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Some Early Monuments from Busiris, in the Egyptian Delta


HENRY G. FISCHER

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

CONSIDERING HOW VERY frequently Osiris “Lord of Busiris” is invoked on funerary monuments from the Fifth Dynasty onward, it is remarkable how little evidence is known to have come from the native city of that all-important divinity. The fourth volume of the Porter-Moss *Topographical Bibliography* (Oxford, 1934), p. 44, mentions only three fragmentary monuments of the Twenty-second Dynasty and later, all published in E. H. Naville’s *Mound of the Jew* (London, 1890), pl. 7 (A–C), and the list has been only very slightly augmented in the meantime.¹ For more than half a century, however, the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge has housed a limestone false door (E 6.1909)² that clearly comes from Busiris and provides the earliest specific mention of the local temple, as well as a hitherto unknown local cult of Hathor (Figures 8, 9). The date of the monument, which will be examined more closely in the following pages, lies somewhere between the end of

the Sixth Dynasty and the beginning of the Twelfth, and I am inclined to attribute it to the end of the Heraclopolitan Period. In addition, Labib Habachi has called my attention to a group of inscribed monuments from the same site that have been known for an almost equal number of years, albeit to a very few persons. The oldest of them is evidently of somewhat greater antiquity than the false door in Cambridge; three others are Eleventh Dynasty and a fourth is only slightly later than these. They were excavated by Ali El Manzalawy on his property at Kom el Akhdar, two kilometers west of Abusir village, in 1928. Sami Gabra inspected them for the Department of Antiquities in the following year and Dr. Habachi re-examined them in 1943, when he was able to take photographs. These have most generously been put at my disposal and three of them—a limestone slab, a limestone false door, and a fragmentary limestone offering slab—are illustrated and described here.³

1. Bernard Bothmer describes the cemetery in *ARCE Newsletter* 18 (June 15, 1955), pp. 5–6; for further references to the cult, see Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica* II (Oxford, 1947) pp. 176*–180*. It may be noted that J. Gwyn Griffiths is inclined to doubt that the cult of Osiris emanated from Busiris rather than Abydos: *The Origins of Osiris* (*MAS* 9 [1966]) pp. 86, 119. On p. 90, however, he concedes that, although Andjety preceded Osiris as the god of the Busirite Nome, “Osiris may have begun as a subordinate deity in Busiris.” In favor of his Lower Egyptian origin, it should be emphasized that the Upper Egyptian crown was acquired by Osiris from Khentiamentiu at a relatively late date—not before the Eleventh Dynasty (*JAOS* 76 [1956] p. 101, note 11). On the other hand, it is uncertain whether Khentiamentiu acquired the crook and flail from Andjety or whether both gods possessed this pair of attributes

independently; they appear in a Sixth Dynasty determinative of Khentiamentiu which also shows the Upper Egyptian crown:  (Cairo CG 1574 and similarly Louvre C 160), and may derive from the iconography of the king, just as the crown does. See also Joachim Spiegel, *Die Götter von Abydos* (Wiesbaden, 1973) p. 7, who points out that even in the Middle Kingdom the Busirite origin of Osiris is strongly emphasized.

2. Given by F. W. Green in 1909. I am indebted to Dr. Caroline Peck for the photograph and to Miss Janine Bourriau for permission to publish it here.

3. The choice is limited to those from which it was possible to prepare a reasonably reliable line drawing.

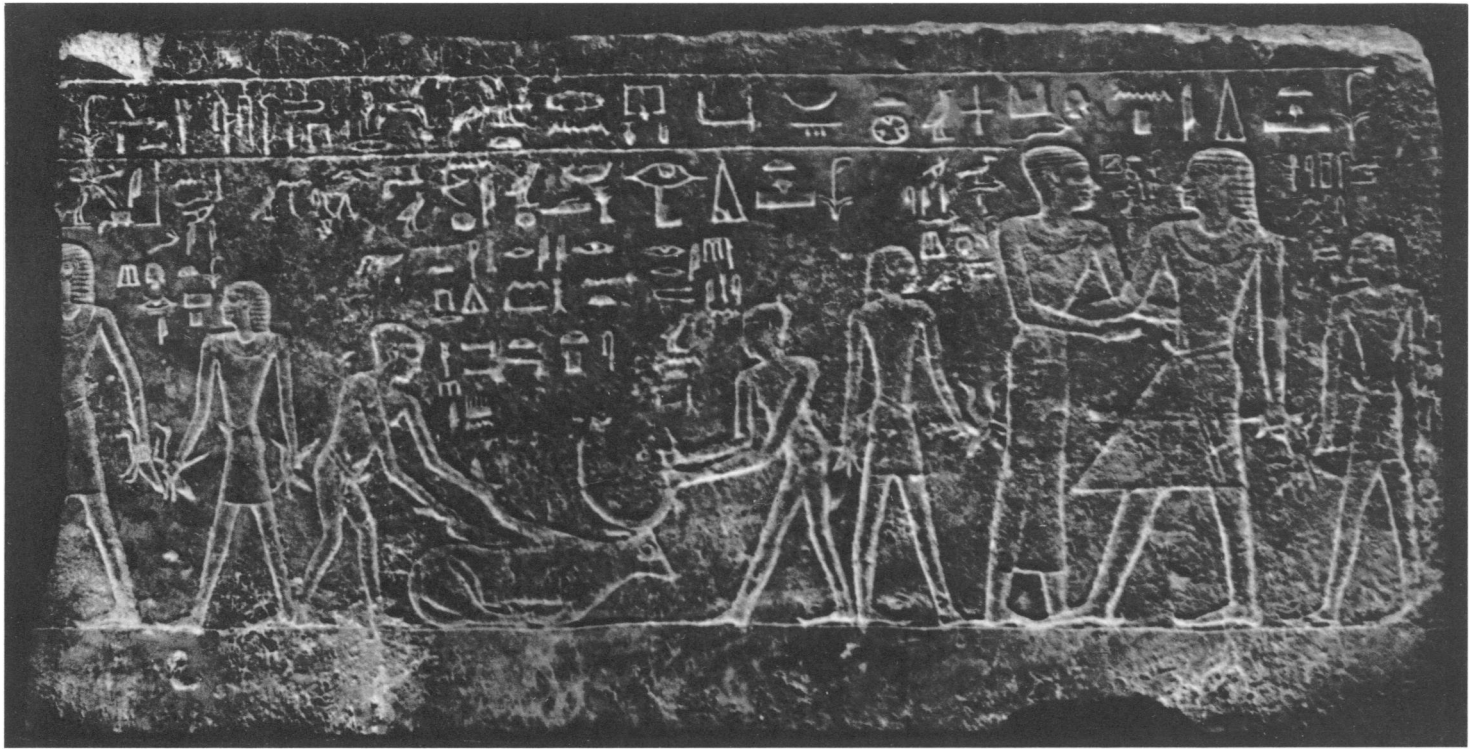


FIGURE 1

Old Kingdom architrave from Kom el Akhdar. (photo: courtesy Labib Habachi)

They require less commentary than does the Fitzwilliam Museum false door, and so are presented more concisely.

MONUMENTS FROM KOM EL AKHDAR

The oldest of the monuments (Figures 1, 2) is a limestone slab, measuring 102 cm. in length, 51 cm. in height and 11 cm. in thickness. The pair of offering bearers at the left (a, b) evidently advance toward a representation of the owner, now missing, which may have been accompanied by that of his wife. He is again

shown with his wife at the right end (f, g), accompanied by two sons. These two groups are separated by a butchering scene (c, d). Although the figures are rather crude in style and workmanship, they are altogether in the tradition of the Old Kingdom. As in many Sixth Dynasty reliefs from Saqqara and Upper Egypt, the owner wears a shoulder-length wig, consisting of horizontal tiers of locks, while his wife's wig is short, following the contour of her head.⁴ The titles are well known from monuments of the late Old Kingdom,⁵ and the orthography generally conforms to what one would expect of that period, as exemplified by the writing of *imywt* with

4. Other examples: Firth and Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries*, pl. 77; G. Jéquier, *Tombeaux de particuliers contemporains de Pepi II* (Cairo, 1929), fig. 129, p. 114; A. M. Blackman, *Rock Tombs of Meir IV* (London, 1924) pls. 4, 5, 9; W. M. F. Petrie, *Denderah* (London, 1900) pls. 11, 11A ("Beba"); Fischer, *Coptite Nome*, pls. 5, 7, 8, 9, 11, 12; CG 1586 (from Akhmin: Fischer *Dendera*, pl. 30[a]); Cairo J 49803 (from Abydos: Frankfort, *JEA* 14 [1928] pl. 20[3]). More rarely women retain the older fashion of the long tripartite wig, and this again becomes more common on later monuments.

5. *Hkꜣ-hwt* and *imy-r gꜣ-pr* are particularly frequent on monu-

ments of this period at Saqqara: see Jéquier, *Tombeaux de particuliers*, fig. 68, p. 60; figs. 80–83, pp. 71–74; *Monument funéraire de Pepi II III* (Cairo, 1940) figs. 73, 78, pp. 74–75; Lauer, *ASAE* 53 (1955) p. 155 and pl. 3. In such cases *hkꜣ-hwt* precedes the honorific *šdꜣwty-btꜣy*, and Klaus Baer similarly lists *hkꜣ-hwt* before *šdꜣwty btꜣy* in his latest series (VIG: *Rank and Title in the Old Kingdom* [Chicago, 1960] p. 239, based on a single source—N. de G. Davies, *Rock Tombs of Deir el Gebrāwi I* [London, 1902], pls. 3–19, 23). The Dendera inscriptions provide several cases of the sequence *šdꜣwty-btꜣy, hkꜣ-hwt, smr wꜣty*: Petrie, *Denderah*, pls. 5, 5A ('Idw I), 6 ('Idw II), 11, 11A

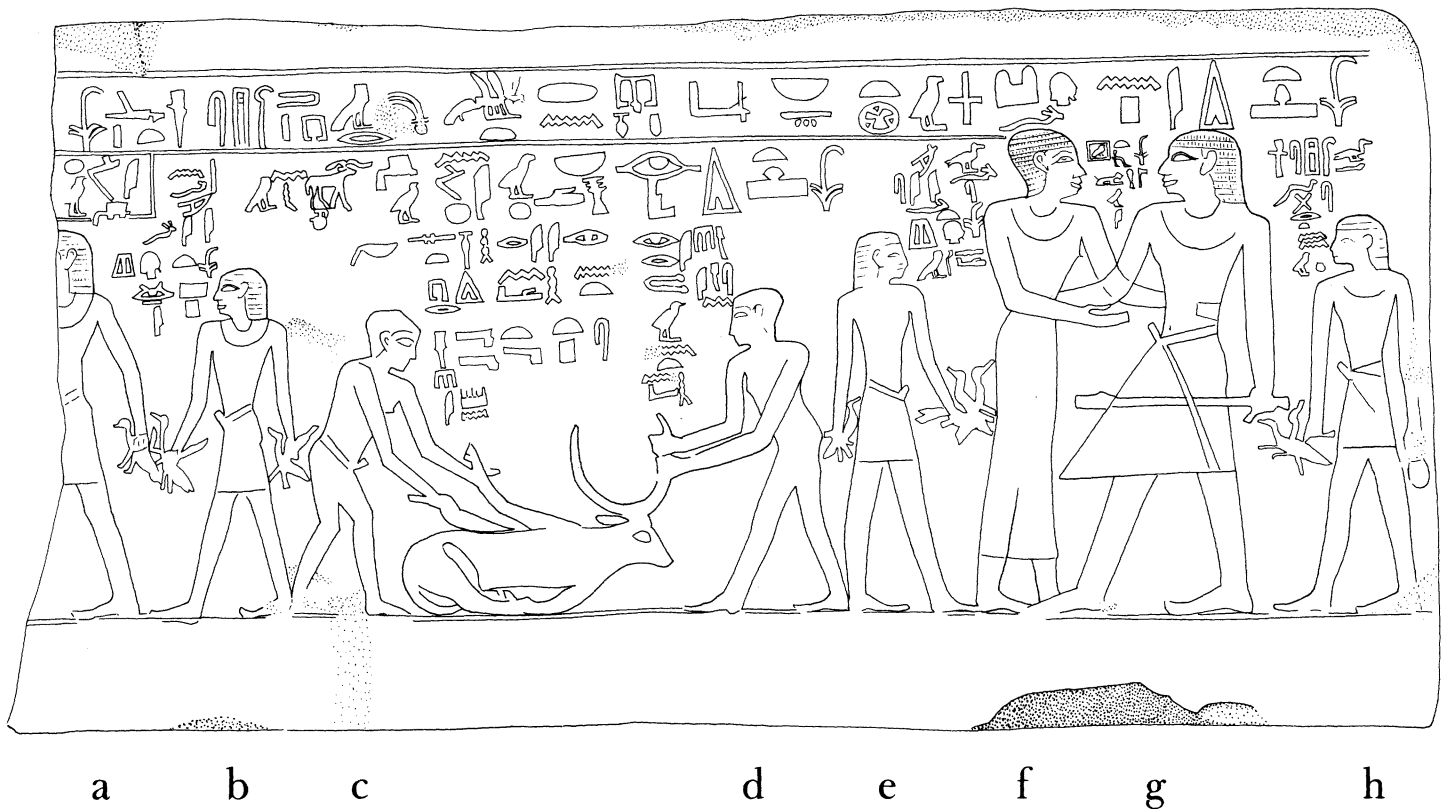




FIGURE 2 Old Kingdom architrave from Kom el Akhdar

the determinative , rather than the later ,⁶ and *imšhw* rather than Eleventh Dynasty *imšhy*.⁷ The phonetic writing of 'Inpw, however, suggests a relatively late date. This derives from the circumlocutions that were designed to eliminate the figures of men and animals in inscriptions adjacent to the burial.⁸ It is found in coffins and burial chambers of the Sixth Dynasty, but probably did not begin to appear in the offering cham-

ber or in other parts of the superstructure of the tomb, before the very end of the Old Kingdom, in Dynasty VIII.⁹ If, in the present case, the phonetic writing had been intended to eliminate the figure of a jackal from an inscription near the body, it seems unlikely that a multitude of human figures would have been admitted in the same context.¹⁰ It also seems unlikely that the slab lined one of the lateral walls of a burial chamber,






(*Bbt*), the last dating to the very end of Dyn. VI; similarly pls. 1–3 (*Mnt*) and 7 (*Ṭrwt*), both of which are later than the Old Kingdom. Similarly Naga ed-Deir tomb N48 (*Hgt*, Dyn. VIII) shows the same sequence, as seen from field records in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (for this nomarch see also *JAOS* 74 [1954] p. 33, and Caroline Peck, *Some Decorated Tombs at Naga ed-Dêr* [Ann Arbor, 1958] p. 127). So too the limestone sarcophagus of *Tt-tt.f* from Mendes (Chabân, *ASAE* 10 (1910) p. 28).

6. See note 78.

7. See p. 20, Comment h.

8. Firth and Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries*, pp. 172–174.

9. The same purely phonetic writing, omitting *w*, occurs on two stelae of *Snni*: Petrie, *Denderah*, pls. 7, 7A; for the date, see Fischer, *Dendera*, pp. 113–115. The phonetic writing also occurs on the fragmentary false-door niche of *St-nt-Pty* at Mendes: Christine Soghor, *JARCE* 6 (1967) fig. 9 following p. 28. See too Caroline

Peck, *Some Decorated Tombs at Naga ed-Dêr*, pls. 11, 14, 15 (the last two cases written  , all N3737, probably as late as Dyn. IX (Peck, p. 127); but   occurs after *tmšh hr* in N41, which is presumably earlier (Sayce, *Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes* 13 [1890] p. 64). The writing  also appears on two false doors at Giza that may or may not antedate the end of the Sixth Dynasty: Junker, *Giza* VII, fig. 104, p. 247; XI, fig. 40, p. 71.

10. See Junker, *Giza* IV, p. 45, who points out that at Giza, unlike Saqqara and elsewhere, decorated burial chambers show figures and do not avoid human or animal hieroglyphs in the inscriptions. Even at Giza, however, hieroglyphs of this kind are avoided on Sixth Dynasty coffins: Junker, *Giza* VII, p. 224; VIII, pp. 99–103.

although it may originally have been long enough to serve that purpose; an example at nearby Mendes indicates that the burial chambers in this area of the Delta resemble those of Saqqara, with the representations confined to offerings.¹¹ Almost certainly, then, it is an architrave from a tomb chapel, and the phonetic writing of Anubis is to be regarded as a late feature. The same conclusion is suggested by the degenerate form of 1 (with three crossroads)¹² and 2 (with three horizontal elements at the top,¹³ the peculiar form of 3 (the upper part formed separately)¹⁴ and 4 (with backward-slanting “horns”).¹⁵ Moreover, the hieroglyphs all face rightward, in accordance with the dominant orientation of texts, even where the figures to which they belong are turned toward the left. This too might be considered a late and degenerate feature, although it occurs on a provincial monument of the Sixth Dynasty that is as early as the reign of Merenre—namely the offering niche of *K3r* from Edfu.¹⁶

None of the iconographic elements is new, but the face-to-face embrace is known from only a few Old Kingdom monuments,¹⁷ and here it is rendered rather less satisfactorily; the woman leans forward and it is not entirely clear which of the crisscrossed arms passes in front of the other.

11. The aforementioned tomb of *St-nt-Ppy*: Donald Hansen, *JARCE* 4 (1965) p. 36 and pl. 20; Christine Soghor, *JARCE* 6 (1967) p. 26 and pl. 17 (30). Two limestone burial chambers at Barnugi, near Damanhur, do show painted scenes including offering bearers and butchering, as well as representations of the owner, but these are evidently Twelfth Dynasty (C. C. Edgar in G. Maspero, *Le Musée égyptien* II [Cairo, 1907] pp. 112–113).

12. Occasionally exemplified by some very late Old Kingdom stelae from Abydos: Cairo CG 1615 (*JARCE* 1 [1962] fig. 3 on p. 21 and pl. 2); BM 128 (T. G. H. James, *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae*, etc. I, 2nd ed. [London, 1961] pl. 34 [2]); Cairo CG 1592 (Brovarski, *JNES* 32 [1973] fig. 4, p. 460); CG 1645. Also Junker, *Giza* VII, fig. 47, p. 127 and pl. 27(a).

13. A decidedly late feature at Dendera; Fischer, *Dendera*, p. 120. An example is possibly to be found in Hassan, *Giza* VI, pt. 3, fig. 207, p. 209.

14. Not attested elsewhere, to my knowledge; some examples in Figure 9 may seem to show a slight resemblance, but this is illusory.

15. Otherwise most clearly exemplified by the Eighth Dynasty inscriptions of *Šnti*: Petrie, *Denderah*, pls. 7, 7A; compare L. Keimer, *Études d'Égyptologie*, fasc. VII (Cairo, 1945), p. 5 and note 2.

16. Cairo J 43370 (Daressy, *ASAE* 17 [1917] pp. 130–140); this is only true of the false door proper, and not the architrave above it. Somewhat later examples of the same kind are to be found on stelae from Abydos: Cairo CG 1615, see note 12; Louvre C 198; Berlin 7512 (the latter two illustrated by Brovarski, *JNES* 32 [1973] figs. 5–6, pp. 462–463).

Assuming that the monument is an architrave of rather unusual composition, I am inclined to date it no earlier than the very end of the Sixth Dynasty, admitting the possibility that it is as late as Dynasty VIII.

The inscriptions may be translated as follows:

Two horizontal lines at top: (1) An offering that the king gives and Anubis, Who Is Upon His Mountain, Who Is in the Place of Embalming, Lord of the Sacred Land, that invocation offerings go forth to the Chancellor of the King of Lower Egypt, the Overseer of the Work Center, the Estate Chief, Sole Companion and [Liegeman (?)] of the King [. . . ?] the Revered [*Hnmw-ndm(w)*]¹⁸ (2) An offering that the king gives, and Osiris, Lord of Busiris, to the Revered [*Hnmw-ndm(w)*].¹⁹

Figures at left: (a) [lost] (b) His brother, his beloved, the Liegeman *Špi*.²⁰

Butchering scene: (d) The Director of the Dining Tent *Šibni*:²¹ “Exert thyself, my companion!” (c) “I do as thou praisest, my companion; I cause the choice cuts to come forth”—the Director of the Dining Tent *Mni*.²²

Group at right: (g, the owner, requires no caption) (f, his wife)²³ The Noblewoman of the King, Priestess of Hathor *Rwi*.²⁴ (e) His/her son, his/her beloved,²⁵ the Liegeman of the King *rm*.²⁶ (h) His son, the Estate Chief and Companion *Šd-rtnnw* (?).²⁷

17. Fischer, *JNES* 18 (1959) p. 243, and *Egyptian Studies* I: *Varia* (New York, 1976) pp. 5, 9.

18. This is below the first line, but the frame indicates that it is a continuation.

19. Not listed in *PN*. Note that this theophoric name refers to the Upper Egyptian Khnum rather than to the ram of nearby Mendes, for the ram is clearly accompanied by *ꜥ* rather than 13.

20. Compare *PN* I, p. 325 (15).

21. Compare *PN* I, p. 299 (12).







22. Compare *PN* I, p. 151 (2).

23. As shown by the caption of the son behind her; see note 25.







24. Compare *PN* I, p. 220 (15).






25. This more explicit substitution for the third person plural suffix does not seem to be attested elsewhere.



26. Compare *PN* I, p. 59 (2), otherwise first attested in the Middle Kingdom, although a feminine example (*rm*) is known from the Thinite Nome on a stela that is evidently earlier than the Eleventh Dynasty—D. Dunham, *Naga-ed-Dér Stelae* (Oxford, 1937) no. 87; this belongs to the group discussed by Vandier, *Revue d'Égyptologie* 2 (1936) pp. 49–51 (Schenkel's “Gruppe B”: *Studien* §38b), which may be of Dyn. VIII or only slightly later. It is difficult to say whether the Busirite example indicates Asiatic blood or whether it simply reflects some aspect of the son's appearance. In the latter case, the peculiarly explicit reference to his parentage (“his/her son”) may be designed to eliminate any misapprehension about his antecedents which the name would otherwise suggest. At all events

The limestone false door (Figures 3, 4) is one of three very similar monuments. This one measures 112 cm. in height, 62 cm. in width, and 47 cm. in thickness. The others measure 64 × 38 × 10 cm.²⁸ and 85 × 47 × 15 cm.²⁹ All three display a pair of *wḏst*-eyes on the inner jambs, flanking the central niche, and the spaces on either side of the offering scene have been reduced to very small proportions.³⁰ The epithet “revered” is written  and  ,³¹ the epithets *tkr* and *mꜥr hrw*³² follow the owner’s name, and the initial words of “the Great God Lord of Abydos” are consistently written  .³³ The abstract sign retains the old form . The location of the *wḏst*-eyes is not otherwise known to occur before the reunification of Egypt,³⁴ but the spelling of “revered” suggests that the present example cannot be much earlier, and so too does the use of the epithet *mꜥr hrw*. An even later date is indicated by the group


this name is probably related to the fact that Asiatics had established themselves in the adjacent eastern half of the Delta, as subsequently described in the Instructions of King Merykare. Compare the comments on the name of the second son, discussed in the following note.

