ends by saying that he offered “un terribile esempio . . . del vano sogno delle umane prosperità.”

The chief draughtsman in Volume I was Jean-François Bosio. His engravers for the series were Giovanni Antonio Sasso, Antonio Zecchino, Angelo Biasioli, Testadura, and Torchiana. Bosio himself engraved Charlotte Corday (Figure 18). A few other draughtsmen participated, but the collaboration of Bosio and Sasso is dominant, and was ideal. Sasso interpreted the highly individual style of Bosio very faithfully, setting forth the Abbé de l'Épée, Marat, Pasquale de' Paoli, and Algarotti portraits most ably in dramatic lights and darks (Vol. I, nos. 76, 78, 88, 97).

Volume II, with 108 portraits, and III, with 100, appeared in 1818. Bosio drew roughly half the images for Volume II, using mainly Luigi Rados as his engraver. Volume II also contains several portraits by Sergent-Marceau, engraved by a variety of collaborators. But Sergent-Marceau's beguiling manner of drawing (see especially Figure 5) seldom found adequate expression in the hands of other printmakers.

The last two volumes are otherwise filled with prints after artists whose drawings do not appear among the Museum's thirty. Most of the remaining designs are by the little-known Antonio Bramati and V. de Marchi. They appear to have been less skilled imitators of Bosio, but very occasionally each got off a good shot—de Marchi's drawing of an elegant Vivant-Denon sketching pyramids (Vol. III, no. 97), or Bramati's Montgolfier holding onto the ropes of a balloon suspended in air (Vol. III, no. 45). The entire effort attracted the attention of a draughtsman greater than either of these two, the Roman Bartolommeo Pinelli. The Museum owns a Pinelli album containing thirty-six tiny pencil copies after various engravings in the *Serie*. As copies, they do not begin to convey Pinelli's talent, but Bramati's Montgolfier portrait is amusing even in Pinelli's notational form (Figure 1).

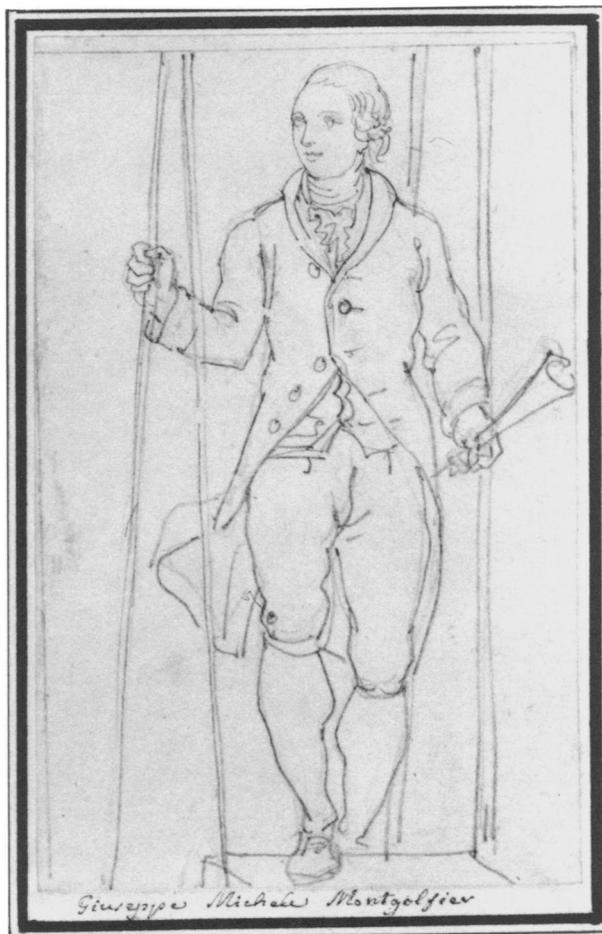


FIGURE 1  
Bartolommeo Pinelli (1781–1835). The aeronaut Montgolfier. Sketch after engraving in *Serie di vite e ritratti de' famosi personaggi degli ultimi tempi* III (1818), no. 45. Pencil,  $5\frac{1}{4} \times 3\frac{3}{8}$  in. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 49.19.1, p. 19

The designers of 308 portraits had the task of compiling a vast iconography, consulting prints, paintings, and medals, before they could proceed with their likenesses. Sergent-Marceau appears to have been more original than the others, who often combined existing portraits with the amplified circumstances in which they envisioned a character.

Bosio in particular found specific sources for the heads and then added bodies and accumulated attributes to color the images. In the case of Batoni (Figure 23), Bosio knew the unfinished self-portrait in

the Uffizi<sup>4</sup> and simply extended it to a seated full-length. From a painting of Cesare Beccaria's head,<sup>5</sup> he moved to equip his subject with an elegant garb and office (Figure 10). He used a Saint-Aubin print of Beaumarchais's head in profile,<sup>6</sup> added a figure, and set him in motion on a hill with Paris in the background (Figure 30). Saint-Aubin's well-known oval portrait engraving of Benjamin Franklin peering through his spectacles served Bosio even better. He had but to add the seated figure and a Franklin stove mounted upon a desk (Figure 7).<sup>7</sup> If other likenesses are not especially convincing, lack of ready sources may have forced the artists to rely on memory and traditional imagery to fortify their designs: an open shirt signified artistic or poetic inspiration; a military uniform quickly disclosed the nationality and rank of a soldier in that war-torn period.

In the last two volumes of the *Serie*, the compilers sought out every sort of greatness. Marat is present as well as Charlotte Corday, Washington as well as Cornwallis. There are pashas and priests, Erasmus Darwin, Moses Mendelssohn, Ch'ien Lung and "(Christoforo) Enrico I, Re di Haiti" (Vol. II, no. 15). For Dr. Gall, the craniologist, an additional plate shows one of his charts of the skull (Vol. III, no. 2). There are more northern Italian poets and Austrian generals, to be sure, but also more artists and musicians. No neoclassical enthusiast would have much quarrel with the eight great artists chosen: Batoni, Piranesi, Canova, Appiani, David, Reynolds, Mengs, and Angelica Kauffmann. The writer's estimate of Batoni (Figure 23) is concise and quotable: "... la

4. *Pompeo Batoni*, exhibition catalogue (Lucca, 1967) no. 49.

5. A Colquhoun, *Manzoni and His Times* (London, 1954) pl. facing p. 12.

6. After C.-N. Cochin. E. Bocher, *Augustin de Saint-Aubin* no. 14, *Les Gravures françaises du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris, 1879) pp. 6–7.

7. Saint-Aubin after C.-N. Cochin. Bocher, *Saint-Aubin* no. 85, pp. 33–34. See A. Pace, *Benjamin Franklin and Italy* (Philadelphia, 1958) pp. 293–294, for further information on Italian portrait series.

8. A lively trade in portrait volumes had existed in Italy since the sixteenth century, but immediately preceding the *Serie* a French influence is implicit in such titles as: *Portraits des grands hommes, femmes illustres et sujets mémorables de France* (Paris, 1786–92); *Les Illustres français, ou Tableaux historiques des grands hommes de la France, pris dans tous les genres des célébrités jusqu'à l'époque de 1792* (Paris, 1790–1816, prospectus 1785); *Collection de por-*

scuola romana dovrà venerarlo sempre, come il restauratore dell'antico suo lustro."

Naturally, the omissions are as fascinating as the inclusions in a work of this ambition. The compilers, based in Italy, could not always be prescient: apart from Napoleon, banned for political reasons, Beethoven and Goya are missing among the titans, neither having yet attained glorious reputation outside his own country.

The *Serie* appeared at the climax of the European vogue for portraits of all sorts and of a passionate urge to immortalize genius as a matter of public instruction. The desire to commemorate famous people and their deeds had become a particularly French trait, born in the ancien régime and expanding during and after the Revolution.<sup>8</sup> Its spread abroad was abetted in this case by two Frenchmen unlike in taste and philosophy, Sergent-Marceau and Bosio.

#### SERGEANT-MARCEAU

The contribution of Sergent-Marceau to the *Serie* began only with the second volume (1818), but as he was considerably Bosio's senior, he commands precedence. Born Antoine-François Sergent at Chartres in 1751,<sup>9</sup> he became a student of Augustin de Saint-Aubin in Paris, 1768. He returned to Chartres after three years but the association with Saint-Aubin left a lasting impression on his style, always delicate, wiry, and informal. A drawing with watercolor, inscribed *A Fr Sergent delin. 1783*, shows this influence at a

*traits, représentant les personnages les plus célèbres dans la poésie, la littérature, les sciences, les arts, la politique, la médecine, l'église et la magistrature* (Paris, 1801); *Collection complète des tableaux historiques de la Révolution française* (Paris, 1802–04). A measure of the French fascination with fame is indicated by the title of a genre picture by Marguerite Gérard, *Une jeune femme méditant sur la vie des grands hommes*, in the Salon of 1810 (no. 363 of the *Livret*—apparently lost). Very likely, Mlle. Gérard showed the girl in reverie, perusing a book about famous people.

9. For Sergent-Marceau, see N. Parfait, "Sergent (Antoine-François) et Marie-Jeanne-Louise-Françoise-Suzanne Marceau-Desgraviens son épouse; en premières noces, femme Champion de Cernel," *Le Bulletin des Beaux-Arts* II (1884–85) pp. 71–162; M. Tinoy, *Sergent-Marceau (1751–1847), une curieuse figure de la Révolution* (Paris, 1943).

fairly early moment (Figure 2). A greyhound and poodle are snoozing comfortably in a parlor at mid-day in summer; the floor is stripped of carpet and the fireplace is fitted with a *devant de cheminée*.<sup>10</sup> The ease and refinement of this watercolor are also encountered in Sergent's early color prints, such as a view of the crowded Place des Espars at Chartres, dated 1784.<sup>11</sup>

Foreshadowing his later work for the Milanese publication, from 1786 Sergent produced numerous designs for an important collection of historical portraits, *Portraits des grands hommes, femmes illustres et su-*

10. Two other early drawings are *La Rose mal défendue*, conventionally amorous but with a whirlwind pattern and hints of an interior similar to that in the Wrightsman drawing (formerly in the collection of Marius Paulme, *Exposition de la vie parisienne au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, catalogue, Musée Carnavalet [Paris, 1928] no. 223; p. 45); and *Le Marchand de marrons du Palais Royal*, signed and dated 1786 (A. Bourgarel sale, Hôtel Drouot, 15–16 June 1922, no. 223, p. 152). Photos in Frick Art Reference Library.

