A Gothic Doorway from Moutiers-Saint-Jean

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Dedicated to the memory of James J. Rorimer

In the period since The Cloisters opened in 1938, many thousands of visitors have walked through a Gothic portal leading from the Romanesque Hall into the Langon Chapel (Figure 1). This doorway, which depicts the Coronation of the Virgin, is worthy of its prominent setting, for it is without doubt the finest Gothic portal in America. Although published while still in situ at Moutiers and discussed briefly in several of the Museum’s publications, the doorway has not yet had the full study it deserves. Few who have stopped to admire its rich carvings can have realized that it comes from what was in its day one of the most distinguished and probably the oldest of the monasteries of Burgundy, Moutiers-Saint-Jean, whose abbots were the confidants of princes and whose holdings once included over a hundred dependencies throughout western Burgundy. This venerable house might be called the fostering mother of Burgundian monasticism, since from her walls monks went out in all directions to found other religious houses, including Saint-Bénigne in Dijon. Her sons were among the first monks at many other great abbeys of Burgundy, including those of Cluny, Molesmes, Citeaux, and Flavigny. Today the abbey has been all but forgotten in the sleepy village that bears its name, set in the hilly region of the Auxois northwest of Dijon.

Moutiers-Saint-Jean—that is, the moutier or monastery of Saint Jean—is said to date back to the fifth century, when a hermit known later as John of...
Réôme settled in an uninhabited forest region on the banks of the Réôme. His sanctity drew others to him and enabled him to found a religious community dedicated to the Virgin. Such monasteries grew up in Burgundy and elsewhere from the cells of the disciples clustered around the hermitage of a holy person. An old tradition that the monastery was founded by Clovis and his son Clothar in the late fourth and early fifth centuries is based upon two charters supposedly granted to Saint John of Réôme by these Merovingian kings (Appendix 1).

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

**ORIGINAL SETTING OF DOORWAY**

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

The central location of the old cloister and hence of the doorway is indicated by an engraving of the late seventeenth century (Figure 2). Here one can see the north ambulatory walk and the church. The doorway itself is invisible, hidden by the enveloping architecture sheltering the walk. Old photographs suggest that by the late nineteenth century this remaining walk had disappeared, since the doorway was then sheltered by a crude lean-to roof. It was then almost entirely blocked up and served as the...
back wall of a shed for farm equipment (Figure 3). Today one can still see, from the new brickwork in the wall, where the door once stood. The arcade walks that now surround other parts of the old courtyard do not appear in the engraving and must be of later date.

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

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

Other relics from Moutiers include a series of very fine Romanesque capitals, probably from the nave of the church, most of them now in the Fogg Art Museum11 and in the Louvre.12 Several more are in a collection at Bard-lès-Epoisses, and there are fragments of other capitals at Moutiers and nearby. Romanesque and Gothic architectural fragments, some with figural decoration, have been found on the site; these have been collected by the farmer who occupies part of the imposing eighteenth-century structure of the former monastery on the south side of the courtyard. Three keystones of vaults are at a neighboring farm; a fourth, published in 1897,13 has disappeared. Two spandrels (Figures 32, 33) from an arcade (visible in Figure 3) are in the Wellesley College Museum, Wellesley, Massachusetts (Appendix 2). A half-length Romanesque figure of an angel at The Cloisters, previously attributed to Autun, has recently been more plausibly attributed to Moutiers.14 A pair of late Gothic statues of bishops may have come from the abbey church; one of these is at The Cloisters, the other is in the parish church at Moutiers, where it was probably placed during the revolutionary period along with other sculptures and objets d'art.15

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

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

10. Dom Plancher, following this source, stated that "the statues of the saints and those of the founding princes Clovis and Clothar were broken" (Histoire générale et particulière de Bourgogne IV [Dijon, 1739, reprinted 1968] pp. 569, 598).
12. Marcel Aubert and Michele Beaulieu, Description raisonnée des sculptures du moyen-âge, de la renaissance et des temps modernes. I, Moyen-Âge (Paris, 1950) nos. 25 by Francis Salet, 26 by Beaulieu.
16. Mlle. Thurquit, secretary at the mairie of Moutiers-Saint-Jean, confirmed the first part of this information in 1958; it was later corroborated by the curé of Fains and Moutiers. Ella Brummer, sister-in-law of Joseph Brummer, further verified the names and dates.
may have been removed in 1790 or 1791, when sculptures as well as the treasures of the monastery were dispersed, or in 1797, when the property was sold. In 1897 the statues were published as in the garden of a M. Ohresser in Moutiers-Saint-Jean. In 1909 they were sold by a brother of Mlle. Cambillard. Acquired by Michel Manzi, they were included in the auction of his collection in Paris in 1919. At some point during this period, the statues’ heads were transposed. After the Museum acquired the statues in 1940, the heads were reset in their original positions. The statues fitted exactly into the places in the doorway for which they obviously had been made (Appendix 3).

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

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

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

**STRUCTURE AND TYPE**

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

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

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19. La Collection Michel Manzi. Galerie Manzi, 3e sene (Paris, 1919) nos. 100, 101, ill. La Chronique des arts et de la curiosité (1920) p. 7, notes the sale of the two statues from the abbey of Moutiers-Saint-Jean in this auction.
20. Chabef, Mémoires 13, p. cv.
The door is bound together horizontally as well as vertically. The torus moldings of the bases run across the bottom of the embrasures in unbroken lines typical of Burgundian architecture.\(^{21}\) The same strong horizontal band is formed by the leafy frieze decorating the capitals of the embrasures. Such continuous moldings, which had appeared earlier at Chartres, Reims, and Le Mans, became a hallmark of the Burgundian style.

