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Theodore Rousseau

1912-1973

*Remarks by Thomas Hoving
at the Memorial Service, February 13, 1974*

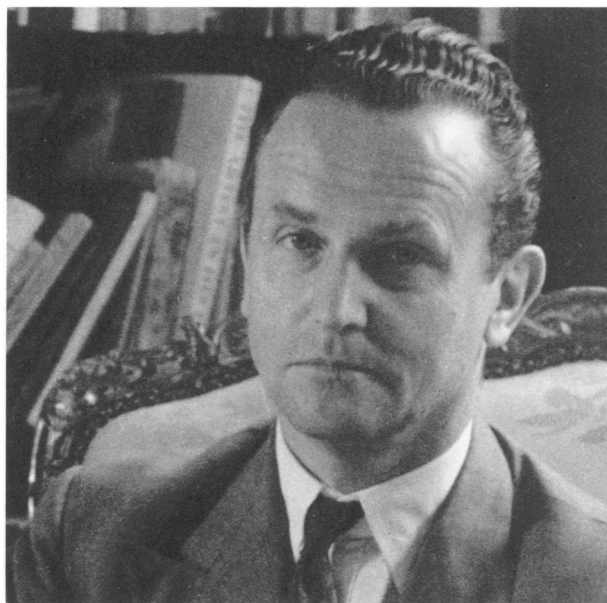
TED ROUSSEAU, my dear friend and colleague, was a man of extraordinary humanity. He had a sense of universal politeness that enabled him to be totally at ease with the broadest diversity of people and they with him. His intelligence was intense and deep, his curiosity boundless. His wit was quicksilver, sharp enough to break the skin of pretense and sham, which was about the only thing he disdained, yet gentle and sensitive at the same time. Ted was a truly civilized human being: elegant, agile, and urbane.

He had around him a special glow of vitality. His presence literally illuminated a room or a gathering. When as a student I first met Ted, I was profoundly impressed by his personal magnetism and his acumen.

I was supposed to comment on a drawing by Ingres. I didn't know what to say and was terribly embarrassed. Ted deftly ignored my state of awkwardness. He gently drew me out so that through my perception of the work of art I was able to be at ease with myself and, at the same time, to observe a work of art in a way I had never believed possible.

Years later, when I was Director and Ted my Curator-in-Chief, we were standing together before a splendid Dürer watercolor. A remark by Ted allowed me to see the object, suddenly, with greater clarity, and I then held forth about it. At the end he made that wonderful wry, humorous smile of his and said, "That was better than the Ingres." I was stunned, and I must say a sharp remembrance of youthful awkwardness began to flood back inside me. And still smiling and with that quick shrug so typical to Ted, he quietly remarked, "You weren't so bad, even then."

Ted's achievements in his long career at this great institution are without parallel. His exhibitions—Van Gogh, Gauguin, Masterpieces of 50 Centuries, the tapestry exhibition that presently graces our galleries—will always be indices of the highest quality.



The great works of art that Ted caused to come to the collections will doubtless remain unsurpassed: the Badminton Sarcophagus, the Cloisters' Apocalypse, the splendid Vision of St. John by El Greco, the magnificent Tiepolos, the Juan de Pareja. These and many others are well known. Other achievements of Ted's are not so well known. When Robert Lehman had made his final decision to leave the incomparable Lehman collection to the Metropolitan he told me: "You know this would never have happened without Ted Rousseau. You see, for a long while he was the sole thread that kept me linked to the Museum."

As a curator, Ted was a connoisseur of a near faultless eye, with a universal sense of *grand goût*.

He was renowned by his colleagues for these things. His friend Xavier de Salas, Director of the Prado, observed recently, "Theodore Rousseau belonged to a breed of human being that is disappearing. There still lived in him the 'aesthetic' spirit of the connoisseur of past centuries who was highly endowed with good taste. Ted Rousseau had something quite apart from a scholar's factual erudition; he had those qualities that make you value only what has the highest degree of excellence."

For me, personally, Ted's connoisseurship also had a great measure of pure contentment and joy. He would say to me: "There is *no* activity in life quite so entertaining and pleasurable as this." He was passionately fond of what he did in life—its pleasant moments, even its hard times—the people, the scene. His was the rare assurance of being able to know that his place in the world of art was perfect. He pooh-poohed the status aspect of his position, and he resisted various attempts to try to make him Director. We were able to work together as a harmonious team. His contentment was the strong balance in our mutual activities. His enthusiasm sparked the task.

As a connoisseur and as a human being, one of Ted's most valuable attributes was his courage.

From the moment we learned that Velázquez' masterwork Juan de Pareja would be sold, through the incredibly tense activities that led to its acquisition, Ted would say: "We *must* have it"—and because of his gentle and courageous persistence we were able to have it.

In the last months of his life, Ted's deep courage—his gallantry—supported not only himself but his friends. Those close to him gained strength by *his* example of grace, humor, courage, and compassion. It was pure Ted Rousseau to have done that. Neither this institution nor any one of us will ever forget him.

Theodore Rousseau at the Museum by Margaretta Salinger

OUR FRIEND and colleague Theodore Rousseau died on New Year's Eve, the day before he was to have assumed a new role as a trustee of the Museum. In losing him the institution is deprived of a dedicated worker who would have brought great gifts of vision and judgment to his new responsibilities. Though born in America, he received his early education in England and France, returning to this country to study history of art and architecture at Harvard, where he obtained his Bachelor's and Master's degrees. After a period of teaching, he held a traveling fellowship from Harvard, studying manuscript illumination in England and France. His career as a museum man, which began in the newly founded National Gallery in Washington, was interrupted for more than five years by World War II. As a Lieutenant Commander he served in Europe and the Far East. As Operations Officer of the Office of Strategic Service, he brought all of his education and experience to his work of arresting and interrogating looters in the occupied countries. The information that he gathered made possible the recovery of many works of art and provided important evidence for the war crimes trials in Nuremberg.

For his war work his own government honored him with the Legion of Merit, and many foreign governments subsequently recognized his contributions with their decorations. He was an Officer of the French Legion of Honor, a Knight Officer of the Italian Order of Merit, and he received the orders of Orange-Nassau and Alfonso el Sabio from the Dutch and Spanish governments. He was also a corresponding member of the Royal Academy of San Fernando.

Theodore Rousseau's career in the Metropolitan Museum,

which began in 1946, embraced twenty-two years in the Department of European Paintings, as Associate Curator, Curator, and finally Chairman. His acquisitions during these years included George de La Tour's *Fortune Teller*, Rembrandt's *Aristotle with the Bust of Homer*, Monet's *Terrace at Sainte-Adresse*, and Tiepolo's three large decorations celebrating the victories of the Roman general Marius. Under his curatorship many splendid exhibitions came to the Museum. During the last five years, in which he held an administrative post as Vice-Director and Curator in Chief, he was enormously valuable in shaping the Museum's new international exchanges of exhibitions.

He was a curator in the strictest and most fundamental interpretation of the title. He believed that it was his responsibility to ensure by every means in his power the protection and preservation of the works of art in his charge. But he also laid upon himself the even more demanding task of making their beauty and significance available to every kind of person who saw them. He regarded publication at all levels as important—from summaries of salient facts destined for press notices to the sort of specialized studies written for this *Journal*, which he enthusiastically supported and indeed played a large part in founding.

When he published a newly acquired picture or wrote the introduction to an exhibition of paintings he always knew before he began exactly what he thought must be said. Strictly honest with himself and sensitive to the faintest overtone of falseness or pretension, he never strung words together with the hope that something convincing would emerge. With his knowledge of many languages he could delve directly into sources: he knew and remembered what was listed in Rembrandt's inventories, drew conclusions from the paintings enumerated by El Greco's son, and read Pacheco and Palomino for what they could reveal about Spanish artists and their methods. This examination of contemporary documents and records enriched his reconstructions of the past, supporting his conclusions with facts, and helped him to uncover and make vivid the personality of an artist as an aid to understanding his work, as he did so notably in his essay on Gauguin.

His tastes were extraordinarily catholic. When the exhibition of French paintings of the seventeenth century came to the Museum he was profoundly moved by the poetry of Poussin's tiny, exquisite *Death of Adonis*, and when Rembrandt's *Aristotle* was bought he felt strongly its human meaning and its universal power.

Theodore Rousseau had warmth and courage. Great works of art stirred him, and when he spoke or wrote about them he was not afraid to praise their quality and to invoke the absolutes, beauty and truth.

Redundant Determinatives in the Old Kingdom









HENRY G. FISCHER

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BATTISCOMBE GUNN has long since made the observation that hieroglyphic inscriptions of the Old Kingdom characteristically omit determinatives if these ideographs are supplied by the accompanying representations.¹ Thus, on a stela or architrave, the two-dimensional figure of the owner may itself be regarded as an enlarged determinative, supplementing the phonetic writing of the name that precedes it. And a statue may similarly be regarded as a three-dimensional enlargement of the determinative belonging to the name inscribed on its base.

It is therefore appropriate, as far as the monuments of this period are concerned, to speak of “redundant determinatives” in describing those exceptional cases where a hieroglyphic determinative is added to a personal name even though the name is directly connected with a representation that performs the same function. As might be expected, a certain number of exceptions do in fact exist. But a rather more surprising feature emerges when the exceptions are tabulated in which men and women are associated. In such cases—and they constitute the majority of the total—the feminine names tend to show the determinative while the masculine names do not. The first and most important category to be considered is statuary, either pairs of statues or group statues, representing the tomb owner and the members of his household.

1. STATUARY

| | OWNER | WIFE | SON(S) | DAUGHTER |
|---|-------|---|---|---|
| (1) Figure 1 (two statues) | — (A) |  (B) |  (B) | |
| (2) Figure 2 ² | — |  | — |  |
| (3) Figure 3 ³ | — |  | | |
| (4) Figure 4 ⁴ | | | — |  |
| (5) Abubakr, <i>Giza</i> , pls. 20, 21 (two statues) ⁵ | — |  | | |
| (6) Figure 5 ⁶ | — |  | | |

1. Cecil M. Firth and Battiscombe Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries* (Cairo, 1926) p. 171, n. 2. Compare also *PN* II, p. 18, n. 19.










2. A granite statue of the owner (Junker, *Giza* V, fig. 29 B) likewise shows his name without determinative.






3. The correction of the owner's title is presented in Henry G. Fischer, “An Old Kingdom Monogram,” *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 93 (1966) p. 62.

4. For the identification of the two figures see below, pp. 14–15. A statue of the tomb owner and two daughters (Hassan, *Giza* I, p. 116, pl. 74) shows no determinatives.

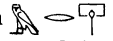

5. A second statue of the owner's wife (pl. 22) lacks the determinative.



6. Limestone statuette of seated couple from tomb G 2231x = G 2178 (Smith, *History of Sculpture and Painting*, p. 74). I am indebted to Dr. William K. Simpson for helping me to locate and copy this


| | OWNER | WIFE | SON(S) | DAUGHTER |
|--|-------|---|--------|---|
| (7) Figure 7 ⁷ | — |  | | |
| (8) M. G. Fraser, “The Early Tombs at Tehneh,” <i>ASAE</i> 3 (1902) pp. 123– 124 (second example) | — | | — |  |
| (9) Figure 8 | — |  | | |
| (10) CG 55 | — |  | — | |
| (11) CG 100 | — |  | — | |
| (12) CG 376 | — |  | — | — |
| (13) Figure 9 ⁸ | — |  | — | |
| (14) Berlin 8801, Berlin Museum, <i>Ägypt- tische Inschriften aus den Königlichen Museen I</i> (Leipzig, 1913) pp. 71, 267 | — |  | — (?) | |
| (15) B. A. Turayev, <i>Statui i Statuetki</i> (Petrograd, 1917) p. 6 and pl. 2 (2) | — (?) |  | — | |

example. The woman, presumably the wife of the man beside whom she is seated, is named *Hwit-R'* (not to be found in *PN*, but compare masc. *Hwi-R'*, in *PN* II, p. 309 [26]). The man's principal title is evidently to be read *šhd ikd(w) hwsī(w)* “Inspector of builders and constructors” and his name is *'Iti*. I do not know of any other occurrence of a title mentioning *hwsī*, but it does not seem possible to read , which would represent a very abnormal writing of *ikdw*. For the combined use of the two virtually synonymous terms for building one may compare a passage in the biography of *Nbbw* (Figure 6), which comes from a nearby tomb (G 2381–2382): “I [founded?] the *ka*-mansions there, they being built and constructed” (Dows Dunham, “The Biographical Inscriptions of Nekhebu in Boston and Cairo,” *JEA* 24 [1938] pl. 2 foll. p. 2). It will be noted that *kd* and *hwsī* are presented in the same sequence and have a common determinative that could be interpreted as either  or  (Alan Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, 3rd ed. [Oxford, 1957] Sign List A 35, 34); in Gustave Jéquier, *La pyramide d'Oudjebten* (Cairo, 1928) fig. 16, p. 18, the latter has the form , while another late Old Kingdom inscription shows  (George A. Reisner, “The Dog Which Was Honored by the King of Upper and Lower Egypt,” *BMFA* 34 [1936] p. 96).

7. One might compare this and the following example with architraves like those considered below, in section 3. A masculine name-determinative appears in a somewhat similar context, Has-

To this list one may also add (16) the female servant statues CG 110, 114 (Figure 10), 118, all from  “the funerary estate of the Overseer of the Treasury *Wr-ir.n(i)*,” and more specifically from his tomb. In each case this designation of the tomb owner, without determinative, is followed by the name of the servant, which has the determinative .

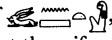



Most of the 16 examples are from the Memphite cemeteries, either Giza (1–6), Saqqara (10–12, 16, and probably 13), or Medum (9); two are known from Tehna, in Middle Egypt (7–8). The earliest of them is no. 9, dating to the beginning of the Fourth Dynasty; the next earliest are 1, 7, 8 (beginning of the Fifth Dynasty); most of the others also belong to the same dynasty, but no. 2 is as late as the Sixth, and nos. 4 and 5 cannot be much earlier. It will be noted that the determinative  follows the names of women throughout the Old Kingdom, but  does not appear in this context before some point well within the Fifth Dynasty.¹⁰

I have found only four group statues that show the determinative after the name of the principal male figure and, with a single exception, the woman's name shows the same feature. In one case (CG 62) the determinative  is given to a man—presumably the

san, *Gtza* III, fig. 127, p. 151, but here the name is preceded by an offering formula, so that this inscription is a much more independent entity than in the case of examples 7 and 8.

8. John D. Cooney, “Three Egyptian Families of the Old Kingdom,” *Bulletin Brooklyn Museum* 13/3 (Spring, 1952) p. 6. The drawing is based on a rubbing made by Edna Russmann. On another family group of the same person (Metropolitan Museum of Art 52.19) the name of the daughter lacks a determinative, as does that of the owner; the wife's name has not survived.

9. Determinatives are also absent from the names on a statue of a male funerary priest belonging to the same group (CG 119) and on one of the statues representing the owner (CG 272), but another statue of his does show a determinative (CG 211).

10. Note also the example of , Junker, *Gtza* I, fig. 63, p. 252. It may also be noted that the wife who has the determinative  in example 1 is given the determinative  on the false door of her son (BM 1223: T. G. H. James, *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae, etc.*, 2nd ed. [London, 1961] pl. 8, p. 8): for this distinction see Henry G. Fischer, “Four Provincial Administrators at the Memphite Cemeteries,” *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 74 (1954) p. 28. The early Fourth Dynasty use of the determinative  after the name of Queen *Htp-hr.š* (Reisner and Smith, *Hist. Giza Necrop.* II, fig. 40, pl. 29) may similarly be explained by her status; *Htp-hr.š* II has the same determinative on the coffin of her daughter *Mr-š y-‘nh* III (J. d'E 54935).

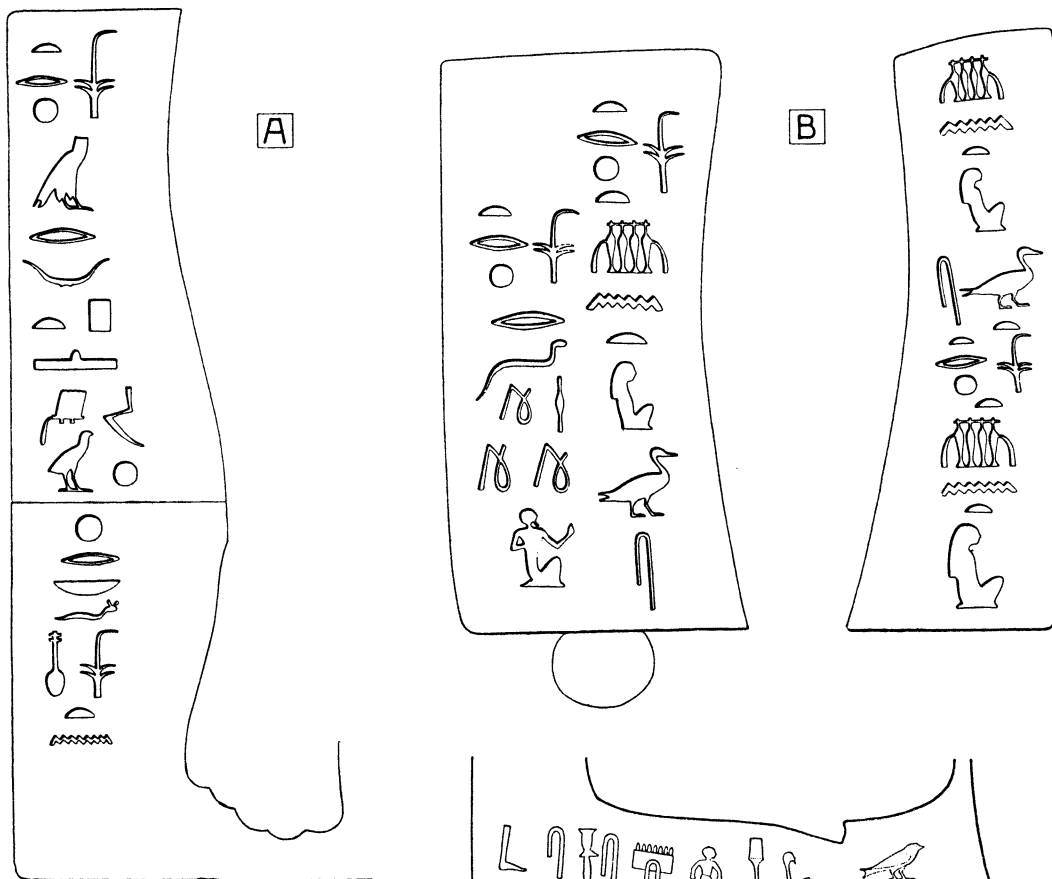


FIGURE 1
Example 1. From Junker, *Giza III*,
fig. 32, p. 186

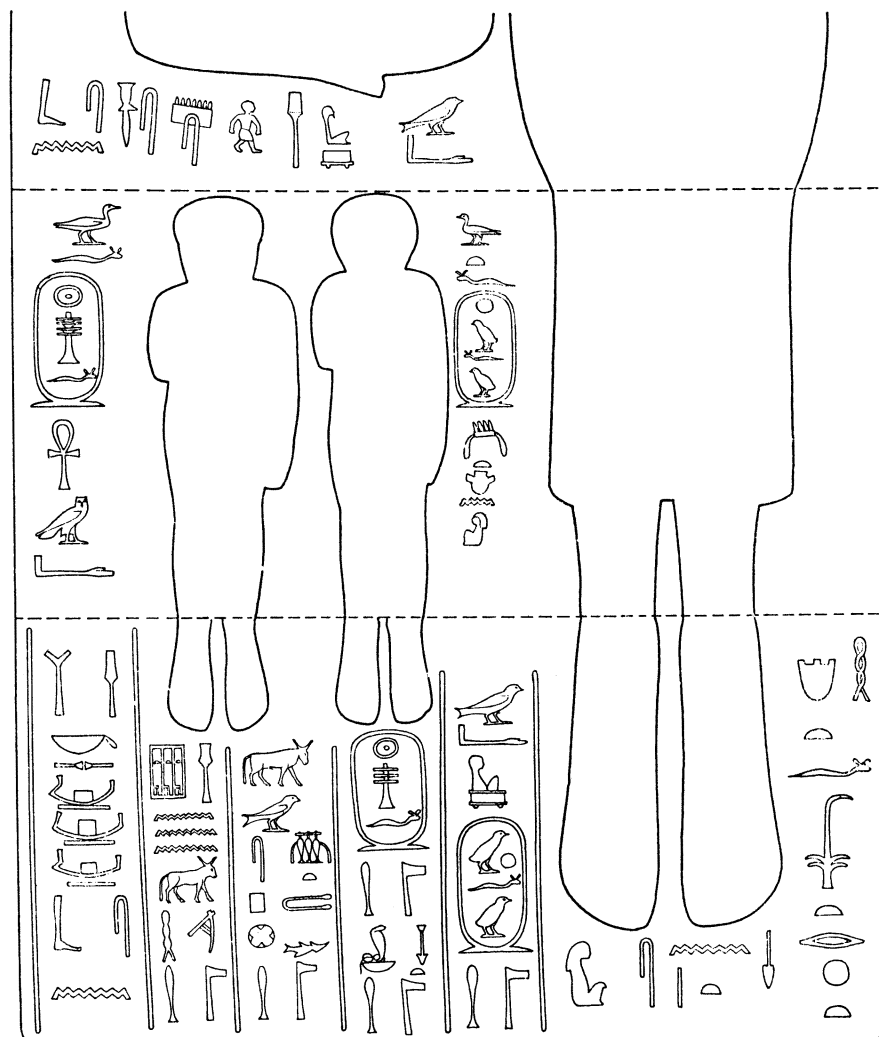


FIGURE 2
Example 2. From Junker, *Giza V*
fig. 29A, p. 109

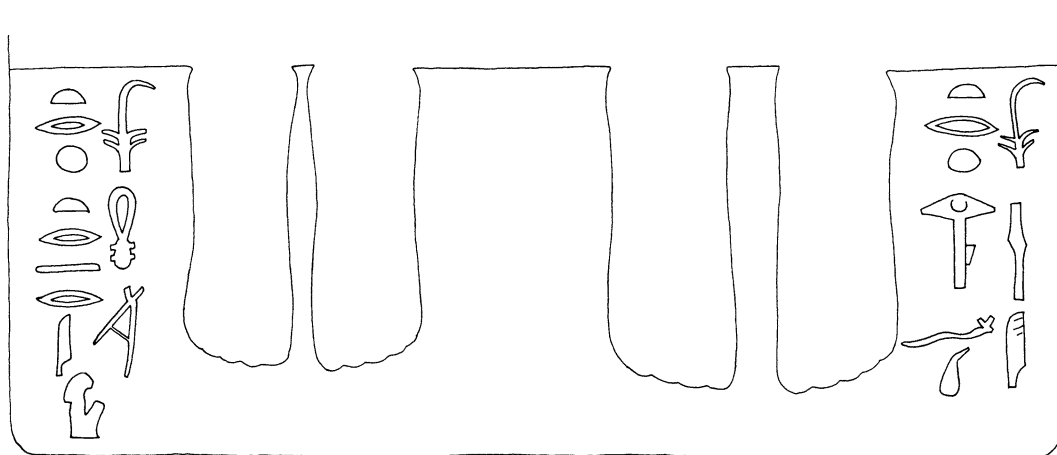


FIGURE 3
Example 3. From Junker, *Giza IX*, fig. 27, p. 68
(corrected)

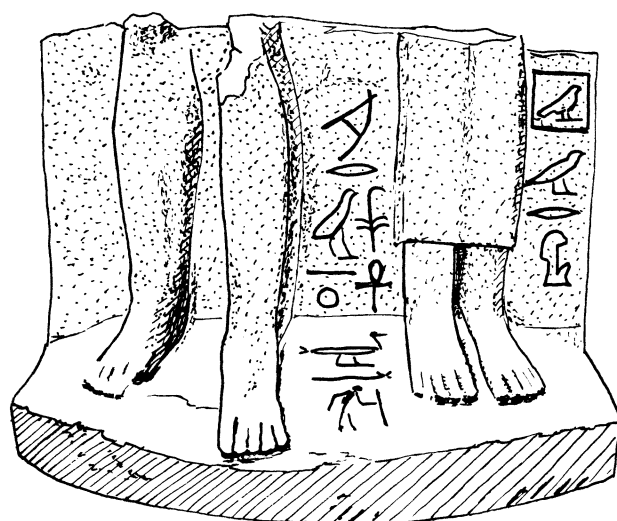
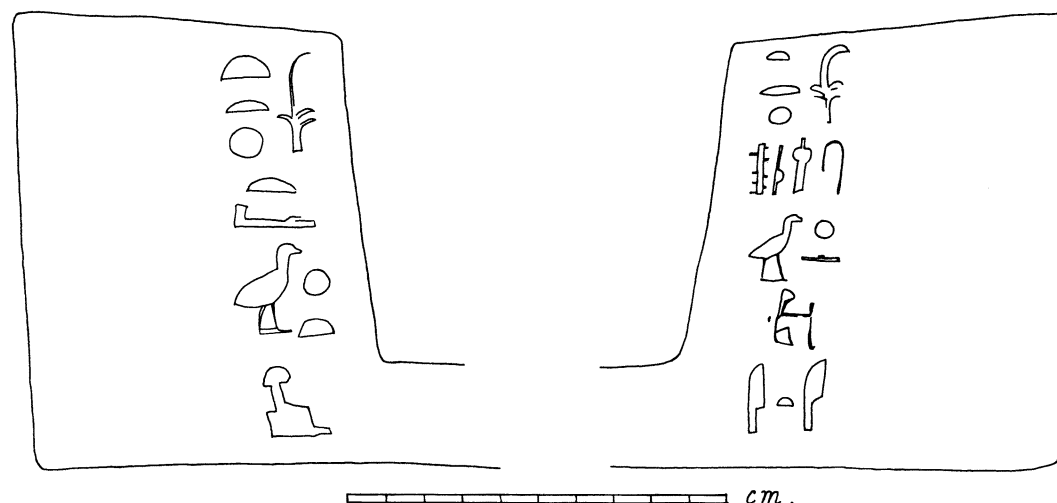


FIGURE 4
Example 4. Drawn from photograph, Hassan, *Giza I*, pl. 75

FIGURE 5
Example 6. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 12.1485



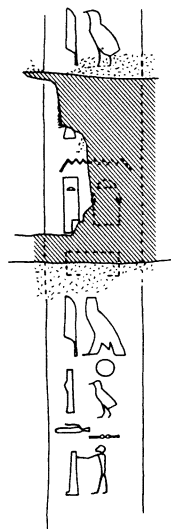


FIGURE 6
Portion of inscription of *Nḥbw*. After Dunham

FIGURE 7
Example 7. From Fraser, *ASAE* 3 (1903) pl. 3

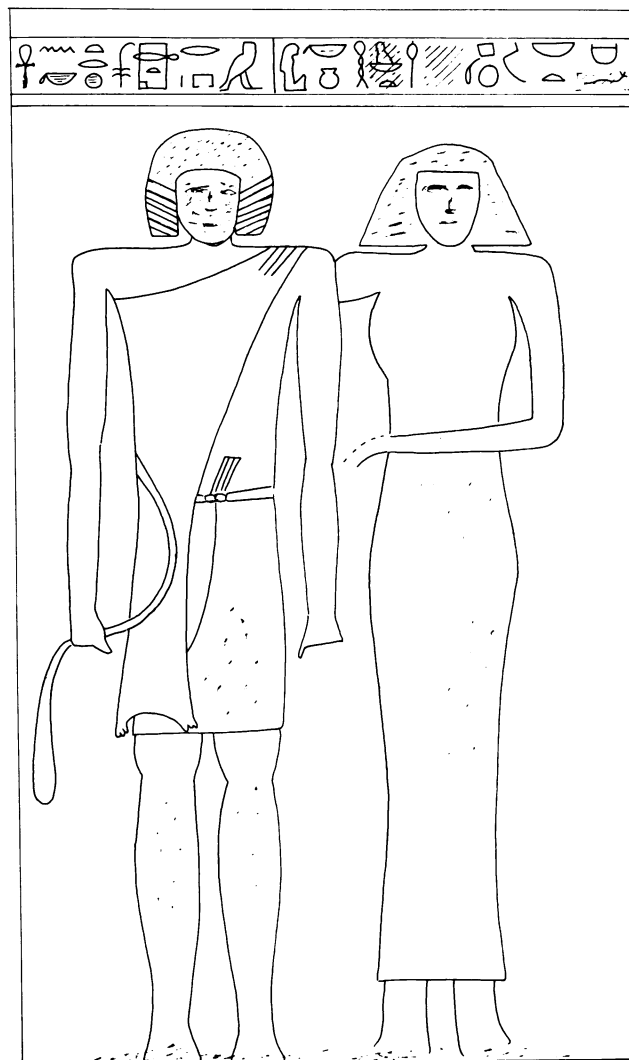
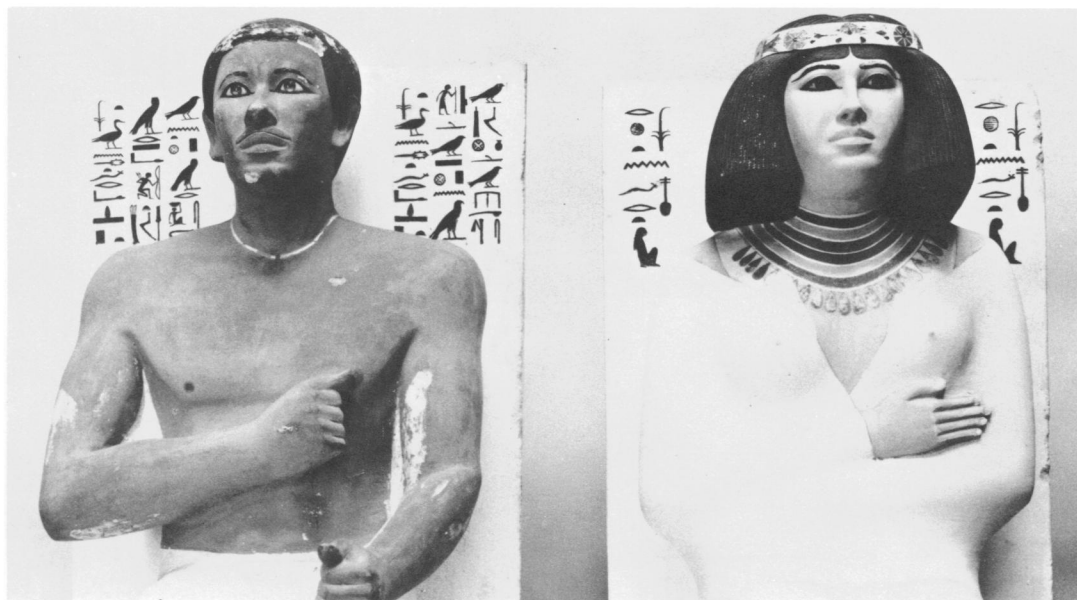


FIGURE 8
Example 9. Cairo Museum, CG 4, 5



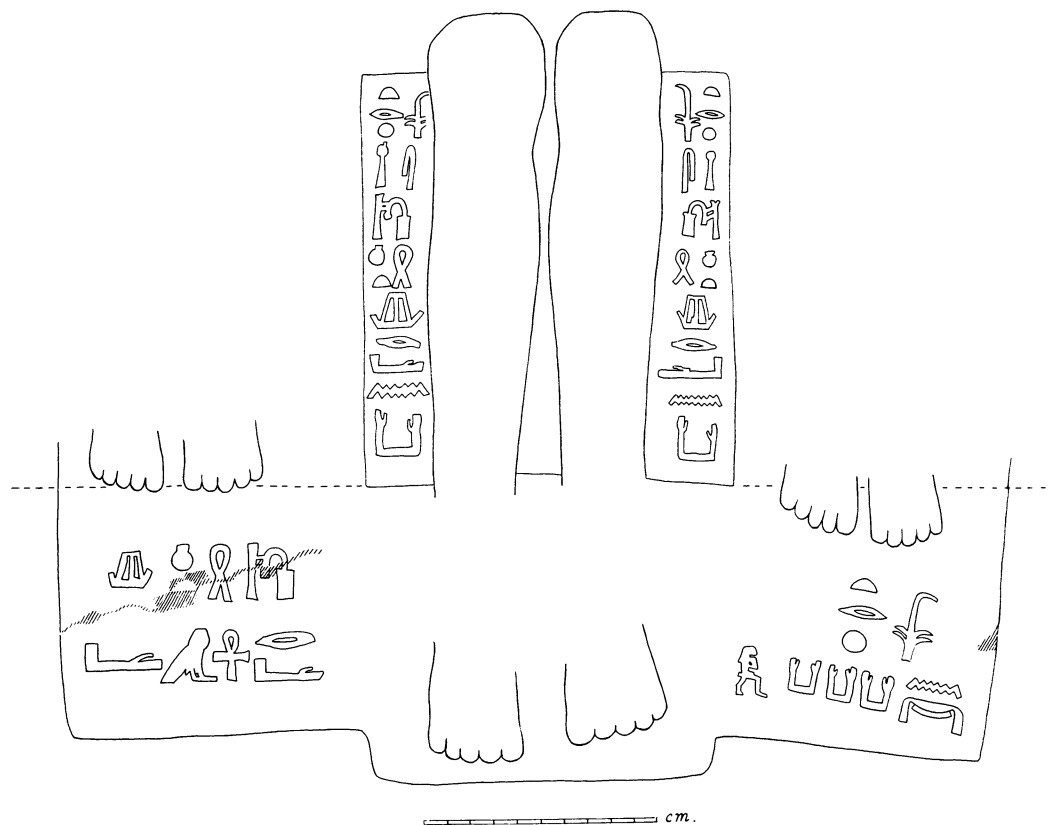


FIGURE 9
Example 13. Brooklyn
Museum, 49.215

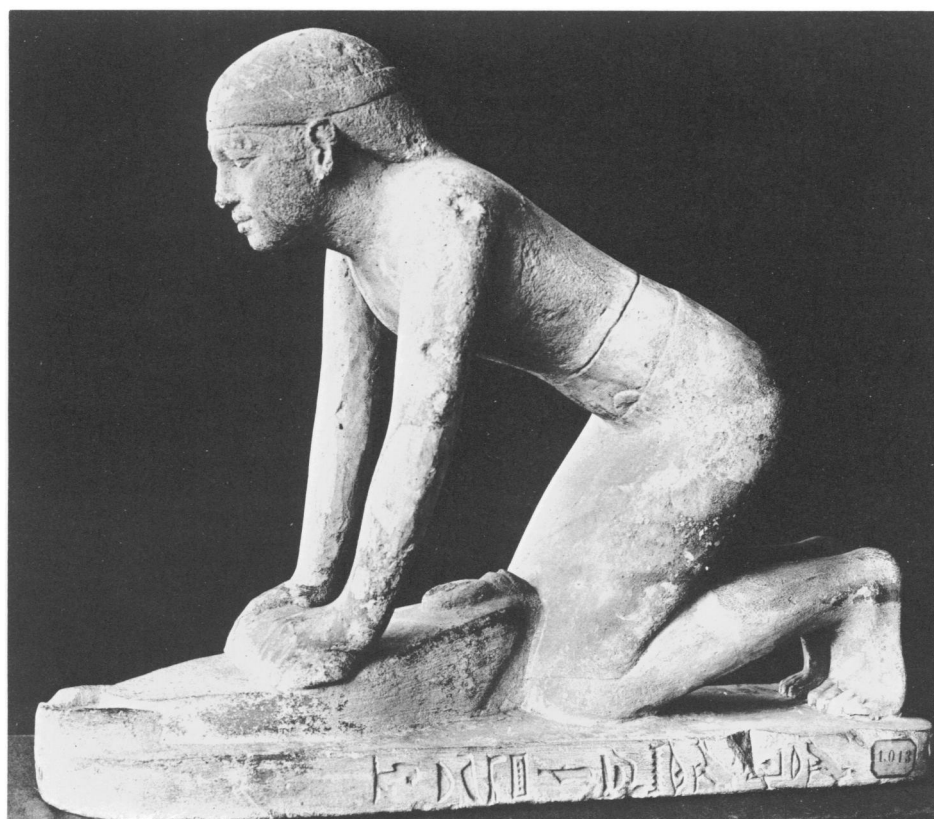


FIGURE 10
Example 16. Cairo
Museum, CG 114



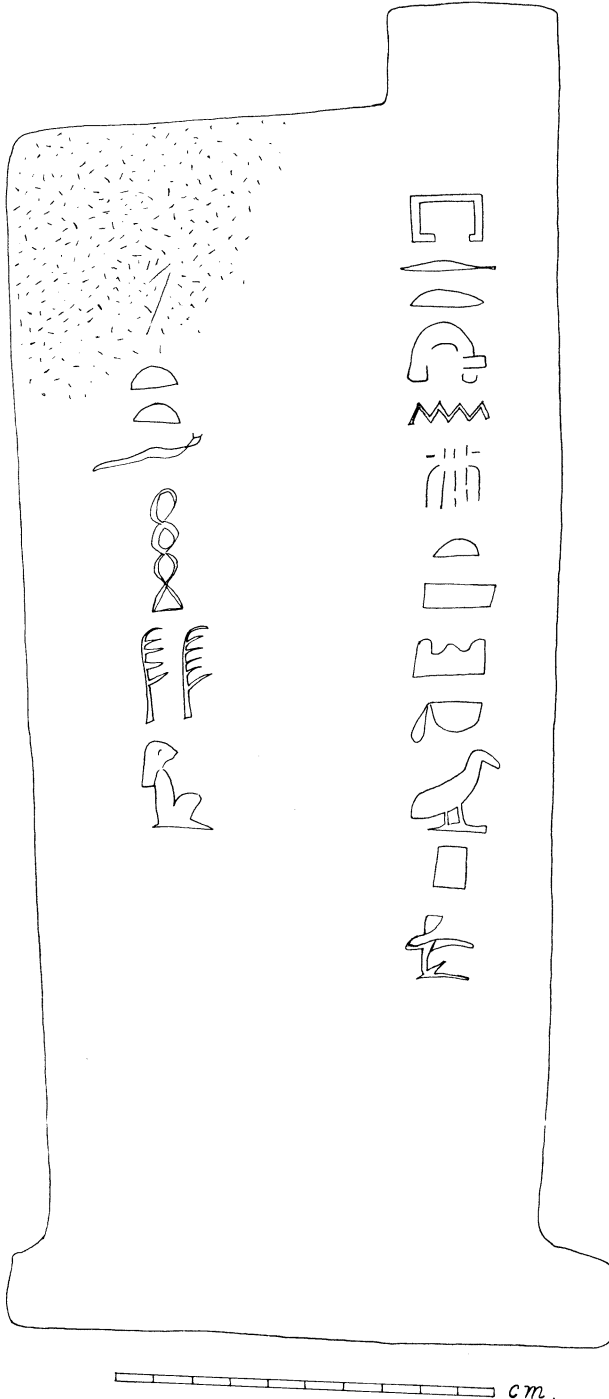



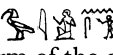



tomb owner—as well as to a woman who is presumably his wife, but is absent from the name of the son that is adjacent to his father's.¹¹ In the second case (Junker, *Giza* V, fig. 42, p. 149), the names of a man and woman have the determinative  and , respectively. It is probably significant that they do not represent the




FIGURE 11

Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 21.2602



tomb owner and his wife, but their relationship to him, and to each other, is unspecified. The third statue shows, on the rearward surface of the backpillar, an incised inscription (Figure 11) identifying a man named *K³p* (determinative ) and a woman whose relationship was specified but is now obliterated; her name is *Hy* (determinative )¹² Since a fragment of a second, seated statue of *K³p* was found near this one, it seems likely that both represent the tomb owner.¹³ The fourth case (CG 44) is the only one that gives the man a determinative (again ) while the name of the woman, his daughter, lacks it. In this case, however, the name of a second female figure, designated “wife,”¹⁴ was never added to her titles, and so it seems possible that the omission of a determinative after the daughter’s name was unintentional. It is also possible that addition of a determinative after the man’s names may have been fostered by the somewhat complex manner in which they are presented:  “*hi*, who is called ‘*Ip*.’” The form of the determinative, as in the two preceding cases, is most unusual; the other male statues that have a name-determinative (nine examples noted, including the aforementioned CG 62)¹⁵ all have the more honorific  rather than the commonplace .

11. The name of the son in Borchardt’s copy is to be corrected to  compare *PN* I, p. 263 [10].

12. Mentioned by Smith, *History of Sculpture and Painting*, p. 72, and Reisner, *Hist. Giza Necrop.* I, pl. 67 [d]. I am obliged to Dr. Simpson for enabling me to copy the inscription. The man’s titles are evidently to be read *iry sg³wt n pr*¹³ (compare Junker, *Giza* VI, fig. 83, p. 215, and VII, fig. 50, p. 135) and *hnty* *ḥ*. In the wife’s inscription Smith reads  as  in [*hmt.fm*]*rt.f*, and that may be the most plausible interpretation, especially since the preceding traces on the much eroded surface suggest the form of .

13. Smith (see preceding note) thinks that this and the first statue, found in the debris of a street, came from the serdab of G 4522, whereas Reisner assumed that they belonged to G 4520, the mastaba of *Hwfw-‘nh*, along with a statue of *Hwfw-‘nh* that was found with them.

14. For this designation, instead of the usual *hmt.f*, see also Junker, *Giza* III, figs. 14, 15, pp. 129, 131.

15. Junker, *Giza* VIII, fig. 4, p. 17 (two other statues lack determinatives); XI, fig. 11, p. 17, fig. 51a, p. 109; Hassan, *Giza* I, p. 115, pl. 70 (no determinative on other statues pls. 72, 74); S. Hassan, “Excavations at Saqqara 1937–1938,” *ASAE* 38 (1938) p. 506; Abd el Hamid Zayed, *Trois études d’égyptologie* (Cairo, 1956) p. 16; CG 67, 211 (no determinative on other statues of the latter, as noted in note 9, above), CG 377 (no determinative on other statues, CG 61, 65, 66, 181).

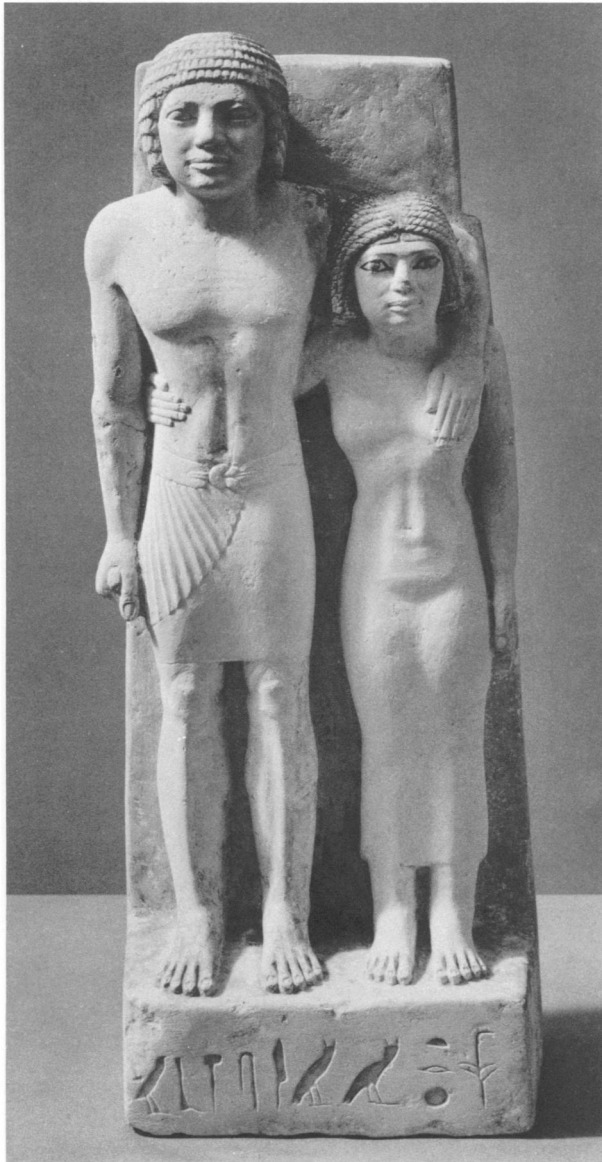


FIGURE 12
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund,
48.111

if the tomb owner is represented, in contrast to the use of with the name of a son in example 1.¹⁶

The majority of group statues, like Old Kingdom statuary in general, show no determinatives whatever; I know of about forty such groups. And a surprising number of statues were evidently not inscribed at all, as though the context of the tomb provided sufficient identification. In the case of a well-preserved polychrome statue such as that of *šhw* (Abubakr, *Giza*, pls.

50–51, pp. 89–90) the omission of an inscription hardly seems fortuitous, and the presence of his wife's name on her own statue (Abubakr, *Giza*, pl. 52, p. 90), although lacking a determinative, may be analogous to the use of the determinative after the wife's name in contrast to its absence after the name of the husband. In another case the statues of the tomb owner and his wife lack inscriptions (Hassan, *Giza* II, pls. 18, 19), whereas the statue of an estate manager named *Pr-nb(.i)* is identified by title and name (Hassan, *Giza* II, pl. 20, p. 61).

A group statue in the Metropolitan Museum inscribed with the names *Mmi* and *šbw* (Figure 12)¹⁷ would seem to contradict the evidence of the preceding examples, since both names evidently belong to the man, leaving the woman (presumably his wife) unnamed.¹⁸ But the fact that he has his arm around her, reversing the usual procedure, suggests that this statue belongs to her burial rather than his; a close analogy is provided by the group statue of Queen Hetep-heres II with her arm around her daughter Meresankh III, from the tomb of the latter.¹⁹ This conclusion is confirmed by a second statue that represents the wife alone, yet again bears her husband's name: .²⁰

Similar considerations are also to be recognized in the case of example 4, which has inaccurately been described as a standing couple representing the tomb owner *Mr-šw-ḥ* and his wife.²¹ The sole inscription

16. One further example shows the determinative following the name 'nh(.i)-m-ḥ-R', Turayev, *Statui i Statuetki*, p. 5 and pl. 3 (4), but the inscription is only given in typescript, and not altogether accurately.

17. MMA 48.111: Nora E. Scott, "Memy-Sabu and his Wife," *Bulletin of The Metropolitan Museum of Art* 7 (1948–49) pp. 95–100.

18. Theoretically might designate the woman, since the writing of the title might apply to either sex and the second name is written in signs of lesser height. But *Mmi* does not seem to be attested as a feminine name before the Middle Kingdom (*PN* I, p. 149 [18]) while both *Mmi* and *šbw* are well known for men; the feminine counterparts of these names in Old Kingdom inscriptions are *Mmit* (CG 1586, wife of *Mmi*) and *šbt/šbw* (*PN* I, p. 299 [20–21]).

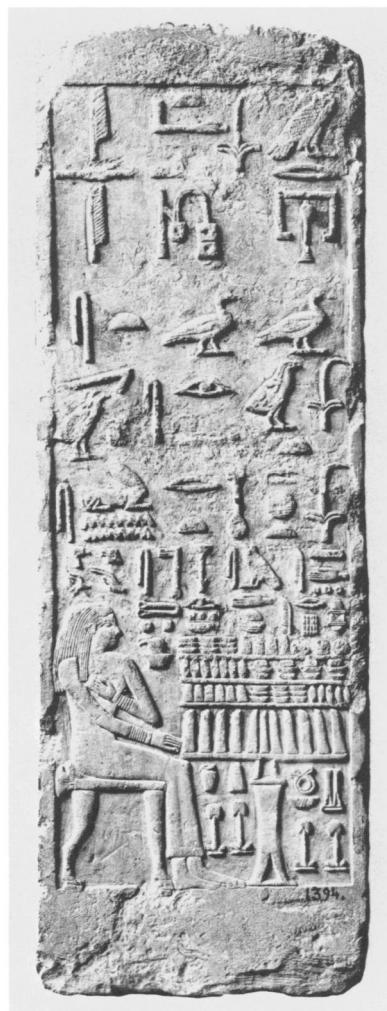
19. Boston MFA 30.1456: Dows Dunham, "A Statuette of Two Egyptian Queens," *BMFA* 34 (1936) pp. 3–5.

20. As seen from the photograph published in the article cited above, note 17, and the accompanying text. The owner of the statue died in 1962, and I have not been able to trace its present location.

21. Hassan, *Giza* I, caption to pl. 75.

identifying the man is a vertical column of hieroglyphs between the two figures: $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆐} \text{𓆑} \text{𓆒}$. One might expect another name to follow, i.e., “*Mr-šw-‘nh*’s eldest son NN,” but there is no trace of any hieroglyphs on the sole remaining space that might have been used for this purpose, beside the right leg of the figure. A second *Mr-šw-‘nh*, who is evidently a son, is shown on the owner’s false door (Hassan, *Giza* I, fig. 182, p. 109), and it seems likely that he is “the eldest” son who is represented in the statue. The unusual inscription is perhaps to be explained by comparison with a stela in the Cairo Museum, CG 1394 (Figure 13), the top half of which is occupied by the dedication of a grandson. It reads: “The overseer of the treasury and scribe of royal archives, *‘Isi*, the son of her daughter; it is he who made this for her.” In this case the terminal posi-

FIGURE 13
Cairo
Museum,
CG 1394



tion of the filiation formula is intended to point downward, as it were, to the grandmother who is represented beneath—*Nfrt-wnn.š*. In the case of *Mr-šw-‘nh*’s statue, the formula “his eldest son” may similarly refer to his father’s burial beneath the serdab, rather than to one of the representations of the latter with which this statue was placed.

The woman who stands beside *Mr-šw-‘nh* is identified as the owner’s daughter on another statue group (Hassan, *Giza* I, pl. 74, p. 116). The beginning of her inscription is lost, but traces of the sign 𓆑 can be detected, and this must apply to a term of relationship that—since it is placed in its normal position, before her name—presumably refers to the adjacent figure. The restoration that is indicated is accordingly $[\text{𓆑} \text{𓆒}]$ “his sister.”

2. TWO-DIMENSIONAL REPRESENTATIONS

Old Kingdom representations in relief are, as one might anticipate, even more rarely accompanied by redundant name-determinatives than statues are; if both the determinative and representation are on the same plane, the redundancy is much more apparent. A few examples may nonetheless be cited, and in every case the presence and absence of determinatives conforms to the same pattern as the 16 examples in statuary:

(17) Fourth Dynasty slab stela of $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆐} \text{𓆑} \text{𓆒}$ (*Nfrt*) (Figure 14).²² Of all the Fourth Dynasty slab stelae this is the only one that shows a determinative at the end of the owner’s identification. Inasmuch as the early Fourth Dynasty example in statuary (example 9) involves virtually the same name, it may be considered whether the determinative has not been suggested by the meaning, “One who is beautiful.”²³ But in that case one would expect to find the same writing on the

22. Lowie Museum of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley, 6–19801. See Reisner, *Hist. Giza Necrop.* I, pl. 18b, p. 190 (G 1207).

23. For ideographs of this sort compare $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆐} \text{𓆑} \text{𓆒}$ (Junker, *Giza* VI, fig. 32, p. 110; XII, p. 122; CG 57123, etc.); $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆐} \text{𓆑} \text{𓆒}$ (CG 110; compare *PNI*, p. 49 [24]); $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆐} \text{𓆑} \text{𓆒}$ (CG 1454, 1466); $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆐} \text{𓆑} \text{𓆒}$ (E. Drioton and J.-Ph. Lauer, “Un groupe de tombes à Saqqarah,” *ASAE* 55 [1958] p. 229); $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆐} \text{𓆑} \text{𓆒}$ (Gustave Jéquier, *Le monument funéraire de Pepi II III* [Cairo, 1940] fig. 22, p. 37).



FIGURE 14

Example 17. From H. F. Lutz, *Egyptian Tomb Steles* (Leipzig, 1927) pl. 2 (2)

stela of *R'-hṯp* and *Nfrt*, in the tomb from which CG 3 and 4 derive, and there the determinative 𓂏 is lacking (W. M. F. Petrie, *Medum* [London, 1892] pl. 15). Nor do I know of any other evidence for an ideographic connection between 𓂏 and *nfrt* in Old Kingdom personal names.²⁴ Example 23, below, also involves a woman named $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$, but this again occurs in the context of masculine names that lack determinatives.

It therefore seems reasonable to conclude that 𓂏 is, in fact, simply a name-determinative.

(18) The false door of *Nfr-k³* and *Ṭtt* (Figure 15)²⁵ is not easy to date; it can hardly be as early as the beginning of the Fourth Dynasty, as Curto states (*Gli Scavi*, p. 33), and judging from the form of the determinatives, it would seem to be later than the beginning of Dynasty V. The offering niche may well belong to

24. Compare, for example, Abubakr, *Giza*, fig. 74, pp. 88, 90 (the latter a statue); Hilda F. Petrie and Margaret A. Murray, *Seven Memphite Tomb Chapels* (London, 1952) pl. 2; Junker, *Gtza IX*, fig. 15, p. 41. The sign 𓂏 does occur as a determinative of the name itself in some Middle Kingdom examples, but all of these cases involve a plural: $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ (CG 20219h) *Nfrwt* (? PN I, p. 202 [18] suggests *Nfrt-rhwt* [?]); $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ (CG

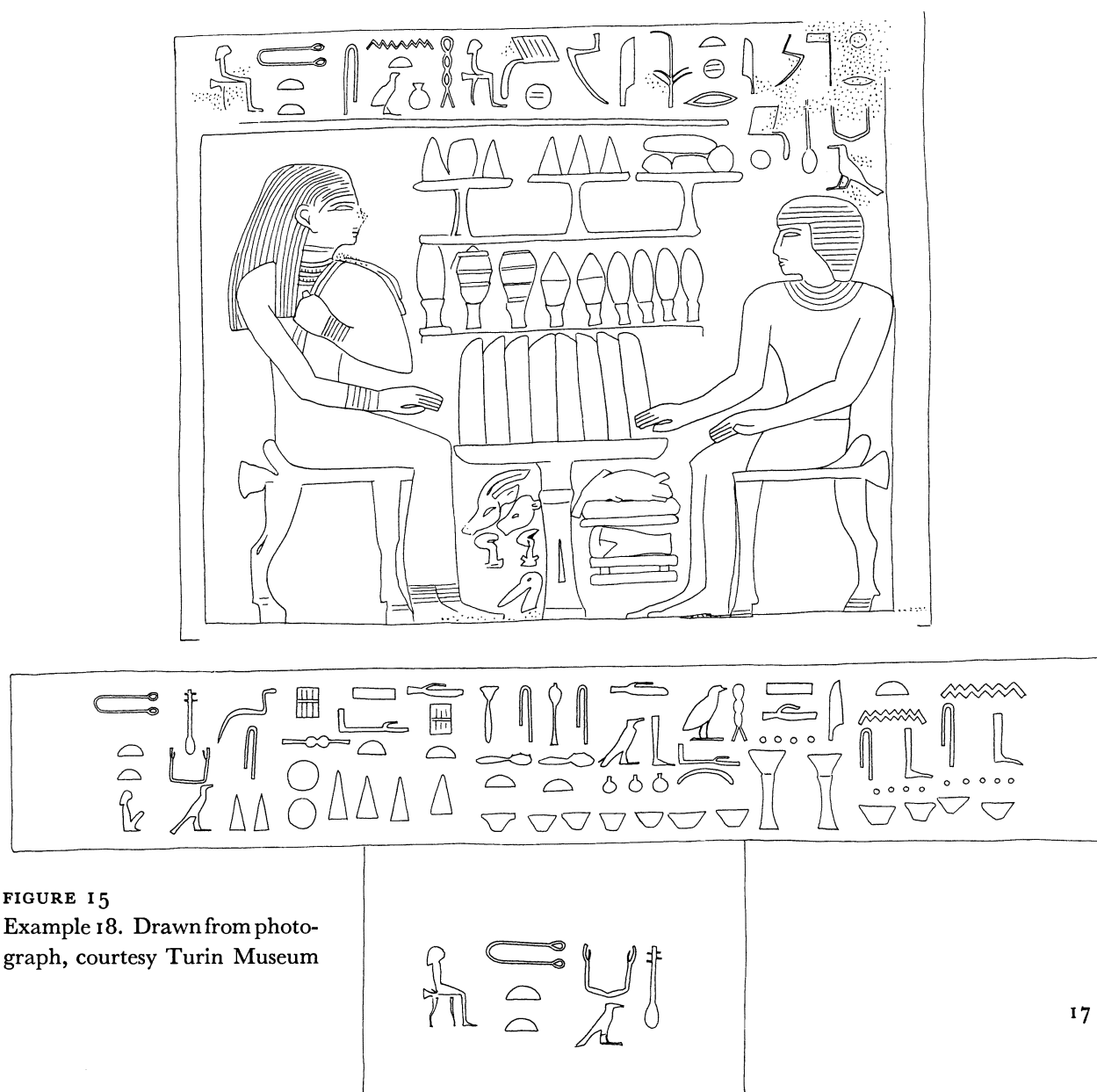
20086k, 20540f), variant writings of *H³t-špšwt* and $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ (CG 20057h), evidently *Šnwt*. Note also the Middle Kingdom title of a priest of Hathor who was $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ (G. Maspero, *Le Musée Égyptien III* [Cairo, 1915] p. 56).

25. Curto, *Gli Scavi*, fig. 22, pl. 2. I am indebted to Professor Curto for providing me with the photograph on which my drawing is based, and to William Pons for rephotographing to correct distortion.

the woman who is seated at the left of the offering table, opposite her husband.²⁶ Her name, *Tt*, has the determinative *ḥ* while his lacks it,²⁷ and their names are written together on the crossbar and drum lintel beneath this scene, “*Nfr-k* and *Tt*,” again with a

26. As suggested by the reiteration of her name on the crossbar and drum-lintel, and by the prominence of female offering bearers (as well as men). Her position on the dominant left side of the offering scene also fits this conclusion, although this point in itself is not conclusive; compare Abubakr, *Giza*, fig. 95A, p. 109, and the other examples cited in Henry G. Fischer, “A Scribe of the Army in a Saqqara Mastaba,” *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 18 (1959) p. 272. In the present case, however, it is confirmed by the fact that her figure is somewhat larger than that of her husband.

27. The presence of *ḥ* after the epithet *imḥ(t)* is remarkable, although *ḥ* sometimes occurs as a determinative after *imḥw* in other contexts (for example, *Urk.* I, p. 217, line 15; p. 252, line 13; *LD* II, 110[k]). Curto is probably right in taking the next group of signs as a feminine name (pp. 21–22), but the name may be *ḥnwt.sn*, and not *ḥnwt.s*; compare the writing *ḥnwt* || Junker, *Giza* VI, fig. 29, p. 106, and compare *PN* I, p. 243 [29], 244 [1] and II, p. 337. Possibly one might read *imḥ(t) nt ḥnwt.s*. For *imḥw* + the genitive see *Wb.* I, 82 [7], and for the epithet “revered with her (or his) mistress” see Henry G. Fischer, *Dendera in the Third Millennium B.C.* (Locust Valley, New York, 1968) p. 211, note 820; Norman de G. Davies, *The Rock Tombs of Sheikh Saïd* (London, 1901) pl. 25; Clarence S. Fisher, *The Minor Cemetery at Giza* (Philadelphia, 1924) p. 143, pl. 48 (1); and the unpublished drum-lintel of *ḥnwt* || Toledo (Ohio) 06.24. In most of these examples, however, the identity of *ḥnwt* is indicated by the context, and no such indication is provided in the present case.



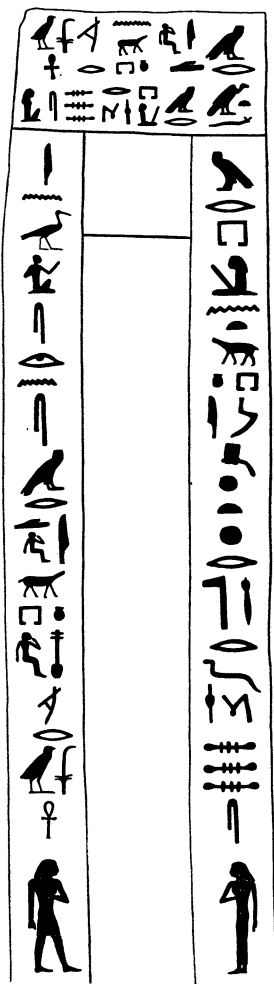
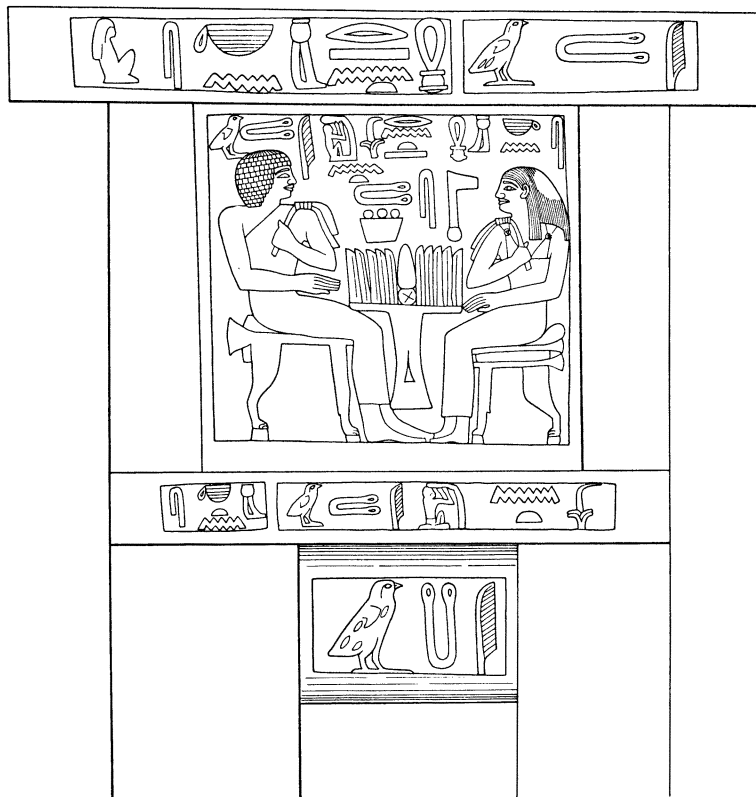




FIGURE 16


Example 19. From Hassan, *Giza* I, fig. 184, p. 112


FIGURE 17

Example 20. From Junker, *Giza* V, fig. 40, p. 145















determinative applied to her name only:  on the crossbar and  on the lintel.

(19) The architrave of a simple false door from the tomb of *Mr-šw-‘nh*, from which example 4 derives, names the owner and his mother, who are represented at the bottom of the jambs, with the determinative () applied to her name only, and not to his (Figure 16).




(20) Of still later date, probably within the Sixth Dynasty, is the false door of *'Itw* (Figure 17), which shows the owner seated opposite his wife. The architrave above this scene gives her name the determinative () and not his, and to this extent it bears out the testimony of the preceding examples.²⁸ Unlike example 18, however, the name-determinative is not actually

redundant because it appears at the end of the architrave that is furthest from the wife, and her name is repeated, without a determinative, above her figure. It may be significant that no determinative is added to her name on the architrave above her own false door (Junker, *Giza* V, fig. 36, p. 139).


28. Note also the false door CG 1462, which similarly shows no representations of the owner and his wife and supplies no determinative to the owner's name, while his wife is identified as            

3. OTHER LINTELS AND ARCHITRAVES

There are also a number of cases in which an isolated lintel or architrave shows the same distinction between men and women in the use of name-determinatives. Some of them may have accompanied an offering scene, as in the case of examples 18 and 20, but even so, the determinative could not, strictly speaking, be called “redundant” any more than it could in the example that has just been considered.






(21) Name-determinatives are completely omitted on one of a pair of lintels (Figure 18)²⁹ that bear the names of “the Craftsman *Nfr*, the *Mitri My*, and the Butcher of the Slaughterhouse ‘*Iy-w³t*,” but the second lintel adds a determinative to the name of the woman alone: . The drum lintels that were presumably placed beneath each of these (Figure 19) include the names of *Nfr* and *My* only, and they show the determinatives  and , respectively, in both cases.³⁰

(22) An architrave from Reisner’s excavations at Giza, above the entrance of tomb G 1208 (Figure 20),³¹ is inscribed for: “The Custodian of the King’s Property (?), *W^b*-priest of the King, *Hm-ntr* Priest of Cheops, Inspector of the Boat(s?), Overseer of the Army, Overseer of the Pyramid *³ht-Hwfw*, Leader of

the Phyles, *³hty-htp*, and his wife the Custodian of the King’s Property (?), *Mrt-it.š*.” She alone has the name-determinative: . One might take the owner of this inscription to be “*³hty-htp*’s wife . . . *Mrt-it.š*,” but, in view of the number of titles that precede his name, it seems more likely that the architrave primarily belongs to him.

(23) The lintel over the entrance of another tomb at Giza (Figure 21)³² was inscribed for the “Sealer of the King’s Granary *Nfr-ḥr-n-Pth* (together with) his wife

29. Brussels E. 5268, 5271. These facsimiles were previously published in Henry G. Fischer, “The Butcher *Ph-r-nfr*,” *Orientalia* 29 (1960) p. 171.

30. Brussels E. 5270 (previously reproduced in Fischer, “The Butcher *Ph-r-nfr*,” p. 171) and Field Museum Chicago 31297, reproduced here by permission of Dr. James W. Van Stone, and by the Oriental Institute, who provided the photograph on which this drawing is based. This second lintel completes the writing  as a variant of , the sign  being incompletely preserved on its counterpart in Brussels. This hieroglyph is apparently a phonetic complement; compare , *Wb*. II, pl. 105 (18) and *mr/mi* with determinative , *Wb*. II, pl. 105 (19).

31. Based on a drawing and photograph kindly supplied by Dr. William K. Simpson.

32. From W. M. F. Petrie, *Gizeh and Rifeh* (London, 1907) pl. 7A; now in the Manchester Museum, 1617.

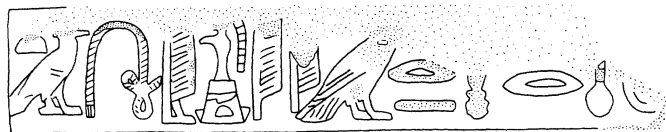


FIGURE 18
Example 21. Brussels, E. 5268
(above) and 5271

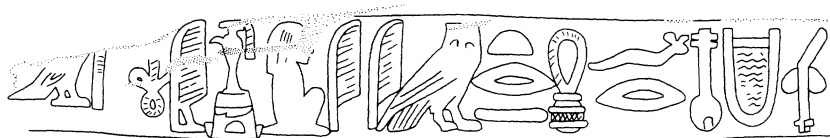
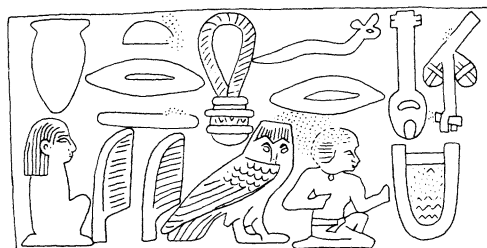
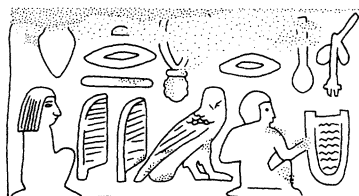


FIGURE 19
Brussels E. 5270 (left)
and Field Museum,
Chicago, 31297



cm.

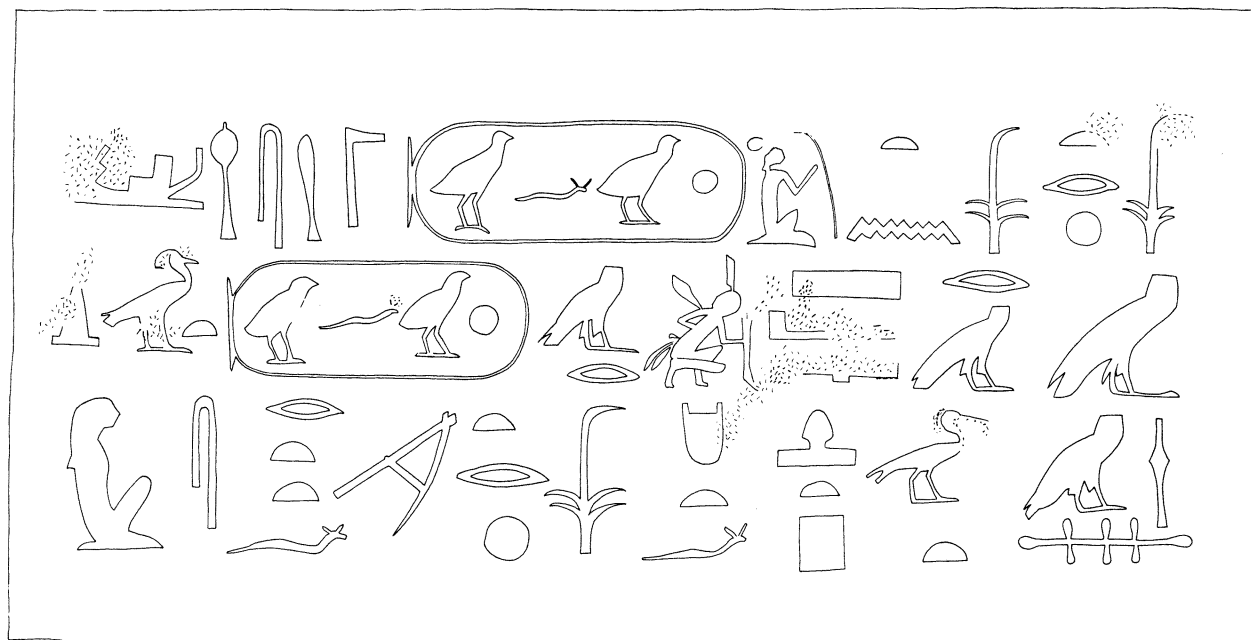


FIGURE 20

Example 22. From excavation records, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

FIGURE 21

Example 23. From photograph, Petrie, *Gizeh and Rifeh*, pl. 7A

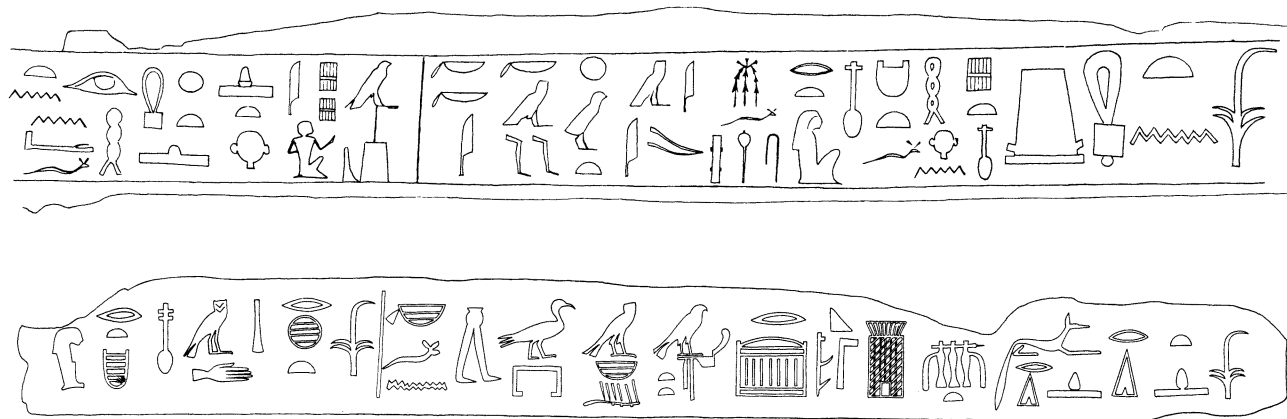
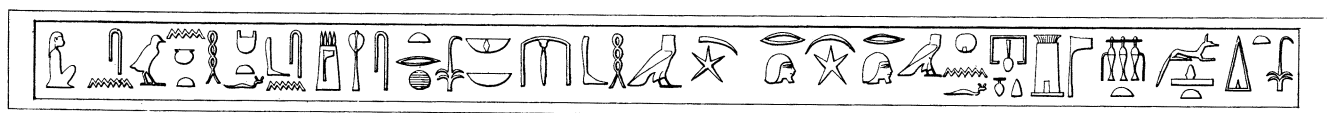


FIGURE 22

Example 24. From excavation records, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

FIGURE 23

Example 25. From LD II, pl. 94a



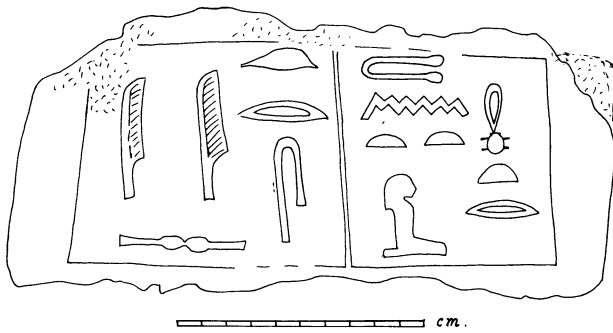


FIGURE 25

Example 28. University College, London, 8453

scale hieroglyphic determinative rarely serves this function.³⁸

(27) A drum-lintel of unknown provenance in Cairo, CG 1751,³⁹ has an offering formula that shows masculine forms (*nb im³h. . . i³w nfr wrt*) and is therefore primarily directed to the first of the two persons mentioned subsequently. His name, lacking a determinative, is 'Iy-nfrit, and his title ($\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$) is obscure. The name that follows belongs to "the *mitrt* *Tntt*," followed by the determinative 𓂏 . She is presumably his wife, but their relationship is not specified.