11. Parfait, "Sergent," pl. facing p. 152.

12. Sergent contributed about 138 of the designs and etched about 47 of the plates. His wife also worked on this series.

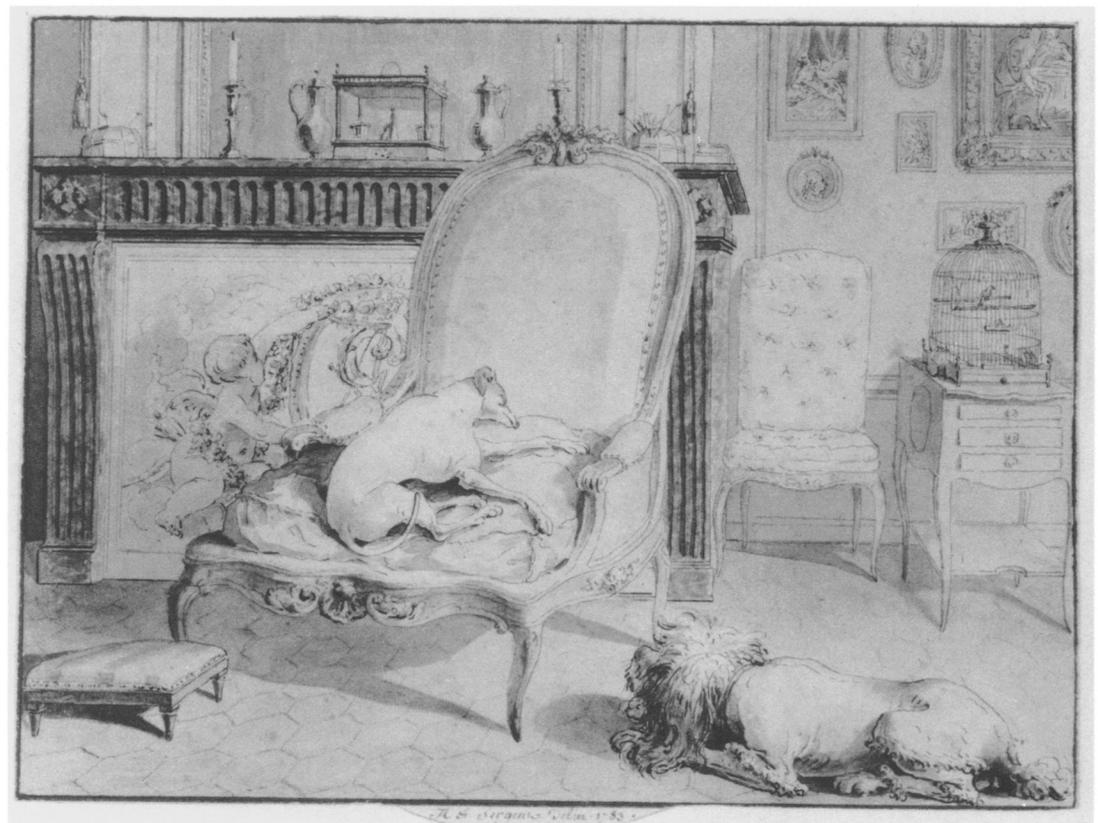
13. D. L. Dowd, "Art and Politics During the French Revolution: A Study of Three Artist Regicides," *Studies in Modern European History in Honor of Franklin Charles Palm* (New York, 1956) pp. 105–128.

*jets mémorables de France*.<sup>12</sup> The color plates—bust-length portraits and robust vignettes—would not in themselves prepare us for the leaner and sparer Milanese work, but the wiry line is present. This series of French portraits, dedicated to Louis XVI, was not completed until 1792.

In the meantime, Sergent had developed into a pronounced Jacobin and one of the most active of all revolutionary artists.<sup>13</sup> At the very outbreak of the Revolution, he etched four tumultuous little scenes to accompany a short text, *Tableaux des Révolutions de Paris, depuis le mois de juillet 1789* (Paris, 1789). He was successively president of a revolutionary district, a secretary of the club of the Jacobins and, in 1792, an administrator of the police. As a delegate at the National Convention, Sergent voted for the death of the king. It is said, however, that he helped to save the lives of the numismatist Abbé Barthélemy, the actor Larive, and the painter Hubert Robert. As a member of the Committee of Public Instruction, he was influential in protecting art monuments, and he was a founder of the Musée français.

For years, Sergent was in love with a married woman of Chartres, Marie Desgraviers, sister of the republican general, Marceau. After her divorce, she

FIGURE 2  
Antoine-François  
Sergent[-Marceau]. Two  
Sleeping Dogs in an  
Interior. Pen and ink  
with watercolor, 4¼ ×  
5¾ in. Collection of Mr.  
and Mrs. Charles  
Wrightsman, New York  
(photo: Taylor & Dull)



FIGURES 3–5

Sergent-Marceau. Drawings for the *Serie*, pen and ink, brown wash, each about  $6\frac{3}{4} \times 4\frac{1}{2}$  in. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1949

married Sergent in 1795, but only in time to share his exile. As good republicans, he had taken the name Androphile (friend of man) and she the name Emira (anagram of Marie), but their connections and republicanism were not proof against the tyranny of the Convention. When the order for Sergent's arrest was issued, he and his wife fled to Switzerland. Out of respect for his brother-in-law, Sergent joined Marceau's name to his own.<sup>14</sup> Sergent-Marceau returned to Paris in 1797 and was employed by General Bernadotte as an inspector of hospitals. In 1801, he was implicated in a sensational attempt on Napoleon's life. He fled again and led a migratory existence across northern Italy, in Turin, Milan, Brescia, and Venice, finally settling in Nice.

The later career of Sergent-Marceau was given over increasingly to encyclopedist literature. At Milan, he began a *Tableau de l'univers et des connaissances humaines*, which apparently did not work out happily. A rare collection of his illustrations, *Costumi dei popoli antichi e moderni*, was published at Brescia between 1813 and 1817. He is credited with introducing copperplate engraving in three colors to Milan, in 1818.<sup>15</sup> He was translator of Filippo Pistrucchi's *Iconologia* (1819), but this updated neo-classical derivation from Ripa is more notable for Pistrucchi's own magnificent color plates.<sup>16</sup> Sergent-Marceau turned retrospective, writing memoirs of his wife (she died in 1843), his brother-in-law, and his own eventful life.<sup>17</sup> He was pensioned by Louis-

14. His portrait of General Marceau, uniformed as he was the day he died at Altenkirchen in 1796, was etched the same year; see *La Révolution française*, exhibition catalogue, Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris, 1928) pl. XX, no. 654, pp. 185–186.

15. A. Bertarelli and A. Monti, *Tre secoli di vita milanese nei documenti iconografici, 1630–1875* (Milan, 1927) pp. 621, 623.

16. F. Pistrucchi, *Iconologia ovvero immagini di tutte le cose principali a cui l'umano talento ha finto un corpo* (Milan, 1819).

17. *Notices historiques sur le général Marceau* (Milan, 1820); *Fragments de mon album et nigrum* (Brignoles, 1837).



FIGURE 3

Edmund Burke (1729–97), English statesman (*Serie* II, no. 4) 49.19.112

Philippe in 1830 but never returned to France, dying at Nice aged ninety-six in 1847.

Perhaps because of his strong literary bent, Sergent-Marceau did not develop a markedly new or different manner of seeing. In his illustrations for the *Serie* (Figures 3–5) the draughtsmanship of the year 1783 (Figure 2) lingers unimpaired. The ardent republican owed nothing to David and never lost a somewhat aristocratic and thoroughly eighteenth-century style of drawing. The first Sergent-Marceau design in the collection is of his brother-in-law General Marceau (Vol. II, no. 3), and the spirited, light portrayal is refreshing after so much of Bosio and the more solid school of the day seen in the first volume. Sergent-Marceau drew several French generals, including Hoche and Joubert (Vol. II, nos. 28,



FIGURE 4  
Angelica Catalani de Valabrègue (1780–1849), Italian soprano (*Serie II*, no. 17) 49.19.114

31), but only his marvelous Garrick (Vol. II, no. 13) was really well treated, the etcher Biasioli catching the nuances of his line.

Sergent-Marceau's three drawings in the Museum's group constitute precious evidence of his later style. The Edmund Burke (Figure 3) has a fine nervous line and opulent foliage appearing fully eighteenth-century in character. The words "Orphan's House," inscribed in reverse below the Gothic window, are intended to reflect a statesmanlike philanthropy. The drawing of the celebrated diva Angelica Catalani (Figure 4) is painfully allegorical.<sup>18</sup> Joseph

18. The portrait, reduced to an oval bust length, exists in a separate print signed and dated 1816. The Metropolitan Museum of Art Print Dept., 20.80.285.



FIGURE 5  
Joseph Hilarius Eckhel (1737–98), Austrian numismatist (*Serie II*, no. 67) 49.19.113

Hilarius Eckhel (Figure 5) provided an evidently sympathetic subject and is the treasure of the Museum's group as a whole. The Jesuit systematizer of numismatics, cataloguer of the Austrian imperial collections, and author of *Numi Veteres Anecdota Doctrina Numorum* is shown tenderly poring over the objects in his keeping while a cat curls up on a pile of books. The inventive composition, enlivened by open cabinet doors and trays with their half-seen treasures, was engraved by D. Klemi-Bonatti in a print that shows excellent shading but fails to capture the essential wiriness of line. The watercolorist is in evidence in the varying tonalities of wash employed in the drawings: the Burke has a greenish brown hue, the Catalani a grayed tone, and the Eckhel a rich reddish brown tone.



FIGURE 6

Jean-François Bosio. Interior Scene with a Dog Performing Card Tricks. Pen and ink with watercolor, 14 $\frac{5}{8}$  × 19 $\frac{5}{8}$  in. The Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, Williamstown, Mass.

## BOSIO

Jean-François Bosio, born in Monaco in 1764, used the name Giovanni Battista Bosio during his Milanese period.<sup>19</sup> He was five years older than his better-known brother, the sculptor François-Joseph Bosio, who was eventually created a baron by Charles X. A David pupil whose early pictures ap-

19. Bosio's life has not been sufficiently well understood. Owing to the peculiar change of his name in Italy, he was treated as two different artists in Thieme-Becker, IV, p. 397. L. Barbarin, *Etude sur Bosio, sa vie et son oeuvre* (Monaco, 1910), a monograph on Baron Bosio, contains a useful account of Jean-François (pp. 47–49) but ignores his work between 1804–19, and thus his Milanese period. The same is true of J. Laran and J. Adhémar, *Inventaire du fonds français après 1800 III*, catalogue, Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris, 1942) pp. 157–158. A serious attempt to see

pear to be known only by name, Bosio's numerous entries in the Salon of 1793 ranged from genre portraits (his wife, born Mlle. Rioud, as *Une Mère engageant son enfant à toucher du pianoforte*) to nobler history (*Cornélie, mère des Gracques, montre ses enfants à Campanie en lui disant: ce sont là mes bijoux*).<sup>20</sup> He showed fewer things at the Salons of 1798, 1801, and 1804.<sup>21</sup>

the two artists as the same (or as two brothers "magari gemelli") was made by E. Legnani, "Ingresso trionfale in Milano del Generale Domenico Pino da Porta Romana (28 febbraio 1808)," in R. Caddeo, R. Calzini, et al., *Milano napoleonica* (Milan, 1950) text facing color plate of painting of General Pino in the Museo del Risorgimento, Milan.

20. *Livret* of the Salon of 1793, nos. 666, 512.

21. Lists of his exhibited works in Barbarin, *Bosio*, pp. 47–48.

A drawing with watercolor signed BOSIO. D-S. and dated *année 1801*, shows Bosio's talent for caricatured genrescenes (Figure 6).<sup>22</sup> Formally composed but very active, the domestic Directoire interior fairly ripples with humor and eccentricities. In the exceptionally broad head and fat belly of the host, at the right, there is more of the spirit of Debucoart<sup>23</sup> than of David. The icily smooth surfaces suggest a still for an animated cartoon. This important substrain of late French neoclassicism affected many artists; its lighter manifestations can readily be seen in the work of Debucoart, Bosio, and the Prague-born Opiz.<sup>24</sup> But Girodet and the younger Fragonard, too, even at their most heroic reaches, may show the impulses of the cartoonist, with fanciful imagery and exaggerated gestures set in bold contours and strong, simple colors.