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

architectural, linking the doorway to its overhead vault.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Both exhibit a pseudo-realism. Just as the heads of the figures at first give an impression of being true portraits but on further examination turn out to be simply types, so the leaves on the capitals first appear to be completely naturalistic but, looked at closely, prove to be too generalized in shape and texture to be botanically identifiable. The heads lack the slight irregularities of an individual person just as the leaves lack the minute differences that distinguish a particular species. The leaves on the left embrasure are all given a general trilobate shape common to grape leaves, whereas those on the right all tend to be more

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

**Figure 11**
Beardless king and right pier figures
ovate and to have more serrate edges, like those of a chestnut tree. On both sides there are nevertheless enough differences to imply a number of different species. The pseudo-naturalism of these leaves relates them to those on the embrasures and inner face of the west facade of Reims. They also bear a close relationship to those on the doorway of Notre-Dame-de-la-Couture in Le Mans, the structure with embrasures so similar to those of Moutiers. The ultimate source of the ornament and architecture of both Le Mans and Moutiers seems to have been Reims, although Chartres also had a strong influence.

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

THE CORONATION SCENE: ORIGINS

Although portrayal of the Coronation was unusual before the late twelfth century, the glorification of the Virgin after her death had been a subject of meditation for centuries. In the Greek apocryphal writings of the early church, the Virgin was pictured as adored by saints, patriarchs, prophets, and all the heavenly hosts. As early as the fifth century her bodily ascension was called a pious belief of the faithful. The feeling gradually arose that Christ would not let his mother's body decay, since, as John of Damascus declared in the eighth century, she had been the temple of God on earth, having borne Christ in her womb.

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

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

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

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

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

30. The bodily Assumption of the Virgin was finally proclaimed a doctrine of the church in 1950.
Commentaries on the Song of Songs were written by Honorius of Autun and Saint Bernard, whose ecstatic sermons for the feast of the Assumption developed their rich imagery in order to glorify the Virgin as the bride of Christ, the queen of heaven, the personification of the church triumphant, and the co-redemptrix of mankind enthroned in majesty at the right hand of her son.  

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

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

In spite of missing heads and hands, the essential elements of the Coronation scene in the Moutiers tympanum are easy to reconstruct. The Virgin, seated in the place of honor at Christ’s right, bends her head toward him as he crowns her with his right hand. She raises her arms in a gesture of adoration. In his left hand Christ holds a disk decorated with jeweled bands, in token of his dominion. He treads upon two lions while the Virgin treads upon a serpent-like creature, apparently an adder (Figure 12).

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

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

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

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

33. *Saint Bernard’s Sermons for the Seasons and Principal Festivals of the Year* (Carroll Press, Westminster, Maryland, 1950).
36. The Coronation is over a transept doorway at Senlis, Chartres, Villeneuve-l’Archevêque, Saint-Germain at Reims, Dixmont, Strasbourg, Mainz, Longpré, and in the gable over the Portail de la Calende, Rouen; over the side door from the cloister at Saint-Wandrille (as at Moutiers); over a side door on the Porte Rouge at Paris, Uzeste, Hal in Belgium, and Freiburg-im-Breisgau in the upper Rhine region. It is over a side doorway of the west facade at Paris, Amiens, Sens, Meaux, Poitiers, Bazas, Rampillon, Auxerre, and Noyon. It is over the main doorway at Laon, Mantes, Braine, Notre-Dame at Dijon, Corbie, Beauvais, Kaysersberg, Lemoncourt, Longpont, Saint-Nicolas at Amiens, Mouzon, Niederhaslach, Seez, Thann, and in the gable at Reims.
the presence of the king, considered to be Christ. So Paul the Deacon, in commenting on Psalm 43:10, had declared of the Virgin: “Behold she is raised above the angelic choirs even to the right hand of her son and is made the mighty mother of all in the house of the Lord and called the queen of heaven.”

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

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

Leafy branches and vines were freely shown as growing on church portals of the period. It is generally assumed, perhaps correctly, that such use was mainly decorative. Certainly the grape vine was an appropriate decoration for an abbey situated in the vine country of Burgundy, with its ample holdings in vineyards. One of the Romanesque capitals from Moutiers in the Louvre shows a strikingly picturesque vintage scene of a type that appears elsewhere in Burgundian sculpture.

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

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

38. Katzenellenbogen, pp. 56-65, gives an excellent résumé of the liturgical and textual background for the representation of the Coronation of the Virgin, including the architectural framework of the scene.
39. Sinding, pp. 120, 121; Stephen Beissel, Geschichte der Verherrlichung Marias in Deutschland während des Mittelalters (Freiburg-im-Breisgau, 1909) p. 215.
40. Regina mundi hodie de terris . . . eripitur . . . ad coeli jam pervenit palatinum (col. 130); Salvator . . . cum gaudio eam secum in throno collocavit (col. 134); . . . ineffabili sublimata cum Christo regnat in aeternum (col. 130) (Epistle IX to Paul and Eustochius on the Assumption of the Virgin, Patrologia Latina XXX).
41. The use of an arch to suggest a palace or a church derives from late Roman and early Byzantine art. It is so used on the so-called missorium of Theodoric in Madrid, on the Cyprus silver David plates in the Metropolitan Museum, and in the mosaics of San Apollinare in Classe, Ravenna.
42. Sauerländer, Skulptur, pls. 223-225, 269, 271, 277.
43. Aubert and Beaulieu, Description, no. 25.
44. On the following doorways the tree of Jesse is carved in arches above the Coronation in the tympanum: west portal of Senlis; central doorway of west portal of Mantes; central doorway of west portal of Laon; west portal of Braine; central doorway of north transept portal of Chartres; central doorway associated with the Last Judgment, and right doorway of west portal of Amiens; central doorway of west portal of Notre-Dame, Dijon; west portal of Saint-Etienne, Beauvais; north portal of Ville-neuve-l’Archevêque; right doorway of west portal of Reims. See Sauerländer, Skulptur, pls. 44-47, 75, 77, 164, 165, figs. 69, 92; Pierre Quarré, "Les Sculptures des portails et de la façade de l’église Notre-Dame de Dijon," Mémoires de la Commission des antiquités de la Côte-d’Or 26 (1965-69) pp. 310-313.
ancestors of the Virgin and Christ were placed within the interlacings of the vine. The unusual shape of the double arches over Christ and the Virgin in the Coronation on the Senlis tympanum resembles the curving forms of the Jesse tree's interlacing vine around the tympanum, and probably refers to it. Indeed, in some medieval manuscripts, the Coronation was placed at the top of the Jesse tree as the culminating scene on the Beatus page of Psalm One to depict the royal progeny of David, the reputed author of the Psalms. At Moutiers the Old Testament figures are placed not within vine branches but in niches of the pilasters that parallel the vine stalks growing up both sides of the doorway to meet in the leafy arch framing the Coronation.