27. Nothing analogous is known from *PN*, but one might perhaps compare *Hw-nhsy* (*PN* I, p. 234 [21] and Cairo CG 1695), which Junker, *Giza* I, p. 254, translates “Vernichter der Nubier.” If *šd* “break” is used in the same sense as *hw*, then   may be an ethnicon; this is reminiscent of the later  , but it hardly seems possible that the group  is to be read , as far as I can see from comparing the two photographs on which I have had to rely.



28. Belonging to a man named   ; compare *PN* I, p. 259 (5) and note the replacement of  by . He has the epithets *tkr* and *mꜥr hrw*, as well as some titles or epithets that are difficult to read and interpret.

29. Belonging to a priestess of Hathor ( ) whose name is lost. For the title *hmt* compare Berlin 7716 (*Aegyptische Inschriften aus den Königlichen Museen zu Berlin* I [Leipzig, 1913] p. 47) and J. J. Clère in *Miscellanea Gregoriana* (Rome, 1941) pp. 456, 464. Schenkel considers the ideographic writing of Hathor to be characteristic of the end of Dyn. XI (*Studien*, §12). The goddess is mistress of a cult the name of which is illegible: 14 .

30. Compare Figure 9 and the examples cited in note 47. I know of no other cases where the spaces are shortened to this degree; the closest comparison is the Eighth Dynasty false door of the Princess *Nbt*, in which they are reduced to slightly less than half the height of the offering scene (Fischer, *Coptite Nome*, p. 38).

31. See again Comment h on p. 20. In addition to the later *y*-endings, this shows the omission of the initial , which did not become at all usual until the end of the Heracleopolitan Period; see Fischer, *Dendera*, p. 131, and *Egyptian Studies* I: *Varia*, part 6.






32. For *tkr*, see Fischer, *Dendera*, p. 131, note 576, and for *mꜥr hrw*, see Schenkel, *Studien*, §28a, to which should be added some

 and this conclusion is reinforced by the use of ideographic  as a writing of “Hathor” on one of the other false doors.²⁹ Since late criteria must always, in such cases, outweigh the earlier ones, it seems likely that these false doors are not earlier than the last years of the Eleventh Dynasty, and that the *wḏst*-eyes retained their older location longer at Busiris than they did elsewhere. The phrase “every good feast of the spirit” is peculiar to this particular monument.

The translations proceed from upper to lower elements and from left to right:

Outer frame: (1) An offering that the king gives, and Osiris, Lord of Busiris, Khentimentiu the Great God, Lord of Abydos in all his places (2) that invocation offerings go forth to the Scribe of the God’s Treasure in the House of Osiris,³⁵ the Overseer of the Army in (the Nome of) *ꜥndty*³⁶ (more specifically) Busiris,³⁷ the Re-

stelae from Gebelein: Turin 13114 (*Kush* 9 [1961] p. 45 [5]) and Turin Suppl. 1270 (*Kush* 9, pl. 13 [a]).

33. Schenkel, *Studien*, §4. This criterion is evidently valid, although the group  is not uncommon in the late Old Kingdom (Junker, *Giza* VIII, fig. 34, p. 79; XI, fig. 40, p. 71; fig. 83, p. 215, etc.) and a late Sixth Dynasty stela shows   15  (Fischer, *Coptite Nome*, no. 4). The one Eleventh Dynasty example of  cited by Schenkel (the coffin of *Mrw*, LD II, pl. 148d) may be even later than the forty-sixth year of *Nb-hpt-Rr* Mentuhotep, since the stela that provides this date evidently does not belong to the tomb (*Bibliotheca Orientalis* 23 [1966] p. 30).

34. See Fischer, *Coptite Nome*, p. 40; Fischer, *Dendera*, p. 226; one of the latest examples known to me—perhaps not much earlier than the Reunification—is to be found on a small representation of a false door at the bottom of Louvre stela C 15 (A. Gayet, *Musée du Louvre: Stèles de la XII^e Dynastie* [Paris, 1886] pl. 54).

35. Compare *Šš šdwt-ntr m hwt Pth* “scribe of the god’s treasure in the mansion of Ptah,” discussed in *JARCE* 3 (1964) p. 26.

36. The name is usually written emblematically in the Old Kingdom and later; the phonetic writing presumably derives from the circumlocutions of Saqqara funerary texts such as Pyr. 182, 220. This writing also indicates that the name of the nome is not *ꜥndt*, as has generally been assumed (*Wb.* I, p. 207 [10]; Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica* II, p. 179*), but is *ꜥndty*, the god shown in the nome emblem, “he of the *ꜥndt*-waterway,” as maintained by P. Montet (*Géographie de l’Égypte Ancienne* I: *Basse Égypte* [Paris, 1957] p. 97) and W. Helck (*Die altägyptischen Gaue* [Wiesbaden, 1974] p. 174).

37. The preposition *m* evidently introduces the nome and not the city, and such cases therefore probably do not show graphic transposition (a possibility considered in *JARCE* 10 [1973] pp. 6–7). It is instructive to compare the following late Old Kingdom epithets on the south pillar of an unpublished rock-cut tomb at Saqqara, located between the Djoser enclosure and the Unis Causeway

FIGURE 3
Eleventh Dynasty
false door from
Kom el Akhdar.
(photo: courtesy
Labib Habachi)



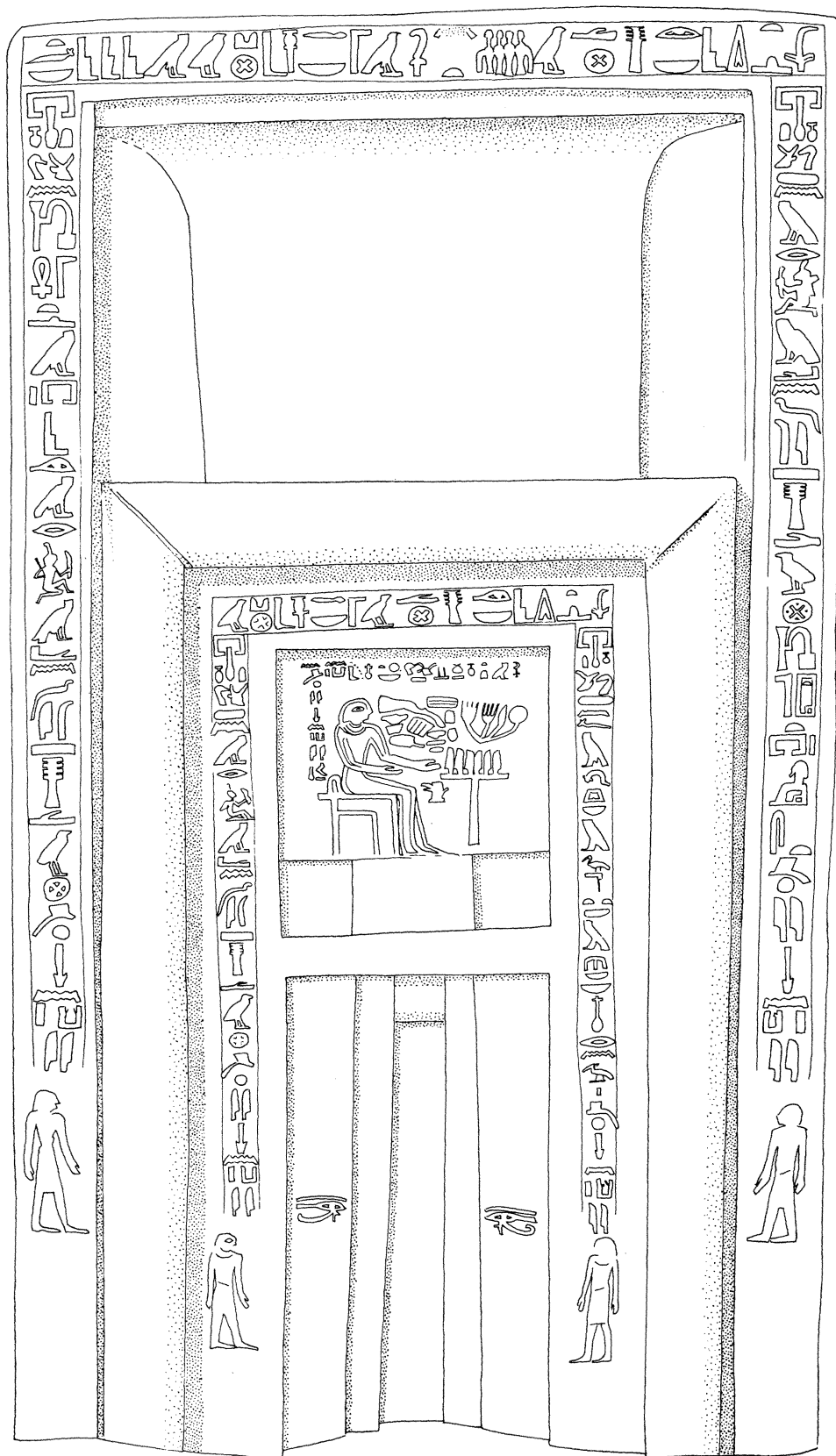
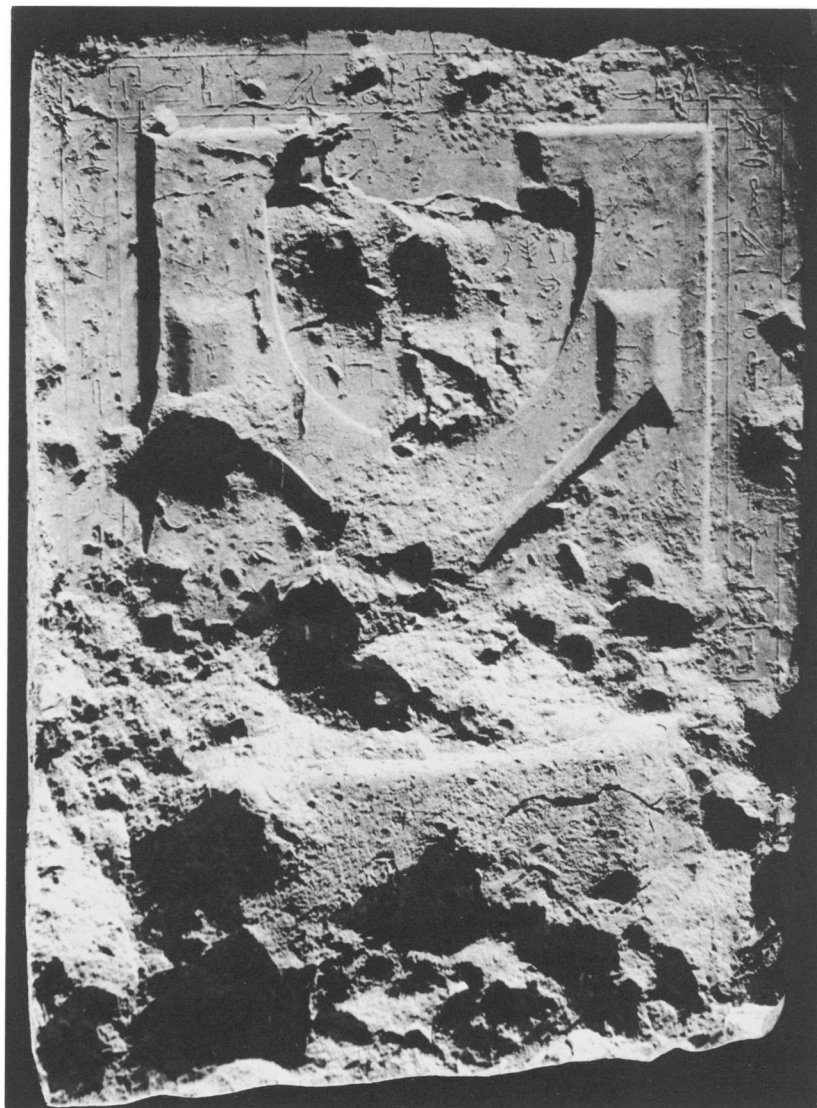




FIGURE 4
Eleventh Dynasty
false door from
Kom el Akhdar

FIGURE 5
Eleventh Dynasty offering slab from Kom el
Akhdar. (photo: courtesy Labib Habachi)


FIGURE 6
Eleventh Dynasty offering slab from Kom el
Akhdar








and belonging to a certain   :

         16

         17  









“revered with Osiris Lord of Busiris in (the Nome)) *ṛndty*”; “revered with Osiris in (the Nome) *ṛndty* (more specifically) Busiris.” The same construction occurs repeatedly in the Old Kingdom; see Edel, *Altäg. Gramm.*, §314, where  should be prefixed to his examples from *Urk.* I, pp. 118 (14), 101 (13), and 280 (17). Although I do not know of examples in Old Kingdom titles, some Middle Kingdom titles may be compared:

(1)     18  (Cairo CG 20105)

(2)     19   (Cairo CG 20514)

(1) “overseer of regulations in the Panopolite Nome—*Hnmt-Mnw*” (see Fischer, *Coptite Nome*, p. 110); (2) “great *wrb*-priest in the Thin-

vered *Śn-ky*.³⁸ (3) that invocation offerings go forth to the Overseer of the Army in (the Nome of) *ṛndty* (more specifically) Busiris, the Scribe of the Noble Mansion of the God, the Revered *Śn-ky*.

ite Nome—Abydos.” Note, however, that the preposition *m* may precede either a nome emblem or the name of a town if these occur alone in a title, without further specification: thus   20 (Cairo CG 20091) “steward in the Cynopolite Nome”;   (Petrie et al., *Lahun* [London, 1923] pl. 64 [224]) “greatest of seers in Heliopolis.” Similarly in offering formulae Osiris is  21  (Cairo CG 20729) but also   (CG 20421).

38. Not listed in *PN*.

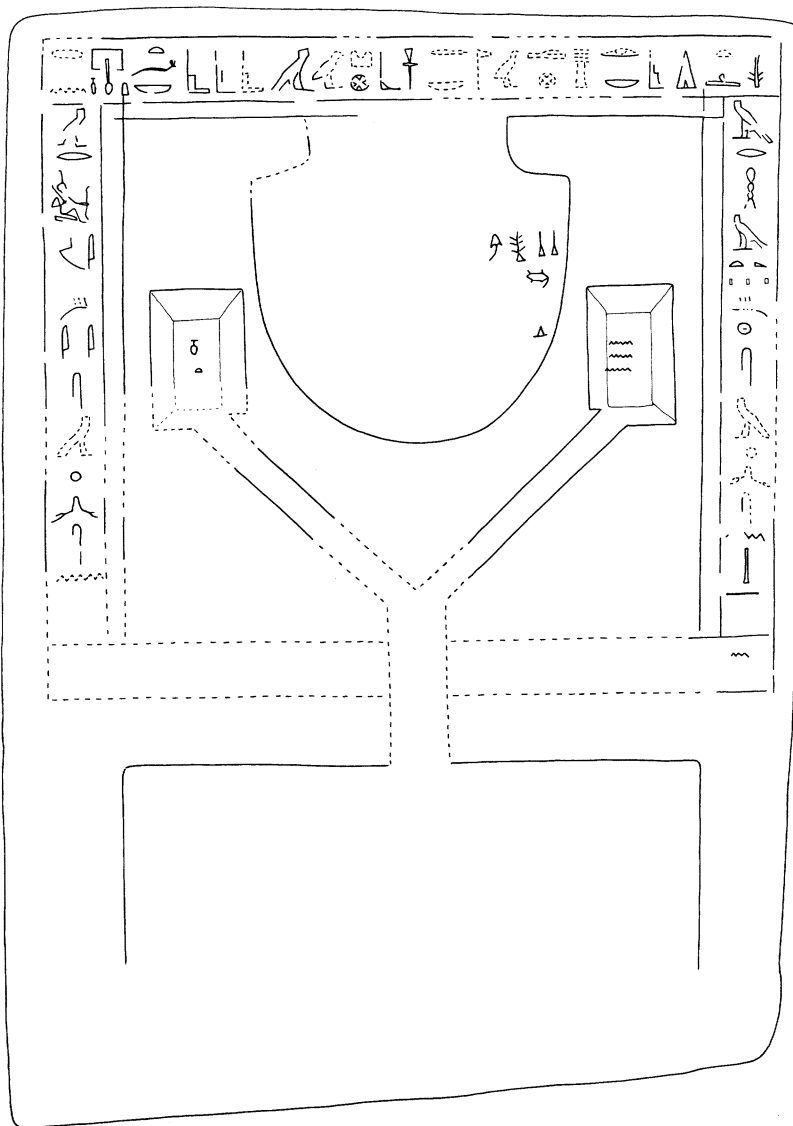
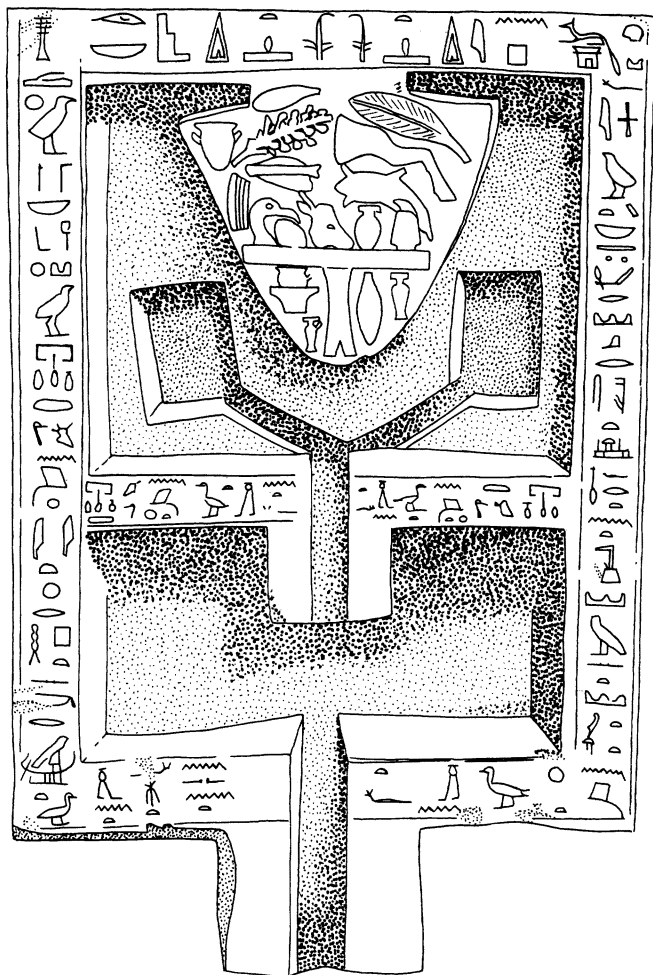


FIGURE 7
Eleventh Dynasty offering slab in Karlsruhe.
From a photograph



Inner frame: (1) An offering that the king gives, and Osiris, Lord of Busiris, the Great God, Lord of Abydos (2) that invocation offerings go forth to the Overseer of the Army in (the Nome of) *ꜥndty* (more specifically) Busiris, the Revered *Šn-kꜣy*. (3) that invocation offerings go forth to him on the *Wꜣg*-feast, on the feast of Thoth and on every good feast of a spirit,³⁹ the Revered *Šn-kꜣy*.

Offering scene: A thousand of bread and beer, alabas-

ter (vessels) and clothing, oxen and fowl and everything goodly and pure to the *kꜣ*⁴⁰ of the Revered *Šn-kꜣy*, justified.

The fragmentary limestone offering slab (Figure 5) measures 50 × 67 × 35 cm. As may be seen in the schematic drawing (Figure 6), it has a pair of small basins that are linked to a larger one by narrow channels. This feature appears in some offering slabs from Saqqara

39. This phrase is to be added to those discussed by W. Barta, *Aufbau und Bedeutung der altägyptischen Opferformel* (*Ägyptologische Forschungen* 24 [Glückstadt, 1968]) p. 51 (and pp. 68, 79, 104, etc.).

40. Not significant for the date; see my comments in R. Caminos and H. Fischer, *Ancient Egyptian Epigraphy and Palaeography* (New York, 1976) p. 39 and note 41.

that may be as early as Dynasty X,⁴¹ and the most comparable example, of unknown provenance, is probably not much later than this (Figure 7).⁴² The present example more clearly belongs to the Middle Kingdom—the end of Dynasty XI or the early Twelfth Dynasty—as indicated by its more finished workmanship and the style of the inscription.⁴³ The presence of inscriptions at the bottom of the small basins is an unusual feature; the one on the right contains the word “water” and the one on the left is evidently to be read *hnkt* “beer.”⁴⁴

The slab is inscribed for a certain *Šmḥ.šn* who is an “Overseer of the Army,” like the *Šn-kꜣy* whose false door has just been described, and is also “Overseer of Fields.”

THE FITZWILLIAM MUSEUM FALSE DOOR

In its present state the false door in Cambridge (Figures 8, 9) has a maximum height of 82.5 cm. and maximum width of 63.5 cm.; the stone is somewhat more than 8 cm. thick. If two horizontal lines of inscription and a modest cavetto cornice are restored at the top, as shown in Figure 10, the original height is seen to be at least 131 cm. Some traces of red are visible, suggesting

that the stone was painted to imitate wood or granite, as was often done at the Memphite cemeteries.⁴⁵

As in many of the false doors of this period, the offering scene is in raised relief while the inscriptions and other representations are incised,⁴⁶ and the recesses flanking the offering scene do not extend to the top, although they are less reduced than in the case of the Eleventh Dynasty false doors described earlier.⁴⁷ The iconography and style are evidently a rather provincial version of Old Kingdom Memphite tradition, somewhat more crudely executed than the Busirite architrave of *Hnmw-nḏm(w)* or the false door of *Nni* at Mendes,⁴⁸ which is the only other Delta site that has yielded comparable material. The false door from Mendes may be slightly earlier in date, and so too, perhaps, a fragmentary false door of rather different style which was excavated at the same place.⁴⁹

The representations at the top of the false door show the owner, a woman named *Hmi-Rr* or *Hmi*, wearing a long dress with shoulder straps, a broad collar, and a short wig bound with a fillet.⁵⁰ The representations at the bottom are much more unusual. They seem to show the owner as a girl and as an old woman, in much the same way that older and younger representations of men are contrasted on the jambs of contemporary false doors.⁵¹ On the inner jambs she wears no discernible

41. J. E. Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara 1905–6* (Cairo, 1907), pl. 18 (1, 2).

42. Karlsruhe Museum H416: Wiedemann, *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* 8 (1886) pp. 98–99 and 33 (1911), pl. 39 (15). The dimensions are 27 × 40 cm.