Bosio wrote a *Traité élémentaire des règles du dessin*,<sup>25</sup> and held the chair of drawing at the Ecole Polytechnique. In Paris, he continued to produce prints in the manner of the Williamstown drawing until at least 1804.<sup>26</sup> In 1807, using the name Giovanni Battista, he was in Milan, doubtless lured there by the French occupation under the viceroy, Eugène de Beauharnais. His portrait of the viceroy bears wit-

ness to his partnership with the engraver Luigi Rados. It is inscribed: *Bosio D.S. antico Prof. della Scuola Politechnique di Parigi dis. Deposto alla Bibliot. R. Gaspare Cagnoni incise in Milano l'anno 1807 and Si Vende in Milano dalli Proprietari Luigi Rados e G.B. Bosio in Piazza del Duomo sopra al coperto de' Figini N. 407*.<sup>27</sup> The same year, the first planned fascicules of an updated Milanese version of the Carracci *Cries of Bologna* were issued by Bosio and Rados under the title *I costumi di Milano e suoi circondari*. Bosio's work for it foreshadows his work on the portrait series in the skillful filling of planes with figures set in diagonals.<sup>28</sup>

His largest undertaking was a many-figured painting, the Triumphal Entry of General Domenico Pino into Milan via the Porta Romana, an event that took place in February of 1806.<sup>29</sup> Stendhal, who saw it in 1818 in the home of General Pino near Oggiono, noted the painting's size as well as that "Le geste du général Pino est bien pensé: il montre les troupes et leur renvoie la gloire. . . . L'action du général Pino est un peu estropiée."<sup>30</sup> The active poses of the figures with their heavily stressed silhouettes continue the semi-cartooning style begun in Paris. Legnani noted that a magnificent self-portrait dated 1809 belonged to the painter's heirs and that he exhibited at the

22. E. Haverkamp-Begemann, et al., *Drawings from the Clark Art Institute* (New Haven, 1964) I, no. 83, p. 62; II, pl. 68: as Un Salon Parisien en 1801. The spectators are said to be watching a trained dog named Minuto, celebrated as a performer of card tricks. Two closely related Bosio compositions, L'Escamoteur and La Bouillotte, are illustrated in P. Lacroix, *Directoire, Consulat et Empire. Moeurs et usages, lettres, sciences et arts* (Paris, 1884) fig. 31, p. 47, and pl. facing p. 136. This publication is a valuable guide to the fashions and faces of the period (for example, the stylish gentleman in a portrait drawing by L.-L. Boilly at Cambridge [*Cent Dessins français du Fitzwilliam Museum Cambridge*, exhibition catalogue, Galerie Heim, Paris, 1976, no. 3] can be identified as the actor Thénard on the basis of the print by Debucoart after Boilly [Lacroix, fig. 162, p. 169]). Another early watercolor, Les Présents, more evidently a genre caricature, (G. André sale, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, May 18-19, 1914) shows a similar interior with a frieze of swans, in which an old man gives a purse to one maiden and a jewelbox to another. A drawing attributed to Bosio, Un Salon parisien sous le Directoire (*Exposition de la vie parisienne au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, no. 120, p. 30, lent by G. B. Lasquin), is openly lewd and would show Bosio studying Rowlandson very intently. Photos in Frick Art Reference Library.

23. There are strong formal connections between the Williamstown drawing and a Debucoart spoof on the judgment of Paris, L'Orange ou le moderne Pâris, a print of 1800 (H. Bouchot, *P.-L. Debucoart* [Paris, 1892] pl. facing p. 32).

24. These are not at all political cartoons: Bosio's domestic scenes are usually too refined to have a very pointed satirical thrust. He was treated fairly by A. Alexandre, *L'Art du rire et de la caricature* (Paris, n.d.) p. 124, but his elegancies escaped P. Mantz, "La Caricature moderne," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* I (1888) pp. 292-294, who found them to have too much "préoccupation du bas-relief et de la forme sculpturale. . . . Le pauvre Bosio a toujours été amoindri et paralysé par son respect pour les doctrines de David."

25. *Traité élémentaire des règles du dessin par le Citoyen Bosio (élève de David), Peintre d'Histoire, et Professeur du Dessin à l'Ecole Polytechnique* (Paris, an IX). The text of this little manual is preceded by a profile self-portrait, contains anatomical details, and urges the student "Etudiez avec soin les ouvrages de Jean Cousin, Léonard de Vinci, Gérard Audran et Tortebat, et ne considérez ce petit ouvrage, que je vous prie de recevoir avec indulgence, que comme un souvenir journalier de principes" (p. 12). A heavily doctrinaire, "Davidian" aspect is not to be found in the *Traité*.

26. He made four genre scenes for the *Journal des Dames* in 1804 and several more after his return to Paris. Laran and Adhémar, p. 158.

27. Bertarelli and Monti, fig. 324, p. 502.

28. For the Umbrella-Man, the Whitewasher, the Knife-Grinder, and the Porter, see Bertarelli and Monti, figs. 455-458.

29. Legnani, "Ingresso trionfale."

30. Stendhal, *Journal d'Italie*, ed. P. Arbelet (Paris, c. 1911) p. 371.



FIGURE 7  
Bosio. Benjamin Franklin, (1706–90). Drawing for *Serie I*, no. 34. Pen and ink, brown and gray washes,  $6\frac{3}{4} \times 4\frac{9}{16}$  in. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of János Scholz, 49.13.1



FIGURE 8  
Giovanni Antonio Sasso after Bosio. Benjamin Franklin, *Serie I*, no. 34. Etching with stipple. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of William H. Huntington, 83.2.2025

Brera in 1812 and 1814 (portraits, sacred subjects, and a landscape).<sup>31</sup> In Milan, Bosio lived in the via Morigi, and did other work for prints, but chief among them were surely those for the *Serie*.

The majority of plates in Volume I and perhaps half of Volume II are after Bosio's designs. The Museum's drawings for them are all executed in finely modulated brown and gray washes, the success of

31. Legnani, "Ingresso trionfale." A composition showing the solemn entrance of Francis I and Maria Luisa into Milan in 1815, the coaches and riders spiralling in five bands from Porta Orientale to the steps of the Duomo, was printed that year and inscribed: *G.B. Bosio fecit A. Gerli direxit* and *G[aetano] Lancon inc. Bertarelli and Monti, fig. 352.*

which can be judged in the seated Franklin (Figure 7). The etching with stipple by Sasso (Figure 8) indicates how faithfully the printmakers followed the draughtsmen, although the process did harden Bosio's fluid line and shading; a comparison of the heads of Franklin shows the arch countenance a bit diluted in the etching.

It would be tedious to dwell at length on each of the Bosio drawings; the illustrations will reveal their merits or faults. Bosio was capable of some very elegant effects, as in the relaxed pose of Count Rumford (Figure 13). For standing figures, he often preferred a dramatic use of diagonals, as in the Prince Henry of Prussia (Figure 26). In his limited

purpose of showing each celebrity in a typical moment of activity, Bosio used the seated figure in an astonishing variety of ways, as it enabled him to focus more closely upon the subject. Beccaria and Cambacérès at their desks (Figure 10, 21) are fairly conventional in character. Maria Gaetana Agnesi is forcefully dramatic in her contemplations (Figure 9) while Condorcet (Figure 32) is contained energy personified. Mark Akenside (Figure 29) is a compelling illustration of Bosio's simple means of expressing poetic inspiration, which seems to come to Akenside from the very sky. The romantic portrait of Alfieri (Figure 14) shows Bosio at his monumental best. In the Charlotte Corday (Figure 18), only the dagger helps to identify the figure outlined against the sky, but in the Buffon (Figure 17), the air explodes with creatures under the great man's observation.

Other plates besides those represented by the drawings show Bosio's fertile imagination: a fine Mozart seen from behind, executed by the faithful Sasso (Vol. I, no. 68); and a Dr. Jenner, most monumental of all the prints, engraved by Testadura (Vol. I, no. 64). All Bosio's figures show his tendency to cartoon; not that he caricatured or lampooned, but he projected characters by forcefully stressed outlines, slightly exaggerated movements, and smoothly modulated shading.

In the third volume, a figure of the scientist Laplace (no. 12) is inscribed *Bosio dis. In Parigi, Rados inc.*, proof that Bosio had already left Milan and was forwarding designs from Paris. He may have found the Austrian occupation of Milan oppressive, or may simply have decided on a change of fortunes. He appears to have found plenty of employment upon his return. More of his genre scenes appeared in the *Journal des Dames* (1817) and more portraits of soldiers in a *Galerie militaire (ou Galerie des Militaires français qui, à différentes époques, se sont signalés par leur courage)* (1818). He sent three pictures to the Salon

of 1819, including a *Death of the Virgin for Chartres*.<sup>32</sup>

In 1822, Bosio contributed an interior scene, *Bonaparte chez le Duc de Florence*, to a collection of lithographs surveying the life of Napoleon.<sup>33</sup> It is a symmetrical composition, broadly modeled and dramatically lit. Although less merry than his early works, it still recalls their eccentric use of diagonals and juxtapositions of scale. The Salon of 1822 saw his full-length portrait of Louis XVIII, painted for the Palais de Justice at Rouen, and another tantalizing entry, a *Poésie érotique écrivant sous la dictée de l'Amour*. The latter was shown again in 1824 at Bosio's last Salon that included his *Achille faisant renvoyer Briséis à Agamemnon*, which remained unfinished.<sup>34</sup> He died in 1827, leaving a son, Asryanax-Scévola (d. 1876), who turned to sculpture under the tutelage of his uncle the Baron.

The career of our second draughtsman shows in retrospect the utmost political pliancy. With the exception of the lengthening Austrian occupation of Milan, he appears to have been at ease with a variety of governments. Not every French artist was threatened like David or Sergent-Marceau, who braved exile, or more exceptionally, the sculptor Ceracchi, guillotined for his share in a plot to assassinate Napoleon. Bosio was part of the larger community of artists who, to maintain their livelihood, worked as steadily as they could despite the most daunting political shifts. In the elevated vocabulary of the day, Bosio himself described the benefits accruing to the artist working in tandem with the state:

Si les arcs de triomphe que la victoire établit sur les trophées des vaincus fixent votre admiration, en vous rappelant de glorieux souvenirs, ces édifices vous montrent que le même art qui honore le conquérant, prépare de même un asyle à l'industrie, sous ces toits où le laborieux artisan consacre ses momens à des travaux qui répandent l'abondance dans cette patrie que vient de défendre le soldat, du haut de ces mêmes remparts que des artistes ingénieux eurent le talent de construire.<sup>35</sup>

*On the following pages:*

FIGURES 9–34

Bosio. Drawings for the *Serie*, pen and ink, brown wash, each about 6¾ × 4½ in. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1949

32. Laran and Adhémar, p. 158; Barbarin, p. 48.

33. A. Arnould, ed., *Vie politique et militaire de Napoléon I* (Paris, 1822) pl. XIII. This did not type-cast the artist as a Bonapartist, of course. The next year he produced two prints of the Duc de Bordeaux: a scene of his baptism, and one of him being bathed by his mother's tears. Laran and Adhémar, p. 158.