THE SENLIS CORONATION PORTAL AND LATER VARIANTS

All of the main elements of the Moutiers doorway are present, in fuller measure, on the earliest surviving French Coronation doorway, on the west portal of Senlis Cathedral, constructed about 1170 (Figure 7). On the Senlis tympanum, Christ sits enthroned, raising his hand to bless the crowned Virgin on his right, flanked by attendant angels representing the heavenly hosts. On the lintel beneath the tympanum are represented the Dormition of the Virgin and the Assumption. The lintel is omitted on the Moutiers door for lack of space. In the arches above the tympanum at Senlis, along with the tree of Jesse, are the prophets who foretold his coming. Most of these figures, too, are omitted at Moutiers, again probably for lack of space. Typological figures representing the spiritual forerunners of Christ are lined up full-scale on either side in the embrasures of the Senlis door. Most of these figures are present at Moutiers in the small-scale niches of the piers. Adolf Katzenellenbogen traces the use of these forerunners of Christ back to Saint Augustine.

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

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

FIGURE 13
Notre-Dame, Paris, tympanum of left doorway of west portal, 1210–20 (Hirmer)
ing to Philippe Verdier, the doorway would have been worthy of the precise theological thinking Suger showed in designing the sculpture and glass of the abbey church of Saint-Denis.\textsuperscript{48} The subject would have particularly appealed to him, since his legendary predecessor, Dionysius the Areopagite, was believed to have been present at the death and Assumption of the Virgin. Dionysius was identified in the medieval period with Saint Denis, the patron saint of the abbey and of France. Suger gave a window depicting the triumphs of the Virgin to the cathedral of Paris,\textsuperscript{49} and must have been responsible also for a tree of Jesse window in his abbey church.

In the heartland of royal France, the territories nearest Paris, the Senlis type of Coronation prevailed. On such portals, the Virgin in the tympanum scene already wears a crown, the actual crowning occurring almost parenthetically in the subsidiary scene of her Assumption on the lintel beneath, where an angel sometimes holds a crown over her head. On the two Coronations over the portals of Notre-Dame, Paris, an angel crowns Mary as Christ blesses her (Figures 13, 14). More fundamental variations of the Senlis type occur elsewhere, one in Germanic lands and England, the other predominately in the eastern parts of France. In the first, more radical variation, the Virgin is no longer seated to the right of Christ, but to his left. This change of position allows Christ to bless her with his right hand, as at Senlis, and to crown her with his left. Three thirteenth-century examples of this variation are in Alsace: at Anneót, at Kaysersberg, and over one of the south transept doors of Strasbourg Cathedral. Other instances occur in Germanic art of the late Romanesque and early Gothic periods: in a fresco in Saint Cunibert, Cologne; on an enamel plaque in the Kunstgewerbe Museum, Cologne; and in a psalter of Saint Elisabeth in the Cividale Museum. At least two early examples are found in English sculpture: on a capital at Reading Abbey and on a tympanum at Quenington; and in Scandinavia, on a church front at Lyngsjo. The iconography also appears in English manuscripts.\textsuperscript{50} Two well-known Coronations in France also follow this variation: one, now mutilated, above the central doorway of the west portal of Notre-Dame, Dijon; the other over the right doorway of the main entrance of Bourges Cathedral.

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

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

\textsuperscript{49} Pierre Le Veil, \textit{L’Art de la peinture sur verre et de la verrerie} (Paris, 1774) p. 23, reports that parts of this window were conserved until the eighteenth century in a choir gallery window representing “une espèce de triomphe de la Sainte-Vierge.”

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

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{notre-dame-paris-tympanum-of-the-porte-rouge-about-1260-hirmer}
\caption{Notre-Dame, Paris, tympanum of the Porte Rouge, about 1260 (Hirmer)}
\end{figure}
at Villeneuve-l'Archevêque in Champagne (Figure 15), at Mouzon in the Ardennes, at Reims on the central gable over the main entrance, and at Saint-Thibault-en-Auxois, a little south of Moutiers (Figure 16).

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

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

**Figure 16**
Saint-Thibault-en-Auxois, tympanum of north transept portal of priory church, about 1240-50 (Archives Photographiques)
THE THRONE OF SOLOMON

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

It is possible that the lions represent Christ's victory over the powers of evil; but this seems unlikely, since both beast heads are definitely those of lions, recognizable by the manes, not the lion and adder or the lion and dragon Christ usually tramples upon to signify his victory over evil, as on the trumeaux of Chartres, Paris, Amiens, and Reims in fulfillment of Psalm 91:13: “Thou shalt tread upon the lion and adder: the young lion and the dragon shalt thou trample underfeet.”

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

51. The Vézelay fragment has disappeared. According to the records of Foto-Marburg, when their photograph was taken in 1950/51 it was in the Musée Lapidaire located in the gallery above the narthex of the church. Gerhard Schmidt published the fragment as from a Coronation and as by the same hand as the Moutiers Coronation; he did not discuss the two lions (Schmidt, review of Gotische Skulptur in Frankreich 1140–1270 by Sauerländer, Zeitschrift für Kunsgeschichte [1972] pp. 141–143, figs. 19, 20). This fragment, like others in the Musée Lapidaire, apparently was one of the “fragments found in soundings, excavations, or demolitions” carried out at Vézelay by Viollet-le-Duc and others; see Lydwine Saulnier, “A propos du Musée lapidaire de Vézelay,” Bulletin Monumental 136 (1978) p. 71.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Two lions beneath the feet of the enthroned figure of King Dagobert, which was once located in the north transept of Saint-Denis, offer the closest and most interesting parallels to those of Moutiers and Vézelay, to which it is roughly contemporary. The lions of Dagobert were in the same position as at Moutiers, and the figure had a number of similar features, to judge by the drawing published by Montfaucon.60 It was common practice to compare French kings to David and Solomon in their exercise of wisdom and justice. Sauerländer, therefore, is undoubtedly correct in interpreting Dagobert's lions as a reference to Solomon, particularly in view of the inscription that accompanied the figure: Justiciar cul-