(28) A small lintel of unknown provenance, University College, London 8453 (Figure 25),⁴⁰ bears the name of the *mitrt* *Tntt*, with the determinative 𓂏 , and, in a separate compartment, a name that is apparently masculine and lacks the determinative. The reading of the latter is problematic, but the final \rightarrow can hardly be anything but s "man" and I can suggest no explanation better than 'Iry-ś(w)-s "The one who is made—he's a man!"⁴¹

It will be noted that all of the examples of known

38. One of the earliest examples, Junker, *Giza* I, fig. 63, p. 252, follows a feminine name and may well be related to the examples under consideration. For masculine examples of later date from Giza see Junker, *Giza* VIII, figs. 32, 60, pp. 75, 128; IX, fig. 72, p. 160; Hassan, *Giza* II, fig. 34, p. 37; III, fig. 22, p. 23; VI, pt. 3, fig. 195, p. 199.

39. As described (without illustration) by Borchardt, *Denkmäler des Alten Reiches* II, p. 174.

40. The drawing is based on a photograph and tracing kindly supplied by Barbara Adams. I am obliged to Dr. D. M. Dixon for permission to publish it.

41. This would thus be a rare example of the passive participle used as predicate (Edel, *Altägyptische Grammatik* I, §644), with 𓂏 representing 𓂏 as in two other names, both of which also contain the word 𓂏 (Edel, *Altägyptische Grammatik* I, §167 dd).

provenance (22–26) are from Giza. I feel doubtful that the date of no. 21 is as early as the Third Dynasty, as I have suggested previously, but I am uncertain how much later it may be. Klaus Baer has suggested that no. 22 is no earlier than the reign of Neferirkare in the Fifth Dynasty (*Rank and Title in the Old Kingdom* [Chicago, 1960] pp. 52 [10], 240). No. 23 is probably even later, as are all the rest.

4. CONCLUSIONS AND SEQUEL

The Old Kingdom evidence that has been presented is, in the first place, sufficient to establish the fact that women's names were frequently given a determinative in situations where a masculine name lacks it. The examples include some cases where the woman is evidently the owner of the monument (18, 19, 26). In no case, however, can it be proven that the monument did not come from the tomb of the man with whom she is associated, and that is certainly true in the case of no. 19 (the owner's mother). Furthermore the distinction is definitely known to occur on the husband's monument in several other instances (for example, 2, 8, 15, 16, 20, 23, 24, 25, 27).

It might be considered, then, whether the distinctive use of the feminine determinative derives from the idea that she is a secondary occupant of her husband's mastaba. But the same determinative is twice given to a daughter when a son lacks it (2, 4), and to a wife when it is omitted from the names of her sons (2, 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 23). In the case of no. 23, however, a daughter lacks the determinative as well as a son. The last case is particularly interesting because another man, the builder of the tomb (and in all probability not a kinsman), does have a name-determinative.

Perhaps we should not place too much weight on the cases where the distinction in the use of the determinative is extended to other members of the family, but they suggest that two considerations were simultaneously operative: the first being a tendency to use a feminine determinative to distinguish the female entity from generic Man (𓂏);⁴² the second being a

42. Old Kingdom Egyptian does not always use the group $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ as a determinative of *mt* where the meaning is "men" in the generic sense; this may also be written 𓂏 (*Urk.* I, p. 71, line 3), 𓂏 (Hassan, *Giza* IX, fig. 38, p. 88), or $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ (*Urk.* I, p.

tendency to apply a determinative to the names of persons who are not so immediately present as the owner of the tomb.

The second consideration is reinforced by the fact that, in some cases, the statue of the owner was not felt to require any inscription whatever, taking its identity from the context of the tomb in which it was placed. And if, in such a case, the owner was a woman, her statue might omit her own name and show only that of her husband (Figure 12). Similarly the statue of a son, in his father's serdab, might allude to the father without mentioning his name since, here again (example 4), that identity is supplied by the context.⁴³ This study may, in fact, be regarded as a demonstration of the way in which every aspect of the context—archaeological, iconographic, and epigraphic—may affect a hieroglyphic inscription.

After the Old Kingdom, and particularly during the later part of the Eleventh Dynasty, redundant determinatives were more frequently applied to names on tomb stelae. The majority of the examples are from the Theban area—Dendera,⁴⁴ Thebes itself,⁴⁵ and

Gebelein,⁴⁶ but a few cases are known from Naga ed-Deir,⁴⁷ and some of these are earlier than the others.⁴⁸ The later examples are sometimes to be explained by the semicursive character of the inscriptions, which tends to isolate them from the representations which they accompany.⁴⁹ In any case they are exceptional even in the Eleventh Dynasty; they rarely apply the determinative to the wife alone, and not to the owner;⁵⁰ and they do not seem to have had a lasting effect of any significance, once the country was reunited and older traditions were re-established.⁵¹ A particularly conspicuous exception is to be found in Beni Hasan tomb 2, dating to the second reign of Dynasty XII, where the representations of the tomb owner's wife are identified as ,⁵² while the determinative is consistently omitted from the name of the owner himself, even in those cases where he is not depicted.

I know of only four Middle Kingdom group-statues that omit the determinative after the owner's name and supply it to the name of his wife. The earliest and clearest example is an Eleventh Dynasty seated couple from Dendera who are named and

49, line 1, and *Kēmi* 15 (1959) pl. 1 [3], following p. 22), and, in addition there is the ideographic use of (*Urk.* I, p. 23, line 6, and often elsewhere), which may represent the same word or *s* (); compare Edel, *Altägyptische Grammatik* I, §53, and Raymond O. Faulkner, *The Plural and Dual in Old Egyptian* (Brussels, 1929) §30. The writing also occurs occasionally after the Old Kingdom: Jacques Vandier, *Mo'alla* (Cairo, 1950) p. 298; Norman de G. Davies, *The Tomb of Antefoker* (London, 1920) pl. 9.

43. Dr. Helmut Nickel informs me that a similar logic was more systematically applied to Viking tombstones; those marking an actual burial are unscribed, while runic inscriptions identify the cenotaphs of those lost at sea. We must suppose, however, that the wife of *Mmi/Šbw* was named elsewhere in her tomb chapel. The influence of the proprietary context is also to be recognized in the use of Old Kingdom epithets indicating seniority and juniority. In the event that father and son have the same name, a distinguishing epithet may be applied to the son's name () if—as is usually the case—he is shown in his father's tomb chapel. But in one case, where the father is shown in the son's tomb chapel, it is the older man who has the epithet; he is “senior.” And if both are mentioned together in some other context, beyond their own funerary domain, each of them may receive an epithet; in one such example they are given the single name they have in common, which is followed by “senior and junior.” The evidence is presented at the beginning of a forthcoming article, *Egyptian Studies* I: “Epithets of Seniority.”

44. W. M. F. Petrie, *Denderah* (London, 1900) pls. 11 (bottom left, bottom center, and right, second from bottom), 12 (right,

second from bottom); J. d'E. 36423 (wife and daughter only), 44301, 44302 (= CG 20804).

45. J.-J. Clère and J. Vandier, *Textes de la Première Période Intermédiaire* (Brussels, 1948) §§ 2 (CG 20003, probably later than the end of Dyn. XI), 14 (Metropolitan Museum 14.2.7), 23 (British Museum 1203—wives only); Naville, *Deir el Bahari: XIth Dyn.* I, pl. 17 G, H; III, pls. 2–3, 9 D. Also CG 20007, which may well come from Thebes.

46. CG 1622, CG 1654 (wife only).

47. Dows Dunham, *Naga ed-Dêr Stelae of the First Intermediate Period* (London, 1937) nos. 45, 49, 70 (man, but not wife), 83 (same), 20 (wife only), 81 (wife only), CG 1648 (husband, not wife).

48. At least two examples (Dunham nos. 20 and 45) are evidently earlier than the end of Dyn. VIII.

49. For example, J. d'E. 44301 (from Dendera); Naville, *Deir el Bahari: XIth Dyn.* III, pls. 2–3, and the labels of some officials shown in an early Twelfth Dynasty tomb (Newberry, *Beni Hasan* I, pl. 13). An Old Kingdom example may also be cited, Toledo (Ohio) 49.4, where determinatives follow the names of a son and daughter who are represented in relief on the sides of a seated statue.

50. See above, notes 44–47; at Naga ed-Deir the determinative is sometimes applied to the husband alone.

51. Some later examples (besides CG 20003, mentioned above in note 45): CG 1597, 1753, 20518 (some of the captions); MMA 63.154 (captions of three daughters); Brooklyn Museum 37.1347E (captions of one of two men, and wives of both).

52. Newberry, *Beni Hasan* I, pls. 12, 18.

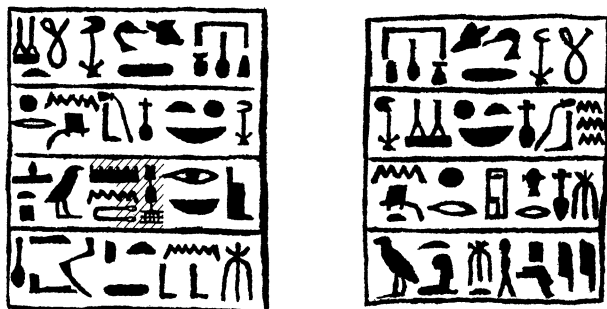


FIGURE 26

From Petrie, *Denderah*, pl. 15

† Mntw-htp born of Bbt and Nfr-mšwt born of Hpy (Figure 26).⁵³ It is difficult to form any definite conclusion about this period on the basis of such slender evidence, and the number of Middle Kingdom group-statues is so small, in comparison to earlier examples, and so much less adequately published, that no such conclusion may perhaps be possible for some time to come.

SOURCES ABBREVIATED

Abubakr, Giza—Abdel-Moneim Abubakr, *Excavations at Giza 1949–1950* (Cairo, 1953).

ASAE—*Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte*.

BMFA—*Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts* (Boston).

CG + number—Monuments in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo, numbers referring to *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire*:

CG 1–1294: Ludwig Borchardt, *Statuen und Statuetten von Königen und Privatleuten I–IV* (Berlin, 1911–34);

CG 1295–1808: Ludwig Borchardt, *Denkmäler des Alten Reiches I–II* (Berlin, 1937–64);

CG 20001–20780: H. O. Lange and H. Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reichs I–IV* (Berlin, 1902–25);

CG 20804: unpublished continuation of CG 20001–20780 by J.-J. Clère.


CG 42126: Georges Legrain, *Statues et statuettes de rois et de particuliers I* (Cairo, 1906).

Curto, *Gli Scavi*—S. Curto, *Gli Scavi Italiani a El-Ghiza* (1903) (Rome, 1963).

Hassan, Giza—S. Hassan, *Excavations at Giza I–X* (Oxford, 1932; Cairo, 1936–60).

JEA—*Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*.

J. d'E. + number—Monuments in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo, unpublished unless otherwise noted.

Statuary of the New Kingdom generally shows the determinative after the names of both husband and wife,⁵⁴ although one Eighteenth Dynasty example, probably dating to the reign of Tuthmosis IV, evidently perpetuates the old distinction (Figure 27).⁵⁵ The name of the husband ('Imn-kd) lacks a determinative while those of his wife (Nbt-'Iwnt) and daughter (Mwt-nfrrt) in both cases end with . The inscriptions on the backs and sides show no determinatives whatever.⁵⁶

53. Ashmolean Museum E 1971: Petrie, *Denderah*, pls. 15 (bottom right), 21. The other examples are Munich Glyptothek 99 (Hans Wolfgang Müller and Beatrix Löhr, *Staatliche Sammlung Ägyptischer Kunst* [Munich, 1972] p. 58, pl. 26); Louvre E. 19172 (Jacques Vandier, *Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne*, III. *La Statuaire* [Paris, 1958] pl. 85 [1]); Turayev, *Statui i Statuetki*, pp. 7–8.

54. As exemplified by CG 597, 613, 622, 628, 42126.

55. Metropolitan Museum 25.184.8, height 30 cm, described in W. C. Hayes, *Scepter of Egypt II* (New York, 1959) pp. 158–159.

56. The same distinction appears on at least two other New Kingdom statues, both in the Cairo Museum: CG 772 and 934, but in the first case both names show determinatives in the inscriptions on the back. All three examples are exceptional.

Junker, Giza—Hermann Junker, *Bericht über die von der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien . . . unternommenen Grabungen auf dem Friedhof des Alten Reiches bei den Pyramiden von Giza I–XII* (Vienna, 1929–55).

LD—Lepsius, C. R., *Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien* (Berlin, 1849–59).

Naville, *Deir el Bahari: XIth Dyn.*—Edouard Naville, *The XIth Dynasty Temple at Deir el-Bahari I–III* (London, 1907–13).

Newberry, *Beni Hasan I*—Percy E. Newberry, *Beni Hasan Part I* (London, 1893).

Petrie, *Denderah*—W. M. F. Petrie, *Denderah* (London, 1900).

PN—Hermann Ranke, *Die Ägyptischen Personennamen I–II* (Glückstadt, 1935–[52]).

Pyr.—Kurt Sethe, *Die Altaegyptischen Pyramidentexte* (Leipzig, 1908, 1910).

Reisner, *Hist. Giza Necrop.*—George A. Reisner, *A History of the Giza Necropolis I* (Cambridge, Mass., 1942); Reisner and William Stevenson Smith, II (Cambridge, Mass., 1955).

Smith, *History of Sculpture and Painting*—William Stevenson Smith, *A History of Egyptian Sculpture and Painting in the Old Kingdom* (London, 1946).

Urk. I—Kurt Sethe, *Urkunden des Alten Reichs* (Leipzig, 1933).

Wb.—A. Erman and H. Grapow, *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache I–V* (Leipzig, 1926–31).



FIGURE 27
Eighteenth Dynasty couple with daughter. The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Gift of Mrs. S. W. Straus, 25.184.8

La Statue d'un Chef de Chanteurs d'Epoque Saïte

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LA STATUE QUE NOUS PUBLIONS ici est un chef d'oeuvre de l'art saïte, bien qu'à première vue, comme document, elle n'offre aucun intérêt particulier. C'est une statue acéphale, assez sérieusement endommagée aux épaules et aux bras, qui représente un homme agenouillé sur un socle et tenant devant ses genoux une tête hathorique. Achetée en 1924 par le Metropolitan Museum, elle y est inventoriée sous le n° 24.2.2.¹ Elle proviendrait du temple de Ptah à Memphis, dont les maigres vestiges sont recouverts par la palmeraie de Mitrahina, et aurait été retirée du trou qui a livré la célèbre statue de Horemheb, conservée au même musée.² Pratiquement inédite, elle a été brièvement décrite par H. G. Fischer³ et citée à deux reprises par les auteurs du catalogue de l'exposition *Egyptian Sculpture of the Late Period*.⁴

Il ne nous semble pas nécessaire de nous arrêter ici à l'attitude du personnage puisque J.-J. Clère prépare un corpus des statues présentant un sistre hathorique.⁵ Contentons-nous de remarquer que ce type de statue apparaît dans l'art égyptien du Nouvel Empire⁶ et qu'il ne disparaît pas avant le 4^e siècle av. J.-C.⁷

Pour déterminer l'âge de la pièce et avant de chercher d'éventuels critères de datation dans l'inscription, il convient de mettre en valeur deux détails importants. Observons d'abord le modelé du torse: le profond sillon vertical qui divise la poitrine en deux

moitiés est caractéristique des oeuvres sculptées de la seconde moitié du 7^e siècle av. J.-C.⁸ Ce qui reste de la coiffure du personnage ne fait que confirmer cette datation provisoire. En effet, une trace minime au dessus du pilier dorsal indique que l'homme portait une perruque striée; or celle-ci, après avoir joui d'une grande faveur sous les Ethiopiens, cesse d'être utilisée

1. Faite en schiste vert-noir, la statue mesure 64 cm de haut, y compris le socle qui a 42 cm de long et 28 cm de large. Nous remercions vivement Virginia Burton, conservateur adjoint au Metropolitan Museum, qui nous a permis de la publier, et B. V. Bothmer, conservateur au Brooklyn Museum, qui nous a communiqué divers renseignements à son sujet.

2. Inv. 23.10.1, cf. Robert Hari, *Horemheb et la reine Moutnedjemet* (Genève, 1964) p. 42-45; pour la provenance présumée, voir en particulier Herbert E. Winlock, "Harmhab, Commander-in-chief of the Armies of Tutenkhamon," *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, Part II (October, 1923) p. 4.

3. Henry George Fischer, "Anatomy in Egyptian Art," *Apollo* (September, 1965) p. 173-175, fig. 8.

4. *Egyptian Sculpture of the Late Period* (Brooklyn, 1960) p. 22, 35.

5. Jean-Jacques Clère, "Propos sur un corpus des statues sistrophores égyptiennes," *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 96 (1969) p. 1-4.

6. Jacques Vandier, *Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne* III (Paris, 1958) p. 464-465.

7. Les fragments Caire 1009 (Ludwig Borchardt, *Statuen und Statuetten von Königen und Privatleuten* IV [Berlin, 1934] p. 23), qui ne peuvent être antérieurs au 4^e siècle av. J.-C., appartiennent à une des statues les plus récentes de ce type.

8. *Egyptian Sculpture of the Late Period*, p. 22, 35.



FIGURE 1
Statue d'Amenemope-em-hat. The Metropolitan
Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 24.2.2. Inscription
du pilier dorsal

à la fin du 7^e siècle av. J.-C.⁹ Bref, il semble bien que la statue appartient au règne de Psammétique I (664–610).

La perfection technique avec laquelle les textes ont été gravés et les formes soignées et nettes des hiéroglyphes suggèrent, elles aussi, que le propriétaire de la statue a vécu au commencement de l'époque saïte. Pour identifier celui-ci, il faut se reporter aux inscriptions du monument. Voyons ce que disent ces textes :

INSCRIPTION DU PILIER DORSAL (FIGURE 1)

“! Ô dieu local du directeur des chanteurs du Nord (a), chef des chanteurs d'Amen[em]ope (b), Amen[em]ope-em-hat (c), né de la dame, vénérable auprès de 2 son époux (d), Ih-set-pep (e); (suit la formule saïte (f))”

(a) Le titre semble nouveau bien qu'on possède déjà quelques documents sur la hiérarchie des chanteurs (*ḥsw*) à l'époque saïte.¹⁰ L'absence occasionnelle d'un déterminatif après *ḥsw* est signalée au *Wörterbuch der Aegyptischen Sprache* (Erman et Grapow), III, p. 165.

(b) Cette présence d'un culte d'Amon de Luxor à Memphis est étonnante. Il ne semble pas qu'on en ait signalé d'autres attestations. Mais est-il vraiment nécessaire de songer à Amon de Luxor? N'oublions pas qu'Ope (*'Ipt*) est le nom d'un sanctuaire osirien du nome héliopolite.¹¹ Il est possible qu'Amon y ait reçu un culte. C'est du moins ce que suggère un relief de Basse Époque, découvert sur le site, où est mentionné un “prophète d'Amon-Rê qui réside à Héliopolis.”¹² Parmi les membres du clergé d'Héliopolis, on rencontre, d'autre part, un certain nombre de personnages qui portent un nom formé sur celui d'Amon : Amenem-

9. Herman De Meulenaere, “Trois monuments de Basse Époque,” *Oudheidkundige Mededelingen uit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden* 44 (1963) p. 3.

10. Cf. Herman De Meulenaere, *Le surnom égyptien à la Basse Époque* (Istanbul, 1966) p. 6.

11. Jean Yoyotte, “Prêtres et sanctuaires du nome héliopolite à la basse époque,” *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale* 54 (1954) p. 91.

12. Francis Ll. Griffith, *The Antiquities of Tell el Yahûdiyeh* (London, 1890) pl. xxii, col. 24 (Caire JE 38824).

ope (Ipy),¹³ Amenhotep,¹⁴ et Ipy.¹⁵ Comme les inscriptions de la statue contiennent, semble-t-il, d'autres réminiscences héliopolitaines (cf. infra), tout porte à croire que le culte évoqué dans la titulature d'Amenemope-em-hat n'a aucun rapport avec celui du temple de Luxor.

(c) C'est l'unique exemple de ce nom¹⁶ que nous connaissons. Remarquons le déterminatif qui le suit : un personnage assis qui tient un sceptre sur les genoux. Si l'on établissait une statistique rigoureuse pour déterminer sa fréquence proportionnelle et, partant, sa valeur comme critère de datation à la Basse Époque, elle révélerait sans aucun doute que son emploi est très répandu à l'époque où nous sommes tentés de situer la statue d'Amenemope-em-hat.

(d) Empruntée à l'Ancien Empire,¹⁷ cette épithète a été remise en vogue par la renaissance saïte.¹⁸

(e) Il faut croire que la lecture du nom de la mère d'Amenemope-em-hat a singulièrement embarrassé Ranke puisque, contrairement à celui du propriétaire de la statue, il ne l'enregistre pas dans son dictionnaire. Il s'agit, en effet, d'un type de nom assez rarement attesté : *ih sty* + *nom divin* "agréablement parfumée est la divinité NN." Malgré la disposition quelque peu déconcertante des hiéroglyphes, on reconnaît facilement ces éléments sur la statue du Metropolitan Museum. L'adjectif *ih*¹⁹ y est déterminé par le visage, vu de profil (Gardiner D 19). Le mot *sty*, "parfum,"

curieusement écrit pour former un cadrat parfait avec le signe qui précède, y est suivi, comme d'habitude, du déterminatif de la pustule (Gardiner Aa 2). Quant au nom divin, il se lit *Pp*. Sans entrer dans la discussion de cette appellation énigmatique qui a servi, à la Basse Époque, à former des noms théophores de divers types,²⁰ nous ferons seulement remarquer qu'il est caractéristique de la Basse Égypte et qu'il fut particulièrement à la mode dans l'anthroponymie de la région d'Héliopolis.²¹

Les noms du type *ih sty* + *nom divin* sont uniquement féminins; voici les exemples que nous en avons relevé :

1. *'Ih-sty-'Imn* sur la stèle d'Ankhefenmout, conservée à Croydon;²² il ne s'agit pas, comme l'a cru l'éditeur du monument, d'une dame Setamon, qui porterait le titre mystérieux *ihk*.

2. *'Ih-sty-Pp*, le nom de la mère d'Amenemope-em-hat, ne nous est connu que par deux autres exemples, attestés respectivement sur une stèle, conservée à Francfort,²³ et sur un canope de l'ancienne collection N.-Cl. Peiresc dont nous ignorons le lieu de conservation actuel.²⁴

3. *'Ih-sty-(Shmt, B³stt ?)* apparaît sur un bronze d'Harpocrate qui faisait autrefois partie de la collection Moïse Levy de Ben Zion au Caire; dans son catalogue manuscrit de la collection, conservé à la Fondation Égyptologique Reine Elisabeth de Bruxelles, J. Capart lui a assigné le n° 254. Le nom, dont la fin est

13. Gustave Lefebvre, "La statuette du Louvre E 10366," *Revue d'égyptologie* 1 (1933) p. 100-104.

14. Giovanni Kminek-Szedlo, *Catalogo di Antichità Egizie* (Torino, 1895) p. 158 (Bologna 1829, collationné sur photo).

15. George Steindorff, *Catalogue of the Egyptian Sculpture in the Walters Art Gallery* (Baltimore, 1946) pl. cxvi, 171c (Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery 171).

16. Hermann Ranke, *Die ägyptischen Personennamen* I (Glückstadt, 1935) p. 415, 7.

17. *Wörterbuch* II, *Belegstellen*, p. 724.

18. Ajouter à l'unique exemple, cité par le *Wörterbuch* II, *Belegstellen*, p. 724 : Karl Piehl, "Doit-on accepter l'hypothèse d'un règne simultané d'Apriès et d'Amasis?" *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 28 (1890) p. 10 (Stockholm 1); Henri Gauthier, *Cercueils anthropoïdes des prêtres de Montou* I (Le Caire, 1913) p. 495 (Caire 41068); Borchardt, *Statuen und Statuetten* IV, p. 137-138 (Caire 1269); British Museum 41516 (inédit); Anvers 284 (inédit).

19. *Wörterbuch* I, p. 120.

20. Ranke, *Personennamen*, signale les types suivants : *ir.f-n-hsj-*

n-pp (p. 40, 12), *pp-dj-pp* (p. 123, 12; 126, 18, 19), *pp-f-t3w-m-'wj-pp* (p. 127, 26), *ppjj-mr-itf.s* (p. 132, 4), *s3.t-pp* (p. 288, 17), *ts-pp-pr.t* (p. 393, 27).

21. Voici les noms contenant l'élément *pp* que nous avons relevés sur des monuments héliopolitains : *ir.f-n-hsj-n-pp* (Alfred Wiedemann et Balthasar Pörtner, *Ägyptische Grabsteine und Denksteine aus verschiedenen Sammlungen* III [Strassburg, 1906] p. 32-35; la stèle provient vraisemblablement de la région de la première cataracte mais appartient à une famille héliopolitaine); *pp-dj-pp* (De Meulenaere, *Surnom*, p. 11, n° 30 et 31); *ts-pp-pr.t* Ahmed bey Kamal, "Rapport sur les fouilles faites dans la montagne de Sheikh Saïd," *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte* 10 (1910) p. 154; Henri Gauthier, "A travers la Basse-Égypte," *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte* 21 [1921] p. 33); *pp-s-t3w-m-'wj-pp* (Steindorff, *Egyptian Sculpture*, pl. cxvi, 171B).

22. Eric Uphill, "The Stela of 'Ankhefenmut," *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 43 (1957) p. 1-2, pl. I.

23. Wiedemann et Pörtner, *Ägyptische Grabsteine*, p. 32-35.

24. Jurgis Baltrušaitis, *La quête d'Isis* (Paris, 1967) p. 105, fig. 6.



FIGURE 2 Inscription du socle, face

FIGURE 3 Inscription du socle, suite (à gauche du lecteur)



détruite, appartient à une femme, épouse d'un nommé Pétébast et mère d'un nommé Pétémihôs.²⁵

Le contenu religieux des noms que nous venons d'analyser est intéressant. Que des anthroponymes formés sur le parfum que dégagent les divinités soient uniquement réservés à des femmes, ne doit pas nous étonner : dans l'épisode de la naissance divine d'Aménophis III, représentée dans le temple de Luxor, Amon ne s'est-il pas uni à la reine-mère après l'avoir éveillée par son divin parfum ?²⁶

(f) Celle-ci commence par une orthographe tout à fait exceptionnelle $\Delta q q$ au lieu de l'habituel $di.tw$.

INSCRIPTION DU SOCLE (FIGURES 2-4)

(→)²⁷ “Proscynème à Ptah, seigneur d'Ankh[taoui] (a), et à Sekhmet, la grande, l'aimée de Ptah, pour qu'ils donnent (b), une offrande : pain, bière, bétail et volaille, une belle vieillisse, arriver à l'état d'*imakhou*, pour le *ka* connu véritable du roi, son aimé, le chef des chanteurs, Amenemope-em-hat.”

(←) “Le directeur des chanteurs du Nord, Amenemope-em-hat, né de Ih-set-pep (c), il dit : ô Provisions alimentaires, ô Grands qui présidez aux Maisons Hautes et qui procurez du pain à Ptah, puissiez-vous [me] donner du pain et de la bière (d), [car] je suis son *imakhou*; alors vos noms demeureront dans son temple.”

(a) Comme semble l'indiquer une trace du premier signe, la lacune à l'angle droit du socle était occupée par le groupe $\ddot{I} I t^3wy$.²⁸

(b) La partie que nous avons soulignée dans la traduction a été martelée. D'après les traces, on est tenté de restituer $\ddot{I} \bullet \ddot{I} \square \ddot{I} \ddot{I}$. On ne saurait préciser exactement la cause de ce martelage intentionnel du

25. En se fondant sur l'onomastique, on pourrait supposer que ce bronze provient de Léontopolis (cf. Jean Yoyotte, “La ville de Taremou (Tell el-Muqdâm),” *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale* 52 [1953] p. 190-192).

26. Sur le parfum des dieux, cf. en particulier Hellmut Brunner, *Die Geburt des Gottkönigs* (Wiesbaden, 1964) p. 50-51.

27. La flèche indique quel est, sur l'original, la direction de l'écriture.

28. Sur Ankhtaoui, voir Maj Sandman-Holmberg, *The God Ptah* (Lund, 1946) p. 214-215.

FIGURE 4 Inscription du socle, suite (à droite du lecteur)



nom de la déesse Sekhmet; il ne semble pas que d'autres cas en aient été signalés.

(c) L'orthographe du nom confère au signe 𓆎 la valeur *ih*, apparemment nouvelle.

(d) Cette formule est empruntée au Livre des Morts, chapitre 106, dont les versions les plus anciennes, contrairement à celles du Nouvel Empire, ont Héliopolis comme lieu de l'action.²⁹ Les "Maisons Hautes" (*prw hryw*) sont connues comme se trouvant dans le voisinage de cette ville.³⁰

La statue d'Amenemope-em-hat, malgré les mutilations qu'elle a subies, est un document d'un caractère assez inhabituel. Bien qu'elles consistent en formules traditionnelles, les inscriptions qui la couvrent ont fourni des données importantes pour l'anthroponymie égyptienne de Basse Époque et ont permis, notamment, d'établir définitivement la lecture et le sens d'un nom propre curieux, mal défini jusqu'à présent. Le martelage du nom de la déesse Sekhmet et les allusions héliopolitaines, discrètement dissimulées dans l'onomastique, la titulature et la demande d'offrandes, posent d'autre part des problèmes d'ordre religieux qui méritent de retenir l'attention. Si les informations qu'on en tire demeurent provisoirement assez imprécises, on peut espérer qu'un examen approfondi de la question conduira à la découverte d'éléments qui seront susceptibles de l'éclaircir.

SUMMARY

The statue published here is a masterpiece of Saite art, although at first sight it does not offer any particular interest as a document. A headless figure, rather badly damaged at shoulders and arms, it represents a man kneeling on a base and holding a Hathor head before him. It was bought in 1924 by the Metropolitan Museum, and comes from the temple of Ptah at Memphis. Virtually unpublished, it was briefly dis-

cussed by H. G. Fischer and twice mentioned by the authors of *Egyptian Sculpture of the Late Period*.

Two iconographic criteria for the date are first considered. Both the deep vertical furrow that divides the chest and the traces of the striated wig are characteristic of works made in the second half of the seventh century B.C. These details would appear to date the statue in the reign of Psamtik I (664-610). The technical perfection with which the texts were carved, and the neat, careful forms of the hieroglyphs also suggest a date at the beginning of the Saite Period.

A translation of the inscription on the back pillar brings out these points: The title of the owner, Director of Singers of the North, is apparently hitherto unknown. The mention of a cult of Amen(em)ope probably refers, not to Luxor, but to Heliopolis; this suggestion is reinforced by the existence of other references to the worship of Amon at that site, and by the fact that the inscriptions of the statue seem to contain other Heliopolitan references. The name of the owner, Amen(em)ope-em-hat, is not known elsewhere. The determinative of his name, a seated person holding a scepter, is very frequent in the period to which the statue has been assigned. The name of the owner's mother, Ih-set-pep, is shown to be a rare type: *ih sty + divine name*, "pleasantly fragrant is the divinity NN." The divine name in this case is read *Pp*; it is characteristic of the Late Period, and was especially popular in theophoric names of the region of Heliopolis. Names referring to the perfume emitted by the gods are given only to women.

The inscriptions on the base are translated, including a section of the text referring to Sakhmet, which was deliberately hammered out. This is a unique case of mutilation of the goddess' name, and the reason for it is unknown. The writing of Ih-set-pep on the base gives the sign 𓆎 the value *ih*, which is apparently new. Part of the formula, with a mention of "High Mansions," is borrowed from chapter 106 of the Book of the Dead, the oldest versions of which refer to Heliopolis.

29. Charles Kuentz, "Le chapitre 106 du Livre des Morts," *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale* 30 (1931) p. 844-852.

30. Yoyotte, "Prêtres et sanctuaires," p. 96, note 1.

The Statue of Amenemope-em-hat¹

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THE STATUE whose inscriptions have been analyzed by Herman De Meulenaere in the preceding article is of such high quality that one cannot help particularly regretting the fact that it has lost its head. But this defect has the compensatory advantage of focusing attention on the modeling of the body. In its overall character, as well as in its details, the statue is a consummate example of the artistic trends, both of its period and of the part of Egypt where it was made (Figures 1–3).²

1. Even more than their earlier counterparts, Egyptian statues of the Late Period suffer from inadequate publication or no publication at all. Since this study is primarily concerned with the minute details that make up a style and that can be judged only by a comparison of many contemporary objects, it could not have been undertaken had I not had the good fortune of being allowed access to the photographic files of the Corpus of Late Egyptian Sculpture at The Brooklyn Museum. I am grateful to Bernard V. Bothmer, Curator of Egyptian and Classical Art, for granting me permission to use them extensively in the preparation of this article; the extent of my debt will be apparent in the many references in the notes. Where possible I have added bibliographical references to CLES citations, especially when the statues are illustrated, though the picture may not show the detail under discussion. I am deeply indebted to Henry G. Fischer for numerous ideas and references; in many respects I am simply expanding his remarks on the statue under discussion in his article “Anatomy in Egyptian Art,” cited in notes 7 and 8. I also wish to thank Dr. Fischer and Professor Bothmer for reading the article in manuscript and for their many helpful suggestions.

2. Metropolitan Museum of Art, accession 24.2.2. The height is 64 cm. The base measures 28 cm. wide, 42 cm. deep, 10.5 cm. high. The area of the break at the neck is 12.7 cm. deep at the middle of the back pillar and 19.8 cm. wide at its widest part. For bibliography on the statue see De Meulenaere’s notes 3 and 4.

3. As it is called in standard Egyptological usage. Technically, it is a sedimentary rock, a greywacke; see A. Lucas, *Ancient Egyptian*

Carved in a dark green schist³ that has a few lighter patches characteristic of this stone (for example, on the left breast and below the right eye of the Hathor head), and polished to a velvety surface typical of the early Late Period,⁴ the statue is modeled with great attention to certain details of anatomy. The break at the neck has left enough traces at the back to show that the figure wore a striated wig that fell to the level of the shoulders.⁵ The transition from neck to trunk is rather abrupt: the two meet in a clearly demarcated, rounded

Materials and Industries (London, 4th ed., rev. and enlarged, 1962) pp. 419–420.

4. In contrast to the highly polished harder stones preferred in later times: Bernard V. Bothmer et al., *Egyptian Sculpture of the Late Period* (Brooklyn, 1960), p. 5. Since the term “early Late Period” will be used repeatedly in this article, I should define my use of it at the outset. The Late Period proper is generally taken to extend from the XXVth Dynasty, ca. 740–656 B.C., to the end of Ptolemaic rule in 30 B.C. (Bothmer’s periodization in *ESLP*, pp. xxx–xxxii, includes even the Roman Period, 30 B.C.–A.D. 324, when Egypt was no longer an independent political entity). Since the concern here is with art history rather than political periods, “early Late Period” refers to the XXVth Dynasty and the first reign of Dynasty XXVI, that of Psamtik I. The works of this brief span form, on the whole, a coherent body. Similarly, by “early XXVIth Dynasty” and “early Saite” I mean works dating to Psamtik I, but do not exclude pieces that may be slightly later, insofar as they reflect the earlier style rather than the new currents that first become visible during the reign of Psamtik II. This terminology is a matter of necessity as well as of convenience, for many works still cannot be more precisely dated.

5. The striated wig was once thought to have been confined to Dynasty XXV and the first two reigns of Dynasty XXVI (*ESLP*, p. 2), but at least two statues are now known that show its use in the time of Apries: Cairo J.E. 38021 (CLES; unpublished) and Lausanne Eg. 9 (CLES; for bibliographical references see note 60). In general, however, its appearance on a XXVIth Dynasty statue suggests a date early in the period.



FIGURES 1-3

Kneeling statue of Amenemope-em-hat. Early XXVIth Dynasty. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 24.2.2

line, characteristic of Egyptian sculpture. Set well under the neck, but no lower than they usually appear, are the collarbones, carved as obliquely curving ridges with the sternal notch well marked.⁶ The rounded pectorals, with protuberant nipples, are quite prominent, their projection emphasized by the receding line of the lower torso. They are separated by a broad, shallow depression that runs the length of the trunk, becoming most noticeable in the area just above the round navel. The rib cage is indicated only very lightly, as a slight rounding in the receding line of the torso,

and the abdomen, though differentiated from the hips, is very flat. The impression is one, not only of muscularity, but of considerable tension, as if the figure had taken a deep breath and was holding it, pulling in his stomach at the same time.⁷

The same muscularity is evident in the shoulders and arms, despite the damage they have suffered. The left shoulder has been broken at the front and the right shoulder at the back, but we can still see the way in which their broadness curves into the bulging muscles of the upper arm. This bulge is particularly apparent



from the back (De Meulenaere's Figure 1) where, on the left side, one can also see a slight bunching of the flesh of the arm slightly below the armpit. The lower arms have suffered badly, the left one being lost for over half its length along with most of the hand, and the right one broken off altogether from slightly above the elbow. But enough remains of the left forearm to show how the muscle is tensed below the elbow, creating an oblique, almost angular surface. A curious contrast to the tension and muscularity of the body is formed by the hands, particularly the right one, which

is almost fully preserved. They are modeled with equal care, the nails being clearly shown and the cuticles subtly indicated, but they are flat and lifeless, without any hint of bones, tendons, or joints. Such a "hieroglyphic" hand, little more than a symbolic notation for its real-life counterpart, is characteristic of even the most carefully modeled Egyptian sculptures, especially when the hand, as here, is flat, rather than flexed or fisted.

The figure wears a short pleated kilt, as we can clearly see at both sides, where the pleats are indicated by fluting. But at the front the lap is treated as a smooth flat shelf. Nor is there at the front any indication of the belt that can be seen behind the arms.

The legs show the same combination of broad generalizing treatment and attention to specific anatomical details: the kneecaps are large smooth convex surfaces without any indication of the bone structure, but the bulge of flesh at the inner fold of each knee, caused by its bending, is carefully modeled, to the point of slight

6. This unnaturally slanted collarbone is typically Lower Egyptian; it may be well observed on a statue of a Mendesian official contemporary with the piece under discussion, Palermo 145 (Henri Wild, "Statue d'un noble mendésien du règne de Psamétique I^{er}," *BIFAO* 60 [1960] pp. 43-67, pls. 1-v, especially pl. 11; *ESLP*, no. 20, pl. 18). In this case, however, the sternal notch is not indicated. On the other hand, the sternal notch is well marked, although the collarbones themselves are very faint, on Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery 22.79 (George Steindorff, *Catalogue of the Egyptian Sculpture in the Walters Art Gallery* [Baltimore, 1946] no. 154, pl. 24). The slant tends to be less pronounced in Upper Egyptian sculpture, where the collarbones are sometimes nearly horizontal (*ESLP*, pp. 29-30). Though often more prominent than in earlier periods, the collarbones are by no means always indicated, even on works of high quality; they do not seem to be present, for example, on Cairo C.G. 647 (Mentuemhat, Dyn. XXV/XXVI: Ludwig Borchardt, *Statuen und Statuetten von Königen und Privatleuten im Museum von Kairo* [*Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire*] II [Berlin, 1925] pl. 119), on Cairo C.G. 42243 (a son of Mentuemhat: Georges Legrain, *Statues et statuettes de rois et de particuliers* [*Catalogue général*] III [Cairo, 1914] pl. XLIX) or on British Museum 1132, datable to Psamtik I and probably from Karnak (CLES; *The Illustrated London News* 234, no. 6246 [Feb. 21, 1959] p. 313 [illustrated]; Herman De Meulenaere, *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 55 [1960] col. 129; De Meulenaere, "La famille des vizirs Nespamedou et Nespakachouty," *Chronique d'Égypte* 38 [1963] p. 73 f). Although collarbones are often represented on Theban sculptures, it is my impression that they are somewhat less frequent, and certainly less prominent, on the better works than they are in the north.

7. This tension has been noted by Henry G. Fischer in "Anatomy in Egyptian Art," *Apollo* 82 (Sept., 1965) p. 173.

exaggeration. Two muscles are clearly shown on the lower leg, the peroneus longus, forming a ridge down its length, and the gastrocnemius or calf muscle.⁸ Representation of the latter, as we shall see, is quite rare in Egyptian sculpture. The peroneus longus terminates in the rounded projection of the anklebone. The feet are fairly high-arched, and the toes are quite naturalistically splayed. But, like the fingers, they appear boneless and jointless, although the nails are painstakingly marked. They are, in fact, typical Egyptian feet.⁹

The object held by Amenemope-em-hat is an architectonic element, consisting of a rectangular post with beveled corners, surmounted by a capital in the shape of the head of the goddess Hathor, on which rests an abacus. The whole forms a cult symbol of Hathor (Figure 4).¹⁰ Although the presentation of an emblem of this deity by a kneeling statue enjoyed a certain popularity during the reign of Psamtik I,¹¹ most such statues hold a Hathor sistrum.¹²

The modeling of the emblem has received as much attention as that of the figure itself. The heavy striated wig of the goddess, with its soft undulations running at

8. Both the calf muscle and the skin fold at the knee were observed by Fischer, "Anatomy," p. 173.

9. The feet occasionally receive a little more attention in this period than has been devoted to them in the present example. The cuticles of the toenails are indicated on Brussels E. 8039 (CLES; unpublished); Copenhagen Thorvaldsen's Museum 356, which must have been a very carefully modeled work, to judge from the lower body, which is all that survives (CLES; Henry Madsen, "Les inscriptions égyptiennes du Musée Thorvaldsen à Copenhague," *Sphinx* 13 [1910] p. 56, no. 356); and Durham 509, also a very fine work (CLES; S. Birch, *Catalogue of the Collection of Egyptian Antiquities at Alnwick Castle* [London, 1880] pp. 69-71, pl. A, right [opposite p. 72; drawing]. The toes are widely separated and unusually splayed on East Berlin 10289, where the knees are also farther apart than usual (CLES; Königliche Museen zu Berlin, *Ausführliches Verzeichnis der Aegyptischen Altertümer* [Berlin, 1899] p. 258 [not illustrated]). Occasionally the toes are not splayed; on Cairo J.E. 37425 this causes an awkward inward bend to the little toe (CLES; unpublished). On a few statues the tops of the toes are rounded and well differentiated from the flat, depressed surfaces of the nails: Cairo J.E. 36908 (asymmetrically squatting: CLES; Hermann Kees, "Der Vezir Hori, Sohn des Jutjek," *ÄS* 83 [1958] pl. xub; Kenneth A. Kitchen, *The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt [1100-650 B.C.]* [Warminster, 1973] §194, p. 228. Both mistakenly give the number as 86908.); J.E. 37425 (CLES); Durham 509 (CLES). But even these do not approach the degree of naturalism that occurs sporadically in other periods, such as the quite realistically rendered toes of the early XXVIIth Dynasty statue of Hekatefnakht, Louvre E. 25499 (CLES; Jacques Vandier, "La statue de Hekatefnakht," *La Revue du Louvre* 14 [1964] pp. 57-66).



FIGURE 4
Hathor symbol found at Deir el Bahri (photo: Metropolitan Museum)

10. This example was found at Deir el Bahri (Herbert E. Winlock, "The Museum's Excavations at Thebes," *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, Part II, *The Egyptian Expedition 1922-1923* [Dec., 1923], fig. 34, p. 39; dated by the excavator to the XVIIIth Dynasty). Though far more crudely worked, it is strikingly similar to the object held by the statue under discussion, differing chiefly in the facts that, like a true Hathor column, it appears to have two heads of the goddess, and that it is mounted on a stepped base.

11. *ESLP*, p. 16. Perhaps there is some connection between the appearance of such statues and the fact, noted by Labib Habachi, that Hathor capitals are popular in temple architecture during the XXVIth Dynasty, whereas they are less often used from Dynasty XIX through Dynasty XXV (*Tell Basta [Supplément aux ASAE, Cahier no. 22]* [Cairo, 1957] p. 66).

12. J. J. Clère, who is making a study of sistrophorous statues, seems to feel that such variations are of no great significance, since the face of the goddess is the most important element ("Propos sur un corpus des statues sistrophores égyptiennes," *ÄS* 96 [1969] p. 2). And indeed, the distinction between Hathor sistrum and Hathor capital is often very indistinct, for the sistrum clearly incorporates a Hathor capital, and the capital is typically surmounted by a superstructure which has elements of the sistrum.

right angles to the striations, shows the closest sort of simulation of wavy tresses known to ancient Egyptian conventions. The necklace, carved on the post under her chin, is cut with precision. But the cow-eared face, though modeled with great finesse and refinement, has a curious, flattened look, particularly evident in the nose, which is very flat and therefore also seems extremely broad at the nostrils. All the features, when studied individually, share in the general disproportion: the plane of the eyes and their plastic brows is too flat; the area between eye and nose is too depressed; the cheeks seem to push in on the nose and on the mouth, which is too wide for the sharply narrowed jaw; the square chin is excessively short. In fact, the head, although modeled in the round, is conceived two-dimensionally and handled with the same conventions usually applied to Egyptian representations of the full face in relief.¹³ This is quite deliberate, for it is not really the head of the goddess that is depicted, but her symbol on a capital. The fact that relief, rather than sculptural, conventions are normally applied to such capitals may indicate that a mask of the goddess is represented, or perhaps, with typical Egyptian logic, that a face was applied to the stone block which formed the actual supporting element.¹⁴ In any case, the avoidance of naturalistic, three-dimensional modeling emphasizes the abstract, symbolic quality of the emblem.

The pose of a figure kneeling and holding before it the emblem or image of a deity is not an innovation of the Late Period, but it is by no means one of the most ancient types of Egyptian statuary. Although kneeling figures exist from the earliest period on,¹⁵ the theo-

12, 13, 14. His conclusion (pp. 86, 96) that the hieroglyph represents a foreigner seems to me most unlikely, for the peculiarities of the face are precisely those we have already noted on a Hathor capital and on representations of Egyptians at various periods.

14. Certainly the Hathor capital was not conceived as a full head. As Eugen von Mercklin notes in "Das ägyptische Figuralkapitell," *Studies Presented to David Moore Robinson* (Saint Louis, 1951) pp. 198–199, the majority of such capitals have either two or four faces of the goddess; he quotes (p. 198) von Bissing's interesting comment that the Hathor capital is a "Pfeiler, gegen den das Kultbild gelehnt ist." Von Mercklin's illustrations in *Antike Figuralkapitelle* (Berlin, 1962) figs. 1–39, give a good idea of the Hathor mask as it appears on capitals of various periods. For similar Hathor heads on sistra held by statues of this period, see, for example, Cairo C.G. 646 (CLES; Borchardt, *Statuen* II, pl. 119), British Museum 1132 + 1225 (CLES; for other references, see note 6), Louvre E. 25388 (CLES; François Lenormant, *Collection de feu M. Raifé* [Hôtel Drouot, March 18–23, 1867] p. 2, no. 5 [not illustrated]).

15. The history of the kneeling statue in Egyptian art prior to the XVIIIth Dynasty is a curious one. Throughout this long period there is not, to my knowledge, a single example clearly made to represent the owner in his own right, in tomb or temple. The IIrd or IIIrd Dynasty kneeling man Cairo C.G. 1 (Edward L. B. Terrace and Henry G. Fischer, *Treasures of the Cairo Museum* [London, 1970] no. 2, pp. 25–28) was most likely, as Fischer has observed (p. 25), a funerary priest of royal cults; it is noteworthy that the statue was found at Memphis; it was probably put in a temple of the owner's service, rather than in his tomb. Even greater subservience is indicated in the placement of the kneeling funerary priest Cairo C.G. 119 (Borchardt, *Statuen* I, pl. 26): it was deposited in his master's tomb and was, for all practical purposes, a servant figure. A still greater degree of humility marks the little figures kneeling to present vessels; these begin in the Archaic Period (Zaki Y. Saad, *Royal Excavations at Helwan [1945–1947]* [Supplément aux ASAE, Cahier 14] [Cairo, 1951] pl. xxiv; ivory; the figure represented is a hunchback) and continue into the Middle Kingdom (MMA 22.1.124: Bodil Hornemann, *Types of Ancient Egyptian Statuary* III [Copenhagen, 1957] no. 640; faience, representing a dwarf); one might also mention the numerous servant statues kneeling to grind grain (James H. Breasted Jr., *Egyptian Servant Statues* [Bollingen Series XIII] [Washington, D.C., 1948] pls. 15–21), and kneeling bound captives, such as MMA 47.2 (William C. Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt* I [New York, 1953] fig. 67, p. 114). There seems little doubt that a connotation of servitude was attached to the pose, rendering it unsuitable for representation of the deceased. Nevertheless, it could be applied to the king as servant of the gods: the Brooklyn statuette 39.121 depicts Pepy I kneeling and holding out two *nu* pots. This pose is very rare before Dynasty XVIII, but it is repeated twice without variation in the Middle Kingdom (Jacques Vandier, *Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne* III *La statuaire* [Paris, 1958] pp. 221, 683, referring to Cairo C.G. 42013 [Sesostris III] and Karnak-Nord E. 133 [Amenemhat III]), suggesting that a specific ritual was involved. The kneeling statue of Queen Sobkneferu, from the end of the XIIth Dynasty, is apparently too damaged for one to be sure of the position of the hands. Vandier believes they rested flat on the thighs (*Manuel* III, p. 215, note 2), but Labib Habachi thinks it possible that they held vessels (Habachi, "Khatá'na-Qantír: Importance," *ASAE* 52 [1952–54] p. 459; the statue is illustrated in his pl. viiB).

13. The technical difficulties arising from the attempt to reproduce essentially three-dimensional forms in relief, and the conventions established in the attempt to cope with them, may clearly be seen in the frontal figure represented on a relief from Giza now in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts: William Stevenson Smith, *A History of Egyptian Sculpture and Painting in the Old Kingdom* (London, 2nd ed., 1949) pl. 57c, dated by Smith to the VIth Dynasty (p. 190). Once established, the conventions remained applicable to all faces represented frontally in relief; thus they are also used in the XXVIth Dynasty for the faces of large anthropoid stone sarcophagi (Marie-Louise Buhl, *The Late Egyptian Anthropoid Stone Sarcophagi* [Copenhagen, 1959] no. A, 5, fig. 3 [Leiden 149]; no. A, 7, fig. 5 [MMA 07.229.1, here shown in profile view]; no. B, a1, fig. 4 [Boston 30.834]). The same treatment is accorded the full-face hieroglyph *hr* throughout its history. See, for example, the representations collected by Karol Myśliwiec in "A propos des signes hiéroglyphiques '*hr*' et '*tp*,'" *ZAŚ* 98 (1972) figs. 2, 3, 5, 7, 9,

phoric kneeling statue has its origins in the early Eighteenth Dynasty, when both Hatshepsut and her great official Senenmut had themselves portrayed in this fashion.¹⁶ From such exalted beginnings the pose no doubt acquired a high status for, following a period of lesser popularity in the later Eighteenth Dynasty,¹⁷ it was frequent in the later New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period for statues of large size and careful work.¹⁸ The Late Period inherited it without interruption; in fact, many of the earliest examples, especially at Thebes, reproduce not only the pose but also the elaborate pleated, long-skirted costume of the earlier examples.¹⁹ But such fussy dress did not accord with the severer principles of a period that, in general, looked further back in time for its models, and almost from the beginning of the Late Period we find the New Kingdom

pose rendered in the costume of a much earlier and simpler time: a short kilt, often the pleated *šndyt*, with chest and arms bare of any ornaments.²⁰ In keeping with its period, our statue wears the *šndyt*, for the short kilt quickly prevailed, apparently during the reign of Psamtik I. Not until the Persians conquered Egypt, establishing a dynasty now called the Twenty-seventh, was a kneeling figure again shown wearing a long skirt. But then it was the peculiar garment, wrapped high on the chest, that the Persians may have introduced.²¹

These remarks on the costume of kneeling figures have brought us to a tendency well known for the early Late Period, the borrowing from styles of the past, which is known as archaism.²² This archaizing fashion affected almost all aspects of the art of the Twenty-fifth and early Twenty-sixth Dynasties.

16. Hatshepsut: MMA 23.3.1, 23.3.2. Senenmut: Cairo C.G. 579 (Borchardt, *Statuen* II, pl. 99), Cairo J.E. 34582 [Bernard V. Bothmer, "More Statues of Senenmut," *Brooklyn Museum Annual* XI [1969–70] figs. 15–18, pp. 140–142]; Brooklyn 67.68 (Bothmer, "More Statues," fig. 1, pp. 125–143; the article also discusses two examples in private collections); Louvre E. 11037. The importance of such statues may be realized in the fact that Senenmut himself apparently commissioned a copy of one of them (the copy is MMA 48.149.7; see William C. Hayes, "Varia from the Time of Hatshepsut," *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo* 15 [1957] pp. 84–88). For a discussion of the significance of statues representing private people holding images see Hans Bonnet, "Herkunft und Bedeutung der naophoren Statue," *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo* 17 (1961) pp. 91–98. Bonnet makes some telling points in looking to cult practices, and in particular festival processions, as origins for the type. One wonders, however, whether "genugsam Gelegenheiten . . . bei denen man in die Knie sank" (p. 96) are sufficient to account for the adoption of the kneeling pose at this time, especially since, as he himself points out, this kind of explanation is not very satisfactory for the naophorous block statue.

17. Examples can be cited, however, for the reigns of Amenhotep II (Cairo C.G. 935; Borchardt, *Statuen* III, pl. 158), Tuthmosis IV (Brooklyn L93.88.2) and Amenhotep III (Cairo C.G. 901; Borchardt, *Statuen* III, pl. 156).

18. Dynasties XIX and XX: Brooklyn 36.615; numerous examples in Cairo: Legrain, *Statues* II (Cairo, 1909), passim; MMA 33.2.1 (Hayes, *Scepter* II [New York, 1959] fig. 219, p. 351). Dynasty XXII: Cairo C.G. 42208 (Legrain, *Statues* III, pl. xv), C.G. 42229 (Legrain, *Statues* III, pls. xxxvi, xxxvii).

19. East Berlin 8806 (CLES; Labib Habachi, "A Statue of Bakennifi, Nomarch of Athribis," *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo* 15 [1957] p. 73); Cairo C.G. 1056 (CLES; Borchardt, *Statuen* IV, p. 41: illustrated with a sketch); Cairo C.G. 42245 (CLES; Legrain, *Statues* III, pl. 11); Louvre E. 25388 (CLES; Lenormant, *Coll. A. Raiffe*, p. 2, no. 5); Saint Louis 221:24 (CLES; *ESLP* no. 3, pl. 3). Most of these examples

belong to the brief span conventionally labeled Dynasty XXV/XXVI. Cairo C.G. 42245, for example, was made for one Horsiese, a brother of the great Mentuemhat who flourished both under the Kushites and Psamtik I: the statue could have been made in either dynasty. That the continuation of this costume spanned both dynasties is proved by the Saint Louis statue, where XXVth Dynasty Divine Consorts are named, which make it datable to the time of Taharqa, and by the Louvre piece, which not only represents a well-known official of Psamtik I, but also has the cartouche of that king.

20. The same Horsiese of note 19 also had himself represented in this fashion: Cairo C.G. 42244 (Legrain, *Statues* III, pl. 1) and so did his brother, Mentuemhat, Cairo C.G. 42237, holding a stela (Legrain, *Statues* III, pl. XLVII); he wears a necklace, consisting of a pendant hung from several strands of beads.

21. For the form and dates of this skirt see *ESLP*, pp. 75, 76; Bernard Bothmer has recently called attention to the continued representation of the garment in the fourth century ("The Head That Grew a Face," *Miscellanea Wilbouriana* 1 [Brooklyn, 1972] p. 30). Its representation on kneeling figures of the XXVIIth Dynasty include Cairo C.G. 726 (*ESLP*, no. 65, pls. 61–62) and Louvre E. 25499 (Vandier, "La statue," figs. 1–3).

22. See *ESLP*, p. xxxvii and passim, especially p. 30. Much work needs to be done on Egyptian archaism and imitation of the past in all periods. Besides the well-known proclivity of the initiators of a new era in Egyptian history for systematically looking to the great monuments of the past, especially in royal art, there are sporadic and seemingly isolated instances throughout. We do not know, for example, why Amenhotep, son of Hapu, had himself portrayed, under Amenhotep III, in Middle Kingdom guise, complete to pose, costume, and a very creditable imitation of a late XIIth Dynasty face (Cairo C.G. 42127: Legrain, *Statues* I [Cairo, 1906], pl. LXXVI. Another of his statues also shows him with a Middle Kingdom wig: Cairo C.G. 551: Borchardt, *Statuen* II, pl. 92. Its pose may also invoke the Middle Kingdom; compare the statues of Sesostri III found at Deir el Bahri: one is illustrated in E. A. Wallis Budge, *Egyptian Sculptures in the British Museum*

Having so long a past on which to draw, the Egyptians of this period were fairly eclectic in their borrowing. They rejected much of the late New Kingdom tradition, which had been handed down through the Third Intermediate Period,²³ and turned instead to the two great preceding periods. From the Middle Kingdom they took a few statue types, such as the seated cloaked figure²⁴ and the seated crosslegged scribe with legs covered by a long skirt.²⁵ The distinctive Middle Kingdom wig with pointed lappets appears,²⁶ and the heavy-lidded face so well known from the later Twelfth Dynasty enjoys a brief vogue.²⁷

Even more striking, however, is the attempt to simulate the art of the Old Kingdom. It shows itself in the revival of the crosslegged scribal pose for important

officials,²⁸ in the preference we have noted for the most characteristic Old Kingdom costume, the short kilt, and in the representation of certain types of long unused wigs.²⁹ But the sculptors of the early Late Period were not concerned simply to reproduce obsolete details of fashion. They sought to recreate the spirit of the earlier works, their purity and above all their strength.³⁰ What they saw in the early art, and the ways in which they utilized it, make a fascinating chapter in the history of art.

We have observed that the torso of the Metropolitan statue is bisected by a broad shallow groove running its length. This somewhat unnaturalistic manner of organizing the trunk, known on other sculptures of the early Twenty-sixth Dynasty,³¹ is characteristic of the

[London, 1914] pl. xi). The XIXth and XXth Dynasties are full of such throwbacks: Sety I recalls the style of Tuthmosis III (MMA 22.2.21; Hayes, *Scepter* II, fig. 210, p. 335); Bakenkhonsu, under Ramesses II, borrows a specific peculiarity of representing the eye from the time of Amenhotep III (Munich Gl. W. A. F. 38; Hans Wolfgang Müller, *Die ägyptische Sammlung des bayerischen Staates* [Munich, 1966] fig. 38); Ramesses III imitates (almost to the point of caricature) the features of Tutankhamun (Boston 75.10; Vandier, *Manuel* III, p. 402, note 4, pl. cxxx, 2), to name only a few of the most obvious examples. Many, no doubt, have not even been recognized.

23. That it is a deliberate rejection is emphasized by the brief survival of such details as the elaborate double wig with its striated and echeloned patterns. Carried over into the early XXVth Dynasty (British Museum 1514: CLES; Jean Leclant, *Enquêtes sur les sacerdoxes et les sanctuaires égyptiens à l'époque dite "éthiopienne,"* [Cairo, 1954] V B, pp. 78–83, pls. xviii–xxii), it occurs occasionally until the time of Psamtik I (British Museum 1132: CLES; for bibliography see note 6), then disappears from the scene. See also *ESLP*, p. 12.

24. Examples are given in *ESLP*, p. 2; since the works listed here that have a provenance are both Theban, one should perhaps also mention the Memphite example discussed elsewhere in *ESLP* (no. 10, pp. 11–12). A seated cloaked statue is the subject of Irmgard Woldering's "Zur Plastik der Äthiopenzeit," *ÄÄS* 80 (1955) pp. 70–73.

25. British Museum 1514 (CLES; for bibliography see note 23), early XXVth Dynasty. Note that the Middle Kingdom pose is here combined with a New Kingdom double wig.

26. Leningrad, Hermitage 18112, dated to the reign of Psamtik I (CLES; I. A. Lapis and M. E. Mat'ev, *Drevneegipetskaia Skulptura v Sobranii Gosudarstvennogo Ermitazha* [Moscow, 1969] pl. 70, no. 108, pp. 106–107 [with further bibliography]).

27. Cairo J.E. 37866 (Leclant, *Enquêtes*, pls. 1–iv; the head is quite well illustrated in Woldering, "Zur Plastik," pl. viii, fig. 3); Richmond 51-19-3 (*ESLP*, no. 8, p. 9, pl. 8; also see the discussion of this phenomenon, with further examples, on pp. 2, 8).

28. *ESLP*, pp. xxxvii, 23; I cannot help wondering if the high status of this pose, which is used for large and important sculpture

(such as Cairo J.E. 37341: CLES; Rudolf Anthes, "Der Berliner Hocker des Petamenophis," *ÄÄS* 73 [1937] p. 30, no. 4; Palermo 145: Wild, "Statue d'un noble mendésien," pp. 43–67, pls. 1–v; Richmond 51-19-4: "Herald of the King," *Bulletin of the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts* 25, no. 8 [April, 1965] pp. 1–2), is not conferred to some extent by its use in the New Kingdom to represent the highest officials in the land. Such statues as the two belonging to Amenhotep, son of Hapu (Cairo J.E. 44861: Terrace and Fischer, *Treasures*, no. 25, pp. 117–120, and J.E. 44862), that of Horemheb (MMA 23.10.1: Hayes, *Scepter* II, fig. 190, p. 305), and the pair made for the vizier Paramessu (Cairo J.E. 44863, 44864) must have been visible and well known; indeed, the Amenhotep and Paramessu statues were still in situ when excavated at Karnak (Georges Legrain, *Au pylône d'Harmhabi à Karnak*, *ASAE* 14 [1914] pp. 15–16, pls. 1–iii).

29. Such as the striated wig half covering the ears, on a head found at the temple of Mut at Karnak (Sale Catalogue, *An Important Group of Ancient Egyptian Sculpture*, Christie, Manson and Woods, Dec. 5, 1972, no. 4); or the short echeloned wig: East Berlin 8803 (CLES; *Ausführliches Verzeichnis*, p. 83 [not illustrated]); Louvre A 89 (CLES; Bernard V. Bothmer, "Apotheosis in Late Egyptian Sculpture," *Kēmi* 20 [1970], no. x, pl. xi, fig. 18); both of the latter are standing statues.

30. The thoroughness of this attempt to reproduce both the spirit and details of Old Kingdom works is best seen in the standing statues. One of the most interesting is Louvre A 89 (CLES; Bothmer, "Apotheosis," no. x, pl. xi, fig. 18), datable to Dynasty XXV and possibly from Heliopolis. It was probably an Old Kingdom model that led the owner to have himself shown with a woman standing beside him, for women are not often represented in this period (*ESLP*, p. xxxvii). The bipartite modeling of the torso, the muscular arms, everything is in the best Old Kingdom tradition (see notes 32, 35). Even such a tiny detail as the indication of ridges across the sternum has been taken over from the prototype. (For an Old Kingdom example of this feature, MMA, 48.111, see Fischer, "Anatomy," p. 172 and fig. 6, p. 173.)

31. Other examples of the median line rendered as a broad depression may be found in *ESLP*, nos. 18 and 19, pl. 16.

period; it clearly derives from the narrower line that divides the torso of all fine Old Kingdom statues.³² There can be no doubt that the torso of our figure is meant to recall those of the Old Kingdom; the firmness and reticence of the modeling and the lack of emphasis on the rib cage strongly recall Old Kingdom models.³³ But there is considerable difference between the torso of Amenemope-em-hat and his Old Kingdom predecessors. The pectorals are more prominent than is usually the case earlier, and the sharply receding line beneath them is a late development. The flattened stomach is very far removed from the Old Kingdom models.³⁴ The result is that, whereas an Old Kingdom torso gives an impression of equilibrium, even of a healthy relaxation, the later work is taut and strained. There is a sense, also reflected in the limbs, of almost painful tension.

The tensed forearm of the Metropolitan statue provides another example of borrowing from the Old Kingdom. From the Fourth Dynasty on the muscles of the lower arm are often quite prominently marked, not

only when the fist is clenched,³⁵ but even when, on seated statues, one hand rests palm down on the thigh, and one might expect to find the corresponding forearm relaxed.³⁶ The emphasis, therefore, is on the muscularity of the arm, but a certain effect of tautness is produced. This effect is much reduced in the Middle Kingdom; although the muscle continues to be indicated, both when the hand is fisted and when it is open,³⁷ the modeling tends to be considerably more subdued. The generally slacker body modeling of the New Kingdom dispenses with the forearm muscle. When the kneeling figure holding a large object appears in this period the arms, like the hands, are represented as perfectly relaxed.³⁸

The early Late Period revival of the tensed forearm is most successful on examples that are closest to Old Kingdom types, especially on the standing figure. When the fists are clenched, the effect, though often somewhat exaggerated, is not dissimilar to the prototypes.³⁹ But its application to the theophoric kneeling pose⁴⁰ creates an effect of strain unlike anything found

32. Such as the Vth Dynasty Ranofar (Cairo C.G. 19), well illustrated in *Encyclopédie photographique de l'art, Le Musée du Caire* (Éditions 'TEL,' 1949) pl. 23. This narrow median line appears on early Late Period standing figures: Boston 07.494 (*ESLP*, no. 9, pl. 9); Cairo J.E. 38045 (CLES; Bothmer, "Apotheosis," no. xii, pl. xi, fig. 20); Cairo J.E. 39403, 39404 (representing Taharqa: Jean Leclant, *Recherches sur les monuments thébains de la XXV^e dynastie dite éthiopienne* [Cairo, 1965] pls. LXIV, LXV); Louvre A 89 (CLES; Bothmer, "Apotheosis," no. x, pl. xi, fig. 18).

33. Thus I must take issue with the view expressed in *ESLP*, p. xxxv, that bipartite torso modeling in the early Late Period derives from Middle Kingdom sculpture. On the statue of Sesotris I (MMA 25.6; Hayes, *Scepter* I, fig. 110, p. 180; Fischer, "Anatomy," fig. 1, p. 169), cited in *ESLP*, p. 11, as a prototype, the median line is quite subdued and the rounding of the rib cage even hints at a tripartite organization of the torso; the whole is much more subtle and rounded than Old Kingdom sculpture. Professor Bothmer himself, in class and in conversation, has often spoken of the Old Kingdom elements in such statues as the one under discussion.

34. Nor have I been able to find very close parallels for this particular feature on statues contemporary with the Metropolitan piece. It is, however, a detail very difficult to observe in photographs.

35. A few obvious examples are the right arm of the seated Chephren (Cairo C.G. 14; Borchardt, *Statuen* I, pl. 4), the arms of the king in the Mycerinus dyad (Boston 11.1738; Cyril Aldred, *Old Kingdom Art in Ancient Egypt* [London, 1949] fig. 26) and of Ranofar on the statue cited in note 32.

36. The arms are equally tense, for example, on the seated Vth Dynasty Nykare, although one hand is fisted and the other flat (MMA 52.19; Hayes, *Scepter* I, frontispiece). Some Old Kingdom

seated figures, especially those from royal workshops, show a clear differentiation between the arms of the fisted and the relaxed hands: thus the Mycerinus colossus (Boston 09.204; Smith, *History of Egyptian Sculpture*, pl. 13b), but also the nonroyal statue Cairo C.G. 85 (Borchardt, *Statuen* I, pl. 19). The higher profile of the right arm in such cases apparently reflects the fact that the fist is upright with the little finger at the bottom, so that the arm is turned, radius and ulna being lined up vertically. This differentiation on seated statues may also be observed in the Middle Kingdom when the fist is held vertically (MMA 33.1.1; Vandier, *Manuel* III, pl. LXXVII, 2), but the arms are equally flat when the fisted hand rests palm down.

37. As, for example, on the beautifully modeled seated Sesotris I, MMA 25.6. For views of the two arms, compare the illustrations in Hayes, *Scepter* I, fig. 110, p. 180, and Fischer, "Anatomy," fig. 1, p. 169.

38. This appears to be true of all the examples cited in notes 16–18, except for Cairo C.G. 571, where the surface of the arm is too broken to be observed.

39. The muscles are especially noticeable on the standing statues Cairo C.G. 42243 (CLES; Legrain, *Statues* III, pl. XLIX; generally over-muscled), Louvre A 89 (CLES; Bothmer, "Apotheosis," no. x, pl. xi, fig. 18) and Boston 07.494 (CLES; *ESLP*, no. 9, pl. 9). A peculiarity of the arms of the last-named statue is the marking of the elbows at the back as two circles. The same detail may be observed on another statue of the same man, Cairo J.E. 36991 (CLES; unpublished; mentioned in *ESLP*, p. 11) and on Louvre A 111, which is datable to Psamtik I (CLES; Charles Boreux, *Guide-catalogue sommaire. Musée National du Louvre. Département des Antiquités Égyptiennes* II [Paris, 1932] p. 463 [not illustrated]).

40. On kneeling statues the tensed forearm is customarily indi-

in the Old Kingdom. It is as if the hands were being pressed tightly against the object they hold; it is not a pose one would want to keep for all eternity. The detail represents another departure from the spirit of the model, even though the outward form is revived.

The striving for tension in Amenemope-em-hat's figure is probably the result of an effort to impart a sense of vitality and life. It impelled the sculptor, not only to exaggerate his borrowings, but even to add new details not to be found in the prototypes. The clearest example of this elaboration on the model is to be seen in the muscles of the leg.

A strong, muscular lower leg was part of the ideal of the perfect Old Kingdom body. Strength was conveyed by the rather curious convention of marking the long muscles as a series of vertical grooves and ridges, sometimes quite sharply faceted.⁴¹ Behind them the bulging calf was often indicated in a fairly naturalistic manner.⁴² The importance of the lower limbs may be

seen in the fact that the legs are sometimes treated with some detail on statues where the modeling of the rest of the body is rather summary.⁴³ The emphasis on the legs and their stylization as well were revived in standing figures of the early Late Period.⁴⁴ A similar treatment was accorded kneeling statues, once they were freed from the long, concealing skirts. But the several ridges and grooves of the standing statues' legs are reduced to a single ridge, usually quite pronounced, connecting with and ending in the ankle bone.⁴⁵ The area above this ridge often bulges slightly, marking the calf.⁴⁶ The sculptor of the Metropolitan statue, however, has gone one step further. He has indicated the calf muscle as a separate entity, with the lower end clearly defined. The recognition of this particular muscle is without precedent in Egyptian art of any earlier period.

The representation of the calf muscle was not invented for this statue, however. The earliest surviving

cated by a ridge that creates an angular surface, as on the statue under discussion. The feature is not always as pronounced, however, as on the Metropolitan piece. Examples are British Museum 41561 (CLES; unpublished; mentioned in *ESLP*, p. 20), Louvre E. 9417 (CLES; unpublished; mentioned in *ESLP*, pp. 38, 44); Turin 3043 (CLES; unpublished). Exactly the same stylization is used when the hands rest flat on the thighs: Athens N.M. 8 (CLES; Karl Piehl, "Textes égyptiens inédits," *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* 10 [1888] p. 532, no. 4; D. Mallet, "Quelques monuments égyptiens du Musée d'Athènes," *Recueil de Travaux* 18 [1896] p. 10, no. 1267; inscriptions only); East Berlin 10289 (CLES; Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, *Führer durch das Berliner Ägyptische Museum* [Berlin, 1961] p. 77 [not illustrated]); Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek 591 (Otto Koefoed-Petersen, *Catalogue des statues et statuettes égyptiennes* [Copenhagen, 1950] pl. 117); Leiden 1942/11.5 (W. D. van Wijngaarden, "Een Granieten Beeld uit de Saitische Tijd," *Oudheidkundige Mededelingen uit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden* n.s. 29 [1948] pl. 1, pp. 1-2). Occasionally the muscle is more specifically marked: on Moscow 4997 (CLES; V. V. Pavlov, *Egipetskaia Skulptura* [Moscow, 1949] pl. 47), its ridge is set off from the rest of the arm by a shallow groove, and on Louvre E. 5778 the ridge is curved and very prominent (CLES; unpublished).

41. As on the preserved leg of a standing statue of Chephren, Cairo C.G. 16 (Borchardt, *Statuen* I, pl. 4), or the standing Mycerinus from his triads (as Cairo J.E. 40679; Terrace and Fischer, *Treasures*, no. 7, p. 46).

42. As, for example, on the Vth Dynasty statue of Ranofer, cited in note 32; the legs are best seen in Terrace and Fischer, *Treasures*, no. 10, p. 59.

43. Examples from Borchardt, *Statuen* I, include Cairo C.G. 76 (pl. 17), C.G. 137 (pl. 31), C.G. 146 (pl. 33), C.G. 172 (pl. 38).

44. For example, on the statue of Horemakhet, Dynasty XXV/XXVI, Cairo C.G. 42204 (Terrace and Fischer, *Treasures*,

no. 36, p. 159). The calf is especially pronounced, and even seems to be set off by grooves on a contemporary statue representing a son of Mentuemhat, Cairo C.G. 42243 (CLES; Legrain, *Statues* III, pl. XLIX). The bulge of the calf may be very pronounced on other poses, for example, on the asymmetrically squatting statue Cairo J.E. 36908 (CLES; see note 9 for bibliographical references), and often on cross-legged scribe statues, most notably on the powerful, unstylized legs of Cairo J.E. 37341 (CLES; Anthes, "Der Berliner Hocker," p. 30, no. 4).