43. Compare two early Twelfth Dynasty examples: Alexandria Museum 460, inscribed for Amenemhet I (von Beckerath, *ÄZ* 92 [1965] p. 4 and pl. 3); MMA 22.1.21, the offering slab of *Nfrt*, presumed to be his mother (Mace, *BMMA* 17 [Dec. 1922, pt. 2] p. 12, fig. 11). Other more or less comparable examples: Cairo CG 23029 (A. B. Kamal, *Tables d'offrandes [Catalogue général . . . Musée du Caire, Cairo, 1909]* pl. 13); J. Gautier and G. Jéquier, *Fouilles de Licht (MIFAO* 6 [Cairo, 1902] fig. 63, p. 59; MMA 32.1.213 (W. C. Hayes, *Scepter of Egypt* I [New York, 1953] fig. 69 and p. 117, where the Old Kingdom date should be corrected).

44. Compare the labels beside the two basins of the Old Kingdom offering table shown in Hassan, *Giza* V, fig. 33, p. 185.

45. It is not possible to say whether the hieroglyphs were yellow on a red ground, imitating wood (exemplified by Junker, *Giza* VII, pp. 241–242; XI p. 54), or green on red, imitating granite (exemplified by M. A. Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas* I [London, 1905] p. 26; Davies, *Deir el Gebrāwi* II, pl. 11).

46. This feature is discussed by Pierre Lacau in *Revue d'Égyptologie* 19 (1967) pp. 39–50.

47. As exemplified by BM 212 (James, *Hieroglyphic Texts* I², pl. 38), 1663 (same, pl. 42); Hassan, *Giza* I, fig. 125, p. 69; V, p. 160 and fig. 22, p. 159; VI, pt. 3, figs. 219–220, pp. 222–223; Junker, *Giza* VII, fig. 8, p. 25; figs. 104–107, pp. 247–252; XI, fig. 40, p. 70; Firth and Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries*, pls. 71 (1), 73 (2); G. Jéquier, *Mastabat Faraoun* (Cairo, 1928) figs. 24–25, p. 29; Jéquier, *Monument funéraire de Pepi II III*, figs. 21–23, p. 37; fig. 60, p. 59; figs. 62–64, p. 61; fig. 70, p. 69; Jéquier, *Tombeaux de particuliers*, fig. 36, p. 34; fig. 98, p. 87; fig. 104, p. 91; fig. 138, p. 121; Cairo J. 59158 (*ÄZ* 90 [1963] pl. 6). Compare Vandier, *Manuel d'archéologie* II, pt. 1 (Paris, 1954) p. 428.

48. D. Hansen, *JARCE* 4 (1965) pl. 19 (7).

49. D. Hansen and Christine Soghor, *JARCE* 6 (1967) fig. 9 facing p. 28, and pls. 17 (32) and 18 (33).

50. There is no evidence of streamers behind the fillet. Ultra-violet examination revealed no trace of plaster in this area, but it is possible that the surface has been scraped, removing this detail.

51. In Firth and Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries*, pl. 71 (1–2), a man is similarly shown as a naked youth on one of the inner jambs of each of his two false doors. The false doors of men contrast the normal type of representation with a more portly figure wearing a long kilt: Cairo CG 1397, 1455, 1565, 57122; BM 1191 (James, *Hieroglyphic Texts* I², pl. 35); Junker, *Giza* VIII, fig. 88, p. 169; Jéquier, *Tombeaux de particuliers*, fig. 111, p. 97. As a rule the older rep-

garment, and a long pigtail projects from the back of her head, terminating in a disk.⁵² On the outer jambs she wears a simple long dress and long hair; the body seems thicker and the breasts are pendulous. The last feature is emphasized by showing both breasts frontally—a mode of representation that is exceedingly rare in Egyptian art and is confined to servants in the rare instances when it occurs elsewhere. The only Old Kingdom example that is at all comparable (Figure 11) shows a woman grinding grain.⁵³ Representations of elderly women are still rarer; the sole examples known to me from the Old Kingdom again show servants grinding.⁵⁴ All the figures, save the one in the offering scene, hold a lotus blossom in one hand, as is frequently seen on other monuments, but the figures on the jamb show the other hand fisted rather than the open hand that is more characteristic of women.⁵⁵ It is also remarkable that the older representations are standing while the younger are seated on chairs.⁵⁶

The Text


A (missing)

B (1) An offering that the king gives by^a Osiris, Lord of Busiris: bread, beer and everything pure that goes

representations occupy the inner jambs, but the opposite arrangement is found in CG 1565; in CG 1455 the figures alternate: old, young, old, young.

52. E. Staehelin discusses this detail (“der Kugelzopf”) in *Untersuchungen zur ägyptischen Tracht im Alten Reich* (MÄS 8 [1966]) p. 181. The most familiar example is the princess 'Idwt: R. Macramallah, *Mastaba d'Idout* (Cairo, 1935) passim.

53. From Cairo CG 1534; a line drawing is in M. Mogensen, *Le Mastaba Egyptien de la Glyptothèque Ny Carlsberg* (Copenhagen, 1921) fig. 29, p. 32, and H. Schäfer, *Von ägyptischer Kunst*, 4th ed. (Wiesbaden, 1963) fig. 207, p. 212. A similar view of a younger woman is in Wm. S. Smith, *Art and Architecture in Ancient Egypt* (Baltimore, 1958) pl. 51 (A). Both examples are from Saqqara.

54. Cairo J 56994; *Artibus Asiae* 22 (1959), fig. 10, following p. 240, and fig. 11, p. 251; also A. M. Bakir, *Slavery in Pharaonic Egypt* (ASAE Suppl. No. 18 [Cairo, 1952]) pl. 1. In addition there are, of course, feminine examples of , the hieroglyph representing old age, most clearly represented in D. Dunham and W. K. Simpson, *The Mastaba of Queen Mersyankh III* (Boston 1974) pl. 20 (b), and Cairo CG 1414.

55. Compare Firth and Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries*, pls. 68, 70.

56. Compare the seated figures on the inner jambs of two false doors of men, BM 212, BM 1663, both cited in note 47. Similarly Hassan, *Giza I*, fig. 125, p. 69.

forth upon the libation slab of Osiris^b in Busiris,^c for the Revered *Hmi-Rr* whose good name is^d the Acquaintance of the King, the Priestess of Hathor *Hmi*

(2) O ye who are living upon earth, who will pass by this way,^e who will say:^f “It is the pure bread of Osiris —(it) is for g the Revered^h *Hmi*!”

C (1) [An offering] that Anubis gives, Who Presides over the Divine Booth, Who is in the Place of Embalming, Lord of the Sacred Land; an invocation offering on the *Wig*-feast and on the feast of Thoth, to the Revered *Hmi-Rr* whose good name is *Hmi*,

(2) [One who makes] peace and attains a state of reverence;ⁱ praised of her father, beloved of her [mother], revered of Hathor, Mistress of Busiris;^j (*Hmi-Rr*, whose good name is *Hmi*).

D [A thousand of bread, a thousand of beer, etc . . .]^k to the Revered *Hmi*

E [1] Revered with Ptah-Sokar^l

(2) Revered with Osiris, Lord of Busiris

(3) Revered with Anubis, Lord of the Burial

(4) The Acquaintance of the King, Priestess of Hathor, *Hmi-Rr*, whose good name is *Hmi*.


F (1) May she proceed upon the good ways of the necropolis as one revered by the Great God, *Hmi-Rr*, whose good name is *Hmi*.

(2) As for every scribe who will pass by this tomb, who will say: “Bread and beer to the mistress of this tomb, the Revered (*Hmi-Rr*, whose good name is *Hmi*)!”

G (1) I am one who gives bread to him who is hungry and clothing to him who is naked, one praised of her husband, *Hmi-Rr*

(2) As for all pe[ople] who will say: “Bread to *Hmi* in this her tomb!” I am a potent spirit^m and will not allow it to go ill with them.ⁿ

Comments

a. This variation of the *hṭp-di-nswt* formula is unusual, but was employed a number of times toward the end of the Sixth Dynasty and later. Examples are cited by Barta, *Aufbau und Bedeutung der altägyptischen Opferformel*, pp. 24, 37, and more abundantly by Wilson, *JNES* 13 (1954), pp. 259–263. In view of the number of these examples, it seems doubtful that  can be viewed as a



FIGURES 8, 9

False door in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. (photo: courtesy of the Syndics of the Fitzwilliam Museum)

Hieroglyphic text in the top register of the right column, consisting of approximately 15 signs.



Two columns of hieroglyphic text in the middle register of the right column, separated by a vertical line.

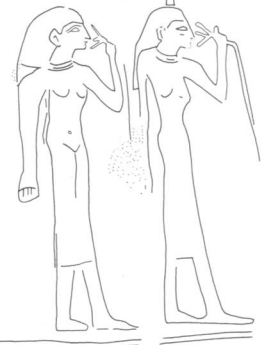


A horizontal register of hieroglyphic text located between the top and middle registers of the right column.

Two columns of hieroglyphic text in the bottom register of the right column, separated by a vertical line.



Two columns of hieroglyphic text in the top register of the left column, separated by a vertical line.



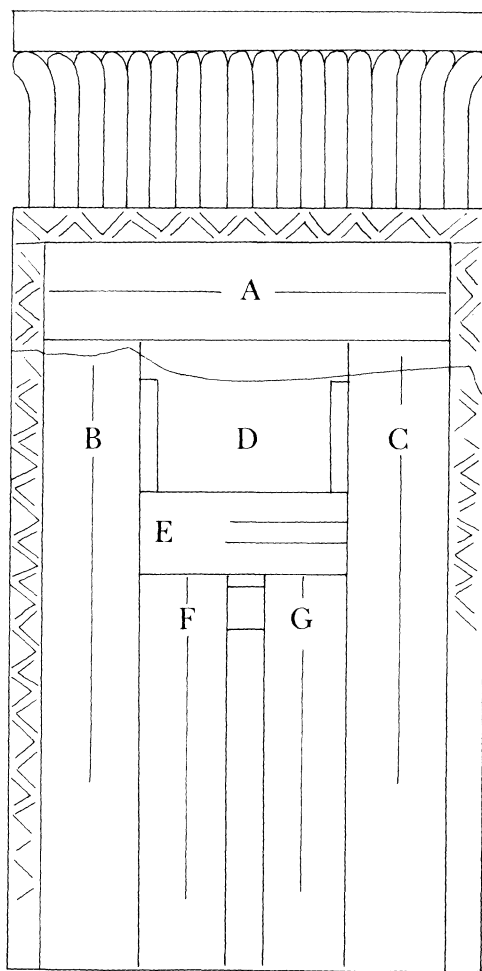


FIGURE 10

Diagram of the Fitzwilliam Museum false door

writing of dative *n*, as Barta concludes (p. 265), rather than agential *in*.⁵⁷

b. *Wb.* III, 423 (11) gives no other meaning than “Erd-boden” for *sꜣt* in this phrase, but an early Middle Kingdom stela invokes offerings (*htpt*) “which come forth upon the pure libation slab” (*W.* M. F. Petrie, *Tombs of the Courtiers and Oxyrhynchos* [London, 1925], pl. 24), and it seems certain, in the present case, that *sꜣt Wsir* is the “libation slab of Osiris.” This term for “libation slab” (*Wb.* III 423 [5–6]) is known from the Sixth Dynasty biography of *Wni*, where it is written and (*Urk.* I, 99 [17], 107 [2]); in both cases it is associated with the false door, and hence, would seem to refer to the slab that was customarily placed before the offering niche. The title

hry sꜣt “libationer” (lit. “he who is over the libation slab”) was occasionally given to Old Kingdom funerary attendants (Junker, *Giza* V, fig. 58, p. 187). In one of the Sixth Dynasty tombs at Aswan an offering bearer is identified as “his sealer, he who is over the libation slab of the tomb, *Kri*.”⁵⁸ Although arrangements for “reversion offerings” (*wꜣb rd*) from temples, in favor of private funerary cults, were made as early as the Fifth Dynasty,⁵⁹ the formula used here, with the verb *pri*, is evidently later. The earliest analogy known to me is and (“pure bread which comes forth from Dendera,” “[bread] from the temple”) on the false door of *Šn-ndšw* (Petrie, *Denderah*, pl. 9), which dates to the Heracleopolitan Period, but is evidently earlier than *Wšh-ꜣnh* ‘*Intf*’ of the Eleventh Dynasty.⁶⁰ In the course of the Eleventh Dynasty such phrases became increasingly frequent. The expression “pure bread” is well known from the Old Kingdom, however, (see Comment g below) and is probably to be regarded as a generic term, much as “bread” may mean “food” in English. Thus a listing of various offerings on the entrance architrave of ‘*Idw*’ (*BMFA* 23 [1925], 27) is followed by NN “namely pure bread of the Great God for NN”; compare von Bissing, *Gem-ni-kai* (Berlin, 1911) p. 22.

c. The unusual writing occurs in the Pyramid Texts (Pyr. 288b) where a similar writing is also used for *Ddw*, Mendes.

d. Note the superfluous *n*. *Hmi* is known as the hypocoristicon of at least two Sixth Dynasty women named

57. Note also that Edel’s sole example of as a writing of dative *n* (*Altäg. Gramm.*, §757, referring to Junker, *Giza* III, p. 156) is subject to a different interpretation; see Comment f. But a valid example is evidently to be found on an alabaster tablet for the seven oils, MMA 11.50.1A, where the offering formula concludes with “for the Acquaintance of the King *ꜣnh-wd.s*.”

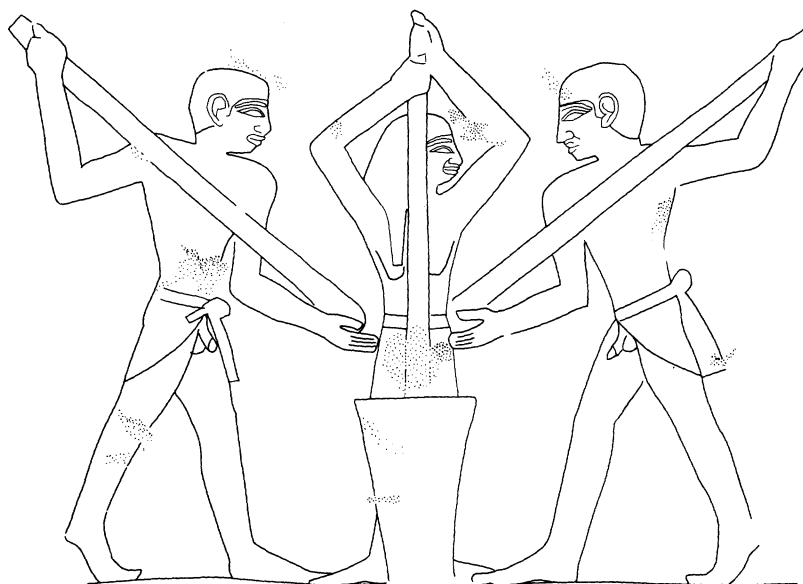
58. De Morgan et al., *Catalogue des monuments et inscriptions de l’Égypte antique* I (Vienna, 1894) p. 199 (top); the transcription given at the bottom of p. 198 places the signs in the wrong sequence.

59. Berlin 15004 (*Ägyptische Inschriften* I, p. 22; A. Mariette, *Mastabas de l’Ancien Empire* [Paris, 1889] p. 300; *Urk.* I, p. 37); for other examples of *wꜣb rd* see Grdseloff, *ASAE* 42 (1943) pp. 51–54. A particularly analogous Sixth Dynasty example is provided by the inscription of *Dꜣw* of Abydos (*Urk.* I, p. 119 [7–8]) where the priests of the local temple are enjoined to remove offerings for him “as a reversion offering of this temple.”

60. The date of his father *Mrr* is discussed in Fischer, *Dendera*, pp. 130–131; see the chronological summary on p. 187.

FIGURE 11

Detail of Old Kingdom relief in the Cairo Museum. From a photograph



Hmt-Rc (𓆎𓅓𓏏) Davies, *Deir el Gebrāwi*, I, pl. 12; 𓆎𓅓𓏏 Mariette, *Mastabas*, p. 360).⁶¹ The unusual writing of 𓆎𓅓𓏏, which appears consistently on the false door under consideration, may well provide an additional relatively early example of the loss of final *t* in feminine words and, if so, this example is particularly interesting because *t* is apparently replaced by *i*. Such a replacement is altogether to be expected, but it is not attested elsewhere.⁶² This interpretation of *Hmi-Rc* does not, however, offer a clue to the precise date of the false door since the loss of the final *t* in feminine names probably originated before the end of the Old Kingdom.⁶³ It is also possible that the longer name has been influenced by the shorter one, *Hmi*. But the second explanation does not preclude the first.

61. For *Hmt-Rc* see *PN* I, p. 240 (5) and for *Hmi* see *PN* I, p. 240 (1).

62. Schenkel, *Studien*, §22 f.

63. There is a wide diversity of opinion concerning the date of this development. Lacau (*Études d'égyptologie* I: *Phonétique* [Cairo, 1970]) thought that it happened far earlier than the Old Kingdom, while Edgerton denied its existence much before the Eighteenth Dynasty (*JNES* 6 [1947] p. 7). For Edel (*Altäg. Gramm.*, §113) the earliest probable date is Dyn. VI, and he believes it probably came about after the Old Kingdom. Schenkel puts it even later, not much before Dyn. XII (*Studien*, §22). I am inclined to believe that Clère is right in relating the loss of the final *t* to the adoption of a generic feminine for all place names (*Groupe linguistique d'études chamito-sémitiques* 3 [1939] p. 48), and in concluding that the phonetic basis for that reinterpretation was prepared in the late Old Kingdom.

e. The substitution of “way” for “tomb” is unusual; I know of no parallel.

f. The address to the living seems strangely incomplete; one misses the addition of *mrrw nswt* (*Urk.* I, 252) or the like: “they who will say . . . are beloved of the king.” See also *Urk.* I, 112, where those who invoke offerings are approved as *wnnty.sn (m) šms ntr* “who will be in the following of the great god”; this is, as Garnot says (*L'Appel aux vivants dans les textes funéraires égyptiens* [Cairo, 1938] p. 59), the only case where the logical subject and predicate are both *šdnty.fy* forms. In *Urk.* I, 122, *šdnty.sn* is followed by a promise of assistance, as in G (2). But the omission of a predicate occurs again in F(2). As these two passages stand, it would seem that *šdnty.sn* is felt to convey the sense of *šd.tn* “may ye say.”

g. Compare two Sixth Dynasty examples of the same phrase, both from Saqqara:



“it is the pure bread of Osiris, it is for NN.” (*Ḥḥi*: T. G. H. James and M. R. Apted, *Mastaba of Khentika* [London, 1953] pl. 31 [185] and compare pl. 32 [193]; *Ssi*: J. Capart, *Rue de tombeaux à Saqqarah* [Brussels, 1947] pl. 48). The second is quoted by A. Erman, *Reden, Rufe und Lieder auf Gräberbildern des Alten Reiches* (Berlin, 1919) p. 33, as well as a similar example of *iw (nn) n* with ellipsis of the subject: 𓆎𓅓𓏏 (LD II, 90 = Junker, *Gtza* XI, fig. 105, p. 260). A third example may be found in

the tomb of *Kḥr* (*BMFA* 23 [1925], p. 26): “it is for him, my father.” Possibly this same interpretation is to be applied to a phrase which occurs in three tombs at Giza:

{ (Hassan, *Giza* VI, pt. 3, fig. 82, p. 103, and pl. 46)
 (Junker, *Giza* III, fig. 21, p. 153)
 (Ibid., fig. 48, p. 233)

Edel (*Altäg. Gramm.*, § 757) regards the second example of as a writing of dative *n*, as does Junker (*Giza* III, p. 156). But in dealing with the third example (p. 235), Junker is inclined to regard both his examples of *in* as a peculiar use of the introductory particle that occurs in the construction *in* + noun + participle: “it is (this) which is for the *kḥ*.” A simpler and more plausible solution is to regard the initial *i* as *i(w)* and to explain the last example as an elliptical writing of *i(w) n(n) n kḥ (n) mry(i)* “this is for the *kḥ* of the beloved.” Compare, for example, the fuller writing of “this is for the *kḥ* of my father” (*LD Ergänzungsband*, pl. 16).
 h. Elsewhere on the false door this epithet is consistently written *imshwt*, which is the usual Old Kingdom form. The curious variant with the ending is evidently to be interpreted as *-wt > -yt*, and possibly shows the influence of the writing *imshy*, the first dated occurrence of which belongs to the Heracleopolitan Period in the reign of Merykare (Siut tomb IV: Schenkel, *Studien*, §16b). But the replacement of final *w* by *y* is well attested in the Old Kingdom,⁶⁴ and two unpublished texts, from Giza and Saqqara respectively, show writings like the one that is under consideration. The first, from Reisner’s G 7753a, has “I am one who is revered.”⁶⁵ The second occurs on the wooden sarcophagus of the Hereditary Prince, Count, etc. *Nb(.i)-ib(.i)* (), who has the epithet .

64. Edel, *Altäg. Gramm.*, §146; his examples involve the complete substitution of *y* in place of *w*, rather than composite writings.



65. From his field records at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. This inscription seems to show a decided predilection for the ending *-w > -y* or *-wy*, for one of the following columns has “[as for any man who will do anything evil] to this.” If *nwy* is not particularly uncommon as a variant of *nw* (Edel, *MDIK* 13 [1944] p. 50; *Altäg. Gramm.*, § 200), it is difficult to find any parallel for the writing of *ht dwi(t)*, which is generally written . The writing is also attested for the plural (James, *Hieroglyphic Texts* I², pl. 29 [top]; compare Edel, *Altäg. Gramm.* II, p. LIX [§146]).




FIGURE 12
 Old Kingdom false door from Saqqara. (photo: courtesy Egyptian Department of Antiquities)

“praised of his father.”⁶⁶ Neither of these examples of the ending *-wy* can be dated with any accuracy, but there is no reason to think that they are later than the Sixth Dynasty.