34. Barbarin, pp. 48–49.

35. Bosio, *Traité élémentaire*, pp. 7–8.



FIGURE 9 Maria Gaetana Agnesi (1718–99), Milanese mathematician and philosopher (*Serie I*, no. 13) 49.19.104



FIGURE 10 Cesare Bonesana, Marchese di Beccaria (1738–98), Milanese economist and criminologist (*Serie I*, no. 16) 49.19.97

FIGURE 11 Antonio Botta-Adorno (1688–1774), Pavia-born general and diplomat in Austrian service (*Serie I*, no. 17) 49.19.92

FIGURE 12 Thaddeus Kosciuszko (1746–1817), Polish general and statesman (*Serie I*, no. 18) 49.19.87





FIGURE 13 Sir Benjamin Thompson, Count von Rumford (1753–1814), British-American scientist and minister in Bavarian service (*Serie I*, no. 19) 49.19.107



FIGURE 14 Count Vittorio Alfieri (1749–1803), Turin-born tragic poet (*Serie I*, no. 21) 49.19.101

FIGURE 15 Alexander I (1777–1825), Czar of Russia (*Serie I*, no. 22) 49.19.102



FIGURE 16 Gaetano Filangieri (1752–88), Neapolitan lawyer and statesman (*Serie I*, no. 48) 49.19.111





FIGURE 17 G.-L. Leclerc, Comte de Buffon (1707–88), French naturalist (*Serie I*, no. 60) 49.19.91



FIGURE 18 Charlotte Corday (1768–93), French, Marat's assassin (*Serie I*, no. 65) 49.19.86

FIGURE 19 C.-F. du Perier Dumouriez (1739–1823), French general (*Serie I*, no. 67) 49.19.108



FIGURE 20 Karl Wilhelm Ferdinand, Duke of Braunschweig-Lüneburg-Wolfenbüttel (1735–1806), field marshal in Prussian service (*Serie I*, no. 71) 49.19.89





FIGURE 21 J.-J. Régis de Cambacérés (1753–1824), French statesman and legal expert (*Serie I*, no. 74) 49.19.97



FIGURE 22 Count Heinrich Joseph von Bellegarde (1756–1845), field marshal in Austrian service, viceroy of Milan (*Serie I*, no. 85) 49.19.96

FIGURE 23 Cavaliere Pompeo Batoni (1708–87), painter of the Roman school (*Serie I*, no. 95) 49.19.19



FIGURE 24 Karl Ludwig Johann (1771–1847), Austrian archduke and field marshal (*Serie II*, no. 1) 49.19.88



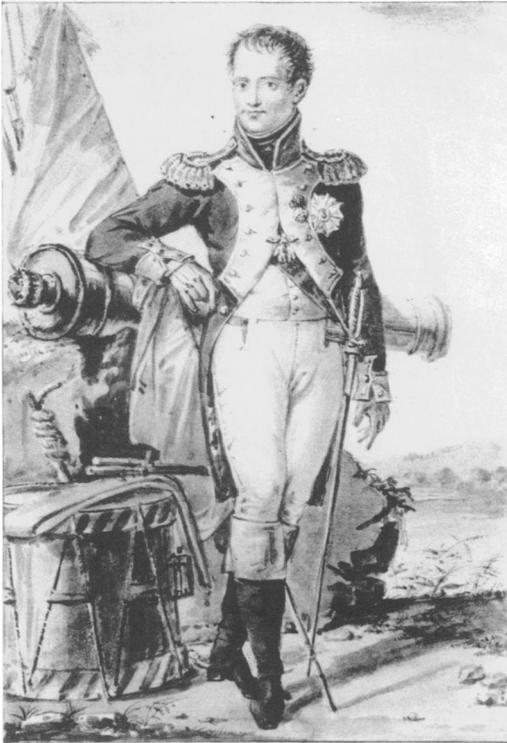


FIGURE 25 Joseph Bonaparte (1768–1844), King of Naples, afterwards of Spain, shown as a French general (*Serie II*, no. 2) 49.19.94



FIGURE 26 Prince Henry of Prussia (1726–1802), Prussian general (*Serie II*, no. 18) 49.19.109

FIGURE 27 Charles Bonnet (1720–93), Swiss naturalist and philosopher (*Serie II*, no. 20) 49.19.93



FIGURE 28 J.-B. de Boyer, Marquis d'Argens (1703–71), French novelist and essayist (*Serie II*, no. 49) 49.19.100





FIGURE 29 Mark Akenside (1721–70), English poet and doctor (*Serie II*, no. 50) 49.19.103



FIGURE 30 P.A. Caron de Beaumarchais (1732–99), French dramatist (*Serie II*, no. 51) 49.19.98

FIGURE 31 Count Levin August von Bennigsen (1745–1826), Russian general (*Serie II*, no. 54) 49.9.95



FIGURE 32 M.-J.-A.-N. de Caritat, Marquis de Condorcet (1743–94), French mathematician, philosopher, and revolutionary (*Serie II*, no. 65) 49.19.105





FIGURE 33 Giovanni Fantoni, or "Labindo" (1755–1807), Tuscan poet and republican (*Serie II*, no. 95) 49.19.110



FIGURE 34 Jacques Delille (1738–1813), French abbé and poet (*Serie III*, no. 8) 49.19.106

## NOTES

# On the Manufacture of Armor in Fifteenth-Century Italy, Illustrated by Six Helmets in The Metropolitan Museum of Art

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MUCH HAS BEEN WRITTEN about armor from an art-historical standpoint, but with a few minor exceptions<sup>1</sup> almost nothing from a scientific or technical one. This is all the more surprising because armors are invaluable records for the historian of technology, since they are frequently the only datable specimens of iron and steel surviving.

Various methods of analysis have been tried, but their usefulness depends on the information sought. If procedures like radiocarbon dating are employed, the dates obtained are not necessarily any more accurate than those obtainable from stylistic considerations.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, a dating technique can scarcely be used to establish a chronology of manufacturing methods without a certain circularity of argument developing.

Spectroscopic methods (or even unfashionable wet-chemical methods) will supply element percentages, but these may confirm only that the ore has been

charcoal-smelted and is therefore low in impurities like phosphorus and sulphur. Even if it were possible to decide the origin of the ore by comparing trace elements in modern ore samples with those in the medieval metal, such information would be of very limited value, since mines like the Erzberg in Styria have been famous sources of iron ore since Roman times.<sup>3</sup>

The most useful information as to manufacture and composition is obtainable from metallography, in conjunction with hardness testing. Metallography is the examination and photography at high magnification, by means of a microscope, of the prepared section of a metal. It is also—an important point—the *least destructive* method; indeed, with suitable techniques of sample preparation, it can be nondestructive, since many specimens of armor already display a section formed during their manufacture by the cutting of a plate.

1. W. Campbell, "On the structure of armor, ancient and modern," *Metals and Alloys* 6 (1935) p. 267. G. W. Henger, "The metallography and chemical analyses of iron-base samples," *Bulletin of the Historical Metallurgy Group* 4 (1970) p. 45. P. L. Pratt, "Some facets of crystal physics," *Inaugural Lectures* (Imperial College, University of London, 1964) p. 160. A. R. Williams, "The metallography of some 16th cent. armour," *Bulletin of the Historical Metallurgy Group* 6 (1972) p. 15.

2. N. J. Van der Merwe, *The carbon-14 dating of iron* (Chicago University Press, 1968). The objection is to the large amount of steel that has to be consumed to yield even one gram of carbon. Consideration of the carbon contents of the steels discussed in this paper will clarify this point.

3. R. Walzel, "The 2000-year tradition of the Austrian iron and steel industry," *Journal of the Iron and Steel Institute* 168 (1951) p. 364.

Metallography can show whether a specimen is iron or steel, and also the approximate carbon content of air-cooled (pearlitic) steels. Since the content frequently fluctuates considerably within the compass of any sample, metallography—which shows the distribution of carbides—may provide more significant information than the bald overall percentage yielded by the quantitative analysis of elements.

The microconstituents visible in iron and steel, after suitable polishing and etching, may be briefly described:

(a) *Ferrite* (crystals of virtually pure iron) appears as large white-etching grains. If the iron is free of carbon, then only ferrite will be present.

(b) Steel is an alloy of iron and carbon that can be hardened by quenching. If appreciable carbon is present (i.e., above 0.1%), iron carbide may also be present. If the steel has been cooled slowly enough to maintain equilibrium, *pearlite* (alternate lamellae of iron and iron carbide) is formed as well as ferrite. The proportion of ferrite to pearlite depends approximately on the carbon percentage. An all-pearlite microstructure will contain about 0.8% carbon. The faster the rate of cooling, the finer the pearlite because of the closer spacing of the lamellae. If the rate of cooling is very slow, or if the steel is held below the critical range for the formation of carbides (about 700–900° C), the pearlite may start to divorce into ferrite and globules of iron carbide.

(c) If the rate of cooling is fast enough, other products may be formed instead of pearlite and ferrite. Quenching (plunging steel at a temperature above the critical range into a cooling bath of oil, water, or other liquid) may form *bainite* (a material of acicular appearance, harder than pearlite) or

(d) *Martensite* (a material of lath-like appearance and of great hardness, depending on the carbon content and the exact rate of cooling). A fully quenched steel (i.e., an all-martensite structure) may well be too brittle for use, and may need reheating to break down the martensite partly. This produces a dispersion of tiny carbide particles in ferrite, and reduces the hardness and brittleness. The procedure is called tempering or drawing.

A full-quench followed by the tempering of a steel is a comparatively modern method. Medieval artisans may have quenched at a slower rate, by using a

less effective coolant than water, or employed an interrupted or delayed quench.<sup>4</sup> Such procedures, generally called slack-quenching, will produce a mixture of martensite and other microconstituents, and the method of heat treatment cannot always be determined from the resulting microstructure.

In the case of steels hardened by some form of heat treatment, the microstructure may be considered together with the microhardness (i.e., hardness across a section). This can usually be determined at the same time that metallography is undertaken.

These data will give some indication of carbon content and variations thereof, but the problem is complicated by the fact that the methods of hardening employed in the Middle Ages do not correspond to modern methods of heat-treating steels. More research is desirable so that observed microstructures in medieval artifacts may be correlated with the results of simulated medieval quenching procedures.

Samples from the Museum's helmets were subjected to electron microanalysis with no useful result, except to confirm that they were made of a ferrous material. Metallography was then undertaken with the results discussed below.

All six helmets are of fifteenth-century Italian make. Four are made of steels of varying carbon contents, and were slowly cooled after fabrication to yield microstructures of pearlite and ferrite. Another was cooled so slowly that the pearlitic structure is divorced, perhaps as the consequence of an annealing after repair. Another was the subject of an attempted hardening by heat treatment. Its microstructure, containing both martensitic and pearlitic areas, is perhaps the result of quenching a steel of very variable carbon content. None of the six shows the distortion of grain associated with cold-working. Accordingly, all were either hot-worked or cold-worked and subsequently heated ("annealed") for recrystallization to have taken place.

4. J. Piaskowski, "The manufacture of medieval damascened knives," *Journal of the Iron and Steel Institute* 202 (1964) p. 561; A. K. Anteins, "Structure and manufacturing techniques of pattern-welded objects found in the Baltic states," *Journal of the Iron and Steel Institute* 206 (1968) p. 563. Both authors comment on the difficulty of diagnosing the precise heat treatments employed, which very probably did not correspond to modern industrial practices.