45. The ridge is unusually broad and rounded on Durham 509 (CLES; for bibliography see note 9). Sometimes it is formed by parallel grooves, as on Cairo C.G. 42237 (CLES; Legrain, *Statues* III, pl. XLVII) and Zagazig 171 (CLES; unpublished). So nearly omnipresent is it on kneeling statues that it may be well to mention the few cases where it could not be observed: Cairo J.E. 36987 (CLES; unpublished), J.E. 37855 (CLES; unpublished), Lyon, Collection Varille I (CLES; Paul Tresson, "Sur deux monuments égyptiens inédits," *Kêmi* 4 [1931] pp. 126-144, pls. viib, viii, ix), Louvre N. 5406 (CLES; Boreux, *Catalogue-Guide* II, p. 453 [not illustrated]; Paul Pierret, *Recueil d'inscriptions inédites du Musée Égyptien du Louvre* II [Paris, 1878] p. 13). The convention did not originate with the Late Period; it is one of the few carry-overs from the New Kingdom, for it occurs on kneeling figures from Senenmut on: it may be seen on the statue of Senenmut, Brooklyn 67.68, despite the fact that he wears a long skirt (Bothmer, "More Statues," fig. 1; the detail is not visible on the photograph). Usually the skirt hides all leg modeling, but the continuation of the detail may be seen on Brooklyn 36.615 (Dynasty XIX: a son of Ramesses II).

46. As on Cairo C.G. 656 (CLES; Borchardt, *Statuen* III, pl. 121), Cairo J.E. 36674 (CLES; unpublished), J.E. 42880 (CLES), Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek 591 (CLES; Koefoed-Petersen, *Catalogue des statues*, pl. 117), Rome, Vatican 167 (CLES; *ESLP*, no. 56, pl. 51, fig. 123).

FIGURE 5

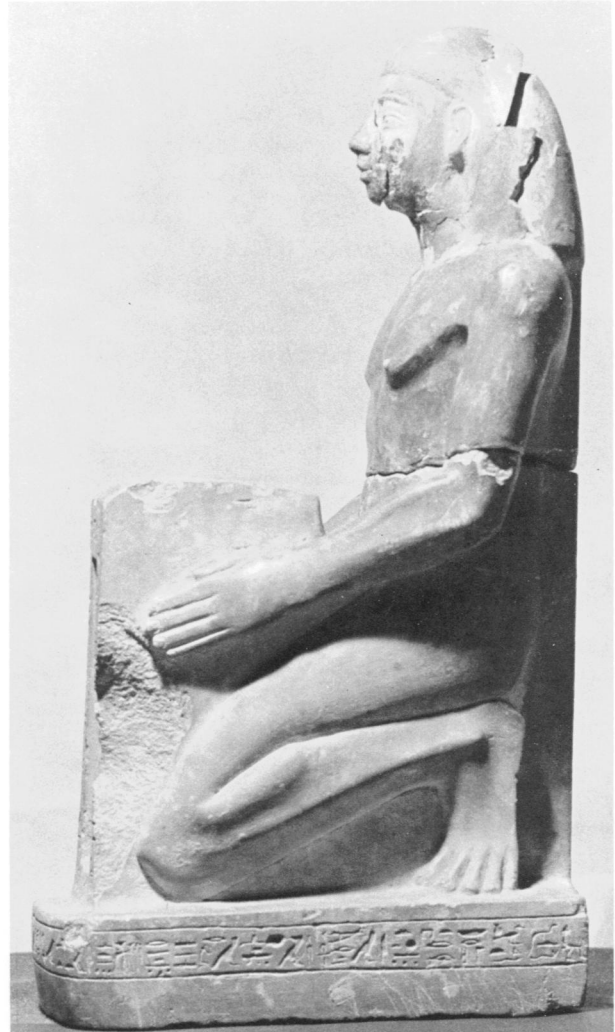
Kneeling statue of Pedimahes. End of XXVth Dynasty. Moscow, Pushkin Museum, 4993. (Photo: courtesy CLES)

example I have been able to find is on a statue believed to date to the end of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty (Figure 5).⁴⁷ It was made for a man named Pedimahes,⁴⁸ and is a product of Lower Egypt, coming from Tell el Muqdam, the ancient Leontopolis.⁴⁹ As the illustration shows, it is not an especially attractive statue, nor is the workmanship of the best quality. Though the muscle is shown, it is clearly as a convention rather than the result of direct observation; there is, for example, no attempt to show the bulge of flesh at the inside of the knee.

Thus it seems probable that Pedimahes' statue was made to follow the example of better works, very likely products of the royal workshops, which were usually the sources of innovation in Egyptian style, especially when close observation and attention to detail were involved. That the muscle was indicated on royal statues in the early Twenty-sixth Dynasty is shown by a badly damaged kneeling figure of Psamtik I in Copenhagen (Figure 6),⁵⁰ where the detailing of the calf muscle is in keeping with the care exhibited in the decoration of the wide belt. Indeed, most of the statues that display the gastrocnemius muscle are made with some care, and many, like Amenemope-em-hat's, are of the highest quality. One finds, for example, that, in most cases where the torso is preserved, the collarbones are marked—by no means an invariable feature of Late Period Egyptian sculpture.⁵¹

Originating in the north and, we may suppose, in a royal workshop, the convention was quickly picked up in Thebes. It appears on a statue from the Karnak Cachette, of the end of the Twenty-fifth or beginning of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty.⁵² But it did not win acceptance in the south: to the best of my knowledge this is the only example with a Theban provenance.

Two early Twenty-sixth Dynasty statues whose provenance is not known, one in Paris and one in Moscow, show again the connection between representation of the calf muscle and detailed modeling of the body generally.⁵³ On both the collarbones are strongly marked, and on the Paris statue even a fold of flesh at the armpit



47. Moscow 4993. A front view of this statue is illustrated in Bothmer, "Apotheosis," pl. viii, fig. 6. For its probable date, see the Bothmer article, p. 42.

48. Another statue of this man, Brooklyn 64.146, is discussed in Bothmer, "Apotheosis," and illustrated in his pls. vi and vii.

49. Jean Yoyotte, "La ville de 'Taremou' (Tell el-Muqdam)," *BIFAO* 52 (1953) no. 5, pp. 180–181, 185.

50. Nationalmuseum AAB 211: CLES; Marie-Louise Buhl, "Antiksamlingens Betydeligste Orientalia Erhvervet efter 1851," *Fra Nationalmuseets Arbejdsmark* (1952) p. 80, fig. 2 (front view); Hans Wolfgang Müller, "Ein Königsbildnis der 26. Dynastie mit der 'Blauen Krone' im Museo Civico zu Bologna," *ZAŚ* 80 (1955) p. 54, fig. 1b (back view).

51. See note 6.

52. Cairo J.E. 38061, Dynasty XXV/XXVI, from the Karnak Cachette (CLES; Hornemann, *Types* III, no. 563; Herman De Meulenaere, "Les monuments du culte des rois Nectanébo," *Chronique d'Égypte* 35 [1960] p. 102, n. 6 [inscription]).

53. Paris, Petit Palais 308 (CLES; unpublished; mentioned in *ESLP*, see note 54) and Moscow 4997 (CLES; Pavlov, *Egipetskaia Skul'ptura*, pl. 47).



FIGURE 6

Kneeling statue of Psamtik I. Copenhagen, Nationalmuseet Antiksamlingen, AAb 211. (Photo: courtesy Nationalmuseet Antiksamlingen)

These examples show that by the end of the reign of Psamtik I the representation of the calf muscle was an accepted, if rather rare, feature for kneeling statues of some quality. It appears at least once during the short reign of Necho II.⁵⁶ Continued representations later in the dynasty show that the detail remained characteristic of northern rather than of southern sculpture. It appears on the statue of General Hor, an official of Psamtik II, which was found at Tell el Yahudieh in the Delta.⁵⁷ Also datable to the reign of Psamtik II are the two statues of Nekhthorheb on which the calf muscle is shown (Figure 7).⁵⁸ It is not known where these pieces were found, but a Lower Egyptian origin seems virtually assured for both.⁵⁹ Still later in the dynasty, datable to the reign of Apries, and also from

is indicated.⁵⁴ Both also show, to some degree, the bunching of skin at the bend of the knee, which the Karnak example apparently lacks. This skin fold, as well as the calf muscle, is also to be observed on two contemporary statues of which only the lower bodies are preserved.⁵⁵

54. There are a number of unusual details on this interesting statue. Besides the face, discussed by Bothmer in *ESLP*, p. 20, one might mention the bulge of the collarbones at the front, the deep slit of the sternal notch, and the large, teardrop-shaped navel.

55. Hannover 1935.200.512, preserved from the hips down (CLES; unpublished) and Turin Cat. 3024, preserved from the waist down (CLES; Eberhard Otto, *Die biographischen Inschriften der ägyptischen Spätzeit* [Leiden, 1954] no. 42, p. 128). The Turin statue may come from Mostai in the Delta, according to Jean Yoyotte in *Annuaire de l'École Pratique des Hautes Études V^e section Sciences religieuses* (1967–1968) p. 104.

56. East Berlin 11332 (CLES; *Ausführliches Verzeichnis*, pp. 256–257 [not illustrated]; Herman De Meulenaere, *Le surnom égyptien à la Basse Époque* [Istanbul, 1966] no. 45, p. 15). The northern connections of the owner of this statue are shown by a figure of Isis inscribed for him, from Sais, Cairo C.G. 39303 (Georges Daressy, *Statues de divinités [Catalogue général]* [Cairo, 1906] p. 326).

57. Manchester 3570, preserved from the waist down (CLES; W. M. F. Petrie, *Hyksos and Israelite Cities* [London, 1906] pls. 15, 20, pp. 18–19; De Meulenaere, *Le surnom*, no. 57, p. 18).

58. The statue illustrated is Louvre A 94. Its importance for Egyptian art history is considerable, for it represents one of the earliest examples in the dynasty of tripartite torso modeling (*ESLP*, p. 54). The bibliography for this piece is extensive; for references see De Meulenaere, *Le surnom*, no. 44, p. 14. The second statue of Nekhthorheb is British Museum 1646 (CLES; *The Cambridge Ancient History*, Volume of Plates II [Cambridge, 1928] pp. 118–119, fig. b). The date of these monuments has been established by G. Posener in “La date de la Statue A 94 du Louvre,” *Revue d'Égyptologie* 6 (1951) pp. 234–235.

59. The inscription of Louvre A 94 invokes Thoth of both *Hmnw*, well known as Hermopolis Magna in Upper Egypt, present-day Ashmunein (Alan H. Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica* II [Oxford, 1947] pp. 79*–80*) and *B'h*, identified as the Delta Hermopolis, capital of the XVth nome of Lower Egypt, the modern Tell el Baqlih (Henri Gauthier, *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques* II [n.p., 1925] p. 16; see also Labib Habachi, “Notes on the Delta Hermopolis,” *ASAE* 53 [1955] pp. 441–480, and Yoyotte in *Annuaire V^e section* [1969–1970] p. 180). It is the Delta Hermopolis, however, that is named on the dominant right side of the statue. And the name *Hmnw* possibly in this case also refers to the Delta town, rather than its better-known Upper Egyptian counter-

FIGURE 7

Kneeling statue of Nekhthorheb. Dynasty XXVI, reign of Psamtik II. Paris, Musée du Louvre, A 94. (Photo: courtesy the Louvre)

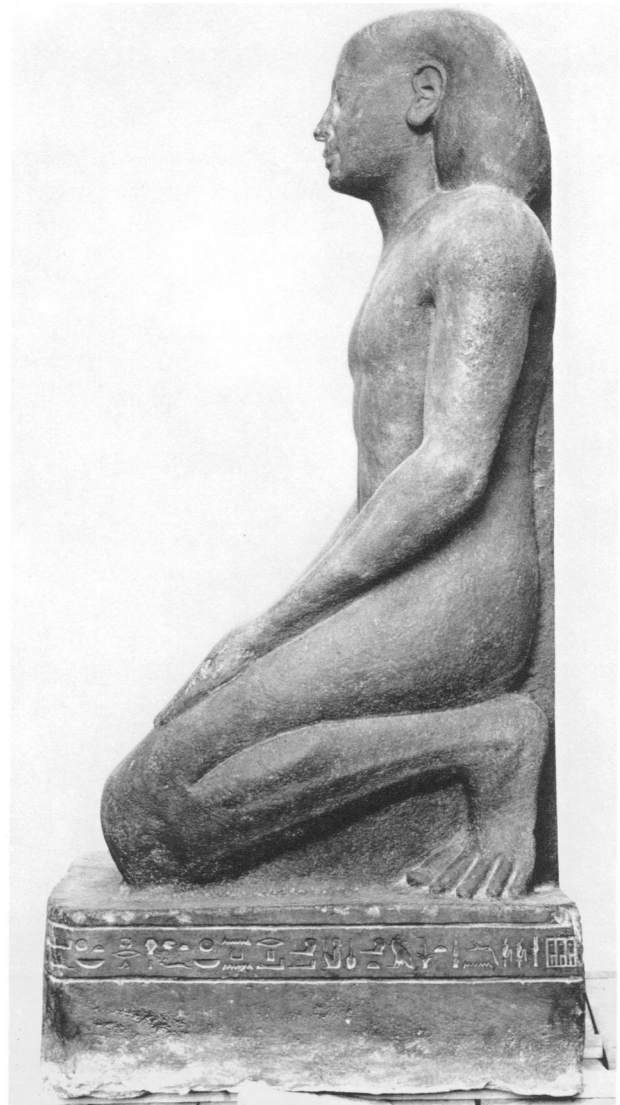
the north, are two more statues with calf muscles marked. One is in Lausanne and one in London.⁶⁰ Both of these are rather perfunctory and schematic in their modeling; on the Lausanne statue the collar-bones, though indicated, are rudimentary. This work is also one of the last datable examples of the striated wig,⁶¹ so perhaps it was even intended to be a little old-fashioned.

It is interesting that, of the fifteen statues where the calf muscle could be observed,⁶² only one is known to come from Thebes. The precise differences between northern and southern art in this period are difficult to describe, but they undoubtedly exist.⁶³ In light of what we know, it is not surprising that this detail was apparently a northern development. In the north there seems to have been a closer observation of the body and a more studied attempt to reproduce the sense of skin and flesh. The impulse is apparent in such very different examples as our statue with its extreme tautness and the relaxed, fleshy softness of the asymmetrically squatting Bes.⁶⁴ The south was more traditional in its approach to the body, more bound by the conventions. Theban statues tend to be much more “stony” than their northern counterparts, even when attempts are made to render fleshiness.⁶⁵

I cannot pretend to have observed all the examples

part, for a mention of “Thoth, lord of *Hmnw*” has been found at Tell el Baqlih with apparent local reference (Edouard Naville, *Ahnas el Medineh* [London, 1894] p. 24). Yoyotte, however, would apparently discount any special geographic significance in Delta references to Thoth of *Hmnw*; see his comments on a similar writing found at Tarrana in *Annuaire V^e* section (1969–1970), p. 184. That the provenance of the statue is indeed Tell el Baqlih is confirmed in an unpublished study by Yoyotte, in the possession of Bernard V. Bothmer, where he lists it under this site. Nekhthorheb also had ties to Sais. The funerary formula of British Museum 1646 invokes Neith and Osiris at Sais, and another of his monuments was found there (Cairo C.G. 39275: Posener, “La date,” p. 234).

60. Lausanne Eg. 9, head and arms broken off. From the region of Tell el Balamun (communication of Herman De Meulenaere to B. V. Bothmer) (CLES; Henri Wild, *Antiquités égyptiennes de la collection du Dr. Widmer* [Lausanne, 1956] pl. v, pp. 15–16; Emma Brunner-Traut, “Die Tübinger Statuette aus der Zeit des Apries,” *ÄS* 82 [1957–1958] no. 8, p. 95; De Meulenaere, *Le surnom*, no. 55, p. 17). British Museum 83, head and shoulders



gone; possibly from Heliopolis (CLES; Brunner-Traut, “Die Tübinger Statuette,” no. 6, pl. iv, p. 94 [with further bibliography].)

61. See note 5.

62. A final example, which cannot be more closely dated than the XXVIth Dynasty, and the provenance of which is not known, is Vienna 5772. It is headless and unfinished (CLES; unpublished).

63. This virtually unexplored topic is touched on in *ESLP*, especially pp. 29–31. That different tendencies should have existed is not surprising, given the political realities of the period: see Kenneth A. Kitchen, *Third Intermediate Period*, §356, pp. 395–396; §365, pp. 404–405.

64. Lisbon, Gulbenkian 158 (*ESLP*, no. 29, pl. 27, pp. 34–35). Note also the idiosyncratic treatment of the corolla of the nipples.

65. I am thinking particularly of the standing figure of Irigadiganen (Cairo J.E. 38018: *Encyclopédie photographique de l'art. Le*

of defined calf muscles on statues of the Twenty-fifth and Twenty-sixth Dynasties. Even had photographs of all extant works been available, it is the sort of detail that becomes invisible under inopportune angles of lighting.⁶⁶ But the examples I have found show that it seems to have developed shortly before the time when our statue was made; it continued throughout most of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty, but was never common, and it apparently disappeared before the end of the dynasty. I know no examples datable to Amasis, and in the Twenty-seventh Dynasty, though kneeling figures wearing short skirts are sometimes represented,⁶⁷ there seems to be no attempt to show the muscle.

But this feature had still not quite disappeared from Egyptian art, for it surfaces at least once more, in the fourth century B.C., on a kneeling statuette (Figure 8).⁶⁸ In this case, however, it is most perfunctory, merely an incised line that sets the calf off from the rest of the leg and curves to mark the lower end of the muscle. We are now very far from the Saite version—and yet, perhaps, not so far, for this little figure is one of the clearest examples of the archaistic trend of the Thirtieth and Thirty-first Dynasties. Looking to their past, as we have seen the Egyptians were so wont to do, these sculptors went no further back than the Twenty-sixth Dynasty for their models.⁶⁹ With its striated wig, its pleated kilt, and its sketchy calf muscle, the Chicago statuette must have derived from a sculpture very like the one discussed here.

Like its inscriptions, the style of the Metropolitan

statue places it firmly into the early part of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty. Further comparisons, especially if parallels for the flattened stomach can be found, may help to refine this dating, but in the present state of our knowledge we cannot be more precise. In the modeling of the calf muscle the figure suggests its northern origin. With its careful workmanship and—apart from the head—its relatively good state of preservation, the statue is one of the finest examples of the art of this period.

FIGURE 8

Kneeling statuette of Wesirnakht, fourth century B.C. The Art Institute of Chicago, 10.243. (Photo: courtesy The Art Institute of Chicago)



Musée du Caire [Éditions 'TEL,' 1949] pl. 173) and the asymmetrically squatting Harwa (Cairo J.E. 37386: Battiscombe Gunn and R. Engelbach, "The Statues of Harwa," *BIFAO* 30 [1931] pls. 1–II; similar statues of the same man on pl. III).

66. For example, the calf muscle on Manchester 3570 (note 57), clearly visible in Petrie's publication, can scarcely be seen in that museum's photograph on file in CLES.

67. Cleveland 3955.20 (*ESLP*, no. 61, pl. 58, figs. 143–145); Louvre E. 25390 + E. 25475 (*ESLP*, no. 57, pls. 54–55, figs. 132–134); Toronto 969.137.1 (W. B. Emery, "Preliminary Report on the Excavations at North Saqqâra 1966–7," *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 53 [1967] pl. xxxiii, 1–2, p. 143); Turin Cat. 3034 (CLES; G. Maspero, "Rapport . . . sur une mission en Italie," *Recueil de Travaux* 4 [1883] p. 149, no. xxxviii [inscription only]).

68. Chicago Art Institute 10.243 (*ESLP*, no. 91, pl. 85, figs. 226–227).

69. Thus their products are called archaistic, for they are patterned on works that are themselves archaizing; they are twice removed from the original. See *ESLP*, p. xxxvii and the remarks on the Chicago statuette, *ESLP*, pp. 114–116.

ADDENDUM: The frequent occurrence of archaism in Egyptian art, particularly art of the Late Period, and the problems involved in recognizing and evaluating it, have been much discussed in the above pages. A statue that came to my attention only after the manuscript had been completed serves to illustrate these points only too well. It is a Fifth Dynasty statue in wood representing one Akhtyhotep, found in his tomb at Saqqara. (Abd el-Hamid Zayed, "Le tombeau d'Akhtyhotep à Saqqara," *ASAE* 55 [1958] pp. 127-137. The statue under discussion is briefly referred to, along with other statuary from the tomb, on p. 136; it is illustrated on pls. ix, xii, xiii, and xv. The size is not given). Although the piece is, in most respects, typical for the period, the workmanship is excellent. Its great interest for our purposes lies in the fact that the gastrocnemius muscle is clearly indicated on the back of the right leg. The advanced left leg has a bulging calf, but there is apparently no trace of the muscle (the different conformations of the two legs may be seen on Zayed's pls. xiii and xv). It would seem that we have here another example of the often subtle naturalism of the finest Old Kingdom sculpture: presumably the right leg is being tensed in the moment just before the heel is lifted off the ground to take another step.

This observation of an early representation of the calf muscle makes it seem quite probable that its depiction in the Late Period was not, as I had thought, an innovation. On the contrary, for this detail, as for so many

others, the sculptors had revived an Old Kingdom usage; and, just as in the case of the tensed forearm muscle, they applied it to a different, and altogether less appropriate, pose. The detail can never have been common; it would seem, therefore, that sculptors of the early Late Period sought out the finest of Old Kingdom works as models. But the naturalism and close observation embodied in such pieces were of less interest to them than the depictions of individual muscles which they used quite arbitrarily to heighten the effect of tension in their sculpture. It may also be significant that Akhtyhotep's statue comes from the Memphite necropolis: exemplars from the same cemetery may account for the fact that representation of the calf muscle seems to be concentrated at Memphis and the Delta sites.

SOURCES ABBREVIATED

- ASAE*—*Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte*
BIFAO—*Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale*
 CLES—Corpus of Late Egyptian Sculpture, Department of Egyptian and Classical Art, The Brooklyn Museum
ESLP—Bernard V. Bothmer et al., *Egyptian Sculpture of the Late Period* (Brooklyn, 1960)
ZÄS—*Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde*

Excavations at Agrab Tepe, Iran

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FIGURE 1

View north from south ridge, past Dalma village. At center, Agrab Tepe. To the right, in the plain, Dalma Tepe. The village of Shetanabad, just west of Hasanlu, is at the upper right

AGRAB TEPE is one of three mounds lying close to the modern village of Dalma in northwestern Iran (Figure 1), southwest of Hasanlu in the Solduz Valley near the low ridge that separates the Hasanlu plain from the modern town of Nagadeh. Of the three mounds, one called Dalma Tepe was excavated in 1961 and yielded Neolithic remains.¹ The third mound is still unexcavated.

1. T. Cuyler Young, Jr., "Taking the History of the Hasanlu area back another five thousand years . . .," *ILN* (Nov. 3, 1962) pp. 707 ff.; R. H. Dyson, Jr., "Excavating the Mannaeen Citadel of Hasanlu . . .," *ILN* (Sept. 30, 1961) pp. 534 f. References to Agrab Tepe: Dyson 1965, p. 212 f., pl. XLIII, fig. 12; R. H. Dyson, Jr., "Hasanlu and the Solduz Valley," *Archeologia Viva* 1 (1968) p. 85; Young 1967, p. 30; W. Kleiss, "Zur Ausbreitung Urartus nach Osten," *Istanbul. Mitt.* 19–20 (1967–70) pp. 127, 129; also his "Bericht über Zwei Erkundungsfahrten in Nordwest-Iran," *AMI* 2 (1969) p. 26.

The distance between Hasanlu and Agrab is approximately two miles, about a forty-five-minute walk from one site to the other; the sites are also visible to each other, but the low ridge to the south cuts off the view of the Nagadeh plain from Agrab. A modern road that connects Nagadeh to points north passes by Agrab about a half-mile to its west; it cannot be established if this road follows an ancient track. Before excavation the mound was about 52 meters in diameter and about 6 meters in height. A spring that caused the surrounding land to be swampy and impassible in 1964 exists about 100 meters to the southwest. The site was built directly over a rock outcrop, the only one visible in the area (Figure 2).

In 1964 the Hasanlu Project, a joint project of the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania and the Metropolitan Museum of Art, decided to exca-

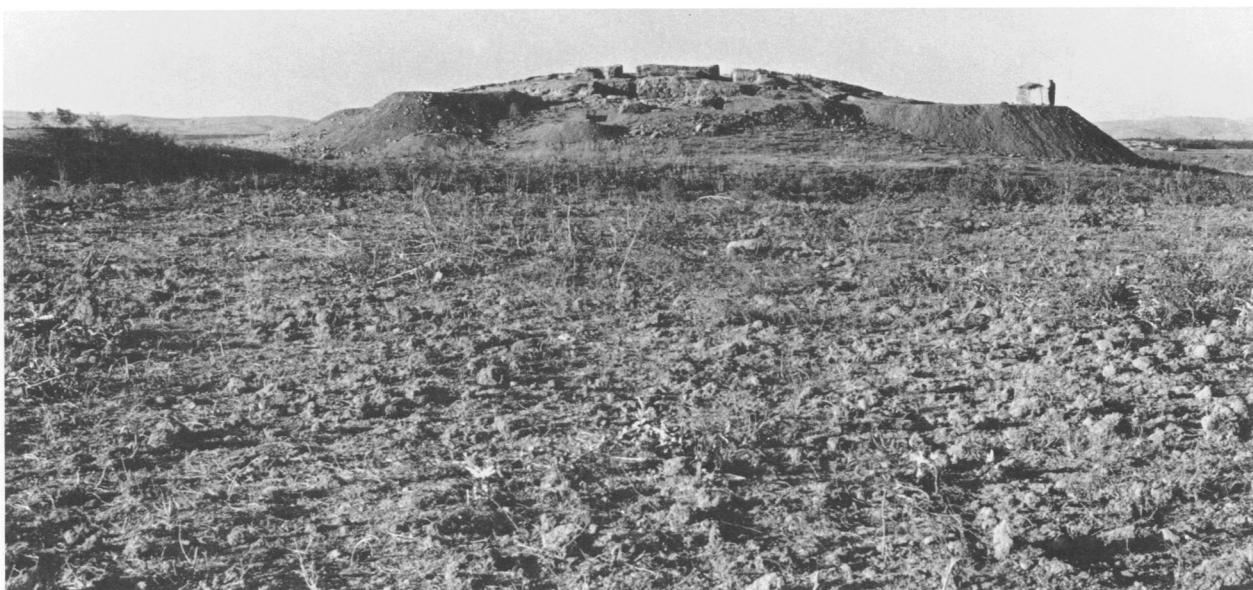


FIGURE 2

Agrab Tepe from the south, after completion of the excavations

FIGURE 3

Plan of Agrab Tepe

vate a second mound at Dalma as part of its ongoing plan to collect archaeological and cultural data of the Solduz Valley, south of Lake Urmia (Rezaiyeh). Work at Hasanlu had to be suspended while we worked at Agrab, and we were able to devote a total time of three full weeks to the completion of our task. The mound had no local name. Since it was thought that the use of the name "Dalma No. 2" would cause confusion with respect to the Neolithic mound, it was decided to refer to the site as Agrab Tepe.²

Agrab Tepe consists of a single large building built over a rock outcrop (Figures 3, 4). The building is a fortified structure with thick outer defensive walls whose interior surface also functioned as walls of the rooms. The defensive wall consists of a foundation of large, roughly cut stone blocks with small stones used for chinking (Figures 5, 6, 9), and with a brick superstructure. Eight buttresses or piers and a massive

tower-entrance flanked by two piers project from the walls. In plan the structure is irregular, looking like a flattened oval at one end, with no obvious compass orientation. It measures about 31 meters east-west and about 28 meters north-south.

The walls are 1.90 to 2.00 meters thick, except for the two units east of the entry tower; the first unit varies from about 1.80 to 2.00 meters, the second from about 1.50 to 1.65 meters. The eight piers are irregularly spaced, varying from 4.5 to 5.7 meters distance from each other. Their width also varies from 3.00 to 3.70 meters; and their projection from the wall varies from 1.10 to 1.30 meters. If the structure were not so well made one could assume some haste in the building activities reflected by these irregular measurements.

The entrance unit is a tower 9 meters in width, projecting 7 meters from the defensive wall. Its south wall is 4.30 meters thick, and is preserved to a height of five courses of stone measuring 3.70 meters on its outer side and 3.00 meters on its inner side, where it

FIGURE 4

Sections of Agrab Tepe

2. Scores of scorpions were killed, hence the name "Scorpion Mound." The staff consisted of T. Cuyler Young, Jr., and the author as co-directors, Louis D. Levine and Ted Rathbun as archaeologists, and Ed Keall, architect. The director of the Hasanlu Project, whose advice in the production of this report I here acknowledge with thanks, was R. H. Dyson, Jr. I also take pleasure in expressing my thanks to T. Cuyler Young, Jr., and Louis D. Levine for commenting critically on many items discussed in this report. For a good map of northwestern Iran, Kleiss, "Bericht über Zwei Erkundungsfahrten," fig. 1.

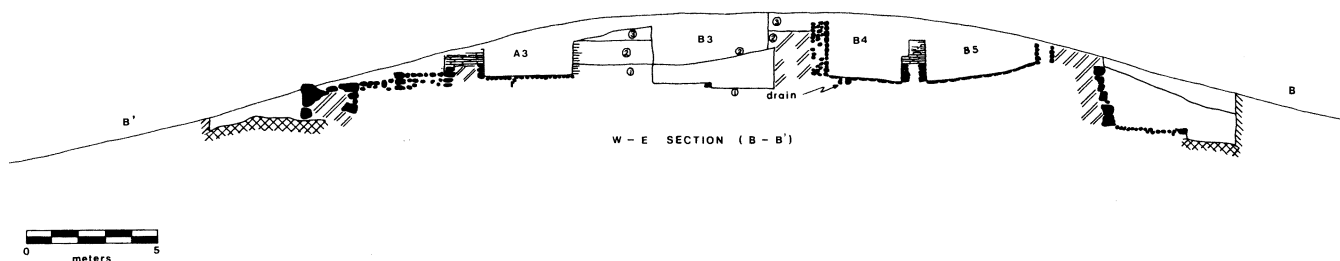
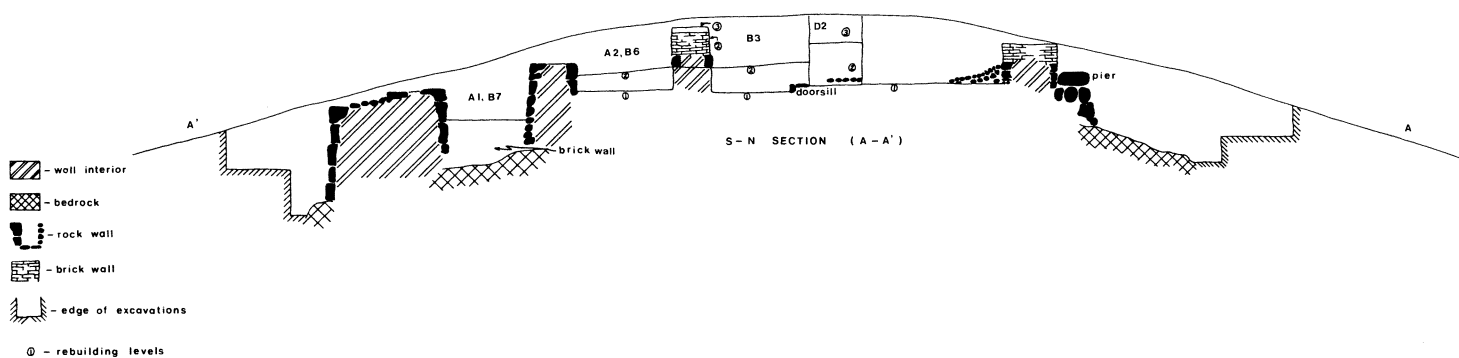
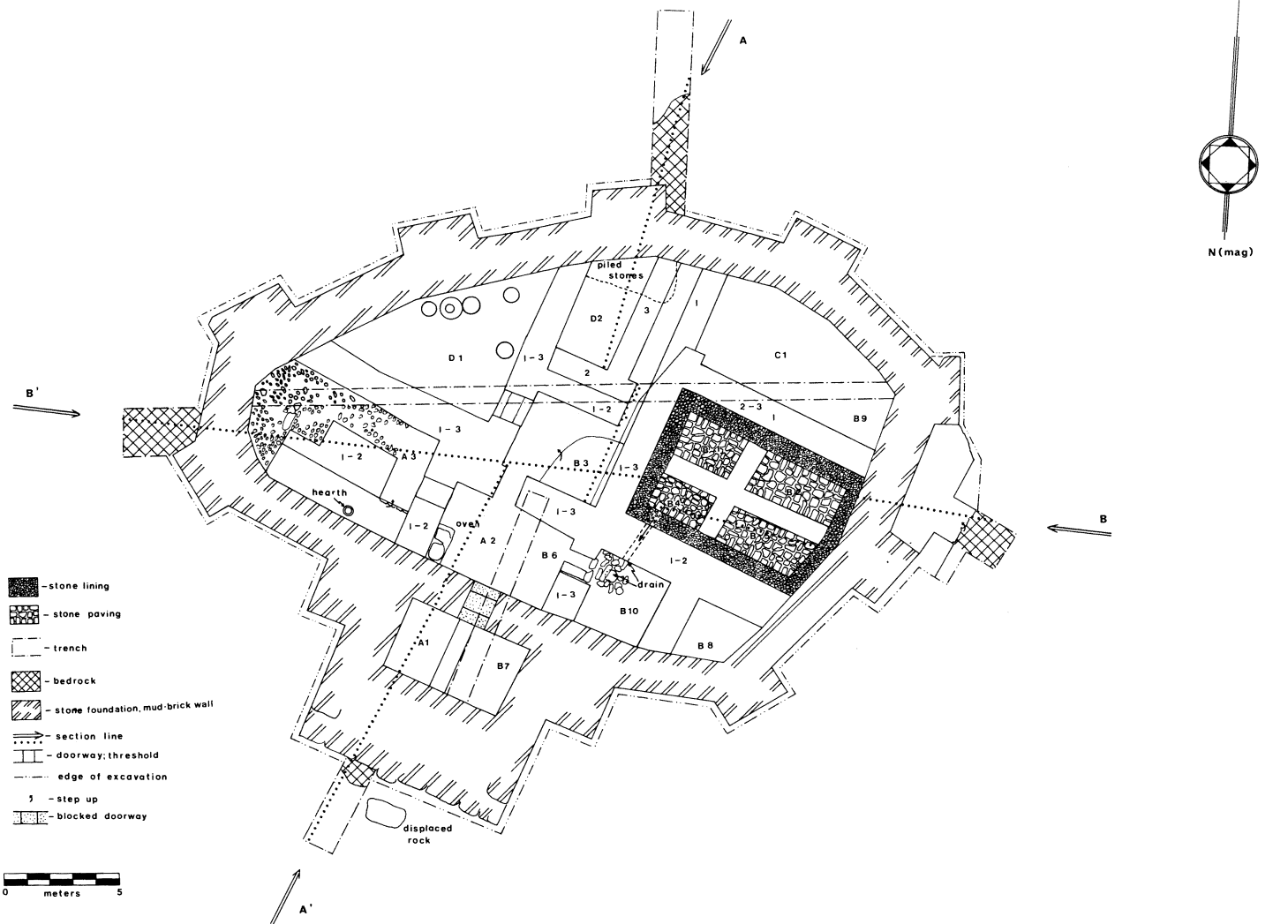




FIGURE 5
Tower-entrance, shaft, and blocked door, facing north



FIGURE 6
Tower-entrance shaft, with bedrock, facing north

rests on the rock surface (Figures 4, 6). Originally the tower must have been at least seven or eight courses and another meter in height, to judge by the preserved height of the defensive wall. The side walls are 2.00 meters thick, becoming 4.20 meters thick when joined to the corner piers; the latter begin 5.10 meters in from the front of the tower.

Within the tower there is a shaft measuring 5.5×3.30 meters, and 3.40 meters deep to bedrock on the north end (Figures 3, 4, 5, 6). A mud-brick wall .70 wide and 1.90 meters in height divided the shaft into two areas. No obvious means of entry into the shaft exists, and presumably a ladder was employed. Nor is there any evidence available to suggest how one entered the tower from the plain below. Presumably a door existed in the now destroyed brick superstructure, and one has to assume that a ramp, or ladder, probably portable, allowed access from the plain below. No other primary function for the tower other than that of an entrance unit, or gateway, comes readily to mind.

Directly in the center of the defensive wall facing the tower, the north wall of the shaft, was a doorway 1.25 meters wide, with a large stone used as a sill (Figures 5, 6). The door was eventually filled in with stones and a new sill was built at what seemed to be level 2 (counting from the bottom up) of room A2/B6. Whether this door served only as a passage to and from the tower, or served also in some manner as an entry to the shaft, is not clear. In any event, there is no other indication of a passage from the tower to the main structure.

The structure as preserved consists of thirteen rooms or areas, most of the walls of which are constructed of brick, sometimes set on a single course, 10 to 20 cm. in height, on stone foundation, other times set right on the floor surface. In rebuilding, sometimes a stone foundation layer was placed over an earlier wall stub, other times the new wall was placed directly on the stub. Brick size is uniform throughout the structure, $10/12 \times 49/50 \times 49/50$ cm. The walls were coated with a thick layer of mud plaster.



FIGURE 7
Draining system in B10. The wall has been cut away.

A rectangular room, A2/B6, 5.30×3.60 meters, led to most of the other rooms and to the stairway area to the west. To the right is a small room, B10, 3.30×3.00 meters. In Period 2 it had a drain constructed of a small sunken pithos surrounded by flat stones; this was connected to a draining system originating in B4 (Figure 7). During Period 2 the doorway of B10 was narrowed by the addition of two stubs of brick.

Abutting B10 is a small triangular room, B8, 3.10×2.75 meters. In Period 1 this room had a door in its northeast corner (not shown on the plan) that entered into the area called B5. During the rebuilding of Period 2 this doorway was blocked. B8 was either abandoned in Period 2 or was entered from above.

West of room A2/B6 is a rubble-surfaced area, A3, enclosing a rectangular brick pier that must be interpreted as a support for a stairway. A3 flanks the stairway support on three sides and continues up to the fortification wall at the west; the area south of the stairway support was unsurfaced and had a round

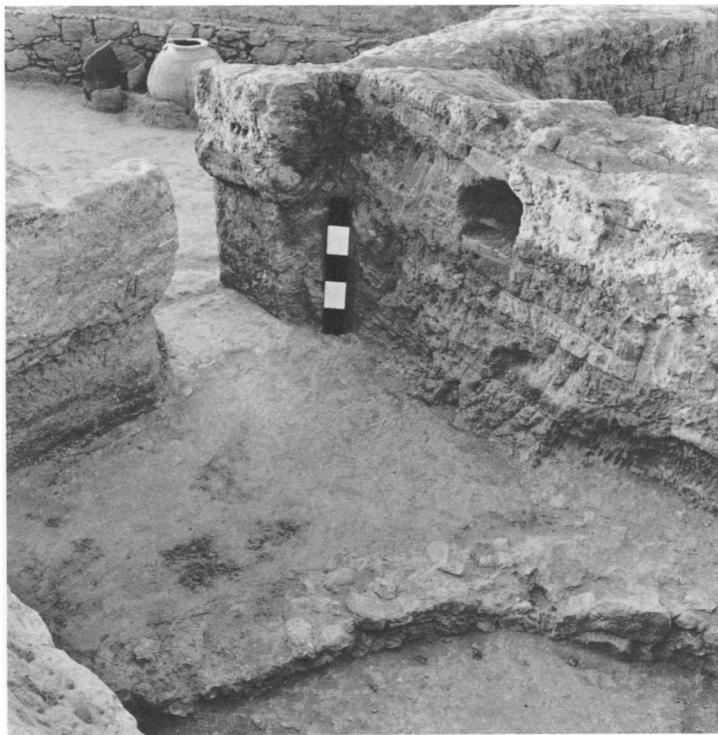


FIGURE 8
Room D3, D1 beyond

terracotta hearth in Period 1. Except for those rooms entered from above by a ladder, one presumably had to use this stairway to communicate between stories, and perhaps to reach the battlements. The stairway was entered directly from A2/B6, which in turn served as a passage to the other rooms. One is here reminded of the entrance system used at Hasanlu IV, where stairways were placed in a room to one side of the anteroom.

Directly to the north of room A2/B6 is room B3, 4.20×3.60 meters. It is connected by doors to rooms D1 and D2. A curious stone-edged semicircular step-down, about .25 deep and 1.25 meters in diameter, exists in the room's southeast corner, taking up about half the room's space (Figure 8). Nothing was found to suggest what its function might have been.

Room D1 is triangular in shape and abuts onto the defensive wall (Figures 8, 9); its two walls are each about 3.50 meters in length. This area no doubt functioned as a kitchen and storage room, since many



FIGURE 9
Room D1, facing east



FIGURE 10
Room C1, D2 beyond, facing west

animal bones and occupational trash were found in the fill and on the floor; also, five pithoi were excavated in situ resting on the floor (Figures 3, 8, 9), four of these against the defensive wall, and sherds of others were found in the fill.

Room D2, 2.50×1.85 meters, also abutted onto the defensive wall (Figures 10, 11). It apparently functioned as a storeroom, for a large pile of stones, presumably slingstones, was found resting in the northwest area against the defensive wall. Remains of a late wall, apparently Period 2 or 3, ran north-south; the slingstones were found partly under it, resting on the primary floor. The south wall of D2, seen on the plan as a double wall, actually consists of several wall periods.

Room C1, 4×8.5 meters (Figures 10, 11), abutted against the defensive wall. In Period 1 a long north-south wall (no door is visible in the low wall stub, but it could have eroded away) divided the area from D2 and continued further south. In Period 2 a wall running along the line of the earlier wall, but slightly dis-

placed to the east, was built; only a stump, which projects into C1, now remains (the stone foundation is visible in Figures 10, 11); presumably it continued to the defensive wall. In the fill and on the floor of C1 were found charred grain, stone pounders, several smashed pithoi, and sherds, suggesting a work and storage room.

The rooms to the south of C1 are the most unusual of the structure. A large rectangular room, 6.00×9.00 meters, was subdivided into four rectangular rooms of unequal size by a cross-wall of brick resting on a stone foundation (Figures 3, 4, 12). The cross-wall was built against a well-made outer wall, 70 cm. thick, constructed of small stones, which in turn was built against the brick walls of the neighboring rooms, and also against the defensive wall. This stone wall was constructed as one unit before the subdivision of the area. In addition, the floors of the whole area were paved with flat stones one layer thick. A layer of earth about 15 to 20 cm. thick separates the paved floor from the foundations of the cross-wall (Figure 12); it is therefore



FIGURE 11
Room D2, C1 beyond, facing east

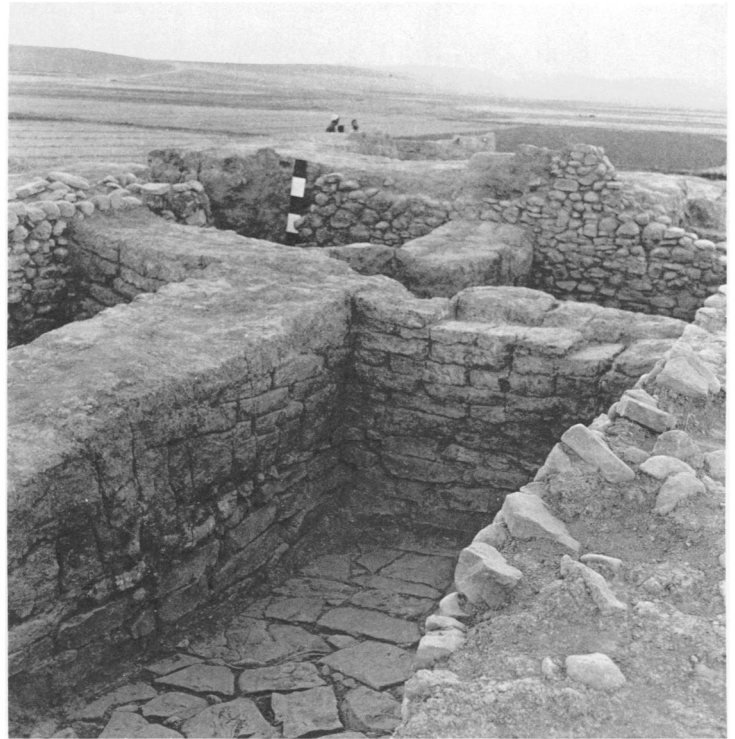


FIGURE 12
Rooms B1, 2, 4, 5, facing east

clear that the paved room with its stone-lined walls existed as one large area for a time before it was subdivided. The floors of the four rooms now all slope slightly toward the center of the area. It is not clear if this represents a sagging (presuming the flooring was not laid directly on the bedrock) or an original plan. A stone-lined and capped draining system, 3.30 meters long, 25 cm. high, and 15 cm. wide, was constructed through both the southwest corner of the stone wall in B4 and the neighboring brick wall. It emptied into the drain in the northwest corner of B10 (Figure 7); no drains existed in the other stone-paved rooms. Presumably the drain was built before the subdivision occurred.

The particular time in the history of the building when the area was given a stone lining, was paved, and was subsequently subdivided seems fairly clear. The stone lining wall was built against the brick wall of Period 2, which itself rests on the stub of the earlier Period 1 wall, and which blocked the doorway entering into B8. Therefore, the lining and paving belong to the

second construction period and the subdivision to a later phase of this period. No doorways exist to connect the four rooms to each other or to the neighboring rooms, nor is there any indication that the abutting brick walls once had doors. Thus here, as with rooms C1 and B8, entry was doubtless from above. This feature at Agrab plus the stairway makes it certain that another story existed over the level preserved to us.

The nature of this particular area within the Agrab structure remains a mystery. Surely the elaborate walling, paving, partitioning, and draining system reflect a function not shared by the other rooms. Was it originally built as a bathing area? Could it have been built as a rodent-proof, moisture-free storage room? Pithoi fragments were found in Room 1, and animal bones were found in the fill of areas 1, 2, and 4, but these could have fallen from a higher story. The problem remains unresolved.

Several test trenches were dug outside the defensive wall, in the north, south, east, and west. Nothing but bedrock was encountered in three of these trenches,

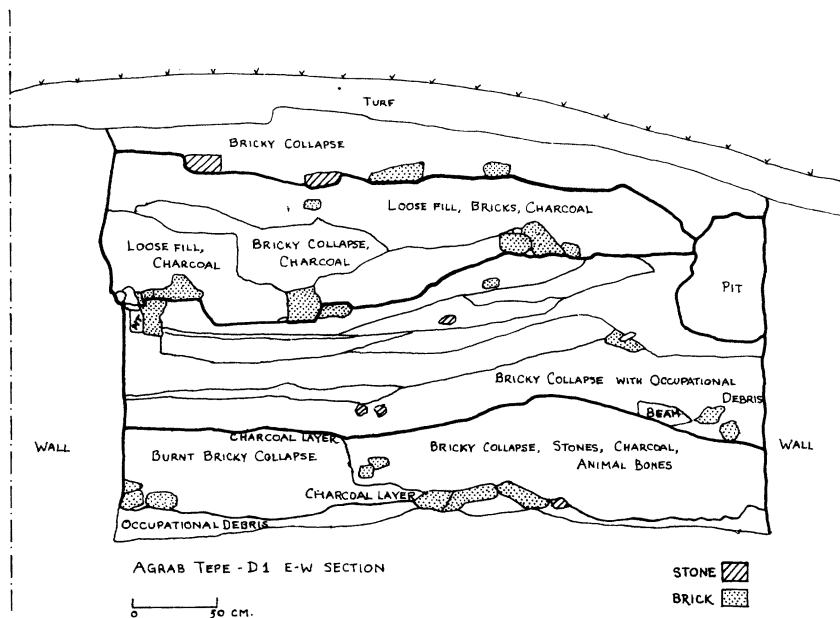


FIGURE 13
Section of room D1

FIGURE 14
Pottery from Agrab Tepe

but in the east trench a small enclosed space was excavated. It was formed by two short brick walls projecting from the front of the two piers, and creating an open doorway 1.75 meters wide. The walls are two bricks wide, or from 1.00 to 1.10 meters thick. The sill was also of brick and exited to the bare rock below. There was no visible means of communication between this space and the main unit, nor was there any visible means of closing the door in the space. Three arrowheads, a bone spatula, a bead, and a grinding ball were found here in the fill. Perhaps the unit served as a temporary postern-gate area.

The building at Agrab Tepe was destroyed at least twice by fire and rebuilt using the same basic plan, thus creating three periods. During most of the course of excavation this fact was not recognized for several reasons. The rebuilt walls were placed directly over the earlier walls (Figures 8-10). The heat generated by the fires was quite intense and vitrified the plaster, which made it difficult to clear wall faces. This situation prevented us from seeing wall stratification and offsets of later walls over earlier ones, which occurred in a few cases. Moreover, in only a room or two were there any floors preserved from Period 2, as these floors were not hard, nor were they regular (Figure 13). Thus we assumed that we were digging a site with one occupational level. When we were able both to read the sec-

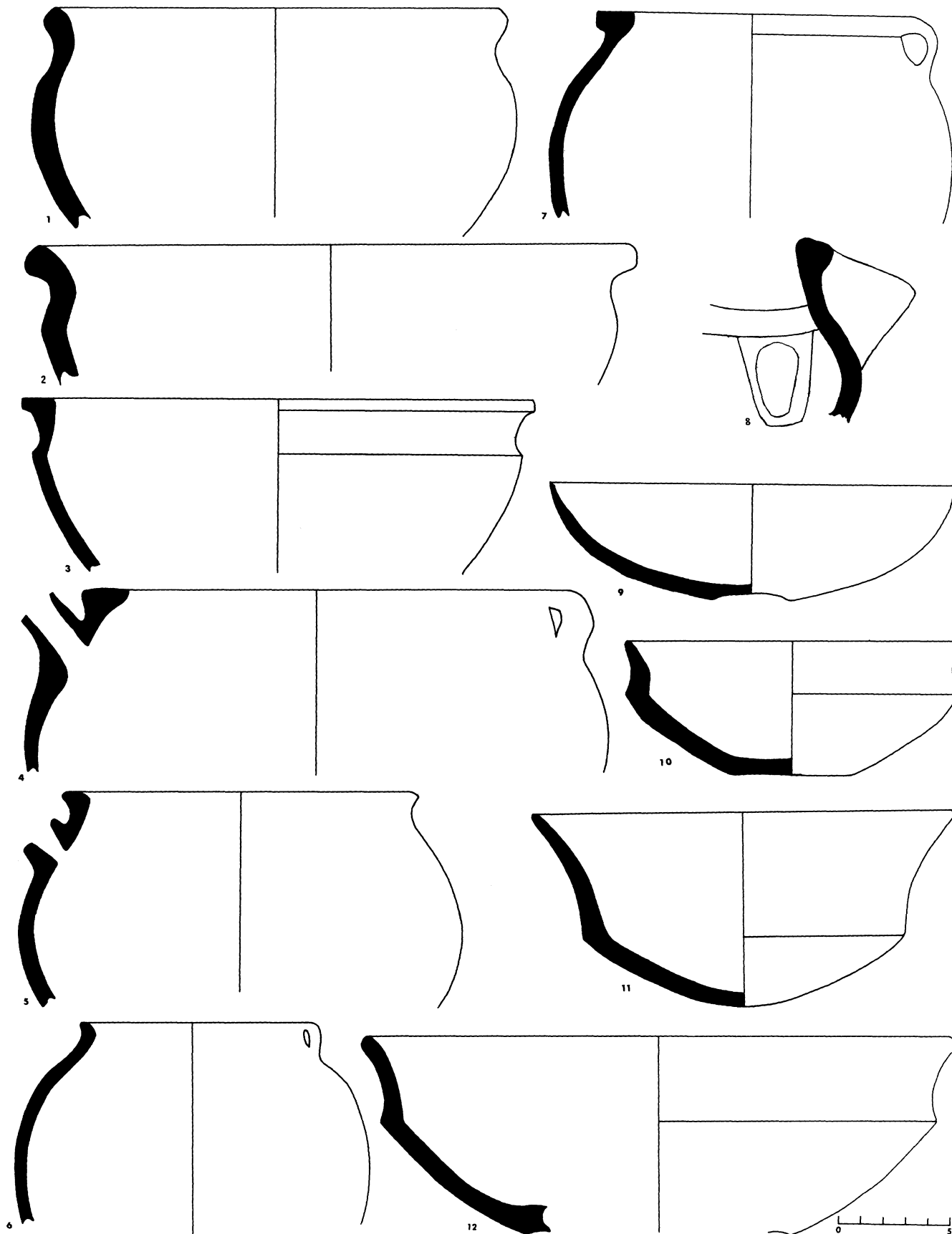
tions and examine the walls closely, we concluded that Agrab had several levels. By this time the digging was basically finished and it became difficult in some cases to divide the pottery into the three levels. However, Period 3 was close to the surface and had no recognizable floors or remains as such, only sherds considered to be surface finds. An Islamic level, much denuded, had been cut into it and destroyed it. Also, many of the finds were in the fill over the primary floor level and presumably came from Period 1. Yet, one cannot be sure in all cases. In room D1 several pithoi were found on the primary floor, supplying us with important information.

The lack of good, firm floors in Period 2, plus the rebuilding on original plans, suggests that only a short amount of time elapsed after the first destruction before rebuilding, and that it too may have been rapidly rebuilt and only briefly inhabited in Period 3.

OBJECTS EXCAVATED :

Pottery

BOWLS WITH ROLLED RIMS: Figure 14, 1 and 2, plus more sherds; coarse ware, buff, lightly burnished. Related bowls come from Hasanlu IIIB and A (Young 1965, fig. 6, 5); Bastam (Kroll 1970, fig. 6); Godin II



0 5
0 10
no. 5, 6, 7

Young 1969, fig. 44, 13, 15); Baba Jan A (Goff Meade 1968, fig. 10, 4); see also Zendan (Boehmer 1961, pl. 60, 5; pl. 55, 14).

CARINATED BOWLS WITH SQUARE RIMS: Figure 14, 3, two examples; coarse ware, buff, unburnished. Related bowls are from Hasanlu IIIA;³ Godin II (Young 1969, fig. 43, 14); Pasargadae, unpublished; Geoy Tepe A (Burton-Brown 1951, fig. 36, 357).

POTS WITH OBLIQUE SHOULDER SPOUTS: Figure 14, 4, with handle, 5; three more examples, one with handle; coarse ware, buff, unburnished. Related pots are from Hasanlu IIIB (Young 1965, fig. 2, 5); Geoy Tepe A (Burton-Brown 1951, fig. 35, 126; fig. 40, 1644; fig. 41, 113); Godin II (Young 1969, fig. 42, 17); Norşuntepe (Hauptmann 1970, fig. 16, 12; fig. 17, 3; fig. 18, 1, earliest Iron Age level); cf. Altintepe, later level (Emre 1969, pl. v, 1); Achaemenid Village (Ghirshman 1954, pl. xxix, G.S. 1206b, G.S. 959).

POTS WITH ONE HANDLE: Figure 14, 6 and 7; coarse ware, buff, unburnished. Similar vessels come from Hasanlu IIIB; Geoy Tepe A (Burton-Brown 1951, fig. 35, 106).

LIP SPOUT: Figure 14, 8, one example; buff, smoothed surface, medium grit interior. Related spouts are from Hasanlu IIIB and A (Dyson 1965, pp. 205, 212, note 36); Geoy Tepe A (Burton-Brown 1951, pl. 39, 219); Zendan (Boehmer 1961, pl. 45, 21; pl. 51, 21); Ziwiye, unpublished (Young 1965, fig. 10 chart); Achaemenid Village I (Ghirshman 1954, pl. xxix, G.S. 2242); Luristan (Goff Meade 1968, p. 123, fig. 11, 14, Iron III); Vanden Berghe 1967, pl. 59, no. 2); Masjid-i-Suleiman (Ghirshman 1970, p. 184, pl. ivb).

PLAIN BOWLS WITH INCURVING SIDES, PINCHED RIMS: Figure 14, 9; one buff, red-slipped, burnished with fine paste; two others, without hollow base, buff, smoothed surface. Related bowl shapes are known from Hasanlu IIIB and A (Young 1965, fig. 1, 1); Ziwiye (*ibid.*, fig. 3, 1); Bastam (Kroll 1970, fig. 1, 1; pl. 2, 1, 2); Godin II (Young 1969, fig. 43, 2); Achaemenid Village II (Ghirshman 1954, pl. xxxvii, G.S. 1219f); Norşuntepe (Hauptmann 1970, fig. 23, 1, middle Iron Age); Armavir Blue (Barnett 1963, fig. 19, bottom). Hollow-based bowls, not to be confused with omphalos bowls, occur at Agrab in the earliest period and in the fill. They also occur at Hasanlu IIIB (Young 1965, fig. 1, 2); Sé Girdan (Muscarella 1971a, fig. 29); Qalatgah surface (Muscarella 1971b, p. 46); Godin II (Young 1969, pl. 44, 6, 7; also earlier in Godin III, fig. 32, 7, 8); Altin-

FIGURE 15

Pottery from Agrab Tepe

tepe, earlier level (Emre 1969, p. 295, fig. 12); cf. also Karageorghis 1962, p. 114, and pls. 144, 145, 148, 149, 156, 166, 171, dated to the early sixth century B.C. The hollow base seems to be a variant of the omphalos, which occurs in Iron III also. Bowls from Igdyr (Barnett 1963, fig. 15) may be hollow based, rather than omphaloi.

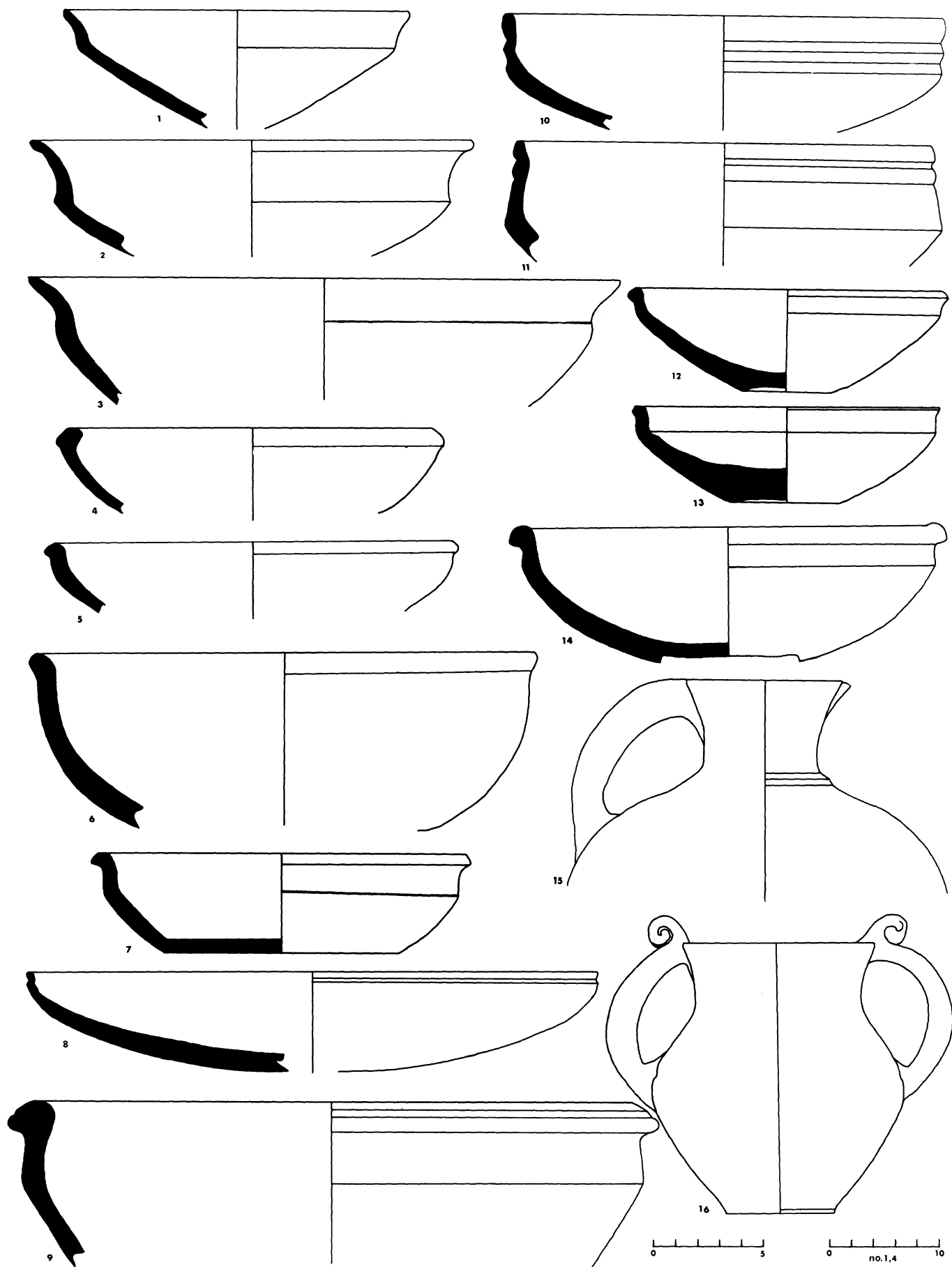
BOWLS WITH WIDE FLARING COLLAR AND PINCHED RIM: Figure 14, 11; one example is coarse, buff, unburnished, another is buff, with a smoothed surface, a third is burnished buff orange ware, with a fine paste. Similar bowls occur at Hasanlu IIIA; Ziwiye (Young 1965, fig. 3, 11; cf. 6, 9, 12, with omphalos); Zendan II (Boehmer 1961, pl. 50, 7, 8, with omphalos; Boehmer 1967, pp. 577, 580, fig. 8, A-C; also fig. 8 for Ziwiye and for 7th-century Nimrud examples); Yanik Tepe (Burney 1962, pl. xlv, 36, but painted); Qalatgah surface (Muscarella 1971b, p. 47); Altintepe, later level (Emre 1969, p. 299, pl. v, 1); Norşuntepe (Hauptmann 1970, fig. 21, 4, middle Iron Age); Persepolis (Schmidt 1957, pl. 72, 1); Pasargadae, unpublished; Gordion, Persian level (R. Young 1962, pl. 41, fig. 1a, b); Samos, wood (Köpcke 1967, p. 119, fig. 6, 7th-6th century B.C.).

CARINATED BOWLS WITH PINCHED OR SLIGHTLY ROLLED RIM: Figure 14, 10 and 12, hollow base, Figure 15, 1 and 2; these vessels occur in a variety of surfaces: coarse ware buff; burnished buff; coarse buff, slightly burnished; buff, smoothed surface; two (like Figure 14, 12 and Figure 15, 1) are red-slipped buff; one (like Figure 15, 2) is gray burnished. Similar bowls are found at Hasanlu III B and A (Young 1965, fig. 1, 2, 4; fig. 2, 6; cf. also Hasanlu IV, fig. 6, 2, 4); Bastam (Kroll 1970, fig. 1, 2, 8); Ziwiye (Young 1965, fig. 3, 14); Zendan I, II (Boehmer 1961, pl. 56, 23-25); Godin II (Young 1969, fig. 44, 17, 18); Haftavan (Burney 1970, p. 170, 6); Baba Jan I (Goff 1970, fig. 8, 7); Armavir Blur (Barnett 1963, fig. 19, top); Patnos (Ankara Museum); Kef Kalesi (Ögün 1967, fig. 16); Van (von der Osten 1952, pl. viii, 3, 4).

BOWLS WITH EVERTED RIMS: Figure 15, 3; red-slipped buff ware. Similar bowls occur in Hasanlu IIIA; Ziwiye, unpublished; Zendan (Boehmer 1961, pl. 50, 9); Godin II (Young 1969, fig. 43, 3); Yanik Tepe (Burney, 1962, pl. xlv, 33, painted); see also Igdyr (Barnett 1963, fig. 16, bottom) red polished; and Van (von der Osten 1952, p. 325, pl. vi, 1).

BOWLS WITH INWARD-CURVING ROLLED RIMS: Figure 15, 4, coarse, buff ware; 5, red-slipped, burnished; 6,

3. When Hasanlu IIIB and A appear without a reference it means that I found the vessel in the Hasanlu files of the University Museum.



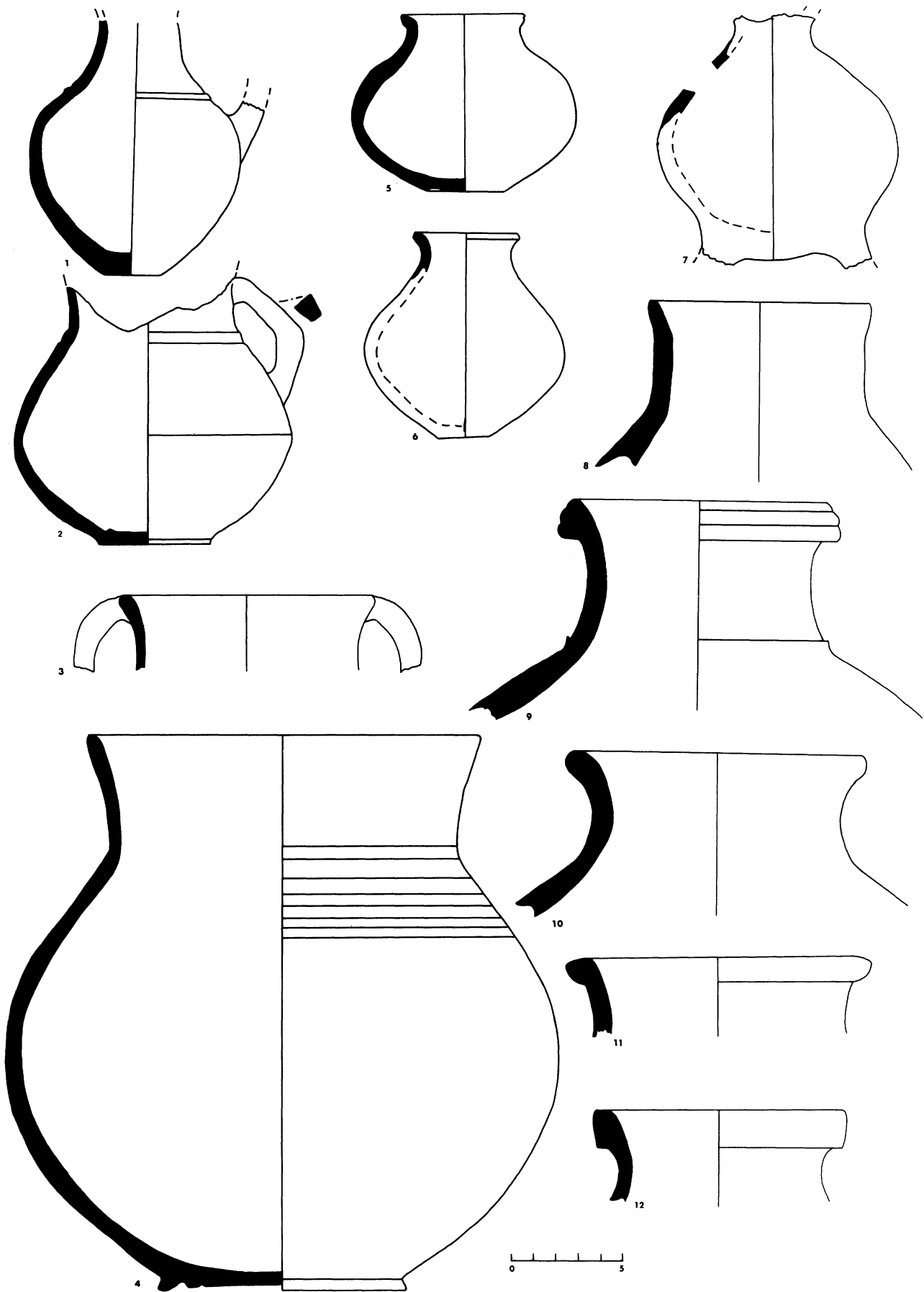


FIGURE 16

Pottery from Agrab Tepe

coarse, buff; 7, red-slipped, burnished; others, like 4 and 5, red-slipped, burnished. Such bowls are known from Hasanlu IIIB and A (Dyson 1965, p. 204, fig. 13; Young 1965, fig. 1, 3, 5; common in IIIB); Ziwiye (*ibid.*, fig. 3, 19); Bastam (Kroll 1970, fig. 1, 10; fig. 3, 1, 7; fig. 4, 3); Baba Jan I (Goff Meade 1968, fig. 8, 9); Noršuntepe (Hauptmann 1970, fig. 23, 3, 4); Altintepe, earlier period (Emre 1969, fig. 8, 10; pl. II, 1, 2); Van (von der Osten 1952, pl. VIII, 1).

BOWLS WITH ROLLED AND GROOVED RIMS: Figure 15, 8, burnished gray ware, fine paste; 9, buff, smoothed surface. Similar shapes occur at Hasanlu IIIA; Ziwiye (Young 1965, fig. 3, 4, 5); Godin II (Young 1969, fig. 43, 11).

CARINATED BOWLS WITH GROOVED COLLARS: Figure 15, 10, buff, smoothed surface; 11, burnished gray ware. Similar forms occur at Hasanlu IIIB; Geoy Tepe A (Burton-Brown 1951, fig. 36, 643); Godin II (Young 1969, pl. 43, 12); cf. Noršuntepe (Hauptmann 1970, fig. 18, 4; fig. 21, 3); Achaemenid Village (Ghirshman 1954, pl. xxxvii, G.S. 1219g).

CARINATED BOWLS WITH SLIGHTLY ROLLED RIMS: Figure 15, 12 (64-4), 13 (64-3) from fill over A3 primary floor; buff, smoothed surface, with slip on interior and exterior; 14, with square hollow base, from primary floor of B6, red-slipped, burnished. Similar forms are found at Hasanlu IIIB, also, in one case at least, with a squared hollow base; Ziwiye (Young 1965, fig. 3, 3); Zendan (Boehmer 1961, pl. 56, 16, 17); Bastam (Kroll 1970, fig. 4, 2); Godin II (Young 1969, fig. 43, 4).

TREFOIL PITCHERS: Figure 15, 15; buff, burnished, medium grit. Similar pitchers, with or without shoulder grooves, occur at Hasanlu IIIB and A (Dyson 1965, fig. 13, lower right; Young 1965, fig. 2, 7); Bastam (Kroll 1970, fig. 1, 7; fig. 2, 6); Baba Jan I (Goff 1970, fig. 8, 1); Achaemenid Village II (Ghirshman 1954, pl. xxxviii, G.S. 1221d); Altintepe (Emre 1969, fig. 17, 18); Karmir Blur (Piotrovskii 1959, fig. 51; Piotrovskii 1969, pl. 49, 50); Igdyr (Barnett 1963, fig. 20, 2); also at other Urartian sites; Noršuntepe (Hauptmann 1970, fig. 22, 10, middle Iron Age).

JAR WITH ROLLED TAB HANDLES: Figure 15, 16; buff ware (Dyson 1965, 213, fig. 13, listed in the IIIA section). Similar handles on pots occur at Hasanlu IV (Young 1965, fig. 2, 3); Geoy Tepe A (Burton-Brown 1951, fig. 36, 102; fig. 37, 120); see also *Trésors de l'Ancien Iran* (Geneva, 1966) fig. 64, catalogue no. 672.

ONE-HANDLED PITCHERS: Figure 16, 1 (64-24), 2 (64-23), both from the fill over the floor of B10, and of Period 2; coarse ware, buff; 2 has a smoothed broken rim suggesting it was used after breaking. Similar pitchers occur at Hasanlu IIIB, Ziwiye, Giyan I, Sialk B (Dyson 1965, fig. 7); the neck of 1 is missing but the general shape looks like pitchers from Bastam (Kroll 1970, p. 73, fig. 1, 7), Altintepe (Emre 1969, fig. 17), Karmir Blur (Piotrovskii 1959, fig. 51), and at other Urartian sites; see also Noršuntepe (Hauptmann 1970, fig. 23, 7). At the Urartian sites this shape usually has a fine red polished surface.

JARS WITH TWO HANDLES: Figure 16, 3; buff, burnished, fine paste. Comparable jars may be seen at Godin (Young 1969, fig. 42, 1); Nush-i-Jan (Stronach 1969, fig. 6, 9; fig. 7, 2). None of these is an exact parallel.

POT WITH EVERTED NECK, SIMPLE PINCHED RIM, GROOVES AT SHOULDER: Figure 16, 4, Figure 17 (64-19); fill over the floor of B1 and belonging to Period 2; buff orange, burnished, medium grit paste; interior of jar is scraped, interior of neck is smoothed. Similar-shaped red-slipped vessels are found at Hasanlu IIIB (Young 1965, fig. 2, 8, 11, for shape); Ziwiye (*ibid.*, fig. 3, 7, 13); Zendan (Boehmer 1961, pl. 52, 2); Godin II (Young 1969, fig. 42, 15).