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

THE ORB AS DISK

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

57. Rossi, Musaici cristiani, pp. 251, 255, 256, pls. 30, 39.
58. Hellmuth Bethe, "Ein unbekannter norddeutscher Schnitz-

62. Alain Erlande-Brandenburg (Le Roi est mort; étude sur les funérailles, les sépultures et les tombeaux des rois de France jusqu'à la fin du XIIIe siècle, Bibliothèque de la société française d'archéologie 7 [Geneva, 1975]) p. 155, fig. 59) does not seek to identify the lions. In a companion statue, p. 156, fig. 60, Lothair, son of Louis, gently steps upon a recumbent figure who holds the king's feet almost tenderly. This figure, in the position of Jesse in the Jesse tree schema, could represent a predecessor of Lothair, perhaps even his father, thus affirming the relation of both kings to their Old Testament predecessors. Both kings point down toward these attributes as if to emphasize their importance. The two lions beneath the throne of Louis IV have some analogy to the four lions that supported the tomb slab of Charles the Bald, but this analogy, based on sixteenth-century drawings, is too hypothetical to be pressed. Such lions, also found beneath the tomb slab of Philip I, may be merely decorative symbols of power, like those usually found beneath the feet of many thirteenth-century male effigies of rank (Erlande-Brandenburg, pp. 115, 153, 159, 160, figs. 58, 74–76).
63. Wormald, pp. 534, 535.
held by Christ as well as by earthly rulers since the days of the late Roman empire. A true orb of this size, however, would have been too clumsy and much too large to be easily carried or carved.

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

This map was followed throughout the Middle Ages. A papal bull of 1030 refers to the three-part division of the world: “In medio vero rote sit sculpta triphoria thema orbis: Asia, Africa, Europa.”65 At least two versions of Isidore’s map have survived to modern times, one in a monastery at Ebsdorf, destroyed in World War II; the other, dated between 1273 and 1283, in Hereford Cathedral.66 The tripartite division appears on an orb borne by the emperor Augustus in an illustration of a twelfth-century manuscript, the Liber Floridus by Lambertus, now in the library of Ghent University, no. 92, fol. 138v. Here each division is given the name of the continent it represents. The orb-disk, with the continents labeled, is carried by King Olaf of Norway (d. 1090) on an ivory relief made about 1300.67 There are numerous instances where God the Father or Christ carries a similar orb-disk with the continents unmarked but seeming to imply an orbis tripartitus.68 On the left portal of the west facade of Mantes, Christ in majesty holds the orb-disk resting upon the throne instead of his lap, as at Moutiers.69 God the Father and Christ both carry orb-disks in a Creation scene of a manuscript now in the castle library at Pommersfelden.70

THE VIRGIN AND EVE

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

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66. Schramm, pp. 51–53, pl. 18, fig. 41.
67. Schramm, pp. 41, 84, pls. 33, 69b.
68. For instance in a Psalter in the British Library, Add. 50,000, fol. 15; another in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, no. 13, fol. 99; in a Coronation scene in a missal in the Bodleian Library, Douce 313, where Christ holds the tripartite orb in his left hand and crowns the Virgin with his right as at Moutiers; and in a Bible in the Pierpont Morgan Library, ms. 638, fol. 1.
69. Sauerländer, Skulptur, pl. 48 (above).
70. Schramm, pl. 28, fig. 55d.
71. Eve and the serpent are represented beneath the feet of the Virgin and Child in a series of Italian paintings of the trecento, including panels formerly in the Goodhart Collection, New York, in the Louvre, in the Stalybridge Gallery at Ashley Cheetham, in the city museum, Altenburg, in the Pinacoteca, Parma, and in the Cleveland Museum; as well as paintings in the church at Magione, in San Domenico e Sisto, Rome, and at San Galgano in the sacristy. Other fourteenth-century statues of the subject are in the church at Saint-Pierre du Queyroix, Limoges, and of Saint-Laud, Angers. Several seated statues in the Louvre show the Virgin and Child treading on a beast representing Satan.
72. Bernard’s sermons 3, pp. 282, 263. The Vulgate translates God’s curse of the serpent as “She [not it] shall bruise thy head” (Gen. 3:15) to emphasize Mary’s role in the crushing of Satan.
iconography into the Coronation scene. In these passages both Gregory and Bernard refer to Christ as the new Adam.

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

CLOSERELY RELATED DOORWAYS

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

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

Gerhard Schmidt, in a carefully reasoned critique of Sauerländer’s second book, gives good reasons for modifying this thesis of the direct and overwhelming influence of Reims upon the group. Many of Schmidt’s points are valid, even if his thesis of substituting Chartres for Reims as the dominating source of influence is not wholly acceptable. The stocky figure style, the stubble-bearded heads with stylized curls so characteristic of thirteenth-century Burgundian sculpture, and the rather brittle style of drapery folds seem more directly related to figures on the Job doorway of the north transept of Chartres and on its former choir screen than to the Last Judgment and Sixtus doorways of the north transept of Reims. Schmidt’s comparisons of the eye shapes and curling hair of some Chartres and Sens heads with Moutiers-Saint-Jean is added to the group, p. 122. The origin lies “apparently in Amiens, at all events in the sculpture under the influence of Amiens on the transept of Reims.” In Skulptur, pp. 60, 181–183, 189, Sauerländer adds to the group Rougemont and the altar frontal from the Sainte-Chapelle, Dijon, following Quarre’s publications, and reaffirms more strongly and specifically the influence of Le Mans upon Saint-Thibault; however, he does not include Charroux, and he also omits the Moutiers door, except to confuse it on page 201 of the index with the larger Romanesque portal of Moutiers, now destroyed, a drawing of which is found in Plancher, 1, pp. 515, 516.