66. Seen in 1956 among photographs stored at the Department of Antiquities office (Firth’s house).

- i. For the phrase *iri ḥtpt, sbi imšh* see Junker, *Giza* VII, pp. 208–210, and Wilson, *JNES* 13 (1954), pp. 250–251. There does not seem to be space for  at the beginning of the line (for which see Hassan, *Giza* V, fig. 101 (a–b), p. 241 [Dyn. V]; Cairo CG 20005 [Dyn. XI]).
- j. Nothing of this local cult is recorded by Schafik Allam, *Beiträge zum Hathorkult (bis zum Ende des Mittleren Reiches)* (*MÄS* 4 [Berlin, 1963]), or by Montet, *Géographie de l'Égypte Ancienne I: Basse Égypte*, pp. 97–102. One of the later false doors replaces *Ddw* by the name of some other cult-center; see note 29 above.
- k. This style of offering list characteristically appears at the top of offering scenes on false doors dating to the end of the Old Kingdom and after, as in the case of most of the false doors cited in note 47; compare Junker, *Giza* VII, p. 248.
- l. The determinative of Sokar is unusual; the expected form shows the falcon on the *hnw*-bark ().
- m. Evidently this sign has been filled with plaster and


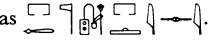
recut, so that it now appears to have two heads. For the phrase *ink šh ḫr* see Edel, *MDIK* 13 (1944), pp. 19–21. Since no other feminine example has yet been recorded from the Old Kingdom, it may be useful to call attention to a false door from Saqqara (Figure 12).⁶⁷ The architrave above the niche contains the following inscription: (1) “The Acquaintance of the King *Šfgt*,⁶⁸ she says:⁶⁹ (2) I am an efficacious and equipped spirit. As for any man who shall enter after having made purification, (3) in order to make invocation offerings at this tomb, I shall be his supporter in the tribunal of the Great God, having granted (4) good in his business and provision in his life. But as for him who shall enter (5) in his impurity, I shall bring about his grief.”⁷⁰ Here again the word “spirit” (*šh*) is masculine, but a feminine occurrence is to be found in another unpublished text from Saqqara, dating to the Sixth Dynasty (Figure 13):⁷¹  “I am an excel-

67. I am indebted to the late Zakaria Ghoneim for the photograph and for permission to publish it.

68. For the name, see Ranke, *PN I*, p. 306 (27); in his addenda, *PN II*, p. 386, Ranke refers to *Wb.* IV, p. 118 (6–8). Compare the masculine name *Šdh* which similarly means “hidden,” *PN I*, p. 323 (15); earlier examples of the latter may be found in Jéquier, *Monument funéraire de Pepi II III*, fig. 22, p. 37; Drioton and Lauer, *ASAE* 55 (1958) p. 229.

69. The first line actually follows the others, but is to be understood in this fashion, as explained in my forthcoming *Egyptian Studies II: The Orientation of Hieroglyphs*, pt. 1, § 21, note 142a.

70. Some portions of these statements are comparable to those discussed by Edel, *MDIK* 13 (1944) §§8, 11, 16; for *tw.t r ḫy.fm dšd.t nṯr ʿri* see also Altenmüller, *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* I (1974) p. 18 (k). Other phrases are totally new. The texts on the jambs contribute little of interest, and the right-hand jambs repeat the texts on the left. These formulae are discussed by Wilson in *JNES* 13 (1954) pp. 251–254, but it may be noted that the unusual

phrasing of *wṯwt tptf nfrt* “those goodly ways” also occurs in Cairo 1413 and in Boston MFA 13.4333 (Fischer, *Dendera*, pl. 30 [b]). Note also that an attendant named  appears on the architrave, and that another at the bottom of the left center jamb is identified as . The first name is not otherwise known; the second is quite common (*PN I*, p. 45 [15]). The title “scribe of the house of the god’s book of the Great House” is attested in Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas* I, pl. 30.

71. This is the fifth and last line of the text published by Wilson, *JNES* 13 (1954) p. 260 (VIII), and omitted in his copy (from Nims). The woman in question is a princess named *ʿInti* who is an elder daughter of Pepi I (according to Nims) and an elder (grand-) daughter of Teti; see also Nims, *JAOS* 58 (1938) p. 646. I first saw a photograph of this in the office of the Department of Antiquities in Saqqara; the one shown here was located by Dr. Jaromír Málek among the records of Gunn and Firth (Gunn MSS XIV.22), and I am obliged to him for permission to use it.

FIGURE 13

Old Kingdom architrave from Saqqara. (photo: courtesy Griffith Institute, Oxford)



lent and equipped spirit, one whose name the god knows, one whose very name the god knows, one whose name her god knows;⁷² I am one who is revered with her lord.”

n. For the ellipse of the subject after adjectival verbs see Edel, *Altäg. Gramm.*, § 995, where this same passage is quoted; he discusses the future *n rdi(.i)* in *MDIK* 13 (1944), p. 15 (§15). The reversal of this phrase is probably a meaningless reversion to the dominant rightward orientation. This may be compared with late Old Kingdom false doors that show rightward orientation on some or all of the right jambs, instead of the usual symmetrical disposition of the texts.⁷³ The inappropriate retention of rightward orientation also occurs in the captions of figures on the architrave of *Hnmw-nḏm(w)*, as noted earlier.

The Date

There are very few palaeographic or epigraphic indications. Little can be concluded from the abnormal form of 9 as the determinative of Sokar (Comment l) or the reversal of orientation at the bottom of the right inner jamb (Comment n). The sign \Rightarrow shows the older form, but this did not begin to be replaced by other forms before the Twelfth Dynasty.⁷⁴ Similarly it was not until the Twelfth Dynasty that plural strokes were commonly added to the suffix \parallel \sim . The form of 10 (\hookrightarrow) shows the influence of Old Kingdom hieratic,⁷⁵ as does a similar example on a Naga ed-Deir stela that is probably not much later than Dynasty VI.⁷⁶ The form 11 (one occurrence only) might be expected of the Heracleopolitan Period, but this also occurred as early as the Sixth Dynasty.⁷⁷ More conclusive indications of later

date are the writing of $\dagger \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}^{\text{78}}$ and the phrase “everything that goes forth upon the libation slab” (Comment b).

In general, the style, phrasing, orthography, and grammar continue late Old Kingdom tradition, and one may note in particular the use of future *n sḏm.f* (Comment n). On the other hand, the false door is evidently later than the oldest of the unpublished monuments found by Ali El Manzalawy in 1928, which is probably to be dated to the very end of the Sixth Dynasty, or slightly later. And much more obviously, it is earlier than a group of three late Eleventh Dynasty false doors and an offering table that come from the same excavations. In view of these comparisons and the internal evidence, it seems very likely that the false door in the Fitzwilliam Museum belongs to the Heracleopolitan Period, and most probably the Tenth Dynasty.

CONCLUSIONS

The material assembled here is far too meager to permit many generalizations, and it must be kept in mind that these few monuments are scattered over a fairly long period—probably as much as two centuries. One is struck, however, by the degree to which they resemble those from other sites at Memphis and in Upper Egypt, and by the absence of discernible “localisms” even in the case of the false door that has been assigned to the Tenth Dynasty. There are, of course, a few unusual features such as the use of $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \parallel$ “his/her son” on the Old Kingdom architrave (Figures 1, 2), the frontal view of the woman’s breasts on the Tenth Dynasty false door (Figures 8, 9), or the phrase “every good feast of the spirit” on the false door that has been dated to the late

72. The various writings of the word *nṯr* “god” are evidently to be regarded as graphic dissimulation; the writing 𓂏 is known from the title *hry ššꜣ n mḏw-nṯr* ($\parallel \text{𓂏} \Rightarrow$) “privy to the secret of the god’s words” (Firth and Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries*, pp. 106 [24], 132, note 3); also in the common Old Kingdom writing of *hrt nṯr* “necropolis” as 22 (*Urk.* I, pp. 9 [5], 13 [13], 165 [16], 173 [18], etc.). For the misplaced *s* in *nṯr.s* compare *tr n.s* in line 3.

73. Exemplified by Junker, *Giza VI*, fig. 83, p. 215; Hassan, *Giza III*, fig. 15, p. 16. In both cases only the inner jambs retain the rightward orientation.

74. See Schenkel, *Studien*, §2.

75. Paule Posener-Kriéger and J. L. de Cenival, *Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum V: The Abu Sir Papyri* (London, 1968) Pl. iii.

76. Cairo J 88884; a woman named *Int-kmwṯ* ($\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$). This seems to belong to the group assembled by Vandier; see note 26 above. I have seen other examples of this hieratic form in post-Sixth Dynasty inscriptions at Aswan: *Hwns* and the later tomb of *Hkꜣ-ib* (a secondary inscription).

77. See Fischer, *Dendera*, pp. 78–79 and note 331.

78. Same, p. 84, and Schenkel, *Studien*, §11; the examples of *Mnt* and *Tꜣwt/Rḥt* are also later than the Sixth Dynasty (Fischer, *Dendera*, pp. 85–91).

Eleventh Dynasty (Figures 3, 4). It is difficult to say whether any of these are to be expected on other monuments of this same site or area. On the other hand, the relatively late appearance of the pair of *wꜥꜥt*-eyes on the interior jambs of false doors may possibly be a regional peculiarity.

It is perhaps only coincidental that the Old Kingdom architrave provides the earliest evidence for the personal name *ꜥꜣm* "Asiatic," and that another name on the same monument seems to refer to a country called *Rtnnw* (i.e. *Rtnw*?), which is "broken." But the later monuments add two more "overseers of the army" to the two who are already known from the Sixth Dynasty at Mendes and Horbeit,⁷⁹ and these sparse indications, combined with evidence such as *Wni*'s account of his campaigns against the Bedouin,⁸⁰ contribute to our picture of the eastern Delta as an area that was constantly exposed to raids and infiltration from the Asiatic side

The earlier monuments, like those at the nearby site of Mendes, refer exclusively to Osiris Lord of Busiris in the offering formula and in the epithet "revered with Osiris"; Abydos is mentioned only on the later ones dating to the end of the Eleventh Dynasty.⁸¹ Busiris is also named as the locality of a cult center of Hathor, although a different cult center is assigned to this goddess on one of the late Eleventh Dynasty stelae.

More specific reference is made to the cult of Osiris on the false door of the Heracleopolitan Period, which speaks of "bread which goes forth on the libation table of Osiris in Djedu," and on the late Eleventh Dynasty false door of the general *Šn-kꜣy* who is "scribe of the god's treasure in the house of Osiris" and "scribe of the noble temple." This monument also confirms the fact that the name of the province is identical to that of the divinity who was originally present, and whose image appears on the nome emblem.

SOURCES ABBREVIATED

ARCE—American Research Center in Egypt, Cairo and Princeton, N.J.

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

ÄZ—*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* (Leipzig and Berlin).

BM—British Museum.

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

BMMA—*Bulletin of The Metropolitan Museum of Art*.

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

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

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

79. For the general who was buried in the vicinity of Horbeit see Daressy, *Recueil de travaux* 24 (1902) p. 163; for the one from Mendes see Chaban, *ASAE* 10 (1910) p. 28 (a red granite statuette from the same tomb is in the Cairo Museum, J 38915). Note also the military character of a group of Fifth Dynasty titles pertaining to the Heliopolitan Nome East (Junker, *Giza* III, pp. 172, 174 and Fischer, *Dendera*, p. 10, note 47); this district evidently extended northward to include Bubastis (Fischer, *JNES* 18 (1959) pp. 133–134).

80. *Urk.* I, pp. 101–105.

81. The same is true of the late Old Kingdom inscription from the eastern Delta cited in notes 9, 48, 79. This fact is hardly surpris-

ing, however, since references to Osiris Lord of Abydos are rare even in the more abundant inscriptions of the Memphite cemeteries (two cases in Junker, *Giza* VI, fig. 93, p. 229; Hassan, *Giza* VI, pt. 3, fig. 207, p. 209) and so too Khentiamentiu Lord of Abydos (an example published by Wilson, *JNES* 13, pl. 18A). The Sixth Dynasty stelae of Dendera and Naqada, south of Abydos, also refer repeatedly to Osiris Lord of Busiris, and the first mention of Abydos that is known there (as the cult center of Khentiamentiu) occurs on a stela of *Šnni*, dating to the Eighth Dynasty (Fischer, *Dendera*, pl. 16[a]). This evidence corroborates the view taken in note 1, that Osiris came to Abydos secondarily, by association with Khentiamentiu, and that his cult originated at Busiris.

Edel, *Altäg. Gramm.*—E. Edel, *Altägyptische Grammatik* I–II (*Analecta Orientalia* 34/39) (Rome, 1955/64).

Firth and Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries*—C. M. Firth and B. Gunn, *Excavations at Saqqara: Teti Pyramid Cemeteries* (Cairo, 1926).

Fischer, *Coptite Nome*—H. G. Fischer, *Inscriptions from the Coptite Nome, Dynasties VI–XI, Analecta Orientalia* 40 (Rome, 1964).

Fischer, *Dendera*—H. G. Fischer, *Dendera in the Third Millennium B.C. Down to the Theban Domination of Upper Egypt* (Locust Valley, N.Y., 1968).

Hassan, *Giza*—Selim Hassan, *Excavations at Giza I–X* (Oxford-Cairo, 1932–60).

J + number—*Journal d'entrée*, Egyptian Museum (Cairo).

JAOS—*Journal of the American Oriental Society* (Baltimore).

JARCE—*Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* (Princeton).

JEA—*Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* (London).

JNES—*Journal of Near Eastern Studies* (Chicago).

Junker, *Giza*—H. Junker, *Giza (Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien. Philosophisch-historische Klasse. Denkschriften I–XII [Vienna, 1929–55])*.

LD—C. R. Lepsius, ed., *Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Äthiopien, I–XII* (Berlin, 1849–59).

LD Ergänzungsband—C. R. Lepsius, ed., *Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Äthiopien: Ergänzungsband*, ed. and rev. by E. Naville, L. Borchardt, and K. Sethe (Leipzig, 1913).

MÄS—*Münchener Ägyptologische Studien, Münchener Universitäts-Schriften Philosophische Fakultät* (Berlin).

MDIK—*Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Abteilung Kairo* (Wiesbaden).

MIFAO—*Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut français d'Archéologie orientale* (Cairo).

MMA—Metropolitan Museum of Art.

PN—H. Ranke, *Die Ägyptischen Personennamen I–II* (Glückstadt, 1935/52).

Pyr.—Pyramid Text reference, in terms of Sethe's arrangement in *Die altägyptischen Pyramidentexte* (Leipzig, 1908–22).

Schenkel, *Studien*—W. Schenkel, *Frühmittelägyptische Studien* (Bonn, 1962).

Urk. I—K. Sethe, *Urkunden des alten Reichs I*, 2nd ed. (Leipzig, 1933).

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

Carved Ivory Furniture Panels from Nimrud: A Coherent Subgroup of the North Syrian Style

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IN THE COLLECTION of The Metropolitan Museum of Art are a number of carved ivory plaques excavated at the Assyrian capital of Nimrud, and dating to the early first millennium B.C. The pieces have been acquired from the British School of Archaeology in Iraq in return for the Museum's support of renewed excavation at the site from 1949–63, under the direction of Sir Max E. L. Mallowan. Included in the group are ten plaques (for example, Figures 1, 2, 3) and two complete panels (for example, Figure 4) that belonged to a group of approximately nineteen decorated pieces of furniture stacked in Room SW7 of Fort Shalmaneser and apparently abandoned when the building was destroyed in 612 B.C.¹

That these pieces were discovered stored in a major building in the Assyrian capital is not surprising. From the ninth through the seventh centuries B.C. there was a steady stream of ivory, both finished products and tusks, arriving in Assyria as booty and tribute from surrounding nations. This is documented in the Royal

Annals from Assurnasirpal II (883–859 B.C.) to Assurbanipal (668–627 B.C.) and is also frequently depicted on reliefs, such as that of Sennacherib from Nineveh (704–681 B.C.), in which the king's soldiers carry off beds, chairs, footstools, and tables from a conquered citadel (Figure 5).²

The pieces from Room SW7 were originally called bed-heads by Mallowan; later, Mallowan and Georgina Herrmann convincingly argued that, based upon the dimensions of the complete panels and the distances between them as found in the room, they may rather have been the backs of chairs.³ While it is clear that these more or less rectangular panels were not part of the typical couch with a C-shaped headboard such as the one Assurbanipal reclines upon in his garden scene (Figure 6) or the one represented in a camp scene on a relief of Tiglath Pileser III (744–727 B.C.),⁴ we cannot definitely say that there were no beds in this period with rectangular head- or foot-boards similar to those known from Egypt and Syria in the Late Bronze Age or as

1. The most characteristic pieces from SW7 were published by M. Mallowan in *N&R* II, pp. 485–515. The entire collection was then presented in Mallowan and G. Herrmann, *SW7*. The works in the Metropolitan Museum are: 59.107.3 (*SW7* no. 3, ND7917); 58.31.1 (*SW7* no. 7, ND6376); 59.107.6 (*SW7* no. 8, ND7963); 59.107.7 (*SW7* no. 39, ND7925); 59.107.10 (*SW7* no. 51, ND7908, plaque 3); 59.107.4.5 (*SW7* no. 63, plaques 1, 2 ND7951); 58.31.2 (*SW7* no. 67, ND6368); 59.107.15 (*SW7* no. 87, ND7579); 59.107.8 (*SW7* no. 89, ND7930); 59.107.1 (*SW7* no. 95, ND7910); 59.107.2 (*SW7* no. 105, ND7910).

2. For Assurnasirpal II, see Luckenbill, *AR* I, §§ 459, 475–477, 479; Shalmaneser III: *AR* I, §§ 585, 593, 625; Adad Nirari III: *AR* I, § 740; Tiglath Pileser III: *AR* I, §§ 769, 804; Sargon II: *AR* II, §§ 17, 45, 172; Sennacherib: *AR* II, §§ 240, 366; Esarhaddon: *AR* II, § 527.

3. *SW7*, pp. 3–9.

4. R. D. Barnett and M. Falkner, *The Sculpture of Assurnasirpal II, Tiglath Pileser III and Esarhaddon from the Central and Southwest Palaces at Nimrud* (London, 1962) pl. LX.

found in an eighth-century tomb at Salamis.⁵ However, the form that the SW7 chairs would have taken does seem to be more consistent with the high-backed chairs seen on reliefs of Tiglath Pileser, Sennacherib, and Assurbanipal, as well as on reliefs from Carchemish and Zinjirli in North Syria. In many cases these chairs, depicted in profile, clearly include decorative carved panels in the lower portions and below the armrests, so that decorated backs would also be expected.⁶

Apparently the decorated panels of SW7 were originally backed on wood, which has not been preserved. The panels average about 85 × 55 cm. in size and consist of several plaques mounted together: a center section of from four to six contiguous plaques, usually framed at top and bottom by narrow strips. The whole is then generally bound by two or three vertically arranged plaques at right and left (Figures 4, 7, 8, 9).

The notion of joining several plaques to form a panel is a logical outcome of the size of the original tusk. The practice can be observed earlier, in the Ras Shamra bed of about 1400 B.C., and continued into later times, where, for example, a throne made for the archbishop of Ravenna in the Carolingian period is comprised of a series of panels made up of five ivory plaques framed by decorated horizontal and vertical strips, all set in wood (Figure 10, from the throne base).

The subjects of the SW7 plaques are remarkably consistent: variations on seated or standing figures, generally grasping the tendrils of a plant. In many cases, a small winged sundisk appears at the top. On several panels, plaques of symmetrical volute trees frame the figured plaques at either side; when there are vertical frames at the sides, they are generally comprised of two or three superimposed figured plaques, as in Figure 9. The upper strip is occasionally decorated with a long winged sundisk, the bottom strip more rarely with a narrative scene.

STYLISTIC AFFINITIES

An examination of the figured plaques makes it clear that this collection belongs to the North Syrian group of ivory carvings, as originally defined by F. Poulsen and R. D. Barnett in reference to the ivories discovered by F. Loftus in the South East, or Burnt, Palace at Nimrud in 1853. Poulsen distinguished the North Syrian from the Phoenician ivories discovered by A. H. Layard in 1848–49 in the North West Palace on the basis of details and motifs related to those on reliefs at Carchemish, Zinjirli, Marash, and Tell Halaf—for example, hairstyles, floral elements and trees, female sphinxes, and musicians in procession toward a seated figure—and a general absence of Egyptian elements.⁷

Poulsen's distinction was developed further by Barnett, who noted not only the absence of Egyptian features, but also the presence of Hurrian and Hittite elements inherited from the second millennium. Barnett also described the physiognomical features that characterize the style: oval face, high receding forehead, large eyes and nose, small pinched mouth, and little or no chin.⁸

These features are closely paralleled on first-millennium objects from North Syria (Figures 11, 12).⁹ Significantly, the same conventions occur on the SW7 plaques. The SW7 ivories also include several motifs that can be found in Barnett's Syrian group: for example, the chariot scene (Figures 9, 13) and the human figures holding a blossom in each hand (Figures 2, 12, 14), in addition to the women's characteristic long garment, vertically striated, with beaded borders, clearly longer at the back than at the front (Figures 3, 4, 12). The group is, according to Poulsen's original criterion, quite free of the Egyptian elements that are found in a typical Phoenician-style plaque (Figure 15).

Nevertheless, there are minor differences between

5. H. Baker, *Furniture in the Ancient World* (London, 1966) figs. 83–85, 132–135 (XVIII Dynasty); C. F. A. Schaeffer, "Les fouilles de Ras-Shamra/Ugarit, 15^e, 16^e, 17^e campagnes," *Syria XXXI* (1954) pls. viii–x; V. Karageorghis, *Excavations in the Necropolis of Salamis III* (Nicosia, 1974) pl. LXVII.

6. See B. Hrouda, *Die Kulturgeschichte des assyrischen Flachbildes* (Bonn, 1965) pls. 14, 15. The suggestion that the SW7 panels were parts of chairs rather than beds is further supported by the slightly concave curve of the panels across their width (noted in SW7, p. 3), more appropriate for a backrest than a bedboard.

7. F. Poulsen, *Der Orient und die frühgriechische Bildkunst* (Leipzig, 1912) pp. 38–53.

8. R. D. Barnett, *CNI*, pp. 40–44.

9. Compare the reliefs from Tell Halaf, Carchemish, and Zinjirli in Orthmann, *USK*, pls. 8–11, 15–19, 56–59, and the Zinjirli silver plaques in von Luschan, *AiS V*, p. s. 46k, 47d. The relationship between these plaques from Zinjirli and the Syrian-style ivories was noted by O. W. Muscarella, "Hasanlu, 1964," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 25 (1966) figs. 5, 6.