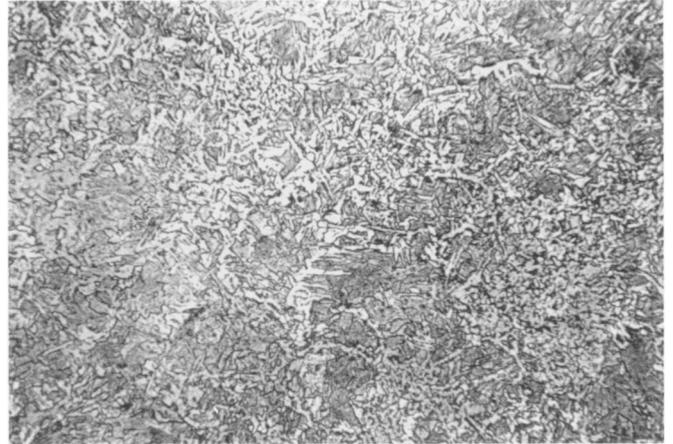


**FIGURE 1**  
 Armet. Italian, about 1420–30. The Metropolitan  
 Museum of Art, Bashford Dean Memorial Collec-  
 tion, 29.158.5

### 1. Armet

Both samples consist of slowly cooled steels. The microstructure of the visor consists of ferrite and pearlite, the latter partly spheroidized. Carbon content approximately 0.3%. The sample from the jugular is similar but with much less pearlite (perhaps 0.1% carbon). There are a few small slag inclusions, not elongated, in both samples. Both parts of the helmet were made from a steel of variable carbon content, and very slowly cooled after working.

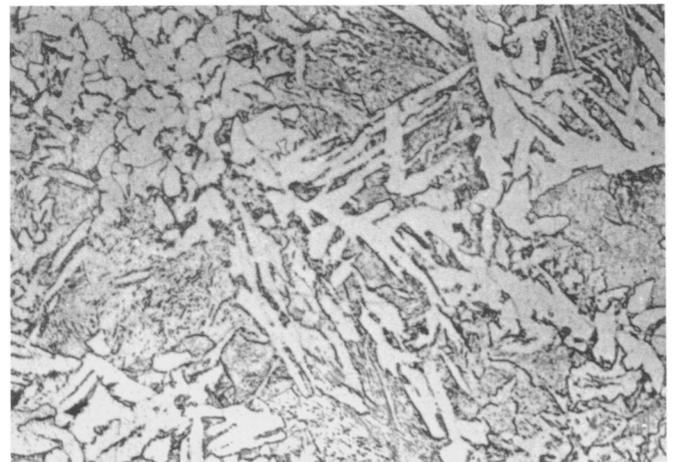
*Sample from visor*



1a. Ferrite and partly spheroidized pearlite × 80

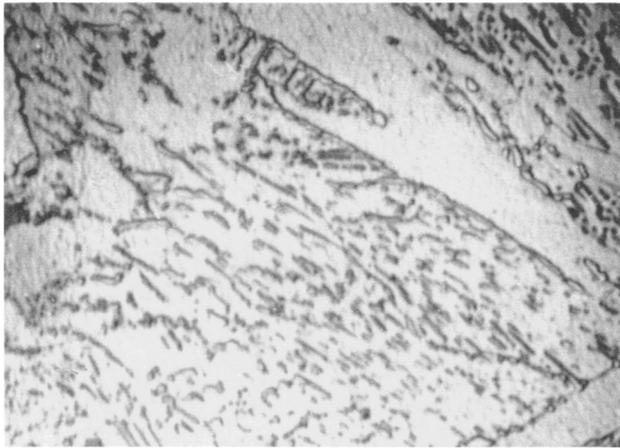


1b. Ferrite and partly spheroidized pearlite × 320



1c. Pearlite and ferrite × 320

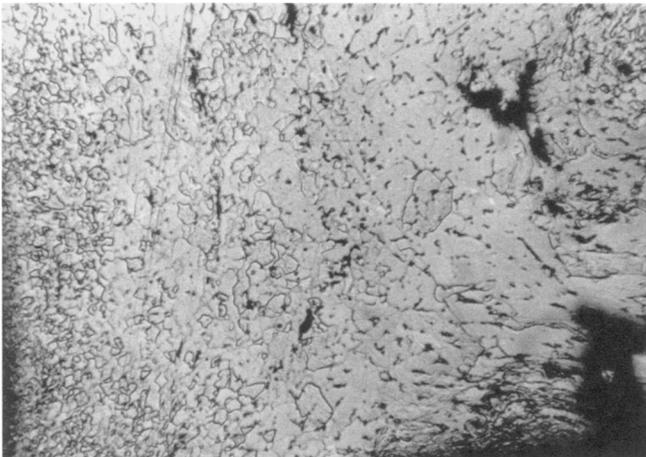
*Sample from visor (cont.)*



1d. Partly spheroidized pearlite

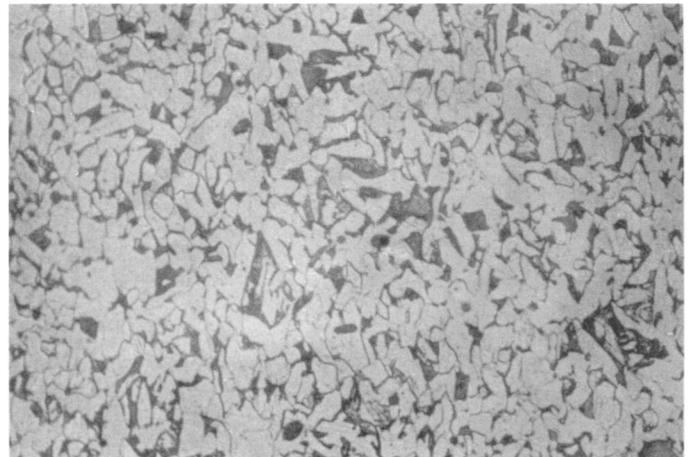
× 1280

*Sample from left jugular*



1e. Ferrite and pearlite

× 80



1f. Ferrite and pearlite

× 320



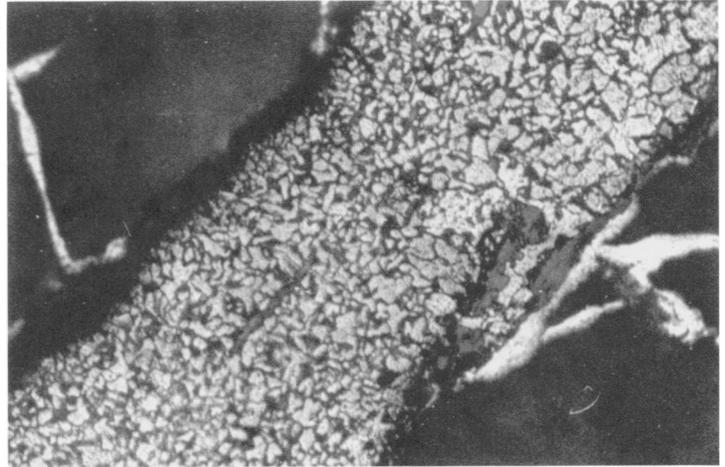
FIGURE 2

Armet. Italian, about 1440. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Stephen V. Grancsay, 42.50.2

## 2. Armet

The sample from the ventail shows ferrite with only a little pearlite. The sample from the left jugular has a microstructure containing several constituents. As well as very fine pearlite, partly spheroidized in places, there is ferrite in a spiny form, and there are areas of martensite with brown-etching areas of bainite, or perhaps nodular pearlite, on their frontiers. The sample from the right jugular is similar, except that less martensite is visible. Without sectioning the entire helmet, it is not possible to suggest whether these mixtures of different microconstituents are due to some sort of differential cooling, for example, spraying one surface of a hot plate with cold water to quench only a thin layer. Another possibility is that a steel of variable carbon content has been heat-treated. Both jugular samples show similar microstructures, presumably for the same reason. Both are made of steels that were heat-treated after fabrication, to harden them. The precise mode of treatment must remain conjectural, but it might have involved a slow cooling, to allow some pearlite to form, followed by a rapid quench to transform other parts to martensite. The ventail was made of a steel of lower carbon content (perhaps around 0.2% rather than 0.6%), and it formed only pearlite on cooling.

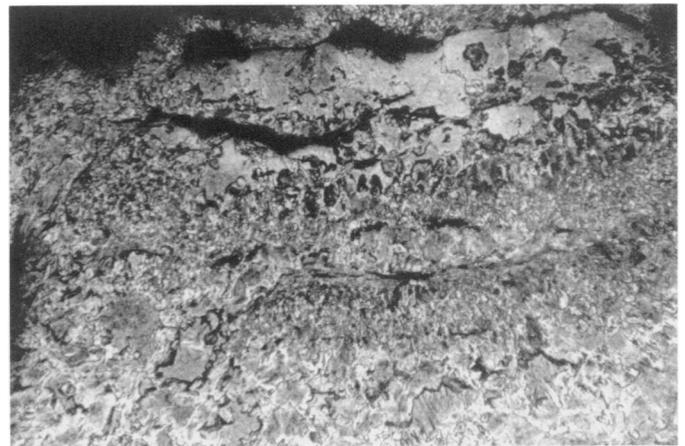
### *Sample from ventail*



2a. Ferrite and pearlite

× 80

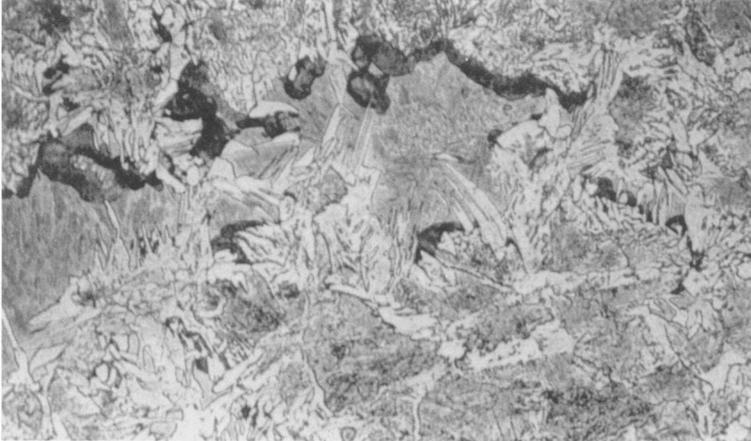
### *Sample from left jugular*



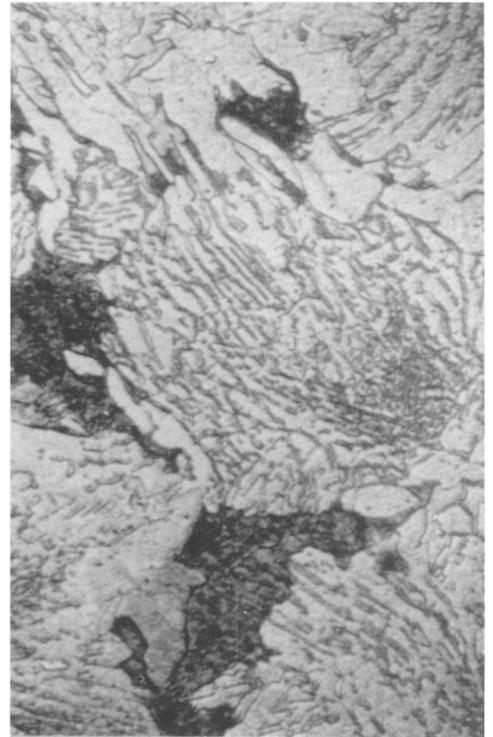
2b. Ferrite (white), pearlite, martensite, and a dark, irresolvable material on the edges of the martensitic areas

× 80

Sample from left jugular (cont.)