SMALL POTS WITH PLAIN OR SLIGHTLY ROLLED RIM: Figure 16, 5 (64-35), from primary floor of D1, and belonging to Period 1; buff, burnished, slightly hollow base; 6 (64-16), fill over primary floor of B6, also Period 1; buff, medium paste. Similar small pots occur

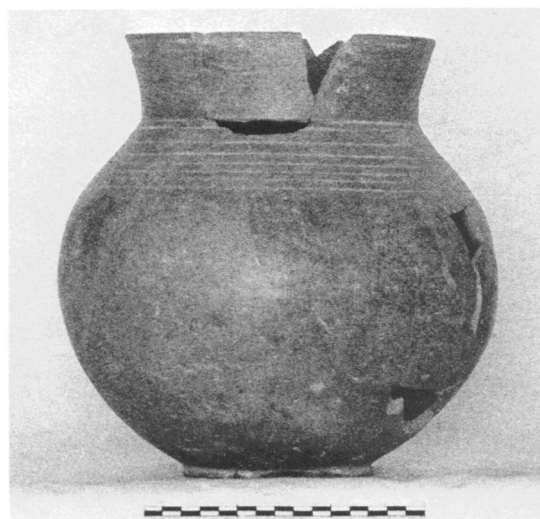
FIGURE 17
AG 64-19



FIGURE 18
AG 64-8

at Bastam (Kroll 1970, fig. 5, 5); Geoy Tepe A (Burton-Brown 1951, fig. 38, 20); Zendan (Boehmer 1961, pl. 50, 4); Ziwiye (Young 1965, fig. 3, 7); War Kabud (Vanden Berghe 1968, fig. 29, 3, 5).

TRIPOD JAR WITH HOLE AT SHOULDER: Figure 16, 7 (64-26), fill over floor of B10, and belonging to Period 2; buff, smoothed surface. The neck has no opening. Tripod vessels occur in Iran in the Bronze and Iron Ages: L. Vanden Berghe, *Archéologie de l'Iran ancien* (Leiden, 1959) pls. 111b, c, 115b, c, 145e, 146c, 165b, 167 (middle), 173a, b.

LARGE POT WITH ROLLED RIM: Figure 18 (64-8), ht. 33.5 cm.; from primary floor of A2, and belonging to Period 1; buff, burnished, medium grit paste. Parallels in shape occur at Haftavan (Burney 1970, fig. 8, 3, red burnished); Altintepe (Emre 1969, fig. 3); Igdyr (Barnett 1963, fig. 21, 4, 6, 7).

TRAY: ONE FRAGMENT OF COARSE WARE, BUFF. Trays occur at Hasanlu III (Young 1965, 75, fig. 12, apparently IIIA); Ziwiye (*ibid.*); Bastam (Kroll 1970, fig. 6, 5); Zendan (Boehmer 1961, pl. 60, 5, 16, 17, 18); Sé Girdan (Muscarella 1971a, fig. 30, upper left, and second from bottom); Qalatgah surface, unpublished. In the fill of B7 were found two base sherds of undetermined shape each of which has holes made before firing; they are probably not trays. A tray from Qalatgah, referred to above, has a hole in its center; and a vessel from Baba Jan (Goff Meade 1968, fig. 10, 26) has a hole in its center.

HIGH-NECKED JARS: Figure 16, 8-12, sherds of about five others; all are buff, smoothed surfaces, except 10 which is buff, burnished. Similar jars occur at Hasanlu IIIB and A; Ziwiye (Young 1965, fig. 3, 10); Bastam (Kroll 1970, fig. 3, 4, 5); Zendan (Boehmer 1961, fig. 30, 2-4, pl. 54, 6); Godin II (Young 1969, fig. 42, 3, 4, 6, 9, 14, 16); Pasargadae, unpublished; Altintepe (Emre 1969, fig. 2, 3, 5, 6).

BOWLS OR BASINS WITHOUT HANDLES: Figure 19, 1, coarse ware, buff; 2, buff, lightly burnished; fragments of two others that are coarse buff, and one that is buff, smoothed surface. Similar vessels occur at Hasanlu IIIB and A.

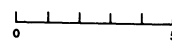
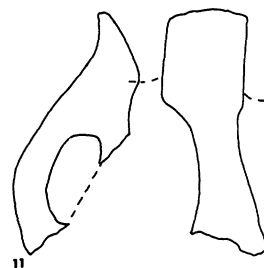
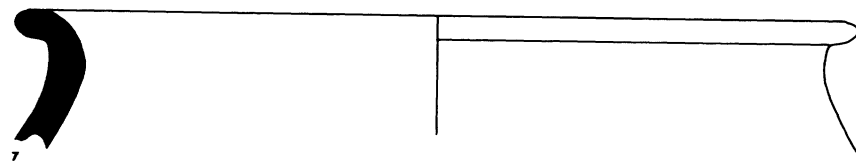
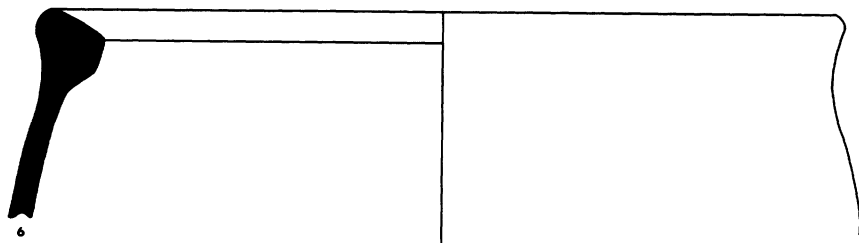
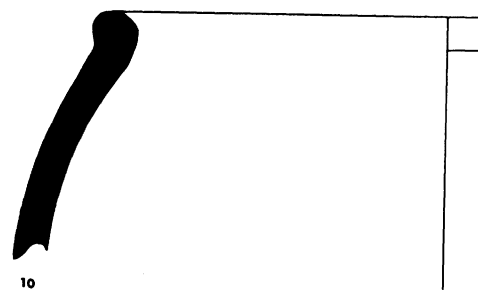
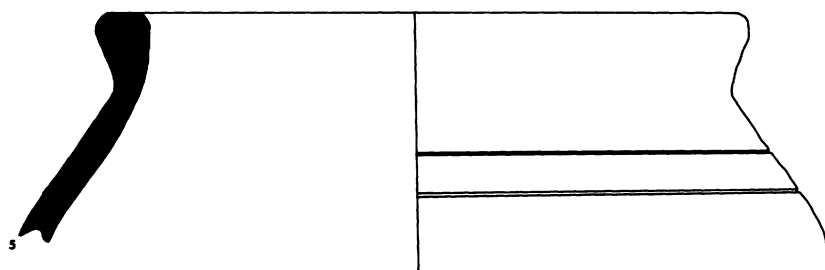
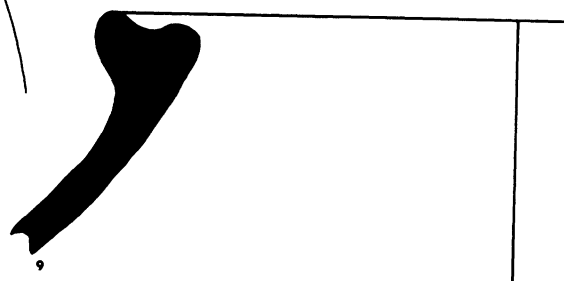
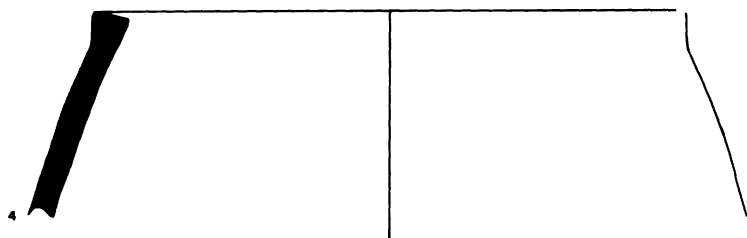
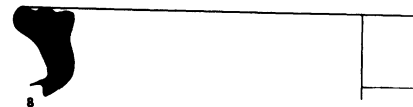
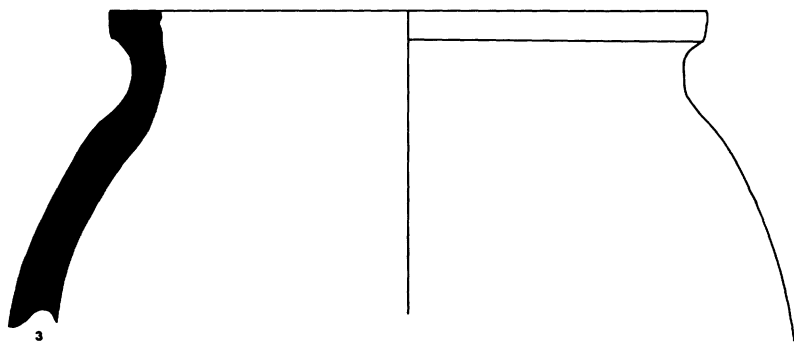
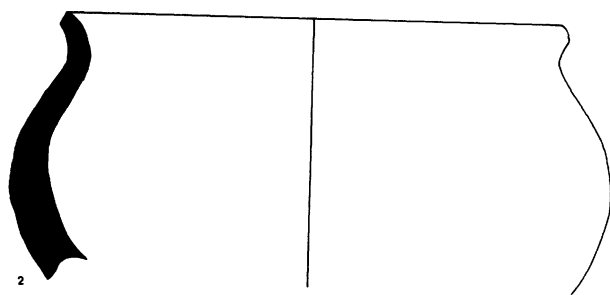
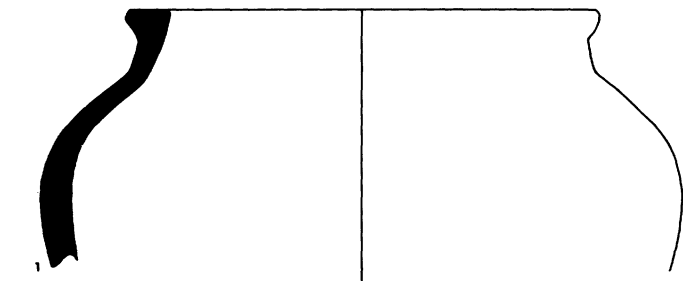
SMALL PITHOI, STORAGE JARS: Figure 19, 3-10, and fragments of others; most are coarse, buff, and unburnished; 7 is red-slipped, 8 and 9 are buff with smoothed surfaces, and they have grooved rims. Parallels are found at Hasanlu IIIB; Ziwiye (Young 1965, fig. 4, 3); Geoy Tepe A (Burton-Brown 1951, fig. 40, 1648); Zendan (Boehmer 1961, fig. 31, 2; pl. 54, 7); Godin II (Young 1969, fig. 43, 1, 6, 15, 19); Bastam (Kroll 1970, fig. 5, 1, 4). Grooved rims on storage vessels occur at these sites also.

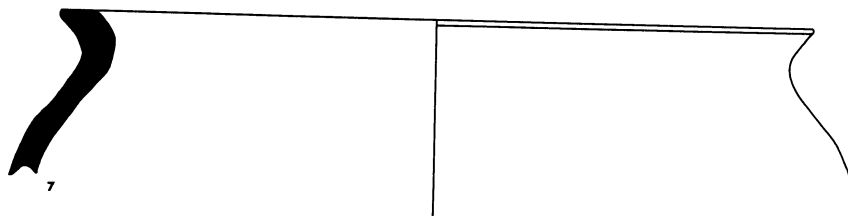
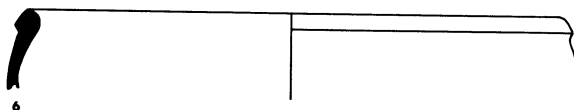
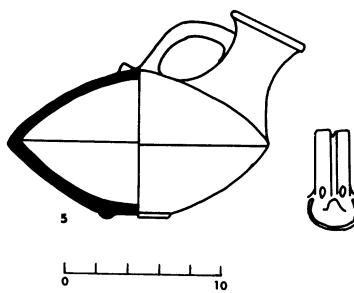
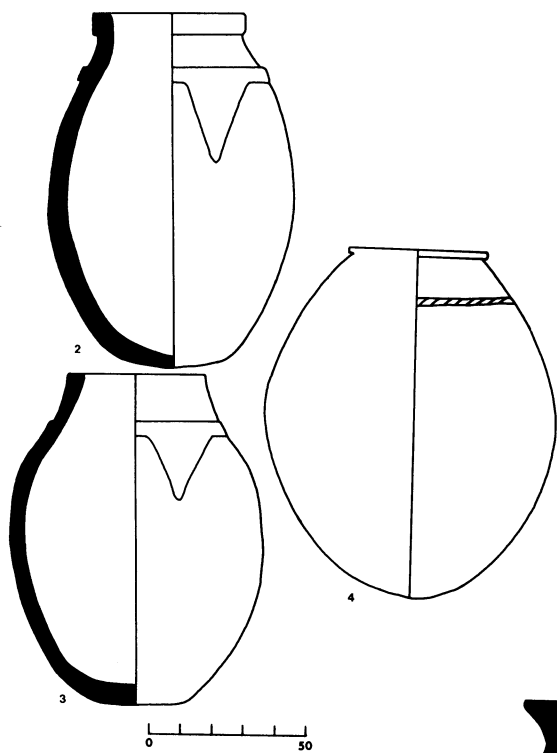
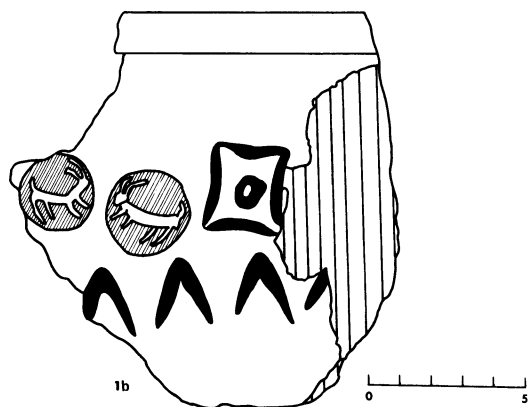
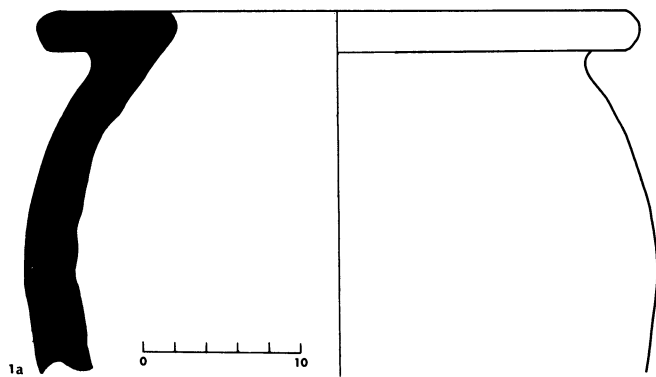
TAB HANDLE: Figure 19, 11; from fill in B1, belonging to Period 2; dark brown, smoothed surface, medium grit paste; only one example found. Parallels for these handles occur at Hasanlu IV (Young 1965, fig. 6); Hasanlu IIIB, Ziwiye (*ibid.*, fig. 3, 17; fig. 4, 9; fig. 10); Zendan I (Boehmer 1961, pl. 57, 8-11; Boehmer 1965, fig. 75b, 74a); Godin II (Levine 1970, p. 43, drawing); cf. Geoy Tepe A (Burton-Brown 1951, fig. 35, 284) and Nush-i-Jan (Stronach 1969, fig. 7, 2).

HORIZONTAL HANDLE: Buff, coarse ware, from fill in B7; only one example found. This type of handle occurs at Hasanlu IIIA, Ziwiye, Khorvin, Giyan I (Dyson 1965, 206, fig. 7); Godin II (Young 1965, fig. 34, 16); Baba Jan II, III (Goff Meade 1968, fig. 10, 12-14, 18; Goff 1970, fig. 7, 4-6; fig. 8, 11-12, Period 1); Nush-i-Jan (Stronach 1969, fig. 6, 3-6).

PITHOI: Many pithoi fragments were found in the fill and on the primary floor of D1. Figure 20, 1a, b, Figure 21 (64-1), from high in the fill of A2—and apparently either Period 2 or 3—a fragment of a brown buff, coarse pithos, apparently handmade; stamped into the clay are two round sealings, each a skidding horned creature with erect tail; features cannot be made out but both creatures seem to be of the same species. To their right is a stamped curved-sided square with a

FIGURE 19
Pottery from Agrab Tepe





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no. 6, 7, 8

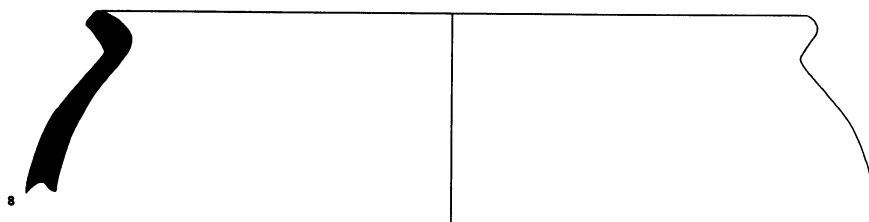


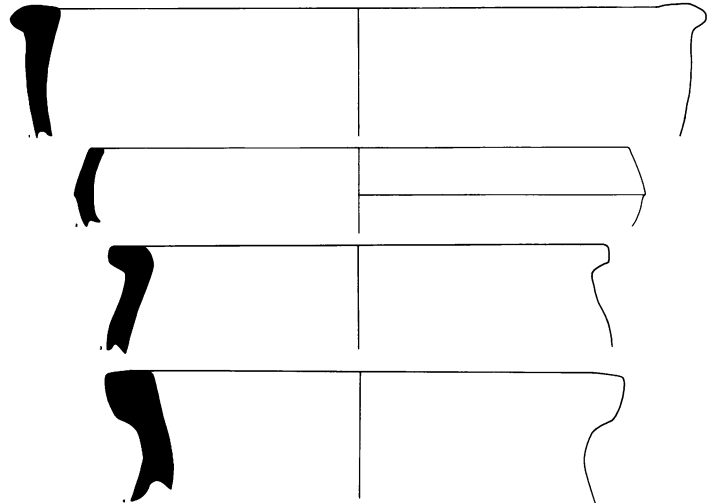
FIGURE 20
Pottery from Agrab Tepe

FIGURE 21
Pithos sherd with seal impressions, AG 64-1. Ht. 12.5 cm.



round depression in the center; below the impressions are hand-impressed inverted V marks. I cannot find exact parallels for these sealings, but one should compare sealings from Urartu (van Loon 1966, p. 156, F11; p. 159, E15, E16; p. 161, G2; Barnett 1959, fig. 6, 15; see also Mallowan 1966, p. 198 f., fig. 134, 7, 7th century B.C.). Three practically complete buff pithoi with scraped surfaces were found on the primary floor of D1: Figure 20, 2-4, Period 1; 2 and 3 have raised triangles on the shoulder, 4 has a rope or corded design. Parallels for the triangle decoration occur at Karmir Blur (Piotrovskii 1969, pl. 61, sunken triangles); Kayalidere (Burney 1966, fig. 15, sunken triangles); Patnos (Ankara Museum); Kef Kalesi (Biliç, Ögün 1965, pl. VIII, sunken triangles, corded also). Vessels with corded decoration on the shoulders also occur at Urartian sites, viz., Kef Kalesi, *op. cit.*; Barnett 1959, pl. IV. Other pithoi have coarse, buff, unburnished surfaces: Figure 20, 6, 8; or slightly burnished buff surfaces, 7; or plain buff, smoothed surfaces, Figure 22, 1, 3, 4; or a red-slipped buff surface, 2 (two of these were found). The flat-ledged type, Figure 22, 2, has parallels at Hasanlu IIIB and A; Kayalidere (Burney 1966, fig. 15, fig. 16); the other pithoi have parallels at Hasanlu IIIB and at Urartian sites, viz., Altintepe (Emre 1969, pl. VI).

FIGURE 22
Pottery from Agrab Tepe



PITHOS: Figure 23, 2 (64-42), Figure 24 (Muscarella 1971b, fig. on p. 44; Dyson 1965, fig. 13, lower left in IIIA section); found on top of and apparently within a pithos on the floor of D1—the southwest pithos shown on the plan; deep red, well burnished, red-slipped; inside plain and uneven; triangles and bands on surface scraped and lighter than rest of vessel; traces of white paint on the bands and triangles; ht. 56 cm., rim diam. 54 cm., base diam. 19 cm., carination diam. 47.5 cm. A very similar, but larger vessel was published from Patnos (van Loon 1966, fig. 3), where the triangles are also filled with white paint; others, unpublished, are also from Patnos. See also a similar vessel and decoration, but cruder, from Armavir Blur (Piotrovskii 1969, pl. 69); compare for general shape a vessel from Karmir Blur (Piotrovskii 1969, pl. 55).

NIPPLE-BASE VESSEL: Figure 23, 3, Figure 25 (64-38); also 64-43; both examples from the fill of D1, burnished red-slipped buff ware. I can find no published examples but am informed that similar vessels have been found at Cavuştepe.

POT STAND: Figure 23, 1 (64-27); from the fill over the floor of B5 and belonging to Period 2; burnished red-slipped ware. Rolled upper and lower rims; four oval cutouts around the middle.

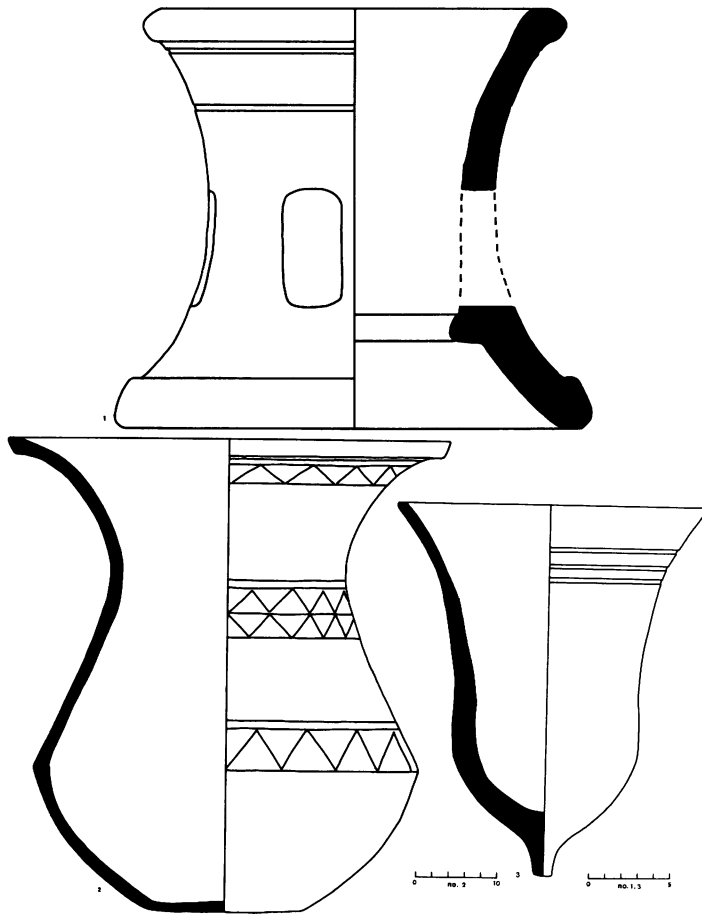
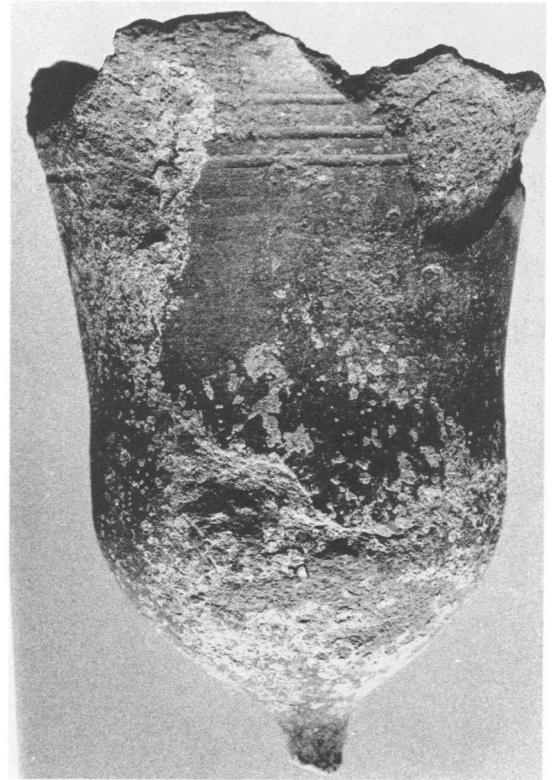


FIGURE 23
Pottery from Agrab Tepe

FIGURE 25
Nipple-based vessel, AG 64-38. Ht. 22.5 cm.



Askos: Figure 20, 5 (64-34), Figure 26; from the fill over the floor of C1; red-slipped buff ware. The vessel is egg-shaped with upright spout and handle; handle is grooved with a clay rivet at the base, and two rivet-like impressions over this. Askoi occur at Karmir Blur (van Loon 1966, fig. 11; Piotrovskii 1969, pl. 58, but painted). See Vanden Berghe 1968, p. 117, fig. 144, for an example from Luristan; examples in Copenhagen and the Louvre are said to have come from Luristan (Contenau 1935, pl. xviii, top; M. L. Buhl, *Acta Archaeologica* 21 [1950] p. 197 f., fig. 46, 47). Other askoi are reported from Patnos (Mellink 1965, p. 142). More examples are known further west: Hama (Riis 1948, fig. 84); Cyprus (Karageorghis 1969, fig. 31, 7th century B.C.). Related shapes occur at Persepolis

FIGURE 24
Red-slipped pithos, AG 64-42

(Schmidt 1957, pl. 71, 9, 72, 13); Achaemenid Village (Ghirshman 1954, pl. xxxv, G.S. 1270; pl. xxxviii, G.S. 1176). False terracotta rivets occur at Hasanlu IIIB and A (Young 1965, fig. 2, 1-3); Geoy Tepe A (Burton-Brown 1951, fig. 37, 121); Yanik Tepe (Burney 1962, pl. XLV, fig. 30); Baba Jan I, II (Goff Meade 1968, fig. 6, 19); Zendan (Boehmer 1965, fig. 75, c); Achaemenid Village (Ghirshman 1954, pl. xxxix, G.S. 1249d). For a later shape related to the askos, see Schmidt 1957, pl. 72, 13.

STEM AND BASE OF A GOBLET: From fill of D1; red-slipped burnished; light brown interior; fine clay core; clearly the finest red burnished vessel at Agrab. The goblet is one of the most characteristic shapes in the Urartian repertory. They are found at Bastam (Kroll 1970, p. 73 for bibliography, fig. 1, 4); Haftavan (*apud* Kroll 1970, p. 73); Kayalidere (Burney 1966, pl. xv, b); Altintepe, earlier level (Emre 1969, fig. 19); Karmir Blur (Piotrovskii 1959, fig. 50); Toprakkale (C. Lehmann-Haupt, *Armenien Einst und Jetzt* [Berlin, 1931] p. 567).

From the foregoing we see that the preponderance of the pottery at Agrab Tepe consists of buff wares, with coarse, burnished, and smoothed surface types in approximately equal proportions; buff unburnished wares seem to follow next in quantity. Medium and fine paste interiors occur mixed among these groups with no correlation to surface features other than that coarse wares do not have fine paste. In lesser quantity,

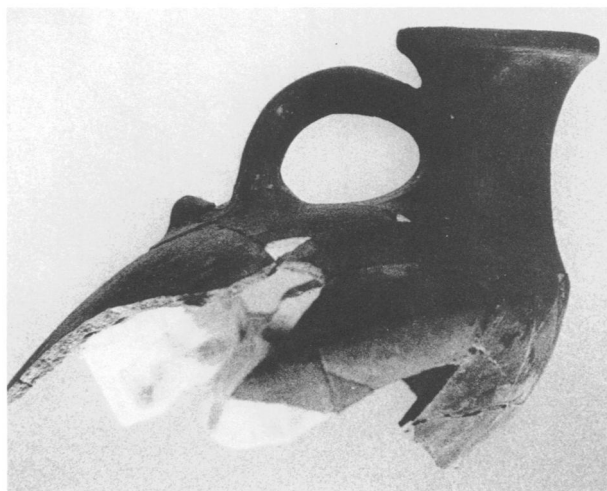


FIGURE 26
Red-slipped askos, AG 64-34. Ht. 9.5 cm.

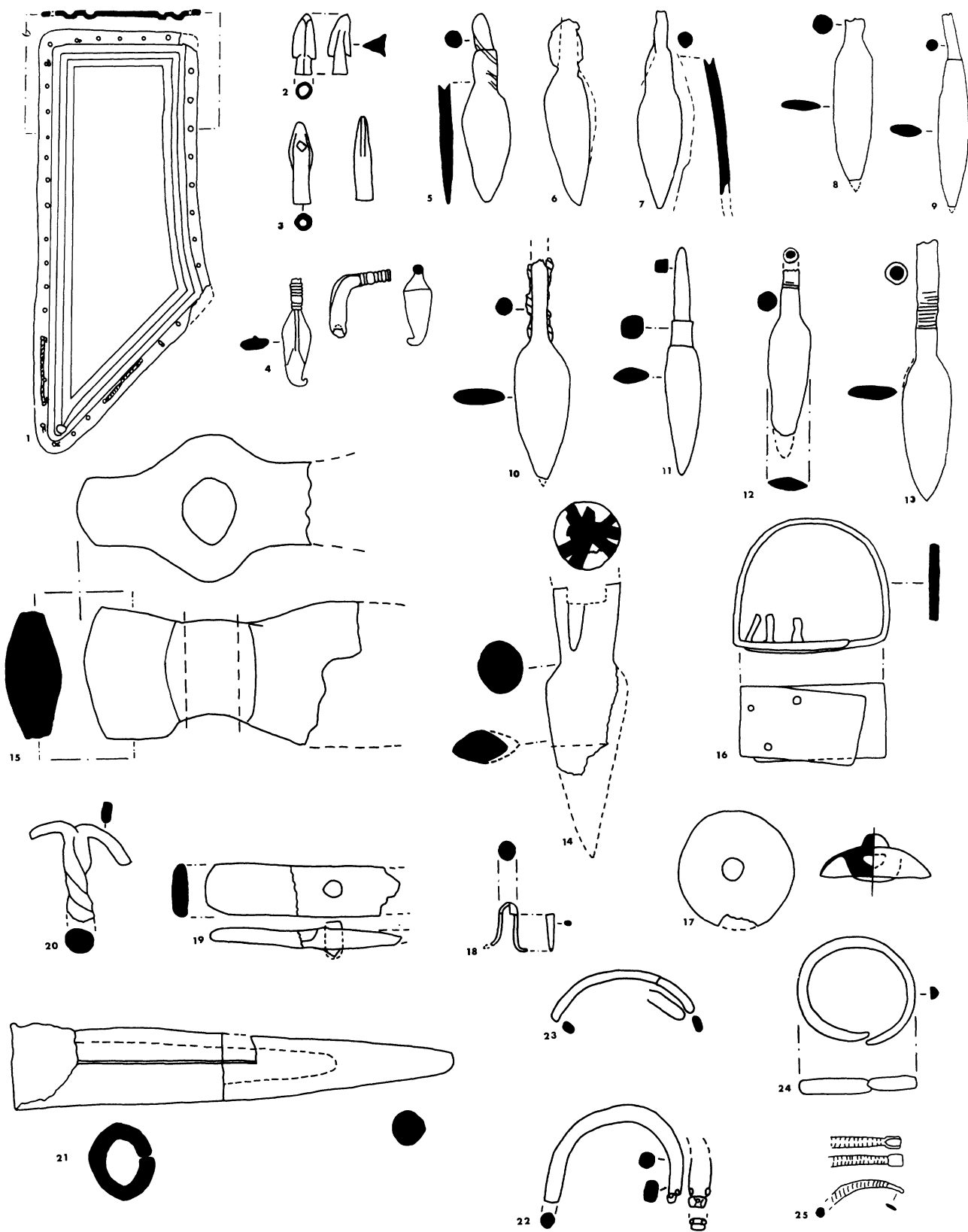
but still considerable and very noticeable, are the red-slipped wares, usually slightly or well burnished. Aside from the unique vessels—the askos, nipple vessels, the pot stand, and the triangle-decorated pithoi—a few pithoi and small bowls are of this fabric. Rare, but in evidence, are a few burnished gray bowls.

The buff wares fired from yellowish through pinkish to orange. Often, gold flakes (mica?) are visible on the surface. Some of the red-slipped bowls also have these gold flakes on the surface, suggesting they were made locally, from the same clay source as the buff wares.

This ceramic collection makes it quite clear that Agrab Tepe was an Iron III site as defined by Dyson and Young, belonging to the “late buff ware horizon.”⁴ Many of the sites of this period, as we have seen in referring to pottery parallels above, have not only the characteristic buff wares, but also the red-slipped wares; and also a small quantity of burnished gray wares (*viz.*, Ziwiyé, Achaemenid Village, Giyan I (Young 1965, pp. 59, 66, 68), Baba Jan (Goff Meade 1968, p. 116), Bastam (Kroll 1970, p. 70), Godin II (rare, personal communication with T. Cuyler Young, Jr., who also informs me that there are also a few red-slipped wares at Godin II). This configuration of pottery is characteristic for Iron III sites and need not be elaborated on here. Future research will have to define the cultural relationship and significance of the occurrence of red-slipped wares at Iron III sites and at most Urartian sites.

Noticeably lacking at Agrab Tepe are the fine wares recorded at Hasanlu IIIB, Ziwiyé, and Qalatgah (Young 1965, pp. 55, 59 ff.; Muscarella 1971b, p. 46 f.), Yanik Tepe (Burney 1962, pl. XLV) and Pasargadae, unpublished; also the incised wares found at Ziwiyé and Zendan (Boehmer 1965, fig. 75; Boehmer 1967, fig. 9). Painted pottery is lacking at Bastam, Godin II (except for three sherds, personal communication from T. Cuyler Young, Jr.), Geoy Tepe A, and Zendan. What, if any at all, are the chronological implications of this lack of local painted pottery at Agrab Tepe cannot yet be established. Actually it may have no chronological significance; rather, it could simply mean that it was a luxury product, and not needed at Agrab (but what of its lack at other Iron III sites?).

4. Young 1965, pp. 53 ff, 72 ff.; Dyson 1965, pp. 203 ff. In addition see the pottery analysis of Kroll 1970, pp. 67 ff.



0 10
no. 21

0 5

FIGURE 27
Metal objects from Agrab Tepe

FIGURE 28
Bronze earflap, AG 64-49. L. 17.7 cm.



Metal

BRONZE HELMET EARFLAP: Figure 27, 1 (64-9), Figure 28; fill over floor of B8. The border has two grooves and an exterior flat ledge with holes. Traces of thread found in situ on obverse, connecting holes; traces of leather found on both sides, on the obverse under the thread. Earflaps of the very same shape have been found at Hasanlu IV, but with decoration (unpublished). T. A. Madhlloom, in *The Chronology of Assyrian Art* (London, 1970) p. 38, says separately made earflaps began in the 7th century, but this is contradicted by the Hasanlu evidence.

BRONZE TRILOBATE ARROW: Figure 27, 2 (64-6); upper fill of A2; remnants of wood in the shaft. The distribution of these arrows is quite extensive in the Near East and in Europe, see T. Sulimirski, "Scythian Antiquities in Western Asia," *Artibus Asiae* 17 (1954) p. 295 f.; R. V. Nicholls, "Old Smyrna: The Iron Age Fortifications . . .," *BSA* 53-54 (1958-59) p. 12; P. R. S. Moorey, *Catalogue of the Persian Bronzes in the Ashmolean Museum* (Oxford, 1971) p. 87; Boehmer 1965, p. 773 f., note 98 (n.b., Boehmer says they are found in the Phrygian level at Gordion but surely this is an error:

they are found only in post-Phrygian levels). There is as yet no certain evidence that these arrows predate the 7th century in Iran (Dyson 1965, p. 207).

BRONZE ARROW WITH TWO WINGS: Figure 27, 3 (64-57). Similar arrows, without the side hole, occur at Hasanlu IV; Achaemenid Village II (Ghirshman 1954, pl. XLIV, G.S. 2104); Karmir Blur (Piotrovskii 1959, fig. 81, right; fig. 84, left); Gordion (R. Young 1953, p. 164 f., 166, fig. 10, 6th century B.C.); and Smyrna (Nicholls, "Old Smyrna," 130 f., pl. 6d, right, about 600 B.C.).

BRONZE ARROW: Figure 27, 4 (64-40); fill in D1; leaf shaped, flat on one side, with median strip on the other; solid ridged tang; found bent from use.

IRON ARROWS: Figure 27, 8, 9, 11, 12, 13 (64-10), from the fill of B8, and probably from Period 2 (a total of seventeen arrows were found here); 10 (64-37), from the fill of D1; 5, 6, 7 (64-51), East Trench; a) flat blade, solid tang, 5-7; b) blade oval in section, solid tang, 8-10; c) blade oval in section, with collar and solid tang, 11; d) blade oval in section, tang hollow but with iron core, 12, 13; traces of reed binding remain here. A total of twenty-one iron arrows were found, many very corroded. Similar arrows occur at Hasanlu IV; Bastan (Kleiss 1970, p. 54 f., pl. 34, 1, iron and bronze); Ziwiye, unpublished; Sialk B (Ghirshman 1939, pls. LXXI, S892e; LXXV, 5923c, d; LXXVII, 5973a); Haftavan (Burney 1972, pl. VIII, b); Kayalidere (Burney 1966, fig. 21, 8, 9; pl. XIII); Karmir Blur (Barnett 1952, fig. 13); Altintepe (Özgüç 1966, pl. XXXIV, 1-6); Toprakkale (Barnett 1954, fig. 15); Igdyr (Barnett 1963, fig. 37, 4-7, 11); Nimrud (Mallo- wan 1966, II, fig. 332, a-c).

IRON LANCE HEAD: Figure 27, 14 (64-31); from fill in C1; very corroded; traces of wood in shaft.

IRON SHAFTHOLE AX: Figure 27, 15 (64-21); fill over primary floor of B7; very corroded; traces of wood in shaft.

IRON TOOL, FERRULE?, PLOWSHARE?: Figure 27, 21 (64-39); from fill in D1; hollow but for inner 9 cm. of tip. A similar, but smaller, object was found in Hasanlu IV; cf. also J. Deshayes, *Les Outils de Bronze . . . II* (Paris, 1960) pl. XVI, 16, 1235; Achaemenid Village (Ghirshman 1954, pl. XLIV, G.S. 2109).

BRONZE WOOD CLAMPS (THREE): Figure 27, 16 (64-14a, b, c); fill over primary floor of B3; pieces of wood were found adhering to the inside of one example.

BRONZE BOSS (TWO): Figure 27, 17 (64-20); fill over floor of B10. Cf. Zendan (Boehmer 1965, p. 773 f., fig. 77a); Sialk B (Ghirshman 1939, pl. LVI, S819); Karmir Blur (Piotrovskii 1969, fig. 79).

BRONZE STUD: Figure 27, 18 (64-41); fill in D1; ends bent out intentionally.

IRON KNIFE BLADE: Figure 27, 19 (64-30); fill in C1; cracked; flat in section at rounded end; tapers at blade end; a rivet pierces the metal at the grip end.

BRONZE HOOK (?): Figure 27, 20 (64-48); from East Trench fill; thick, twisted circular shaft, divided and flattened at both ends.

BRONZE BRACELET FRAGMENT: Figure 27, 22 (64-47); from fill in East Trench; animal or snake head at ends.

BRONZE BRACELET FRAGMENT: Figure 27, 23 (64-32); fill in C1; may have snake-head ends.

BRONZE BRACELET: Figure 27, 24 (64-15); from primary floor of B3; probably a child's bracelet; plain ends slightly overlap.

BRONZE BRACELET FRAGMENT: Figure 27, 25 (64-2); upper fill of A2; the ends are flattened with square corners and hollow depression; arc decorated with two rows of shallow lines.

Bone; Stone; Terracotta; Ivory

BONE IMPLEMENT, SHUTTLE (?): Figure 29, 1 (64-29); fill in C1; pointed at both ends; highly polished on upper surface. Two of these were found, the second in the East Trench fill.

IVORY FRAGMENT: Figure 29, 2 (64-56); unstratified; triangular in section; no decoration.

BONE BEAD: Figure 29, 3 (64-49); fill in East Trench.

TWO TERRACOTTA BEADS: Figure 29, 4 (64-28); fill of C1; (64-18), fill in B8; buff, perforated for stringing. A third bead found in fill over primary floor of B7.

TERRACOTTA WHORL OR WHEEL FRAGMENT: Figure 29, 5 (64-12); upper fill in B area; buff.

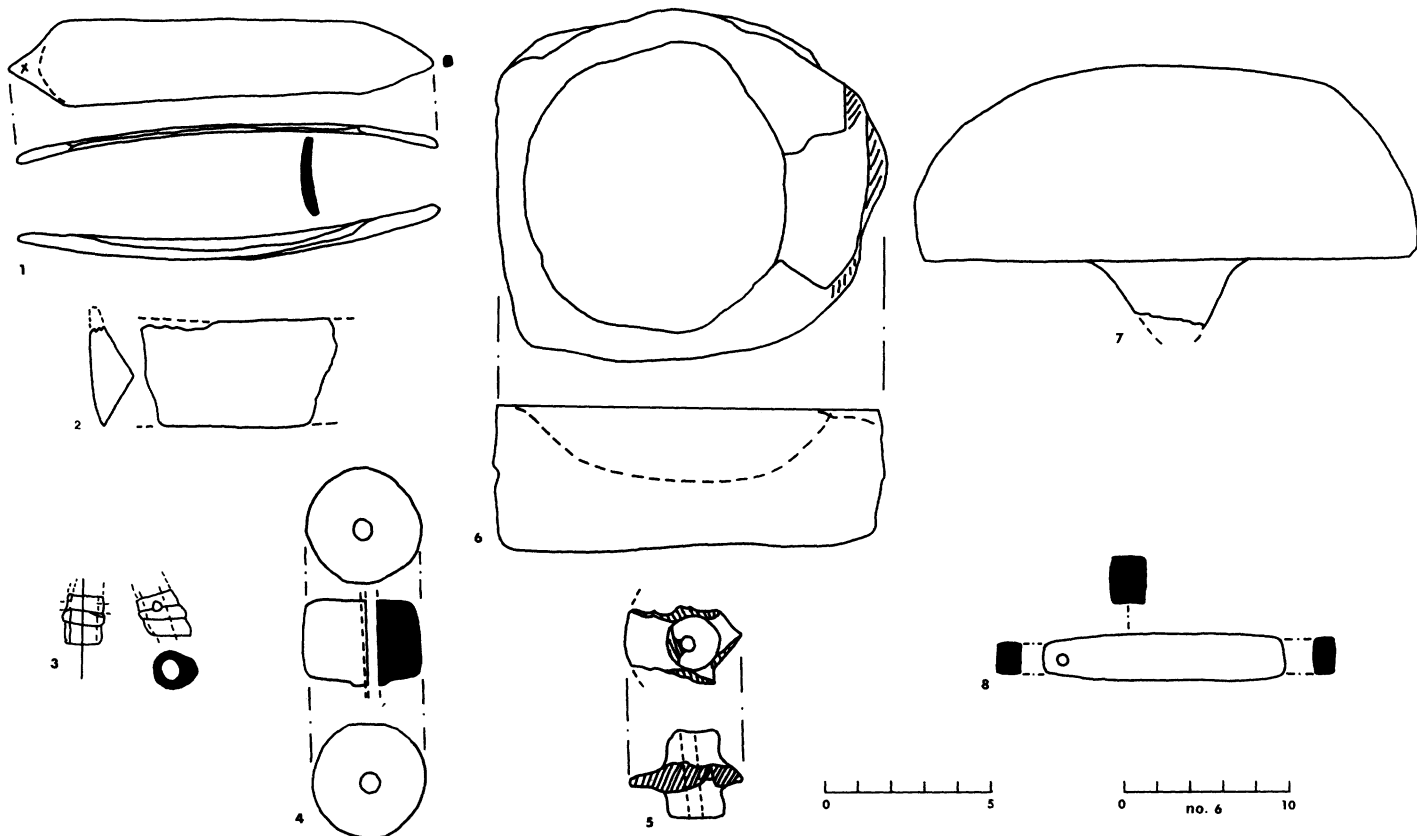
STONE QUERN: Figure 29, 6 (64-44); fill in D1; smooth on flat surfaces; break may be unintentional.

STONE OBJECT: Figure 29, 7 (64-46); unstratified; gray stone, rough on upper surface, polished on lower; a projection below is broken. A pivot stone?

WHETSTONE: Figure 29, 8 (64-13); fill over B area; very fine grained dark brown stone; hole at one end.

FIGURE 29

Stone, bone, and terracotta objects from Agrab Tepe



It is obvious that the elaborate building at Agrab was built to serve as a fortified structure. The massive walls, tower-gate, and piers preclude another interpretation. And the hoard of slingstones, the helmet earflap, and the arrows and iron lance, reinforce this opinion; the pithoi would have served as storage vessels for the presumed garrison's food.

On the other hand, one might conclude that a fort at Agrab makes little sense. It was built not on a high place on one of the ridges, but in an exposed position on the plain, in which position it could not have served as a watchtower. Moreover, the building is relatively small and presumably could not have contained many soldiers comfortably, even with an upper story. Agrab is also within sight of Hasanlu and may have had some relationship with that city; why then should a fort have been built so close?

At Bastam, Kleiss excavated an isolated building situated about 700 meters from the citadel. He suggested that this building, or castle, might have been built by an enemy force besieging Bastam.⁵ Such a conclusion cannot be presently proven, nor can we make a similar interpretation with respect to Agrab and Hasanlu. The people who built Agrab expected it to be a permanent structure, not a temporary fort. The fact that it was destroyed and rebuilt demonstrates its importance.

The geographical shortcomings notwithstanding, I believe the word fort best describes Agrab. It is also possible that the same people who lived at Hasanlu, or their allies or subjects, built Agrab. The similarity in the construction of the walls of Agrab and Hasanlu IIIB, as well as the similarity of their pottery, lend support to this suggestion. If there was indeed a relationship, one might have to assume that the spring near Agrab was important and had to be protected, although there is no indication that the spring was protected in the earlier Iron II Period. And perhaps the rock outcrop close to the spring suggested itself to the architects as a natural spot on which to build a fort.⁶ One might also speculate that some feature or location other than the spring, not now known, might have been in need of protection. The fact remains that someone did build a fortified building in the low plain on a rock outcrop next to a spring. It should be recalled that Nush-i-Jan, to the south, was also built on a rock outcrop in the middle of a plain.

It is tempting to speculate further that the fort was built for, or at least served, another function, namely to protect something within its walls. The odd subdivided stone-paved room could have had a special function of some importance unknown to us. Insufficient data, however, prevent further consideration of this idea.

A question that must be asked, if not easily answered, is: which people built Agrab? If the same people who lived at Hasanlu, then the question covers that site also. Were they Urartians? Indeed, the ceramic evidence informs us that Urartian pottery was used at Agrab, though it does not tell us that Urartians either built or staffed the fort; the pottery could have been imported by non-Urartians. As Kleiss has stated, no Urartian site presently known in Iran exists in a plain;⁷ and no Urartian site known to me has a plan similar to that of Agrab. Several Urartian citadel walls have a series of uniformly spaced piers without a tower, and so, too, does Nush-i-Jan;⁸ but none has the unique Agrab plan.

What of the Medes and Manneans? Here, too, insufficient evidence prevents a conclusive answer. Given the geographical problems, and recognizing that different peoples and armies must have traversed the region in the seventh century, any suggestion becomes a mere guess. I therefore see no alternative to leaving the question of the ethnic identity of the builders and occupiers of Agrab open for future research. At the same time one is tempted to suggest that the occupiers of the site could have been either an Urartian garrison, using local help to build the fort (but who planned it?), or a local garrison of Manneans. But, to repeat, we do not know.

Whoever the people were who lived or worked at Agrab Tepe, they used the same basic types of pottery for their kitchen needs as that used by the inhabitants of contemporary cities and towns in western Iran. They also used a pithos type common to Hasanlu IIIA and to several Urartian cities. Moreover, some of the inhab-

5. Kleiss 1970, pp. 40 ff.

6. van Loon 1966, p. 38, states that Urartians built fortified outposts to guard water supplies.

7. Kleiss 1970, pp. 40 ff. Note that Altintepe in Urartu was built on a low hill in the plain: Özgüç 1966, p. 37 f.

8. Kleiss 1970, figs. 34, 36; Kleiss, "Bericht über Zwei Erkundungsfahrten," figs. 18, 18a; van Loon 1966, fig. 6.

itants owned a few exotic pottery vessels, apparently all imported from Urartu. Therefore we may presume that they were in familiar contact both with Iranian and Urartian cities.

The inhabitants at Agrab Tepe stored their grain in large and small pithoi, at least one of which was impressed with seals, and they ground their grain on the premises. Aside from one possible agricultural tool, there are no other indications from the material remains to suggest that they were farmers. However, we do not know what was not preserved for us to find. Their water was obtained from the neighboring spring, and, as stated, they were within walking and viewing distance of a fortified city, Hasanlu. They used bows and arrows, slings, and lances as weapons, and they had body armor.

No luxury items aside from a few terracotta beads, and a few small (for females?) bronze bracelets were recovered. Some kind of wood furniture or apparatus was used, of which only the bronze clamps now remain.

We turn now to a discussion of the chronology of Agrab Tepe within the Iron III period. To begin with, it must be pointed out that specific dates for the beginning and end of most sites of this period have yet to be firmly established. Speaking generally for northwestern Iran, Iron III begins sometime after the destruction of Hasanlu IV in the ninth century B.C., presumably after a hiatus of still undetermined length. But the complex and still unresolved chronological difficulties surrounding the beginning, flourishing, and end of the Sialk B culture to the south play a crucial role in any discussion of the end of Iron II and the beginning of Iron III, and not only for central Iran, but also for the north.

A brief discussion dealing with the opinions of various scholars concerned with Sialk: Ghirshman and Porada see Sialk B as an Iron II site both in culture

and date, terminating about 800 B.C., about the same time as Hasanlu IV.⁹ Dyson and Young accept the possibility that Sialk began in the late ninth century, contemporary with the last phase of Hasanlu IV, but see the culture continuing to exist until about 700 B.C. (Young), or to about 650 B.C. (Dyson).¹⁰ Goff Meade seems to agree with this, preferring Young's final dating to that of Dyson.¹¹ She and Young also still use the term Iron II to define the flourishing of Sialk, Goff Meade calling the eighth century "late Iron II," which suggests that Iron II continued to exist at Sialk for at least a century later than in the north.¹² Boehmer attempts to divide Sialk B into an earlier and a later period (B1 and B2), the former beginning in the late ninth century, the latter beginning about 770–760 B.C., after the destruction of Hasanlu IV, and ending about 690–680 B.C.¹³ The question to be answered, considering these various opinions, is: do we consider Sialk B to be strictly an Iron II culture, contemporary with but divergent from Hasanlu IV (Porada, Ghirshman), or initially an "Iron II" culture that began in the ninth century and continued (uninterrupted) into the eighth century (or slightly later) (Dyson, Young, Goff Meade, Boehmer), developing into what archaeologists call Iron III culture, and perhaps even having been the precursor of that culture? How one interprets the nature of the anomalous Sialk B material (only cemetery remains, let it be noted), and also perhaps the early phase of Zendan, will determine whether one sees Sialk as Iron II, late Iron II, or Iron II/III. Surely a chronological and cultural distinction for the terms Iron II and III may have to be established.

Whatever the outcome of discussions concerning the culture and chronology of Sialk B,¹⁴ Agrab Tepe remains an Iron III site, and to that site we now return.

At Agrab Tepe five C¹⁴ samples were tested for dat-

9. R. Ghirshman, *The Arts of Ancient Iran* (New York, 1964) p. 279; Ghirshman 1939, p. 95; Porada 1965, p. 107.

10. Dyson 1965, pp. 207 f.; Young 1965, pp. 78, 81 f.

11. Goff Meade 1968, pp. 121, 125.

12. Goff Meade 1968, pp. 121, 125; Young 1967, p. 24, note 71. By Young's own terminology some of the Sialk B material (but which?) must be considered as Iron III, *op. cit.*, pp. 27 f.; and Goff Meade's late Iron II overlaps with Young's Iron III.

13. R. M. Boehmer, "Zur Datierung der Nekropole B von Sialk," *AA* (1965) pp. 802 ff. Note that some of the pottery in his earlier-period tombs occurs also in his later tombs. To add to the confusion about the dates of Sialk B, note that of the five ceramic

parallels Young finds between Hasanlu IV and Sialk B (Young 1965, pp. 76 f.), only one, the gray ware spouted pitcher, is to my mind a strong parallel; and of the nineteen nonceramic parallels he cites between the two sites, at least fifteen are in Boehmer's B2 late tombs (Young 1965, p. 76, note 28)!

14. My present opinion is that Sialk B existed into the 8th century, but I have no strong opinion as to whether or not it can be stated that Sialk existed in the 7th century, nor if it began to exist in the 9th century. But note that if, in fact, the designation Iron III is to be used only or mainly as a cultural term—to define the appearance of painted wares and oxidized buff wares—and not simply as a chronological term signifying a period following

ing.¹⁵ The results given here use a half-life of 5730 years and should be corrected by a MASCA correction factor of +50 years (as of 1972). From the floor of C1, P-895, charcoal: 79 ± 556 B.C. (845 B.C.); from Period 1 of area D, P-980, charcoal: 667 ± 58 B.C. (717 B.C.): ave. 781 B.C. ± 57 . From Period 2 fill of area D, P-979, charcoal: 581 ± 53 B.C. (631 B.C.). From high in the fill of Area A, P-893: 408 ± 48 B.C. (458 B.C.). From high in the fill of Area A, P-894, charcoal: 710 ± 57 B.C. (760 B.C.); and a sample, probably from Period 2 of Area B, P-879, a burned beam: 513 ± 56 B.C. (563 B.C.): ave. 597 B.C. ± 55 . We thus have an outer range of dates for Period 1 to be 838–724 B.C.; for Period 2, 652–542 B.C.; and possibly for Period 3 (assuming P-893 to be from this time), 506–410 B.C. P-894 is assumed to be an aberrant. Given the chronological range of over three hundred years it seems that we should accept these carbon dates as a guideline rather than as data pointing to specific historical dates.

Pottery comparisons with other sites in Iran and Urartu allow us to make better judgments about chronology. We have seen that there are ceramic parallels between Agrab and most of the known Iron III sites. In terms of quantity, which of course could be accidental, the strongest ties are with Hasanlu IIIB and A, Bastam, Ziwiye, Zendan (I and II), and Godin II; other ties, less strong, are with Haftavan, Baba Jan (I and II), the Achaemenid Village (I and II), and Geoy Tepe A. A brief summary of the chronology of these sites is in order here; it will be seen that most were seventh century B.C. sites that ceased to exist about 600 B.C.

Very little of the Hasanlu IIIB and A material is

upon the destruction of Hasanlu IV, then Sialk B could be called Iron III from its inception. This would obtain even if we accept that part of Sialk was contemporary to Hasanlu IV. An important task for archaeologists is to learn if the painted wares of Sialk influenced the "triangle ware" pottery of the north, and when this influence occurred (see Goff Meade 1968, p. 125). This problem is the more important because similar painted wares occur in Urartu, *viz.*, Van (von der Osten 1952), Altintepe (Emre 1969, figs. 21, 22, pl. iv, v), Karmir Blur (rare; Piotrovskii 1969, pl. 58), and in Anatolia from the 8th century on at many sites, *viz.*, T. Özgüç, *Kultepe and its Vicinity in the Iron Age* (Ankara, 1971), figs. 8 ff., pls. xiv, xxi, 2; T. and N. Özgüç, *Ausgrabungen in Karahyük* (Ankara, 1949) pl. xxxi, 3, xxxii, 3; G. E. S. Durbin, "Iron Age Pottery from the Province of Tokat and Sivas," *Anat. Stud.* 21 (1971), pp. 104 f., fig. 3, 1–5, 13; cf. also pottery from Gordion and Boğazköy.

15. R. Stuckenrath, W. R. Coc, E. Ralph, "University of

available for study, and basically the two periods remain unpublished.¹⁶ What may be said at present about the two levels is this: the beginning date of IIIB is still not known; it could be from about 750 to 700, or perhaps even later, as it is clear that IIIB followed upon a squatters' settlement over Period IV (called IVA by Dyson) of unknown duration. The destruction of IIIB (on parts of both the western and eastern areas of the mound ash and charcoal layers document a fire) occurred sometime in the seventh century; this is not in doubt. On the western part of the mound IIIB walls were partly reused in Period IIIA, and some new walls were built over the earlier ones; on the eastern side of the mound there is an ash and trash layer 50 cm. wide over the IIIB level. IIIA's beginning, and more important, its termination date are still major problems. It is possible, to my mind, that IIIA ceased to exist (abandoned?) close to 600 B.C.; more excavation and analysis of pottery, however, may make it necessary to extend this date well into the sixth century, beyond 585 B.C.¹⁷

The end of the settlement at Bastam has been dated by Kleiss and Kroll to the late seventh century or early sixth century B.C. on the basis of Urartian pottery comparisons.¹⁸ This date seems acceptable on the evidence presented (and neatly ties in Bastam's destruction with that of Agrab's [Period 1, at least], especially since both sites depend a great deal on Urartian remains for their chronology).

As Dyson has stated, any discussion of Ziwiye must distinguish the archaeological site itself from the so-called Ziwiye treasure.¹⁹ He has proposed a dating of about 750 for the beginning of the site and a terminal

Pennsylvania Radiocarbon Dates IX," *Radiocarbon* 8 (1966) pp. 348 f. Recent information (1972) suggests that we may have to revise past C¹⁴ dates upward again.

16. For general remarks and bibliography on Hasanlu III, Dyson 1965, Young 1965, pp. 53 f., 57 ff., 72 ff.

17. Dyson 1965, pp. 211 f., and Young 1965, pp. 81 f., have IIIA continue into the Achaemenid period. Kroll 1970, p. 76, note 105, suggests that Hasanlu IIIA ended ca. 600 B.C. on the basis of the triangle-pithoi found at Hasanlu and Urartian sites. If C¹⁴ dates are to be pushed back in time, this situation would support an earlier date for the termination of Hasanlu IIIA than suggested by Young and Dyson. For a hiatus between Hasanlu IV and III, Young 1965, pp. 57 ff., 80.

18. Kleiss 1970, p. 57 f., accepting the possibility for an 8th-century beginning date; Kroll 1970, p. 76.

19. Dyson 1965, p. 206.

date of about 600 for its abandonment.²⁰ Young and Boehmer generally agree with this range of dates.²¹ There seems little doubt but that the final period at Ziwiye occurred either in the seventh century, probably toward the end of that century, or possibly early in the sixth century.

Zendan had two settlements. The beginning of the earlier one, period I, is dated by Boehmer close to 800 B.C., on the basis of parallels with Hasanlu IV; he dates the end of the second settlement, II, to the late seventh century.²² Young dates the beginning of the earlier period later than Boehmer, preferring a date between 750 and 650 B.C., but he also believes that the site continued to the end of the seventh century (for the second period), being contemporary with the end of Ziwiye. Thus he agrees with Boehmer that the late seventh century was the final date at Zendan; Dyson has also supported this dating.²³ The strong parallels between Zendan II and Ziwiye pointed out by Young make it clear that about 600 B.C. is the probable date for the end of period II.

The excavator of Godin Tepe, T. Cuyler Young, Jr., has cautiously given a wide range of almost 200 years, 750 to 550 B.C., as the time within which the columned hall and fortress were built.²⁴ It would seem from the pottery evidence, however, that the end of Godin II could be placed in the late seventh or early sixth centuries, given the parallels with Ziwiye and Zendan II (not to mention Agrab, to avoid a circular argument). Nor do I think it can be demonstrated on the evidence available that Godin II was built much before the beginning of the seventh century B.C.

Geoy Tepe A is a mixed complex, and it cannot help in dating any Iron III site; rather, it must be dated by comparisons with other sites. Nor can the limited remains from the upper levels at Haftavan at present be of help to us in chronology.²⁵ It would seem that the

levels could be dated only from evidence available at other sites.

Goff Meade has compared the ceramics from Baba Jan to those found at Pasargadae, Godin II, and Nush-i-Jan.²⁶ She suggests that Baba Jan II is eighth century, not earlier, and that Baba Jan I is probably sixth century B.C., because of parallels with Pasargadae (unpublished). The Agrab parallels with Baba Jan seem to be with both periods, but aside from a general Iron III relationship, we get little specific chronological help from this site.

The pottery parallels between Agrab and the Achaemenid Village are basically in the levels I and II. These are dated by Ghirshman to the seventh–sixth and sixth–fifth centuries B.C., and he has been supported in general by other scholars.²⁷ None of the shape-parallels from the Achaemenid Village, except the lip spout of level I, are crucial enough to basically affect the chronological relationship to Agrab Tepe.

Two other Iranian Iron III sites with a few parallels to Agrab Tepe are Nush-i-Jan and Yanik Tepe. Both have been dated by their excavators to a time in the seventh century B.C.²⁸

Turning now to the Urartian sites outside of Iran that have ceramic parallels with Agrab, we find that the strongest ties, not necessarily with respect to quantity, but to a very characteristic shape, are with Karmir Blur, Altintepe, Norşuntepe, Patnos, Cavuştepe, and Igdyr; lesser ties are with Toprakkale, Kayalidere, and Kef Kalesi. Some of these Urartian sites are not yet completely published so that we are not always able to discuss Urartian pottery types, nor to discuss their chronology with certainty.

Although there is continued discussion concerning the precise time when Karmir Blur was destroyed, it seems that the event must have occurred close to 600 B.C., apparently before 585.²⁹ The finds from the

20. Dyson 1965 and R. H. Dyson, Jr., "Archaeological Scrap Glimpses of History at Ziwiye," *Expedition* 5, 3 (1963), pp. 35 ff.

21. Young 1965, p. 82, correctly allowing for an early 6th-century termination; Dyson 1965, p. 206.

22. Boehmer 1961, p. 82; Boehmer 1965, pp. 736, 740, 763 f.; Boehmer 1967, pp. 576, 579.

23. Young 1965, p. 82; Young 1967, p. 271; Young 1969, p. 50; Dyson 1965, pp. 201 f., 211, agrees that the early period is Iron II.

24. Young 1969, pp. 31 f.; see also Goff 1970, pp. 155.

25. Burney 1970, p. 182, suggests a late 8th- to early 7th-century date; Burney 1972, p. 142, suggests that Haftavan was destroyed by Sargon II in 714 B.C., but presents no objective evidence.

26. Goff 1970, p. 155; Goff Meade 1968 pp. 121 f.; actually, little of the pottery has been published.

27. Ghirshman 1954, p. 20; Dyson 1965, pp. 205, 211; Young 1965, pp. 79, 82; Goff Meade 1968, p. 125.

28. Stronach 1969, p. 16, Burney 1962, pp. 147 ff.

29. Muscarella 1965, p. 237, notes 34–36; Piotrovskii 1969, pp. 198 f.

final, second, period at Altintepe also seem to date to this time; and it appears that the material from the end of the first period may also be dated within the seventh century, although the site may have been built in the eighth century.³⁰

Kayalidere has not been more closely dated than to the eighth–seventh century. But if we can use the pithoi decorated with triangles as a guide, it could be that the destruction here occurred around 600 B.C., close to that of Karmir Blur's destruction.³¹

At Patnos inscriptions of several Urartian kings have been found; they date from the late ninth through the middle eighth century B.C. Later archaeological material is in evidence, however, and it seems clear that the site existed through the seventh century, possibly even a little later.³²

Cavuştepe was apparently built in the mid-eighth century B.C. and continued to flourish for some time. Evidence for this comes in the form of fibulae and "Scythian" arrowheads, that is, trilobate and spiked types, found in the destruction fill.³³

Toprakkale was built in the eighth century and continued to flourish until the late seventh, judging from inscribed material found there.³⁴ Kef Kalesi is another site that flourished during the seventh century, as evidenced from inscriptions, and it too may not have lasted beyond about 600 B.C.³⁵

Norşuntepe, a site to the west of Urartu proper, and probably not an Urartian site, surprisingly has yielded some good ceramic parallels to Urartian types and also to pottery from Agrab. Hauptmann distinguishes an early and a middle Iron Age period, the earlier of which he dates about 800 B.C. (too early?), the latter to the eighth and seventh centuries B.C. Most of the Agrab parallels are in the middle period.³⁶

The preponderance of the ceramic evidence presented strongly suggests that Agrab Periods 1 and 2 flourished during the seventh century B.C.; the C¹⁴ evidence generally supports this conclusion. Most of the ceramic parallels in Iran and Urartu occur at sites dated to the seventh century. Aside from the many seventh-century Iron III Iranian ceramic comparisons made, the best pieces of evidence for the suggested dating of Agrab are the Urartian vessels: the pithoi with triangles, the large red ware pithos decorated with triangles, the red ware nipple-based vessels, the red ware askos, and the red ware stemmed goblet, a classic Urartian shape found at many Urartian sites.

If it can be accepted as a historical fact that the Urartian cities referred to in this paper were in fact destroyed close in time to each other, say between the last years of the seventh century and 585 B.C., we may then feel secure that Agrab Tepe also ceased to exist during this time.

The political and archaeological history of western and northwestern Iran in the seventh century B.C. is still not fully understood. Several unresolved problems persist. First, there is the major problem of ancient geography: we are still unable to link up satisfactorily specific areas of northwestern Iran to the historical states and peoples mentioned in ancient texts. Consequently, excavated sites must continue to maintain their modern names. A perusal of the published opinions of several scholars who have discussed the ancient position of Parsua, Mada, and Mannea from the ninth century onward demonstrates to the archaeologist the danger of assigning an ancient name to a modern area.³⁷ We are not able at present to relate sites to ancient states and then to tie these into historical events related in the texts.

30. Özgüç 1966, pp. 38, 46; Emre 1969, p. 291 f.

31. Burney 1966, pp. 55 ff., 79. Burney links the destruction to the Kimmerians, who first appear in Urartu in the last years of the 8th century. Note that triangle-pithoi occur at the termination of Hasanlu IIIA and Agrab 1, events no doubt close in time but not necessarily simultaneous; see my note 17.

32. K. Balkan, "Ein Urartäische Tempel auf Anzavurtepe bei Patnos . . .," *Anadolu* 5 (1960) pp. 105 ff.; Mellink 1965, p. 142.

33. Mellink 1966, p. 151.

34. van Loon 1966, p. 50; A. Erzen, "Untersuchungen in der Urartäischen Stadt Toprakkale . . .," *AA* (1962) pp. 294, 406 f.

35. Ögün 1967, p. 499.

36. Hauptmann 1970, pp. 64, 67, 73. Hauptmann, p. 71, notes

that a fibula was found in the middle period; it is a type that cannot be earlier than the late 8th century and continued to be used for centuries.

37. R. M. Boehmer, "Volkstum und Städte der Mannäer," *Deutsch. Arch. Inst. Abt. Baghdad* 3 (1964) pp. 11 ff.; also his "Zur Lage von Parsua in 9. Jahrhundert vor Christus," *BJV* 5 (1965) pp. 187 ff.; Young 1967, p. 14 f.; Kleiss, "Zur Ausbreitung Urartus," pp. 130 ff.; Louis D. Levine, "Contributions to the Historical Geography of the Zagros in the Neo-Assyrian Period," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1969. One also wonders if the Assyrians might not have called the area around the south and west shores of Lake Urmia "Urartu" because of their control over that area, Muscarella 1971b, p. 49.

Secondly, there is the problem concerned with understanding and recognizing the movements of peoples and the actions of their armies in the area. What political event, and what army, destroyed Agrab and neighboring sites? We know that Scythians were somewhere in western and northwestern Iran after about 700 B.C., as allies first of the Mannaeans and then of the Assyrians, and that they were subsequently expelled. The date of the Median revolt against them and their expulsion preceded by their twenty-eight-year hegemony over western Iran, is still being debated. We are, however, able to state that all this occurred by 585 B.C., by which time the Medes controlled all of western Iran and Urartu, and Anatolia up to the Halys River.³⁸ We also know that in the seventh century the Assyrians penetrated into Median and Mannaeen territory several times, although we are not sure how far north they traveled. There were also local wars and disruptions that surely resulted in destructions and rebuildings. In addition to these events, we now know from the Agrab excavations that contact with Urartu existed in the south Urmia area up to the time of the destruction of the Urartian state. If we could be certain that Urartians themselves were in the area around 600 B.C., then another element would have to be introduced into the already confused historical scene. Actually, as already discussed, all we can determine with respect to the Agrab evidence is an "archaeological presence" of Urartians; we cannot be certain that Urartians themselves was there. In any event, Agrab supplies important evidence concerning Urartian material in the Solduz Valley about 600 B.C.³⁹

Given the military presence of different peoples in western and northwestern Iran, are we able to relate chronologically and historically the destructions at Agrab to those of Hasanlu III and to the other Iron III sites in Iran? (Actually, some Iron III sites were destroyed—Hasanlu IIIB, Bastam, Haftavan, Zendan II, Baba Jan IIB—while others—Hasanlu IIIA, Ziwiye, Godin II, Nush-i-Jan—were abandoned.)

38. Dyson 1965, pp. 208 ff; Young 1967, pp. 12 ff.; Stronach 1969, pp. 5 ff.; van Loon 1966, p. 23; Porada 1965, pp. 123, 137 f.; Piotrovskii 1969, p. 198 f.

39. The latest Urartian inscriptions from the general area are 7th century, from Bastam and from east of Lake Urmia; Kleiss, "Zur Ausbreitung Urartus," pp. 124 f., 127 ff.

Of particular interest for future research is the possible correlations of Agrab's destructions to that of Hasanlu IIIB and the abandonment of IIIA. We have seen that there are strong ties, reflected ceramically, between Agrab and Hasanlu IIIB and A. An interesting one is the pithos decorated with triangles, which occurs in the destruction of Agrab I and Hasanlu IIIA. This by itself cannot make these two periods contemporary, one to one, as there are many Hasanlu IIIB parallels also to be considered. There are simply too many unknowns at present to allow any neater and more explicit equation than one stating that Agrab was contemporary to Hasanlu IIIB and A (at least in part). Whether Agrab was originally built at the same time as Hasanlu IIIB, or slightly earlier, or later, and whether occupation continued at Agrab after the destruction of IIIB and before the building of IIIA, and whether IIIA continued to exist after the end of Agrab, are questions that arise in one's mind, but to which there are no immediate answers. Perhaps the publication of the complete Hasanlu material will shed light on these questions.

With respect to the issue of relating the destruction of Agrab Tepe (Periods 1 and 2) with the destructions and abandonments of other Iranian Iron III sites, two hypotheses come to mind. The first is that they all occurred at about the same time. An event or related events occurred in Iran about 600 B.C., causing the destructions of Agrab and the end of the settlements at Bastam, Haftavan, Zendan II, Ziwiye, Godin II, Nush-i-Jan, and probably also Baba Jan II, not to mention again Hasanlu III. The activities causing these destructions could have taken place over a period of several, say one to fifteen, years; nevertheless, they were related. The time period covered would extend from about 600 to 585 B.C. Moreover, and important, is the fact that, given the chronological connection between Agrab Tepe and Urartu already discussed, it could legitimately be added here that the same historical event or events *may* have caused the destruction of the Urartian state. This hypothesis will obviously deserve more scrutiny, but if the chronological link of the destruction of the Iranian Iron III sites and the Urartian cities, based on pottery parallels, holds up, such a conclusion is not rash.

What then can be said about this alleged historical event? A date of about 600 B.C. automatically elimi-

nates the Assyrians. And there seem to be only two historical events, themselves related, that can be brought forth for consideration. One is the exodus of the Scythians from Iran, the other is the northward expansion of the Medes, through north Iran, Urartu, and eventually west to Anatolia. Again, this suggestion deserves further study, but no other large-scale action occurred in Urartu and Iran at this particular period.

The second hypothesis, also to my mind viable in that it does not abuse the limited evidence, is that the sites in question were destroyed or abandoned over a slightly longer period of time than suggested by the first hypothesis. Thus, one could assume that some of the sites could have ceased to exist about 600–585 B.C., while others could have ended about 550, say at the time of the Achaemenid revolt against the Medes. One would then have a time differential of twenty-five to forty years between the end of one particular site and another. In this context it must be understood that we

do not yet have an idea of what early sixth-century B.C. and early Achaemenid pottery looked like, and it is quite possible that there was no major ceramic change between about 600–585 and about 550 B.C. The fact that pottery analysis at our present state of knowledge might not allow us to detect a chronological difference between pots used at different neighboring sites over a period of a few decades is the crucial factor here. This hypothesis, incidentally, might also cover the problem of the difference between the destructions at Agrab 1 and 2, and Hasanlu IIIB and A, but it would be premature to push this idea now.

In any event, these are nothing more than working hypotheses, to be challenged or supported as more ceramic, archaeological, and historical information comes forth. The end of the seventh and the first half of the sixth century B.C. in Iran and Urartu was a time of chaos, destruction, and abandonment for its people, and it is a time of chaos for modern historians.

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Sarmatian Roundels and Sarmatian Art

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OF A CERTAIN tribe of nomads Herodotus wrote: "Their arms are all either of gold or brass. For their spearpoints, and arrowheads, and for their battle-axes, they make use of brass; for headgear, belts, and girdles, of gold. So too with the caparison of their horses, they give them breastplates of brass, but employ gold about the reins, the bit, and the cheek-plates."¹ A splendid roundel recently acquired by The Metropolitan Museum of Art must once have been a glittering adornment in such a set of trappings (Figure 1).