FIGURE 1
Ivory plaque. Room SW7, Fort
Shalmaneser, Nimrud. The
Metropolitan Museum of Art,
Rogers Fund, 59.107.4



FIGURE 2
Ivory plaque. Room SW7, Fort
Shalmaneser. The Metropoli-
tan Museum of Art, Rogers
Fund, 59.107.7

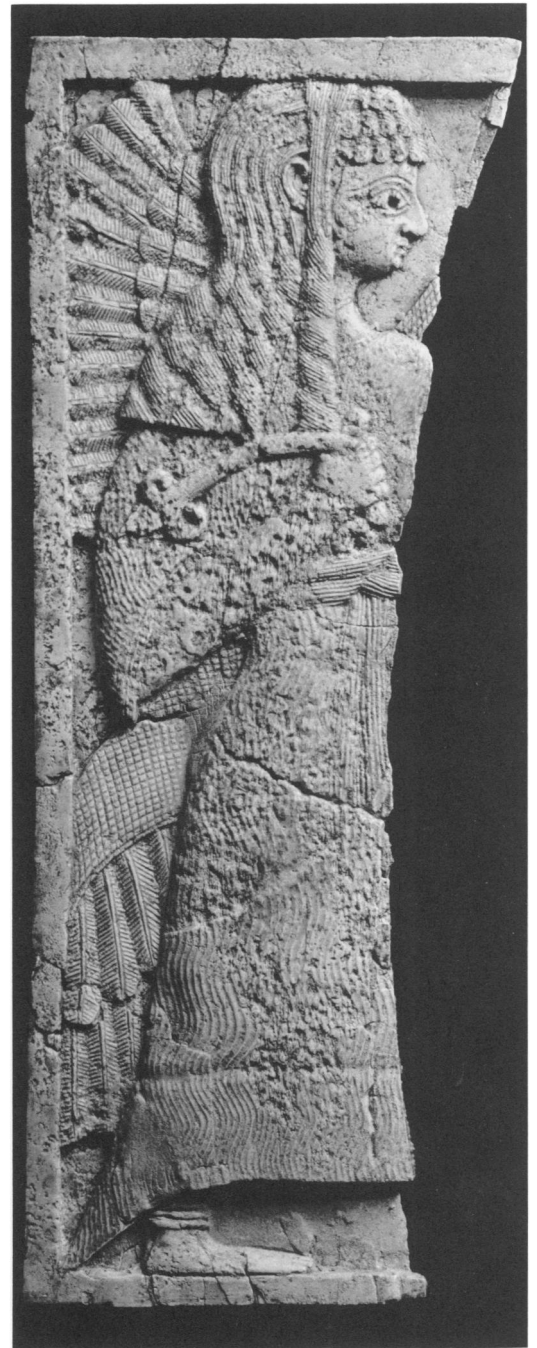


FIGURE 3
Ivory plaque. Room SW7, Fort
Shalmaneser. The Metropoli-
tan Museum of Art, Rogers
Fund, 58.31.2

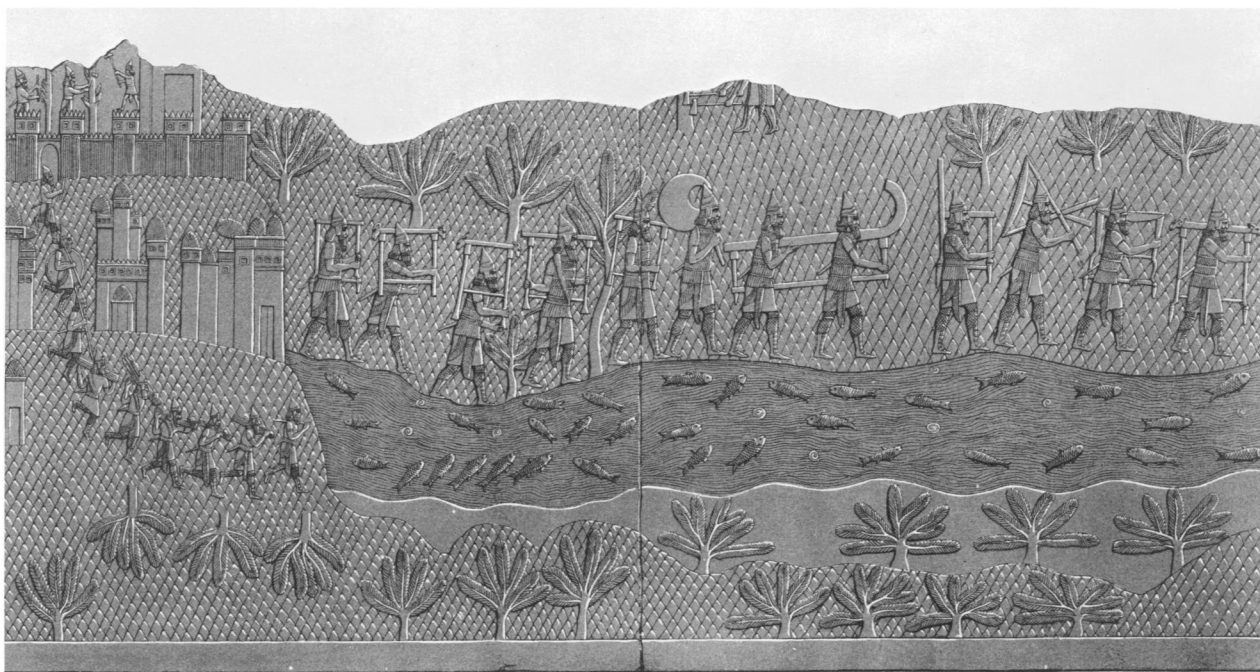
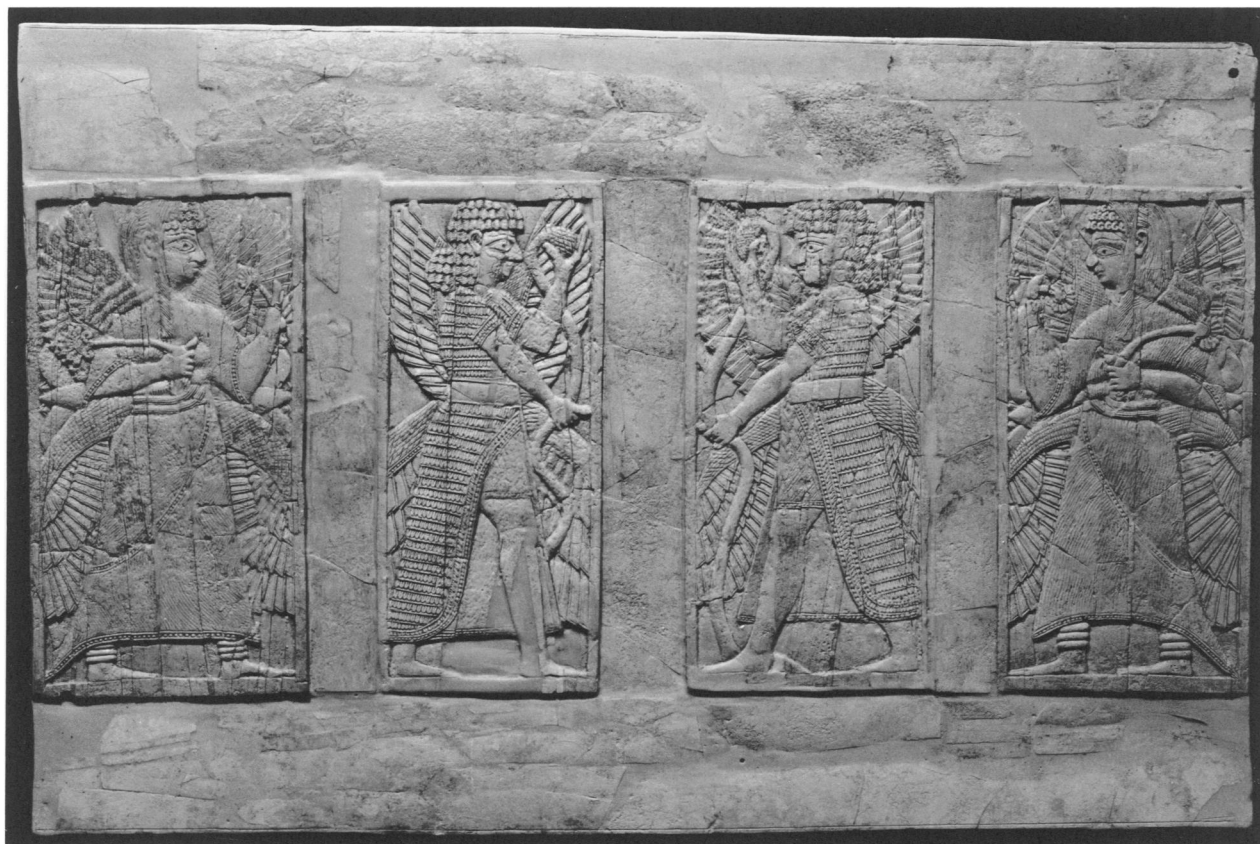


FIGURE 4

Ivory panel. Room SW7, Fort Shalmaneser. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 59.107.3

the SW7 and the Loftus ivories that cannot be explained merely on the basis of different intended use, the Loftus collection consisting of small objects (mirror handles, pyxides) and the SW7 panels belonging to furniture. These differences include variations in male and female hairstyles and in men's garments, all of which, although paralleled in Assyrian and North Syrian reliefs, are not to be found among the Loftus ivories. In addition, SW7

FIGURE 5

Drawing of a relief. Palace of Sennacherib, Nineveh (original lost)

FIGURE 6

Relief. Palace of Assurbanipal, Nineveh. The British Museum, no. 124920 (courtesy the Trustees of the British Museum)



plant forms, particularly trees, tend to be extremely curvilinear; human limbs are often awkwardly articulated; and the figures are generally larger in scale, crowding the plaques (Figures 4, 7, 8). All of these qualities are consistently exhibited within the SW7 group, and suggest that the SW7 ivories form a coherent subgroup of the North Syrian style.

It is therefore significant that of all the similarities that can be cited between the ivories of SW7 and the fixed monuments of North Syria, the parallels cluster around two sites within twenty kilometers of each other: Zinjirli and Sakçe Gözü.¹⁰

Closely comparable are the plaques representing seated women (Figures 8, 16) and a stela carved with the same subject of the time of Bar Rakib (about 740–725 B.C.), found outside Hilani I at Zinjirli (Figure 17).¹¹ The stela bears a winged sundisk in the field, as

10. The complete range of parallels in theme and details between the SW7 ivories and material from other North Syrian and Assyrian sites is presented in *SW7*, pp. 19–35, 39–61. I shall discuss only those parallels with works from Zinjirli and Sakçe Gözü.

11. See also *SW7*, p. 33 and nos. 46:2, 3; 47–50.

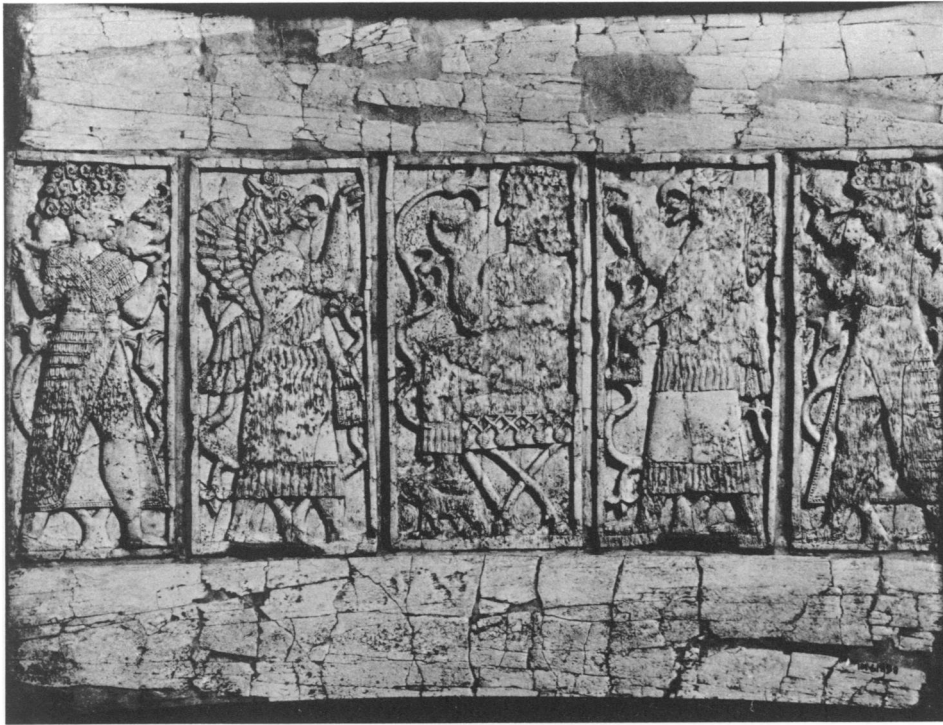
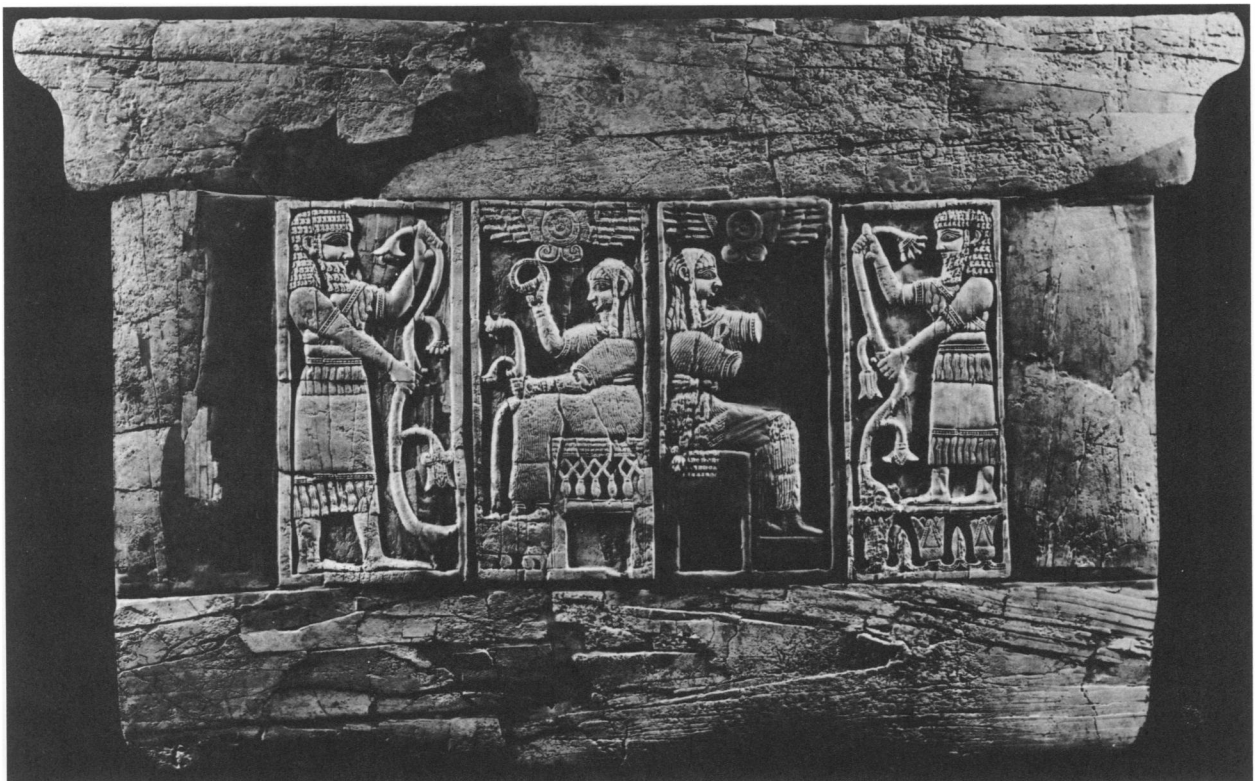


FIGURE 7

Ivory panel. Room SW7, Fort Shalmaneser. Iraq Museum, Baghdad, 61898 (photo: Wm. Collins Sons and Co., London)

FIGURE 8

Ivory panel. Room SW7, Fort Shalmaneser. Iraq Museum, 62721 (photo: Wm. Collins Sons and Co.)



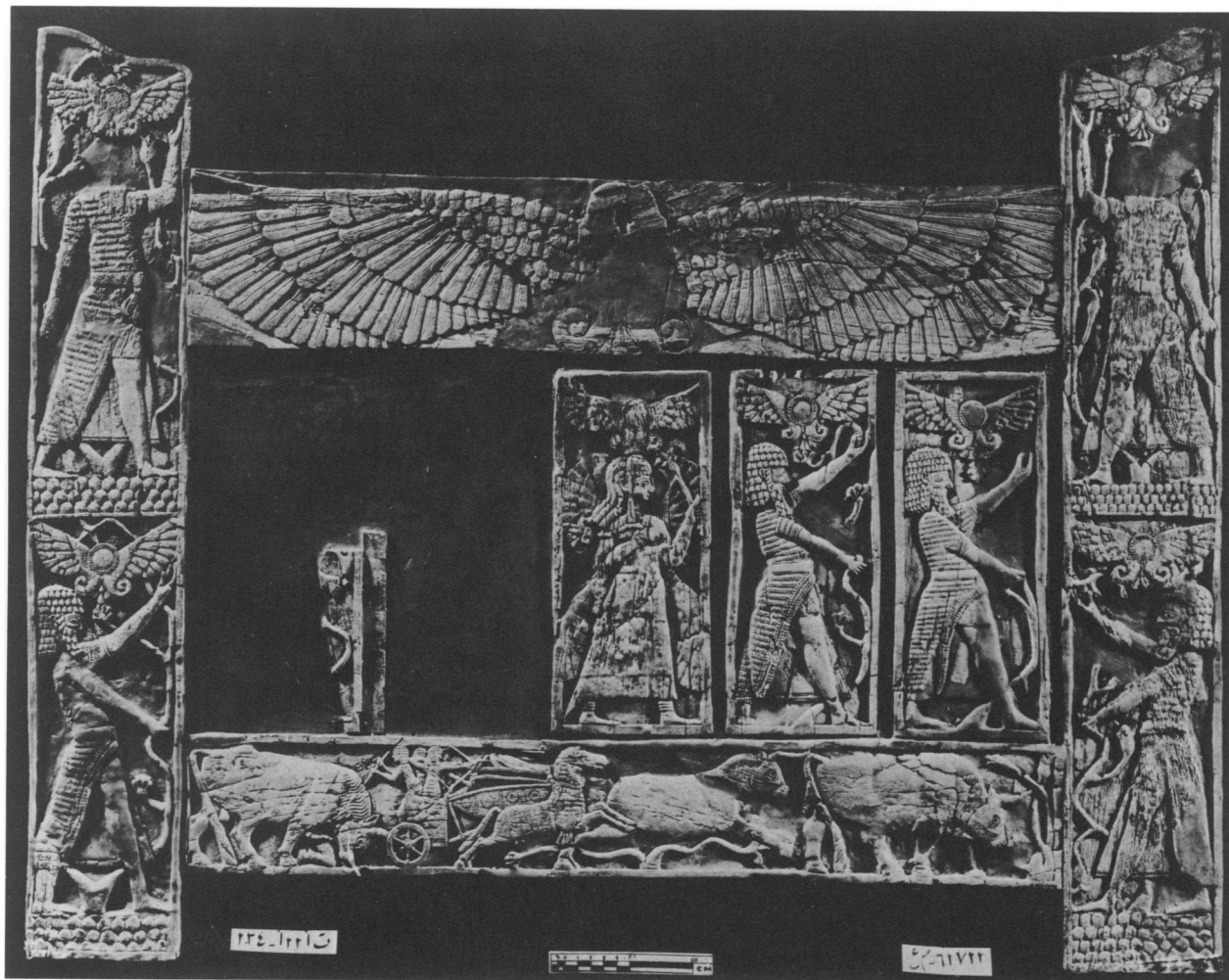


FIGURE 9
Ivory panel. Room SW7, Fort
Shalmaneser. Iraq Museum, 62722
(photo: Wm. Collins Sons and Co.)



FIGURE 10
Ivory panel. Throne of the Arch-
bishop Maximian. Cathedral of
Ravenna

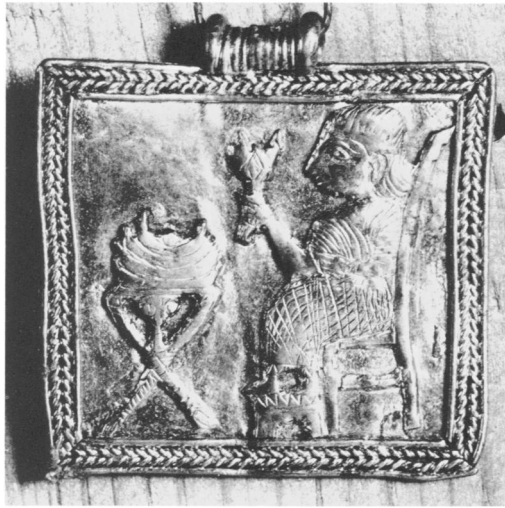


FIGURE 11
Silver plaque. Zinjirli. Staatliche Museen, Berlin
(photo: courtesy Vorderasiatische Abteilung,
Staatliche Museen)

FIGURE 12
Ivory pyxis fragment. Burnt Palace, Nimrud.
The British Museum, no. 131141 (courtesy The
Trustees of the British Museum)



FIGURE 13
Ivory pyxis. Burnt Palace, Nimrud. The British
Museum, no. 118173 (courtesy The Trustees of
the British Museum)



do a number of plaques from SW7. The SW7 women all sit on square stools, feet resting on footstools. On some plaques they grasp the tendrils of plants before them with one hand, holding an object in the other; generally, however, they reach toward a small table set in the branches of a flowering tree. The tables are cross-legged, terminating in bull's feet; they are invariably piled high with dishes and layers of bread. The arrangement of food on the tables, even to the inclusion of a low, footed bowl, is also seen on the table before the seated woman of the Zinjirli stela; the tables' shape, crossed legs, and vertical support piece are likewise similar. The fleecy tasseled cloth that covers the Zinjirli chair and the shaped footstool are also depicted on the ivories, and the single lotus blossom with short

curvilinear stem, held by the Zinjirli woman in her left hand, is likewise paralleled on one of the plaques.¹²

A scene similar to that of the ivories and the Zinjirli stela is repeated on a silver plaque from Zinjirli (Figure 11). Another closely related representation is found on a badly weathered relief found by J. Garstang near the base of the mound of Sakçe Gözü, where a similar table in a banquet scene is outfitted with food and a low, footed bowl.¹³ Unfortunately, it is not possible to determine what sort of garment the seated figure is wear-

12. For the trellis-fringe tassels, see SW7, no. 46:2 (my Figure 8) and p. 33; for the footstool, SW7, no. 47 (my Figure 16); for the lotus blossom, SW7, no. 48.