73. Sauerländer, Skulptur, pl. 168 (left), p. 136, fig. 78. The present statue is a nineteenth-century replacement.
74. Ernst Guldan, Ewa und Maria Eine Antithese als Bildmotiv (Graz-Cologne, 1966) pp. 80, 81, cites this epitaph of Florian Winkler (d. 1477) from her tombstone now in the city museum of Wiener Neustadt. See also pp. 72, 73, 192, 193, 341, pl. 74.
75. Sauerländer, Von Sens bis Straßburg, p. 121, calls the Semur tympanum “a masterpiece of high Gothic sculpture in Burgundy around the middle of the thirteenth century” and as “belonging to a very realistic group of high Gothic sculpture not yet studied which stretches over a wide geographical area.” In an “incomplete listing” of the group Sauerländer mentions Le Mans (Notre-Dame-de-la-Couture), Bordeaux (south portal of Saint-Seurin), and Charroux, near Poitiers; in Burgundy, Vézelay (west gable), Saint-Thibault-en-Auxois, and Chablis; and Vitoria in Spain.

76. Sauerländer, Skulptur, pp. 60, 189.
77. Schmidt, review, pp. 124–144; discussion of group, pp. 137–143.
those of the group also seem pertinent. Certainly, the architecture of the Moutiers door may have been influenced by the west facade of Sens. Although the fundamental role of Reims is undeniable, Chartres seems to offer a crucial step between Reims and Burgundy.

However, when Schmidt derives the figure style of the group mainly from Chartres, citing the Saint Avitus head on the right portal of the south transept in particular as a prototype for the group, one must consider the influence of Sens upon the transept portals of Chartres, which Sauerländer maintains. Sauerländer also suggests that the Reims Odysseus head was a prototype for bearded heads of the Burgundian group, and perhaps for the Saint Avitus as well.78 Again, when Schmidt makes the significant comparison between the capitals and their foliation on the Le Mans and Moutiers doorways, one must also compare the wind-blown leaves on one Moutiers capital with those found in great abundance at Reims. The broad, flat drapery folds typical of the group, which Schmidt calls a variation of the Sens, Chartres, and Strasbourg styles, may owe a considerable amount to Reims.

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

78. Sauerländer, *Skulptur*, p. 117, pls. 123, 204, speaks of the Avitus figure as derivative from Reims. The Odysseus and Avitus heads seem to have a clear relationship.
played upon the group. In spite of the apparently dominating role of Reims, its style probably did not come exclusively from any one place, be it Reims, Chartres, Sens, or Le Mans.

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

Schmidt may be correct in suggesting that the workshop was formed in some eastern French center such as Besançon, Sens, or Dijon. However, one workshop could not have accounted for all the generally similar work done in Burgundy, although it is possible that members trained under one master.
went out on their own in small groups and this enabled them to develop their own variations. At least the master of the Moutiers group must have had contact with Le Mans and must have felt influences from the north, perhaps through Sens.

As Schmidt admits, it is "not easy to define the horizon of this group, made up of bands of partly independent contemporary workmen, who took their models from the styles of high Gothic cathedral sculpture and translated them on a more clearly provincial level." It seems wise not to restrict the various possible sources of influences. One can state with both Sauerländer and Schmidt that the Le Mans figures were by the hand of the original master and that the Burgundian sculptures more or less follow his lead with regional variations. That Le Mans was a direct prototype for Bordeaux and a little less directly for Burgundy is supported by both a similarity of figure types and by the distant but still distinct resemblances of the comparatively crude head of Saint Peter at Chablis to the much finer work at Le Mans and Bordeaux. (Incidentally, Sauerländer sees the Chablis head as a final echo of the Odysseus head at Reims, while Schmidt would point to the Saint Avitus of Chartres.) The similar type of geometric ornament used below the figures at Bordeaux and around the bottoms of the pier shafts at Moutiers also argues for a common source. One wonders whether the same tradition led later to the elaborate geometric patterns in the right embrasure of the west facade of Auxerre Cathedral just north of Auxois.

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

MOUITIONS AND SAINT-THIBAULT

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

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

79. Schmidt, review, p. 137.
right embrasure of Saint-Thibault must have served as models for the two large figures on the Moutiers door. The bishop on the left embrasure of Saint-Thibault has a bearded head very similar to that of the Moutiers bearded king (Figure 22). The same head type had been used earlier for the Saint James on the Le Mans door and was closely followed on the Saint Peter heads at Bordeaux and Chablis.

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

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

**The Statuettes in the Piers**

The small seated figures set into niches in vertical rows at either side of the doorway represent forerunners and ancestors of Christ and the Virgin. At Moutiers the choice of figures and their vertical
arrangement recall the tree of Jesse, an image inspired by a verse in Isaiah 11:1, “And there shall come forth a rod out of the stem of Jesse and a branch shall grow forth out of his roots.” This verse is quoted several times in the New Testament in reference to Christ’s ancestry, notably in Acts 13:23 and Romans 15:12.

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

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

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

82. The phrase “ascended from the wilderness” is based upon Song of Songs 8:5, a theological source for the Coronation. Katzenellenbogen, p. 59, note 20, quotes the passage from Pseudo-Latina XXX, col. 134.
83. Bernard’s Sermons 3, pp. 267, 268.
84. An illumination in the Bible Moralisée in Toledo (Lib. Bibl. del Cabildo, 1, fol. 136), probably made for Louis IX and therefore contemporary with the Moutiers doorway, shows Elijah receiving food from the raven just above the Crucifixion. On fol. 168 the hand of Christ (Logos) in the clouds reaches toward the raven, which has a loaf in its beak before Elijah’s cave.
cording to early Greek apocryphal texts written before the time of John of Damascus, who adds that Elijah was raised only to the lower heavens whereas the Virgin's soul must have been raised to the highest heaven. Elijah's ascension was thought to foreshadow the Ascension of Christ. Elijah was among the figures represented in small scale on the Senlis voussoirs.