The roundel, 13.1 cm. in diameter, is of silver covered with gold foil, on a bitumen backing originally covered with iron; turquoise stones or colored paste inlays, not completely preserved, decorate the border and the inner zones (see technical notes at end of article). While the repoussé design at first glance looks abstract, it is actually composed of the figures of five animals (Figure 2). At the center, one, probably a deer, is coiled up so that its head, in profile, faces its rear legs; its front legs are bent one to each side. A circle of arch-shaped inlays separates the deer from the four feline animals that creep nose to tail around the outer zone of the roundel, their feet lying along the ring of arch-shaped cells at the edge of the disk. These animals of the outer zone have frontally depicted heads and profile bodies. They are virtually identical except that one opposed pair, probably lions, has teardrop-shaped eyes and rounded ears, while the other opposed pair has rounded eyes and teardrop-shaped ears. These last seem to be griffins, for they have bird beaks rather than

feline muzzles. The bodies of the animals are composed of separate geometric forms placed in proximity to each other; eyes, ears, ribs, and feet are inlay cells with clear-cut shapes like the other elements of the animals' bodies. The inner and outer circles of arch-shaped inlays complete the surface patterning and coloring. This even distribution of pattern and color produces the impression of abstract decoration that first strikes one. Such an impression is augmented by the differences in the colors of the inlays; this may have been an intention of the object's creator and not an accident of time. In its present state, the griffins seem to have inlays of lighter color at the ribs and darker color in the hindquarters, while the lions have darker ribs and lighter hindquarters. If these contrasts were intentional, they would seem to favor again the decorative effect rather than the content, for the color differences tear the animals apart rather than make them more readable.

Although the roundel is said to have come from Iran, its closest parallels are objects discovered in Russia. A pair of cast gold roundels in the treasure of Peter the Great, in the Hermitage, Leningrad, is probably not far removed from the sources of what may be called Sarmatian roundels of Siberian type.²

The central animal of the Siberian pair, again a

1. Herodotus I. 215.

2. K. Jettmar, *Art of the Steppes* (New York, 1967) pp. 184–197. S. I. Rudenko, *Sibirskaiia kollektsiia Petra I* (Moscow and Leningrad, 1962) pp. 12–16, 42–43; pls. III, 1; V, 4.

coiled deer (Figure 3), is represented in a naturally modeled manner so that it is easy enough to identify it; surrounding this figure are four pairs of a feline creature with frontal head and profile body attacking a profile wolf-like creature. The design is framed by a complex pattern whose major motif is arch-shaped inlay cells; the inlays on this piece are turquoise except for the animals' eyes, which are black glass or stone. It is quite likely that the Metropolitan's roundel was copied from some such plaque, whose design was changed so as to simplify the outer border, to eliminate one animal from the complicated combat groups, and to abstract the ring of feet around the central deer into an ornamental circle of inlays similar to the edging. This abstraction was necessary since the orientation of the animals on the Metropolitan's roundel differs from that of the Siberian plaques; here the animals have their paws placed against the outer border rather than toward the central deer, so that an inner circle of feet would be superfluous. The Metropolitan's roundel is less natural, less freely and complexly composed. Compared to the Siberian pieces, the workmanship of the roundel is schematic and somewhat coarse, and fewer figures are fitted into more space. Yet aside from the technical differences, the pieces are too similar not to share a common artistic tradition, a tradition in which color and decorative effect outweigh content.

There are in the Peter the Great treasure several smaller cast gold roundels related to the larger pair.³ On some of the smaller pieces, the central animal figure is replaced by a large stone inlay; on others, the coiled animal has become the entire decoration. In Rudenko's opinion, the two large roundels, a set of four with central stone setting (about 5 cm. in diameter), and a similar but smaller pair (about 3.5 cm.) were probably clothing decorations; all these pieces are similar enough to have formed one stylistic group. Rudenko considers the coiled animal attachments to be harness decorations; of these there are at least sixteen related pieces (roughly 3.5 to 5 cm. in diameter). Thus there is in the Peter the Great treasure at least one set of trappings



FIGURE 1
Sarmatian gilded silver roundel, third-first centuries B.C. Diameter 13.1 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, purchase, 1970.132

for a nomad and his horse, trappings reminiscent of those described by Herodotus.

The often-discussed difficulties of dealing with the Peter the Great treasure make it impossible to specify the cultural center or nomadic group in which these gold ornaments were produced.⁴ The gold was robbed from graves located somewhere within the area from modern Kazakhstan to the Altai Mountains; the various roundels, being among the early finds, may have come from the region between the Irtysh and Ob' rivers. Rudenko's dates for the roundels are fifth-third centuries B.C.; other scholars prefer a fourth-third centuries B.C. dating.⁵

3. Rudenko, *Sibirskaiia kollektsiia*, pp. 12-16, 42-44, 50-51; pls. III, 2-3; IV, 1; VIII, 2; XXIII, 23-25, 28-31, 36-37.

4. For a summary of the history of the treasure, with bibliography, J. F. Haskins, "Sarmatian Gold Collected by Peter the Great:—VII; The Demidov Gift and Conclusions," *Artibus Asiae* 22 (1959) pp. 64-78. Also Jettmar, *Art of the Steppes*, pp. 179-197,

and Rudenko, *Sibirskaiia kollektsiia*, pp. 7-12. Most of the small roundels were included in the list of objects sent by Gargarin in 1716; the large roundels had been acquired by 1741, at which time they were included in the first catalogue of the treasure.

5. Jettmar, *Art of the Steppes*, pp. 179-197. Rudenko, *Sibirskaiia kollektsiia*, pp. 13-14, 16, 28-36. Rudenko compares the large

Another group of objects related to the Metropolitan's roundel was excavated in 1962, in a cemetery near Novochoerkassk on the lower Don River, on the steppes far to the west of Siberia.⁶ The Sadovy Kurgan had a low earth mound about 2.2 meters in height; the burial was in a rectangular pit covered with wood planks. Although the grave had been robbed in antiquity, objects from the burial feast were preserved under the mound, at the original ground level. These finds included eight late Hellenistic silver wine bowls and two large gold-foil covered phalerae and twelve small ones, all now in the Rostov Museum (Figure 4). The excavator, Kaposhina, classified the burial as Sarmatian, since the Sarmatians ruled over this region of the steppes in the last centuries of the first millennium B.C. She dated the grave at the end of the first century B.C. but thought that the finds, particularly the silver bowls, were earlier. Kaposhina suggested that the Hellenistic silver could have come to the Don as a result of Sarmatian participation in the Mithridatic wars of the first half of the first century B.C.⁷ If her dating is reliable, the lower limits of the Peter the Great roundels ought then to be reduced to the first century B.C., since both groups of objects have closely related decoration.

However, the technique of the Sadovy Kurgan roundels is distinctive. Siberian goldwork of these centuries is generally cast, but the Sadovy Kurgan pieces are of hammered silver covered with gold leaf, the technique of the Metropolitan's roundel.⁸ In the center of the pair of large phalerae, which measure about 10.5 cm. in diameter, two profile griffins attack a feline animal with frontal head; fifteen profile feline animals

roundels to a carved wooden clothing ornament of circular form from a kurgan at Katanda in the Altai Mountains. This kurgan is usually dated no earlier than the third century B.C. See S. V. Kiselev, *Drevniaia istoriia iuzhnoi Sibiri* (Moscow and Leningrad, 1949) pp. 185–189.

6. S. I. Kaposhina, "A Sarmatian Royal Burial at Novochoerkassk," *Antiquity* 38 (1963) pp. 256–258, pls. xxix–xxxii.

7. See also T. Sulimirski, *The Sarmatians* (London, 1970) pp. 122, 141.

8. According to Kaposhina, "Sarmatian Royal Burial," p. 257. In *Historische Schätze aus der Sowjetunion* (Essen, 1967) some of the burial finds were catalogued under no. 201, pp. 86–87, and described as "Kleine runde Goldphalera, auf Kupferscheibchen gearbeitet, mit der Darstellung von Tieren; Goldphalera auf Silberscheibchen mit Tiermotiven; Goldphalera auf Kupferscheibchen mit Tiermotiven; Goldphalera auf Eisenscheibchen mit Tiermotiven."



FIGURE 2
Drawing of Sarmatian roundel

FIGURE 3
Drawing of cast gold roundel from the Peter the Great treasure, third-first centuries B.C. Diameter about 12 cm. Hermitage, Leningrad



with frontal heads surround this motif, and twenty bird heads decorate the rim. The smaller phalerae show simply the central motifs of the larger, and on all the pieces turquoise and other stones are set into the eyes, ears, ribs, and feet. Like the Peter the Great roundels, the Sadovy finds constitute a set of trappings for a nomad or his horse, and again the designs are a more complex version of that of the Metropolitan's roundel. The Peter the Great and Sadovy roundels may well have been produced by two nomadic tribes, perhaps two widely separated branches of Sarmatians. The designs and the level of craftsmanship are similar, but the Peter the Great pieces are cast in the fashion of most Siberian goldwork while the Sadovy pieces are

FIGURE 4
Gilded silver roundels from Sadovy Kurgan, Novochoerkassk, first century B.C. Diameter of large roundel about 10.5 cm. Rostov Museum

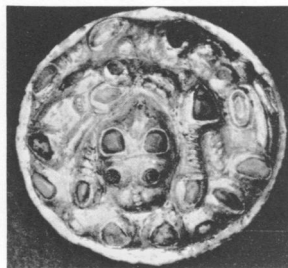


FIGURE 5
Drawing of bronze roundel said to come from Iran, second-first centuries B.C. Diameter 12 cm. Azizbeghlou Collection, Teheran

gilded hammered silver, perhaps a Pontic technique. A workshop in the area of Novochoerkassk (Tanais?) may have produced the Sadovy phalerae along with the well-known Novochoerkassk treasure from the Khokhlach Kurgan. Stylistic details of the Sadovy roundels are closely paralleled on some of the Novochoerkassk pieces.⁹

Other related objects in this group are a number of small gold roundels from burials in the Kuban region of the northwest Caucasus. These burials were casually excavated and sketchily reported in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, so that they are useful only as evidence of Sarmatian infiltration into the Pontic region.¹⁰ The roundels are generally described as repoussé gold over bronze, with a coiled or creeping animal decorated with turquoise or blue paste inlays. Their diameters correspond to the smaller roundels of

9. Jettmar, *Art of the Steppes*, pp. 59, 63. Sulimirski, *Sarmatians*, pp. 155-158, pls. 41-44. For Siberian cast gold technique, see V. P. Shilov, "Kalinovskii kurgannyi mogil'nik," *Materialy i issledovaniia po arkheolog'ii SSSR* 60 (Moscow, 1959) p. 490.

10. E. H. Minns, *Scythians and Greeks* (New York, 1971) pp. 223-224, 230-232; further references p. 277, note 2. Sulimirski, *Sarmatians*, pp. 123-128.

the Sadovy Kurgan and the Peter the Great treasure. One reasonably well described burial, Zubov's kurgan excavated in 1899, serves to illustrate the uses of these objects.¹¹ Near the skeleton lay seven gold plaques with loops on the back, probably belt decorations; these were adorned with colored glass insets in the center and bordered by small stones of colored paste surrounded by gold wire designs.¹² Also alongside the skeleton were five small gold roundels with Siberian-type creeping griffins in relief; these were decorated with incrustations. The owner of the grave apparently wore a belt decorated with two different styles of plaques, Greek and Siberian, the same stylistic mixture found in the Sadovy Kurgan grave gifts. To complete his jewelry, at each side of the skeleton lay a gilded silver roundel about 10 cm. in diameter, with a cross-shaped pattern hammered out in relief.¹³ A tentative date for this burial and for the other Kuban roundels would be second–first centuries B.C.

In addition to the roundels from the steppe regions, a few other pieces related to the Metropolitan's roundel are said to have been discovered in Iran. One of these, a bronze plaque recently exhibited in Japan, has a central design of a feline creature attacking its prey; frontal feline heads decorate the outer zone, and inlays are visible in the eyes, ears, feet, and parts of the bodies.¹⁴ The Japanese roundel would seem to be stylistically close to the Metropolitan's, although the Japanese piece is more crudely worked. If the provenance is correct, the two pieces may represent the products of an Iranian workshop whose craftsmen drew upon Sarmatian animal-style examples but drastically simplified them.

A final roundel of Siberian type, in the Azizbeghlou

collection, is said to have been found in the southwest Caspian region of Iran. This piece is bronze, 12 cm. in diameter, and decorated with a repoussé relief of three griffin heads joined into a central circle (Figure 5).¹⁵ Around the outer edge is a ring of semicircular cells, and other cells appear on the body of the disk. The backing is also bronze, with traces of lost loops for attachment, and the bitumen filling is partly preserved. Ghirshman considers the roundel to be Sarmatian and dates it second century B.C.–first century A.D.

Of all the roundels discussed here, this example is least typical of the Siberian-style group. It is true that the border resembles that on the Metropolitan's roundel, and the circle formed by the griffin heads perhaps reflects the coiled animals in the central zones of the other roundels (Figures 2–4), but on the Azizbeghlou roundel the design is clearly readable, and the decorative effects of surface pattern and color are not primary. It is difficult to interpret this distinction; it may be one of date, of workshop, or of artistic tradition. Yet even if the roundel is not definitely Siberian in style, its motif has Siberian associations. A pair of gilded silver phalerae in the Hermitage, 24 cm. in diameter, is decorated with a griffin coiled around so that its fore- and hindquarters meet to form a circle (Figure 6).¹⁶ The phalerae were discovered in 1884 in the region of Kuibyshev on the Volga, as part of a small buried treasure. Despite the findspot, Trever has classified these pieces as Graeco-Bactrian; she dates them in the last third of the second century B.C. on the basis of Chinese comparisons.

An earlier Siberian prototype for the motif appears on a carved wooden frontlet from Kurgan I at Tuekta in the Altai Mountains (Figure 7).¹⁷ The frontlet, dated

11. "Raskopka kurganov' na Zubovskom' khutor' v' Kuban'skoi oblasti," *Izvestiia imperatorskoi arkhelogicheskoi komissii* 1 (1901) pp. 94–103.

12. For related goldwork, Minns, *Scythians and Greeks*, p. 215, fig. 117; according to him, the style is Greek. See also, for similar goldwork dated second century B.C., *Historische schätze*, no. 202, p. 87, pls. 39–40.

13. Six related roundels were found in the Akhtanizovskii treasure in the northwest Caucasus; the treasure was a mixture of Greek and Sarmatian objects like the Zubov finds. A. Spitsyn', "Falary iuzhnoi Rossii," *Izvestiia imperatorskoi arkhelogicheskoi komissii* 29 (1909) pp. 19–23, figs. 1–32.

14. Catalogue of an exhibition sponsored by the Japanese Committee for the 2500th Anniversary of the Founding of the Persian Empire (1971), no. 101, circular plaque, green bronze,

Azerbaijan, diameter 13.9 cm. The back of the plaque is iron and has three loops arranged in the same position as on the Metropolitan's roundel. Reputedly from Iran, the plaque has been in the collection of Kojire Ishiguro, Tokyo, for about twelve years.

15. R. Ghirshman, "Disque en bronze à décor ternaire," *Forschungen zur Kunst Asiens*, eds. O. Aslanapa and R. Naumann (Istanbul, 1969) pp. 9–17.

16. R. D. Barnett, "The Art of Bactria and the Treasure of the Oxus," *Iranica Antiqua* 8 (1968) pp. 34–53. K. V. Trever, *Pamiatniki greko-baktriiskogo iskusstva* (Moscow and Leningrad, 1940) pp. 48–50, pls. 3–5.

17. Jettmar, *Art of the Steppes*, pp. 120–124, 131–135. S. I. Rudenko, *Kul'tura naseleniia tsentral'nogo Altaia v skifskoe vremia* (Moscow and Leningrad, 1960) pp. 124–125, pl. CI, 1.



FIGURE 6
Graeco-Bactrian gilded silver phalera, second century B.C. Diameter 24 cm. Hermitage

late sixth–early fifth centuries B.C., is decorated with a pair of griffin protomes coiled around a central boss; the piece was part of a set of horse trappings in a princely nomadic burial. The wood carvings in the nomadic graves of the Scythian period in the Altai Mountains were often gold covered and seem to have been imitations of more elaborately made foreign objects.

The Metropolitan's roundel and the other Iranian pieces may represent a group of Iranian-produced objects, based upon the more elaborate Sarmatian pieces, which were in turn derived from earlier Siberian decorative arts. If the hypothetical Iranian workshop produced roundels of different styles, this might be explained by the great distances between the stylistic centers on the steppes and Persia; the workshop would have been too far removed to reflect exclusively any one nomadic style. On the other hand, it is possible that stylistic uniformity was of little importance at this time, at least among the inhabitants of the steppes.

Unfortunately, the Sarmatians and other nomads of the steppes have left us little evidence of their history, much less their art; aside from archaeological remains, which are often difficult to interpret, most of our infor-

FIGURE 7

Carved wooden frontlet, Kurgan I, Tuekta, Altai Mountains, sixth-fifth centuries B.C. Diameter 12 cm. Hermitage



mation must be derived indirectly from the records of the high civilizations who knew the nomads. It can be argued that the Iranian roundels were not inspired by Sarmatian examples but were rather the inspiration for them, that they were the simple prototypes later to be elaborated into such pieces as those of the Sadovy Kurgan and Peter the Great treasure. At present, the evidence is too scanty to support more than a general dating for all Siberian-type roundels in the third–first centuries B.C.; no reliable relative chronology can be established.

The Sadovy Kurgan group of objects, which can be dated by its archaeological context, is probably early first century B.C. On the basis of stylistic analysis, the Peter the Great pieces have been assigned dates varying from the fifth through the third century B.C., and the Azizbeghlou roundel has been dated second century B.C.–first century A.D. Some of the smaller roundels in the Peter the Great treasure are said to have positive textile impressions on the reverse; the technique used in casting such pieces is thought to have been confined to the third century B.C., according to the one reliable chronology so far worked out for Siberian goldwork.¹⁸

18. E. Bunker, "Animal Style Art of the Far East," in E. Bunker, B. Chatwin, and A. Farkas, *"Animal Style" Art from East to West* (New York, 1970) pp. 109–110. See also E. Bunker and J. Ternbach, "A Variation of the 'Lost-Wax' Process," *Expedition* 12, 3 (1970) pp. 41–43.

The Novocherkassk treasure, with which the Sadovy Kurgan roundels have stylistic affinities, is presently dated in the first century B.C. at the earliest, and sometimes as late as first–second centuries A.D.¹⁹ If we adopt the latest date that has been suggested for the Peter the Great roundels, the third century B.C., then the Sadovy Kurgan pieces must be two centuries later, an amazingly long time span to separate two such similar groups of objects. Yet the Sadovy Kurgan finds cannot be too much older than the early first century B.C., if the date of their archaeological context and of the associated pieces in the Novocherkassk treasure is correct. And the Peter the Great roundels cannot be too far removed in time from the Siberian artistic traditions demonstrated in the fourth century B.C. Pazyryk kurgans, with their many examples of emphasis on frontality, a love of color and decorative form, animal combat compositions, and circular plaques with high relief in the center.²⁰ We can hope that future discoveries will clarify the chronology and allow us to decide whether indeed the Iranian roundels were the offspring of earlier Sarmatian trappings.

A gold torque in the Peter the Great treasure, probably dated fourth century B.C., helps to illustrate the links between Sarmatian polychrome metalwork and earlier art.²¹ Each terminal of the torque, in cast gold, is shaped like a couchant feline animal; its tail ends in a griffin head, and its ears, ribs, and other body surfaces are set with inlay cells for colored decoration (Figure 8). Scholars have compared the torque with objects from the contemporary burials at Pazyryk, as well as with pieces in the Oxus treasure; the torque is clearly an example of native Siberian goldwork influenced by Achaemenid art. The feline creatures on the torque are also related to those on the Metropolitan's



FIGURE 8

Detail of cast gold terminal of torque from the Peter the Great treasure, fourth century B.C. Hermitage

roundel. The creeping posture is similar, as are the squarish contours of the creatures; on the Metropolitan's roundel, the inlay cells are enlarged and simplified, but similarly shaped.

The subject of Sarmatian polychromy has been discussed by many scholars, particularly in terms of the Novocherkassk treasure and its relation to earlier Scythian art.²² As Jettmar and others have noted, polychrome metalwork was widespread during the last half of the first millennium B.C., and it is probably wrong to single out the Sarmatians as the sole possessors of such colorful adornment. Yet although polychrome jewelry was made in Achaemenid Persia and in the Greek cities on the Black Sea, it was produced also in Siberia from the late seventh century B.C. on.²³ Sarmatian metalwork may very well have been the offshoot of this Siberian polychrome tradition.

The Aorsi, a tribe of Sarmatians from what is at present central Kazakhstan, moved westward early in the second century B.C. to control the regions of the lower Volga and southern Urals until the middle of the first century A.D.²⁴ According to Strabo, some Aorsi also lived in the northern Caucasus, and "nearly the largest part of the coast of the Caspian Sea was under their power. They were thus enabled to transport on camels the merchandise of India and Babylonia, receiving it from Armenians and Medes. They wore gold also in their dress in consequence of their wealth."²⁵ The Aorsi homeland, their area of expansion, and the lands to which they controlled trade correspond roughly to the provenances of the Peter the Great, Sadovy, and Metropolitan roundels. Strabo's words may very well explain the distribution of the roundels from the Sarmatian-dominated steppes to Iran, where a workshop produced copies of Sarmatian objects for migrant

19. Jettmar, *Art of the Steppes*, pp. 59, 63. M. A. Miller, *Don i Priazov'e v drevnosti: chast' II: Drevniaia istoriia* (Munich, 1958) pp. 95–97. Minns, *Scythians and Greeks*, pp. 233–236.

20. S. I. Rudenko, *Frozen Tombs of Siberia* (Berkeley, 1970) pls. and figs.

21. Barnett, "Art of Bactria," pp. 45–47. Jettmar, *Art of the Steppes*, pp. 185, 187. Rudenko, *Sibirskaiia kolleksiia*, pp. 18–19, 45, pl. xvi.

22. Jettmar, *Art of the Steppes*, pp. 56–64. Minns, *Scythians and Greeks*, pp. 271–282.

23. S. S. Chernikov, *Zagadka zolotogo kurgana* (Moscow, 1965). Jettmar, *Art of the Steppes*, pp. 207–235.

24. Sulimirski, *Sarmatians*, pp. 116–118.

25. Strabo XI. v. 8.

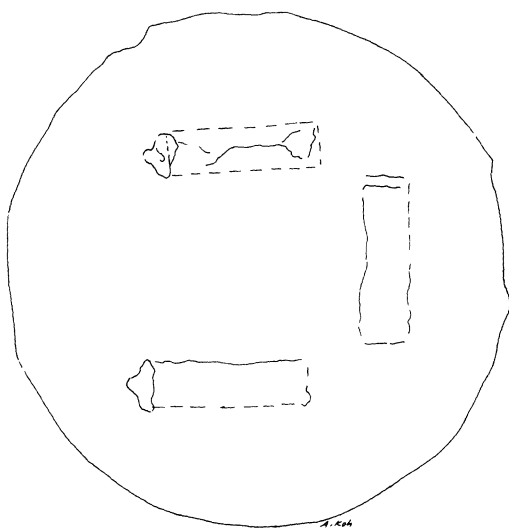


FIGURE 9
Reconstruction of reverse of Metropolitan Museum's roundel

Sarmatians or for nomads like the "Armenians and Medes" who traded with the Sarmatians.

The Azizbeghlou roundel, or rather its mate in a private collection, gives us another clue to the use of the Metropolitan's piece. The Azizbeghlou mate has preserved on its reverse three loops, traces of which can be seen as well on the reverse of the Metropolitan's roundel (Figure 9). The Peter the Great roundels have no backing or reverse loops, although the smaller roundels sometimes have single loops on the rear.²⁶ The Sadovy Kurgan roundels may well have preserved traces of such loops, but the published reports make no mention of any attachments to the metal backing. However, there are a number of phalerae in other styles that do have loops for attachment.

Phalerae, usually of gilded silver, have been found from western Europe to Siberia; there are at least three stylistic groups.²⁷ The westernmost, called Celtic or sometimes Sarmatian, has been found in the Pontic

region, Bulgaria, Rumania, the Netherlands, France, and as far west as the isle of Sark.²⁸ The examples average about 16 cm. in diameter and are decorated with carefully balanced animal scenes, frontal human or divine figures, profile human figures, and geometric designs. They sometimes occur in pairs and sets with smaller phalerae; holes for attachment, or rivets, are often present. Allen has dated a group of these phalerae to the first half of the first century B.C. on the basis of associated Celtic coins, and has suggested a Thracian provenance for some of them. He has also noted that such phalerae were used both as jewelry and as horse trappings.

Another group, which might be called Bosporan, has been discovered in burials and treasure hoards of the regions of the Dnieper, Don, and Kuban Rivers; these are thought to have been produced by Greek workshops in Bosporan cities.²⁹ These too are of gilded silver, with human, animal, or geometric designs, sometimes in pairs and sets of varying sizes, with traces of holes or rivets. Zsetskaia has dated these to the third-first centuries B.C. and has reconstructed one group of ornaments, the Fedulovskii treasure, as a set of horse trappings for bridle and breast strap. The large pair of phalerae in this treasure, some 29 cm. in diameter, has on the reverse three loops for attachment in the same position as those on the Metropolitan's roundel. According to Zsetskaia, the strap across the horse's shoulder passed through the loop at the top of the roundel and met at right angles the strap around the horse's breast; this breast strap passed through the two parallel loops on the roundel. In the opinion of Mary Littauer, this is a plausible arrangement for holding the riding cloth or proto-saddle forward. A small phalera-like plaque is represented as early as the fourth century B.C. on horses on a felt hanging from Kurgan V at Pazyryk (Figure 10).³⁰ Phalerae contemporary with the Metropolitan's roundel can be seen on horses on the Gundestrup cauldron of the second-first centuries

26. Rudenko, *Sibirskaiia kollektsiia*, pl. xxvii, 2, 5, 6.

27. Bunker, "Iron Age Europe," *"Animal Style" Art*, pp. 153-155. E. D. Phillips, *The Royal Hordes: Nomad Peoples of the Steppes* (London, 1965) pp. 102-107. M. Rostovtzeff, *Iranians and Greeks in South Russia* (New York, 1922) pp. 136-139, 232, pl. xxvii. Sulimirski, *Sarmatians*, pp. 140-141.

28. D. F. Allen, "The Sark Hoard of Celtic Coins and Phalerae," *The Numismatic Chronicle* 8 (1968) pp. 37-54. N. Fettich, "Archäologische Beiträge zur Geschichte der Sarmatisch-Daki-

schen Beziehungen," *Acta Archaeologica* 3 (1953) pp. 127-178, pls. xvi-xx. O. Klindt-Jensen, *Gundestrupkedelen* (Copenhagen, 1961) pp. 43-47.

29. Minns, *Scythians and Greeks*, p. 403. Spitsyn', "Falary," pp. 18-53. I. I. Zsetskaia, "Naznachene veshchei Fedulovskogo klada," *Arkheologicheskii sbornik* 7 (1965) pp. 28-36.

30. S. I. Rudenko, *Drevneish'e v mire khudozhestvennye kovry i tkani* (Moscow, 1968) pp. 56-68.



FIGURE 10
Detail of felt hanging from Kurgan V, Pazyryk,
Altai Mountains, fourth century B.C. Hermitage



FIGURE 11
Detail of Gundestrup cauldron, second–first cen-
turies B.C. Danish National Museum, Copen-
hagen

B.C., in the Danish National Museum (Figure 11).³¹ Zasetskaia has stressed that the large phalerae are Sarmatian and were not an item of Scythian harnessing; thus they are to be dated no earlier than the third century B.C. Perhaps the adoption of heavy cavalry by the Samartians was responsible for this elaboration in saddling that occurred across the steppes in the third century B.C.³²

A last group of phalerae has been classified by Trever as Graeco-Bactrian. These again are of gilded silver, except for two gold pieces, and again they occur in pairs and sets of various sizes. The largest phalerae range from 24 to 29 cm., and smaller roundels are 12, 15, and 16 cm. in diameter.³³ The motifs include elephants and riders, the griffin coiled on itself (Figure 6), other animals, and geometric designs. Trever dates these phalerae in the second century B.C. Some of them were excavated in the first quarter of the eighteenth century in Siberia, probably somewhere between the Irtysh and Ob' Rivers; others were found near Kuibyshev on the Volga, near Khar'kov, and around Sukhumi on the Black Sea. This group is connected both by motifs and style with phalerae in the Bosphoran and Celtic groups, and it is apparent that the three groups are regional variants of one type of object. Trever identifies the Graeco-Bactrian phalerae as horse trappings, and several of the pieces have three loops on the reverse like the Bosphoran Fedulovskii roundels.

These gilded silver phalerae of large size, found across the Eurasian steppes and into western Europe, are roughly contemporary with the Metropolitan's roundel and the related pieces of Siberian style.³⁴ The Metropolitan's roundel shares with them the arrangement of three loops on the reverse, and also the tech-

31. Klindt-Jensen, *Gundestrupkedelen*, fig. 36, p. 32; see fig. 37 for another Celtic example. For additional representations of phalerae in art, Trever, *Pamiatniki*, pp. 46–47. For Parthian and Sassanian roundels and phalerae as jewelry and horse trappings, R. Ghirshman, *Persian Art: The Parthian and Sassanian Dynasties* (New York, 1962) p. 48, fig. 164, p. 126, fig. 165, pp. 127–128, fig. 171, p. 135, fig. 196, pp. 153–154, fig. 205, p. 161; and V. G. Lukonin, *Persia II* (Cleveland, 1967) pl. 29.

32. Sulimirski, *Sarmatians*, p. 31.

33. Barnett, "Art of Bactria," pp. 48–49. Trever, *Pamiatniki*, pp. 35–38, 45–61, pls. 1–11.

34. Phalerae have been found as far east as Noin Ula in Mongolia. S. I. Rudenko, *Die Kultur der Hsiung-Nu und die Hügelgräber von Noin Ula* (Bonn, 1969) pp. 7–10, pl. xxxvi, 3.



FIGURE 12

Iranian roundel, late second to early first millennium B.C. Diameter 8.7 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 62.115



FIGURE 13

Iranian roundel, late second to early first millennium B.C. Diameter 9.5 cm. Norbert Schimmel Collection

nique of repoussé gilded silver.³⁵ However, the Metropolitan's roundel is more carefully made than the other phalerae with loops on the rear, since these latter are merely unbacked disks through which the loops are attached by rivets. On the Metropolitan's roundel, the loops were fixed to the iron backing and consequently not visible on the front surface. Stylistically, too, the Metropolitan's roundel and the other Siberian-style pieces form a distinct group. The vast distribution of phalerae from Siberia to the English Channel testifies to the spread of horse trappings, which perhaps were introduced along with heavy cavalry and heavier saddling in the third century B.C. However, the Metropolitan's roundel and other Sarmatian phalerae of this type may have been used as much for jewelry as for horse trappings; their somewhat smaller size, the evidence from Zubov's barrow described above, and the weight and value of the cast gold roundels in the Peter the Great treasure suggest as much.

Although the use of phalerae to hold horses' breast straps in place was probably developed on the steppes, roundels themselves may have originated in the Near East. On Assyrian reliefs from the reign of Tiglath

Pileser III (745–727 B.C.) through the reign of Assurbanipal (668–626 B.C.), figures of soldiers are represented wearing a double baldric with central disk on their chests.³⁶ These disks are thought to have originated in Urartu, and some of the troops shown wearing them may have been Urartean auxiliaries in the Assyrian army. Chariot horses on Assyrian reliefs are decorated with pendant disks from the reign of Assurnasirpal II on (883–859 B.C.); in the reigns of Sennacherib and Assurbanipal these disks also appear on the sides of chariots.³⁷

Several roundels in museums and private collections provide good examples of such Near Eastern plaques.³⁸ One piece, in the Metropolitan Museum, is said to

35. For reasons not yet clear, there was evidently a shortage of gold at both the eastern and western extremities of the Eurasian steppes in the last centuries B.C. Barnett, "Art of Bactria," pp. 51–53; *Treasures from Romania* (London, 1971) pp. 43–44.

36. T. A. Madhloom, *The Chronology of Neo-Assyrian Art* (London, 1970) p. 70, pls. XLIX, 3–5; XLVI, 4; XLIX, 6; LI, 2; LV, 7b.

37. Madhloom, *Chronology*, pp. 15, 22, pls. II, 2; VI, 3–4; VII, 1.

38. P. Amandry, "Un motif 'scythe' en Iran et en Grèce," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 24 (1965) p. 152, note 21, pls. xxvii, 1; xxviii. C. K. Wilkinson, "Art of the Marlik Culture,"

come from the Safid River region of northwest Iran (Figure 12). The roundel is composed of gold and silver foil over bitumen; its diameter is 8.7 cm., and it is decorated with a circle of couchant animals, probably mouflon, around a central rosette. The piece is dated late second–early first millennia B.C. The four metal loops on the bronze backing of the roundel would be appropriate for a double baldric fitting, and it is conceivable that Urartean auxiliaries wore such disks because they were native to areas north and northeast of Assyria. A similar roundel, in the collection of Norbert Schimmel, is also made of bitumen with traces of gold and silver foil; here a frontal human head replaces the central rosette (Figure 13).

These early roundels are related in technique to the Metropolitan and Sadovy Kurgan roundels; in each case, the object is made of gold foil over silver on a metal backing. The decoration, too, is related, in the sense that a row of animals circles a central motif. On the Peter the Great and Sadovy roundels the orientation of the animals is the same as that on the early examples; on the Metropolitan's roundel the animals are reversed, with feet outward. The early roundels may have been worn by Medes, Scythians, and other nomads who were to be found in northwest Iran in the first millennium B.C. That later Iranian-speaking peoples, the Sarmatians, should adopt such objects for their own purposes, seems very appropriate. While it is presently not possible to define the connections between the early Iranian roundels and the later Sarmatian ones, it is likely that a Siberian artistic style evolved from foreign inspiration as well as native Siberian traditions.

Many other influences must have shaped the Sarmatian phalerae in the intervening centuries; coins have been suggested as possible sources for motifs on Bosphoran and Celtic phalerae, and Rudenko has supposed that feltwork inspired polychromy.³⁹ Granted that many hundreds of years separate the early and late roundels, and that the later phalerae were used over

an enormous area by many different peoples, it is amazing that there are any similarities at all. Yet many of the later phalerae are decorated with motifs that occur on the early Iranian roundels—a row of animals, frontal heads, rosettes, geometric decoration. And the various groups of late phalerae have many similarities in motif and composition. A Celtic phalera in the Bibliothèque Nationale has a central circular motif with an outer zone of animals, including griffins (Figure 14), and in a general way the composition is not much different from that of the Metropolitan's roundel. The teardrop-shaped wings on the animals of the Bibliothèque Nationale's phalera may in some sense be related to the colored inlays of the Siberian-style roundels.

The conservatism of preserving a limited repertoire of motifs during long periods of time and over vast distances is characteristic of nomadic art; the Sarmatian phalerae are not unique.⁴⁰ Given this conservatism, it is amazing that local traditions, tastes, and workshops have produced those regional variations

40. Bunker, "The Animal Style," *"Animal Style" Art*, p. 15.

FIGURE 14

Celtic or Thracian phalera of gilded silver, second–first centuries B.C. Diameter 15.5 cm. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris



The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin (1965–66) pp. 108–109. There are two other roundels in the Metropolitan Museum not published here, one similar to Figure 12 (Gift of Jerome Eisenberg, 66.31.1) and one of bronze with cloisonné geometric designs filled with glass paste surrounding a central limestone cone, on a bronze backing with two loops, diameter 8.3 cm. (Gift of Elsa Rabenou, 64.63a, b).

39. Allen, "The Sark Hoard," p. 47. Zasedskaia, "Naznachen'e veshchei," p. 29. Rudenko, *Frozen Tombs*, pp. 271–272.

that do occur. On the Metropolitan's roundel, an interest in color, form, and decoration predominates; on the Bibliothèque Nationale's phalera, the composition is carefully balanced and the figures are arranged to indicate top and bottom.

It is unfortunate that there is no way of knowing whether or not specific meanings were attached to the designs of these phalerae, and whether or not the meanings were as conservative as the designs themselves. In the instance of the Metropolitan's roundel and associated pieces, deer, feline creatures, and griffins were common in Siberian art of the Scythian Period, and it is reasonable to suppose that these animals continued to have some significance for the Sarmatians. Yet the deer on the Metropolitan's roundel is so summary that it is unlikely to have retained the totemic symbolism of Scythian stags, and the feline creatures and griffins of the outer zone have much less vitality than the animals on the Peter the Great and Sadovy Kurgan pieces.

Aside from their possible meaning, the phalerae may have served as emblems or symbols for particular tribes or groups of people. It is also conceivable that the matched sets of horse trappings were created according to a scheme whereby a particular motif

decorated a particular part of a bridle. Whatever the intrinsic meaning of their decoration, there is ample evidence that phalerae were prized possessions in ancient times. The Germans treasured them, and sets of phalerae were awarded to Roman soldiers to be worn on the breast.⁴¹ Xenophon describes a friendly exchange of gifts between Agesilaus and the son of Pharnabazus whereby Agesilaus gave the boy a phalera from round the neck of Idaeus' horse.⁴² The splendor of the Metropolitan's roundel must reflect the piece's value to its ancient owner, and it is probably no accident that the Siberian-style group of phalerae is markedly decorative. Those Sarmatians who "wore gold . . . in their dress in consequence of their wealth" may have intended to flaunt their fortune; we may interpret the emphasis of decoration above content as the artistic expression of this intention.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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Technical notes, gilded silver roundel, 1970.132

PIETER MEYERS and JOAN MISHARA

The roundel is made out of a hammered sheet of silver with gold leaf gilding. The bluish green inlays were set in after the gilding was applied. Although the inlays could not be definitively identified by X-ray diffraction methods, it is assumed that they are made of glass-frit-like material. The present difference in color in the various inlays could be due to chemical deterioration although the possibility of slight initial color differences cannot be excluded. The dark brown material on the back of the roundel was identified as mainly bitumen. It contains fibrous materials, presumably plant fibers. The bitumen is still plastic except on the surface where

it forms a hard crust. The brown crust, however, was identified by X-ray powder refraction as goethite ($\text{Fe}_2\text{O}_3 \cdot 2\text{H}_2\text{O}$). This indicates that an iron backplate was originally placed over the bitumen. This plate is now completely lost, due to corrosion. Its shape was either flat or slightly convex with probably three areas where the iron was cut by two vertical incisions 5-6 cm. long and 1 cm. apart. The strip of metal between the incisions was bent outward to form loops. The impressions of the three bent strips are clearly visible in the bitumen.

41. Allen, "The Sark Hoard," p. 50.

42. Xenophon, *Hellenica* IV. i. 39.

The Cyprus Plates: The Story of David and Goliath

STEVEN H. WANDER

NINE SILVER PLATES with scenes from the life of David, now divided between The Metropolitan Museum of Art and the Museum of Antiquities, Nicosia, were discovered together in Cyprus in 1902. Many scholars have discussed the plates,¹ but no one has yet attempted to see them as a unified narrative group with a precise meaning. In this paper I hope to demonstrate that (1) the plates, by following the biblical text of 1 Samuel, illustrate in full the battle of David and Goliath, (2) the scenes were composed from disparate sources in order to narrate the story, and (3) the plates, dating from the early seventh century,² possibly commemorate a specific historical event from the reign of Emperor Heraclius (610–641).

Most of the plates can be readily associated with specific verses from the biblical text.³ Others have resisted any thoroughgoing interpretation. The Presentation, for example, where David stands to the left of the enthroned King Saul, could refer to any of three different episodes (Figure 1).⁴ Until recently the scene was identified as the first meeting between Saul and David at which time David brought the king gifts of wine and bread from his father, thereby explaining the bags and basket in the exergue.⁵ The text, however, mentions only one skin of wine, not the two shown, nor does it mention a basket, just bread.⁶ The problem is further complicated by the inclusion of an identical set of bags and basket in the Marriage plate, where there

1. O. M. Dalton, "A Second Silver Treasure from the District of Kyrenia, Cyprus," *Archaeologia* 60 (1906) pp. 1–24; O. M. Dalton, "Byzantine Plate and Jewellery from Cyprus in Mr. Morgan's Collection," *Burlington Magazine* 10 (1906–07) pp. 355–362; A. Sambon, "Trésor d'orfèvrerie et d'argenterie trouvé à Chypre et faisant partie de la Collection de M. J. Pierpont Morgan," *Le Musée* 3 (1906) pp. 121–129; C. H. Smith, *Collection of J. Pierpont Morgan. Bronzes: Antique Greek, Roman, etc., Including Some Antique Objects in Gold and Silver* (Paris, 1913); J. Wilpert, "Early Christian Sculpture: Its Restoration and its Modern Manufacture," *Art Bulletin* 9 (1926) pp. 89–141; J. Strzygowski, "The Authenticity of Early Christian Silver," *Art Bulletin* 10 (1928) pp. 370–376; M. Rosenberg, *Der Goldschmiede Merkzeichen* IV (Berlin and Leipzig, 1928) pp. 636–653, nos. 9647–9716; E. Cruikshank Dodd, *Byzantine Silver Stamps*, *Dumbarton Oaks Studies*, no. 7 (Washington, 1961); A. and J. Stylianos, *The Treasures of Lambousa*

(in Greek) (Nicosia, 1969); K. Weitzmann, "Prolegomena to a Study of the Cyprus Plates," *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 3 (1970) pp. 97–111.

2. The stamps on the plates are dated between 613 and 629 or 630 (Dodd, *Silver Stamps*, p. 10).

3. Anointing; 1 Sam. 16:13; Lion Battle, 17:34; Bear Battle, 17:34; Arming of David, 17:38; Battle of David and Goliath, 17:41–51; Marriage, 18:27.

4. 1 Sam. 16:21, 17:31, 17:57.

5. Smith, *Collection of J. Pierpont Morgan*, p. 45; Rosenberg, *Goldschmiede Merkzeichen*, p. 647; Dodd, *Silver Stamps*, p. 182; W. F. Volbach, "Silverware," *Byzantine Art, an European Art*, 2nd ed. (Athens, 1964) p. 423; Stylianos, *Treasures of Lambousa*, p. 25.

6. "And Jesse took an ass laden with bread, and a skin of wine and a kid, and sent them by David his son to Saul" (1 Sam. 16:20).

FIGURE 1

The Presentation of David to Saul. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 17.190.397

is no textual justification whatsoever for the depiction of bread and wine (Figure 2). Kurt Weitzmann recently provided the key for the solution to this problem.⁷ From comparisons with consular diptychs he demonstrated that the bags and basket copy representations of the *sparsio*, the money distributed to the Roman populace at the imperial games. On these diptychs the image of the *sparsio* carries associations of victory and regal munificence;⁸ and once the bags and basket on the silver plates are understood in this way, their inclusion makes good sense both in the Marriage and the Presentation. In 1 Sam. 17:25 David is told that “the man who kills [Goliath], the king will enrich him with great riches, and will give him his daughter.” Thus, the Marriage plate does not simply illustrate the wedding of David and the Princess Michel. More precisely, it renders the reward, both the girl and the money, which David was to receive for slaying Goliath.

The recognition that the *sparsio* alludes to the reward unquestionably identifies the Presentation as the second meeting between David and Saul. Although the reward is not repeated at this time in the text, one can assume that it was discussed when David approached the king in 1 Sam. 17:31 with his offer to fight the Philistine giant. Weitzmann had already identified the

7. Weitzmann, “Prolegomena,” p. 110, figs. 14, 15.

8. The bags in the consular diptych of Boethius, which resemble those in the Presentation, are described as “Siegespreise” (R. Delbrueck, *Die Consulardiptychen und verwandte Denkmäler* [Berlin and Leipzig, 1929] p. 105). These bags in the Boethius diptych accompany “other objects distributed to the victors such as palm leaves, a crown and a plate” (Weitzmann, “Prolegomena,” p. 110). This same nuance of victory seems explicit in the Quadriga tapestry at Aachen where the depiction of the *sparsio* accompanies the representation of a charioteer receiving a “Siegeskranz” (W. F. Volbach and J. Lafontaine-Dosogne, *Byzanz und der christliche Osten*, Propyläen Kunstgeschichte III [Berlin, 1968] p. 193, pl. 65).

FIGURE 2

The Marriage of David. Nicosia, Cyprus, Museum of Antiquities (photo: courtesy John Beckwith, Victoria and Albert Museum; reproduction courtesy The Department of Antiquities, Cyprus)



scene as this second meeting between David and Saul “because a noticeable emphasis was placed in the case of all three central figures on the raised hands that are characteristic of gestures of speech.”⁹ To be more specific, David’s hand gesture would seem to refer to the narration of his victories over the bear and the lion and, in particular, to verse 37 where he says, “The Lord who delivered me from the paw of the lion and from the paw of the bear, will deliver me from the hand of this Philistine.” Such precision in determining the verse is possible because of Saul’s curious acknowledgment with the gesture of benediction. It is in response to this statement of David that Saul says, “Go, and the



FIGURE 3
The Confrontation with Eliab. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 17.190.395

Lord be with you!” This gesture of benediction can only be understood as the direct visual translation of Saul’s response in 1 Sam. 17:37.¹⁰

9. Weitzmann, “Prolegomena,” p. 106.

10. In the Summoning of David the silversmith uses the gesture of benediction as a greeting. But if the artist had wanted to illustrate the first moment of their encounter in the Presentation, David as well as Saul would make the gesture of benediction. Instead, David makes the gesture of speech.

With the Presentation now associated with the second meeting between David and Saul, the nine plates take on a greater coherence than has previously been recognized.¹¹ They illustrate, as a continuous narrative, the episodes leading up to the battle of David and Goliath, thus suggesting an entirely new identification for the small plate showing David speaking to a soldier

FIGURE 4
The Anointing of David. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 17.190.398



(Figure 3). David frequently speaks with soldiers, but just before he meets Saul for a second time, he confronts his brother Eliab (1 Sam. 17:28-30). The warrior in this scene would then be Eliab who did, in fact, follow Saul to battle (1 Sam. 17:13). Moreover, David would

11. Since the Presentation illustrates the second meeting between Saul and David, the plate showing David called by a messenger probably does not refer to 1 Sam. 16:21, where David is summoned to their first meeting. Instead, it would seem to illustrate the only other time when David is called by a messenger. This occurs in 1 Sam. 16:12 when David is summoned for his anointment, an episode depicted on another of the plates.



FIGURE 5

The Battle of David and Goliath. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 17.190.396

be appropriately dressed as a civilian, for he was only bringing provisions to the soldiers' camp. It is at this moment in the story that David discusses the reward for slaying Goliath with his brother. Thus it seems that besides sharing a chronological connection, the Presentation and the Confrontation with Eliab also relate through their references to the reward. No detail in the scene of David speaking with a soldier argues against its identification as the Confrontation with Eliab, and connections in meaning and chronology with the Presentation would seem to confirm it.

One might hesitate to identify this plate as the Confrontation with Eliab if he were not included on another of the plates. Although unnamed, he is the figure on the far right of the Anointing (Figure 4). This can be determined because a figure in an identical, though reversed, pose with the same soul-searching gesture appears above an identifying inscription in the Anointing of the Paris Psalter (Figure 13).¹² As so often

FIGURE 6

The Arming of David. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 17.190.399



in this series where one plate alludes to another, the standard iconographic type for Eliab,¹³ which served both the painters of the Psalters and the silversmith of the plates, is included on the Anointing plate to associate it with the next episode of the cycle, the Confrontation with Eliab.

In size and format the plates fall into three groups. Among the nine, the Battle of David and Goliath is unique both with respect to its greater size (diameter 49.4 cm.) and its composition in three registers (Figure 5). The plates of the second group, comprising the Anointing, the Presentation, the Arming of David (Figure 6), and the Marriage, are all approximately 26 cm. in diameter.¹⁴ Furthermore, they all use an architectural background to indicate the palace and a five-figure frieze composition. The third group includes the Lion Battle (Figure 7), the Bear Battle (Figure 8), the Confrontation with Eliab, and the Summoning of David (Figure 9). In addition to their all being 14 cm. in diameter,¹⁵ they share a simplified landscape setting populated by just two major figures, whether human or animal.

In turn, the two groups of four plates divide into pairs, both in meaning and format. This is most apparent in the animal combats where one scene is very nearly the reverse of the other; in each, David is shown as the victorious warrior. The Marriage and Presentation, by referring to the reward, form a pair: the Marriage represents the fulfillment of the promise made in the Presentation. Besides sharing the bags and basket filled with coins, both have Saul in the center presiding in his regal capacity.

In contrast, the Anointing and the Arming both show David in the center being ceremonially honored. In the Anointing he is consecrated with oil, in the Arming he is crowned with King Saul's own helmet. When seen in conjunction with the sacred act of anointment, the implication of coronation in the Arming becomes ex-

12. H. Buchthal, *The Miniatures of the Paris Psalter* (London, 1938) pp. 18–21, fig. 3; K. Weitzmann, "Der Pariser Psalter ms. grec. 139 und die Mittelbyzantinische Renaissance," *Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft* 1 (1929) p. 180, fig. 7.

13. The iconographic type for Eliab appears in other Byzantine manuscripts. For the Anointing in the Bible of Leo the Patrician and in Vat. cod. gr. 333, see Buchthal, *Paris Psalter*, figs. 27, 71.

14. 26 cm., 26.5 cm., 26 cm., and 26.8 cm. (Dodd, *Silver Stamps*, pp. 181–186).

15. Dodd, *Silver Stamps*, pp. 189–194.



FIGURE 7
The Lion Battle. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 17.190.394

FIGURE 8
The Bear Battle. Nicosia, Cyprus, Museum of Antiquities (photo: courtesy John Beckwith, Victoria and Albert Museum; reproduction courtesy The Department of Antiquities, Cyprus)



plicit. Together these plates show the pair of ceremonies regularly associated in the Byzantine world with the conference of kingship—coronation and consecration.¹⁶ The silversmith obviously intended to associate these two scenes visually: he has Saul in the Arming repeat Jesse's gesture of blessing from the Anointing, and he even uses Samuel as the model for the figure holding

FIGURE 9
The Summoning of David. Nicosia, Cyprus, Museum of Antiquities (photo: courtesy John Beckwith, Victoria and Albert Museum; reproduction courtesy The Department of Antiquities, Cyprus)



the helmet. For both figures the position of the hands and feet are identical. The only striking difference is in costume. In contrast to Samuel, this figure wears a short tunic and chlamys, forcing the silversmith to invent a drapery pattern for the chest. No longer can he use the long robes that flowed over Samuel's right arm to obscure the torso. The result is little better than

16. More precisely, anointment was the ceremony used for conferring kingship in the Old Testament, whereas coronation was used by the Byzantines. See J. M. Hussey, *The Byzantine Empire*, Cambridge Medieval History IV, part 2 (Cambridge, 1966–67) p. 3: "Anointing was added to coronation only in the twelfth century [as] a mark of the especially close relationship existing between God and the ruler, who had in fact always been paid the honor due to the Lord's anointed."

an arbitrary and unnaturalistic series of concentric lines. Since the left arm and shoulder of Saul are so awkwardly rendered, he too must be an adaptation. If complete models for these figures had been available, the silversmith would surely have been able to maintain his highly naturalistic style.

In a comparable way the Summoning of David and the Confrontation with Eliab form a pair. Compositionally, they both show David conversing with another figure in the presence of cosmic symbols. The sun, always placed over David's head, the moon, and several stars appear in a raised compartment at the top of the plate. In terms of their meaning both scenes show David chosen over his brother as the elect of God. In one scene David is called to the anointing to replace his brother Eliab; in the other David is chosen by God to fight Goliath despite Eliab's malicious accusations. Ironically, Eliab's own words from 1 Sam. 17:28 seem to relate the two episodes. Eliab asks, "With whom have you left those few sheep in the wilderness? I know your presumption, and the evil of your heart; for you have come down to see the battle." In the Summoning the artist reveals that in an earlier episode David did not desert "those few sheep" but was called by a messenger from them to become shepherd over all Israel.

The recognition that the plates form pairs allows an arrangement of the eight smaller plates around the largest one in the shape of the Chrismon, the monogram of Christ.¹⁷ In this arrangement the pendant pairs are displayed across from each other while the narrative unfolds in a clockwise direction in near-perfect chronological order (Figure 10). The story begins in the top left-hand corner with the Summoning of David (1 Sam. 16:12), then the Anointing (16:13), the Confrontation with Eliab (17:28), the Presentation (17:31), the Bear Battle (17:34), the Arming (17:38), the Lion Battle (17:34), and finally the Marriage (18:27). There is only one break in the chronological sequence of the

episodes. Both the lion and bear battles are from verse 34 and therefore should precede the Arming. However, by having these scenes enframe the Beheading of Goliath, which they resemble both in scale and composition, the artist is able to call to mind 1 Sam. 17:36, where David says "Your servant has killed both lions and bears; and this uncircumcised Philistine shall be like one of them." Through this arrangement the silversmith is able to create a triad of scenes that illustrate David's prowess as a warrior.

A comparable phenomenon occurs with the group-



FIGURE 10
The plates arranged, and shown in their relative sizes (photo: courtesy Leo Holub, Stanford University)

17. For this combination of the cross and the *chi* as an accepted form of the Chrismon, see F. Cabrol and H. Leclercq, "Chrisme," *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie* III (Paris, 1914) cols. 1500–1503, figs. 2839, 2840; K. Wessel, "Christusmonogramm," *Reallexikon zur byzantinischen Kunst* I (Stuttgart, 1966) col. 1049; E. Dinkler and E. Dinkler-von Schubert, "Kreuz," *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie* II (Rome, 1970) cols. 569–570, fig. 12. For such an arrangement among the scenes of a sarcophagus, see J. A. Gaertner, "Zur Deutung des Junius-Bassus-Sarcophages," *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 83 (1968) pp. 240–264.

ing of the Summoning of David, the Confrontation with Eliab, and the scene in the upper register of the largest plate, the Confrontation with Goliath. All three similar compositions show David selected over another in the presence of cosmic symbols. With the sun always suspended above David's head, it is as if the heavens were assenting to his role as the "chosen one." The divine presence is explicitly revealed in the Confrontation with Goliath where the hand of God reaches out

to David, and in the Summoning where the messenger, in contradiction to the text, is nimbed. No matter whether David is being summoned to Samuel or to Saul, the Bible explicitly states that a human messenger was sent. Yet the silversmith, by bestowing a nimbus and angelic scepter upon the messenger, implies that the Lord is working through a human agent. The cosmic symbols, the hand of God, and the nimbus and scepter of the messenger, reinforce the primary meaning of these three episodes, which all show David as the elect of God.

The middle register of the largest plate, the Battle of David and Goliath, also relates to other plates in the set. Visually it shares with the Anointing, the Presentation, the Arming, and the Marriage not only a comparable scale but also the same frieze composition in which a pre-eminent central group is enframed by subordinate figures. Its connections in meaning are closest to the Presentation and the Marriage, where reference is made to the reward. The Arming and the Anointing seem most closely linked with the adjacent scenes showing David as a victorious warrior and as the elect of God.

With the plates now identified and appropriately arranged around the central episode, it becomes apparent that the artist attempted to illustrate only that portion of David's life that specifically concerns his encounter with the Philistine giant. By following the narrative as recounted in the Old Testament, the plates reveal David's spiritual and physical preparation, the battle itself, and his rewards for victory. The cycle begins with David's spiritual preparation: the Summoning of David and the Anointing. Next come the major episodes leading up to the battle: the Confrontation with Eliab, the Presentation, the narration of the Lion Battle and Bear Battle, and finally the Arming.

In the upper register of the largest plate is the next episode, the Confrontation with Goliath. Since the

hand of God is pointing to David, the artist is able to render not only David's divine support but also the specific moment he says to Goliath, "I come to you in the name of the Lord of hosts, the God of the armies of Israel" (1 Sam. 17:45). The middle register shows the first moments of the battle; the outcome is revealed in the exergue with David beheading the fallen giant. The Marriage, by showing the fruits of David's victory, completes the cycle.

Since this narrative relationship between the nine plates makes them unique among extant Byzantine and Roman silver vessels, it is impossible to find exact parallels for their arrangement among surviving works. Nonetheless, it is known that silver vessels were displayed on tables and cabinets in Roman homes.¹⁸ Silver show-plates were even made in pairs,¹⁹ possibly designed for exhibition on stands like the one found at the Casa del Menandro.²⁰ Furthermore, it has been suggested that three silver dishes from the Mildenhall treasure, the large Oceanus dish and a pair of smaller platters with Bacchic imagery, were probably made as a set.²¹ If this were true, at least two of the compositional principles underlying the Cyprus plates, the use of pairs and the combination of dishes of different dimensions, would find confirmation in existing silverwork. Nevertheless, the far more complex arrangement of pairs conceived by the silversmith of the Cyprus plates would still be unprecedented. This greater complexity, however, would be readily understandable if the nine silver plates, as has been suggested, were made for an important imperial personage.²²

The sources for the Cyprus plates are difficult to determine. There are two Christian cycles illustrating the life of David that may predate the plates, but both pose numerous problems of interpretation. The wooden doors from Sant'Ambrogio, Milan, from the late fourth or early fifth century, have been heavily restored,²³ and the frescoes in Chapel III at Bawit are at best

18. D. E. Strong, *Greek and Roman Gold and Silver Plate* (London, 1966) pp. 125, 130.

19. For a pair of plates showing Attis and Cybele, see E. Pernice and W. Franz, *Der Hildesheimer Silberfund* (Berlin, 1901) pp. 26–28; for a pair of dishes from Hermopolis, Egypt, with female profile busts facing in opposite directions, see A. Adriani, *Le Gobelet en Argent*, Société Royale d'Archéologie d'Alexandrie, Cahier no. 1 (1939) pls. iv, v; for a pair of sixth-century dishes from Egypt, see M. C. Ross, *Catalogue of the Byzantine and Early Mediaeval Antiquities in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection I* (Washington, 1962) pp. 7–9.

20. Strong, *Greek and Roman Plate*, p. 130.

21. Strong, *Greek and Roman Plate*, p. 198, pl. 60. For illustrations of all three plates, see T. Dohrn, "Spätantikes Silber aus Britannien," *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 2 (1949) pls. I–III.

22. P. Grierson, "The Kyrenia Girdle of Byzantine Medallions and Solidi," *Numismatic Chronicle*, 6th series, 15 (1955) p. 69.

23. For the late fourth- or early fifth-century date, see A. Goldschmidt, *Die Kirchenthür des heiligen Ambrosius in Mailand* (Strassburg, 1902) p. 24.

FIGURE 11
The Battle of David and
Goliath. Paris, Biblio-
thèque Nationale, cod.
gr. 139, fol. 4v (photo:
Bibliothèque Nationale)



provincial reflections of contemporary metropolitan works.²⁴ Although these frescoes are helpful for iconographic purposes, they do not resemble the Cyprus plates in style and format as closely as illuminated manuscripts of the Macedonian Renaissance. Weitzmann has examined the relationship of the Cyprus plates to comparable scenes from the illuminated Psalters of the “aristocratic group” and the Vatican Book of Kings cod. 333, carefully defining similarities and dissimilarities between them.²⁵ Several scenes were shown to have particularly close connections with these manuscripts, while differences in detail between the plates and the manuscript illuminations were attributed to the existence of different manuscript recensions. On the other hand, the silversmith may be responsible

for these differences, having transformed his models in order to meet the narrative and compositional requirements of his commission.

The representations of the Battle of David and Goliath on the silver plate and in the Paris Psalter are remarkably similar, pointing to a common source (Figure 11).²⁶ The position, gestures, and garments of both David and the Philistine giant in the middle reg-

24. J. Clédat, “Le monastère et la nécropole de Baouït,” *Mémoires publiés par les Membres de l’Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale du Caire* 12 (1904) pp. 13–29. The frescoes are not securely dated and may well postdate the plates; for the various dates suggested, see K. Wessel, “Bawit,” *Reallexikon*, cols. 580–582.

25. Weitzmann, “Prolegomena.”

26. Weitzmann, “Prolegomena,” p. 97.



FIGURE 12

The beheading of Goliath. Bawit, Chapel III
(photo: after Clédar)

ister of the plate accord closely with those of the upper group on the manuscript page. The figure of David beheading Goliath on the plate also compares with its manuscript counterpart. As Weitzmann has remarked, "Yet in two points the two monuments show essential disagreement." First, David decapitates Goliath from the back "in a rather unusual and dramatic manner."²⁷ Second, the soldiers on the plate accompany the com-

27. Weitzmann, "Prolegomena," pp. 100, 103.

FIGURE 13

The Anointing of David.
Paris, Bibliothèque
Nationale, cod. gr. 139,
fol. 3v (photo:
Bibliothèque Nationale)



bat whereas in the Paris Psalter they hover ambiguously between the two episodes.²⁸ Instead of seeking another recension to explain these details, one may hypothesize that these motifs were employed by the silversmith to harmonize the largest plate with other plates in the group. In both the Bawit fresco (Figure 12) and the large majority of Psalter illustrations David beheads Goliath from the front.²⁹ By reversing the decapitation, the silversmith can use a similarity of composition to relate this episode to the animal combats, where David approaches the beast from above and behind. Likewise, the artist can connect the frieze composition of the middle register of the largest plate with the frieze compositions of the four palace scenes by including the soldiers at the combat instead of at the beheading where they more frequently occur.³⁰

One detail from the middle register of the largest plate unequivocally shows that the designer of the plates was willing to transform his models. In contrast to the Paris Psalter version, the plate shows Goliath's shield from the front, rather than from the back. Since the shield in the Bawit fresco, although held differently, is shown from behind (Figure 14), one can only assume that the silversmith renounced this exciting motif because it would require hammering the plate in from the front, a technically arduous feat.³¹ This modification leaves Goliath's shield awkwardly related to his body and, in comparison with the Paris Psalter, far more prominent, perhaps too prominent.

The Anointing would also seem to depend on an earlier prototype, much like that used for this scene in the Paris Psalter (Figure 13). Even though the ceremony takes place in opposite directions in the two works, there exist numerous similarities in pose, gesture, and dress between David, Jesse, Samuel, and Eliab. But in one detail the figures of Samuel disagree with one another. On the plate Samuel, still holding the horn of oil in his right hand, places his left hand on the

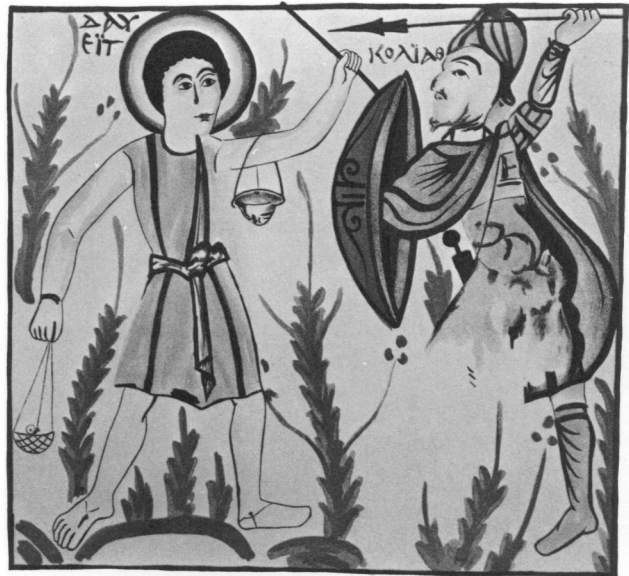


FIGURE 14
The Battle of David and Goliath. Bawit, Chapel III (photo: after Clédat)

head of David. This differs from later Psalter illustrations where Samuel, standing either on the left or right, holds his left hand at his waist.³² Even the third-century fresco of the Anointing from Dura-Europos shows Samuel with his left hand lowered.³³ From the agreement between these later works and the Dura-Europos painting one must conclude that the archetype in at least this detail resembled them. By having Samuel raise both his arms, and by omitting many of David's brothers, the silversmith is better able to visually relate the Anointing and the Arming. Through these modifications, the artist can create a pair of pendant images whose meanings seem to echo one another.

The five objects in the exergue also help to visually connect the Anointing with the Arming as well as with the other two palace scenes. As Matzulewitsch has

28. Weitzmann, "Prolegomena," p. 100.

29. For other illustrations of David beheading Goliath from the front, see J. Lassus, "Les Miniatures Byzantines du Livre des Rois," *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire* 45 (1928) fig. 7; Weitzmann, "Prolegomena," figs. 8, 9.

30. Soldiers also appear at the scene of the beheading of Goliath in cod. gr. 274 in the Public Library, Leningrad (Weitzmann, "Prolegomena," fig. 4).

31. On the silver dish showing Aphrodite in the Tent of

Anchises, in the Hermitage, Leningrad, a shield is rendered from the back. The metal, however, does not appear to be hammered in from the front; see L. Matzulewitsch, *Byzantinische Antike* (Berlin and Leipzig, 1929) p. 26, pl. 3.

32. For illustrations of the Anointing from the Marciana Psalter, the Bible of Leo the Patrician, Vat. cod. gr. 333, and the Paris Gregory, see Buchthal, *Paris Psalter*, figs. 26, 27, 71, 75.

33. C. H. Kraeling, *The Synagogue, The Excavations at Dura-Europos, Final Report, VIII, part 1* (New Haven, 1956) pl. 66.

remarked, the sword, the slain heifer, the altar, the shepherd's staff, and the ram are explained by the "geschichtlichen Umständen" of the Anointing.³⁴ To avoid the wrath of Saul, Samuel came to Jesse under the guise of sacrificing a heifer (1 Sam. 16:2). The shepherd's staff and the ram would then allude to David having been summoned from his flocks. The presence of the ram at the Anointing would also seem to discredit Eliab's later accusation that David would desert his flocks. In any case, these five objects seem to have been added to the scene, as if from a pattern book, to elaborate upon the story and the meaning of the plate.

The Summoning of David has close ties with illustrations of David and Melodia from other manuscripts of the aristocratic Psalter group. The position of David compares with that of his counterparts in the Ambrosiana Psalter and in the Barberini Psalter (Figure 15).³⁵

FIGURE 15

David as Harper. Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Psalter MS. M. 54 sup., fol. 111v (photo: Biblioteca Ambrosiana)



In all of them David sits upon a hill or rock with a harp in his left hand. The silver plate, however, distinguishes itself by having David incline his head to his right and raise his right hand in greeting. Although a more logical representation would have shown David turning his right shoulder into the background to face the messenger, it is David's left shoulder that is foreshortened. His torso twists to his left as if he were still playing the harp. And just as in these later Psalter illustrations, the drapery about David's neck falls to his left as if it were still pressed between his arm and chest.

David's raised right arm and inclined head would seem to be seventh-century adjustments of an earlier harping figure.³⁶ This is especially apparent from the head, which seems to copy the prototype of the Ambrosiana David. In both figures the coiffures, the facial features, and even the position of the head in three-quarter view are identical. The only difference is that the silversmith, disregarding the head's anatomical connection with the spinal column, has tilted it slightly to the left so that David can acknowledge the approaching messenger. This scene must be a seventh-century creation, joining a running figure and a harping David in order to narrate the episode. The figure of David is far too inconsistent anatomically to be a creation of the same age that produced models for the Anointing and the Battle of David and Goliath.³⁷

Two other scenes, the Arming of David and the Confrontation with Eliab, seem to be adaptations of other plates rather than copies of earlier illustrations. In depictions of the arming of David, as at Bawit or in the Vatican Book of Kings cod. 333, the young shepherd usually stands in battle regalia to one side of

34. Matzulewitsch, *Byzantinische Antike*, pp. 26–27.

35. For the Harping David of the Barberini Psalter, see Buchthal, *Paris Psalter*, fig. 21.

36. For the opposite view, see K. Weitzmann, "The Psalter Vatopedi 761: Its place in the Aristocratic Psalter Recension," *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* 10 (1947) p. 39: "The plate with the harping David and the messenger must also be understood as a copy of a miniature in an aristocratic Psalter and, because of its literal illustration of the text, it seems to reflect the archetype even more closely than any of the later Psalter miniatures."

37. The costume of David, which recalls the ultimate prototype for all these harping figures, Orpheus playing the lyre, also suggests that the Summoning was composed at a later date. If all the plates were copied from an early cycle illustrating the whole life of David, the shepherd would probably be shown here in the same short tunic and chlamys that he wears before both Saul and Samuel. The different costumes argue for different sources.



FIGURE 16
The Arming of David. Bawit, Chapel III (photo:
after Clédât)

the enthroned King Saul (Figure 16).³⁸ On the plate, however, David stands in the center with King Saul on the left. As already demonstrated, their positions as well as that of Saul's servant would seem to depend on the parallel figure placements of Jesse, David, and Samuel in the Anointing.

The Confrontation with Eliab is unquestionably patterned on the scene of the Confrontation with Goliath in the upper register of the largest plate.³⁹ The poses, gestures, garments, and even the size of the figures are remarkably close. For the Confrontation with Eliab the silversmith has simply removed the shepherd's staff with which David approached the Philistine giant (1 Sam. 17:40). This modification, however, has cost David his left hand. As in the Arming and the Summoning of David, the seventh-century silversmith is able to adapt images to the needs of his narrative;

38. For the Arming in Vat. cod. gr. 333, see Weitzmann, "Prolegomena," fig. 13.

39. The source for the Confrontation with Goliath may be Psalter illumination, see Weitzmann, "Prolegomena," p. 104: "As a scene in itself [the Confrontation with Goliath] does not exist in any extant copy, but there are, nevertheless, indications that it had existed in the archetype."

but his many anatomical errors reveal that he is no longer capable of creating new ones *ex nihilo*.⁴⁰

The sources of the other four plates, the Lion Battle, the Bear Battle, the Presentation, and the Marriage, probably do not come from manuscript illumination. Psalter illustrations of the lion and bear battles usually show David confronting the animal head-on, with or without a weapon.⁴¹ In contrast, on the two plates David kneels on the back of the beast, his left hand grasping it, his upraised right hand holding a weapon. As shown by such works as the marble relief of Hercules and the Cerynean Hind in the National Museum, Ravenna,⁴² and the Samson textile in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection (Figure 17), this compositional for-

40. For a discussion of the anatomical misunderstandings that occur so frequently on seventh-century silver vessels, see Matzulewitsch, *Byzantinische Antike*.

41. For the illustrations in the Paris Psalter and the Marciana Psalter, see Buchthal, *Paris Psalter*, figs. 2, 26.

42. W. F. Volbach, *Early Christian Art* (New York, [1962]) pl. 180.

FIGURE 17
Samson textile (detail). Washington, D.C.
Dumbarton Oaks Collection (photo: Dumbarton
Oaks Collection)

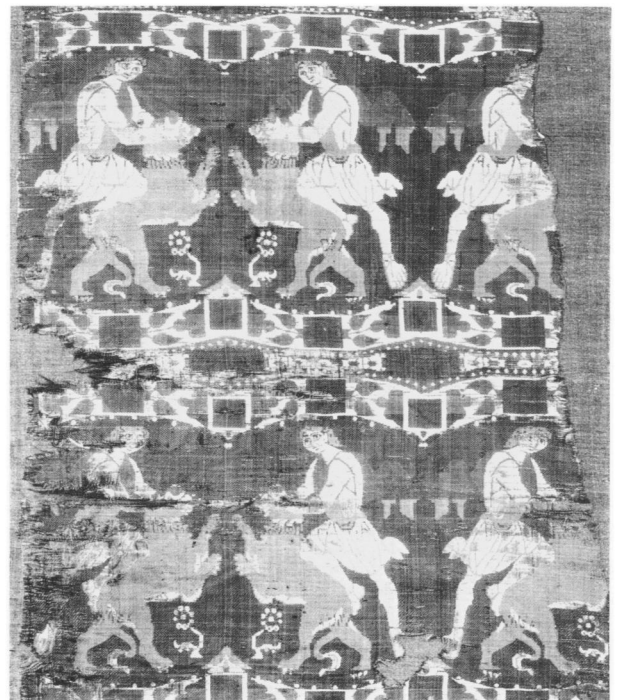




FIGURE 18

Gold medallion from a marriage belt. Washington, D.C., Dumbarton Oaks Collection (photo: Dumbarton Oaks Collection)

mula, which ultimately derives from representations of Mithra slaying the bull,⁴³ was employed in contemporary Byzantine art. Probably one such image served as the model for both plates. The two animal combats are so similar that the silversmith must have modified the details of a single model to meet the narrative requirements of both episodes. In this way the artist could obtain the reversed compositions necessary for a pendant pair.

Likewise, the Marriage of David is rarely found in illuminated manuscripts.⁴⁴ This type of ceremony, the *dextrarum junctio* or joining of the right hands, however, is represented frequently on Byzantine coins and medallions. On a fifth-century coin Emperor Theodosius II performs the ceremony for Valentinian III and Eudoxia.⁴⁵ On two gold medallions, one in the De Clercq Collection, Paris, and another in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection (Figure 18),⁴⁶ Christ takes the

place of the emperor; but in its general lines the representation of the ceremony remains the same.

Since neither the Marriage nor the animal combats would seem to derive from manuscript illumination, it is not necessary to presume such a derivation for the Presentation. Its connections seem much closer to imperial art in general and to the *Missorium* of Theodosius in particular (Figure 19). Such details as the architectural background or palace *fastigium*, the enthroned emperor, the costumes, and the bodyguards appear on both works. David and the figure to the right of Saul could easily be adapted from other sources. The figure of David recalls his counterparts in the confrontation scenes; the other figure, as has frequently been noticed, resembles a saint on a fifth-century ivory plaque in Paris.⁴⁷ A Byzantine vessel much like the *Missorium*, conceivably forged in the same workshop as the Cyprus plates, must lie behind the overall composition of the Presentation.

After study of the sources of the nine silver plates, both their principal figure arrangements and the subordinate objects included with them, one conclusion stands out beyond all others. The nine compositions are not mindless copies of earlier works. They are creations of a seventh-century artist who sought, through the use of earlier models, to narrate a specific biblical story. The models for the plates have been transformed both to narrate the story of David and Goliath and to create a meaningful, harmonious arrangement. There is not one plate in the series whereon the silversmith has not adjusted his models, adding and subtracting elements as necessary, in order to achieve his overriding purpose.