13. J. Garstang, "Excavations at Sakçe Geuzi in North Syria: Preliminary Report for 1908," *LAAA I* (1908) pl. xxxv:1.



FIGURE 14
Ivory plaque. Room SW7, Fort Shalmaneser.
Iraq Museum, 62705 (photo: Wm. Collins Sons
and Co.)



FIGURE 15
Ivory plaque. Room SW12, Fort Shalmaneser.
Iraq Museum, 65508 (photo: Wm. Collins Sons
and Co.)



FIGURE 16
Ivory plaque. Room SW7, Fort Shalmaneser.
Iraq Museum, 60553 (photo: Wm. Collins Sons
and Co.)

ing, although the chair seems identical in shape to that of the stela, and to the sort of chair the SW7 panels probably once adorned. The figure, seated to the right, reaches out with the right arm toward the footed bowl, as does one of the women on the SW7 plaques (Figure 16).

All of the women on the SW7 ivories have the same hairstyle: three or four long corkscrew curls down the back of the head behind the ear, with one long curl falling in front of the ear, and short curls on the brow. It is a style of men's and women's coiffure that is typical of



FIGURE 17
Stela. Zinjirli, about 735–720 B.C. Staatliche
Museen, VA2995 (photo: courtesy Vorderasia-
tische Abteilung, Staatliche Museen)

reliefs and sculpture from Zinjirli and Sakçe Gözü of the period of Bar Rakib—for example, on the female sphinx orthostat from Hilani II at Zinjirli and on the male sphinx relief from Sakçe Gözü (Figure 18).¹⁴

Seated male figures are rare in the SW7 assemblage. When they do occur, they are without the small table and generally reach into the branches of a tree. However, on two plaques, the cushioned chair has a high,

14. *USK*, pls. 64b, 51b. Note especially the identical single curl in front of the ear and the four behind in 51b.

FIGURE 18

Relief. Palace portico, Sakçe Gözü. Second half of the eighth century B.C. Archaeological Museum, Ankara, 1811

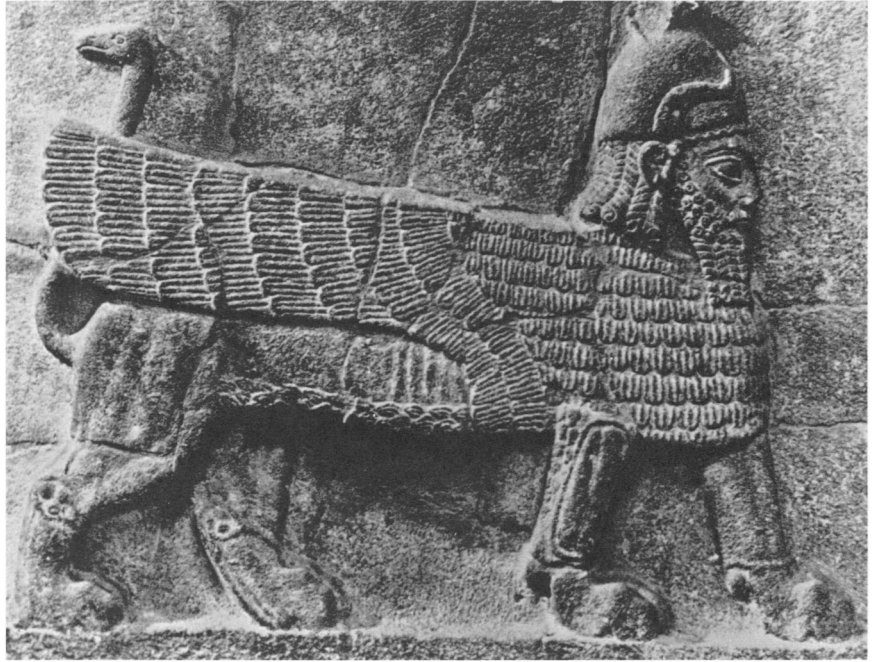


FIGURE 19

Reliefs. Palace façade, Sakçe Gözü. Second half of the eighth century B.C. Archaeological Museum, Ankara 1807, 1810





FIGURE 20

Relief. Nordhallenbau, Zinjirli. About 735–725 B.C. Staatliche Museen, VA3007 (photo: courtesy Vorderasiatische Abteilung, Staatliche Museen)

angled back like that of the Zinjirli and Sakçe Gözü examples,¹⁵ and on a third plaque we see again the same footstool.¹⁶

On the central plaque of a complete panel (Figure 7), a male figure is seated on a cross-legged stool that ends in bull's feet, like the table in Figure 16. The male figure rests his feet on the backs of two bulls that form his foot-

stool. As I point out later, the use of bulls in this context may be a reference to the identity of the seated figure. This is the only example of a seated figure holding a raised bowl or cup, as on the Zinjirli stela. It can be compared as well with a fragment of a relief of Bar Rakib himself, also from Zinjirli, on which the king also holds an open bowl in his outstretched hand.¹⁷

The seated figure of the ivory panel is flanked by two plaques on each side depicting winged griffin-demons holding lustral cones and buckets, and “heros” with small animals over their shoulders, all facing the center. The griffins’ open beaks with extended tongues, hair and topcurls, and downward curving short wings are most closely paralleled by the griffin-demons on the palace orthostats at Sakçe Gözü (Figure 19).¹⁸ The tradition of carrying an animal over the shoulder occurs on ninth-century reliefs at Carchemish, in the procession of male figures on the King’s Gate, and on one of the orthostats of the Citadel Gate at Zinjirli.¹⁹ An even closer parallel is to be found on the orthostat from Bar Rakib’s Nordhallenbau at Zinjirli, where despite differences in the proportions of the figures, a virtually identical gazelle with curved horn is carried on the

15. *SW7*, no. 51:1, 51:4.

16. *SW7*, no. 52.

17. *USK*, pl. 67d.

18. Similarities in stance, position of the upper hand holding the cone, and proportion of the figures outweigh differences in dress or the fact that the Sakçe Gözü griffin-demons have four wings. It is significant that in both cases the wings are shown both raised and lowered. There are examples within the *SW7* group of four-winged creatures, for example, *SW7*, nos. 3, 67, and 68, which depicts a male genius wearing a short kilt. Similar griffin-genii are also depicted on a pair of à-jour plaques from the temple of Haldi at Altintepe and from Toprak Kale, in Urartu (see T. Özgüç, *Altintepe II* [Ankara, 1969] pl. xxxii and *CNI*, W.13). They share with the Sakçe Gözü reliefs and the *SW7* ivories the same hair and forehead curls, distinctively curving wings, and open beak; the Toprak Kale griffins wear a tunic beneath a long belted skirt identical to that worn in *SW7*, no. 25. Considering the closeness of the Urartean works to those from *SW7* and Sakçe Gözü, and the close political ties between North Syria and Urartu through the first half of the eighth century B.C., I would suggest that the stimulus for the Urartean ivories, or possibly the ivories themselves, came from North Syria. Evidence for this from various contemporary sources is gathered in my unpublished doctoral dissertation, “North Syria in the Early First Millennium B.C., with Special Reference to Ivory Carving” (Columbia University, 1973) pp. 125–130.

19. C. L. Woolley and T. E. Lawrence, *Carchemish II* (London, 1921) pls. B.22b–B.24; *AiS III*, pl. xxxvii: upper right; *USK*, pls. 30e–h, 57b.



FIGURE 21

Relief. Enclosure gate, Sakçe Gözü. About mid-eighth century B.C. Staatliche Museen, VA971 (photo: courtesy Vorderasiatische Abteilung, Staatliche Museen)

shoulders of one of the king's attendants (Figure 20.)²⁰

The hero's distinctive hairstyle—three rows of large spiral curls—can best be compared to that of one of the lion-slayers on the hunt relief of the Sakçe Gözü palace enclosure (Figure 21).²¹ The overgarment worn by the animal bearer from SW7 superficially resembles both the long coat of Assyrian armor that is represented as horizontal rows of rounded lappets to indicate metal scales,²² and the cut-away garment obviously modeled

on the Assyrian, worn by the second lion-slayer of the Sakçe Gözü hunt relief. However, G. Herrmann has convincingly argued that the animal bearer's overgarment is rather made of a woolly, looped fabric.²³

Indeed, the general form of every garment represented on the Sakçe Gözü hunt relief is duplicated on the SW7 plaques: the belted, open skirt of the spearman comparable to those on a number of plaques that show men with buckets grasping branches of the tree;²⁴ the

20. *AiS* IV, pl. 63; *USK*, pl. 64c. It is not significant that the gazelle's head on the Zinjirli relief is not turned while that of the SW7 plaque is. On the reliefs of the King's Gate at Carchemish, the heads of animals carried by male figures in procession all vary in position. The turn of the head is therefore not necessarily a criterion of style or date.

21. A similar hairstyle, although with tighter curls and sometimes long hair at the nape of the neck, is worn by the children of Araras on reliefs of the King's Buttress at Carchemish (D. G. Hogarth, *Carchemish I* (London, 1914] pl. B.7; *USK*, pl. 31f). In all cases, the individuals who wear their hair in this manner are beardless, and at Carchemish they are definitely children. This may therefore be a convention for representing youth—in this case, the youthful hunter/hero. I believe it is a phenomenon distinct from the "Gilgamesh" hero often shown on Assyrian reliefs—for example at Khorsabad—where the figure is represented frontally, with hair arranged in large spiral curls to the shoulders, and whose antecedents go back to Akkadian cylinder seals (T. A. W. Madhloom, *The Chronology of Neo-Assyrian Art* [London, 1970] p. 86).

22. Seen on reliefs: Barnett and Falkner, *Sculpture*, pls. Lxvii, cxxii; actual pieces of iron scale armor were uncovered by Malloy in Fort Shalmaneser (*N&R* II, p. 490, fig. 336). Such scale armor was also used for horses (W. Lambert, "Sultantepe Tablets VIII: Shalmaneser in Ararat," *Anat. Stud.* 11 [1961] pp. 150–151); however, as both wool and armor are appropriate materials for horse coverings, it is not possible to conclusively identify this looped or lappet pattern on the SW7 ivories.

23. *SW7*, pp. 23–24. This seems especially clear in the similar garment worn by men in the flowerpot helmet series of ivories, in which the lappets and loops are very much like the border of the garment (Figures 2, 14, 24). These loops can also be observed at the border of the cloak of Bar Rakib, which was surely of fabric, not metal, as depicted on a relief from Zinjirli (*AiS* IV, pl. Lxvii; *USK*, pl. 66c). G. Herrmann in *SW7* does reserve the possibility that one of the representations (no. 21) may actually indicate armor, however, as the lappets are so clearly visible.

24. *SW7*, nos. 23, 24.

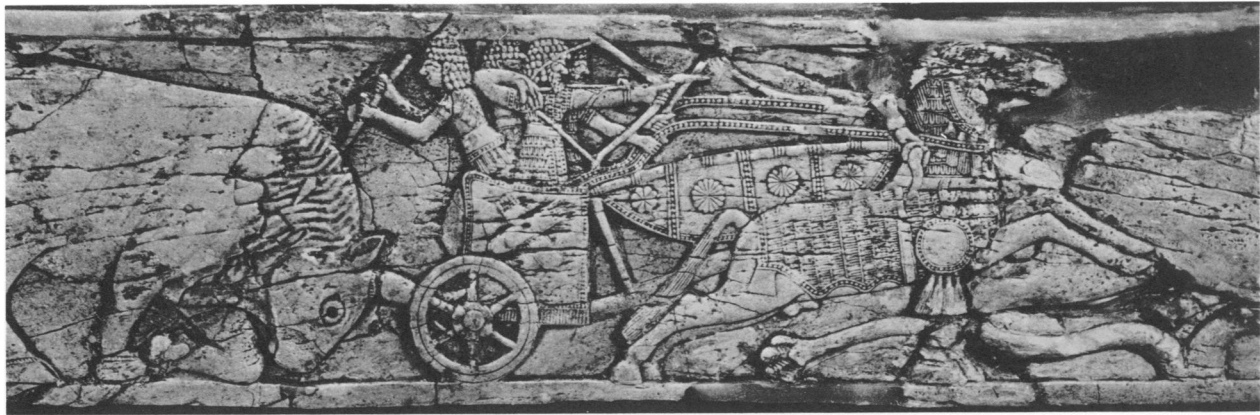


FIGURE 22

Hunt scene, detail of Figure 9 (photo: Wm. Collins Sons and Co.)

short kilt with a diagonal flap from which tassels fall between the legs, which is also worn by four male figures on a complete panel;²⁵ and the belted wraparound coats of the men in the chariot worn also by two of the figures in the chariot of the SW7 hunt scene (Figure 22).

This hunt scene occurs on a horizontal plaque that makes up the base of one of the complete panels (Figure 9), and shows four men in a chariot chasing two bulls before them and attacking a bull to the rear of the chariot. The prancing horses wear blankets and medallionlike tasseled ornaments at the shoulder. The chariot is hitched by a yoke and an elliptical draft-pole decorated with panels of rosettes. The six-spoked wheel of the chariot is set toward the rear of the chariot box.

The driver and a bowman about to shoot wear the wraparound woolly coat; they and a third, partially hidden, figure face the two bulls ahead. Details of the archer's gear are carefully delineated. He wears a leather wrist guard on the left hand and a finger guard on the right hand, which pulls back the bowstring. The only other representation I know of on which these features have been so scrupulously recorded is one of the reliefs of Bar Rakib from the Nordhallenbau at Zinjirli (Figure 23). There, the walking bowman has his bow slung over the left shoulder, while he carries two arrows in his right hand and the finger and wrist guards in his left.²⁶

A fourth figure in the chariot, wearing a long garment with a fringed shawl over one shoulder, leans out over the back of the chariot to spear a bull behind. The

bull, collapsing on one knee, is as large as the entire chariot complex before him. The other two bulls are also enormous and press against the upper and lower borders of the plaque.

The similarity between this hunt plaque and the hunt relief from Sakçe Gözü has been pointed out by a number of scholars.²⁷ The winged sundisk above the chariot of the relief is identical to the sundisks in the upper plaques of the hunt panel: in both the disk has a beaded border, pendant volutes on either side, and a fan of tail feathers between. The volute curls spring directly from the curving pinions of the wings, while two registers of wing feathers extend to either side.²⁸ The horses of both the ivory plaque and the relief are in the same posture and wear the same paraphernalia; the chariots are similarly shaped and appointed, with the same draft-pole;

25. SW7, no. 65.

26. Also noted in SW7, p. 69.

27. For example, *N&R* II, p. 490; D. Ussishkin, "On the Date of a Group of Ivories from Nimrud," *BASOR* 203 (1971) pp. 22–27.

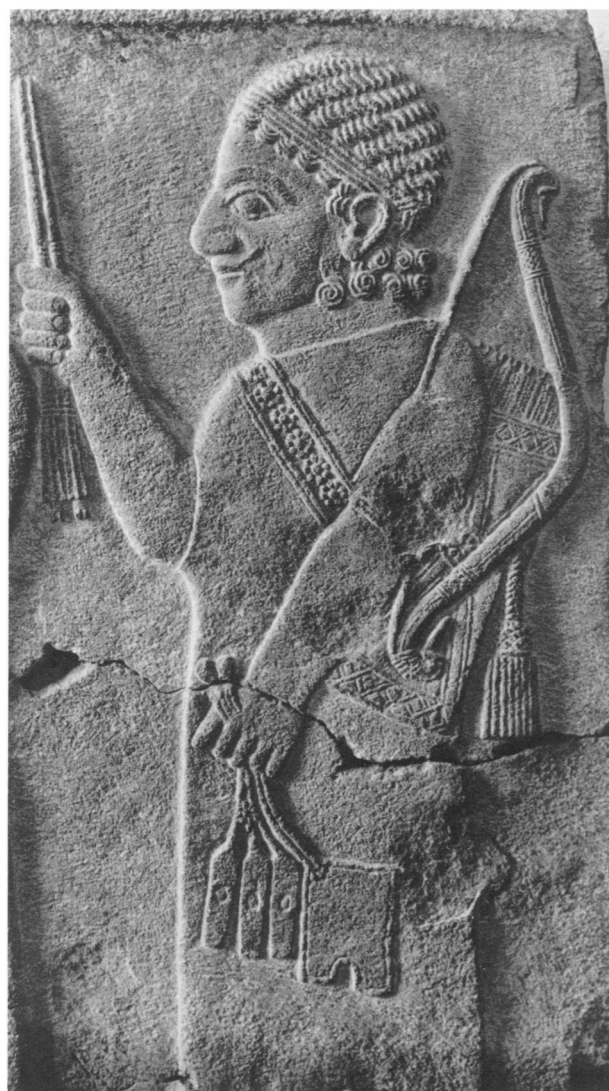
28. This is in distinction to the winged disk as represented in Assyrian glyptic (E. Porada, *Corpus of Near Eastern Seals in North American Collections I: The Collection of the Pierpont Morgan Library* [Washington, D.C., 1948] nos. 640–646, 648–650), in which the Hathor curls are replaced by a short curlicue that appears just above the sun while the tail feathers sometimes turn at either end into volutes with tendrils extending down from the disk. It is also distinct from the winged disk on Phoenician-style works (*CNI*, S.146), where the disk is generally flanked by uraei. Thus the "Hathor" curls and clearly defined pinions serve to mark the North Syrian style in the early first millennium B.C. (see I. Winter, "Phoenician and North Syrian Ivory Carving in Historical Context: Questions of Style and Distribution," *Iraq* 38 [1976] pp. 4–6).

and the four rosettes on the pole of the plaque may be comparable to the four rosettes in the field of the relief. The only major difference is that the chariot wheel has eight spokes on the relief, and only six on the ivory.

On the relief, the hunted lion is attacked by two figures on foot. However, the diagonal thrust of the spear held by both hands of the hunter on the right of the relief is very similar to that of the spear of the hunter on the ivory. The most extraordinary similarity in the two representations is in the disproportionately large size of the hunted animals.

FIGURE 23

Relief. Nordhallenbau, Zinjirli. About 735–725 B.C. Staatliche Museen, VA 3000



The other plaques that accompany the SW7 hunt scene in Figure 9 include a winged female genius in the center and eight male figures in short tunics with open coats who grasp the curving branches of a flowering tree. This last theme is by far the most common of the representations in the SW7 group. On the vertical side plaques, the men stand on several rows of a scale pattern—a common convention for rendering earth or ground since Early Dynastic and Akkadian times in Mesopotamia.²⁹ The particular pose of reaching toward the plants with the arm extended to eye level or above finds its closest parallel on a bone tube carved in Syrian style from the Loftus collection.³⁰ It may also be compared to the orthostat from the palace facade at Sakçe Gözü, where two men, shown with both a winged disk and a plant, reach upward to grasp the bud issuing from a curving tendril (Figure 19).

The standard tree in the SW7 collection consists of a long, undulating stem from the shoots of which issue different types of flowers. The figures on the plaques either grasp one or two of the plant's tendrils or reach toward the flowers. The motif of a man with a tree occurs from earliest times in the art of the Near East, and need not be documented here. The rounding of forms and the exaggerated curves are characteristic of the North Syrian style.³¹ However, the particular kind of coiling "tendril" tree is unique. The only close parallels to our trees are the papyrus plants with twined stalks that flank a frontally posed man in a long dress on an ivory from Arslan Tash, and the even more tightly twined tendrils twisted around a central stalk on an ivory in the Loftus collection.³² On neither of these, however, do the tendrils curve out beyond the main trunk as they do on the SW7 plaques.

One of the flowers that grows on the trees is a leafy cluster that resembles the palmette plants of Phoenician ivories, yet omits the symmetric volutes at the stem juncture that are always indicated on Phoenician examples (compare Figures 1 and 15). This simple palmette has an antecedent in the trees from the Investiture

29. H. Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals* (London, 1939) pls. xvii: c, h; xviii: a, g, j, k; xix: a, c.

30. *CNI*, S.69.

31. D. Opitz and A. Moortgat, *Tell Halaf III* (Berlin, 1955) pl. 94a; *CNI*, S.145, S.47, S.69; *AiS V*, pl. 46k.

32. F. Thureau-Dangin et al., *Arslan Tash Atlas* (Paris, 1931) pl. xxxiii: 43; *CNI*, S.3.

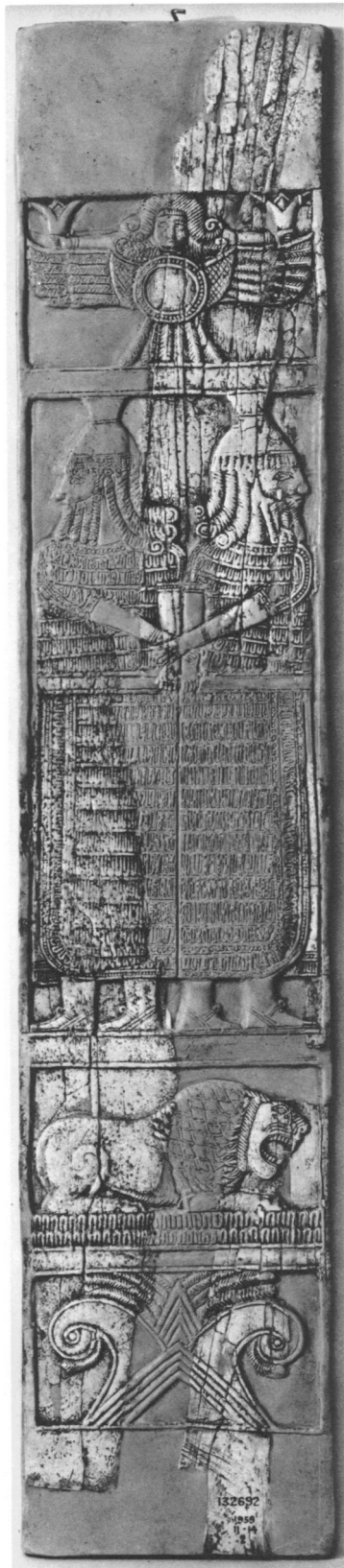


FIGURE 24

Ivory plaque. Room SW7, Fort Shalmaneser. The British Museum, no. 132692 (courtesy the Trustees of the British Museum)

mural at Mari, dated to the early second millennium,³³ and is found also on a basalt relief from the Bit Hilani at Carchemish, showing a bullman grasping the long stem of a palmette plant very much like ours.³⁴ On this basis, I have suggested it as a criterion for the North Syrian style. These leafy palmette clusters are often combined on the same panel with other flowers that are represented either as two outcurving petals with a central round bulb, or as several outcurving pointed petals (Figure 9). On a few occasions, all three types issue from the same tree (Figure 8), while on one complete panel, the three vertical side plaques each bear a tree with a different one of the three types of flower.³⁵

Within the SW7 group, a distinctive series of plaques depicts men wearing odd flowerpot helmets and corkscrew curl hairstyles. Of these, several show men grasping the tendrils of the typical tree (for example, Figures 2, 14), while others represent two identical figures standing side by side, holding hands (for example, Figure 24).³⁶ These distinctive pieces include a register above the human figures in which a winged siren, holding a blossom in each outstretched hand, appears in the place of the sundisk. The plaques also include lower registers in which a couchant female sphinx or lion and sometimes a stylized floral element are represented.