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

85. Sinding, pp. 11, 17, 18; Katzenellenbogen, p. 65. Although Elijah is rarely specifically identified in a Coronation scene, he definitely appears in one in a manuscript from Basel or Lausanne now in the Besançon library, no. 54, fol. 9.
86. Pope Innocent III in the thirteenth century cited Melchizedek to support his claim of supreme authority over all secular rulers. P. Kidson, Sculpture at Chartres (London, 1958) p. 34.

![Figure 23](image1)

**Figure 23**
Elijah, statuette in left Moutiers-Saint-Jean pier

![Figure 24](image2)

**Figure 24**
Solomon or Nehemiah, right pier

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

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

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

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


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

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

**Figure 25**
Abraham sacrificing Isaac, left pier

**Figure 26**
Moses and the brazen serpent, right pier
and it was believed that Moses had prophesied Christ's coming (Deut. 18:15; Acts 3:22). Abraham was blessed through his sacrifice as the father of an innumerable host, as by his sacrifice Christ was raised to the highest heaven and offered salvation to all who believed.

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

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

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

89. Bernard's Sermons 3, pp. 277, 278.
90. Katzenellenbogen, p. 52, note 34.
once in faithfulness in the person of Abraham, once by righteousness and the law on Mount Sinai through Moses, and once through grace and resurrection. The mystic marriage of Christ and the Virgin symbolized by these statuettes finds its fulfillment in the Coronation overhead.91

THE TWO KINGS

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

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

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

92. This opinion is shared by M. Jean Rigault, head of the archives of the Côte-d’Or, as well as by his colleagues in Dijon.
tection. King Robert himself gave a number of charters to Burgundian abbeys. Apparently in search of such security, Moutiers, in 1189, associated the king with control of its rights over one of its dependencies, just as Cluny did when it allowed Saint-Thiombault-en-Auxois to be placed under the crown.

The practice of granting such charters was continued into the thirteenth century by Philip Augustus. When the doorway was made in the mid-thirteenth century, Saint Louis was a frequent visitor to Burgundy. He often stayed at monasteries, some of which were under royal protection. There is no record that Moutiers-Saint-Jean was one of them, perhaps because almost all of its documents, including the charters of foundation, were burnt or destroyed in wars. In any case the temptation must have been great in the thirteenth century for a wealthy monastery to seek royal protection, if only as a defense against the rapacious local nobility, who were trying to wrest revenues from churches and monasteries in preparation for the crusade proclaimed at Vézelay.

At the same time such exorbitant tithing was imposed by Rome that Louis himself, good churchman and crusader though he was, complained in 1247 to the papal legate, declaring that “the king cannot allow the churches of his kingdom founded by his ancestors to be despoiled” in this manner.

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

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

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

However, there is a strong case for identifying the Moutiers kings as David and Solomon, preeminent of seventeen. The older figure does not follow the facial type of Louis, nor does the youthful figure follow the type seen on the funeral effigy of his son, Louis of France. Sauerländer, Skulptur, p. 170, pl. 272.

10. Described above; see note 60.
among the royal ancestors of Christ, who were closely, even intimately, associated with the Coronation of the Virgin, appearing often on Coronation doorways both in the Jesse tree and full-scale on the embrasures among the Old Testament forerunners. As the foretold messiah of the line of David, born in Bethlehem, the city of David, Christ was to occupy the throne of David and Solomon forever. Christ was compared by himself and his followers to both: David was known for his humility as Christ was born and lived in humility, and Solomon, as the personification of wisdom and justice, was the precursor of Christ, who exemplified divine wisdom.

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

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

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

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

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

The Moutiers kings are especially close to the

106. Among these: Nesle-la-Repose; Notre-Dame at Dijon; west portal of Saint-Bénigne at Dijon; Château-Chalon; Saint-Nicolas at Amiens; Germigny-l’Exempt; Saint-Pierre at Nevers; north portal, right side of Chartres Cathedral; west portal of Saint-Germain-l’Auxerrois at Paris; west portal, right side of Amiens Cathedral; west portal, center of Reims Cathedral.
107. Erlande-Brandenburg, Skulptur, pp. 54, 74, 75, 105, 106, 112, 118, 138, 158; pls. 92, 157, 166, 204, 205; figs. 9, 24, 43, 45, 53; Quarre, "Notre-Dame de Dijon," pp. 310, 312.
108. In a statue placed above his tomb, however, Sigebert was bearded. Erlande-Brandenburg, pp. 54, 55, 119, 137, 138, figs. 65, 65, 66.
109. Hans Reinhardt, La Cathédrale de Reims (Paris, 1963) p. 216. Charlemagne was called "the new Solomon," an ascription repeated for his successors Louis the Pious, Charles the Bald, and Lothar. In a twelfth-century manuscript Henry VI is seated on Solomon’s throne with twelve lions and the inscription sedes sapientiae. I. H. Forsyth, Throne, pp. 80, 90, fig. 23.
110. Katzenellenbogen, pp. 28–90.
111. Sauerländer, Skulptur, pp. 149, 150; pls. 178, 179.
bearded and beardless secular figures on the right embrasure of the Coronation doorway at Saint-Thibault (Figure 30). In fact, in their general style and appearance, their proportions, their postures, the positions of their feet, and their heads they resemble each other enough to give the impression that they represent the same persons. Similarities extend to such minute details as the way they hold their mantle straps by one finger, and their scrolls, rolled up so that the centers have the same tight knobs. Their thumbnails even have the same shapes. As at Moutiers, the Saint-Thibault bearded figure carries a scroll and raises one hand as if to hold the strap across his chest, although he wears no mantle. One suspects that both strap and gesture are hangovers from an earlier model. The bearded figure of Christ in the Saint-Thibault Coronation is as similar to the Moutiers Christ as these four embrasure figures are to one another.