The nine silver plates were certainly made in Constantinople⁴⁸ and probably for a very high court official.⁴⁹ The plates were found with an enormous treasure of gold jewelry including a girdle of Byzantine medallions and solidi. According to Philip Grierson, "There

43. J. Beckwith, *The Art of Constantinople*, 2nd. ed. (London, 1968) p. 53.

44. See Volbach, "Silverware," p. 424; the author states that the marriage of David is "not shown in any Psalter." For the existence of the marriage of David in a Book of Kings, see Lassus "Les Miniatures Byzantines," p. 71, catalogue no. 46b.

45. Dalton, "A Second Silver Treasure," fig. 1.

46. For the marriage belt in the De Clercq Collection, see M. C. Ross, "A Byzantine Gold Medallion at Dumbarton Oaks," *Dum-*

barton Oaks Papers 11 (1957) p. 258, fig. 12; for the marriage belt in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection, see Ross, *Catalogue* II, pp. 37-39.

47. E. Kitzinger, "Byzantine Art in the Period between Justinian and Iconoclasm," *Berichte zum XI Internationalen Byzantinisten-Kongress* (Munich, 1958) fig. 5; E. Rosenbaum, "The Andrews Diptych and Some Related Ivories," *Art Bulletin* 36 (1954) fig. 4.

48. Dodd, *Silver Stamps*, p. 23.

49. Kitzinger, "Byzantine Art," p. 7.

can have been few dignitaries in the empire able to afford a girdle weighing nearly a pound of gold, the equivalent of a quarter of a year's salary of an average provincial governor, to say nothing of the other valuable objects included in the Kyrenia treasure."⁵⁰

The Cyprus plates may even have been made for Emperor Heraclius himself. Silver vessels from the sixth and seventh centuries usually have either figures drawn from classical mythology for secular consumption, or from the New Testament for use as religious vessels in the celebration of the Mass. Among extant works, this rendering of an Old Testament cycle is unique.⁵¹ Yet there is one event from the history of the period that seems most evocative of the David and Goliath story. According to the chronicler Nicephorus, among others,⁵² Heraclius was challenged by the Persian general Razatis to single combat. Nicephorus even mentions that Heraclius fought Razatis because the other soldiers in the army refused.⁵³ Although the specific details of the combat are not at all like the David story, the final

result, with Heraclius triumphing over his enemy and beheading Razatis, is suggestive of the biblical tale.

This battle occurred on the twelfth of December, 627, near the Great Zab River, a tributary of the Tigris.⁵⁴ Thus, the river god who appears so prominently on the largest plate may refer not only to the stream (χείμαρρος) from which David drew the five stones (1 Sam. 17:40), but also to the battlefield of Heraclius' great victory.⁵⁵ To my knowledge, there are no contemporary documents linking this event in Heraclius' life with the biblical narrative; but when Martina, the wife of Heraclius, gave birth to a son three years later, he was named David.⁵⁶ Certainly the drawing of such a parallel between David and Heraclius would not be foreign to the Byzantine mind. In his panegyric poems to Heraclius, George of Pisidia, the court poet, repeatedly compares the emperor to the greatest Old Testament figures. Heraclius in imitation of Moses (Μωσῆς νέος) turns his armies against the second Pharaoh.⁵⁷ As the "New Daniel" (Δανιηλ ὁ δεύτερος), the emperor quenches the fire in the furnace of Persia.⁵⁸ Heraclius is even the "Noah of the new world" (ὁ Νῶε τῆς νέας οἰκουμένης), saving humanity from the deluge of Chosroes.⁵⁹

In a poem about Heraclius' final campaign against the Persians, George of Pisidia mentions the emperor's battle with Razatis. At this time he may even have compared Heraclius to David, but this cannot be known for sure. Except for fragments that can be gleaned from a comparison between the *Suidae Lexicon* and the text of the *Chronographia* of Theophanes, the

FIGURE 19

Missorium of Theodosius I. Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia (photo: Hirmer Fotoarchiv)



50. Grierson, "Kyrenia Girdle," p. 69.

51. For one silver plate with the Old Testament episode of David slaying the lion, see L. Matzulewitsch, "A Summary: Byzantine Art and the Kama Region" *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6th series, 31 (1947) fig. 2.

52. Nicephorus, *Opuscula Historica*, ed. Charles de Boor (Leipzig, 1880) p. 19; Sébéos, *Histoire d'Héraclius*, ed. F. Macler (Paris, 1904) p. 84; Theophanes, *Chronographia*, *Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae* XLVI (Bonn, 1851) pp. 489–492.

53. Nicephorus, *Opuscula Historica*, p. 19.

54. A. Stratos, *Byzantium in the Seventh Century I* (Amsterdam, 1968) pp. 210–212.

55. For the identification of this river god as a personification of the Valley of Elath, see K. Weitzmann, *Studies in Classical and Byzantine Manuscript Illumination* (Chicago, 1971) p. 157.

56. Stratos, *Byzantium*, p. 264.

57. George of Pisidia, *Expeditio Persica* III, l. 415.

58. George of Pisidia, *Heraclius I*, l. 16.

59. George of Pisidia, *Heraclius I*, l. 84.

poem is entirely lost.⁶⁰ And among these fragments one of the largest lacunae exists at exactly that point in the narrative where Heraclius goes out to fight Razatis.⁶¹ Possibly a more comprehensive study of the literature will determine whether such a comparison between David and Heraclius is historically founded. Nonetheless, the hypothesis may be offered that it was the battle of Heraclius and Razatis that led to the conception of this unique cycle of silver plates following the emperor's triumphant return to Constantinople in 628.

Certainly the iconography of the plates declares this connection to the imperium. The four palace scenes illustrate imperial ceremonies. In the Presentation King Saul sits enthroned, accompanied by numerous symbols of his regal authority: the palace architecture, the nimbus, the bodyguards, and the sparsio. In the Marriage Saul presides over an ancient Roman ritual, while in the Anointing and the Arming reference is made directly to consecration and coronation. In the Confrontation with Goliath, David even carries a royal scepter.⁶² As can be seen with the use of the halo, it is the imperial figures who are nimbed, not the Jewish prophet Samuel. André Grabar has already noted that

the artist was attempting to create a parallel between the reign of David and that of Heraclius.⁶³ And given their narrative focus, the plates may well have been intended to allude to Heraclius' victory over Razatis. Certainly there are few Old Testament events that could better dignify Heraclius' victory over the Persian general than David's triumph over the Philistine giant.

Although the exact nature of this historical parallel must remain a matter for speculation, it seems certain that the nine plates were composed from diverse sources for display together. When seen together, they add an entirely unexpected dimension of meaning to the epic story of David and Goliath. Nuances of victory, divine intervention, and imperial grandeur vibrate through the cycle. The Cyprus plates are a supreme artistic creation, worthy of the heroic age of Heraclius that produced them.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

I here express my debt of gratitude to Professor Suzanne Lewis of Stanford University for her careful guidance and patient assistance in the preparation of this article.

60. Georgio di Pisidia, *Poemi, i Panegirici Epici*, Studia Patristica et Byzantina 7, ed. A. Pertusi, (Ettal, 1959) p. 31.

61. Georgio, *Poemi*, p. 305.

62. Weitzmann, "Prolegomena," p. 103; "David clad in tunic and mantle, stands at ease and leans on a staff, which according to the text (verse 40) should be a shepherd's staff (= βακτηρία), but in reality is a scepter."

63. A. Grabar, *L'Empereur dans l'art byzantin* (Paris, 1936) pp. 96-97.

The Biron Master and His Workshop¹

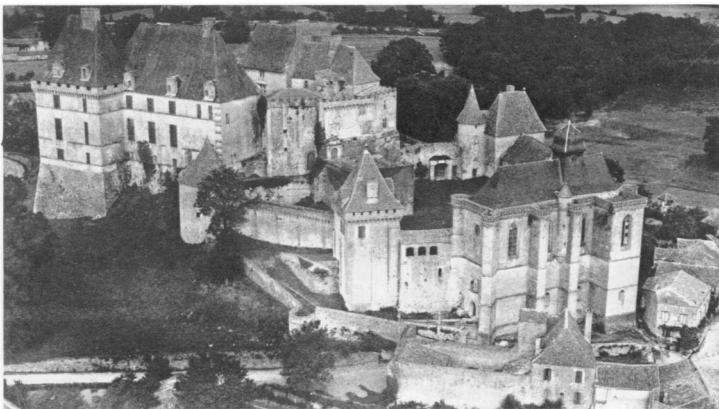
WILLIAM H. FORSYTH

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HIGH ABOVE THE PLATEAU south of the Dordogne valley in southwestern France stands the château of Biron, rude, warlike, and feudal (Figure 1), the seat of the most ancient and one of the most important baronies of Périgord. This stronghold belonged to the Gontaut family, for whom the sword had always been more than a symbol of rank, and whose stern motto was *PERIT SED IN ARMIS* ("He perishes but only in arms"). Of Gascon origin, fiery in temperament and bold and resourceful in maintaining its rights and privileges in the turbulent world of the times, the family

FIGURE 1

Château of Biron, showing, at right, the seigneurial chapel built upon the village church (photo: Ray-Delvert, Editions Aériennes CIM Combier)



has had its share of famous men. Two of its doughty seigneurs, Armand and Charles de Gontaut, each in succession a marshal of France, were stormy figures in sixteenth-century French history.

It is about Pons de Gontaut, seigneur of Biron and grandfather of the first Maréchal de Biron, and about Pons' younger brother Armand, bishop of Sarlat, that we are here concerned, and in particular about the remarkable series of sculptures that Pons and Armand had made for the seigneurial chapel of the château, a chapel founded by Pons. These sculptures include a Pietà group, showing the Virgin holding the dead Christ in her lap, flanked by kneeling figures of Pons and Armand; a monumental group representing the Entombment of Christ; and the tombs of the two brothers.

Paul Vitry was the first in modern times to recognize the importance of the sculptures and to extol their high quality. His article, modest though it is, set the pace for their subsequent study.² Pierre Pradel, who until recently occupied Vitry's former chair as Curator-in-chief of the European sculpture department at the Louvre, has shown an intuitive understanding of the sources of their style, although he has made no particu-

1. Some of this material is presented in abbreviated form in my book *The Entombment of Christ: French Sculptures of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (Cambridge, Mass., 1970) pp. 114–122, figs. 160–180.

2. Paul Vitry, "Les Sculptures du château de Biron," *Les Arts* 3 (March, 1904) pp. 8–19.

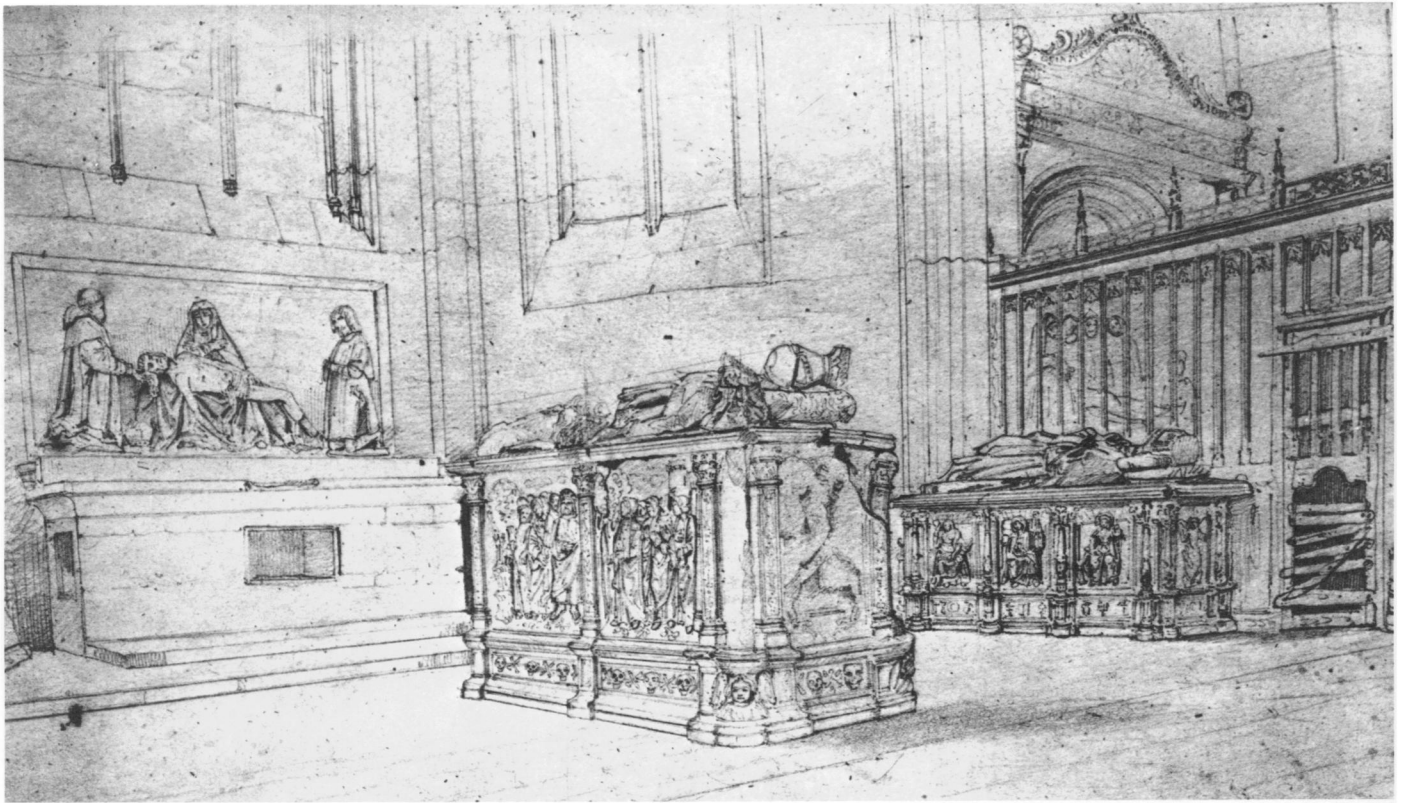


FIGURE 2

Drawing of the interior of the chapel, 1847, by Léo Drouyn (property of the Société Historique et Archéologique du Périgord). The Pietà at the left, above the main altar, the tomb of Pons de Gontaut before it, the tomb of Armand de Gontaut at the right, and the Entombment visible in the side chapel beyond the wood screen (photo: courtesy Jean Secret)

lar study of the sculptures themselves.³ The present study must begin with an acknowledgment of debt to both these writers; it will attempt to sharpen and amplify their observations as they apply to the Biron sculptures.⁴

A drawing of the interior of the chapel made in 1874 shows the four sculptures as they then were (Figure 2). Both the chapel and the sculptures suffered damage

during the Revolution, and by 1839 the building was in such a state that a local art historian predicted its ruin.⁵ Eventually, two of the sculptures, the Pietà and the Entombment, were sold by the proprietor; in 1907 these were acquired by J. Pierpont Morgan, who in that year placed them on loan in the Metropolitan Museum. In 1916 his son J. P. Morgan gave them to the Museum in his father's name as one of a series of

3. Pierre Pradel, *Michel Colombe: Le dernier imagier gothique* (Paris, 1953) p. 105, attributes the Entombment to a Touraine workshop. On the basis of the detail photographs I showed him of our sculptures, he now perceives a more direct connection to Bouronnais.

4. I acknowledge here the many kindnesses of Professor Paul Roudié of Bordeaux in facilitating my investigations.

5. See l'Abbé Audierne, "Notice sur les églises du département de la Dordogne," *Bulletin Monumental* 1 (1834) pp. 197-198, and

"Rapport des monuments du moyen-âge et de la renaissance dans le département de la Dordogne," *Bulletin Monumental* 5 (1839) p. 347; also "Quelques souvenirs sur le château de Biron," *Annales agricoles et archéologiques de la Dordogne* 3 (1842) p. 367; 4 (1843) p. 38. After World War II the French government, through its Service des Monuments Historiques, completed an extensive restoration of the fabric of the chapel. F. Tétard-Anne, "Le château de Biron," *L'Information d'histoire de l'art* 12, no. 5 (1967) pp. 224-227.

great donations that were to form the core of the Medieval Department.⁶ (This Morgan donation is not to be confused with a later acquisition by the Museum of drawings from the collection of the Marquis de Biron, who was apparently the same person who had sold the sculptures.⁷)

The two other sculptures, the tombs, have remained in the chapel. They are later in date than the Pietà and the Entombment, and at first glance they seem to be too different in style to be related to them.⁸ However, a close examination reveals that beneath their differences all the Biron sculptures are interrelated, having similar figural proportions, stylistic motifs, and details of drapery and ornament. Moreover, there is a continuity that can be traced from sculpture to sculpture. In this tracing one sees in miniature the evolution from Gothic to Renaissance in France, reflected in one workshop active in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. "Gothic" did not become "Renaissance" overnight in one sudden transformation; it evolved in a successive number of little changes such as occurred in the Biron workshop. Part of the gap in continuity between the Pietà and the Entombment and the two later tombs is bridged by three other sculptures in southwest France that show that the Biron Master and his workshop were active in the region. These are a Deposition-Pietà, originally from the church of the Cordeliers in Rodez, now reposing above a side altar of the small church at Carcenac near Salmiech; a Pietà at Rodelle near Rodez; and an Entombment at Bordeaux.⁹ All of these will be discussed further on.

Pons de Gontaut, the founder of the chapel, fell heir to the barony of Biron on the death of his father, Gaston. Prisoner of the English for forty years, Gaston is said to have sent word to all his captains not to yield

an inch of land "though the English cut off his head before the portals of one of his places."¹⁰ As a soldier, Pons fought for Charles VIII in Brittany, and in 1495 accompanied him on his Italian expedition where he was wounded at the battle of Fornovo. As a courtier, he served as gentleman-in-waiting to Charles, and then as his councilor, maître d'hôtel, and royal écuyer-tranchant.¹¹ Pons was twice married, first in 1489 to Madeleine de Rochechouart, daughter of Marguerite d'Amboise, and after her death to Marguerite de Faubournet de Montferrand.¹²

In 1495, while in Italy, Pons, accompanied by his brother Armand, obtained a bull from the Borgia pope Alexander VI authorizing him to demolish the old parish church of Saint Michel at Biron "because it was small and inconvenient," and to build a new church as well as a new chapel, the latter to be dedicated to "Notre-Dame de Pitié" and to be served by six vicars.¹³ The church was for the parishioners whose houses clustered at the base of the château, while the chapel, built on top of the church, was included within the precincts of the château and was entered from its lower courtyard. The common outer wall of church and chapel was also the outer wall of the château, and, taken together, the two structures occupied a strategic position in the château's defense works. They were part of the reconstruction program that followed the Hundred Years War, during which the château suffered considerable damage. The chapel's semimilitary aspect is suggested by the openwork coping around the top, serving as a parapet for the sentry walk behind it.

It is uncertain when the chapel was completed.¹⁴ The château's archives were burnt in a fire in 1539 and only secondary sources remain.¹⁵ A summary of titles of the missing archives, made in 1792, contains an

6. Roger E. Fry, "Sculptures from the château de Biron," *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (1908) pp. 134-140; Joseph Breck, *The Pierpont Morgan Wing: A Handbook* (Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1929) pp. 132-136; Joseph Breck, *Catalogue of Romanesque, Gothic and Renaissance Sculpture* (Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1913) nos. 156, 157; James J. Rorimer, "Recent reinstallations of medieval art," *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (1948) pp. 199-206.

7. J. Byam Shaw, "The Biron Collection of Venetian Eighteenth-Century Drawings at the Metropolitan Museum," *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 3 (1970) p. 237, note 5.

8. Vitry, "Les Sculptures," pp. 8-19, and Paul Vitry and Gaston Brière, *Documents de sculpture française: Renaissance*, première partie (Paris, 1911).

9. These sculptures are briefly discussed by Jacques Bousquet in "Le Problème de l'originalité de l'école de sculpture languedocienne à la fin de l'époque gothique," *L'Information d'histoire de l'art* 13, no. 5 (1968) pp. 208-222.

10. Countless such tales cluster about members of this famous family, some based on fact and some doubtless legendary.

11. F. A. A. De La Chenaye-Desbois and Badier, *Dictionnaire de la noblesse* IX (Paris, 1866) pp. 418-419.

12. Anselme, *Histoire* IV, pp. 124, 125; VI, p. 303.

13. For documents relating to the founding of the chapel, see Appendix.

14. Vitry, "Les Sculptures," p. 13, gives 1524 as the year of the chapel's consecration; this, however, is the year of Pons' death.

15. Tétard-Anne, "Le château," p. 224.

extract taken from a lost *procès-verbal* of June 20, 1499, which reports that the demolishing and rebuilding of the parish church of Biron then “was done.” Although there is no specific mention here that the chapel had then also been completed, its completion must have at least been expected in the near future since the lost document also recorded the statutes Pons enumerated for the vicars of the chapel to follow. One can be sure that Pons and Armand would have seen to it that work on the chapel was begun and carried out as soon as possible after the completion of the parish church that served as its substructure. Camille Enlart, without quoting his source, gives 1501 as the year of its completion;¹⁶ this date is a plausible one, to judge by the flamboyant architecture of the chapel. When the *chanoine Tarde*, writing in the seventeenth century,¹⁷ gave 1515 as the year when the canons of the Biron chapel began to hold services in their chapel “newly built and endowed by Pons de Gontaut,” he must have been referring to a bull of Leo X, issued in 1519, authorizing the establishment of a college of canons at Biron, and not to the date of the construction of the chapel. It is likely that the six vicars mentioned in the 1499 document had been replaced by the college of canons authorized by the pope. It is inconceivable that Pons de Gontaut would have allowed twenty years to elapse before finishing his new chapel, since its building was obviously his principal interest. It is perhaps not a coincidence that Leo’s bull for the establishment of the college of canons was issued in the same year that Armand retired from the bishopric of Sarlat and was made titular archbishop of Nazareth. Was the pope’s action both to honor Armand further in his retirement at Biron and to please Pons? And did Armand facilitate matters by supplying extra funds for this new foundation from the revenues of the see of Sarlat, which it is known he reserved for his own use at his retirement?

The bull of 1495 stipulated that Armand and the abbot of Cadouin were to supervise the demolishing and rebuilding of the church. Since the abbot of Cadouin was reported to be old and weak, the supervision must have fallen entirely into Armand’s willing hands. The record shows that Armand took great

pleasure in such building. For example, he rebuilt the church of Issigeac “d’un seul jet” and proudly placed his initials on each of its piers. He also erected the château of Bannes, an imposing structure on a well-chosen site not too far from Biron. Another château, at Rosan, occupied by a niece, apparently bore over its entrance the arms of the Gontauts (now mutilated) topped by episcopal insignia.¹⁸ Further, Armand boldly tore down his cathedral church at Sarlat with the intention of putting up a more worthy edifice. His epitaph, placed near his tomb by Jean de Gontaut, his nephew and heir, calls him “repairer of shrines” and “builder of imperishable temples to God.” Armand’s personal interest in Biron is proven by the fact that he retired there after giving up his bishopric. One cannot, of course, discount the part that Pons must have played as the founder of the chapel, but the place of honor in the Pietà group, which Armand’s statue occupies, where he is represented holding the head of Christ, was probably not merely a courtesy due the episcopal rank of the younger brother but also an acknowledgment of the responsibilities he bore in the construction of the chapel.

Armand was no cloistered churchman but an eager and ambitious prelate who won possession of his episcopal see of Sarlat only after a six years’ struggle. The temper of the man was already manifest in 1485, when Armand seized the church of Capdrot in his future diocese to prevent the election of another man as archpriest, a post Armand coveted for himself. Seven years later, at the death of his uncle Pierre de Salignac, bishop of Sarlat, the king appointed Armand as bishop, but the canons of the cathedral opposed his election and stubbornly sought to maintain their privilege of choosing their own bishop. Armand fought for his office against four other candidates of the cathedral chapter who appealed against him in court after court, ecclesiastical and civil, in Bordeaux, Périgueux, Cahors, and even in Rome and Paris. The contest was also fought out on home ground, the bishop’s residence in Sarlat changing hands several times in the course of the struggle. The matter was finally settled by a royal decree enforcing the rights of Armand, the “*aimé et*

16. Camille Enlart, *Manuel d’archéologie française. Architecture Civile* 11, 1 (Paris, 1929) p. 73, note 1.

17. *Les Chroniques de Jean Tarde, chanoine théologique et vicaire*

général de Sarlat . . . Annotés par le Vicomte G. de Gérard (Paris, 1887). See also *Gallia Christiana* II (Paris, 1720) cols. 1520–1523.

18. Paul Roudié showed me this château.

féal conseiller” of the king. When Armand was at last consecrated bishop in 1498, it was not at Sarlat but at Limoges, after which he took “peaceful possession” of his see, to use the phrase of the chronicler Jean Tarde, who recounts the whole lively story in some detail.

When Armand resigned his see in 1519 and became titular archbishop of Nazareth, the “episcopal fruits” he kept included benefices of the wealthy deanery of Issigeac, whose church he had rebuilt. So complete was Armand’s control of these benefices that the four bishops who succeeded him had no revenues from their office on which to live.

The chapter of Sarlat won a last victory over Armand in 1530 when the Parlement of Bordeaux condemned him to pay an annual fine of 660 livres for the “reparation” of the “degradations under his episcopate” that the cathedral church had suffered. In 1504 Armand had had the old church torn down, and he never finished its rebuilding. The victory of the canons in 1530, turned out to be an empty one, for Armand died a year later.

One suspects that the question of Armand’s candidacy must have been brought to the pope’s attention when the papal bull of 1495 appointed him one of the two commissioners to see to the construction of the chapel at Biron. Since he had no scruples about holding onto his episcopal benefices after his retirement, it hardly seems likely Armand would have hesitated, while bishop, to use such funds for the family chapel. His active interest in the building program of the chapel is indicated by his appointment of the prior Jean de Plamon as overseer of the work. Jean may have been related to Guillaume Planon, dean of the chapter of Sarlat, and perhaps an ally of Armand’s who laid the first stones of the new cathedral begun by Armand in 1505.

THE BIRON PIETÀ

The earliest of the Biron sculptures is the Pietà, whose Italian term for the sorrowing Virgin and dead Christ can be translated into French as Notre-Dame de Pitié and into English as Our Lady of Pity, or sometimes as Our Lady of Sorrows. The group (Figures 3, 4) is of historical interest because of the kneeling figures flanking it. The armed knight at Christ’s feet, his missing hands once held palm to palm in prayer, is obviously

Pons de Gontaut, the founder of the chapel (Figure 6). The sculptor has taken considerable pains to make a convincing image of Pons in his military gear. On top of his coat of mail he wears a tabard; the hilt and part of the scabbard of his sword are visible through the slit of the tabard, which originally must have been painted with his heraldic colors of red and gold. Pons wears elbow and knee cops with lames of armor plate above and below the knee. A cuisse covers his thigh; sollerets cover his feet. His helmet, an armet à rondelle with camail or neck guard of mail, is on the ground beside him; judging by a hole on its top it once bore a crest.¹⁹

Pons must have had a particular devotion to Notre-Dame de Pitié. Not only did he put his family chapel under her patronage, placing her statue as the cult image on the main altar: on his tomb effigy he is represented wearing the image of a Pietà carved on a medallion below the neck.

On the other side of the Pietà, facing Pons, is his brother Armand, his episcopal robes carved with the same attentive care for detail (Figure 5). He seems to be wearing four garments, plus a short, hooded shoulder cape of the sort used by clergy of rank. His outer garment is a rochet, a pleated garment of fine linen worn by bishops and privileged prelates. Beneath is another vestment enriched by decorative borders or fringes at the neck and on the cuffs. Beneath this again is a heavier garment, seen at the neck, wrists, and feet, decorated with a short, thick fringe that appears to belong to the lining of the garment. Yet a fourth garment seems to be implied at the wrists by the bunching of material, thinly pleated, running in an opposite direction from those of the rochet. The different textures of the garments are suggested by their different types of folds. Armand’s heavily jeweled episcopal miter rests at his feet, and on his right hand are three jeweled rings.

On the stone base beneath the two figures were once set their coats of arms; these were evidently removed during the Revolution.

19. The helmet was knocked off the monument during the Revolution. It was recently placed in its present position beside Pons as a more appropriate place than its previous temporary location on the rock of Golgotha between the Virgin and Pons. However, study of the photo of the Pietà while it was still at Biron (Figure 3) shows that there could not have been room for the helmet except in the cut-out area directly upon the rock.

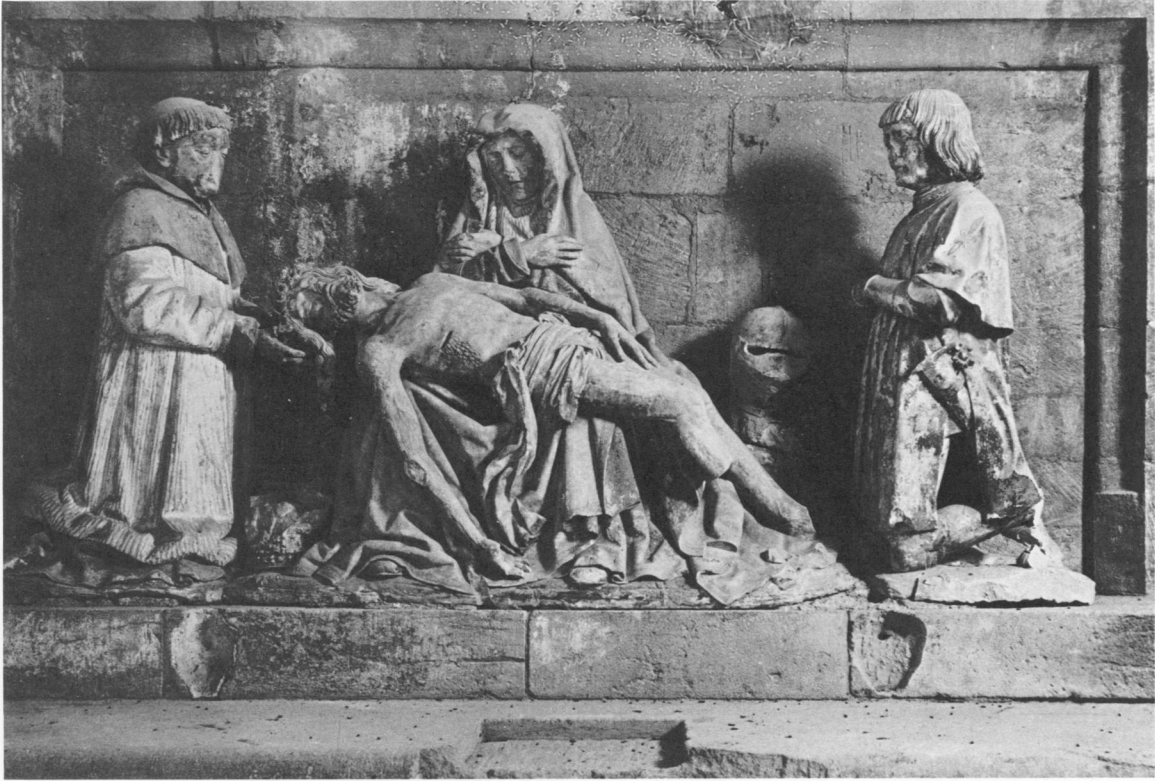


FIGURE 3
The Pietà in situ. The figures are slightly less than life-size (photo: Sauvanaud, courtesy Jean Taralon)

FIGURE 4
The Pietà in The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 16.31.1





FIGURE 5
Armand de Gontaut



FIGURE 6
Pons de Gontaut

Although the faces of the kneeling brothers were damaged during the Revolution, photographs taken at Biron before their restoration show enough of the original surface remaining to indicate that they did not have the generalized expressions still common to religious sculptures of the period; on the contrary, they were represented as distinct individuals. Pons is clearly the older man, his flesh gently sagging below the line of his cheekbone and at his jaw. There is also a slight droop to his lower eyelids, and the lids have deeper folds beneath them than do his brother's. His features are consistent with the downward tilt of his head, which may reflect the beginning of a stoop.

The André brothers of Paris, the skilled restorers who took charge of the dismantling of the sculptures,²⁰ probably were the repairers of the faces and may have

been justified in reconstructing Pons' mouth with its melancholy droop at the corners. Here was a man who was possibly still suffering from wounds received at the battle of Fornovo, a few years before the statue was carved, and who was perhaps weary of the active life he had been leading. The firmer flesh of Armand's face, on the other hand, corresponds to his more alert posture and suggests the vigor and resolution he displayed in his stormy career as bishop and builder.

There is nothing too unusual in finding almost full-scale statues of donors kneeling on either side of the Virgin: such had been known for some time. At Vernou in Touraine the archbishop of Tours and his nephew were so portrayed on a relief from an altar retable.²¹ A kneeling effigy figure of Louis XI was made on a relief in 1472 in gratitude to Saint Michael for the

20. For a summary of the damage to the Pietà and the Entombment, see Appendix.

21. Paul Vitry, *Michel Colombe et la sculpture française de son temps* (Paris, 1901) pp. 81–84 and ill.



FIGURE 7
The Virgin

king's escape from death, and another one, probably in full scale and possibly after a design by Jean Fouquet, was planned for his tomb.²² Fouquet also represented the royal treasurer of France, Etienne Chevalier, kneeling near Christ's tomb and also before the Virgin and Child on two pages of an illuminated manuscript now at Chantilly.²³ Closer still is the donor in the Pietà at Varennes-sur-Tèche, who, like Pons, kneels at Christ's feet (Figure 10).

What distinguishes the Biron Pietà from the others is that Armand not only kneels next to the holy group but supports Christ's head with his hands. In more than two dozen other Pietàs, a number of them also in southwest France, Saint John kneels in this position and removes the crown of thorns while the Magdalen kneels

on the other side at Christ's feet.²⁴ The crown has already discreetly been removed in the Biron sculpture, but Armand's position and his action indicate that he is here replacing the saint. How easy it was to make this substitution can be seen in the Avignon Pietà where the donor kneels full-scale in the foreground just below John, who kneels and removes the crown of thorns while he holds Christ's head with a gesture like Armand's. In the Biron Pietà this composition is simplified by combining the figures of donor and saint and eliminating the saint.

In the center of the group, between Pons and Armand, the Virgin supports the body of Christ in her unusually ample lap. She no longer clutches his body convulsively in the agony of grief, as she usually does in the earlier Pietàs of Germany and eastern France, but allows it to rest quietly upon her lap, her arms crossed in an attitude of pious resignation (Figure 7), an attitude she sometimes also assumes in late Gothic scenes of the Crucifixion.²⁵ The crossed arms are rarely found in Pietàs.²⁶ This acquiescent attitude may reflect the teaching of some medieval theologians that Mary alone of the followers of Christ never wavered, through all the hours of the Passion, in her faith in his resurrection.

The Virgin in the Biron Pietà is represented as sitting upon the rock of Golgotha, as in some other Pietàs of central France and Touraine and Languedoc, and not upon the seat or throne she usually occupies in earlier examples. The shelving, shale-like rock is partly seen at the sides of the Pietà, and it is also discreetly visible beneath her feet and around the bottom edges of her cloak. This rock probably recalls the actual stone of Golgotha shown to fifteenth-century pilgrims in Jerusalem, according to a contemporary pilgrim's guide.²⁷

In other Pietàs related to Biron, the Virgin usually holds her hands together in prayer, and one can safely assume from this that the Biron Pietà is a slight variation of the reflective or praying type frequently found

22. Pradel, *Michel Colombe*, pp. 20, 21; p. 118, note 44.

23. Claude Schaefer, *Das Studienbuch des Etienne Chevalier. Einleitung* (Munich, Vienna, Zurich, 1971) p. 22, pl. 20. English and French editions are also published.

24. In earlier Pietàs two angels sometimes flank the Virgin.

25. In the Crucifixion group by Claus Sluter, which once crowned the well of Moses at Champmol, the Virgin apparently crossed her arms. Later Burgundian Virgins followed this iconog-

raphy. See Georg Troescher, *Die burgundische Plastik des ausgehenden Mittelalters II* (Frankfurt, 1940) pl. 76.

26. Another with crossed arms is at Germigny-des-Près, Orléannais.

27. Breydenbach's *Heylicher Reyssen gen Jherusalem*, printed 1486. W. C. Körte, "Deutsche Vesperbilder in Italien," *Kunstgeschichtliches Jahrbuch*, Bibliotheca Hertziana, I (Rome, 1937) pp. 1-138, cites German and Latin texts of this famous guide.



FIGURE 8
Pietà in church at Limeray, Touraine (photo:
Foto Marburg)

FIGURE 9
Pietà in church (former chapel of the château) at
Epoisses, Auxois, Burgundy (photo: Archives
Photographiques)



in central France and the lower Loire valley, a number of these being in Touraine (Figure 8). It has been suggested that the famous painting of the Pietà from Avignon, now in the Louvre, could have been the origin of this type.²⁸ There are doubtless missing or unknown links between paintings and sculptures of Pietàs, but variations in style and posture make these relationships difficult to trace.

The body of Christ, with only a suggestion of rigor mortis, is turned very slightly outward to allow the worshiper a view of the beautifully modeled torso, the limbs slightly flexed to form a subtle composition of parallel lines and arcs. The loincloth is remarkable for its lappet or endpiece, its crumpled creases and swirling curves forming a vivid contrast to the heavier folds of the Virgin's mantle over which it falls. The end of the loincloth had already begun to be a feature of Pietàs in Champagne and Burgundy (Figure 9), but its unusual length on the Biron Pietà is more comparable to the fluttering of loincloths worn by Christ in Flemish paintings of the Crucifixion. The contrasts given by the different folds to the garments of Christ and the Virgin are also seen on the statue of Armand, suggesting the differing materials of his garments. Small but elaborate borders are introduced on the Virgin's cloak and on the lappet of the loincloth. They are even more discreetly used on Armand's sleeves. These touches of elegance become more obvious in the later Entombment group, yet already the characteristics of the Biron Master's style are clear in these and other details as much as they are in the proportions of the figures and the treatment of the drapery.

As a subject, the Pietà seems to have become prevalent in southwest France somewhat later than in the eastern and central parts of the country. Its rising popularity in the southwest may have been facilitated by new contacts with the heart of the old French royal domain whose influence began to be again felt after the end of the Hundred Years War, when closer relations with the north were resumed. The royal province of Touraine, then often the residence of the kings and the seat of government, was an important center for the veneration of Notre-Dame de Pitié. The image was so

28. J. B. Ford and G. S. Vickers, "The Relation of Nuño Gonçalves to the Pietà from Avignon, with consideration of the iconography of the Pietà in France," *Art Bulletin* 21 (1939) pp. 5-43.



FIGURE 10

Pietà in church at Varennes-sur-Tèche, Bourbonnais, with kneeling donor, Hugues de Montjournal, seigneur of Précord, 1494–1508 (photo: La Photothèque)

popular that quite a number of shrines and sculptures were dedicated to Our Lady of Pity, and several monasteries even adopted the Pietà in their coats of arms.²⁹ In the 1470s Louis XI gave funds for a new Carmelite monastery in Tours, “moved by so many miracles which took place in [their old] chapel of our Lady of Pity.” The Carmelites annually gave a medal adorned with a Pietà to a local nobleman, and one can imagine that they must have done the same for Louis XI, their royal patron, who had a penchant for wearing holy badges.³⁰ Georges d’Amboise, first minister of Louis XII and kinsman of Pons’ first wife, also had a seal on which he is shown being presented to our Lady of

Pity.³¹ Pons de Gontaut thus followed illustrious precedents in wearing an image of a Pietà on his tomb effigy and in dedicating his chapel to her.

Strangely enough, the Biron Pietà bears no really close relation to others of southwest France, even to several other praying Pietàs of Toulouse, generally similar to it though these may be in type and even in style. It is completely unlike all the other local sculpture of the Dordogne valley, including the sculpture at Cadouin, a neighboring monastery patronized by the Gontauts, whose abbot was appointed with Armand de Gontaut as a papal commissioner for the building of the chapel at Biron.³² Rather, it can be more directly

29. Chanoine Moussé, *Le Culte de Notre-Dame en Touraine* (Tours, n.d., ca. 1915) gives many instances of this “dévotion si chère aux Tourangeaux”; e.g., pp. 63, 85, 306, 675.

30. Moussé, *Culte*, p. 61.

31. Moussé, *Culte*, p. 306, cites C. J. M. Bonin de la Bonninière, *La Touraine au Petit-Palais: Exposition Internationale de Paris, 1900* (Tours, 1900) as listing this seal. According to Georges Lanfry, Elisabeth Chirol, and Jean Bailly, *Le Tombeau des cardinaux d’Amboise*

(Rouen, 1959) p. 30, note 68, the seal is illustrated in Abbé Toufflet, *Le Millénaire de la Normandie* (Rouen, 1913) p. 4.

32. Paul Roudié, “L’Activité d’un atelier de sculpture dans les vallées de la Dordogne et du Lot,” *La Dordogne et sa région. Fédération historique du Sud-Ouest, Actes du Congrès, 1958* (Bordeaux, 1959) p. 157, fig. 4. I am grateful to M. Roudié for supplying me with offprints of this and other articles.



FIGURE 11

Pietà in church at Jaligny, Bourbonnais, probably given by Guyon de Ravel, seigneur of Jaligny, 1489–1508 (La Photothèque)

associated with a number of Pietàs of the praying type in Touraine and neighboring areas of central France, particularly Bourbonnais. In these, the Virgin sits in an almost vertical position, sometimes on the rock of Golgotha as at Biron, her cloak falling from her head and fanning out on either side of her in long folds reaching to the ground, so that the whole compact composition forms an equilateral triangle. Beneath her mantle the Virgin usually wears a wimple like a nun's. Pietàs of this sort, quite close in style to that of Biron, are found in Touraine at Limeray (Figure 8), Dierre, la Rochère, and Autrèche, and also at Solesmes, a little to the north of Touraine.³³ Still others in central France that are generally similar are at Bourges Cathedral, at Saint Jeanvrin, Chézal-Benoit, and Morlac, all in Berry; at La Chapelle-Rainsouin in Maine; at La Chapelle-Blanche, near Loches in Touraine; two at the Musée

Saint-Jean, Angers, in Anjou; at La Neuville-lès-Decize in Nivernais; at Germigny-des-Près, near Châteauneuf in Orléannais.

A closely related group of Pietàs in the Limousin and in other areas of the southwest show an evolution of this praying type in which Christ is held more diagonally, as he is in the Biron Pietà.

Three Pietàs of the praying type in southern Bourbonnais, at Varennes-sur-Tèche, at Jaligny, and at Montluçon, are extremely close to the Biron Pietà in numerous details of style and in treatment of the drapery and faces (Figures 10–14). However, a few variations in some of the faces and especially in the hands make it advisable not to insist on an attribution directly to the Biron Master before he went south to Biron, but rather to a close colleague of the master.³⁴

33. Vitry, *Michel Colombe et la sculpture*, pp. 64, 65; Moussé, *Culte*, pp. 229, 264, 320.

34. Another Bourbonnais Pietà (in damaged state), so like

the Montluçon Pietà it could have served as its model, is in the Moulins Museum (accession number 885.1.92); see Pradel, *Michel Colombe*, p. 74.



FIGURE 12

Pietà, made about 1500, in church of Saint-Pierre, Montluçon, Bourbonnais (Archives Photographiques)

FIGURE 13

Montluçon Pietà, Christ's head (La Photothèque)

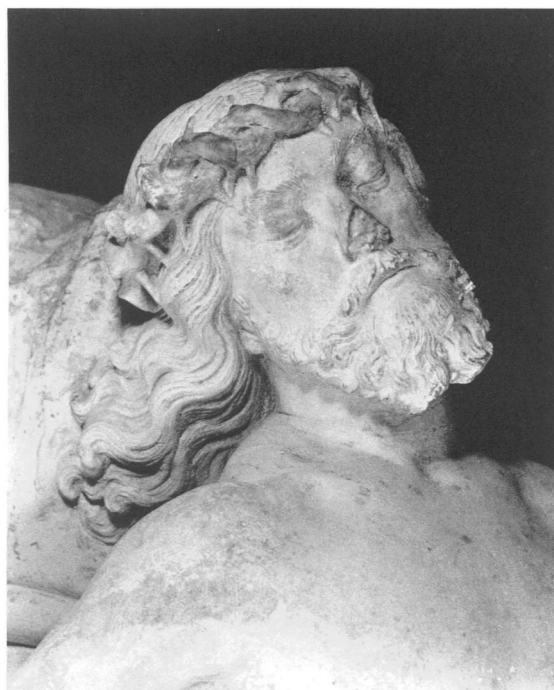
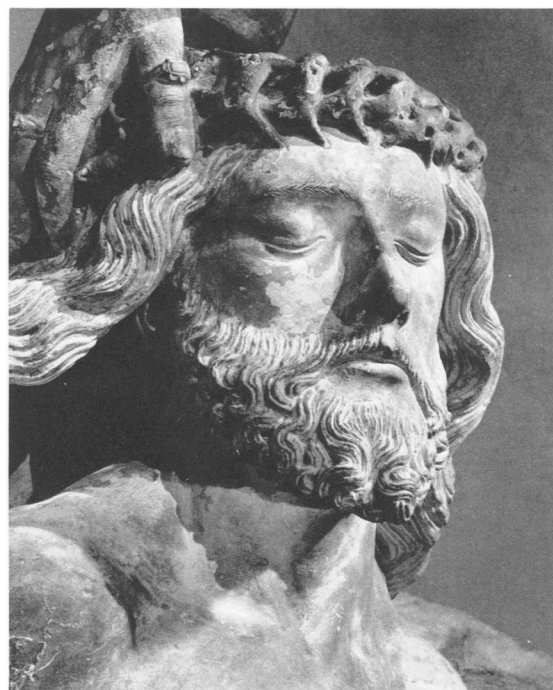


FIGURE 14

Biron Pietà, Christ's head



FIGURES 15, 16

Saints Anne and Peter, by Jean de Chartres, 1500–03, from château of Chantelle, Berry. Musée du Louvre (La Photothèque)



When one compares the Biron Pietà with two other sculptures from Bourbonnais now in the Louvre, one senses the source that must have inspired the Biron Master's style. These statues of Saint Anne and Saint Peter are from the former château of the dukes of Bourbonnais at Chantelle, and they are the finest sculptures to have survived from the ducal workshops of Pierre II de Bourbon and of his wife, Anne de Beaujeu (Figures 15, 16).³⁵ Anne, the daughter of Louis XI, was with her husband regent of France during the minority of her brother Charles VIII. Pradel

35. See Pradel, *Michel Colombe*, pp. 71–76, pl. 15, and Pierre Pradel, "Le sculpteur Jehan de Chartres et son atelier," *Bulletin Monumental* 104 (1946) pp. 47–62. See also Marcel Aubert and Michèle Beaulieu, *Description raisonnée des sculptures du moyen-âge, de la renaissance et des temps modernes. I Moyen Age*, (Paris, 1950) nos. 405, 406 by Francis Salet; André Michel, "Les Statues de Sainte-Anne, Saint-Paul et Sainte-Suzanne," *Monuments Piot* 6 (1899) pp. 94–105, pls. 8, 9.

has shown that the ducal workshops of Pierre and Anne were presided over by Jean Guilhomet, known as Jean de Chartres, who was the leading sculptor of Bourbonnais after the departure of Michel Colombe, his master, who went to Touraine in the 1480s.

The Biron Pietà is not the equal of the Chantelle sculptures in their quality and masterly execution, but it is remarkably like them in its general drapery style, proportions, and facial type, and especially in the Virgin's soft pudgy hands, which are also found on other sculptures by the master and are not found on the three Bourbonnais Pietàs to which the Biron Pietà is allied. The Virgin of the Biron Pietà wears the same variety of wimple with the same pleated gorget beneath her chin as the Chantelle Saint Anne. These similarities to two of the masterpieces of the Bourbonnais school strongly indicate that the style of the Biron Master must have been formed in Bourbonnais and that it must have evolved from that of Jean de Chartres.

As a "king's man," member of the royal household, and kinsman by marriage of the mighty Amboise family, so close to the crown, Pons de Gontaut must have had easy access to a sculptor who had worked in Bourbonnais, a province closely associated with the royal domain. Another Amboise kinsman of Pons, Guyon de Ravel, was seigneur of Jaligny and may himself have commissioned the Pietà at Jaligny, one of the three in southern Bourbonnais to which the Biron Pietà has already been compared.³⁶

THE BIRON ENTOMBMENT

In contrast to the simpler setting of the Pietà, the Entombment was placed in an *enfeu* or large niche built into the wall of a side chamber beyond a wood screen (Figure 17). The chamber itself forms a small separate chapel where masses for the dead could have been celebrated at an altar directly beneath the *enfeu*. Entombments were usually housed in this way to one side of the main axis of a church. Here the donor and his fam-

ily could be buried if the chapel were large enough.³⁷ It is not that large at Biron, and there was no need for a separate mortuary chamber since the main body of the chapel must have served as a private chapel for the seigneur and his family. Here at the altar of Notre-Dame de Pitié, where the Pietà was placed, masses for the living and the dead could be performed with greater ceremony and space for the participants. Here too was adequate space for burial. Nevertheless, some of the more private funeral masses must have been said at the altar beneath the Entombment.

The use of an Entombment as a mortuary image was almost inevitable in the late Gothic period. To be buried near Christ then seemed to give an assurance of one's own resurrection. The veneration of Christ's tomb, which early had its focus in the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem and later also in architectural reproductions of the burial chamber in Jerusalem, came finally in the fifteenth century to be given a new visual form and a new, more personal meaning in the sculptured, almost life-size image of his burial. This new image, an attempt to relate one's own death and burial with Christ's, is well expressed in lines of the *Speculum humane salvationis*, a popular devotional treatise of the fifteenth century:

O bene Jese, da nobis tuam sepulturam ita venerari,
Ut a te nunquam mereamur in perpetuum separari!
(O good Jesus, help us so to venerate your tomb,
That from you we may never deserve to be separated
through all eternity.)³⁸

In a number of instances Entombments were associated with Pietàs, another image well suited for mortuary purposes, by placing a Pietà immediately above the Entombment niche.³⁹

The niche housing the Biron Entombment was itself enclosed by a richly carved and painted wood frame. Serving to enhance the importance of the sculpture, the frame had another purpose: the support of two large doors, now missing, that could shut off the monument like the wings of an altar retable. The doors must

36. Pradel, *Michel Colombe*, pp. 76, 77, 79.

37. Among Entombments where the donor is recorded as being so interred are those at Langres, Dijon, Chaumont, Tonnerre, Amiens, Folleville (now at Joigny), Bourges, Moissac, Périgueux, Saint-Seine-l'Abbaye, Limoges, Poitiers, Puiseaux, Villeneuve-l'Archevêque, Châtillon-sur-Seine, and Le Coudray-Montbault.

38. J. Lutz and P. Perdrizet, *Speculum humane salvationis. Texte critique. Traduction inédite de Jean Miélot (1448)* I (Mulhouse, 1907) p. 57, cap. XXVII, lines 99-100.

39. Such associations existed at Amiens, Dijon, Doullens, Monestiès-sur-Cérou, Montgé (now at La Treyne), Trier, and Tulle.

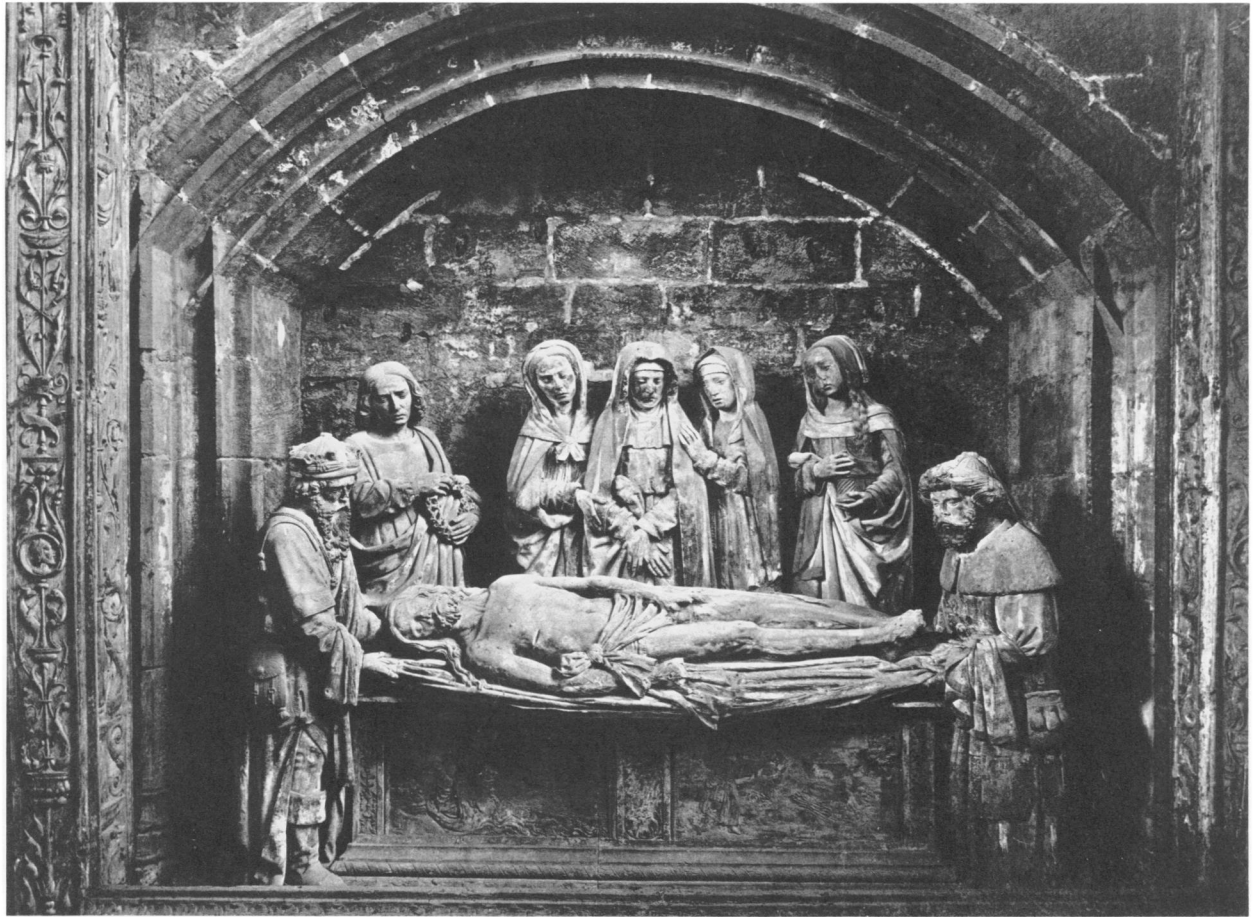


FIGURE 17

The Entombment in situ. The figures are in the same scale as those of the Pietà. Those in the back row, three-quarter length and placed on a stone shelf, are three to three and a half feet high (photo: Sauvanaud, courtesy Jean Taralon)

have been as elaborately carved and painted as the frame. Two dowels and four dowel holes remain on the sides of the frame, showing how the doors must have hung, and a slot at the center of the lower horizontal member of the frame and an iron loop in the frame above show how the doors were fastened when closed. The lower beam rested upon the altar, which thus must have borne some of the weight of the doors.

A cast of the original niche was used in the installations of the monument in the Metropolitan Museum (Figures 18, 19),⁴⁰ but lack of space in the present installation made it necessary to omit the graceful pediment that originally crowned the wood frame. The

inscription on the pediment, *QVIA IVXTA MONVMENTVM POSVERVNT IESVM* ("[There] they laid Jesus for the sepulcher was nigh at hand"), is from John 19:42.

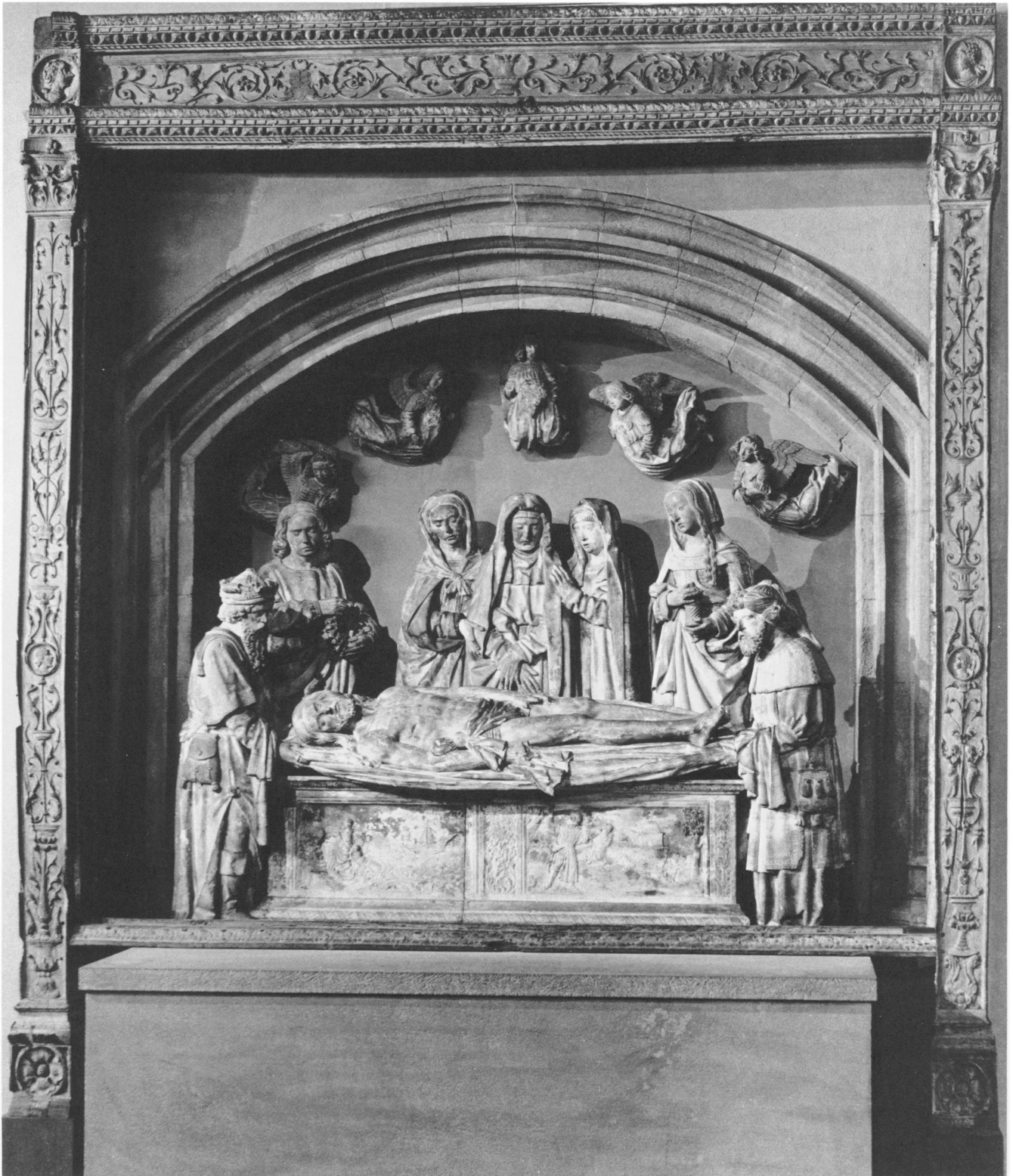
The niche is contemporary in style with the architecture of the chapel, but the frame was probably added later when the Entombment was installed. Since the figures of Joseph and Nicodemus project beyond the niche onto the back of the altar, and since the two outer angels crowd the space of the back wall, one cannot help feeling that the Entombment group is

40. For data on the original condition of the Entombment, see Appendix.



FIGURES 18, 19

The Entombment in the Morgan Wing, Metropolitan Museum, 1916, and as installed today. Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 16.31.2



bigger than planned when the niche was built. This point is helpful in dating the sculpture after the building of the chapel. Not only were the moldings of the niche partly masked by the frame, some of them actually had to be cut away for the installation of the frame, and a stone block had to be placed at the base of one of the chapel piers to make a base for the frame to rest on.

Surely there could have been no regret in partly hiding the severe Gothic architecture with woodwork richly carved in the new style of the Renaissance. The ornament of the frame is better in style and bigger in scale than any of the other ornament appearing on the sculpture of the chapel. Although probably contemporary with the Entombment itself, and having some of the same kind of decorative motifs used elsewhere on the monument, such as a flaming torch, paired dolphins, and serrated oak leaves, all carried on candelabras, the frame must have been carved by woodworkers who may have had no close contact with the Biron Master or his workshop. Indeed the style of the carving does not suggest such a connection. Accordingly, the woodwork will be discussed only briefly here, although it is well worth comparison with carving then being done elsewhere for châteaux and churches throughout France.⁴¹ Like the ornament on the Biron sculptures, the frame was probably executed by Frenchmen working in "the new Italian manner" rather than by Italians, since all the ornament has the dry, wiry leanness typical of French work and none of the "juicy" fullness of the Italian models that must have been their source.

Undoubtedly many of the decorative elements at Biron came from the rich repertoire of ornament used on the tomb of François II of Brittany at Nantes, on the château of Gaillon, and on the Amboise tomb in Rouen Cathedral.⁴² The Biron sculptures are dependent on such sources for the candelabra type of decoration of the pilasters that appear on the Entombment and also on both of the secular tombs. The large candelabras carved in low relief on the two supporting piers of the wood frame are obviously derived from more elaborate Italianate ornament of the sort used on these



FIGURES 20, 21

Details of the wood frame. An iron dowel and dowel holes are visible in Figure 20

41. For contemporary work, Vitry and Brière, *Documents: Renaissance*, première partie, and Jules Roussel, *La Sculpture française. Époque de la Renaissance* (Paris, n.d.) pls. 21, 28, 36.

42. Lanfry, Chirol, Bailly, *Le Tombeau*, pp. 45, 53.

three monuments. The candelabras on the two inner faces of the piers and on the outer face of the left-hand pier are too wide for the available space. As a result, roughly half of the design on these faces had to be omitted (Figures 20, 21). This proves that the woodworkers did not create new designs for the frame but used other models, perhaps ones of Italian origin.

An even greater simplification is seen on the end pilasters on Christ's sarcophagus. The left-end pilaster has the unusual motif of sheaves of wheat at the top of its candelabra (Figure 22). Wheat sheaves had also been used on a pilaster of the Nantes tomb (Figure 23),

and the same ornament was to reappear at Rouen on the extreme right-hand pier of the Amboise tomb. The Biron pilaster shows its dependence on the Nantes tomb in the central stalk of wheat; it springs from a stem curiously decorated with a nondescript knob that seems to be a misunderstanding of the calyx-like terminal of the Nantes candelabra. At Rouen the candelabra with the wheat stalks terminates in a bowl with flame-like leaf forms. On the right-end pilaster at Biron this basin has assumed the form of a flaming bowl (Figure 24), an apparent simplification of the more elaborate form at Rouen. The large candelabras on the wood



FIGURE 22

The sarcophagus, left-hand pilaster

FIGURE 23

Pilaster, tomb of François II, duke of Brittany, 1502–07, cathedral of Nantes (La Photothèque)

FIGURE 24

The sarcophagus, right-hand pilaster



FIGURE 25
Biron Entombment, Joseph

frame of the Entombment also seem to be simplified versions of the Rouen type. How closely this type of candelabra ornament relates to north Italian sources may be seen by comparing the base of the candelabra of the left-end pilaster with an ornamental vase in a woodcut illustrating the Dream of Poliphilus, printed in Venice in 1499.⁴³ In both cases dolphins are tied to the candelabras in exactly the same way. The candelabras on the frame of the Biron Entombment have the same wheat stalks and flaming bowls, although in different arrangements, as on the pilasters of the sarcophagus.

43. Francesco Colonna, *Hyperboreomachia Poliphili* (Aldus Manutius, Venice, 1499); a copy is in the Metropolitan Museum's Department of Prints and Photographs (23.73.1).



FIGURE 26
Nicodemus

Although the figures of the Biron Entombment are in the same scale as those of the Pietà, their greater number and their architectural setting give the Entombment the size and importance of a monument. Indeed, such a group was sometimes called a monument, and it is called such in the inscription on the Entombment itself.

While the Gospels speak only of Joseph and Nicodemus as taking part in Christ's burial, with the Holy Women "looking on from afar," it gradually became the custom to introduce the Virgin, Saint John, and the Holy Women, since they alone of Christ's followers had remained with him throughout the Crucifixion. The monumental Entombments always include these figures.

The Biron monument is still in the late Gothic tradition of most French Entombments in spite of its Renais-

sance frame and of a few other Italian influences. The arrangement of the figures follows a traditional order that evolved in Burgundy and became predominant in France, the Burgundian type spreading from Burgundy into central France and then to the south and north. In this type the Virgin is in the center as the chief mourner, supported usually by two Holy Women, while Saint John and the Magdalen stand at either side, somewhat apart. It is as if the Virgin were a stricken queen-mother surrounded by her mourning court. All of the figures look like sorrowing caryatids as they stand behind the body of her royal son laid out upon his tomb, his shroud held by Joseph of Arimathea and Nicodemus, dressed as two worthy men of rank. A cortege of angels flies above this tableau of grief to show that heaven itself joins in the mourning. In all these points the Biron Entombment is close to that at Semur-en-Auxois, one of the finest of the Burgundian Entombments still in existence. Four flying angels that survive from the Semur monument appear to have been prototypes for those at Biron.⁴⁴ These similarities again suggest the influence of Burgundy upon the Biron Master, an influence already noticed in the Pietà and in the iconography of the Entombment.

The two Entombments of the Burgundian type closest in the arrangement of their figures to Biron are both in southwest France, at Salers and at Toulouse.⁴⁵ Less closely related is one at Rodez and two others at Roquelaure and Ceignac, and even more loosely connected are two more at Carennac and Reygades. All these southwest Entombments follow the Burgundian type as it appeared in central France at Souvigny and north of the lower Loire valley at Solesmes, but none of them show a definite stylistic relation to Biron.⁴⁶ The Biron Master, therefore, knew these or similar Entombments of the Burgundian type, perhaps as a young sculptor in Bourbonnais and probably also during his period of activity in the southwest.

With a few exceptions, the Biron Pietà and Entombment could hardly be more alike in their style, in their drapery arrangement, in their figure proportions, in

their faces and their hands. There are the same wrinkles on the hand of Armand in the Pietà group and of Joseph in the Entombment (although it is amusing to note that Armand's hand has more rings than Joseph's). Other minute similarities can be noted. There is, for example, the same dotted line edging the lining of the Virgin's mantle in both groups. The settings of the jewels decorating Armand's miter and on the pin fastening the side opening of Pons' tabard in the Pietà group are the same as those decorating the clothing of Joseph and Nicodemus in the Entombment (Figures 25, 26). The same kind of little bows are used to tie the small slits of Pons' tabard as are found on Joseph's headgear. The treatment of hair is also identical, even to the curious flowerlike rosettes formed by terminal strands, seen on the heads of Christ, Pons, and Armand in the Pietà, and on John (Figure 27) and an angel to the right of the center in the Entombment. Such rosettes are found in the hair of Burgundian sculpture, from which they may have been derived.

The differences between the two sculptures are, all in all, slight. In the Entombment there are traces of Italian influence and ornament not found in the Pietà. The borders of many of the garments are covered with ornament in the "new style" of the Renaissance. The figure of John (Figure 28) is more Italianate than the others: the classical regularity of his face and the arrangement of his mantle evoke the placid expression and the softening of outlines characteristic of Florentine works of the closing decades of the fifteenth century. The headcloth knotted in front below the neckline, worn by one of the Holy Women, becomes a fairly common article of dress in French sculpture; it may also derive from Italy, perhaps from Florence.

The face of Christ is a little more carefully treated in the Entombment than in the Pietà, and his beard and mustache are more elaborate (Figure 29), but strangely enough, the Virgin and particularly the Holy Woman to her left have somewhat weaker faces than in the Pietà (Figure 30). Their drapery is more simply treated in accordance with the new style. The posture of the Holy Woman is unusually cramped, probably because not enough space was allowed for her in the block from which she and the two adjoining figures were carved. Could another, slightly inferior, hand have been at work here, or was the master himself simply careless?

After the Christ the most notable figures of the

44. Aubert and Beaulieu, *Description*, nos. 349, 349 bis; *Congrès archéologique de France à Avallon en 1907*, ill. opp. p. 92; Forsyth, *Entombment*, pp. 76, 77, fig. 103.

45. Forsyth, *Entombment*, figs. 136, 140.

46. Forsyth, *Entombment*, pp. 102-127.

Entombment are the Saint John and the Magdalen. Their subtle balance and ease of posture relieve the stiffness of the central group. John grasps the crown of thorns with manly determination. In an attitude echoing John's, the Magdalen uncovers her jar of precious ointment with pensive hesitation, as if immersed in a dream world of sorrow (Figure 31). The contours of her face melt imperceptibly into each other; all creases and wrinkles have disappeared save those on her eyelids, and these are barely visible. Her mouth has a childlike sweetness that avoids sentimentality. She wears her richly decorated garments with the charming nonchalance of a woman of rank. Whereas the figure of John recalls the new dynamic style of Italy, that of the Magdalen, in the courtly grace of her bearing and face, stems from the ducal workshops of Bourbonnais. A forerunner of the Biron Magdalen may perhaps be found in a Virgin and Child at Villebret, near Montluçon (Figure 32). The features of this distinguished figure—her tilted head and full, rounded face with fleshy lips, tipped-up nose, and heavy-lidded eyes set somewhat apart—as well as the foldings of the kerchief around her head and across the front of the gown bring our Magdalen to mind. The Villebret facial type continues to be found for some years in Bourbonnais, in later statues of Michel Colombe carved for the tomb of François II at Nantes, and in even later Virgins of the lower Loire valley. In fact, Pradel has stressed the importance of the Villebret statue in reconstructing the work of Colombe when he was the head of the Bourbonnais school of sculpture and the master of Jean de Chartres.⁴⁷

A version of this Bourbonnais head more like that of the Biron Magdalen is in the Moulins Museum. It is that of a young girl (Figure 33), believed by Pradel to have come possibly from a statue of the Virgin as a girl, part of a lost group representing the Education of the Virgin made by Jean de Chartres for the Carmelite convent at Moulins. Pradel suggests it was intended as a likeness of Suzanne de Beaujeu, the daughter of Pierre and Anne of France, and the young heiress of Bourbonnais, whose portraits by the Master of Moulins are indeed very similar to this head in their wide foreheads and almond-shaped eyes. One of this master's portraits, of Margaret of Austria, showing the same features, is in the Robert Lehman Collection, now housed in the Metropolitan Museum.