The garments of these male figures have already been discussed in regard to the woolly coat that resembles armor. The only concrete parallel for the composite form of the flowerpot helmet is to be found on a ninth-century orthostat from the Citadel Gate at Zinjirli (Figure 25), although it is possible that one of the female heads in the round and a female sphinx carved in relief from the Nimrud ivories wear similar headdresses.³⁷

33. A. Parrot, *Sumer* (New York, 1959) fig. 346.

34. C. L. Woolley and R. D. Barnett, *Carchemish III* (London, 1952) pl. B.49a; *USK*, pl. 35d.

35. SW7, no. 46, plaques 1, 4 (my Figure 8); no. 2, plaques 1–3.

36. SW7, nos. 38, 39, 40, 42, 43, 44.

37. *N&R II*, fig. 499, from room SE1, Fort Shalmaneser; fig. 525, from room SW37.



FIGURE 25

Relief. Citadel gate, Zinjirli. Ninth century B.C. Oriental Museum, Istanbul, 7711 (photo: Oriental Museum)



FIGURE 26

Relief. Hilani III, Zinjirli. Second half of the eighth century B.C. Oriental Museum, 7730 (photo: W. Schieli, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Istanbul)

The hair of these figures is rendered differently from that of the rest of the SW7 group: three long corkscrew curls down the back of the neck and similar curls in the beard. It is a hairstyle known from several North Syrian reliefs of the eighth century B.C., associated by Akurgal with the “Aramaean” style.³⁸ It can be seen on the orthostats of the two men opposite a tree (Figure 19) or the two male sphinxes (Figure 18) from the palace at Sakçe Gözü, as well as on reliefs from both the Nordhallenbau of Bar Rakib³⁹ and Hilani III (Figure 26) at Zinjirli. The Nordhallenbau reliefs—both in the king’s

own beard curls and in the ringlets of his attendant musicians, with their tightly coiled spiral corkscrews ending in open curls—are closest to the treatment of curls on the ivories, while the attendant figure from Hilani III provides a good parallel to the way that the curls curve up rather than simply hang straight down at the nape of the neck. The same sort of long curls billowing out in the back and long beard curls are carefully represented on Syrian captives being subdued by soldiers of Tiglath Pileser III in his wall paintings from Til Barsib,⁴⁰ and on foreign mercenaries in one of the

38. E. Akurgal, *The Art of Greece: Its Origins* (New York, 1968) p. 53.

39. *AiS* V, pls. 60, 62.

40. F. Thureau-Dangin, *Til Barsib Atlas* (Paris, 1936) pl. xxiv.



FIGURE 27
Relief. Palace of Tiglath Pileser III, Nimrud.
Archäologisches Institut der Universität, Zurich,
1916

king's battle reliefs from Nimrud (Figure 27); it is a style distinct from the Assyrians' own coiffure.

The winged female figures that appear in the upper registers are most unusual (Figure 28). Their faces are broad and round, typical of Syrian female representations, as on the female sphinx column bases of Zinjirli and Sakçe Gözü (Figure 29). The proportions of outspread wings and tail feathers to head bear striking resemblance to the bronze siren cauldron attachments that have been attributed to North Syrian manufacture (Figure 30).⁴¹ In this case, the human attributes are placed directly above the standard winged disk, so that the disk becomes the creature's breast, and she is seen as if flying head-on. Placement of these sirens in the same position on the ivory plaques as that occupied by the simple sundisk suggests a connection in meaning as well. Similarly, the couchant sphinxes and lions in the lower registers can be compared to the sphinxes that occupy the space below the chairs of seated figures on other SW7 plaques.

41. O. W. Muscarella, "The Oriental Origin of Siren Cauldron Attachments," *Hesperia* XXXI (1962) pp. 317–329; H.-V. Herrmann, *Die Kessel der orientalisierende Zeit* (Berlin, 1966) pp. 64–67. For a discussion of the blossoms held by the sirens on the ivory plaques, see below, p. 45.

FIGURE 28
Winged female figure, detail of Figure 2



WORKSHOPS

Clearly, all of the SW7 plaques contain related scenes or elements. At the same time, in composition as well as in execution, the flowerpot helmet series seems to constitute a separate unit within the collection, suggesting that it was conceived and executed apart from the rest. Criteria for individual workshops have been put forth in the recent publication of SW7.⁴² Distinctions drawn indicate that within a single workshop, different plaques of the same panel may have been done by different hands, and therefore that a workshop contained several artisans.⁴³ One principal workshop is distinguished, whose work consists of the majority of pieces, including the hunt panel (Figure 9). The seated man and griffins panel (Figure 7), the flowerpot helmet group (Figures 2, 14, 24), a panel that shows men actually standing in the branches of the tree,⁴⁴ and another panel on which kilted men and long-robed women stand upon a composite floral winged disk with rosette center,⁴⁵ are considered the products of different workshops. Evidence for this is very convincing, as each of the subgroups includes features that differ in rendering and in conception from those of the main group.

42. SW7, pp. 35–39.

43. SW7, no. 3 and p. 73.

44. SW7, no. 21.

45. SW7, no. 65.



FIGURE 29
Column base. Hilani III, Zinjirli. Second half of
the eighth century B.C. Oriental Museum, 7731
(photo: Oriental Museum)

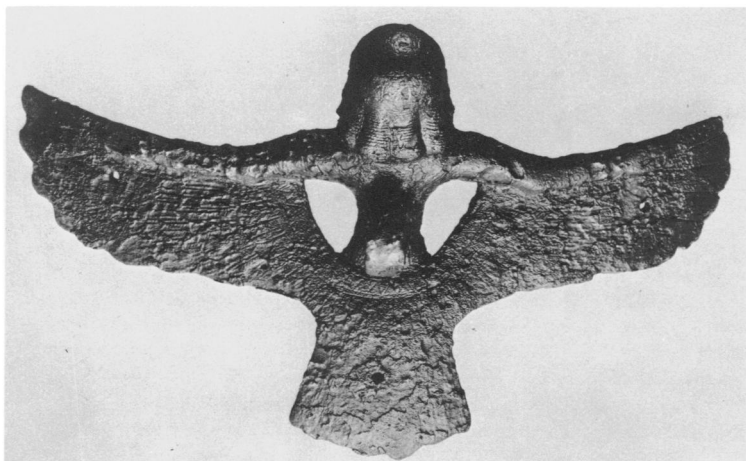


FIGURE 30
Bronze cauldron attachment. Olympia. Eighth
century B.C. National Museum, Athens, B3040
(photo: National Museum)

Nevertheless, as each of these subdivisions still maintains its closest parallels with the eighth-century reliefs of Zinjirli and Sakçe Gözü, it does not seem necessary, as argued in the publication, to ascribe to these workshops differences either in time or place. Once the raw material was available in an area, it is possible that a single center could support a number of coexisting workshops,⁴⁶ all of which could demonstrate a range, not only in the quality of workmanship but also in style, from archaistic to “modern” and including the rare, innovative, or unique piece.⁴⁷

A similar case can be observed in the reliefs of the Nordhallenbau at Zinjirli. There is a clear difference in proportion, attention to detail, and overall quality in the relief of the seated Bar Rakib and his scribe, the musicians, and the attendants with jug and archer’s gear (see Figure 23)⁴⁸ from the other attendant figures characterized by the short and squat gazelle bearer depicted in Figure 20. Apparently, at least two sculptors worked on the orthostats for the building, the more competent working on the more prestigious royal slab and its adjacent blocks. A similar situation pertained in the carving of the Parthenon metopes in fifth-century Athens, where different sculptors executed individual slabs, which then reflected varying degrees of expertise and ranged greatly in style from archaic to classical.⁴⁹

46. As, for example, in Old Babylonian Sippar, where there were apparently rows of contiguous goldsmiths’ shops (A. L. Oppenheim, “Trade in the Ancient Near East,” *V International Congress of Economic History, Leningrad, 10–14 August 1970* [Moscow, 1970] p. 18, note 46).

47. As far as quality is concerned, despite the same motif of men grasping trees, note the sharp contrast between the awkward, columnar figures of *SW7*, nos. 64:1–4, with their sticklike arms, and the well-proportioned and modeled figures of nos. 65–66. More subtle distinctions in quality can be made among closely related plaques such as *SW7*, nos. 2, 4, 5, 19, 21, 26, 38, 40, 46, in all of which a figure grasps the tendril or branch of a tree. In the more successful examples, the stalk bends just below the hand, suggesting the weight and pull of the figure’s arms, whereas in less successful ones, the curves are arbitrary.

48. *AiSIV*, pls. 60–62, figs. 257, 259; *USK*, pls. 63b–d, f–h; 64a.

49. F. Brommer (*Die Metopen des Parthenon* [Mainz, 1967] p. 174) speaks of a period at the most of eight years, possibly only five, and quotes C. Picard to the effect that if all of the metopes had been found in isolated instances, the range would have been extended over thirty years, from about 460 to 430 B.C., rather than from 447 to 439 at most.

ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION OF DECORATIVE SCHEME

That the SW7 panels were all conceived as part of a single "program" is equally clear when one examines their content. For, whatever the stylistic variation in individual works, the theme of a seated or standing figure with a tree and some form of the winged disk remains constant.

When one looks at the collection as a whole, it is possible to come a bit closer to defining the underlying program. None of the human figures wears the headdress that would immediately identify a deity.⁵⁰ Yet traditionally, the seated position is reserved for divine or highly prestigious personages.⁵¹ Significantly, when there is a single seated figure or a pair in a panel, they occupy the central plaque or plaques. Furthermore, the pair of bulls that compose the footstool of the seated male on the griffin panel (Figure 7) are precisely the animals associated with the Syrian storm god from the Hittite Empire through the Roman period.⁵² Finally, at least one of the seated women (Figure 8) holds in her outstretched hand a large ring similar to that held by a seated female goddess on a relief of Tiglath Pileser III from the Central Palace at Nimrud (Figure 31).⁵³ The same ring is held by a seated figure of Ishtar in the procession of gods from Sennacherib's rock relief at Maltai, as well as in the upper portion of the stela of Esarhaddon (680–669 B.C.) found at Zinjirli.⁵⁴

At Maltai, all of the male gods hold both a ring and a staff; female deities hold the ring alone. On both the Maltai and Esarhaddon reliefs, Ishtar is the only seated figure. Her chair is straight-backed, without arms, and its lower portions are decorated with mythological figures. The shape of the chair is not unlike some of the chairs represented on the SW7 plaques⁵⁵ and is also similar to the sort of chair we would expect the SW7 panels to have decorated. In addition, as was previously mentioned, a number of chairs and stools depicted on the SW7 ivories include winged sphinxes between the legs of the chairs, while a single example contains a complex floral arrangement of lotus blossoms similar to those in the tree before the seated figure.⁵⁶ The association of Mesopotamian Ishtar and the West Semitic goddess Astarte with the female sphinx has been clearly demonstrated.⁵⁷ The lion, which replaces the sphinx on some of the plaques in the flowerpot helmet group, is

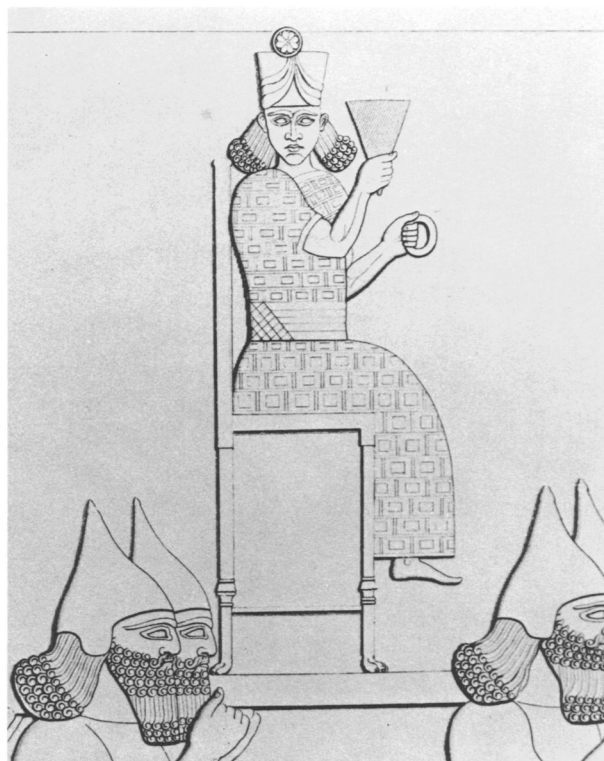


FIGURE 31

Drawing of a relief. Palace of Tiglath Pileser III, Nimrud (original lost)

also associated with Astarte; on equestrian bridle ornaments, the goddess often stands on lions or lions' heads, as does the Ishtar figure from the procession at Maltai.⁵⁸

50. As, for example, the headdresses worn by divine figures on ninth-century reliefs from Zinjirli and Carchemish, and by male sphinxes of the Sakçe Gözü palace (*USK*, pls. 23a, b; 50c; 53c; 58d, f).

51. Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals*, pls. xiv: e, f; xx: b, j; xxiv: f (Akkadian); xxv: d, e, i (Ur III); xxvi: k; xxvii: a, b, g (Old Babylonian); xxx: k, l (Kassite).

52. O. R. Gurney, *The Hittites* (London, 1952) p. 141; J. Garstang, *The Hittite Empire* (London, 1929) p. 304, fig. 42.

53. Barnett and Falkner, *Sculpture*, pls. xcii, xciii.

54. Hrouda, *Kulturgeschichte*, pl. 40:1; *AiS* I, pl. 1, fig. 4.

55. *SW7*, no. 51.

56. *SW7*, nos. 41, 48, 50, 49.

57. *CNI*, p. 85, note 1; E. Porada, "Review of Barnett, *Catalogue of Nimrud Ivories*," *AJA* 64 (1959) p. 93.

58. *SW7*, no. 51:1. The association of the goddess with lions is discussed in H. J. Kantor, "A Bronze Plaque with Relief Design from Tell Tainat," *JNES* 21 (1962) pp. 93–117, esp. pp. 100–101. Again, this association continues in Syria into Roman times (see Garstang, *Hittite Empire*, pp. 302–305).

The spindles held by a seated female on one of the plaques is often associated with Astarte's classical counterpart, Aphrodite/Venus, although the spindle is also an attribute of Anath in second-millennium texts from Ugarit.⁵⁹ The walking genius figures are clearly raised to a "mythological" place by the addition of wings, while the wingless figures on one of the complete panels hold short, curved batons often held by the gods, as on a relief from Assur.⁶⁰ Thus, although it is not certain that any of the figures on the SW7 plaques represent gods or goddesses, their attributes seem to associate them with the divine.

Some sort of plant form occurs in each of the figured plaques. The importance of the plant elements is indicated on the plaques where there are two men alone (for example, Figure 24), as a separate register is provided at the bottom in which an individual floral volute is depicted. Several plaques also have lower registers that contain bud and lotus or plant elements (for example, Figures 1, 8). In general, the figures reach toward or grasp the curving branches of a tree. On one panel, the figures actually stand in the branches, while on several plaques, the trees spring from a schematic representation of earth, indicated by a pattern of overlapping scales.⁶¹

The role of the "sacred tree" in the tradition of the ancient Near East is well established.⁶² Neo-Assyrian texts from our period refer to the close association be-

tween the fertility of the land and care for the "sacred tree."⁶³ On those SW7 plaques that contain a tree alone, the basis for the complex voluted plant is the palm tree, provider of important staples of life in arid climates.⁶⁴ The two most frequent blossoms on the plaques are the abbreviation of the tree—the palmette—and the lily or lotus. The lotus is most often depicted as a single blossom. It appears held, on a short stem, in addition to growing on trees, and is occasionally shown as part of an alternating chain of buds and flowers.

One may wonder why the lotus plant is singled out and why it appears in the bud and blossom chain. The pattern is often taken simply as an ornament, or else as a representation of two stages in the life cycle: birth (bud) and maturity (flower). However, I would submit that the choice of this particular plant is an explicit reference to the fact that the most commonly represented type, the *Caerulea*, or blue lotus, opens and closes daily, flowering from sunrise to midday,⁶⁵ and hence is a constant reminder of regeneration. Thus, the bud and lotus do not represent specific stages in the plant's life, so much as its daily renewal. Its connection with the sun is clear as well, as the blue lotus bud opens precisely at dawn and closes at midday, when the sun is most destructive.⁶⁶ On the ivories, these symbols of regeneration and life cycles are quite consistent with the presence of sacred trees and deities, as well as with the sundisk, discussed below.⁶⁷

59. See SW7, no. 51:2, and CML, Baal II ii and 3 and p. 15. In this context, Mallovan has discussed at length two possible interpretations of the "banquet scene," which he associated with the laden tables depicted on several SW7 plaques with seated women. I do not feel we are provided with enough evidence here to associate this particular scene with either funerary repasts or victory celebrations (SW7, pp. 11–16), but we must recognize the many situations in which such "meals" play a significant role. In addition to the situations cited by Mallovan, there is the "sacred marriage" (S. N. Kramer, *The Sacred Marriage Rite* [Bloomington, 1969] p. 79), seduction scenes in general, such as when Ishtar wrests a number of attributes from Enlil at Eridu (S. N. Kramer, *Sumerian Mythology* [Philadelphia, 1961] pp. 65–68), and offering scenes, such as food provided for the gods (A. L. Oppenheim, *Letters from Mesopotamia* [Chicago, 1967] no. 144). In all cases, the laden table had a positive significance. The unifying principle might be described as reflecting the abundance that results from a good relationship with the land, and hence with the gods; however in isolated instances it is not always possible to reconstruct to which specific narrative an individual representation refers.

60. SW7, no. 65, as compared with Madhloom, *Chronology*, pl. LX:4. The men on the panel also hold curved batons that may be paralleled by objects held by divine figures elsewhere.

61. SW7, nos. 38, 39.

62. H. Danthine, *Le palmier-dattier et les arbres sacrés dans l'iconographie de l'Asie occidentale ancienne* (Paris, 1938); G. Widengren, *The King and the Tree of Life in Ancient Near Eastern Religion* (Uppsala, 1951).

63. CNI, p. 89.

64. SW7, nos. 2:4, 9; 21:1, 6; 22:1, 6; 89–94. See Oppenheim, *Ancient Mesopotamia*, p. 312, with regard to the date palm's ability to withstand the brackish water and salinated soil characteristic of southern Mesopotamia, and the date's value as a staple of the ancient diet.

65. G. A. D. Tait, "The Egyptian Relief Chalice," *JEA* 49 (1963) p. 96.

66. The bud and lotus therefore is an appropriate symbol for funerary monuments. Tait ("The Egyptian Relief Chalice," p. 99) notes that the Egyptian *Caerulea* chalice is frequently shown in the ritual of the dead, and not in ordinary banquet scenes, although he does not explicitly connect the Egyptian concern for the after-life to that particular blossom.

67. E. R. Goodenough (*Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period*, IV [Princeton, 1954] pp. 25–43) distinguishes between "live symbols," charged with meaning, as opposed to decoration. In the ancient Near East, the repetition of symbols, even of a decorative

Although the rosette does not occur frequently on the SW7 ivories, there is one notable instance where the rosette fills the center of a floral sundisk placed at the bottom rather than at the top of the plaques in a complete panel.⁶⁸ In addition, four rosettes appear on the draft-pole of the chariot on the hunt panel (Figure 22), which, as noted above, may be comparable to the presence of four rosettes in the field of the Sakçe Gözü hunt relief (Figure 21). The association of the rosette with the Mesopotamian goddess Ishtar and with the Syrian mother-goddess Kubaba is clear. It appears atop the headdress of the seated Ishtar on the relief of Tiglath Pileser III from Nimrud (Figure 31) and on Kubaba's polos and robe in reliefs from Zinjirli and Carchemish.⁶⁹

As with the lotus, the significance of this particular plant becomes clear once one observes the rosette in nature. Plants that grow with radiating leaves lying close to the ground (called basal leaves, or rosettes) are among the hardiest of the plant kingdom, living in conditions unsuitable for most plants, resisting weather changes, and reproducing rapidly.⁷⁰ Thus the rosette, like the bud and lotus, represents that which endures and generates, and, if the botanical analogy is well taken, is an appropriate symbol for goddesses associated with fertility.

The presence of rosettes on the Sakçe Gözü relief and on the SW7 chariot supports the suggestion that the disproportionately large size of the hunted animals reflects a significance beyond that of a secular hunt. Contemporary kings of Assyria are shown participating in royal hunts as part of their iconography of power and success; the reliefs prominently displayed in the pal-

ace.⁷¹ The hunt relief from Sakçe Gözü was also highly visible, reconstructed by Ussishkin as one of a pair set on either side of the gateway to the palace enclosure. Thus, even if we cannot identify the figures in the chariot or the precise significance of the scene,⁷² we can perceive that it is nonetheless culturally charged and that the implied power, prowess, and capacity to perform are related to the same cultural concerns as providing fertility for the land.

We come then to the role of the winged sundisk and siren figures within this context. On the relief of two men opposite a tree from the palace facade at Sakçe Gözü (Figure 19), tendrils ending in lotus flowers actually extend down from the sundisk to be grasped by the figures below. This is also common on Neo-Assyrian cylinder seals.⁷³ On the SW7 ivories, the disks do not have pendant blossoms, but consistently appear in the field above figures who grasp tendrillike branches or flowers on a tree. On one panel, every plaque contains a winged disk in addition to the large winged disk portrayed on a horizontal plaque that extends across the entire panel (Figure 9). In the flowerpot helmet group, the disk takes the form of a female siren holding blossoms (Figure 28); on another panel, the disk appears in an unusual floral configuration.⁷⁴ Since the association of the griffin and the sun is attested in classical sources and has been suggested also in the ancient Near East,⁷⁵ it is possible that the griffin-demon guardians of the tree on the seated man panel (Figure 7) may be standing in for the sun's presence. If this is so, then this panel, which is attributed to a different workshop from most of the SW7 pieces, might well represent a rare, not necessarily

nature, served to intensify a situation and even to heighten the drama, as can be seen so clearly in literary compositions. Repetition further implies continuity, precisely by not showing the unique, but rather by exemplifying principles which repeat and endure. In this case, then, the bud and lotus, and particularly the bud and lotus chain, would be a "live" symbol, the pattern synonymous with the recurrent principle it embodies.