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

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

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

One headless figure resembles the Moutiers

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

113. The crowns now worn by the Moutiers kings and those worn in the 1897 photographs are modern, but the bottom edge of a still earlier crown base can be seen on Clothar's head. One may assume by their original coiffures that the two figures were originally crowned.
bearded king in his stance, in his mantle falling straight down on both sides, and in his inner garment, similarly girdled with a purse attached, its tie-strings carefully carved (Figure 21). There are traces of a scroll on his right side. Quarré identifies this Rougemont figure with the king whom Dom Plancher described in the eighteenth century as “holding a large scroll opened that falls down halfway on his legs.” Plancher indicates that this figure was paired with that of a queen and that both figures had “the finger of the right hand beneath the strap of their mantle, which hangs down the back and is fastened in front at the neck.”

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

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

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

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115. Sauerländer, Skulptur, pls. 92, 157, 166, 204, 205.
116. Quarré, “Saint-Thibault,” pp. 188, 191, does not believe that Sheba was omitted at Saint-Thibault; he identifies her as the elderly, heavily coiffed, uncrowned woman opposite the bearded man and youth, who may be David and Solomon. The bishop next to her may represent Aaron. If Sheba, the figure is unique in its matronly, nonregal aspect and has no relation to other Sheba figures. Quarré, pp. 186–188, is surely right to reject the
mantle strap by his forefinger; the bearded heads at Moutiers and Saint-Thibault are reminiscent of the Reims David and Odysseus; and the figure of Sheba at Reims holds the side of her cloak and wears the hanging purse as does Solomon at Moutiers. It is as if the Reims Odysseus head were transferred to the statue of Sheba, creating the Moutiers David, and as if the Solomon's head at Reims were transferred to the adjacent statue of David and the light beard removed, to create the Moutiers Solomon. Although this parallelism should not be forced, the affiliations of the Moutiers kings and those of Saint-Thibault and Rougemont to earlier statues of David, Solomon, and Sheba serve to strengthen the identification of the Moutiers kings as David and Solomon.

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

FINAL COMPARISONS AND DATING

Reims seems to have played an important role in the development of thirteenth-century Burgundian sculpture and of the Moutiers group in particular, but its influence appears to have been mediated to a large extent through Chartres and Sens. The Le Mans doorway, the key monument from which the Burgundian sculptures of the Moutiers doorway derive their style, shows just such mixed influences from Reims, Chartres, and Sens in both its sculpture and its architecture. The iconography of the Moutiers doorway is not wholly dependent upon Sens and the possible inspiration of Abbot Suguir of Saint-Denis, but shows the same mixed influences.

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

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

117. Sauerländer, Skulptur, pp. 57, 149, pl. 175. The gesture is common to many thirteenth-century royal figures. Erlendes-Brandenbarg, Figs. 82, 35, 37, 40, 55, 56, 66, 70–76, 101, 133–139, 141, 147–155, 157–159.
decorated with the same type of windblown leaf as the right embrasure of Moutiers.

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

A comparison with other monuments, as well as the sequence of style of the workshop, makes it reasonable to date the Moutiers doorway about the middle of the thirteenth century when the monastery seems to have reached the zenith of its power, before the severe economic decline that became so acute by 1289 that the pope authorized the abbot of Moutiers to take the revenues of a dependent priory for five years to pay its debts.118 The doorway could well have been a part of the general rebuilding of the monastery, which must have been going on by October 1257, when Hugues, viscount of Tonnerre and of Quincy-le-Vicomte, left a bequest of 100 sols “for the works of the church of Saint-Jean of Réôme” (Appendix 1). Another document that points to building activity at this time is the entry in an obituary of the monastery, datable about 1250, which lists Pierre de Sarrigny, a monk of Moutiers, as leaving thirty pounds for the construction of a new kitchen (Appendix 1). Because of the relation of the Moutiers doorway to those at Saint-Thibault, Semur, and Rougemont, it is of interest that in his will Hugues also left monies to these places for construction work, and that the abbot of Moutiers was listed first of the executors of the will. Another local family of note who were active as donors during the doorway’s construction and who could have aided in its costs were seigneurs of the château of Epoisses, only a few miles away.119

CONCLUSIONS

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

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

118. Petit, IV, pp. 148, 520.
119. Moutiers had a priory at Epoisses; Petit, IV, p. 476; Reomans, p. 271.
120. Branner, Architecture, pp. 8, 60, 62.
Dame. Although these sculptures have almost entirely disappeared, Quarré has noted that head types on corbels in Dijon, Semur, and Saint-Thibault have a family resemblance indicative of a relationship between Dijon and the Auxois. 121 It is puzzling that the Coronation iconography on the tympanum of Notre-Dame differs from the Moutiers Coronation, but this difference may mean only that the Moutiers master had connections outside of Burgundy, as in the case of the Le Mans sculptures. After all, the great centers of Reims and Sens were not too distant, and the Senlis type, too, appears to be related to the Moutiers Coronation. One of the finest remaining pieces of Burgundian architectural sculpture, the doorway suggests what has been lost in the destruction of the great sculptural ensembles that once decorated the portals of Saint-Bénigne and Notre-Dame in Dijon.

Appendix 1

THE CHARTERS

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

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

Chlotarius rex Francorum, vir illustri... Igitur notum sit omnibus episcopis abbatibus et illustribus viris... per nostrum regnum discurrentibus... quia dominus Ioannes clarus virtutibus locellum suum, in pago Tornotrinsen [Tonnerre] sub regula beati Macarii ad habitatiónem monachorum constructum, qui Reomaus vocatur... ut sub nostra emunitate et mundiburdo nostrorumque successorum regum semper maneat. Proptera et nos ipsum peculiarem patronum nostrum... taliter honoravimus, ut quantumque suo asino sedens una die circa locum suum nobis traditur et commendatum de nostri fiscis circuiisset, perpetuo per nostram regalem munificentiam habeat... Monachis vero ibidem per diversas cellulas manentibus seu mansuris omnia necessaria secundum numerum, quo fuerint, a nobis et successoribus nostris regibus ex censu nostro regio praebantur; ideoque has litteras, manu nostra firmatas, ipsi nostro patrono domino Ioanni dedimus... Signum Chlodovei, regis Francorum. Datum sub die quarto Kalendas Ianuarias. Indictione quinta. Actum Remis civitate... anno Chlodovei XVI. 124