2c. Ferrite (white), pearlite, martensite, and a dark, irre-solvable material on the edges of the martensitic areas  
× 320



2d. Pearlite × 1280



2e. Martensite × 1280



2f. Pearlite, surrounded by dark-etching material, in the midst of martensitic areas (possibly the result of a slow cool, forming pearlite in small areas, then a quench to transform the rest of the steel to martensite) × 1280

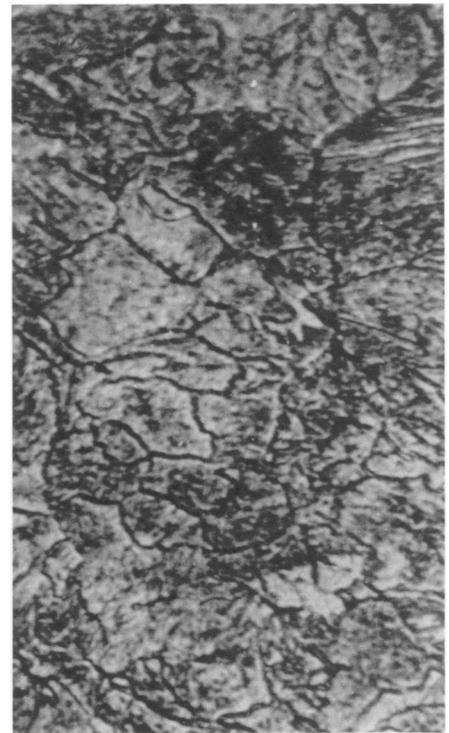
*Sample from right jugular*



2g. Mostly very fine pearlite, with a conspicuous area of martensite  
× 320



2h. Detail of martensitic area above  
× 1280



2i. Pearlite  
× 1280

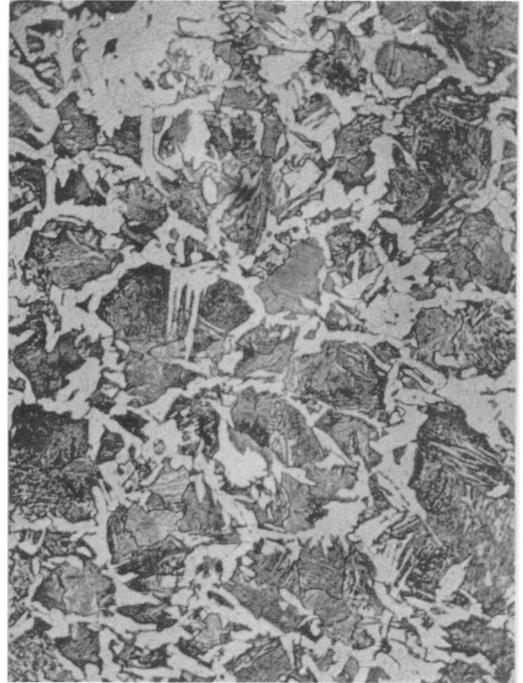


FIGURE 3  
Armet. Italian, about 1460–75. The Metropolitan  
Museum of Art, Bashford Dean Memorial Collec-  
tion, 29.158.22

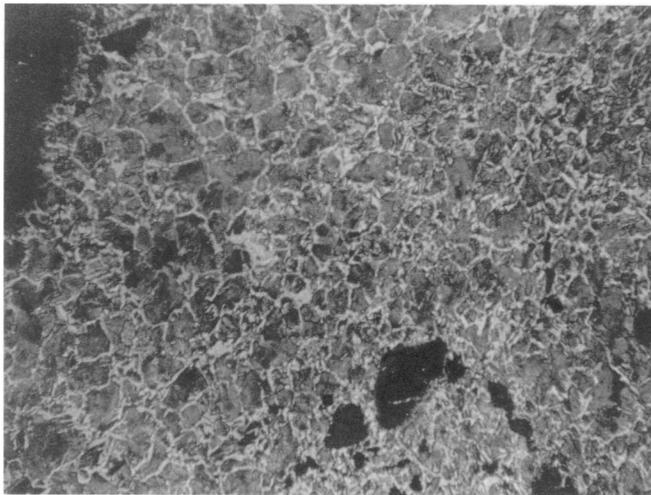
*Sample from right jugular (cont.)*

3b. Pearlite

× 320



*Sample from right jugular*



3a. Pearlite and ferrite

× 80



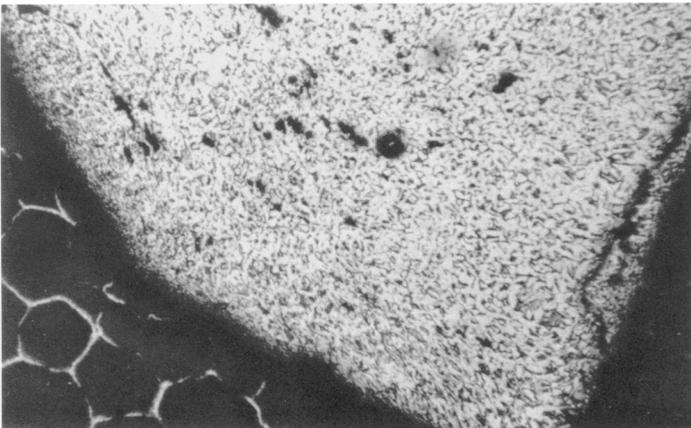
3c. Pearlite

× 1600

### 3. Armet

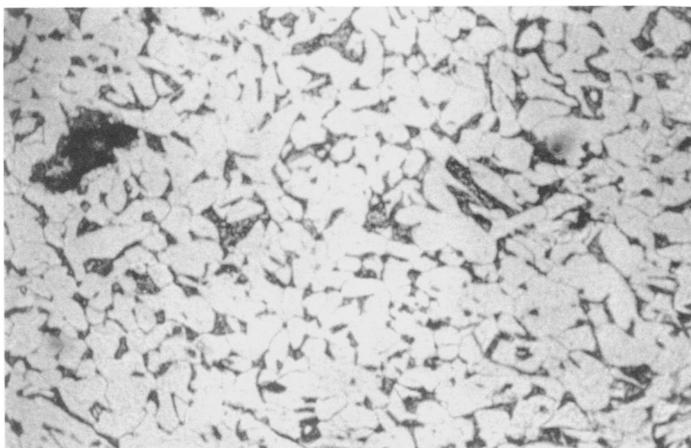
The three samples consist of air-cooled steels of very different carbon contents. The fragment from the jugular has a microstructure consisting of pearlite and ferrite, of approximate carbon content 0.6%, with a little slag, not elongated. The fragment from the skull has a microstructure of ferrite and a little pearlite, of approximate carbon content 0.2%, and no slag visible. The fragment from the brow reinforce has a microstructure of ferrite and pearlite very similar to that of the skull fragment, with a few slag inclusions that are somewhat elongated. The helmet was evidently made from a steel of variable carbon content. No attempt was made to harden the steel by heat treatment.

*Sample from skull*



3d. Ferrite and pearlite

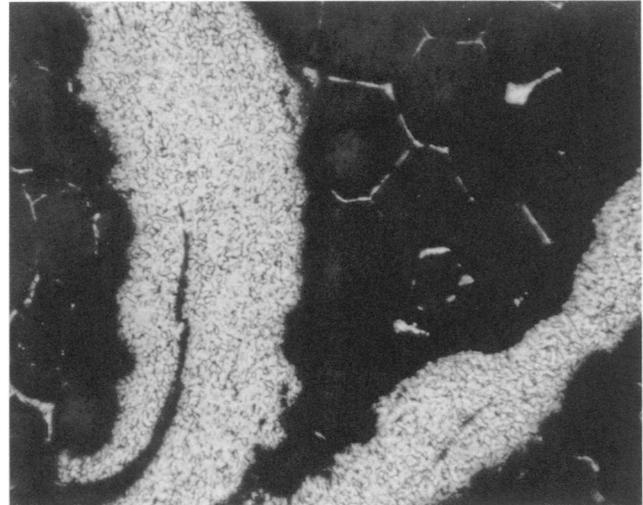
× 80



3e. Ferrite and pearlite

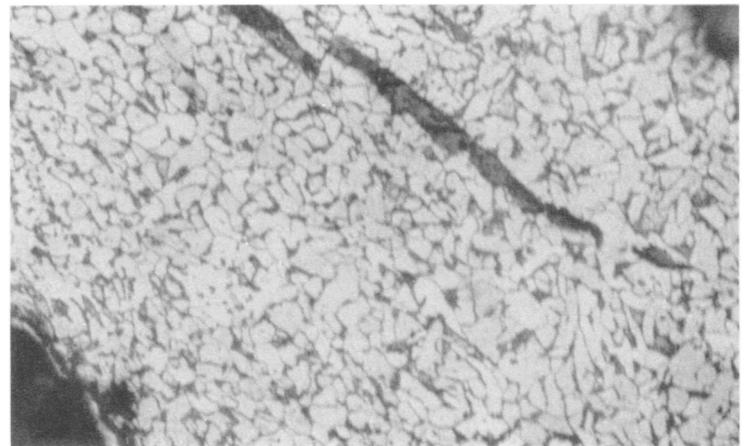
× 320

*Sample from brow reinforce*



3f. Ferrite and pearlite

× 80



3g. Ferrite and pearlite

× 320

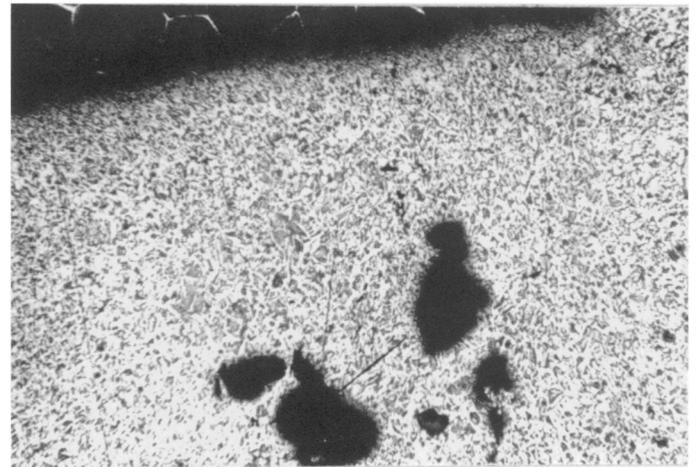


**FIGURE 4**  
Barbute. Italian, about 1465. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of George D. Pratt, 25.188.20

#### 4. Barbute

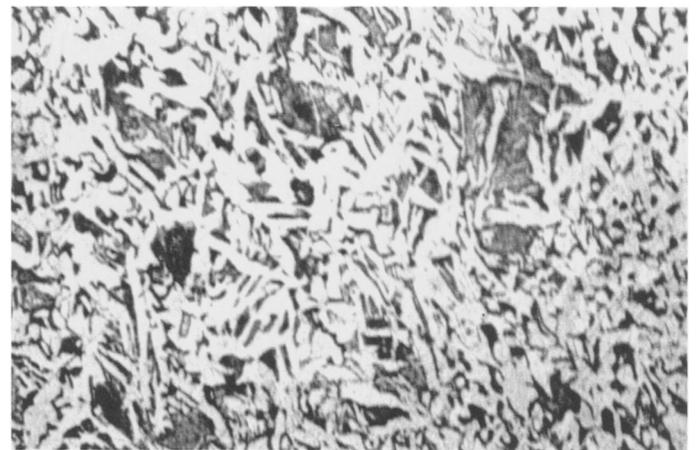
Sample consists of an air-cooled steel. It has a microstructure of ferrite and pearlite, of approximate carbon content 0.3%. There are numerous slag inclusions, not elongated, but apparently sectioned perpendicular to the direction of forging, since many of them are circular.