FIGURES 27, 28
Saint John

The head conforms to the regional type that becomes a landmark of Bourbonnais style wherever its influence is found. In Touraine the type reappears, for example, in a head of unknown origin in the Tours Museum, and in another at Limeray where it is part of a statue of the Magdalen (Figure 34) that has much of the same dreamy attitude and wistful charm of the Biron figure. Her garments are quite similar, and strands of hair even fall across her veil in the same way. Pradel has compared this Magdalen to another at Montluçon, in the same church that contains a Pietà already compared to that of Biron.⁴⁸

Nearer yet to the Biron Magdalen is a statue of Saint Agnes (Figure 35) from the château of Montlaur near Jaligny, the same place, it will be remembered, where there is one of the Bourbonnais Pietàs related to the Biron group, probably given by a kinsman of Pons.⁴⁹

47. Pradel, *Michel Colombe*, p. 30, pl. 4.

48. Pradel, *Michel Colombe*, p. 79, pl. 22 (1).

49. Pradel, "Le Sculpteur Jean de Chartres," pp. 56, 57; Pradel, *Michel Colombe*, pp. 76, 77, pl. 18.

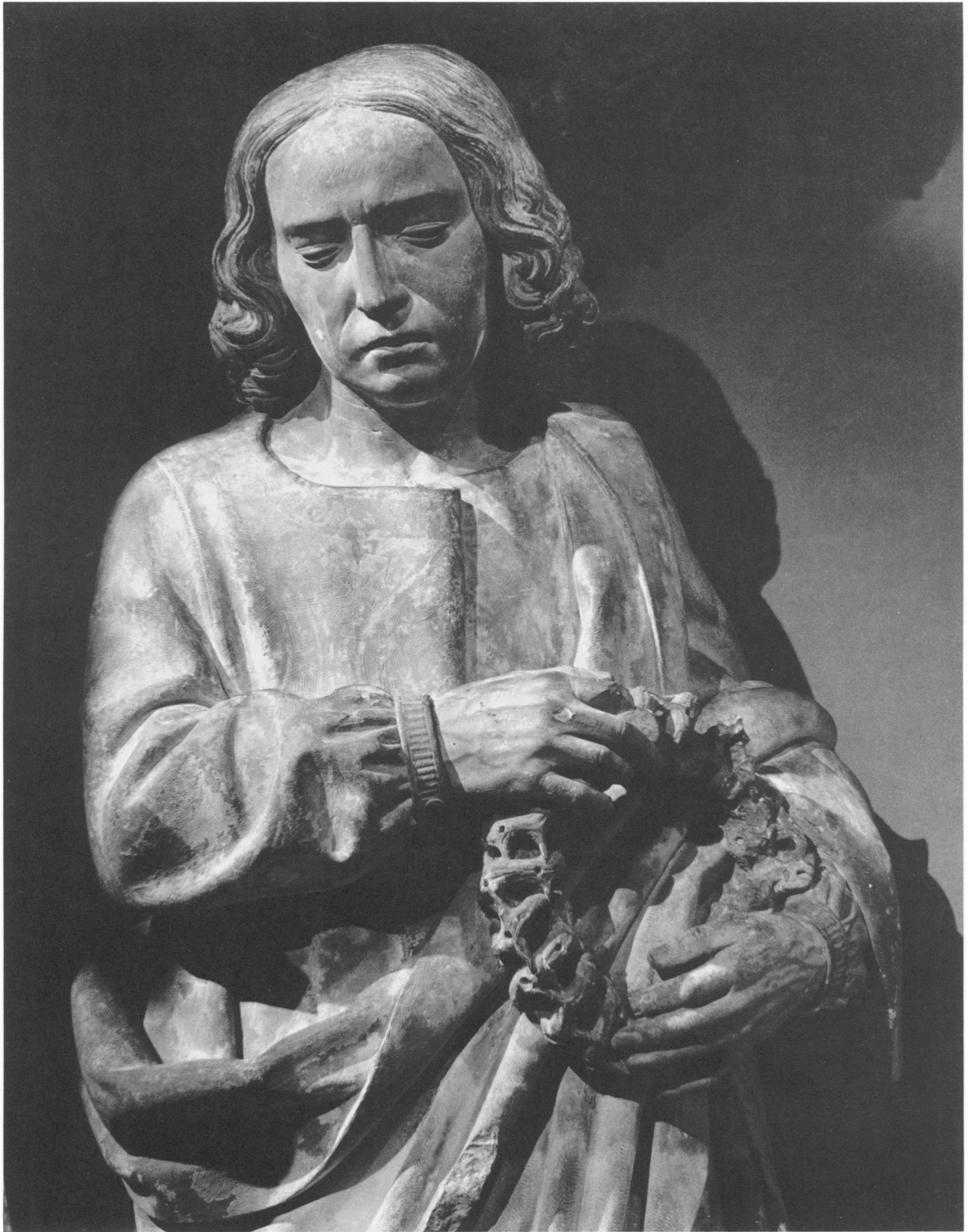




FIGURE 29
Head of Christ



FIGURE 30
The Virgin and Holy
Women



FIGURE 31
The Magdalen

FIGURE 32
Virgin and Child, attributed to Michel Colombe,
1430–50, Villebret, Bourbonnais (Archives Pho-
tographiques)





FIGURE 33
Female head, Moulins Museum, Bourbonnais
(La Photothèque)

FIGURE 34
Magdalen, church at Limeray, Touraine (photo:
Giraudon)

A softer version of this face, very close to that of Biron, appears on a statue of a Virgin at l'Hôpital-sous-Rochefort in the Forez, just south of Bourbonnais.⁵⁰ A coarser version of the Bourbonnais head is seen on a Magdalen in a Pietà group at Saint-Pierre-le-Moûtier in Nivernais, north of Bourbonnais. Still other versions appear on Magdalens of the southwest, including those of Entombments at Salers and Toulouse, but nowhere is the Bourbonnais influence so clear as it is in the Biron Magdalen and in the other figures of the Entombment.⁵¹

50. Pradel, *Michel Colombe*, p. 80, pl. 20 (3).

51. Forsyth, *Entombment*, pp. 103, 105, 107, 117.





FIGURE 35
Saint Agnes, château of Montlaur, near Jaligny,
Bourbonnais (La Photothèque)

The five angels of the Entombment do not all show the same unity of style as the larger figures beneath them. They consist of an inner pair and an outer pair, and a single one in the center. The faces and garments of the inner pair (Figures 36, 37) are closest to each other and to the large figures, especially to the Magdalen and the Saint John. The outer pair, on the other hand, are more dramatic, with the more elaborate costumes and fluttering ribbons of a later style (Figures 38, 39). While they also show some similarities to each other in their drapery folds and in the position of their legs, they differ quite markedly in their proportions, in the sizes of their heads, in their wings, and in a number of details of costume. The same sculptor could hardly have made both pairs. The left-hand angel has the stocky build and the toes and wings of the inner pair. He wears a pin to hold his garment together over one thigh, as does Joseph. His dimpled hands are like those of the Magdalen, and his furrowed brow is like those of Saint John and Pons, but slightly exaggerated. The right-hand outer angel is more elongated than his partner or than the inner pair, but he has the same proportions as well as the smaller head and wiglike hair of the central angel (Figure 40). The same hand may have carved these two, while another, possibly that of the master, carved the inner pair and the left

FIGURES 36, 37
Biron Entombment, inner pair of angels, showing remains of armorial shields





FIGURES 38, 39 Outer pair of angels



FIGURE 40

Center angel, showing remains of armorial shield

outer angel. However, the style of this last figure is evolved, and it could have been carved by still a third hand. Thus one senses in the Entombment at least two or three hands, possibly more. Some of the same contrasts between earlier and later styles of angels may be seen in those decorating the choir screen of Albi Cathedral; these angels are in a style generally parallel to that of Biron.⁵²

Two bas-reliefs, carved on the front of the sarcophagus, represent scenes from the Old Testament that were considered prefigurations (types) of Christ's death and resurrection. The relief on the right, portraying Abraham about to sacrifice Isaac (Figure 41), is here a sign of Christ's sacrifice and death. The left-hand relief of Jonah issuing from the whale (Figure 42) was for the medieval mind a sign of Christ's resurrection. These and other parallels between the Old and New Testaments were often illustrated in the *Speculum humanae salvationis*.⁵³ A very similar Jonah scene appears

52. Emile Mâle, *La Cathédrale d'Albi* (Paris, 1940) pls. 92, 93; Gilbert Bou, *Sculpture gothique albigeoise*, Imprimerie Carrère (Albi, 1972) figs. 65–76.

53. Lutz and Perdrizet, *Speculum* I, pp. 46–47, cap. xxii, lines 46–58; p. 57, cap. xxvii, lines 93–98; p. 67, cap. xxxii, lines 57–70; pp. 171–172, 275, 289, 326; II, pls. 43, 54, 110, 133.



FIGURE 41
The sarcophagus, right-hand relief: The Sacrifice of Isaac

FIGURE 42
Left-hand relief: Jonah and the Whale





FIGURE 43
Detail of sarcophagus:
the mutilated arms of
Armand de Gontaut,
traces of his miter at
upper right, crozier
upper left

in an illustration for a copy of the *Speculum* printed in Basel in 1476.⁵⁴ There must have been other works of art copied from them that could have served as models for the reliefs.

Armand himself must have given the Entombment to the chapel. His arms had the place of honor at the center of the sarcophagus (Figure 43), and they appeared twice more: borne by the angel just to the left of the central angel, the side of honor in heraldry, and on the sinister collar lapel of the right outer angel, again the side of honor (Figure 44). Only the arms on the angel's collar have survived, probably because they were overlooked when the rest were destroyed during the Revolution; however, traces of Armand's miter and crozier can still be seen on the sarcophagus panel and on the left inner angel. Armand's association with the Entombment can also be surmised by the position of his tomb, which is set as near as possible to the side chapel, so close in fact that the west side of his tomb is concealed by the chapel screen. Reasons for associating an Entombment with the donor's place of burial have already been given. Perhaps Armand had a devotion to Christ's tomb just as Pons had to the

Pietà. Perhaps this devotion was associated with a relic of the Holy Shroud kept at Cadouin, a nearby monastery enjoying the patronage of the Gontaut family, whose abbot was along with Armand, a commissioner to supervise the building of the chapel. This veneration was shared by the diocese of Sarlat, and the Gontaut family later showed its concern for the relic by housing it in one of their châteaux during the Huguenot wars.

The dependence of the Biron Master's style upon Bourbonnais sculpture has already been emphasized. This relationship is clearly apparent in the close ties of the Biron Pietà with others in southern Bourbonnais and in the undeniable affinities of the Biron Magdalen with the Saint Agnes of Jaligny and with the female head in the Moulins Museum. The pivotal influence on our master of Jean de Chartres, the leading sculptor of Bourbonnais after the departure of Michel Colombe for Touraine, is also apparent in the hands, the figure proportions, and the drapery of all the figures of the Biron Pietà and Entombment. Whatever his origin, the Biron Master certainly appears to have been trained in Bourbonnais, perhaps even as an apprentice to Jean de Chartres himself.

Yet our master seems to have worked elsewhere too before he came to Biron. In its softness the style of Biron is one step removed from that of Bourbonnais. The Magdalen of the Entombment, for instance, has already been compared to a Virgin at l'Hôpital-sous-Rochefort in the Forez, where Pradel suggests that Jean de Rouen, a pupil of Jean de Chartres, may have been active.⁵⁵ The Biron sculptures also have parallels to sculptures in Touraine, and the Renaissance ornament gives indications of some dependence upon that of the tomb of François II at Nantes done by Italians working with Colombe. The Biron Entombment's relationship to others in the southwest has been noted. Similar elements of the Biron Master's style are also found at Albi and in the Entombment now at Monestiès-sur-Cérou, both groups of sculptures dependent upon the patronage of the bishop of Albi, an Amboise kinsman of the Gontauts. Their affiliations with the Amboise family may also explain the iconographic similarities of the tomb of Armand to work done at

54. Ernest Kloss, *Speculum humanae salvationis* (Munich, 1925) illustrates the scene on p. 61 of this book, which is now in the Staatsbibliothek, Munich.

55. Pradel, *Michel Colombe*, p. 80, pl. 20 (3).

Gaillon and Rouen, on the château and cathedral of Georges d'Amboise, Cardinal Archbishop of Rouen, just as their connections with the court of France explain similarities in the Biron Master's style to Bourbonnais and Touraine. The Gontauts thus could have found easy means to bring in a sculptor from the north, but one who had worked outside of Bourbonnais before he came to Biron. Yet it must be finally said that, more than any other known contemporary sculpture of the southwest, that at Biron is closer to Bourbonnais, the ultimate source of its inspiration.

If the Biron Master learned his craft as an apprentice or assistant of Jean de Chartres, which seems likely, it is quite possible that Jean's master, the great Michel Colombe, may have also cast his shadow over him,

FIGURE 44

The right outer angel, showing the arms of Armand de Gontaut with miter and crozier on left collar lapel, the Biron family arms on right lapel



although more distantly. A seated figure of Saint Anne, carved in relief on a retable at Baugy, between Bourges and Moulins, and attributed by Pradel to Colombe when a young sculptor, already has some of the soft, thick drapery breaking around her feet in the puffy little folds that were to become characteristic of Bourbonnais sculpture and are reflected in the Biron Pietà. One also finds the gesture of the Biron Virgin, who keeps her cloak in place with her hands as she crosses her forearms, already used by a small figure of Saint John on a high relief on the tomb of Saint Sylvain at La Celle Bruère, south of Bourges, which is done in a style in which the young Colombe may have worked during his earlier sojourn in Berry. Admittedly this gesture had earlier been used in Burgundian sculptures of the Virgin standing at the foot of the cross.⁵⁶ The easy grace of the Virgin and Child at Villebret, which Pradel associates with Colombe's Bourbonnais period, also seems to be reflected in the Magdalen of the Biron Entombment.

It was an exciting discovery for me, more than twenty years ago, in going through the photographs of Louis Balsan, regional inspector of monuments and Curator of the Musée Fenaille in Rodez, to find another work in southwest France by the hand of the Biron Master (Figure 45). An examination of the sculpture itself confirmed and strengthened the evidence of the photographs. Professor Jacques Bousquet, now of the University of Montpellier, made the same identification independently.⁵⁷ The resemblance of this Pietà to the two Biron sculptures is immediately apparent in the general style of the drapery, the proportions and attitudes of the figures, the modeling of the heads, and

56. Pradel, *Michel Colombe*, pp. 17, 18, pl. 2 (1, 5).

57. Jacques Bousquet, *La Vierge dans l'art rouergat, Notre-Dame en Rouergue* (Rodez, 1951) p. 22; Jacques Bousquet, "La Sculpture rouergate et la fin du style gothique," *La Revue du Rouergue* 15 (1961) pp. 394-406, esp. 404, 405; Jacques Bousquet, "La Sculpture rouergate et la fin du style gothique. Positions et propositions," *Bulletin du Musée Ingres* 9 (July, 1961) pp. 9-15, esp. 12-15; Bousquet, "Le Problème," pp. 208-222. I am grateful to M. Bousquet for supplying me with copies of these articles. The sculpture group was shown at Montauban in an exhibition of regional sculpture: Mathieu Méras, *Trésors d'art gothique en Languedoc* (Musée Ingres, Montauban, 1961) cat. no. 113 bis. Marcel Maimpointe has kindly given me several excellent photographs of the group, taken after the cleaning of 1961. See also Gilbert Bou, *La Sculpture en Rouergue à la fin du gothique (XV^e et début du XVI^e siècle)*, Imprimerie Carrère (Rodez, 1971) pp. 116-128.



FIGURE 45

Pietà from church of the Cordeliers, Rodez, Languedoc, about 1510–15, now in church at Carcenac-Salmiech (La Photothèque)

the general mood and sense of quietness. Gilbert Bou has recently published a notice from an old parish register of Carcenac which indicates that this sculpture, together with others in the church, originally came from the former church of the Cordeliers in Rodez. In 1803 the prefect Sainthorent authorized Hippolyte de Barrau (whose family still owns a chapel in the Carcenac-Salmiech church) to take from a storage repository of the former monastery of the Cordeliers “everything that could be useful to his parish.” De Barrau quickly had fourteen wagons loaded with “parts of retables, statues, woodwork, and other decorations”; these were removed before the surprised prefect could stop him. Bou’s richly documented book cites important donations to the Cordeliers in the fifteenth century by the counts of Rodez and Armagnac and later by the bishops of Rodez, who in 1456 gave 240 gold crowns to repair the church and its “magnificent retable,” apparently that of the Passion of Christ. One could

suppose that the Carcenac Pietà came from such a retable or from a shallow niche such as that housing a Baptism of Christ in the chapel of Saint Jean at Ouradou, not too far away.⁵⁸

Close as the Carcenac group is to Biron, the evolution of the master’s style can nonetheless be observed in many of the Carcenac details. The garments are somewhat more loosely worn and the drapery folds a little more turbulent and more deeply undercut than in the two earlier sculptures. There is an increasing tendency to flatten the tops of the heads, with the result that the faces appear somewhat more rectangular and the foreheads somewhat wider and lower.

The Magdalen is the closest of the figures to her Biron counterpart, particularly in her attitude, in her face and her head, in her headdress, and even in the ointment jar she carries (Figure 46). Her garments,

58. Bou, *Sculpture en Rouergue*, pp. 11, 12, 105, 121, 122, 161.

however, are simpler and less aristocratic. Instead of the Biron figure's richly bordered surcoat cut away around the arms, she wears a simple pleated garment with a rope girdle. While this girdle may imply the penitent Magdalen, it may also refer to the knotted rope girdle of the Franciscan order from whose church the statue came, even though it lacks the three knots customary to a true Franciscan girdle. She wears the end of her headcloth across the top of her bodice, as does her sister statue, but with a simpler border and with the end of the cloth no longer dangling coquettishly at the side of her head. The bunch of drapery tucked under her left arm is comparable to the smaller bunch hanging over the right arm of the Biron figure.

The Carcenac Virgin, in face, wimple, and the foldings of the cloak over her head (Figure 47), is nearly identical with the earlier Virgin of the Biron Pietà, although the thicker folds of her garments and her heavy belt are closer to the Burgundian style.

FIGURE 46
Carcenac Pietà, the Magdalen (La Photothèque)



FIGURE 47
Carcenac Pietà, the Virgin (La Photothèque)

The two Saint Johns are nearly as much alike (Figure 48). Similarities in their faces extend to such details as the folds or creases of flesh radiating from the base of their noses, to the folds on their necks, and to the eyebrows scratched into the stone in a herringbone pattern. The modeling of the faces is the same even down to the slight swelling over the cheekbones. The hair has the same rosette terminals. At first glance the swirling folds of the cloak worn by the Carcenac John seem to be entirely different, but the mantle is doubled over and around the right forearm in a way that is really a development from the simpler folds around the arm of the earlier figure. The jeweled morse closing the saint's cloak below the neck shows a relation in setting and form to jewelry on the Biron sculptures.

The biggest change from Biron occurs in the Christ, who is much larger in scale at Carcenac and somewhat more softly modeled. His head shows a definite evolution from the two Biron Christs. Although the mustache



FIGURE 48
Carcenac Pietà, Saint John and Christ (La Photothèque)

and beard are of the same general form, they are more elaborate. The modeling of the eyes shows the same fleshy swellings at the lids. Even the scars on the forehead, where the thorns pierced, are of the same sort. The loincloth of the Carcenac Christ is close to that of the earlier Biron Christ of the Pietà in its foldings, and the shroud under him has a meandering edge like the drapery around the base of the Biron Pietà. The cloth held by the Magdalen has arabesque curves that seem to have evolved from the ends of Christ's loincloth in the Biron Entombment. This mannerism of the master recurs elsewhere in his later work.

The Carcenac sculpture represents a complex variety of Pietà that might be termed a Deposition Pietà in that it combines elements from several different scenes of the Passion. Christ's body has already been taken down from the cross but is no longer suspended in the arms of several people as in a regular Deposition, but only partly supported by Saint John. It has not been

laid either in his mother's lap as in a true Pietà nor flat upon the ground as in a typical Lamentation, where it would be surrounded by a group of mourners. Instead only the Virgin, Saint John, and the Magdalen are present. They are grouped as in a true Pietà with the Virgin in the center, Saint John on the left holding the head and torso of Christ, and the Magdalen on the right wiping his feet before anointing them with oil for burial, as she had done earlier in the house of Simon the Pharisee. John puts his hand on Christ's head as he often does in such Pietà groups and as Armand does in the Biron Pietà.

The Carcenac Pietà is treated more like a relief than a free-standing sculpture in the round. There seems to have been an attempt to carve the figures as if they were all in one plane. To this purpose the figures of John and the Magdalen are twisted rather unnaturally sideways, much as they are in a Pietà relief of the southwest at Lezat-sur-Lèze, which is actually enclosed in a retable frame. One has the impression that the Carcenac sculpture may have had a similar setting. Indeed, the group was probably inspired by reliefs, since there are many with this composition, such as that by Tilman Riemenschneider at Maidbronn, near Würzburg. The composition also appears in a carving at Bonzée in eastern France.⁵⁹ It probably derived from carved retables of the Brussels and Antwerp schools. In these, exported to all parts of Europe, the Deposition or Pietà was frequently shown to one side of or beneath the Crucifixion, as in an Antwerp retable in the Stedelijk Museum, Louvain, dated 1520.⁶⁰ The composition for all these sculptures may ultimately derive from Flemish paintings of the Deposition and Lamentation such as those by Rogier van der Weyden and Quentin Metsys. A panel by Gérard David in the Ryerson collection of the Art Institute, Chicago, is a good instance.

The Carcenac Pietà was unquestionably made after the completion of the two Biron sculptures. While the modification in style is not marked, there is an increased freedom of posture and a greater fullness and complication of drapery, both of which point to an evolution in the style of the master. The type of a combined

59. This sculpture shows the influence of Ligier Richier; it was exhibited at the Petit Palais, Paris, in 1917, as one of the "œuvres d'art mutilés par l'ennemi."

60. Exhibition catalogue, *Aspekten dan de laatgotiek in Brabant* (Louvain, 1971) no. AB/xrv and plate.

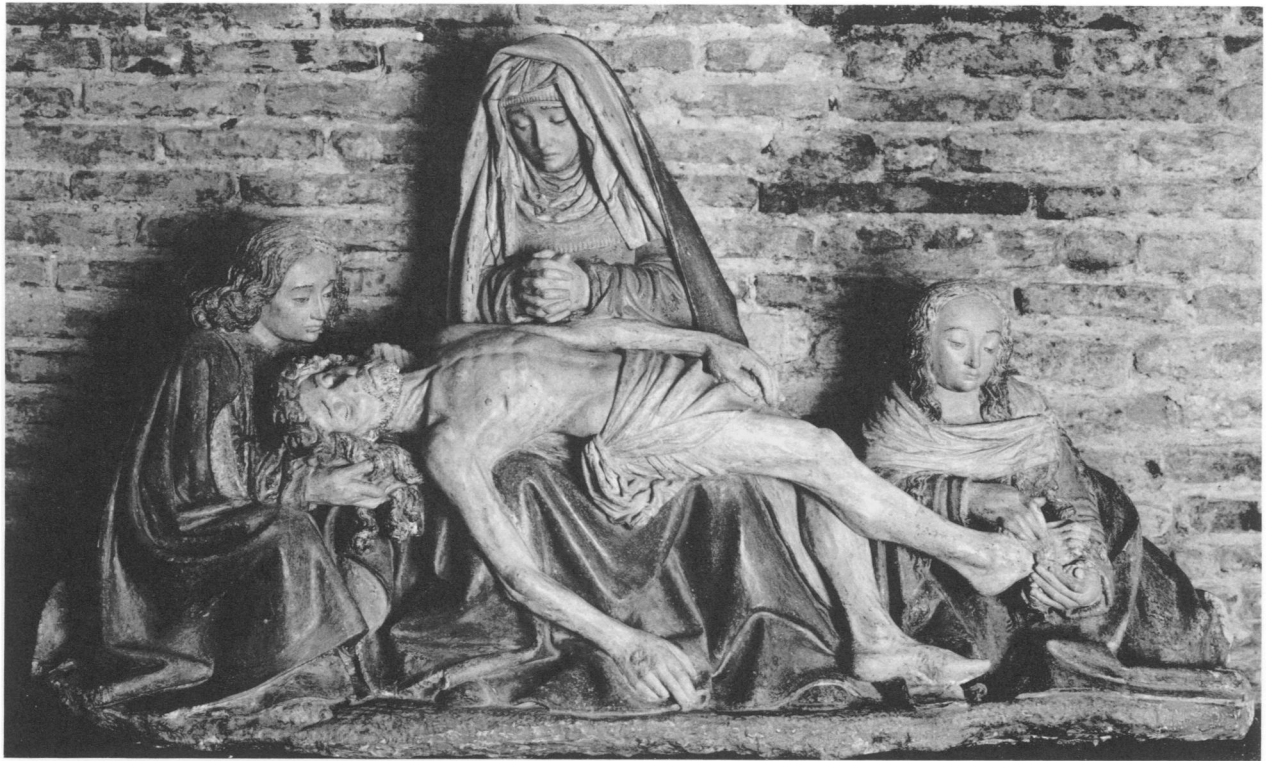


FIGURE 49
Pietà in church at Rodelle, Languedoc, given by Canon Cueyssa of Albi about 1505 (La Photothèque)

Deposition and Pietà is also a later development than the simpler Pietà type of Biron. Although a date around 1520, given in the Montauban exhibition catalogue, may be a little late in comparison with the Biron datings, it suggests the right sequence and cannot be far wrong.

In Rodelle, a few miles northwest of Rodez, not far from whence the Carcenac Pietà came, there is another Pietà that can be associated with the work of the Biron Master (Figure 49). In this group Saint John and the Magdalen kneel as they do at Carcenac, and the Virgin holds the body of Christ in much the same way. The heads of John and the Magdalen show considerable similarities to those of the Carcenac Pietà, yet there are variations: the Rodelle Magdalen's head, generally similar though it is to those of Biron and Carcenac, seems slightly heavier, her features somewhat coarser (Figure 50). Although the Rodelle Magdalen wears her hair as do the Magdalens of the Biron Entombment and the Carcenac Pietà, her kerchief is pulled rather

taut across her front as it is in the two Magdalens at Monestiès-sur-Cérou from Pierre d'Amboise's chapel at Combefa.⁶¹ This idiosyncrasy seems inspired by the Combefa sculptures. The style of the Rodelle Pietà also shows similarity to the muted Burgundian styles of Toulouse, in particular to a Pietà from the church of the Récollets (Figure 51) and to another Pietà at Saint Salvi, Albi.⁶²

Much as one would like to attribute the Rodelle Pietà, as Bousquet and Bou have done, directly to the Biron Master, because of its quality and its resemblance to his work, there are difficulties. The first concerns its dating, the second its degree of closeness to the Biron sculptures. In his searches into the local archives Bousquet discovered that a P. Cueyssa, canon of Albi

61. Forsyth, *Entombment*, pp. 107–108, 120, figs. 144, 146; Bou, *Sculpture gothique*, figs. 80, 81, pp. 171–175.

62. Méras, *Trésors d'art*, no. 88; Bou, *Sculpture gothique*, note 61, fig. 102.

and a native of Rodelle, is mentioned in a document of September 8, 1505, as the founder of the chapel of Sainte-Marie de Pitié at Rodelle; from this he concludes that the statue was made for Canon Cueyssa or for a member of his family. This happy discovery gives at least a general date for the sculpture. If, however, it is a work of the Biron Master it must be contemporary, or nearly so, with the Biron Pietà. The two sculptures, for all their resemblances, do not seem close enough to each other to suggest that they were made by the same hand at the same time, especially when the same person went on to do the Biron Entombment, which is so much closer to the Biron Pietà than is the Rodelle Pietà. On the other hand, if the Rodelle Pietà is slightly earlier than the Biron Pietà, why does it not show as much influence from Bourbonnais and Touraine, an influence which was so crucial in the formation of the master's style? On the contrary, the Rodelle Pietà is much more closely related to others of Languedoc, already mentioned, as Bousquet and others have noted.

Gilbert Bou has suggested that the Biron Master may

FIGURE 50

Rodelle Pietà, the Magdalen (La Photothèque)



be Hughes Viguiet, member of a well-known family of sculptors in the Rouergue, or his son-in-law Antony Valens, or possibly the two combined. Both came from Salles-en-Albigeois, near Albi, where there are four statues of the cardinal virtues that show some relation to the work of the Biron Master. But it is hard to see how the same hand or hands could have carved the Salles sculptures and those attributed to the Biron Master. Admittedly the head of the Temperance figure at Salles depends upon that of the Magdalen of the Biron Entombment as well as that of the Carcenac Pietà, and the head of the Salles Prudence depends upon that of the Virgin of the Biron Pietà and Biron Entombment as well as that of the Carcenac Pietà, as Bou points out. The Salles figures, however, are obviously the work of a carver who picked up ideas where he could without being able to coordinate them successfully. His Fortitude is a simplified version of that by Michel Colombe on the tomb of François II at Nantes. (Mathieu Méras has called the Salles Fortitude "a pastiche" of the Nantes figure.) The Salles Justice also shows influence from the Nantes Justice. The Salles Prudence seems to take its cue from a rather clumsy interpretation of drapery formulas seen on the sculpture of Albi Cathedral. Without underestimating their charm, the Salles sculptures are the work of a good craftsman, not a master. Regardless of whether Viguiet and/or Valens carved them, it is difficult to imagine that either of them or any of their colleagues in the region should be identified with the Biron Master, whose figures are so much more monumental than theirs.

One can certainly agree that the Biron Master must have had affiliations with Albi and the Rouergue without denying the strong affiliations of his art with Bourbonnais and royal France, where he may have received his training. His later sojourn in Albi and the Rouergue area would explain not only the presence of the Carcenac Pietà in Rodez but also the parallels between his work at Biron and that on the choir screen of Albi Cathedral, as well as that of the Entombment made for Pierre d'Amboise, a cousin of Pons' first wife, for his episcopal château at Combefa, which is now at Monestiers-sur-Cérou. These parallels do not suggest that the master worked on these sculptures but rather that his style was modified and softened by the same tempering influences. Other sculptures in the same region, though

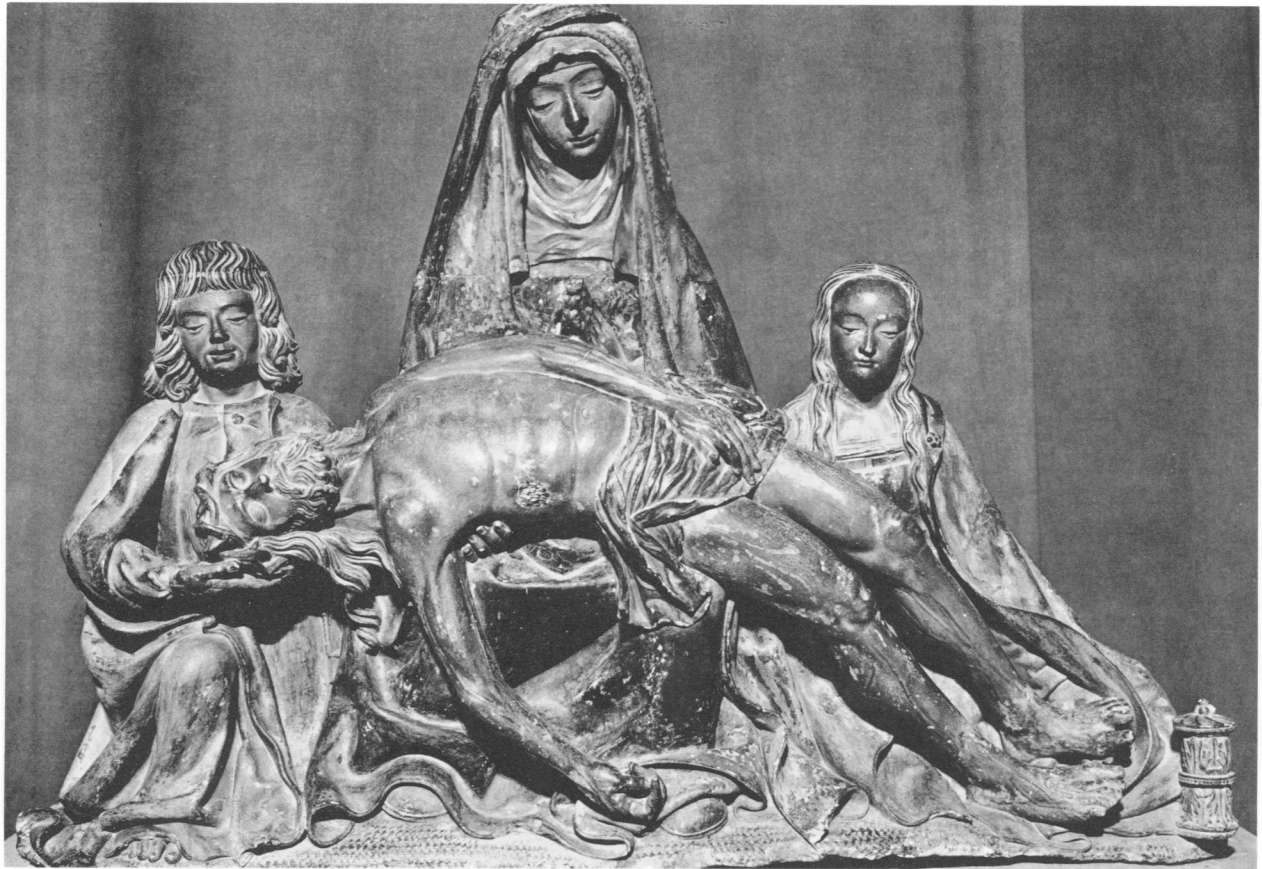


FIGURE 51

Pietà from the church of the Récollets, Toulouse, Languedoc. Musée des Augustins, Toulouse (La Photothèque)

none so clearly as the Rodelle Pietà, suggest that his “monumental” style—to use Bousquet’s word—may in turn have had a reciprocal influence.⁶³ Indeed, two heads in the sacristy of Saint Salvi, Albi (Figures 52, 53), although cruder than the Rodelle Pietà, show more of the master’s monumental style than does Rodelle. They must be at least by a close follower, and if, as has been supposed, they are fragments of a lost Entombment given by Pierre d’Amboise, their relation to the Biron Pietà and Entombment is all the more intriguing.

There are no sculptures in Périgord or other prov-

inces of southwest France around Biron that show such affiliations with the master’s work as the Albi-Rouergue area does. A Magdalen in the Toulouse Museum from the collection of Maurens-Scopont, possibly from Quercy,⁶⁴ has a head with some similarities to that of the Biron Magdalen, and another Entombment at Bordeaux, now to be discussed, has a clearer relationship, but these are isolated sculptures and suggest no regional activity of the master.

The resemblances and the differences between the Biron Master and his followers become more evident

63. See, for instance, other sculptures in the Montauban catalogue; also in Marguerite de Bévotte, “Un Groupe de statues de la fin de la période gothique à la collégiale Saint-Salvi d’Albi,” *Revue du Tarn* 31, 3rd ser. (1963) pp. 32–52, and Victor Allègre, *Les Richesses médiévales du Tarn. Art gothique II* (Toulouse, 1954) fig. 70c; Bou, *Sculpture en Rouergue*, pp. 99–104. For Méras’ “pas-

tiche” assertion, see his “Exposition ‘Trésors d’art gothique en Languedoc’ et ses problèmes archéologiques,” *Bulletin de la Société archéologique de Tarn-et-Garonne* 88 (1962). For differentiation of these sculptures from the style of the Biron Master, see Allègre, *Richesses médiévales I*, p. 247, II, fig. 74.

64. Forsyth, *Entombment*, p. 118, fig. 180.



FIGURES 52, 53

Heads of the Magdalen and the Virgin, possibly from an Entombment, church of Saint Salvi, Albi, Languedoc (La Photothèque)

in an Entombment at Bordeaux, still in its original location in the church of the Maison de la Miséricorde, formerly a convent of the Annunciads known as Sancta Maria de Annunciata (Figure 54).⁶⁵ Most of the figures of this monument derive from those of the Biron Master in their grouping, their proportions, their general style, and in many details of their costume. The Virgin, almost detail for detail, comes from the Virgins of the Biron and especially of the Carcenac Pietàs. The Joseph and the Nicodemus are as clearly modeled after those of the Biron Entombment in their stance, their figures, including their faces and headgear, and in many of their costume accessories. They hold the shroud in the same attitudes, the ends of the cloth falling down the same way, with its front edge also lapping over the edge of the sarcophagus. The face of the sarcophagus is divided into similar compartments framed by similar pilasters and having a similar leaf molding at the top.

65. Paul Roudié, "Les Mises au tombeau de Bordeaux," *Revue historique de Bordeaux et du département de la Gironde* n.s. 2 (1953) pp. 307–324. Professor Roudié enabled me to visit this cloistered monument.

The Christ is closely dependent upon the Carcenac Christ in his features and his anatomy and head; the head, like others at Bordeaux, is flat on top as at Carcenac. Even the wounds on his forehead repeat those at Carcenac, and the locks of his hair seem modeled after those of John at Carcenac. The trailing end of his loincloth is a coarse rendering of that in the Biron Pietà. The Bordeaux John is a heavy, updated version of the John at Carcenac. His cloak swings around his forearm in a similar motion, but, in imitation of the Italian manner, his head is turned upward and his mouth opened as in a cry of despair.

Countless other details attest to the fact that the Bordeaux Entombment was carved "after" that of Biron. An inscription on the border of a garment of the Holy Woman supporting the Virgin reads *ADMONV* . . ., recalling the inscription on the Biron pediment. One even finds bandings on the tassels of the purse worn by the Biron Nicodemus repeated on the tassels of the pillow under Christ's shroud at Bordeaux and again reappearing on the tassels under Armand's effigy at Biron. The repertoire of ornament used throughout the monument is so similar to that at Biron that the

Bordeaux sculptor must have been associated with the workshop and had access to its “patrons” or models. Another curious costume detail links the monument to the Nantes tomb of François II and so to Colombe’s workshop. The ornamental band that runs across the top of the headdress of the Holy Woman behind Christ’s head is the same as the one so used on the figure of Prudence at Nantes, and is also repeated on the headdress of another Holy Woman in an *Entombment* at Joigny.⁶⁶ Even the beaded border on the headcloth framing the sides of the face is repeated on the Bordeaux figure, which also wears the knotted kerchief of Nantes and Biron.

For all their swagger, the figures of Joseph and Nicodemus look something like participants in a fancy-dress party whose rented clothing is a little too big and heavy for them. Joseph’s jewelry and hat are borrowed from Biron, as are some of the other costume accessories of the two men. Their postures, too, are deriva-

tive, their outturned legs being almost a caricature of that of the Biron Joseph.

The more one studies the Bordeaux monument the more it appears to be largely if not entirely the work of a follower, and not of the master. Despite the dexterity of much of the carving, most of the figures have a rather lifeless quality that one sometimes finds in even good academic work in French Renaissance sculpture of this time. Delicacy of detail is lacking, the drapery is somewhat formless, and the soft hands and heads are too large and heavy. Only the Virgin and Christ approach the quality of the master. Perhaps he made the patron or model of the monument and carved these figures, leaving the rest to another.

The devotion to the Holy Sepulcher was cultivated by the founder of the order of the Annunciads, Saint Jeanne de Valois, who erected a Holy Sepulcher in the garden of the mother house at Bourges. Although it is not clear whether the “sepulcher” of Bourges consisted

66. Forsyth, *Entombment*, pp. 122, 136, 137, figs. 182, 209–211.

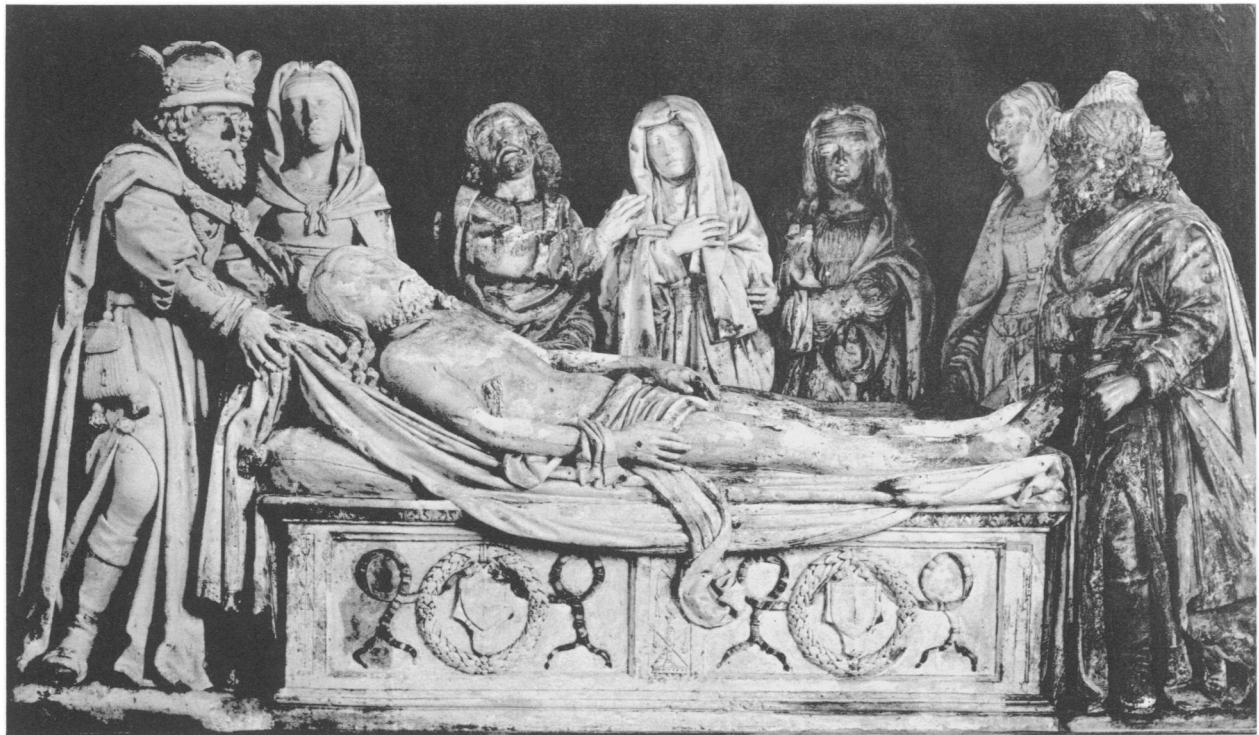


FIGURE 54

Entombment, about 1530, Maison de la Miséricorde, Bordeaux (photo: Puytorac)

of or contained a sculptured group representing the Entombment, one can at least conclude that the devotion instituted by the founder was followed in the sister house at Bordeaux, where there was an altar dedicated to the Holy Sepulcher placed directly below the niche containing the Entombment. Such a devotion would have been sufficient reason for the construction of the monument at Bordeaux, a devotion which was probably intensified in the mind of the donor by the thought of approaching death. It is quite likely that the donor was Jacqueline Andron de Lansac, who gave the funds for the building of the chapel. In 1525 she requested in her will that her heirs finish the building and supply it with chapels, altars, and stained glass. A year later she ordered the altars for the sanctuary. In her will, following a formula typical of other Bordeaux wills, Jacqueline chose her sepulcher in the chapel "en remembrance du Saint-Sépulchre où Notre-Seigneur et Redempteur Jésus-Christ fut mis et ensevely." In 1526 the donor had ordered the altars from Guillaume Medion, and in 1532 her heirs dealt with Mathurin Galoppian for the construction of her tomb. Galoppian was a master mason of Bordeaux. If either of these men had been directly responsible for the Entombment one might expect to see examples of similar carving in Bordeaux. Paul Roudié, who has made a study of the Bordeaux Entombment and discovered all of the documents mentioned here, was not able to find such parallels. It seems likely from this negative evidence that a workshop was called in from the outside.

Roudié, who was the first to point out the dependence of the Bordeaux Entombment upon that of Biron, has also uncovered documents indicating that there were contacts of the Gontaut family with the Annuciads of Bordeaux, contacts that explain the similarities between the two monuments. Armand de Gontaut founded a mass at the Annuciads, and Catherine de Gontaut, a daughter of Pons and niece of Armand, became a member of the Bordeaux community after the death of her first husband, François de Durfort, in 1524. In 1534 Catherine was remarried to Jacques de Pons, the widower of the donor of the chapel. In conclusion one can agree with Roudié that the founder of the chapel or members of her family probably had the Entombment made at the beginning of the second quarter of the sixteenth century by the workshop of the Biron master.

THE TOMB OF PONS DE GONTAUT

Although the tombs of the Gontaut brothers are Renaissance in style, one has a strong sense of their continuity with the earlier Gothic Pietà and Entombment, and also with the Pietà at Carcenac. Although the effigies of both brothers have been badly mutilated, enough remains, particularly of the relief sculptures on the sides of the tombs, to lead to the somewhat surprising conclusion that, despite the lapse of time and the consequent evolution of style, this later work at Biron seems to have proceeded under the same auspices and even apparently with much of the same équipe as before.⁶⁷

The tomb of Pons dominates the chapel, both by its axial position and its larger size (Figure 55). The richly carved sarcophagus rests upon a podium-like base decorated with skulls and crossed bones tied together with ribbons. Such lugubrious mementi mori were typical of the age. They are found, for instance, on the contemporary tombs of Claude Gouffier at Oiron and François de Lannoy at Folleville, and in a representation of a tomb in a breviary in the Bibliothèque Municipale of Châteauroux.⁶⁸ They may refer to the Christian hope of resurrection by an implied reference to Ezekiel's vision of the valley of dry bones which the Lord brings to life (Ezekiel 37:1-5).

The coat of arms of the deceased once appeared on the plinthlike projections of the tomb's base. At the corners of the base are four winged putti of the sort commonly used on Italian tombs, such as that of Medea Colleoni in Bergamo. Above these putti are four small corner niches that once must have contained sculptures, to judge by dowels or empty holes for dowels that remain on the back face of each niche and were obviously used to attach the missing figures to the tomb. The sides of the monument above the base are carved with reliefs framed by pilasters, each pilaster resting directly upon the projections of the base beneath it and supporting the table or coffer of the tomb on which the effigy rests.

67. Paul Vitry published the tombs twice. See note 2 and Vitry and Brière, *Documents: Renaissance*, seconde partie, I, pl. xvi, 1-3. See also Pradel, *Michel Colombe*, p. 105.

68. Millard Meiss, *French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry, the Boucicault Master* (London, 1968) pp. 81, 82, fig. 162; Vitry and Brière, *Documents: Renaissance*, second partie, I, pls. x, xii, 6.

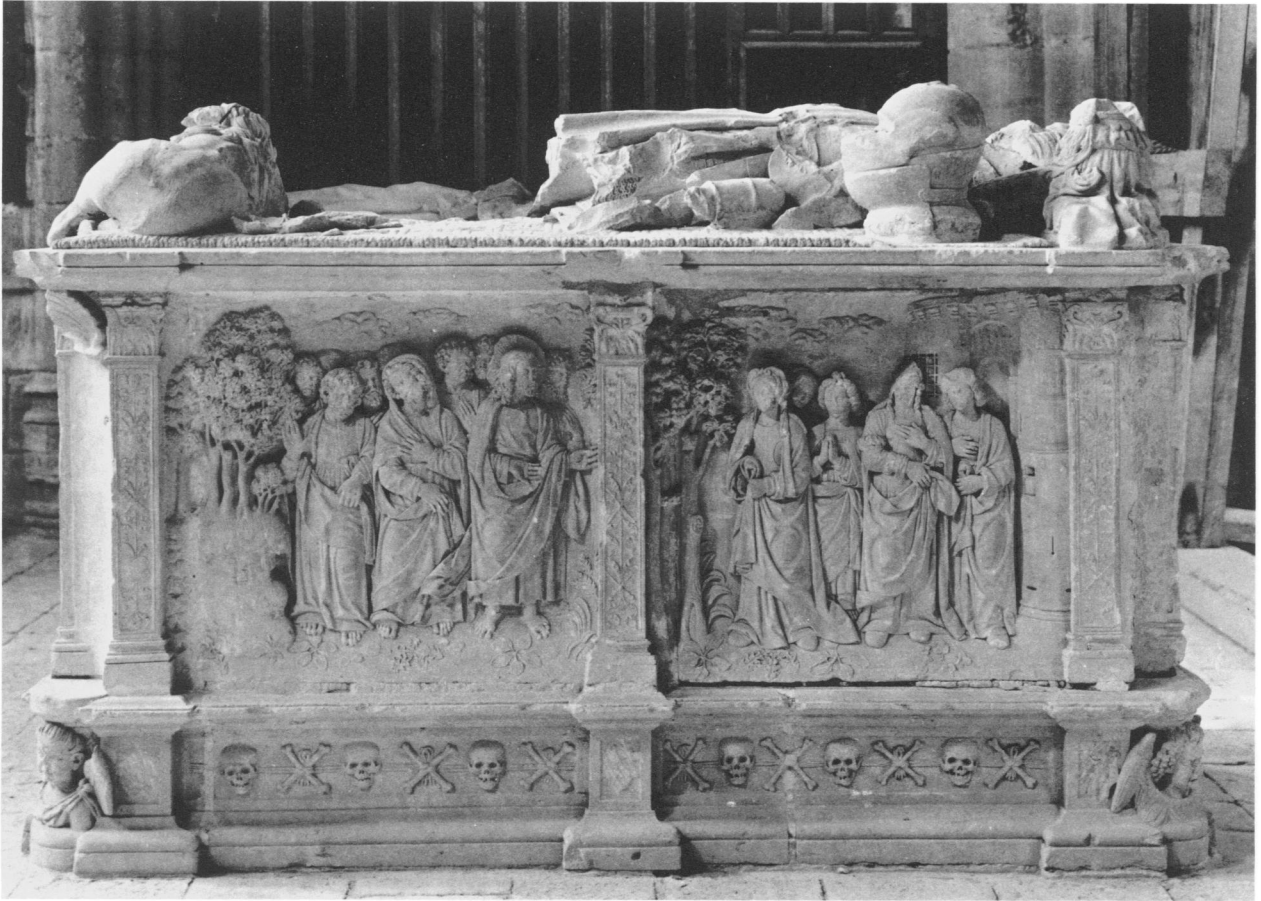


FIGURE 55
Tomb of Pons de Gontaut (Archives Photographiques)

In these reliefs one finds many resemblances to the earlier Pietà and Entombment. Here are the same stocky figures with the same narrow shoulders, large heads, and big, pudgy hands and feet. Here is the same kind of soft, puffy drapery with swirling folds. Here, even, are similar costume accessories, as well as the striated rock formations and bosky trees one finds on the Entombment reliefs.

The reliefs on the two long sides of the tomb represent the story of Lazarus. Most appropriate for a tomb, the subject had been so used since the early Christian period as a sign of the Christian hope in the resurrection⁶⁹ and in accordance with Christ's words when he raised Lazarus: "I am the resurrection and I am life. If a man has faith in me, even tho he die, he shall come to life" (John 11:25, 26, N.E.T.). A banderole inscribed

with these words in the Latin text of the Vulgate appears above Christ's head in a fifteenth-century Rhenish woodcut of the Resurrection of Lazarus.⁷⁰ In the office for the dead of the Roman Breviary there is the prayer: "Thou who didst call up Lazarus from the grave, do thou, O Lord, grant them rest and a place of forgiveness."⁷¹

The story begins on the east face of the tomb with the arrival of Christ and his disciples at Bethany. In

69. Joseph Wilpert, *I Sarcophagi cristiani antichi. Monumenti di antichità cristiana II* (Rome, 1929-36) pp. 302, 303.

70. Campbell Dodgson, *Catalogue of Early German and Flemish Woodcuts in the British Museum I* (London, 1903) p. 47, no. A, 6.

71. Taken from the translation of the Roman Breviary by John, Marquess of Bute (London, 1908) p. 1176, for the first nocturn, second responsory.

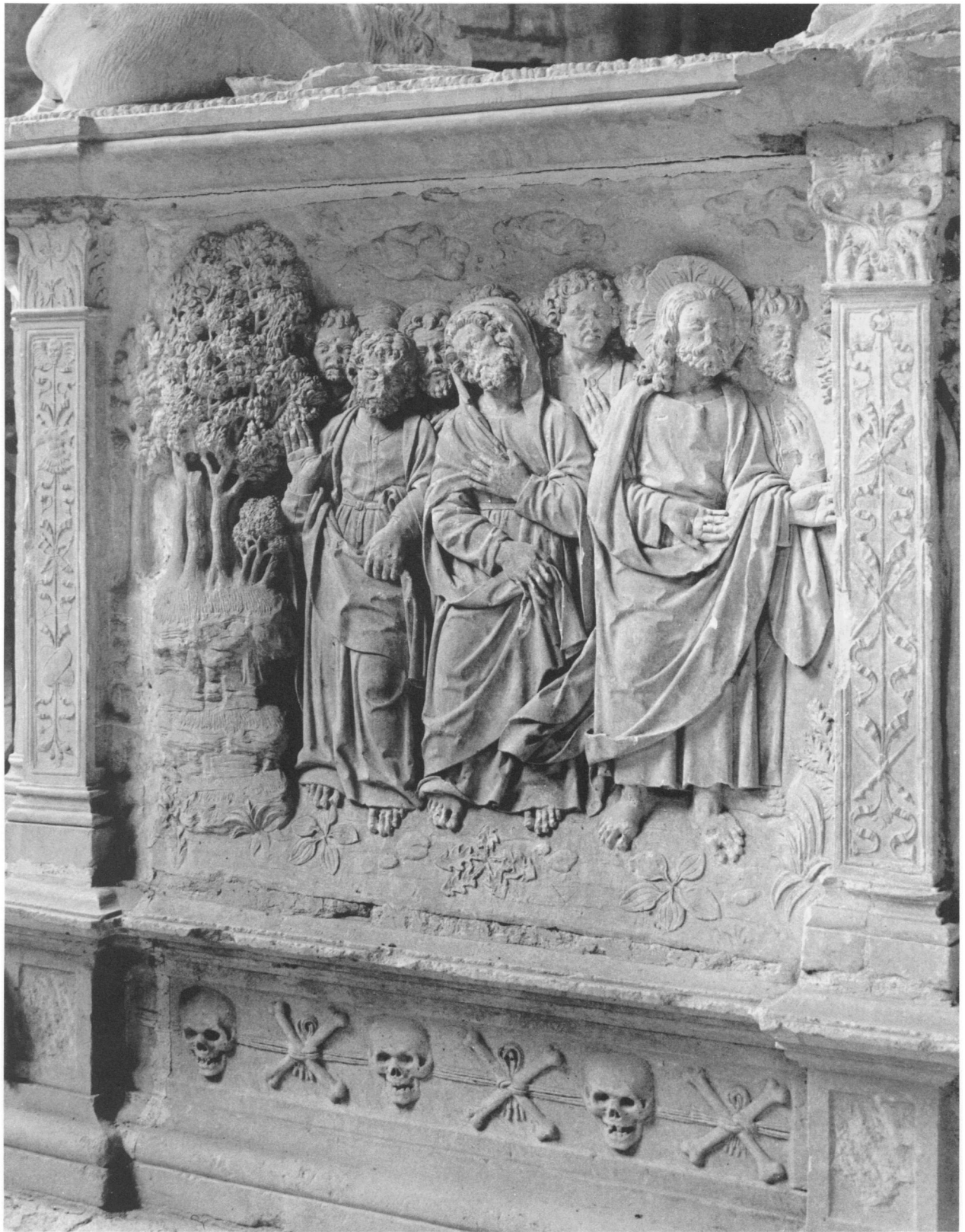


FIGURE 56

Tomb of Pons, east face, left panel (photo: Bernard Biraben)

FIGURE 57

Tomb of Pons, east face, right panel (Biraben)



the left-hand panel, identified by his large cruciform halo, stands Christ (Figure 56). Facing him in the right-hand panel (Figure 57) are five women before the city gate of Bethany, where Lazarus and his sisters Mary and Martha lived. Martha, who first encountered Christ, is in the forefront at the left with two

mourning women behind her. After this first encounter the gospel says that Martha returned to town to get her sister, Christ remaining where he was. The two figures at the right are Mary and an attendant mourner or possibly Mary and Martha, if the latter is represented here a second time beside her sister whom she



FIGURE 58
Tomb of Pons, west
face, left panel
(Biraben)



FIGURE 59
Tomb of Pons, west
face, right panel
(Biraben)

brought back with her from the town. Two episodes of the story would thus be represented together; a similar conflation occurs in the Rhenish woodcut cited above.

The climax of the story is shown on the west face. In the left-hand panel Mary and Martha stand in the front plane next to a richly clad male figure, now headless (Figure 58). In the back row are two disciples with a male and a female mourner. All these figures face those in the panel to the right where Christ, flanked by the praying Peter and another disciple, stretches out his hand toward Lazarus as he steps out of his tomb, assisted by two turbaned men who have just unbound his hands (Figure 59). The thongs that hang from his wrists are a misinterpretation of Christ's order to loose Lazarus from the winding sheets in which, according to the Eastern burial custom, his body had been wrapped like that of an Egyptian mummy. Lazarus is no longer shown as the thin-chested, emaciated figure who in most medieval representations seems to rise weightless from his grave at Christ's command. Here he comes forth from his tomb with the victorious stride of a conquering hero in much the same way as Christ himself often has been represented in his own resurrection. In sign of triumph Lazarus steps upon the lid of his sarcophagus just as Christ sometimes does. The same type of muscular figure, so typical of Italian Renaissance art, also appears in a number of other contemporary representations of Lazarus north of the Alps.⁷²

The most unusual aspect of the Biron relief is its architectural setting. Instead of showing the miracle as taking place in the open country, where burial tombs were found in Palestine, the sculptor has placed it within a spacious vaulted hall looking like a pagan classical basilica. Here, as for the ornament, one has to turn to Italy. Donatello had already used a similar

interior several times as a background for Christian religious scenes, once in bronze reliefs decorating the high altar of the church of Sant'Antonio in Padua and once again, and more significantly for us, in a series of bronze reliefs on the north pulpit of San Lorenzo in Florence (Figure 60).⁷³ In the Florentine reliefs the basilica setting, reminiscent of the interior of a Roman bath, was employed for the appearance of Christ before Herod and Pilate, and here one finds the same kind of balcony as at Biron, from which spectators look down, and even the same type of classical figures standing on top of columns.⁷³ The round arches of Donatello's reliefs have been retained, but his classical barrel vaults have been transformed into the rib vaults of French Gothic architecture. The figurines standing on the columns at Biron show more effort to modify their pagan origin than did those of Donatello. In the left-hand relief the central figure, while retaining a classical stance, has become Moses holding the tablets of the law. The corresponding figure holding a shield in the right-hand relief may represent a Jewish military hero such as Joshua, Sampson, or David, but on either side of him are two male classical nudes who have obviously nothing to do with the story. At Biron the same kind of perspective was attempted, and even the same criss-cross latticework covers the small oval windows as covered the bigger window openings at San Lorenzo. The pairs of canister-like urns above the columns at San Lorenzo seem to stand for the wine and water of the mass just as do the cruets on Armand's tomb. Whether the Donatello reliefs directly inspired those at Biron or whether there was an intermediary source, perhaps a drawing, cannot be said, but the similarity in composition is so striking one wonders whether the Biron Master could have seen the Donatello reliefs. Such an Italian visit of the Biron Master as this implies

72. For example, on a Limoges enamel plaque in the Metropolitan Museum (41.100.204) and in a painting by Jan Cornelis Vermeyen in the Musée du Cinquantième, Brussels.

73. An engraving of The Flagellation of Christ, by the Master of the Vienna Passion (Vienna, Albertina, H. 1, A. 1.28) shows a similarly vaulted room, representing the palace of Pilate, with columns and statuettes, one of them nude, standing on the columns in front of the springing of the arches, as in the Donatello relief at San Lorenzo, Florence. The Master of the Vienna Passion has

been linked to a Florentine source, the Picture Chronicle by Baccio Baldini. Perhaps the architecture is also dependent upon Donatello's relief. See Jay A. Levenson, Konrad Oberhuber, and Jacquelyn L. Sheehan, *Early Italian Engravings from the National Gallery of Art* (Washington, D.C., 1973) pp. 20, 21, fig. 2 (11). Figurines also stand in niches above the springing of arches in Flemish retables, but they have no resemblance to those at Biron. See Raymond Koechlin and J.-J. Marquet de Vasselot, *La Sculpture à Troyes et dans la Champagne méridionale au seizième siècle* (Paris, 1900) p. 113, fig. 44.

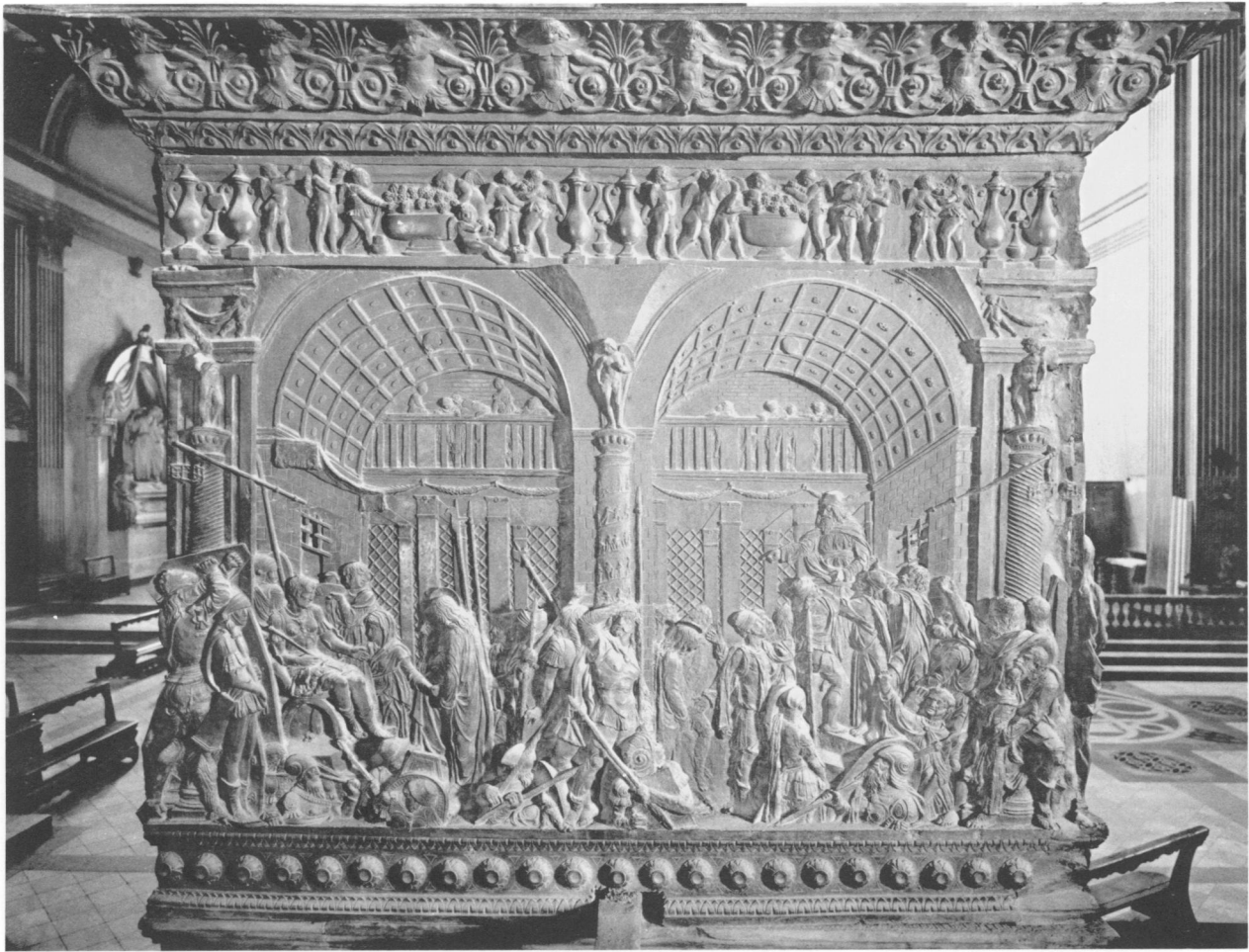


FIGURE 60

Christ before Pilate and before Caiaphas, relief by Donatello, north pulpit, church of San Lorenzo, Florence (photo: Alinari)

would also explain other Florentine influences, such as the similarity of the Biron Saint John to figures of the della Robbias.

Parallel examples for an architectural setting of the Lazarus story are rare indeed. In fifteenth- and sixteenth-century paintings north of the Alps the miracle can take place in the market square of a medieval town, or sometimes within a church or in front of a classical colonnade. In a painting by Dirk Bouts it occurs as at Biron within a completely enclosed building with columns, arches, and vaults, but a building circular in plan like a classical mausoleum and not of the basilica type.⁷⁴

At either end of Pons' sarcophagus is a relief between pilasters. The one beneath the head of the effigy, now mutilated, may once have displayed the Biron coat of arms supported by two dragons. The same arms, also with mantling and crest (and now similarly defaced) were carved above the chapel's entrance door.

At the foot of the tomb, facing the altar, the relief shows a tablet suspended from the winged head of a

74. See Emile Mâle, "La Resurrection de Lazare dans l'art," *La Revue des arts* 1 (1951) pp. 44-52; Phyllis Ackerman, "The Doubtful Status of Albert Outwater," *Art in America* 16 (1926-27) pp. 72-77.

FIGURE 61

Tomb of Pons, epitaph (Biraben)

putto whose face has been partly obliterated (Figure 61). Pons' epitaph appears on the tablet:

Ci gist Messire Pons de Gontault, chevalier baron de Biron, edificatur de la presente chapelle et fondateur du colliege dicelle ou i[l] trespasa le premier jour de Octobre mvxxiii. Prions Dieu pour son ame.

The missing figures from the tomb's corner niches perhaps represented mourners or heraldic angels bearing coats of arms of the deceased, but it seems more likely that these were female personifications of the four cardinal virtues: Justice, Prudence, Fortitude, Temperance. So named by Saint Augustine and repeated in the sentences of Peter Lombard,⁷⁵ they were known in thirteenth-century French sculpture and were reintroduced in France from Italy two centuries later; in Italy they had frequently been used on secular tombs.⁷⁶ Popularized in the pageantry attending the royal entries of Charles VIII and Louis XII, the theme was given further official sanction when Michel Colombe placed the cardinal virtues like monumental guardians at the four corners of the tomb of François II, which Anne of Brittany erected at Nantes in memory of her parents. The subject was repeated at Saint-Denis on the tombs of Charles VIII, Louis XII and Anne of Brittany, and Henry II and Catherine de Medici, and it was also repeated on a number of other sixteenth-century French tombs.⁷⁷ Emile Mâle has explained the placing of the cardinal virtues at the corners of a tomb with a passage by the now unknown French author of the *Somme le roi*, who likened these virtues to "the four towers of the stronghold of the prudent man."⁷⁸ The tomb presumably represented the dead man's house or stronghold over which the virtues stood guard like



towers at the corners of a building. One can also quote Durandus:

When the sepulcher was being sealed it was signed with four crosses of chrisem for the prudence, fortitude, temperance and justice with which our heart is anointed when it is prepared by the Holy Spirit to receive the mystery of the heavenly secrets.⁷⁹

Pons' effigy has been too badly mutilated to make detailed comparisons possible, but enough of it remains to show the same general type of workmanship as on the Pietà and Entombment, and to relate the effigy closely to the earlier sculptures. The small remnant of Pons' head has an eye and brow similar to earlier ones. The folds on his tabard are also similar to those on his statue in the Pietà group, with the same type of chain mail at the neckline and the same type of plate armor

75. J. P. Migne, *Patrologia Latina* CXCII (Paris, 1855) p. 823.

76. See those at Verona discussed by A. G. Mayer, *Lombardische Denkmäler des vierzehnten Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart, 1893) pp. 85–87, ill.

77. See Pradel, *Michel Colombe*, p. 47, and Pierre Pradel, "Le Tombeau de Monsieur de la Palice," *Archives de l'art français. Etudes et documents sur l'art français du XII^e au XVI^e siècle* 22 (Paris, 1959) pp. 61–64.

78. Emile Mâle, *L'Art religieux en France à la fin du moyen-âge* (Paris, 1925) p. 309.

79. Guillelmus Durandus (d. 1295), *Rationale divinarum officiorum*, 13 a.

appearing on the arms and at the side below the tabard. His helm is slightly later in type, but, as in the Entombment, it is an *armet à rondelle* with a hole at the back for the missing disk and one on top for the missing crest. The cushion beneath his head has a carved brocade pattern of the same type painted on John's garment in the Entombment. This pattern, made in low relief by cutting out the background, is generally similar to that used on the funerary cushions of the tomb of François II and his wife at Nantes by Michel Colombe. Such carving representing brocade was a specialty of Bourbonnais sculptors. The tassels at the corners of the cushion are like those hanging from Joseph's purse. The small kneeling angels who supported the cushion are too mutilated to compare with those of the Entombment group, but other angels on the tombs do show a relationship. Pons' feet rested against the traditional crouching lion, symbol of knightly prowess, and the effigy is represented upon a plaited straw mat of the sort one traditionally placed a dying man on.

In his will Pons requested Jean, his son and heir, and his brother Armand, administrator of his house, to bury him in the chapel founded by him in honor of Notre-Dame de Pitié, in the choir at the foot of the main altar.⁸⁰ There is good reason to believe that Pons had had his tomb made while he was still alive when one remembers the care with which he built the chapel and founded the college of canons, one of whose main duties was to say memorial masses for his soul. There was plenty of time to carve the tomb after the Entombment was finished about 1510 and before Pons' death in 1524. The costumes of the figures, in particular the headdresses and coiffures of the women in the left-hand relief of the raising of Lazarus, correspond with such a dating.

Although the reliefs of Pons' tomb are generally similar enough to each other to be attributed to the same workshop, there are differences between them that imply two different hands. The most noticeable difference is the lack of coordination between each of the paired reliefs. In the pair portraying Christ, Mary, and Martha before the gates of Bethany, the figures of the men in the left-hand relief stand at a higher level than the women on the right, consequently the rows

of heads in the two reliefs are at different heights. It seems at first that the figures of the right-hand relief are lower to allow space above them for the architecture, but then one realizes that the strange lack of continuity resulted from there being more than one hand at work. If one sculptor did both reliefs, why did he carve the men in a different style from the women and place them at different ground levels?

The differences between the reliefs on the west face of the tomb are in some ways even more evident. The balcony running across the back of both reliefs is meant to be a continuous structure, but it is smaller and higher on the left than on the right, and the balustrades are different in shape and size. There are also the same slight but significant differences between the figures of both reliefs as found in the other pair.

Comparing all four reliefs, one sees that the two depicting Christ and his disciples resemble each other closely in drapery, proportions, and faces, whereas the figures of the Holy Women in the other two reliefs are alike, and they differ from the figures of the men in proportion, scale, and drapery. There are other differences. In the two reliefs with Christ the heights of the figures tend to diminish toward the sides of the reliefs, but there is no such tendency with the women. A number of the gestures and costumes of the women are similar too.

A division of the work between two sculptors in the workshop would explain all these differences and discrepancies, each man doing one of the reliefs on each side of the tomb to speed its completion. A curious mistake in one of the figures seems to confirm this hypothesis. The figure is that of a man who appears on the right edge of the relief showing the women who were present at the raising of Lazarus. His hands are quite different in scale. His outer hand, much too big for the rest of his body, is carved on a separate piece of stone that was added to the relief to make it wider. (Similar additions to the other reliefs suggest that the sarcophagus is longer than originally planned.) This larger hand is almost identical to a hand of an apostle shown at the left side of the relief of Christ before Bethany. One can only conclude that the sculptor who made the two Christ reliefs also made this addition to one of the other reliefs without allowing for the difference in scale of the other work. If one sculptor had made all four reliefs, he would not have been likely to

80. Paris, Archives Nationales, Collection Périgord, Fonds Bosredon, ms. 1760, 70, v. 15.

make such a mistake. A similar error in another of the reliefs reinforces this point. In a piece of stone added to the relief of the women before the gates of Bethany the tree foliage does not match that of the tree to which it has been attached, but instead matches the foliage on the adjacent relief.

The two reliefs with the figures of Christ were perhaps done by the master, who may have assigned a colleague to do the less important ones with the women. The Christ reliefs are closer than the other two to the earlier sculptures of the Biron master in their figure style and in their treatment of trees, striated rocks, and grass as the latter appear on the two reliefs of the Biron Entombment. The figures of the Christ reliefs have the same proportions and heads as the figures of the Pietà and the Entombment. The costume accessories are also quite similar. The Jonah of the Entombment relief and the Christ of the Lazarus relief have the same end of drapery fluttering behind their backs, looking as if it were pressed against the background. The shroud of Lazarus hangs from his body with the same type of folds one finds on the lappet of Christ's loincloth in the Biron Pietà or on the anointing cloth held by the Magdalen in the Carcenac Pietà. The anatomy of Lazarus' body is close to that of Christ's in the Carcenac sculpture, especially in the veined legs. The turbaned heads of the two Jews assisting Lazarus from the grave resemble those worn by Joseph, Nicodemus, and Abraham in the Entombment. One of the Jews also has the characteristic wide collar of the Biron Master, pinned at the throat, seen already on the figures of Nicodemus and Abraham. Joseph's soft boot worn in a sandaled shoe or patten reappears in the Lazarus relief.

The reliefs depicting the women, although not as close to the Biron Master, also show resemblances to the earlier sculptures in the soft folds of their garments, in their hands, and in their clothing. Note, for example, the hands of a woman in the back row of the Bethany relief. Other similarities to the earlier work, including the effigy of Pons, and the prominence of the hands, make it difficult to assume that the tomb was not made by the same workshop that had done the earlier sculptures.

Just as the Italian ornament on the sarcophagus of the Biron Entombment parallels that on the tomb of François II at Nantes, so one can look to Gaillon for

even more direct parallels to the ornament on Pons' tomb. On a pilaster panel from Gaillon (Figure 62) are carved bunches of fruit, their stems tied together by fluttering ribbons, and a military harness and other trophies, all of these elements being fastened to a large ribbon hanging from a ring at the top of the panel. These same elements in simplified form and lacking the finesse of Gaillon are used to decorate the pilasters

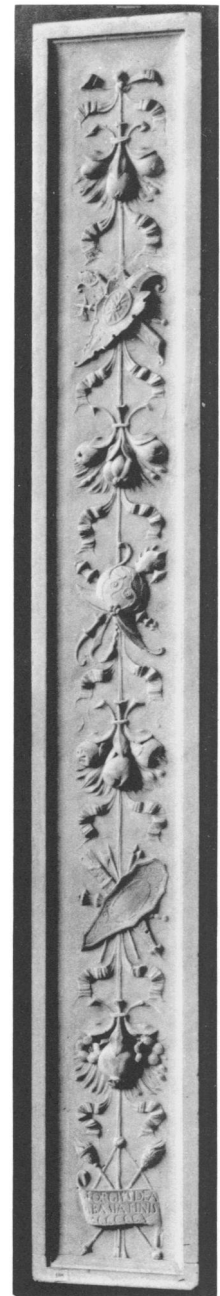


FIGURE 62
Pilaster from château
of Gaillon. Musée du
Louvre (Archives
Photographiques)

of Pons' tomb, different elements of the decoration appearing on the two long faces. One suspects that the workshop at Biron knew the Gaillon pilaster or drawings of it and thus was able to follow a repertoire of ornament derived from the Italians who worked for Gaillon. All of the Italianate ornament of Biron, however, lacks the crisp elegance of the original and was probably carved by French craftsmen.⁸¹

Variations in the ornamental work on Pons' tomb again suggest that several hands were active. The ribbons on the right-hand pilaster of those framing the Lazarus reliefs are different from those on the other two pilasters, but are like those holding the tablet of the epitaph on the end plaque. The left-hand pilaster framing the Lazarus reliefs is slightly different from the other two on the same side. On the opposite side of the tomb there are slight variations in the leaves and in the ornament on the central and right-hand pilasters, and there are also variations in the two pilasters flanking the epitaph at the foot of the tomb. Like variations in handwriting, all these rather minute differences are consistent and numerous enough to suggest two or even three different hands working together under the master and following the same cartoons.

THE TOMB OF ARMAND DE GONTAUT

Armand's tomb, somewhat less elaborate and slightly smaller than his brother's, is of the same general type and workmanship. It has the same high, podium-like base, the same type of carvings in relief framed by pilasters, and the same kind of large, projecting slab carrying the effigy (Figure 63). Because of its placement against the screen of the side chapel, the back or west face of the tomb was left uncarved.