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

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

eiusdem monasterii requiramus... Signum incliti regis Chlotari... Datum sub die VIII. Kalend. Martii. Anno V. regni nostri. Actum Suessionis civitatis.125

BEQUESTS

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

... Item, operi ecclesiae Sancti Johannis de Reome [Moutiers-Saint-Jean] C solides.
... Item, operibus ecclesiarum Sancti Theobaldi, beate Marie Sinemuri, beate Marie Rubeimontis quibuslibet XL sol [churches of Saint-Thibault, Semur, and Rougemont]. 
... Volo autem et percipio quod omnia debita mea quod legitime prelibari poterunt... et omnia que injuste rapui vel extorsi... in primis de mobilibus meis per viros et religiosos Roemantenses et Fontenetenses abbates et per nobilém virum... quod hujus mei testamenti executores constituo.126

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

Januarius X kal. Petrus de Sarrigne, monachus, qui dedit XXXI libras, que misse fuerunt in opere nove coquine.127

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

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

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

REQUEST TO NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

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

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

126. Petit, IV, pp. 416, 446, 447, doc. no. 2916.
128. Ms. in Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Fonds Bourgogne 9, fols. 126, 127; excerpts copied from microfilm in Archives Départementales of the Côte-d'Or, Dijon.
129. Inventaire sommaire des archives départementales de la Côte-d'Or, postérieures à 1789, Période Révolutionnaire, série L, ed. Ferdinand Claudon (Dijon, 1913) pp. 191, 517.
Appendix 2

TWO SPANDRELS FROM MOUTIERS

That the Moutiers doorway was part of a larger building program is suggested by the documents of 1250 and 1257 and more clearly indicated in the 1898 photograph (Figure 3) by the two spandrels embedded in the blocked opening. Tania Bayard is undoubtedly correct in suggesting that these spandrels (Figures 32, 33), stylistically similar to the doorway, came from the adjoining cloister. Their shape and the moldings at their sides and tops show that they were spring blocks of double arcades topped by an oculus, similar to the arcades used in the cloister walk as it appeared in the 1689 engraving (Figure 2). Their comparatively fresh surface shows that they were never exposed to the weathering they would have received as part of the outer face of the cloister arcade. Bayard has suggested that they could have come from the garth wall on the inner side of the walk, above the tomb of Bernard II, the abbot.

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

FIGURE 32
Saint Michael weighing a soul, spandrel from Moutiers-Saint-Jean. Wellesley College Museum, Rogers Fund, 1949.25 (photo: Herbert P. Vose)

FIGURE 33
from 1109 to 1133, who initiated the rebuilding of the church and was buried in the cloister. Here they could have been part of a wall arcade following the form of the free-standing arcades on the outer walls of the cloister walk.

The two figures of Saint Michael carved on the spandrels would have been appropriate to such a tomb. They are quite similar to the angels in the vousoirs of the doorway in their stocky proportions and drapery folds, and their wings are painted with dark lines. Their heads are comparable to those of the large kings, but unlike the kings’ heads, they seem to be unrestored, thus giving evidence of the relation of the kings to other sculptures by the doorway workshop. The Saint Michael heads are comparable to heads on the tympana of the Semur and Saint-Thibault doorways, and they show a relationship to the heads by the Rougemont master on the altar frontal of the Sainte-Chapelle of Dijon, now in the Dijon Museum, as well as to several other sculptures by the master in the Musée Lapidaire of Vézelay. In one spandrel (Figure 33) Michael’s left arm is held in the same way as the arm of the Moutiers king on the right door jamb (Figure 11), and his sleeve has similar proportions. His drapery formula, with the folds of the cloak looped low on one side, appears on the Rougemont Saint Andrew and on the earlier Saint Peter of the Le Mans doorway.

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

Appendix 3

CONDITION OF DOORWAY

The doorway is composed of a fine-grained limestone with crinoid stems, of the Early Middle Jurassic period ("un fin calcaire à entroques du Bajocien") that must have come from a quarry in the region of Dijon.131 Like other Gothic monuments, it was originally painted, as in Greek and Roman architectural sculpture, in contrasting colors that enlivened the sculpture and also helped to differentiate parts of the figures from each other and from their backgrounds. Blues, reds, and gold (gilding) seem to have been the main hues, at least on the tympanum. Browns and blacks were used as borders of clothing and to delineate the feathers of the angels’ wings. Wide haloes were painted around the heads of Christ and the Virgin. The various parts of the architecture must have been similarly differentiated from each other. Shades of red and black accentuated the moldings of the tympanum and of the thrones of Christ and the Virgin. The carvings on the capitals were painted in different colors from those used on the background. Though only traces of these colors remain by which to judge the brilliance of the original, one can be sure that every part of the doorway was covered with such color.

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

131. According to Professor Tintant, Faculté des Sciences de la Terre, University of Dijon (transl. by Professor Erling Dörf).
Rudolf Meyer, master restorer at The Cloisters, wonders whether the top part of the tympanum is original, since the surfacing of the stone is different, the foliage is not so precisely carved, and the background shows no carving at all, so that the rest of the haloes must have been painted, not carved in relief. These inconsistencies might have been due to the work of a different hand or to a partial reconstruction or repair of the church or the cloister.

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

The next round of restorations noted by Rorimer were for the most part added at the direction of Duveen Brothers, such as the two modern crowns (now just set on top of the heads), the fingers, pieces of drapery, etc. Rorimer thought that the iron bars he found cemented into the backs were installed by Duveen, but Meyer believes that such supports would have been necessary when the statues were first set up independently. Meyer also believes that during this period “the statues were extensively beautified. Former restorations were replaced, new crowns added, scrolls and other parts reshaped and the pedestals transformed into capitals. Chipping marks visible in many areas seem to stem from the restorations of this period.”

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

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

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

133. James J. Rorimer, unpublished memorandum, c. 1940, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Department of Medieval Art files.
reattached to the door with iron dowels, the shafts being omitted.

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

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

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

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

ADDENDUM

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