*Sample from skull*



4a. Ferrite and pearlite

× 80



4b. Ferrite and pearlite

× 320

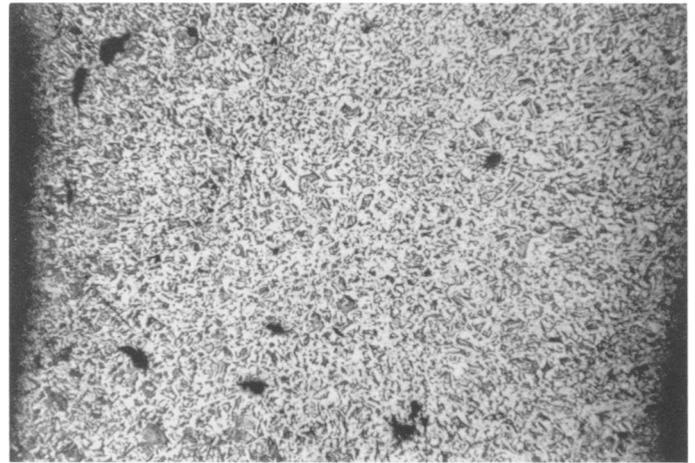


FIGURE 5  
Barbute. Italian, about 1470. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of William H. Riggs, 14.25.581

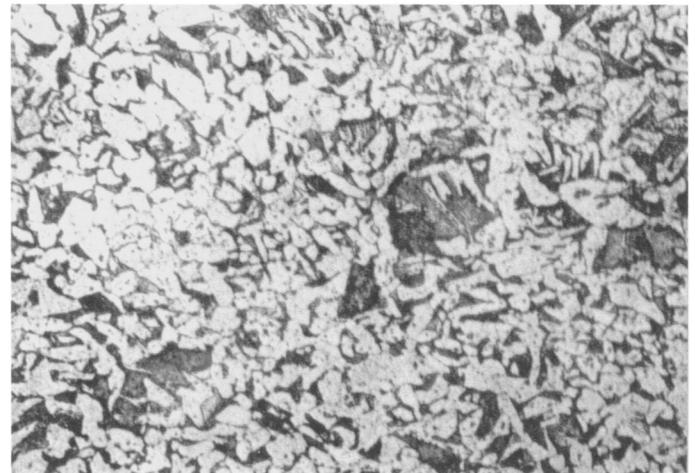
## 5. Barbute

Sample consists of an air-cooled steel. It has a microstructure of ferrite and pearlite, of approximate carbon content 0.3%, with a little slag, not elongated.

*Sample from skull*



5a. Ferrite and pearlite; the isolated cavities contain corrosion products  
× 80



5b. Ferrite and pearlite; the isolated cavities contain corrosion products  
× 320



**FIGURE 6**  
Kettle hat. Italian, 2nd half 15th century. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of William H. Riggs, 14.25.582

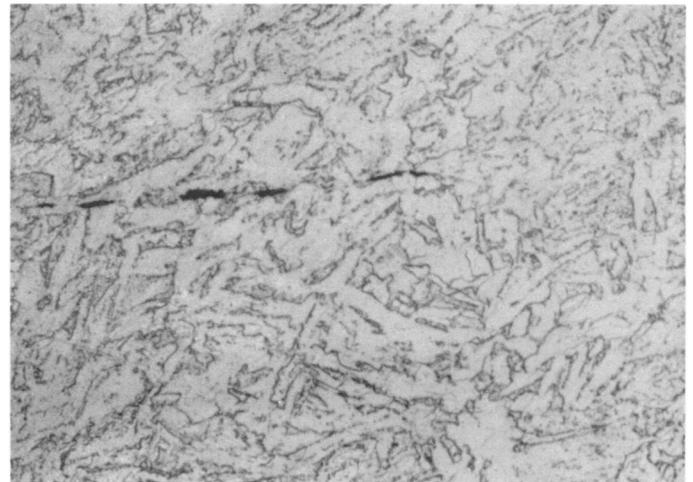
## 6. Kettle hat

Sample is a steel whose microstructure consists of a large number of small carbide particles in a matrix of ferrite. There are a few small, slightly elongated slag inclusions. Although no lamellar structure now remains, it seems that there was originally a coarse pearlite that divorced by being held for some time just below the critical range for steel. The helmet was probably made from a medium-carbon steel (perhaps 0.4%) that was annealed after fabrication or perhaps reheated and held at around 600° C for some decoration or repair.

*Sample*



6a. Pearlite, divorced to form cementite and ferrite × 80



6b. Pearlite, divorced to form cementite and ferrite

× 320

# A New Date for the Choir Screen from Valladolid

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THE NEED FOR ORIENTING artistic investigation toward the study of private patronage and its direct effect on the history of the fine arts is becoming ever more evident. In Spain, this source has yet to be fully exploited; when it is, many present unknowns will undoubtedly be clarified. The case under study here may serve as an example: the dating of the iron choir screen from the cathedral of Valladolid, acquired by the Metropolitan Museum in 1956, and heretofore believed to be of seventeenth-century construction. A new look at the documentary sources in addition to the stylistic evidence will encourage a dating almost a century later.

In 1668 the chapter of the cathedral decided to consecrate the part of the structure that had thus far been erected, despite numerous difficulties. At this time it was decided to place the choir in the center of the nave. The visibility of the architectural whole was thus subordinated to a conservative instinct, contrary to the wishes of the architect himself.<sup>1</sup> In order to close off the choir, the ironworker Pedro Juan wrought two screens for the back part of the choir and put in place the balusters of the corridor that led to the two organs.<sup>2</sup> J. J. Martín González suspected that the “reja de delante de el coro,” made by the same artist, is that in the Metropolitan (Figures 1, 2). He observed, nonetheless, that the amount paid for the 592 kilograms of iron was only part of the total

price of the screen contracted for in 1668, since the Metropolitan’s screen weighs 13,636 kilograms. Although the account book that was missing in 1960 has been recovered, it is of no help in this matter since no related payments are recorded nor is the choir project mentioned.

The presence of such seventeenth-century decorative motifs as the *piedras y gallones* (which imitate precious gems) in the uppermost frieze and the small twisted columns among the bars, together with other markedly rococo decorations, has led some scholars to suggest that the Metropolitan’s screen was wrought in the mid-seventeenth century and altered in the eighteenth. Contradicting this is the information concerning the history of the screen given by M. Castro in his *Episcopologio vallisoletano*. In his biography of Isidro Cosío y Bustamante, Bishop of Valladolid, Castro affirms that “among the many benefices and donations which he made to this church it must be noted that he bore, with his own funds, the cost of the iron railings between the choir and the sanctuary and the choir screen, which was put into place on the seventh of December 1763 and was painted and gilded the following year.”<sup>3</sup> When the bishop died in 1774, the chapter “resolved to place his coat of arms on the choir screen in order to perpetuate his memory for having underwritten its cost.”<sup>4</sup> Later, it was decided to substitute for his arms those of the

1. J. J. Martín González, “Noticias documentales sobre la catedral de Valladolid,” *Boletín del Seminario de Arte y Arqueología de la Universidad de Valladolid* (1960) p. 195.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 189 ff.

3. M. Castro Alonso, *Episcopologio vallisoletano* (Valladolid, 1904) p. 321.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 323.

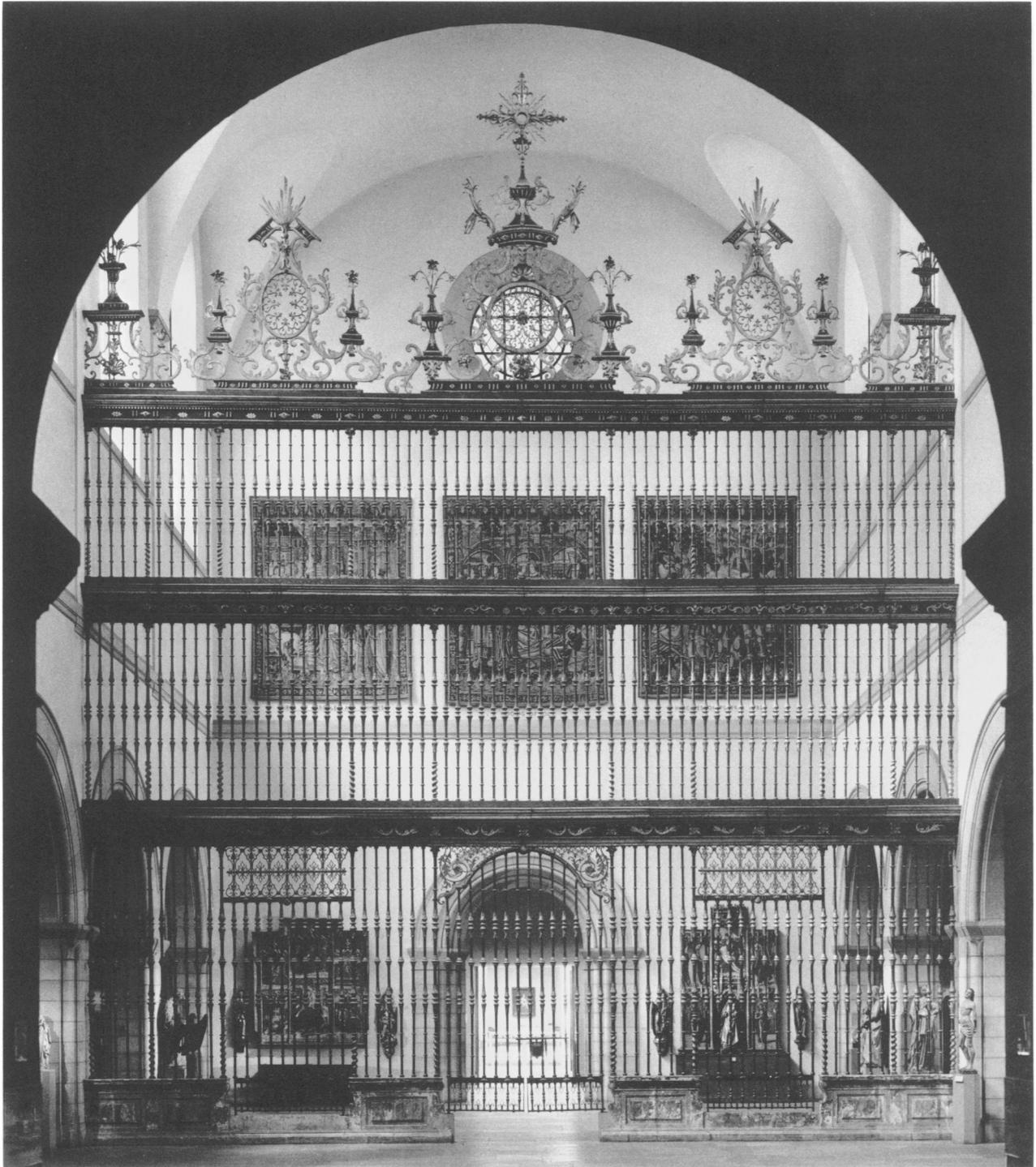
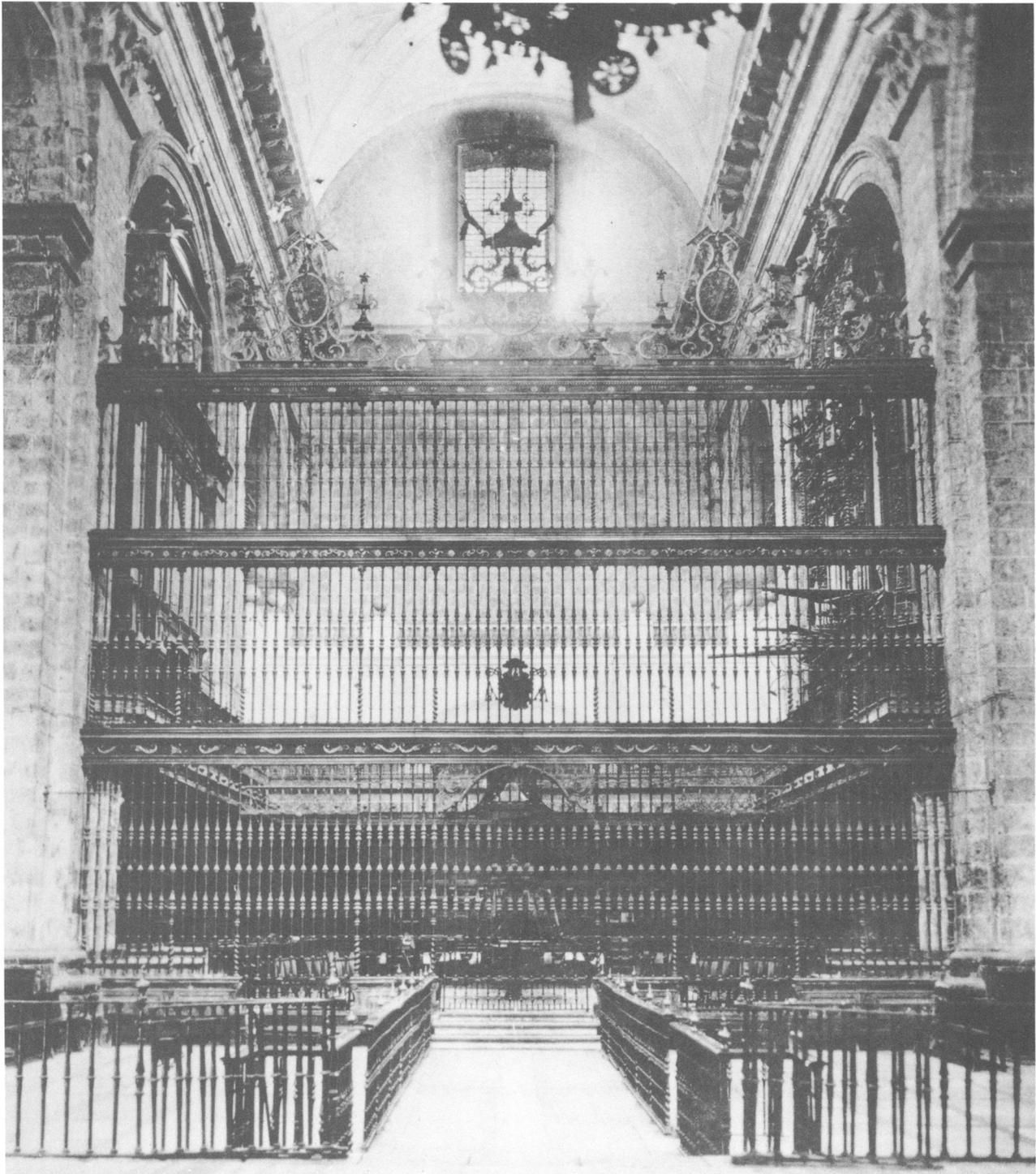