On the east face of the podium base, between the projecting bases of the pilasters, are carved representations of the liturgical objects used by Armand in his priestly office. On the left are an altar cross, chalice and paten, and one of a pair of cruets for the wine and

water of the mass. In the center is an open book flanked by a pair of altar candlesticks, the book inscribed *PIISSIME JESU MISERERE MEI*, possibly taken from a prayer for the dead.⁸² To the right is the other cruet, along with a monstrance and an episcopal cross. On the base at the foot of the tomb are a pair of altar bells flanking a situla or holy-water bucket, and at the head end of the tomb is a censer between a pair of aspergils, and a pax.

Armand's effigy, like his brother's, lies in state. The effigies were obviously made *en suite*. Both were originally attended by kneeling angels who held the cushions beneath the heads of the deceased in the same courtly fashion as on many other medieval tombs of people of rank. Fragments of these angels survive, as do their hands, still represented on the pillows. Unlike that of Pons, Armand's effigy cannot be compared to his earlier kneeling figure in the Pietà group because of the great difference in the garments on the two statues. On his effigy Armand wears full episcopal regalia. Cope, dalmatic, stole, and maniple are visible, if only in part. The voluminous cope envelops his figure like a cloak, its folds being somewhat fuller than those found on Pons' effigy but of the same general character. Only part of the staff of the crozier remains, the rest having been broken off during the Revolution, possibly when the effigy was sawn off from the tomb. The face has been completely destroyed. As with the helm of Pons' effigy the miter once worn by the effigy of Armand seems to have been more evolved in type than the one represented in the Pietà. Both miters are richly jeweled, the jewels similarly set. The miter on the effigy may have been taller and more intricately worked, but both are too badly damaged to allow closer comparisons. The chances are that the Biron master carved Armand's effigy as well as that of Pons, since it shows no new elements of style and even less evolution than do the reliefs on the sides of his tomb.

These reliefs depict the three theological virtues of Faith, Hope, and Charity, symbolized by three female figures. They form a fitting adornment to the tomb of an ecclesiastic. In the center is Faith, "the mother of

81. Vitry, *Michel Colombe et la sculpture*, ill. opp. pp. 191, 445 for other instances of hanging trophies not so close to those at Biron. Military harness had been used earlier at Biron, on the pilasters of the Entombment sarcophagus.

82. The inscription was first read by the abbé Goustat, "De la sépulture des Gontauts-Biron à Cadouin, à Biron et à Badefol," *Bulletin de la Société historique et archéologique du Périgord* 9 (1882) pp. 139-162, known to me through an offprint.



FIGURE 63
Tomb of Armand de Gontaut (Biraben)

virtues.”⁸³ In Italy, where the virtues often appeared on fifteenth-century secular and ecclesiastical tombs, the same arrangement of the theological virtues as at Biron had already been used on the tomb of Doge Francesco Foscari in the church of the Frari, Venice.⁸⁴

On Armand’s tomb Faith is portrayed as an elderly

woman wearing a guimp and a heavy mantle. She studies an open book representing the scriptures while at the same time she holds up a church with her left hand to which she originally pointed with her right, now missing. The meaning is clear: Faith, inspired by the scriptures, is the foundation on which the Church

83. “Prima mater virtutem et origo est Fides,” in the words of Peter of Canterbury, *Patrologia Latina* CCV, col. 270. Despite the declaration of Saint Paul (1 Corinthians, 1–13) that Charity was the greatest of the virtues, a number of medieval theologians give the pre-eminent place to Faith. See the affirmations of Gregory the Great and others, *Patrologia Latina*, XI, col. 1090; LXXIV, col. 588; CLXXI, col. 1213; and CLXXIV, col. 342.

84. Charles Seymour, *Sculpture in Italy 1400–1500* (Baltimore, pl. 138, see also pls. 26, 35, 86B, 121. For earlier uses by the Pisani and Giotto, following French precedents, Adolfo Venturi, *Storia dell’arte italiana*. IV, *La Scultura del trecento* (Milan, 1906) pp. 172, 215, 230, 433, 435, 642, 643, 645, 666–668; V, *La Pittura del trecento* (1907) pp. 364, 367, 369. Also Emile Mâle, *L’Art religieux en France au XIII^e siècle* (Paris, 1919) p. 138, figs. 53, 55, 56.



FIGURE 64
Tomb of Armand, head
end (Biraben)

rests.⁸⁵ Such a personification of Faith also illustrates the second article of the Apostles' Creed: "I believe in the Holy Catholic Church."⁸⁶ This article is represented by a pope sitting in a somewhat similar position beside a church in a German sixteenth-century tapestry in the Metropolitan Museum.⁸⁷ The model of the

church on the sarcophagus is obviously based upon the Biron chapel itself, perhaps to suggest Armand's active role in its construction. His epitaph refers to his activity in the building of churches. To the left of Faith is Charity or Love, represented by a young maiden modestly dressed, in striking contrast to her sister virtues. Charity lifts her heart as an offering to God while holding an empty purse in token of her benevolence to the needy.

To the right of Faith is the figure that must represent Hope. However, instead of being shown in her usual guise as a young woman with flowing hair, she appears as elderly and, stranger still, as a pilgrim. At her side on the ground is the fluke of an anchor she once held. (The anchor is the customary symbol of Hope.) Her

85. "Fides compendium veteris et novi Testamenti," in the words of Saint Augustine, *Patrologia Latina* CLXXIV, col. 515. In the words of Peter of Canterbury, "Faith lays the foundations of the spiritual edifice," *Patrologia Latina* CCV, col. 271.

86. Didron, "Iconographie des trois vertus théologiques," *Annales archéologiques* 20 (1860) p. 204.

87. William Forsyth, "The Credo Tapestry: a pictorial interpretation of the Apostles' Creed," *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art* 21 (1963) pp. 240–251, figs. 2, 16.

bare feet are shod with pilgrim's sandals and her other missing hand once supported the top of a pilgrim's staff, the lower part of which is still visible. On the back of her head is the wide-brimmed hat decorated with cockleshells and crossed staves that was the sign of a pilgrim to the shrine of Saint James of Compostella in Spain. As Saint Peter is the apostle of Faith and Saint John of Love, John's brother, Saint James, was called the apostle of Hope in the teaching of Thomas Aquinas (*Summa Theologica* III, section 45, question 3) and by Dante in the *Divine Comedy* (*Paradiso*, canto xxv, lines 32, 33).⁸⁸ These three apostles, who were present at the Transfiguration of Christ, where his divine nature was clearly revealed, came to be associated with the three theological or heavenly virtues, of which Christ himself was the leading example. The three apostles themselves appear on Armand's tomb, represented on the dalmatic worn by his effigy.

For the sake of symmetry the two outer virtues balance each other, the posture and gestures of each reflecting those of the other, but in the opposite direction as in a mirror, yet without stiffness or monotony. The central figure maintains her own equilibrium by leaning her body in one direction and bending her head in the other. Hope looks to her left, toward the angel who usually accompanies her, and who here is present on the head end of the tomb, advancing with outstretched wings and with one arm, now partly gone, raised in salutation (Figure 64). Possibly this angel once bore a trumpet, as in *The Vision of Piers Plowman* (fourteenth century) where "Hope blows a horn . . . till all the saints in heaven sang as one" and men "seek for Truth but none is wise enough to find the way . . . till they found a man wearing Saracen dress as pilgrims do. He bore a staff . . . and on his hat were shells of Galicia"—the shells referring to the pilgrimage to Compostella.⁸⁹

The reliefs on Armand's tomb, like his effigy, are en suite with those of Pons. The figure of Charity has sleeves that are a later version of those worn by two of the women on the left-hand relief of the raising of Lazarus. The same tied sleeves are worn by the angel

of Hope. The drapery over Charity's knees and over those of her sister virtue Faith have the same kind of crinkled, wet folds as on Christ's garments in the reliefs on Pons' tomb. Their feet, encased in large heavy shoes with rounded toes and set wide apart, relate to those of the women in the Bethany relief and also to those of the Virgin in the Biron Pietà.

Just as on the tomb of Pons, two hands appear to have worked on these reliefs, one doing the figures of Charity and Faith, another the figure of Hope. Hope's drapery, and that of her angel around the corner of the tomb, is more turbulent and wrinkled than the rest, and the liturgical vessels below her feet are smaller than the others. Here, doubtless, is a second hand at work. Whether these two hands are the same as those that did the reliefs on Pons' tomb is anybody's guess. In any case they certainly belonged to the same workshop.

At the foot of the tomb is a winged putto holding an open scroll (Figure 65). This may once have been painted with Armand's coat of arms or it may have been intended to contain his epitaph, it being in the same position as the epitaph on Pons' tomb. However, Armand's epitaph was too long for the space, and it was inscribed upon a bronze plaque fastened to the wall of the sanctuary nearby.⁹⁰

The presence of numerous putti on the tombs of Pons and Armand reflects still another influence of Italy, where such figures were common on tombs. The putto with the scroll (Figure 66) is a key figure in the relationship of Armand's tomb to the earlier work of the Biron Master, in particular to the Biron Entombment. His collar has almost the same leaf-vine scroll and ribbed background seen on the collar of the outer left-hand angel of the Entombment. It is fastened by an almost identical pin, and it has the same border going around the inner and outer edges. The sleeves are attached at the shoulders by the same thongs passing over identical gatherings of material next to the edges of the collars. The feathered wings are nearly as close in shape and in texture. These specific similarities imply a continuity of workmanship that is also seen in the heads. The wide face, the modeling of the cheeks,

88. Didron, "Iconographie," p. 293.

89. See *Piers the Plowman* by William Langland, trans. Margaret Williams (New York, 1971) Passus xviii, lines 515-530. Another figure carrying a pilgrim staff appears on the tomb of Louis de

Poncher (d. 1521) from the church of Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois, Paris; see Aubert and Beaulieu, *Description*, no. 409.

90. For text, see Appendix.



FIGURE 65
Tomb of Armand, foot end (Biraben)

and the soft, dimpled, half-open mouth of the Armand angel show his descent from the Entombment angel almost as clearly as does his clothing. Yet the face has evolved toward a more Renaissance form that bears some similarity to those of Donatello's putti, again suggesting a Florentine contact for the Biron Master. His wiglike hair is a later version of the hair of the outer right-hand Entombment angel. His collar is also fairly similar. The scroll in his hands has the same baluster shape and acanthus decoration found on the top of

Joseph's hat in the Entombment, and it also resembles the balusters in the Lazarus reliefs on Pons' tomb. Furthermore, the putto's wiglike hair and facial type are seen again on the angel of Hope at the other end of the tomb—still another revealing relationship to the right-hand outer angel of the Entombment.

The putto's plaque was copied at some point in the past with only a few modifications in the face and position of the head. Some years ago the owner of this copy, the Paris antiquarian Nicolas E. Landau, informed me that it had come from Auch. The provenance makes one wonder whether there may not have been other copies of the Biron sculptures in the region, some perhaps nearly contemporary with the originals.

Georges d'Amboise seems to have had a particular liking for personifications of the virtues. They appeared on the façade of his château at Gaillon and again on his tomb in Rouen Cathedral, where they are represented seated within niches flanked by pilasters as on Armand's tomb.⁹¹ They also appear in a stained-glass window in the south transept of the cathedral.⁹² The epitaph on his tomb may account for their popularity with Georges d'Amboise and perhaps also with Armand de Gontaut, hinting as it seems to do at Georges' own honors and virtues:

Les Honneurs s'éteignent avec la mort, mais la vertue ne connaît pas la mort et fleurit avec elle.⁹³

What seems to link the theological virtues on Armand's tomb with those used by Georges d'Amboise are the unusual attributes carried by Faith. These may have originally come from an earlier Norman source since they occur in an illuminated manuscript of the Ethics of Aristotle from the library of the Echevins de Rouen, now in the library of Rouen (ms. I, 927).⁹⁴

The unusual representation of Hope as a pilgrim is found in another Norman manuscript from Rouen, now in the Bibliothèque Nationale (ms. fr. 225, folio 8), as well as on the tomb of Louis de Poncher (d. 1521) from the church of Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois, Paris, now in the Louvre.⁹⁵ Perhaps Armand was inspired by the example of his illustrious kinsman, Georges d'Amboise, to adorn his own tomb with similar representa-

91. See Elisabeth Chirol, *Un premier foyer de la Renaissance: Le château de Gaillon* (Rouen and Paris, 1952) pp. 23, 25, 47–49. Also Lanfry, Chirol, Bailly, *Le Tombeau*, pp. 23, 27, 28, 43–50.

92. See Georges Ritter, *Les Vitraux de la cathédrale de Rouen XIII^e, XIV^e, XV^e et XVI^e siècles* (Paris, 1926) p. 19, pls. 40, 41.

93. See Lanfry, Chirol, Bailly, *Le Tombeau*, p. 39.

94. Didron, "Iconographie," pp. 203, 204, 238; Mâle, *L'Art religieux fin du moyen-âge*, pp. 317–319; Ritter, *Vitraux*, p. 19.

95. Mâle, *L'Art religieux fin du moyen-âge*, pp. 326, 327; Aubert and Beaulieu, *Description*, nos. 411, 412.

tions. Such an influence from the Amboise milieu would certainly not run counter to the other strong relations with central France and the lower Loire valley that have already been noted in the formation of the Biron Master. Indeed the Amboise tomb seems to be itself partly evolved from the Nantes tomb of François II by Colombe, even to the coffered niches housing the virtues, which in a flattened form are also used at Biron.

The architectural setting for these virtues on Armand's tomb is ultimately inspired by Italian sources. The same type of exaggerated perspective with arched doorways at each side, steeply sloping tile floors, and coffered ceilings decorated with quatrefoil rosettes is part of a visual vocabulary that again derives from Donatello's compositions at Padua and is frequently found among Italian Donatellesque artists after 1450. Urbano da Cortona's reliefs for the chapel of the Madonna delle Grazie in the Cathedral of Siena, especially the scene of the angel announcing the death of Mary,⁹⁶ can be mentioned as one example among many.

Further relations between the Biron workshop and the central part of France are numerous enough to suggest that they must have continued after the initial training of the Biron Master in the style of Jean de Chartres. There is, for instance, some resemblance between the reliefs on Armand's tomb and those decorating the left jamb of the portal of the Virgin on the west façade of Bourges Cathedral, erected between 1513 and 1515.⁹⁷ In the sculptures on this portal depicting the lives of the Virgin and of Christ by Nicolas Poyson, Pierre Byard, and Marsault Paule are scenes of Christ's arrest in the Garden of Gethsemane and his appearance before Pilate. The figures of these sculptures are the closest to those of Armand's tomb in their short proportions, their wide, flat feet, their drapery style; the Italianate architecture is also very close. Well after the period of Jacques Coeur, Bourges obviously continued to be a sculptural center. The carvings on the Hôtel Lallement at Bourges also have ornament and putti similar to those on the foot of Armand's



FIGURE 66
Tomb of Armand, detail of foot end (Biraben)

tomb. There is no reason to believe that the Biron workshop was an isolated one, unaware of such contemporary work.

The dates of the Biron tombs are not known. To judge by their later style, it is fairly certain that they were made between the completion of the Entombment, about 1510, and the deaths of Pons (1524) and Armand (1531). If Armand's tomb was made posthumously, sufficient room for his epitaph would almost surely have been provided. Furthermore, Pons' epitaph is too carelessly carved to have been part of the original work; it must have been added later, after his death. On the other hand, to account for the evolution of style, time must have elapsed between the completion of the Entombment and the beginning of Pons' tomb. During this interval the master must have carved the Deposition Pietà at Carcenac, and some member or members of his workshop the Bordeaux Entombment. The Rodelle Pietà also shows a relation to his style, although it probably is the work of a parallel master. There are probably other related sculptures in the southwest. However, the Biron Master's presence in the region during this time is no indication that he did not move around outside it, for his later work shows a continuing relation to royalist France.

The winged angel carved on top of the tomb at Armand's feet (not to be confused with the putto holding the scroll) closely resembles the winged putto carved

96. P. Schubring, *Urbano da Cortona* (Strasbourg, 1903) p. 29, fig. 5.

97. See Pierre Pradel, *Cathédrale de Bourges* (Paris, n.d.) figs. 37-41, and A. Boinet, *Cathédrale de Bourges*, Petites monographies des grands églises de la France (Paris, n.d.) pp. 79-80.

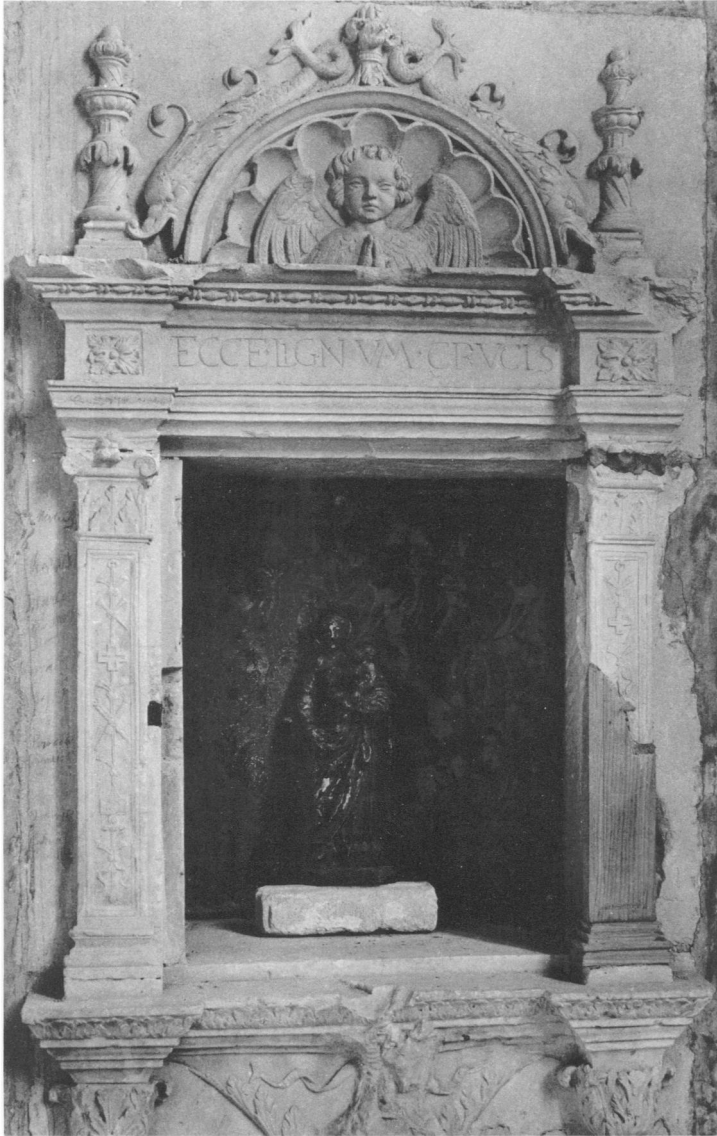


FIGURE 67
Biron, reliquary niche (Biraben)

above a reliquary niche built into the left wall of the sanctuary (Figure 67), and the two figures must be contemporary. Since the wall masonry around it was disturbed and reset, the niche was obviously added after the chapel was built. The inscription on the entablature indicates that the niche was to contain a relic of the true cross: *ECCE LIGNVM CRVCIS*. Armand had given such a relic to his cathedral, and one wonders whether he may not have taken the relic with him to Biron, or at least a fragment of it, when he retired from

Sarlat in 1519.⁹⁸ If so, one could assume that he had the niche built at about the same time as his tomb. Its style fits such a date. Its pediment, decorated with dolphins, while common enough, is close in design to that over a window of the Hôtel Lallement, datable in the second decade of the sixteenth century.⁹⁹ The crudely carved pilasters decorated with symbols of the Passion are echoes of the type used on a relief from the château of Bonnivet in the Poitiers Museum and even on the front of the sarcophagus of the Bordeaux Entombment.¹⁰⁰

Pons's tomb, as that of the elder brother and founder of the chapel, would almost surely have been finished and installed before Armand's. Both, therefore, could well have been made in the second decade of the sixteenth century. Although there is no real proof that Vitry was wrong in dating them in the next decade,¹⁰¹ Pons' tomb is referred to in the will of his son Jean, who ordered his own burial in the same tomb in 1536.¹⁰²

There are no fixed dates for either tomb. Vitry suggested that they were made in the 1530s by one of the successors of Michel Colombe, possibly Martin Cloître or Benoit Bomberault.¹⁰³ Pons' tomb was surely in existence by 1536 when his son Jean ordered his own burial there (for testament of Jean de Gontaut, see Appendix). One can assume that Pons' tomb was the first to be completed, very likely before his death in 1524, and that Armand's was completed before his death in 1531. Both were probably made, therefore, in the 1520s.

Vitry points out that, while French tombs of this period often keep the traditional French Gothic form of a free-standing rectangular structure surmounted by a tomb slab of the usual shape to support the effigy, such tombs are decorated in the Italian manner with

98. *Bulletin de la société historique et archéologique du Périgord* 17 (1890) p. 483.

99. Vitry and Brière, *Documents: Renaissance*, seconde partie, pl. vi; Camille Enlart and Camille Martin, *La Renaissance en France: architecture et sculpture* (Paris, 1911-1921) II, pl. 28.

100. Vitry and Brière, *Documents: Renaissance*, seconde partie, pl. xxx, 3.

101. Vitry, "Les Sculptures," pp. 18-19. For Abbé Audierne's unsupported dating of the tomb to 1520, *Bulletin Monumental* 1, p. 198.

102. For the testament of Jean de Gontaut, see Appendix.

103. Vitry, *Michel Colombe et la sculpture*, pp. 208, 209, 484, 485; Vitry, "Les Sculptures," pp. 8-19.

pilasters and sometimes shell niches. Vitry could be describing the ornament on Pons' tomb when he refers to the ornament on the pilasters of another contemporary tomb as showing "the laborious application of French ornamentalists following Italian models," so different from the facility of some Italian work in France.

The tombs of Pons and of Armand do indeed fit into the general time and category described by Vitry, and their parallels to others in the general region of the lower Loire and in central France are clear and could be in fact elaborated in greater detail than has been done here. What seems equally important, however, is their relationship to earlier work at Biron, Carcenac, and Bordeaux, work we have attributed to the same unknown master and his équipe. It seems reasonable to account for all these resemblances by assuming that we have to do with a single workshop whose style changed and evolved with the times and continued to work at Biron, albeit intermittently. It is less likely that a completely new master and équipe were brought in to do the tombs, one who nonetheless adopted many of the peculiarities of style and minutiae of ornament of the older workshop.

On Armand's tomb the piers framing the reliefs and

supporting the slab and effigy are quite different from those used on the earlier sculptures at Biron. Against the rectangular panels carved on the piers are addorsed colonnettes whose lower parts almost assume the shapes of balusters. Elizabeth Chirol has aptly called these colonnettes candelabra, which they certainly resemble in their elongated shapes and elaborations.¹⁰⁴ Their shafts are sheathed in acanthus leaves and they have rings toward their tapering top. On the podium beneath each of the colonnettes are bases with vertical channelings. All these elements are found in a more extreme form on pilasters in the upper part of the Amboise tomb at Rouen, where they flank figures of apostles, prophets, and sibyls. They also had previously been used on reliefs of the Amboise chapel at Gaillon.¹⁰⁵ Here again the arrow points toward the Amboise workshops as a source of ornament. While the southern Netherlands, particularly Flanders, may have originated these elongated columns, it was probably through Gaillon and Rouen that they came to Biron.

In sum, the work of the unknown Biron Master and his followers is of especial interest as an example of the gradual transformation, in one place and in one workshop, of the late French Gothic style into the new style of the Renaissance "à la manière d'Italie."

Appendix

DOCUMENTS RELATING TO THE FOUNDING OF THE CHAPEL

"1499, 20 juin. Procès-verbal et ordonnance faite par vénérable Jean de Plamon . . . prieur commendataire de Taniès, official de révérend père en Dieu messire Armand de Gontaut, évêque de Sarlat, l'un des commissaires délégués par notre Saint Père le Pape Alexandre VI . . . en vertu de la bulle octroyée par Sadite Sainteté, en datte de l'an 1495, VI des calendes de juin à la réquisition de messire Pons de Gontaut, seigneur baron de Biron, maître d'hôtel du roi Charles VIII; ladite bulle portant permission et faculté audit seigneur de Biron de faire démolir l'ancienne église Saint-Michel à cause qu'elle étoit fort petite et située en un endroit extrêmement incommode et en édifier une autre en un lieu convenable [this new church refers to the one built beneath the sei-

gneurial chapel] ce qui fut fait du consentement de l'évêque, du recteur et des paroissiens.

"Laditte bulle portant encore permission audit seigneur d'édifier une chapelle appelée, Notre-Dame de Pitié, ériger et fonder in icelle six vicairies perpétuelles . . . attribuant Sadite Sainteté audit seigneur de Biron, fondateur et à ses successeurs, le droit de patronat . . ." There follow the statutes and ordinances the founder wishes the vicars of the chapel to follow. The preceding is quoted from a summary, dated January 9, 1792, of titles presented by Monsieur Delpesch, archivist, to the directoire of the district of Belvès, including Biron.¹⁰⁶ The extract is obviously based on lost documents that established the rights of the seigneur de Biron

104. Lanfry, Chirol, Bailly, *Le Tombeau*, p. 77, ill. pp. 32, 33.

105. Lanfry, Chirol, Bailly, *Le Tombeau*, p. 55.

106. G. Lavergne, "Chapelle du château de Biron," *Bulletin de la société historique et archéologique du Périgord* 62 (1935) pp. 326-329.

over the chapel of Notre-Dame de Pitié located within the walls of the château.

“1495 Bulle du pape Alexandre VI par laquelle il permet à Pons de Gontaut de faire démolir l’ancienne église de St. Michel de Biron, près du château.”¹⁰⁷ The title is from a table of contents of the château’s archives; the document itself is missing.

“Le jour et fête de Pâques 8 d’avril, 1515. Les Chanoyens de l’église collégiale du dit Biron, commencèrent à faire le service divin, en l’église collégiale dudit Biron de nouveau édifiés et dotée par Pons de Gontaut Seigneur et Baron de Biron.”¹⁰⁸

“Une chapelle sous un autel à l’honneur de N. D. de Pitié. Depuis ériger une église collégiale et chapitre en 1519 id 76 de la bulle de Léon X à la sollicitation du Sr. de Biron.”¹⁰⁹

DAMAGE TO THE PIETÀ AND THE ENTOMBMENT

The damage, prior to the repairs made by the André brothers, is apparent from photographs made while the sculptures were still at Biron. On the Pietà the noses and parts of the mouths of Pons and Armand were broken off. Pons’ hands, most of his left foot, and the hilt of his sword have also gone. His helmet, which may have once been attached to the rock before him, has been reset at his side. The top of Armand’s miter, Christ’s right foot and ankle, and the ends of his fingers on his right hand are also missing. Christ’s right elbow is chipped. The small armorial shields set into the stones beneath Pons and Armand have been removed. There are other minor breaks.

On the Entombment the noses of Christ, of the Magdalen, of Joseph, and of Nicodemus have been knocked off. So have the armorial shields once borne by the three central flying angels, the shield at the center of the sarcophagus, and two on the entablature of the wood frame.

ORIGINAL STATE OF THE ENTOMBMENT

Paint remaining on the group shows that it was once polychromed, along with its niche and frame. A description made in 1834 says that the flying angels were “surrounded by garlands”;¹¹⁰ this must refer to a decorative design painted on the back wall of the niche. Tests by The Metropolitan Museum of the paint still present on the sculpture indicate that all of it is probably old and possibly original. Traces were found of azurite and red lead, neither of which is in use today.¹¹¹ There are also traces of orange lead, now rarely used except as a protective coating for metalwork.¹¹²

Greenish blue, red, and gilding must have been the predominant colors. Stains from the oil of the pigments indicate that John’s tunic and Joseph’s coat originally had brocade designs and that there were elaborate geometric patterns painted in alternating bands of color, on the women’s headcloths. The ends of the shroud were also so painted. These patterns probably corresponded to the “enrichments” of “bands and workings in gold and azure in the Jewish manner” and “bands of polished azure in the fashion of Saracen linen,” mentioned as decorating the coiffures of the women in a document describing a lost Entombment of contemporary date at Jarzé in the lower Loire valley.¹¹³ On an undergarment of the Magdalen gold rosettes were painted on a green background. One of Nicodemus’ garments was painted in horizontal bands of color. All the carved borders must have been painted in variegated colors. The importance of the painting on such a monument can be gauged by the price, 382 livres, paid for painting an Entombment (now lost) at La Rochelle: it was more than half the sum of 630 livres paid for the sculpture itself.¹¹⁴

In 1859 the Virebent brothers of Toulouse made casts of the Entombment, which process must have considerably damaged the paint then remaining. Terracotta copies of the monument, presumably casts, are to be found in the churches at Foix (Ariège), Lansargues (Hérault), Maringues (Puy-de-Dôme), Verdélais (Gironde), and in the Musée des Augustins, Toulouse (where four of the statues were until recently placed at the corners of the balcony of the small cloister).

EPITAPH OF ARMAND DE GONTAUT

Armando de Gontault Sarlatensi vigilantissimo pontifici, pio, frugi, casto, religioso, mentis magnitudine, animi virtute praestanti delubrum dom[ini] immortalium aedificatori, fanorum aut vetustate, aut iniuria collapsorum restutori, homini pietate cum in suos omnes egregia, tum vero maxime in familiam de Biron, ex qua erat, singulari. Qui LXIX aetatis suae anno exacto, XIII calend. Octob. anni M.C.XXXI. diem suum obivit. Haeres ex fratre nepos, virtutis ergo, ac referendae gratiae causa, benemerenti faciendum curavit.

107. Paris, Archives Nationales, Collection Périgord, Fonds Bosredon, Extraits des archives de Biron, tome 51, Papiers Leydet, fol. 143.

108. *Les Chroniques de Jean Tarde*, p. 214.

109. Archives Nationales, Collection Périgord, tome 51, H5.

110. Audierne, *Bulletin Monumental* 1, pp. 197–198.

111. Daniel Varney Thompson, *The Materials of Medieval Painting* (New Haven, 1936) p. 13.

112. I here thank Hubert von Sonnenburg and Pieter Meyers for their assistance in studying the paint.

113. Hubert Sigros, “Eglise de Jarzé,” *Congrès archéologique de France à Anjou en 1964* (Paris, 1964) pp. 243, 244; Forsyth, *Entombment*, p. 194.

114. Forsyth, *Entombment*, pp. 198, 199.

(To Armand de Gontaut twentieth pontiff of Sarlat, pious, frugal, chaste, devout, magnanimous of mind, outstanding in virtue, builder of imperishable temples to God, repairer of shrines ruined by time or by destruction, a man distinguished for his piety in the sight of all, especially so in the family of Biron to which he belonged. Who ended his days in the sixty-ninth year of his life on October 13th, his birthday, in the year 1531. His heir and nephew (through his brother), because of his virtues as well as out of gratitude, has seen to what should be done for this well-merited person.)

TESTAMENT OF JEAN DE GONTAUT

“... Item veulx et ordonne que après la susd. séparation [of my soul and body] en quelque lieu qu'elle se fasse, mon corps soit inhumé et ensevely en la chapelle du chasteau de Biron; fondée et hédifiée par feu mon très honoré seigneur et père en l'honneur et reverence de Nre Dame de Pitié, et ce en sa tumbé et sepulture.

“Item je donne et lègue à mon père spirituel le recteur de Saint-Michel de Biron [the parish church beneath the chapel of the château] vingt cinq livres tournois, une fois païées, pour et affin que soit tenu de dire et celebrer troys messes en bas et chacune sempmaine durant ung an apres

mon deccez, à scavoir une messe de requiem le lundi, une messe de summa dei misericordia, le jeudi, et l'autre de Nostre-Dame de Pitié, le samedi . . .

“Item je lègue et donne aux chentre, chanoynes et prestres de la chapelle de Notre-Dame de Pytié de Biron quatre vingtz livres tournois pour et affin qu'ilz dient une messe de requiem en chant tous les jours commençans le jour de mon decez et continuant toute l'année et vigilles des mors après Vespres . . .

“Item comme mond. très honoré seigneur et père, par la fondation qu'il a faicte d'icelle chappelle entre autres chouses ayt donné et légué ausd. chantre et chanoynes soixante-quatre livres à payer par un chascun an par le recepveur de Biron, en quoy ilz pourroient estre empeschez et molestez, et non obstant je veulx icelle somme estre payée en la forme et qualité contenue au testament de mond. seigneur et pere.

“Item je lègue et donne ausd. chantre et chanoines la somme de six cens livres tournois pour une foys à la charge de dire perpétuellement et à jamais tous les jours une messe basse de requiem en lad. chappelle et au grand haultier d'icelle.”¹¹⁵

(Jean then orders all obligations of his uncle Armand as well as of his father Pons to be paid and that their wills be executed. One can assume from this request as well as from Armand's obituary that Jean must have been his father's and his uncle's heir.)

115. Sidney Ehrman, *The Letters and Documents of Armand de Gontaut, Marshal of France (1524-1592)* II (Berkeley, 1936) p. 723.

NOTES

Tamgas and Runes, Magic Numbers and Magic Symbols

HELMUT NICKEL

Curator of Arms and Armor, The Metropolitan Museum of Art

ONE OF THE IMPORTANT ACQUISITIONS of recent years for our department is an exquisite silver-mounted flintlock garniture by Nicolas Noël Boutet, made about 1800, consisting of a hunting rifle, two matching pistols, and a full set of accessories in the original case.¹ It is especially remarkable for the fact that the rifle has engraved on its escutcheon—a great rarity—the name and coat of arms of the original owner it was commissioned for (Figure 1). The name, in Cyrillic characters, is Nikolai Pompeyevich Schabelski; surrounding the arms: a crescent between two broken swords. Though I have not yet turned up any biographical data about Schabelski, the search for his arms brought me up against an old heraldic and iconographical problem. The charges of the Schabelski arms and similar combinations of curved objects, such as crescents, horse-shoes, or hunting horns, with cross- or arrow-shaped figures are considered to be typical for eastern European, and particularly Polish, heraldry. These charges are generally accepted as being derived from preheraldic signs of authority—stannitze—of early medieval dynastic families,² or even from clan symbols—

1. A study of this garniture by Stuart W. Pyhrr, von Kienbusch Fellow to the Arms and Armor Department, appears in "Hidden Marks on Boutet Firearms," *Arms and Armor Annual* I (1973) pp. 266–274, fig. 7.

2. H. G. Ströhl, *Heraldischer Atlas* (Stuttgart, 1899) section LIV.



FIGURE 1

Escutcheon with the arms and name of Nikolai Pompeyevich Schabelski, detail from a flintlock hunting rifle made by Nicolas Noël Boutet, Versailles, about 1800. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Fletcher Fund, 1970.179.1

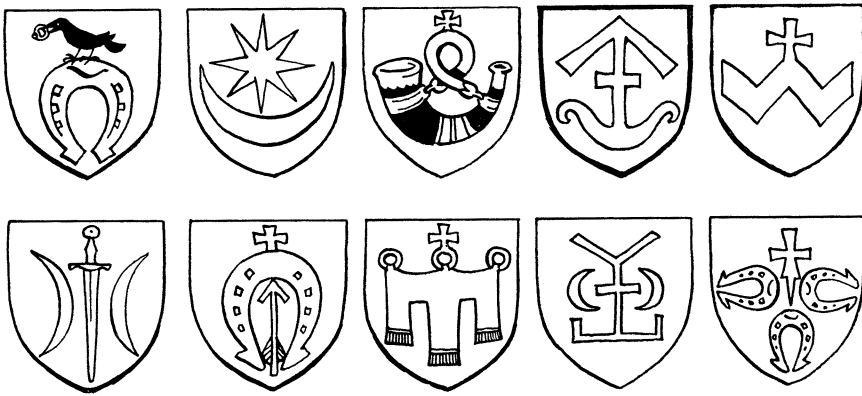
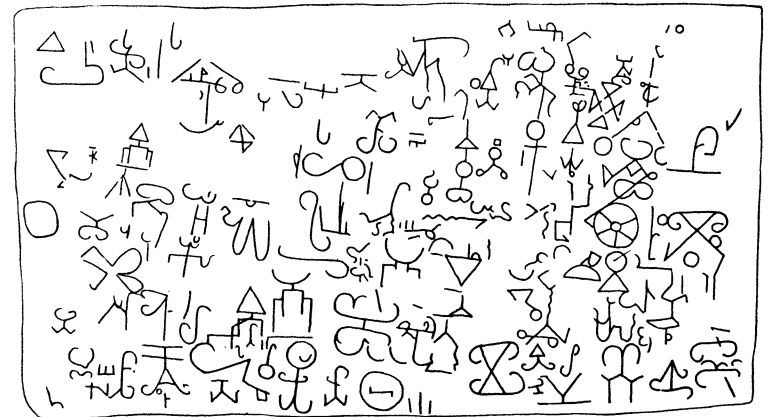
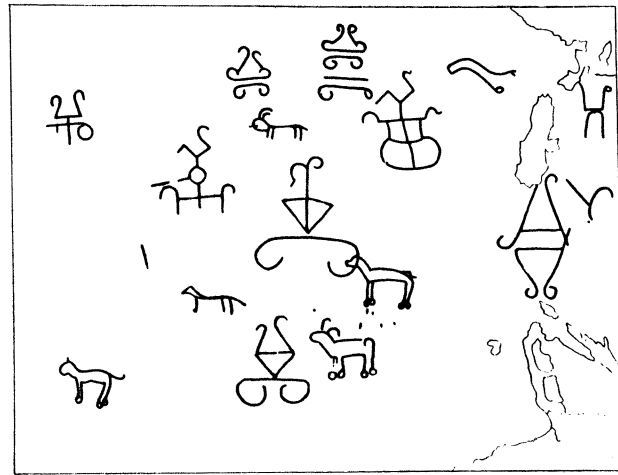


FIGURE 2
Polish heraldry: charges
derived from Sarmatian tamgas

tamgas—of the Sarmatian nomadic tribesmen of the Great Migration period (Figure 2).³ As early as the first century A.D. tamgas appear among the Sarmatian tribes north of the Black Sea as petroglyphs, carvings on gravestones, graffiti in tomb chambers, and marks on metal objects such as cauldrons, belt buckles, and bronze mirrors (Figures 3–5). The contexts indicate that they were symbols of magic power, signs of authority, and also marks of property comparable to family crests, though these different uses were evidently assigned to distinct types of tamgas.

In the most comprehensive study of the subject available,⁴ Hans Jänichen singles out as the most important symbols those he names the “Hauptzeichen,” of which he distinguishes two types; following his nomenclature, they will be called here grosses Hauptzeichen or Type A, and kleines Hauptzeichen or Type B. In addition to these Hauptzeichen he identifies others, the Doppelgabelzeichen and the Mondhügelzeichen, as symbols of authority (Herrschaftszeichen) (Figure 6). Jänichen interprets the Hauptzeichen as stylized renderings of the ancient Iranian battle standard of the golden rooster mounted on a lance (der Hahn auf der Stange)—aureum gallum hastae impositum—and suggests that Type A is the badge of a warrior caste representing the rooster standard surrounded by a fence (eingehetzte Hahnenstandarte), and Type B, the rooster upon the



FIGURES 3, 4
Sarmatian graffiti from a tomb chamber, Kerch,
before second century A.D. After Jänichen

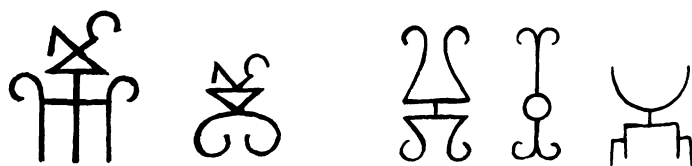
FIGURE 5
Sarmatian belt buckles, southern Russia, before
second century A.D. After Jänichen

3. Tadeusz Sulimirski “*The Sarmatians*” (New York/Washington, 1970) pp. 151–155, fig. 56. Tadeusz Sulimirski, “The Forgotten Sarmatians,” *Vanished Civilizations* (London, 1963) chap. XII.

4. Hans Jänichen, *Die Bildzeichen der königlichen Hoheit bei den iranischen Völkern* (Bonn, 1956) Series: Antiquitas, Reihe 1: Abhandlungen zur alten Geschichte, vol. 3.

FIGURE 6

Sarmatian tamgas: grosses Hauptzeichen, kleines Hauptzeichen, Doppelgabel (two versions), and Mondhügelzeichen. After Jänichen



altar, perhaps the sign of a priestly caste, with possible indications of ranks within the group shown by the circles, triangles, and squares incorporated in the designs (Figure 7).

In a more recent interpretation Helmut Humbach⁵ attempts to decipher the Hauptzeichen Type A as a Greek monogram of Helios— $\text{H}\Lambda\text{I}\text{O}\Sigma$ —and the Type B as that of Dionysos— $\Delta\text{I}\text{O}\text{N}\Upsilon\Sigma\text{O}\Sigma$.

The Doppelgabel was once considered to be a lightning symbol derived from the thunderbolt design of classical antiquity; Karl Anton Nowotny⁶ suggested that it was an extremely stylized representation of a horse and rider, derived from the combination of the runes M *eo*hwaz (horse) and P *mann*az (man).

The Mondhügelzeichen—moon upon a hill—has been pointed out by Jänichen to be exactly identical

with the symbol of the moon resting upon a hill as widely found in India. It seems once to have been a personal symbol of Chandragupta (d. 286? B.C.), first king of the Maurya dynasty, wherefrom it acquired such importance that it spread through all of India and the neighboring countries. Jänichen suggests that it came to the Sarmatians through contacts in Bactria (Figure 8).

The idea of interpreting the Sarmatian tamgas as monograms is tempting, though the reading of the names of Greek deities in these symbols is not fully convincing. However, when one compares the tamgas not with Greek letters, but with the characters of the earliest Slavic alphabet, Glagolitic, it becomes immediately clear that there is a striking similarity between some of these letters and the elements of the Hauptzeichen. However, in the Greek tradition the Glagolitic letters had numerical values in addition to their phonetic significance. The numerical value of the letters corresponding to elements of the Hauptzeichen

5. Helmut Humbach "Die sogenannte sarmatische Schrift," *Die Welt der Slaven*, 4, no. 3 (1961) p. 225.

6. Karl Anton Nowotny "Runen und Sinnbilder," *Germanien* 11 (1939) pp. 218–225, figs. 1–3.

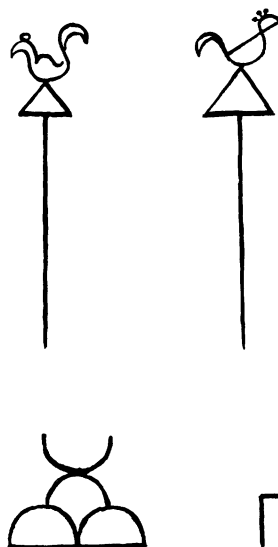
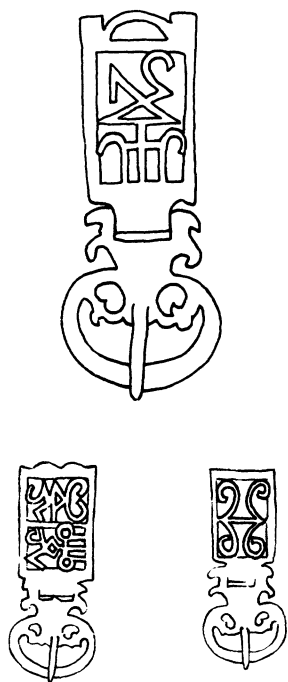


FIGURE 7
Iranian rooster standards. After Jänichen

FIGURE 8

Mondhügelzeichen. Left: badge of Chandragupta; right: Sarmatian tamga

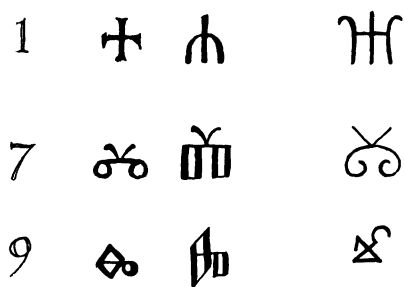


FIGURE 9
Comparison of Glagolitic numerals (at left) with
elements of Sarmatian Hauptzeichen

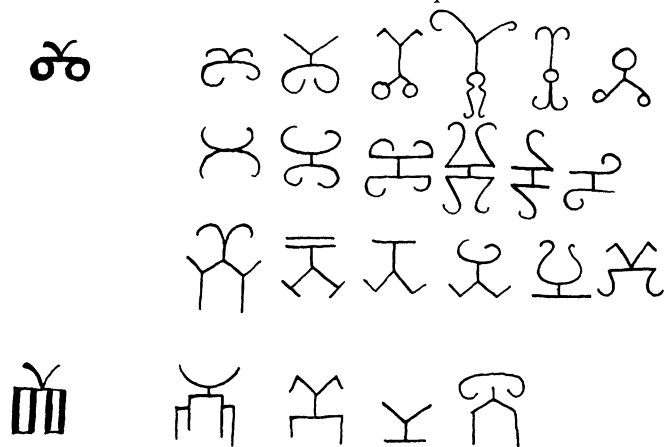


FIGURE 10
Sarmatian tamgas related to Glagolitic numeral
7, "spectacle" and "square" forms

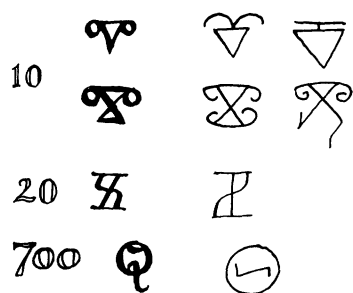


FIGURE 11
Comparison of Glagolitic num-
erals and Sarmatian tamgas



FIGURE 12
Glagolitic numeral 1000 and
a version of the Hauptzeichen

FIGURE 13
So-called Turkish arsenal mark



are 1, 7, and 9 (Figure 9). It is interesting that Type A, grosses Hauptzeichen, contains the number 1 as main element, surmounted by 9, while Type B, kleines Hauptzeichen, is composed of the number 7 surmounted by 9. Checking the other tamga symbols against these Glagolitic numbers, one finds the Mondhügelzeichen revealed as a version of the number 7, as is also the Doppelgabel (Figure 10). Among the graffiti in the grave chambers of Kerch and on the stone lions from Olbia are tamgas resembling the Glagolitic numbers 10, 20, and 700 (Figure 11).

The presence of the number 1 in Hauptzeichen Type A suggests a royal symbol; interestingly enough a variant occurs that employs the Glagolitic number 1000 (Figure 12). It should be pointed out that in Polish heraldry the head of the clan differentiated his arms with a surmounting arrow-shape or a cross, both of which are variants of the Glagolitic number 1.

The final shape of the graphic design of the grosse Hauptzeichen was probably determined by an attempt to incorporate the image of the Iranian rooster standard and the widespread idea of the world-tree with a spirit-bird in its top—the iron larch with nine branches in the mythology of the Eurasian steppe nomads, and the Eddic nine-branched world-ash Yggdrasil with its eagle—into the combination of the magic numbers 1 and 9.

The word *tamga* itself is of Turkish origin, and was used for the ancient tribal marks—cattle brands, cognizances on banners and tents—of the twenty-four Oghuz or original tribes of the nomadic Turks in their Central Asian steppe home. The best known of these symbols is the so-called Turkish arsenal mark that is found on countless pieces of arms and armor of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, both European and Near Eastern, that were captured by the Turks and collected in the arsenal of the former church of Saint Irene in Constantinople (Figure 13).⁷ According to the list compiled in the Leiden Manuscript Or. 419 W, this mark is the first of the twenty-four tamgas; it belongs to the prominent Kayi tribe (Figure 14).⁸

The order in which the Turkish tamgas are registered in the Leiden manuscript is not haphazard;

7. Eduard Lenz "Arsenalzeichen oder Beschau?" *Zeitschrift für Historische Waffen- und Kostümkunde*, 6 (1912-14) pp. 299-303.

8. Leo A. Mayer, *Saracenic Heraldry* (Oxford, 1933) pls. L, LI.

FIGURE 15

Comparison between Glagolitic numerals 1–10 and the 24 Turkish tamgas

rather, it is strictly numerical (Figure 15). The Kayi tamga resembles the Glagolitic number 1 clearly enough, and though the second tamga and Glagolitic 2 have only the upward jutting prongs in common, the third is quite close to the number 3 with its basic U-shape and its two uprights. Even the stretched H of the fourth tamga can be recognized as a radically simplified version—for practical reasons (branding cattle)—of the boxlike lower part of the Glagolitic 4, while the five-pointed star of the fifth tamga has its own unmistakable numerical value, though it does not resemble its Glagolitic counterpart. The sixth tamga is the Glagolitic 6 turned sideways (and it consists of six strokes), and in the seventh we meet not only the Glagolitic numeral 7 but the Mondhügelzeichen again. The eighth tamga has a reasonable resemblance to the square form of Glagolitic 8, but at the same time it is clearly a derivation from the fourth tamga, indicating a multiple of 4. The ninth is again extremely simplified, but preserves as its characteristics the crosswise and the diagonal position of the main elements of the figure. A similar simplification takes place in tamga ten. Among the tamgas eleven through nineteen several have a definite resemblance to their equivalents in the first group—1 and 11, 3 and 13, 7 and 17—even if they do not prefer to resemble a more prestigious numeral, of which they are a multiple, such as is the case with 7 and 14. On the other hand, tamgas fifteen and eighteen come rather close to Glagolitic 5 and 8.

Since the Glagolitic alphabet is known only from sources not earlier than the eighth century A.D.—though in all probability is much older—whereas the Sarmatian Hauptzeichen, Doppelgabel and Mondhügelzeichen already existed in the first and second century A.D., and the Turkish tamgas are found in scattered examples soon afterward—it can only be surmised that all these symbols had a common source sometime around the beginning of our era. This could have been a magical system of numbers, presumably

| | | | | |
|----|---|---|---|---|
| 1 |  |  |  |  |
| 2 |  |  |  |  |
| 3 |  |  |  |  |
| 4 |  |  |  |  |
| 5 |  |  |  |  |
| 6 |  |  |  |  |
| 7 |  |  |  |  |
| 8 |  |  |  |  |
| 9 |  |  |  |  |
| 10 |  |  |  |  |

| | Glagolitic numerals | Turkish tamgas | Zodiac signs | Sarmatian Hauptzeichen |
|----|---|--|---|---|
| 1 |  |  |  |  |
| 2 |  |  |  |  |
| 3 |  |  |  |  |
| 4 |  |  |  | |
| 5 |  |  |  |  |
| 6 |  |  |  | |
| 7 |  |  |  |  |
| 8 |  |  |  | |
| 9 |  |  |  |  |
| 10 |  |  |  |  |

FIGURE 16

Glagolitic numerals, Turkish tamgas, signs of the zodiac, and Sarmatian Hauptzeichen

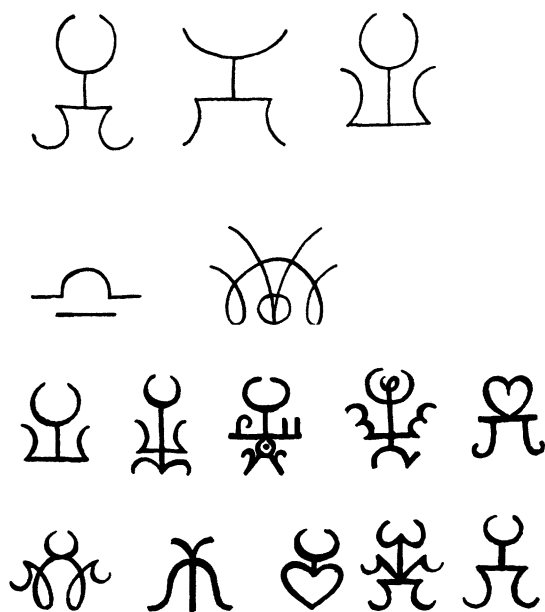


FIGURE 17

Symbols of the Ephthalites, fourth century A.D. (top row), Seljuks, eleventh and twelfth centuries (second row), and Sasanians, third to seventh century A.D. (bottom rows). After Jänichen

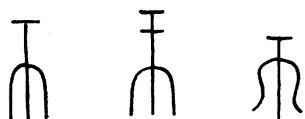


FIGURE 18

Symbols of the dynasty of Elymais, Susa, 150 B.C.–A.D. 50. After Jänichen

of Greek derivation. The Greek origin of the system is made more plausible by comparing the tamgas, Hauptzeichen, and Glagolitic numbers with magical symbols of greatest importance, the signs of the zodiac (Figure 16). The close relationship cannot be overlooked, particularly among the highly powerful numerals 1, 7, 9 (Aries, Libra, Sagittarius). The connections between Gemini, Glagolitic 3, tamgas three and thirteen; Cancer and Glagolitic 4; Leo, Glagolitic 5, and tamga fifteen are also quite striking. It is interesting, though, that the relation between these symbols follows the decimal system; there seem to be no equivalents for the eleventh and twelfth signs of the zodiac, Aquarius and Pisces.

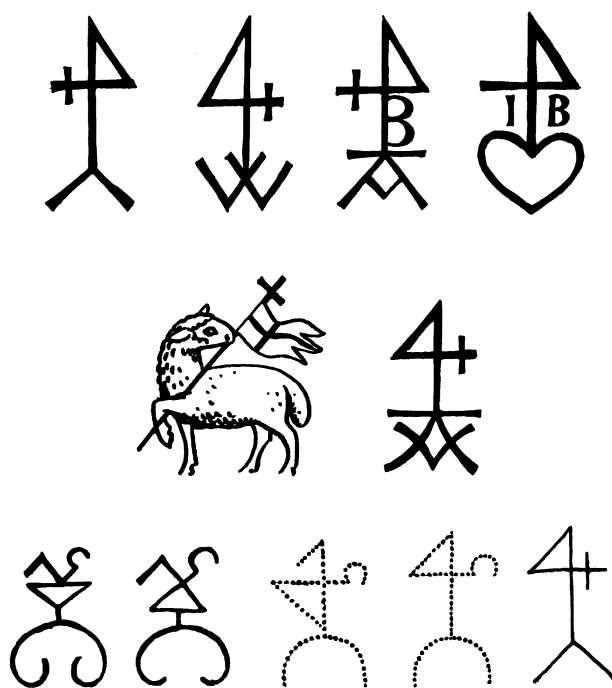


FIGURE 19

English merchant marks (top row), Agnus Dei, and (bottom row) Sarmatian Hauptzeichen (hypothetical forms in dotted line). Top row after Girling

Variants of Hauptzeichen B-Mondhügelzeichen-Fire Altar appear as symbols on coins of the Ephthalites or White Huns as well as on Seljuk coins and Sasanian seals and coins (Figure 17); related signs are found as decorations of horse trappings and as brands. Symbols of the type Hauptzeichen A-Glagolitic 1-tamga Kayi occur on coins of the dynasty of Elymais (Susa, 150 B.C.–A.D. 50) (Figure 18). Presumably these symbols were originally signs of authority that later became linked with numerical magic, though exactly how this happened is not clear.⁹ However, the tenacious consistency with which related graphic symbols occur in fixed numerical positions in systems used by geographically,

9. Interestingly enough, the phonetic values of the three elements that possibly combine to form the grosse Hauptzeichen are a, z, and ž, while among the royal names of the Sarmatians that have come down to us, there is a group Zosines-Tasius-Itaz that contain a syllable that might be transcribed with letters z, a, and ž. Perhaps it was an additional magic of the Hauptzeichen that it spelled a royal name element, similar to the monogram of Christ XP, having at the same time the auspicious numerical value of 700.

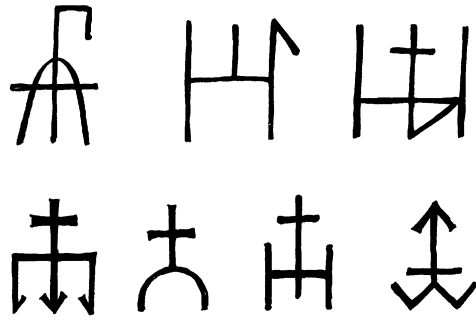


FIGURE 20

Upper row: Marks of the Riga merchants Johannes van der Cappellen, Bernhard Mekelichusen, and Conrad Boningh. After Girling. Lower row: Marks of Passau swordsmiths Emmeran Detterholzer (1491–1532), Family Stantler (1455–1647), Unknown (1560–80), and Hieronymus Frickl (1503–1529). After Schmid

culturally, and ethnically widely separated civilizations indicates an underlying common pattern.

As already mentioned, there is a late survival of the Sarmatian Hauptzeichen and clan symbols in Polish heraldry. On the other hand, the claim has been made that some of these Polish heraldic charges derive from Scandinavian runes, introduced by the Varangians. Particularly, the arrow-shapes that were used as marks of cadency to indicate chieftainship have been said to be the rune *tyr*—↑—and certain wreathlike elements have been thought to derive from the *odal* rune ☒.¹⁰ Runes are furthermore thought to be the origin of the Hausmarke, the mark of property used in medieval northern Europe by homeowners and merchants (Figure 19).¹¹ A relationship with runes appears clear with many of the Hausmarke that contain an upright shaft fitted with shorter elements set at angles of 45 degrees; however, one of the basic forms, its head shaped like a numeral 4 and usually with a forked foot, does not quite fit into this runic system. The “numeral 4 head” has been explained as being an extreme stylization of the figure of the Agnus Dei, but it could also be—particularly in combination with the split foot—a very

stylized form of the Mondhügelzeichen combined with the upper part of the Hauptzeichen as it appears in Type B.

A connection between the Sarmatian Hauptzeichen and the Hausmarke is definitely indicated by the shape of Hanseatic merchants’ marks from the Steelyard in London (Figure 20),¹² where, characteristically, those “de Polonia” can hardly be described as anything else than versions of the ancient Sarmatian Hauptzeichen. The same can be said for the marks of swordsmiths from Passau at the Danube, the border town between Bavaria and Austria, on the age-old gateway of tribal migrations.

There have been many widely varying explanations given for the origin of the Germanic runes, the most likely and generally accepted idea being that they were derived—with the somewhat hazy Alpengermanen as intermediaries—from an ancient north Italic alphabet, which in turn was a derivative of the Etruscan alphabet that stemmed from the Greek.¹³ One of the puzzling features about runes is that their *futhark* does not follow the established ABC pattern of most other European alphabets. However, in putting the futhark side by side with the Glagolitic numerals, Turkish *tamgas*, astrological zodiac signs, and Sarmatian tamgas (Figure 21), the same strange tendency becomes evident: symbols related to each other by their outward appearance are to be found in the same numerical position within the system, regardless of their phonetic value. Thus the fifth rune *raido*—𐀓—has the same asymmetrical shape with jutting curl that can be found in Glagolitic 5, tamga 15, and the fifth sign of the zodiac, Leo. Similar relationships can be found between the seventh, eighth, and ninth runes of the futhark and their equivalents in the other systems.

Furthermore, it may be more than coincidence that the magic names of the first and second of the runes, *fehu* (livestock) and *uruz* (auerochs), look strangely like the names of the first two signs of the zodiac, Aries and Taurus, and that the *Not-Runen* 𐀓 *hagel* (hailstorm, sleet), 𐀔 *nauthiz* (need, plight), and 𐀕 *is* (ice) correspond to the zodiacal signs of the inclement time of the

10. Ströhl, *Heraldischer Atlas*, section LIV.

11. F. A. Girling, *English Merchant's Marks* (London, 1962, 1964).

12. Girling, *Merchant's Marks*, p. 11, W. M. Schmid, “Passauer Waffenwesen,” *Zeitschrift für Historische Waffenkunde*, 8 (1918–20) pp. 317–342, fig. 7.

13. W. V. Elliott, *Runes* (Manchester, 1959) chap. 1, pp. 1–13.

year, Sagittarius, Capricorn, and Aquarius, while \times *gifu* (gift) is aligned with the powerful numeral seven and the harvest-giving sign Libra.

Runes have always been, and probably were once exclusively, magical symbols; therefore it may well be that their ultimate origin lies in the same ancient system of magic numbers that was the root of all these widely distributed, but strangely related magical symbols: the Sarmatian Hauptzeichen, the Turkish tamgas, and the signs of the zodiac.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I wish to thank my friends and colleagues Prudence Oliver Harper, Vera K. Ostoia, and George Szabo, all of The Metropolitan Museum, for their help, advice, and information for this article.

POSTSCRIPT

After this note was finished, a pertinent article by V. S. Dračuk came to my attention: “Untersuchungen zu den tamgaartigen Zeichen aus dem nordpontischen Randgebiet der Antiken Welt,” *Zeitschrift für Archäologie* 6/2 (1972), pp. 190–227. Dračuk reviews critically earlier works on tamgas, rejects N. A. Konstantinov’s suggestion (1951, 1957) that these Pontic symbols were the origin of the Glagolitic alphabet, appreciates Jänichen’s classifications (1956), but rejects his conclusion that the Hauptzeichen were the main form, even the original form, of the Sarmatian tamgas, and dismisses Humbach’s interpretations of the symbols as Greek monograms (1960, 1961). Following E. I. Solomonik, who classified these symbols according to their use (*Sarmatskie znaki Severnogo Prichernomor’ja* [Kiev, 1959]), Dračuk states that the tamgas developed from clan badges to family and personal property marks according to changes in society. Dračuk interprets the grosse Hauptzeichen Type A as the emblem of the Bosphoran rulers as developed from the trident of Poseidon, father of the mythical ancestors of this dynasty. The similarity of the tamga-like symbols in different cultures is considered by Dračuk to be based, not on borrowing, but on independent developments from basic prototypes.

FIGURE 21
Etruscan and north Italic letters, runes, Glagolitic numerals, Sarmatian tamgas, zodiac signs, and Turkish tamgas

| Etruscan | North Italic | Runes | | Glagolitic | | Sarmatian tamgas | Zodiac signs | Turkish tamgas |
|----------|--------------|-------|----|------------------|-------------|------------------|--------------|----------------|
| | | | | "Spectacle" form | Square form | | | |
| 𐌁 | F | 𐌲 | 1 | ⲁ ⲁ | ⲁ | 𐰇 | ♈ | 𐰇 𐰇 𐰇 |
| 𐌂 | ^ | 𐌳 | 2 | Ⲃ Ⲃ | Ⲃ | 𐰈 | ♉ | 𐰈 𐰈 𐰈 |
| | 𐌲 | 𐌴 | 3 | ⲃ ⲃ | ⲃ | 𐰉 | ♊ | 𐰉 𐰉 𐰉 |
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| | | 𐌷 | 7 | ⲇ ⲇ | ⲇ | 𐰋 | ♎ | 𐰋 𐰋 𐰋 |
| | 𐌸 | 𐌹 | 8 | Ⲉ Ⲉ | Ⲉ | | ♏ | 𐰌 𐰌 𐰌 |
| 𐌉 | 𐌹 | 𐌺 | 9 | ⲉ ⲉ | ⲉ | 𐰌 | ♐ | 𐰌 𐰌 𐰌 |
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The Entombment of Christ: Addenda

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HERE FOLLOW additions and corrections to my book *The Entombment of Christ: French Sculptures of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries*, published for The Metropolitan Museum of Art by Harvard University Press, 1970.

My colleague Dr. Theodor Müller, in a letter to me, is undoubtedly correct in stressing the great importance of the German Holy Grave as an image of devotion (*Andachtsbild*). Dr. Müller pointed out the corroborative evidence that I had neglected to cite: Gesine and Johannes Taubert, "Mittelalterliche Kreuzifixe mit schwenkbaren Armen," *Zeitschrift des deutschen Vereins für Kunstwissenschaft* 23, 1969, pp. 78–122. My book mentioned this use of the Holy Grave, but I was primarily concerned with its use in the liturgy of Holy Week. Both devotional and liturgical aspects seem to me to be present in the Holy Grave, which I discussed as an important prototype of the French Entombment.

The supposition that the earliest surviving dated Entombment, that at Langres, was a Burgundian monument has been dramatically confirmed by the removing of later paint from the body of Christ by the Monuments Historiques. As a result, Pierre Quarré has been able to relate the Christ, the only surviving part of the monument, to another Christ in the Musée Archéologique of Dijon by Claus de Werve, one of the sculptors working at Champol for the duke of Burgundy. (Pierre Quarré, "Le Christ de la Mise au tombeau de Langres," *Revue de l'art* 13, 1971, pp. 68–71, where he dates the Entombment between 1415 and 1419 instead of the traditional 1421.)

I have been able to examine the Entombment at Annecy (Savoy) and to confirm most reluctantly my attribution of it to the first part of the fifteenth century, rather than to the end of the fourteenth as Raymond Oursel had proposed. It is hard to discard Oursel's ingenious hypothesis that it was carved at the end of the fourteenth century by Perrin Morel, the father of Jacques Morrel. Certainly Oursel is right in seeking

an early date for the sculpture and in stressing its Burgundian character. The faces are like others in Savoy, probably under Burgundian influence. Unfortunately, little more than the heads have been preserved.

Pierre Quarré, in his catalogue *Antoine Le Moiturier, le dernier des grands imagiers des ducs de Bourgogne*, for an exhibition held at the Musée de Dijon in 1973, has proposed (p. 15) that the Entombment at Semur-en-Auxois be attributed to Le Moiturier after his completion of the tomb of Philippe Pot, made a little after 1480. This chronology opens the question whether the date of 1490, recorded for Semur by Maillard de Chambure from an unknown source, may be too late and possibly the result of a misreading of a lost document or inscription. Certainly a date around 1480 or even somewhat earlier could better explain the derivation of the monument from the Tonnerre and Dijon Entombments, all datable in the 1450s.

My statement that the Binche Entombment was the only monumental Entombment still existing in Belgium must be amended. Robert Didier has been making a survey and has published others at Ath, Chimay, Bree, Courtrai, Bastogne, Le Huy, Saint-Hubert-en-Ardenne, and Thuin. However, none of these, except the one at Binche, is similar to French examples. (Robert Didier, "Mises au tombeau de l'Entre-Sambre-et-Meuse et Saints-Sépulcres disparus," *Bulletin de la Commission royale et des sites* 1, Liège, 1970–71, pp. 177–195.) Didier lists others, but they are not monumental.

This Entombment should be added to the catalogue in my book:

BEAUBRAY: Manoir des Minières, Chapel (Eure)

Seven figures, half-size, plus three smaller sleeping guardians in relief, in original enfeu enclosed by wooden doors, probably dated between 1521 and 1526, hung on wooden frame as at Biron. See dedication inscription. Given by Thomas Postel, seigneur des Minières, and carved by a sculptor trained at Verneuil who also

carved four statues of male saints in the chapel. See Annie Cloulas, "Mise au tombeau des Minières," *Bulletin Monumental* 130:129-135 (1972).

This should be added to the Appendix of Documents:

BEAUBRAY: Manoir de Minières (Normandy)

Dedication inscription above entrance to the chapel: Cest chappelle fondée en l'onneur et mérite de la Passion Nostre Seigneur fut consacrée par Monseigneur l'evesque de Veeience [Nicolas de Coquinvilliers, coadjutor bishop of Evreux] de l'auctorité de Monseigneur l'evesque d'Evreux, à la requeste de Maître Thomas Postel, seigneur des Minières, le cinquième jour d'avril l'an 1526 et quarante jours de pardon donnés à ceulx qui le jour du vendredi saint par chacune année visiteront la dite chapelle et y donneront les devotions, et autant pour chacun jour à tous ceulx qui la visiteront et l'église parochial de Beaubéré [Beaubray] le jeudi ensuivant à fester et solemniser le mardi des festes de Pâques la dedicace de ladite église parroissiale. (This inscription is quoted from Cloulas, *Bulletin Monumental* 130:129. Many other Entombments must have been given similar indulgences, for example those for Langres, Neufchâteau, and Salers, quoted in the Appendix of my book.)

Mme. C. Bourden-Marçais kindly informs me of an Entombment of the late sixteenth century at Montgirod in Savoy. L'Abbé J. Choux, in a review of my book in *Le Pays lorrain* (1970), p. 194, lists these additional Entombments in Lorraine: Dieuze, Longeville-devant-Bar, Marsal, Mont-Bonvillers, Pulligny, Sorcy, and Toul. All have disappeared except for fragments of reliefs at Marsal. For a discussion of these important fragments, see Helga D. Hofmann, *Die lothringische Skulptur de Spätgotik: Hauptströmungen und Werke (1390-1520)*, Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Landeskunde des Saarlandes, Vol. 7, Saarbrücken: Karl Funk, 1962, pp. 305, 306, 392. It is not certain how many of these were true Entombments and how many were in small scale or were reliefs. I have not been able to check on two other Entombments, one reported in the *Guide Bleu* for the Vosges (1928), p. 254, to be at Bourlémont, the other at Septfontaines in Luxembourg.

The following several sculptures, mentioned here for the record, were omitted from the book because there was no direct evidence that they once formed parts of monuments. A portly burgher exhibited at The Cloisters, New York (06.1216), and attributed to Burgundy

may represent Nicodemus; a shroudlike cloth wrapped over one shoulder and under the opposite arm may imply that he is a shroud-bearer, and his stance suggests that he could have stood at the right end of the group above the body of Christ, the traditional place of Nicodemus. Theodor Müller dates this statue about 1470, but the detailed, fleshy modeling of the face and the swaying posture are more often seen in sculptures of the early sixteenth century (Müller, *Late Gothic Sculpture in the Netherlands, Germany, France and Spain*. Pelican History of Art, 1971, p. 86, pl. 102A. See also Joseph Breck, *Catalogue of Romanesque, Gothic and Renaissance Sculpture* Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1913, no. 148). Several female heads in the Musée Saint-Jean, Angers, are said to have come from a lost Entombment once in the church of Saint-Georges-sur-Loire (see André Michel, "Les Statues de Sainte-Anne, Saint-Paul et Sainte-Suzanne [Musée du Louvre]," *Fondation Eugène Piot: Monuments et Mémoires*, published by the Académie des inscriptions et belles lettres, 6, Paris, 1899, p. 104; also Paul Vitry and Gaston Brière, *Documents de sculpture française: Renaissance*, première partie, Paris, D.-A. Longuet, 1911, pl. 75, no. 2).

The Chanoine Moussé adds to the history of the Amboise Entombment by reproducing an engraving of it when it was in the church of Notre-Dame-en-Grève, Amboise, between 1802 and 1864 (Moussé, *Le Culte de Notre-Dame en Touraine*, Tours, about 1915, p. 170). M. Anfray reports that the Entombment in the church of Saint-Martin, Langeron (Nièvre) has been restored and reinstalled, and that it originally decorated the tomb of the counts of Langeron in the church's crypt. (M. Anfray, *La Cathédrale de Nevers et les églises gothiques en Nivernais*, Paris, Picard, 1964, pp. 207, 208, pl. 49 A).

Entombments recently cleaned and restored include: Allery, Chaumont-en-Bassigny (that in the church), Clermont-en-Argonne, Contre, Le Coudray-Montbault, Dijon (Saint-Michel), Domjulien, Epinal (Saint-Maurice), Langres L'Epine, Lons-le-Saunier, Meru, Pouilly-en-Auxois, Rodez (chapel of cathedral), Semur-en-Auxois, Thouars (from abbey church), Le Trait, Vesoul. The list is incomplete.

These titles should be added to the bibliography: Helga D. Hofmann, "Das Heilige Grab, die Grablegung Christi und Christus im Grabe," *Saarheimat. Zeitschrift für Kultur Landschaft, Volkstum*, April 7, 1963,

pp. 97–105; Pierre Quarré, “La Mise au tombeau de l’église Saint-Michel de Dijon,” *Mémoires de la Commission des antiquités de la Côte-d’Or*, 26 (to appear); Henry Ronot, “Le Sépulcre de Chaumont-en-Bassigny,” *Bulletin de la Société de l’histoire de l’art français*, 1970, pp. 5–17; Gilbert Bou, *La Sculpture en Rouergue à la fin du gothique*, Rodez, Carrère, 1971; Gilbert Bou, *Sculpture gothique albigeoise*, Rodez, Carrère, 1972.

In a perceptive review of my book (*Art Bulletin*, LV, 4, pp. 633–635) Helga Hofmann discards my suggestion of Germanic stylistic influence upon the Pont-à-Mousson Entombment of northern Lorraine. Enlarging upon

her earlier suggestion that this Entombment is “hypothetically linked with Burgundian trends in the Sluter workshop at Champmol,” she now sees the master “in relation to the great workshops still active in Champagne (especially around Troyes) and particularly in French cathedrals radiating from the Burgundian Sluter style.” She also sees a relation between Sluter and Pont-à-Mousson through lost prototypes in a “Franco-Flemish ambient.” However, the stylistic differences between Pont-à-Mousson and all surviving Burgundian sculpture still seem to me to be too radical to accept this modified hypothesis.

The Publications of Robert Goldwater (1907-1973)

THE PASSING of Robert Goldwater is a sad loss to the world of art, and particularly to all who personally knew and admired this great critic and scholar.

His pioneering research and writing on the role of primitive art in the development in modern art was at once widely recognized as a landmark. Undertaken when both these forms of art were still relatively unfamiliar, it broadened the general appreciation of both fields. His work at the Museum of Primitive Art, both as one of its organizers in the early stages, and later for

many years as its director, continued this important effort.

More recently, he was deeply engaged with the planning of the Michael C. Rockefeller Wing, which will be part of The Metropolitan Museum of Art and form the permanent home of the Museum of Primitive Art's collection. All of us who shared his concerns are fortunate to have known him as colleague, guide, and friend. He is deeply missed.

NELSON A. ROCKEFELLER

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