FIGURE 1

Choir screen from the cathedral of Valladolid, attributed to the Amezúa family of Elorrio, erected in 1763 and painted and gilded in 1764. Wrought iron, partially gilt, and limestone. H. 52 ft., W. 42 ft. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of The William Randolph Hearst Foundation, 56.234.1



**FIGURE 2**  
The screen in the cathedral, before 1922

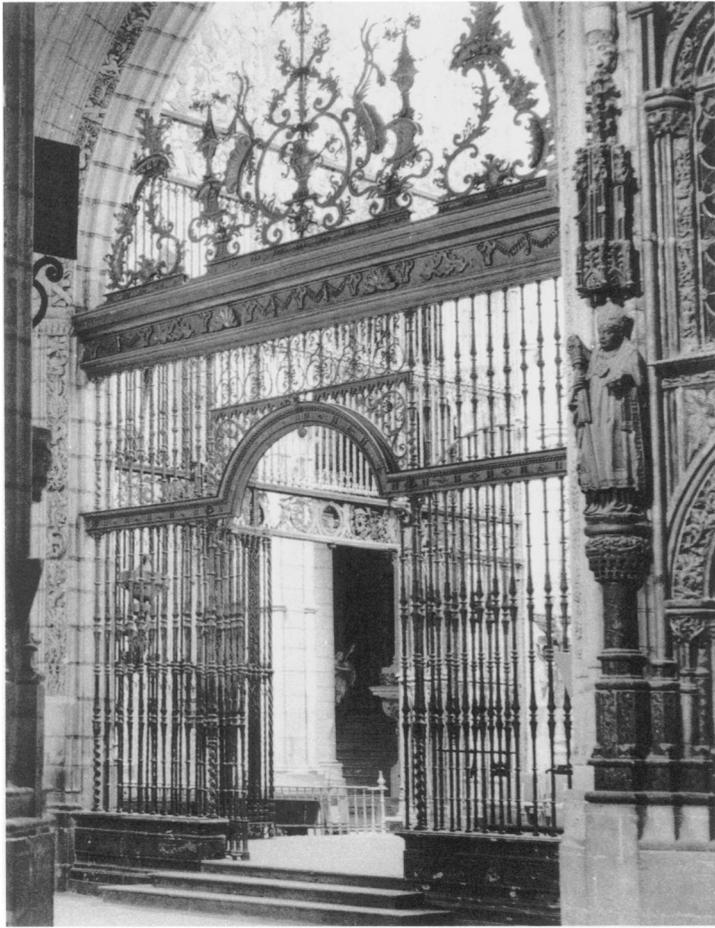


FIGURE 3  
Sanctuary screen by Rafael Amezúa, Cuenca Cathedral (photo: MAS)

chapter and to add this inscription: "The Illustrious Isidro Cossio former Bishop of this City donated this screen and railings."<sup>5</sup> By 1904 the painted inscription had been erased by time, but the "badly blurred and deteriorated" chapter arms were still conserved, as can be seen in an old photograph.<sup>6</sup>

As the screen was a private donation of the bishop, no annotations concerning it are to be found in the cathedral's account books. Only the life of the donor remains to be analyzed in order to see whether he had any contact with master ironworkers.

Isidro Cosío y Bustamante, the future Bishop of

5. Ibid.

6. Reproduced by J. J. Rorimer, "It Was Just Yesterday," *Studies in the History of Art Dedicated to W. E. Suida* (London, 1949) pp. 10–16.

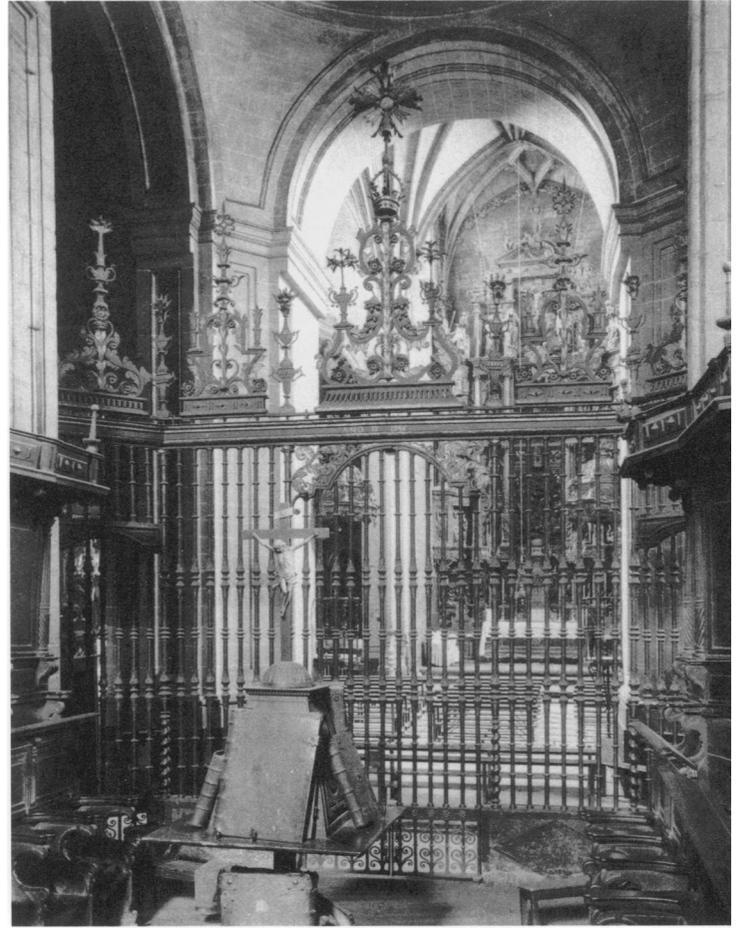


FIGURE 4  
Choir screen by Gaspar Amezúa, Santa María del Palacio, Logroño (MAS)

Valladolid, was born in the diocese of Palencia in 1700 and studied for the priesthood in Oviedo and Salamanca. After his ordination he was sent to Villanueva de la Jara, Cuenca, and was later named Archdeacon of Moya, an important office among the dignities of Cuenca Cathedral. Here, I believe, lies the key to his later involvement with the Valladolid screen.

In 1740, during the bishopric of José Flórez Osorio, two screens wrought by Rafael Amezúa, an ironworker from Elorrio, Vizcaya, were placed on either side of the sanctuary of Cuenca Cathedral (Figure 3).<sup>7</sup> Of rather reduced dimensions, these screens con-

7. A. González Palencia, *Biblioteca conquense V* (Madrid, 1949) p. 302.

sist of two vertical sections topped by an elegant crest. As in the Metropolitan's screen, small twisted columns form part of the bars and the *piedras y gallones* motif is present in the frieze, while the delightfully rococo crest illustrates the imagination and ability of Rafael Amezúa.

His work in Cuenca Cathedral is very similar to the choir screen in the church of Santa María del Palacio, in Logroño (Figure 4), wrought in 1746 by Gaspar Amezúa, also a native of Elorrio and presumably related to Rafael.<sup>8</sup> The Logroño screen consists of only one vertical section and a crest. It is decorated with the same twisted columns, the same *piedras y gallones* motif in its frieze, and similar rococo ornament in the door spandrels and crestwork,

although this last element is more restrained than in the Cuenca crests, and there is a serenity about the whole that is almost neo-Renaissance.

Seventeen years separate the Logroño and Valladolid screens, but ironwork was always one of the most conservative of the arts, and the same patterns and motifs persisted in the work of the Amezúa family when they came to make the Valladolid screen. In the crestwork of the screen one may appreciate a great formal clarity, and even the capricious *rocaille* is clearly silhouetted in space. In the Valladolid screen the Amezúa family culminated the process of simplification of their art, and in it, too, there is a premonition of the aesthetic change that had already begun to make itself felt in the other arts.

8. J. M. Ruiz Galarreta y S. Alcolea, *Logroño y su provincia* (Barcelona, 1962) p. 16. One Gaspar Amezúa, son of Antón Amezúa and Magdalena de Egurrola and brother of Gregorio, Juan Bautista, and Augustín, was Magistrate of Elorrio in 1732: Santos de Pagadigorra Múgica, *Matricula y padrón de los caballeros hijosdalgo de esta muy noble y muy leal villa de Helorrio (1575-1831)* (Bilbao, 1965) pp. 271, 355.

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JACKET ILLUSTRATION

Bearded king, detail of Gothic doorway from Moutiers-Saint-Jean. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cloisters Collection