68. SW7, no. 65. Note that this occurs also on the sundisk of the Zinjirli seated woman stele (Figure 17).

69. M. Riemschneider, *Die Welt der Hethiter* (Stuttgart, 1954) pl. 48; *USK*, pl. 58c; Woolley and Barnett, *Carchemish III*, pls. B.39a, 64. For the rosette's association with Inanna/Ishtar, see M.-T. Barrelet, "Les déesses ailées et armées," *Syria XXXII* (1955) p. 244.

70. E. L. Palmer, "Basal Rosettes," *Natural History* (November, 1960) pp. 36-45.

71. See Assyrian kings hunting in *AR*, *passim*, discussed for

reliefs in H. Frankfort, *Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient* (Baltimore, 1954) pp. 99-101. Two reliefs with divine symbols on the draft-pole strap (Hrouda, *Kulturgeschichte*, pl. 26:3, 4) further support the significance of this occurrence on the ivory (my Figure 22).

72. The annals of Sennacherib record that on the doors of the king's palace there were depicted scenes of Assur going to battle in a chariot, with the divine Amurru as charioteer and the "victorious prince" (presumably Sennacherib) also in the chariot. Rakib-el, the charioteer of El, was a major divinity in the Aramaic pantheon (H. Frankfort, *Kingship and the Gods* [Chicago, 1948] p. 327). For additional references to gods, particularly weather-gods, in chariots, see M. Weinfeld, "'Rider of the Clouds' and 'Gatherer of the Clouds,'" *Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society of Columbia University* 5 (1973) pp. 421-427.

73. Porada, *Corpus*, nos. 640-645.

74. SW7 no. 65.

75. *CNI*, pp. 73-77.

innovative, but independent solution to a problem, where the ancient ivory carver was faced with a general theme and selected an individual way of dealing with it.

The sundisk as represented on SW7 plaques is distinguished by two large spiral curls framing the disk. These curls are generally associated with the characteristic hairdo of the Egyptian goddess Hathor. The allusion, as we shall see, is clearly conscious and most appropriate within the context of the SW7 panels, for in her own culture Hathor represents both “the creative force of the sun and at the same time embodies the fertile aspects of vegetation.”⁷⁶

This particular form of the sundisk first developed in Anatolia during the period of the Hittite Empire (1400–1200 B.C.).⁷⁷ While the symbol is generally seen in association with representations of the king, the presence of Hathor curls reflects Anatolian assimilation of Egyptian elements at this time,⁷⁸ especially appropriate since the Hittite sun-deity was also female. It is precisely at those first-millennium North Syrian sites that had strong Hittite and Neo-Hittite traditions that one finds examples of the winged and voluted disk.⁷⁹ The blend of West Semitic with Hittite traditions clearly had begun during the syncretistic period of the Hittite Empire in the late second millennium, when sons of the

Hittite king were installed in Aleppo and in Carchemish. Illustrative of this process and particularly apt for the present discussion is a text from Ras Shamra of that time, in which the Hittite sun-goddess of Arinna is referred to as the “Shepesh” of Arinna—the name of the Canaanite sun-goddess.⁸⁰

Thus, on those occasions when a female figure holding blossoms appears above the winged disk on SW7 ivories (Figures 2, 14, 24), Mallowan has identified her with Shepesh.⁸¹ In drawing upon the West Semitic traditions of the Ugaritic texts, it is assumed that the first-millennium tradition in Syria did not radically change from the second millennium, although no comparable body of literature exists from the later period.

Who is this goddess Shepesh and what were her functions? In the poem of Ba'al, Shepesh is not a major figure. She is called “luminary of the gods,” and as such serves as a messenger for El.⁸² She is sometimes described in her destructive aspect, “burning hot,” so that “the furrows in the field are cracked with drought.”⁸³ But she is also enlisted as a helper of Anath, accompanying the goddess down into the earth to retrieve Ba'al and thus return fertility (and life) to the earth.⁸⁴ In the “Pantheon List” from Ras Shamra, she is cited immediately after Anath.⁸⁵

76. E. L. B. Terrace and H. G. Fischer, *Treasures of Egyptian Art from the Cairo Museum* (London, 1970) p. 48. Barnett (*CNI*, p. 82) suggested that these curls as worn by female figures on ivories from the Loftus Collection may indicate the Canaanite goddess Qadesh attested on second-millennium monuments, who is often shown with Hathor locks and sundisk on her head, holding lotus flowers. Although W. Helck (*Betrachtungen zur grossen Göttin und den ihr verbundenen Gottheiten* [Munich, 1971] p. 217) has since shown that Qadesh was not a deity but rather an epithet, “qedesh,” or holy, that was applied to the goddess Astarte, the association with principles of fertility is clear in any case.

77. See the representation of Tudhaliya IV (1250–1220 B.C.) at Yazilikaya, in E. Akurgal, *Art of the Hittites* (New York, 1962) pl. xxix and fig. 78.

78. K. Bittel, in an address to the Columbia University Seminar on the Archaeology of the Eastern Mediterranean, Eastern Europe and the Near East (December 13, 1973), speculated on the possibility that the Temple of the Storm-God at Bogazkoi owed its form as a freestanding sanctuary surrounded by a walled complex of storerooms to Egyptian prototypes, resulting from contacts between the two regions, especially during the late fourteenth and early thirteenth centuries B.C. In a more recent paper by K. K. Riemschneider, “Who Taught Babylonian to the Egyptians?,” presented before the meetings of the American Oriental Society, Philadelphia, March 16, 1976, it was further suggested that there

were Hittites in residence in the Egyptian court in the early fourteenth century.

79. In one example (Woolley and Lawrence, *Carchemish II*, pl. A.16:1), the center disk contains the four-pointed star related to the Hittite “signe royale.” The continuation of second-millennium motifs into North Syrian art of the first millennium is most apparent in the banquet scenes and representations of seated figures: for example, the reliefs of Yağri and Alaça Huyuk (H. Bossert, *Altanatolien* [Berlin, 1942] figs. 571, 516), that continued in the ninth-century reliefs of Zinjirli, Carchemish, and Marash, as well as in the eighth-century examples cited earlier from Zinjirli, Marash, and Tell Rifa'at (*USK*, pls. 57c, 21c, 43i, 45b, 66d, 45d, g, 46a, 47d, 48i).

80. R. Dussaud, *Les Religions des Hittites et des Hourrites*, p. 335, cited in *N&R II*, p. 496, note 59.

81. *SW7*, pp. 16–18; *N&R II*, pp. 496–498.

82. *CML*, Baal III*C i 15.

83. *CML*, Baal Vv 17–18, II viii 21–23, III ii 24–25, III iii 24–iv 3.

84. *CML*, Baal Ii 7–15, III iv 17–20. For a study of the sun-goddess, see A. Caquot, “La divinité solaire ougaritique,” *Syria XXXVI* (1959) pp. 90–101, in which the goddess is described as a minor deity serving as an “element of scientific explanation” in the fertility myths.

85. J. Nougayrol et al., *Ugaritica V* (Paris, 1968) pp. 45, 11, 20, 21.

It is tempting to rely upon these Ugaritic texts, the Ba'al myth in particular, and to see in the ivories analogies to Ba'al the storm-god and his sister, Anath, providing fertility to the earth, aided by the sun-goddess Shepesh. It is equally tempting to see in the seated male figure of the griffin panel (Figure 7) Ba'al himself, his feet resting on the bulls of the storm-god, cup in hand, and flanked by animal-bearers, as if this were an illustration of the occasion described in the myth in which, after Ba'al's defeat of Yam, "[they] held a feast for him and gave him to drink; [they] gave a cup into his hand."⁸⁶

Yet before one applies a specific story to the representations on the SW7 panels, it must be pointed out that there are similarly enticing elements in other myths of the mid-second millennium B.C. For example, Shepesh also plays a beneficent role in the story of "Shahar and Shalim"—twin gods identified as dawn and dusk and associated with viticulture, at whose birth Shepesh makes "tendrils abound with . . . and with grapes."⁸⁷ The image of the twin figures in flowerpot helmets springs to mind (Figure 24), particularly in regard to the siren figures in the sundisk, and the tendrillike quality of the branches.

It is also necessary to explore the possibility that the winged creatures do not represent the sun-goddess at all. The blossoms held by siren figures on our plaques

are generally associated with Astarte, goddess of fertility, on both second- and first-millennium monuments.⁸⁸ I have already referred to attributes of Astarte in conjunction with representations of the seated women and female sphinxes on several plaques from the SW7 group. However, it must be noted that at present it is not possible to determine if blossoms per se were restricted in association to the single goddess, or if they could serve as attributes of several female divinities.⁸⁹

Finally, the assimilation of the two chief goddesses of the Ugaritic pantheon, Anath and Athirat (Astarte), is attested during the late second millennium⁹⁰ and is reflected in the myth of Ba'al where both Anath and Athirat carry Ba'al's cup.⁹¹ Given this assimilation, it is significant that in the Ugaritic literature, Anath is sometimes described as a bird of prey with outstretched wings.⁹² A particularly suggestive reference occurs in the myth of Aqhat, in which Anath joins a flock of eagles hovering above the hero during a meal, in order to steal his divine bow.⁹³ Aqhat, who is associated with fertility, is warned in the use of his weapon that he must offer the first fruits of the chase to "his" (presumably Ba'al's) temple.⁹⁴ His father, Danel, is a chthonic deity; like Aqhat, Danel is associated with the produce of the earth.⁹⁵ One could relate this story as well to the SW7 group: winged female sirens with outstretched eagle's

86. *CML*, Baal Vi 4–19.

87. *CML*, p. 23; Shahar & Shalim i 25–26.

88. Kantor, "A Bronze Plaque with Relief Design from Tell Tainat," pp. 93–117; R. D. Barnett, "North Syrian and Related Harness Decorations," in K. Bittel, ed., *Vorderasiatische Archäologie* (Berlin, 1964) pp. 21–26. There is a small silver pendant from Zinjirli, on which a nude frontal female, her arms bent at the elbow, holds a blossom in each hand (*AiS* V, pl. 47f). Although the figure is not identified by inscription, she is iconographically the same as those represented on the equestrian plaques discussed by Kantor and Barnett. It should be noted also that Astarte is the only second-millennium goddess mentioned in a first-millennium text—as one of the six Phoenician deities called to witness the treaty of Esarhaddon with Ba'alus of Tyre, about 671 B.C. (R. Borger, *Die Inschriften Assarhaddons, Königs von Assyrien* [Graz, 1956] p. 109, line 18).

89. A clothed frontal female holding blossoms is represented on the Mahrada stele, found outside of Hamath (*CNI*, fig. 14; *USK*, pl. 38g). The inscription identifies her as "Great Queen of HA-country." According to J. D. Hawkins, "This could be a writing of 'Hamath,' as Egypt is elsewhere written MI-country—i.e. Mizri. The Great Queen in that case must be a goddess, and the chief goddess of Hamath was called Pahalatis in other contemporary inscriptions, i.e., Ba'alat" (personal communication). Unfortunately, it is not clear to what extent Ba'alat was considered a separate deity or an epithet. Closest to our winged females with

head and arms but no body are the sirens with blossoms incised on tridachna shells that have been found throughout the Near East and the Mediterranean. However, the figure on the shells has never been identified (see the bibliography in S. Stucchi, "Un nuovo frammento di Tridachna Incisa," *Bolletino d'Arte* 44 [1959] pp. 158–166).

90. W. F. Albright, *The Archaeology and Religion of Israel* (Baltimore, 1942) pp. 74–75. For monuments, see I. E. S. Edwards, "A Relief of Qudshu-Astarte-Anath in the Winchester College Collection," *JNES* 14 (1955) pp. 49–51, pl. III, where a nude goddess holding a blossom in her right hand and a serpent in her left is shown standing on the back of a lion. The accompanying inscription identifies her as all three goddesses.

91. *CML*, Baal Vv 33–34. In another Ras Shamra text describing a banquet of the gods (R. S. 24.258, translated by C. Viroulaud, in Nougayrol et al., *Ugaritica* V, pp. 545–551), Anath and Astarte prepare a meal together for (presumably) El.

92. See Viroulaud in *Ugaritica* V, pp. 553–555, regarding R.S. 24.252.

93. *CML*, Aqhat III i 20–21; III i 30–32.

94. *CML*, Aqhat V 36–38, and p. 53 note 13.

95. Implied in *CML*, Aqhat III i 15, I i 30–31. Driver notes on p. 8 that Anath clearly intends to revive Aqhat after he is inadvertently killed (III i 16); he must have been resurrected at the end of the poem, which is now missing.

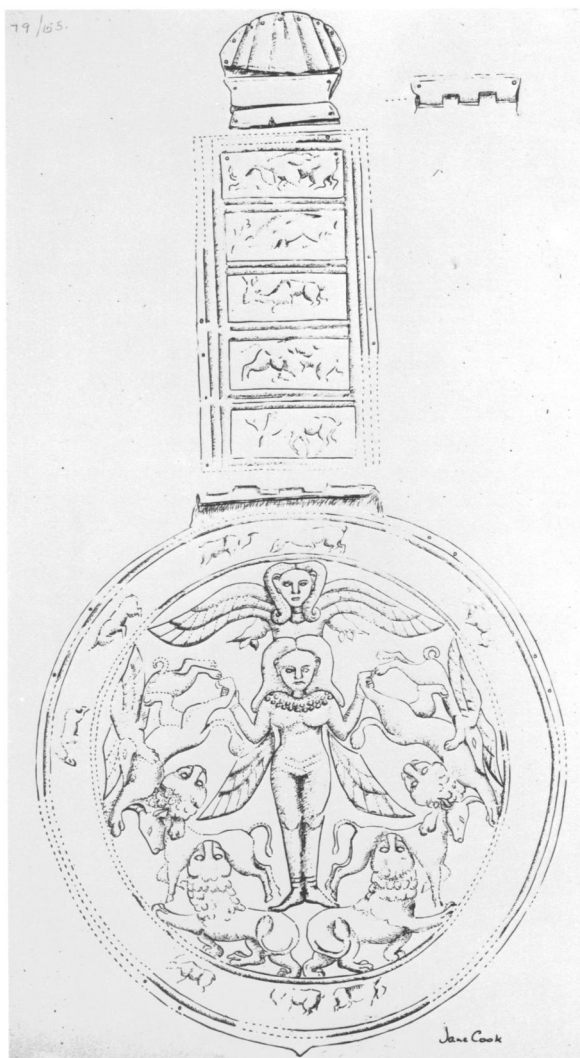


FIGURE 32

Drawing of a bronze equestrian ornament, Salamis. Eighth century B.C. Cyprus Museum, Nicosia (photo: courtesy Director of Antiquities, Cyprus Museum)

wings as Anath; animal bearers as Aqhat; men with plants to emphasize fertility; and two like figures in the flowerpot helmet series, not as twins but rather as Danel and Aqhat.

At the present time, the evidence seems to be weighted toward an identification of the SW7 siren figures with the sun-goddess only because of the apparently interchangeable places occupied by the sirens and the simple winged sundisks with Hathor curls, suggesting that the simple disks are but an abbreviated render-

ing of the same symbol.⁹⁶ This equation of sirens and winged sundisks would seem to be supported by the recent discovery of a pair of bronze equestrian ornaments in a late eighth-century tomb at Salamis, Cyprus, on which a female siren figure is seen over the head of a nude "mistress of animals" (Figure 32).⁹⁷ On other equestrian ornaments of similar date, this same nude female is frequently represented with a simple winged disk in the field above.⁹⁸ As on the SW7 plaques, then, the two elements seem to be interchangeable in otherwise standard compositions. Nevertheless, there does remain the enigmatic representation on the Bomford plaque—an equestrian frontlet of North Syrian style although of unknown provenance—where we see clearly a harpylike creature with the head of a woman and the body of an eagle, including talons, in the field above a nude female.⁹⁹

It is indeed unfortunate that no relevant first-millennium literary texts have been preserved with which to compare the representations on the SW7 ivories. The Ugaritic texts cited above appear related to the scenes represented on the ivories, although no definite correlations can be made. This may be because the representations are not specifically parallel to a text; or, if they are, because we do not have the text. In this regard, it is important to keep in mind that the ancient ivory carver would have taken a common cultural vocabulary for granted and would not necessarily have been explicit in his literary allusions.¹⁰⁰

96. Mallowan (SW7, p. 17) has suggested that if the winged siren figures represent the female sun-goddess, then perhaps the winged disk alone represents the sun in its male aspect, a reference to the male solar deities of neighboring Babylonia and Assyria. With this I must disagree, first because there is no reason to assume such a reference in ivories produced in North Syria, and second because all of the winged disks retain the feminine association of the Hathor curls, which are absent only when the siren figures with their own hair curls are placed above.

97. The pieces are badly corroded (see Karageorghis, *Excavations in the Necropolis of Salamis III*, pl. LXXXIX). Despite the solution presented by the published drawings, I wonder whether the siren's appendages are spread talons or blossoms held in outstretched hands.

98. Examples occur from Nimrud (J. J. Orchard, *Ivories from Nimrud (1949-1963)*, Fascicle I: 1: *Equestrian Bridle-Harness Ornaments* [Aberdeen, 1967] pl. xxviii) and from Gordion (R. S. Young, "The 1961 Campaign at Gordion," *AJA* 66 [1962] pl. 46).

99. Barnett, "North Syrian and Related Harness Decorations," pl. II:3.

100. On Babylonian narrative art being allusive rather than depictive, see A. Perkins, "Narrative in Babylonian Art," *AJA* 61 (1957) p. 55.



FIGURE 33
Relief. Palace of Tiglath Pileser III. Detroit Institute of Arts, 50.32

Thus, while we cannot for the present match precisely the representations on the ivories with known texts, what is clear is the general consistency in thematic material from panel to panel: winged disk, plant

elements, figures associated with trees, and laden tables. All of these elements reflect a common meaning: the daily rising of the sun, like the daily opening of the lotus in its flowering season, reflects that continuity necessary

FIGURE 34
Relief. Palace of Tiglath Pileser III. The British Museum, no. 118907 (courtesy the Trustees of the British Museum)



FIGURE 35
Relief. Palace of Tiglath Pileser III. The British Museum, no. 118905 (courtesy the Trustees of the British Museum)



for life, which then requires sustenance from the earth whose abundance is celebrated by the laden tables.¹⁰¹ Nor is the hunt out of place in this context. The successful hunt, like war, ends in victory; and, like the motif of the bud and lotus, implies the cycle of death which must precede rebirth. It is striking that both the goddesses Anath and Astarte and the storm-god as well combine in themselves the dual aspects of fertility and war; as if fertility too was won through struggle and thus the achievement thereof was to be celebrated as a victory after battle.¹⁰²

Despite individual variations, then, the SW7 ivories were clearly produced according to a single iconographic program. This unity in conception strongly suggests that the scenes not only had a meaning, but also a purpose. Although the links to fertility might imply that the pieces were more appropriately to be associated with beds than with chairs, it is equally possible that the panels decorated chairs that served some special function, such as specific repasts or ceremonies. The chairs may even have been part of temple furniture; they are significantly like those upon which the goddesses sit on reliefs from Malta and elsewhere, and seem to exemplify the “seat for a god [with] a rest at [its] back,” presented to Athirat in the poem of Ba’al,¹⁰³ while in the inventory texts of Assurbanipal from Nineveh, mention is made of ceremonial furniture used in connection with the cults of specific deities.¹⁰⁴

DATING AND HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

As far as the date of the ivories is concerned, the chronology of North Syria in this period is essentially linked to that of Assyria. The best parallels for Assyrian elements on the SW7 plaques come from the reliefs of Tiglath Pileser III—such as the hairstyle of foreign mercenaries and prisoners (Figure 27); the common court garment of long-skirted robe with fringed shawl wrapped around the waist and over one shoulder (Figures 1, 33); sandal type;¹⁰⁵ the armor worn by horsemen (Figure 34); a possible variant on the flowerpot helmet worn by another horseman (Figure 35); and a tasseled cloth covering the king’s throne, similar to that used on the seats of the ivory plaques.¹⁰⁶ In addition, the best comparison for the couchant lions that appear on several plaques is with the lions of the column bases



FIGURE 36
Column base. Palace, Tell Tainat. Second half of the eighth century B.C. Antioch Museum, 6020 (photo: Oriental Institute, University of Chicago)

from Building II at Tell Tainat, which are dated after the Assyrian annexation of Pattina by Tiglath Pileser in 743 B.C. (Figures 24, 36).¹⁰⁷

101. It is during this period in Egypt and Phoenicia that the corollary motif of the infant Horus, called the “infant sun,” seated on a lotus, became popular in art. Tait (“The Egyptian Relief Chalice,” p. 135) specifically associates the motif with rejuvenation.

102. This may explain why both warriors and caretakers of the sacred tree wear the same garment on the SW7 plaques. The observation was made, but not pursued, by G. Herrmann in SW7, p. 26; Mallowan, SW7, p. 10, does refer to the men grasping trees as “powerful warriors,” without indicating, however, why he calls them this.

103. CML, Baal II ii 31–32.

104. A. R. Millard, “Fragments of Historical Texts from Nineveh: Ashurbanipal,” *Iraq* XXX (1968) p. 108: (B.M. 83-1-18, 600 + B.M. 123425): bed of . . . wood with precious stones for Bel and Beltiya “for performing marriage”; bed of ebony overlaid with gold for Marduk.

105. Madhloom, *Chronology*, p. 69.

106. Thureau-Dangin, *Til Barsib Atlas*, pl. XLVII. Furniture styles did not change substantially from the ninth through the seventh centuries B.C. and so cannot be used in chronological arguments.

107. Stylistic similarities, as pointed out by Herrmann, SW7, p. 88, may be seen in the open mouth, crouching posture, and clear distinction of the ruff from the rest of the mane. For the date of Building II at Tell Tainat, see R. C. Haines, *Excavations in the Plain of Antioch: The Structural Remains of the Later Phases* (Chicago, 1971) p. 66.

Clearly, the parallels from Zinjirli are from the period of Bar Rakib, king of ancient Sam'al from about 730 to 720 B.C. Striking similarities have also been observed with the hunt relief of the palace enclosure of Sakçe Gözü, demonstrated by Ussishkin to date to the first half of the eighth century.¹⁰⁸ In a paper presented before the American Oriental Society in 1972, I suggested that the relationship apparent in reliefs from Zinjirli and from the palace at Sakçe Gözü was due to close political ties between the two sites, and that both had probably been part of Sam'al. In any event, the reliefs from the two sites were products of the same workshop and are alike in overall style and specific details of rendering as well as in conception.¹⁰⁹ Thus, the palace of Sakçe Gözü, whether the site was politically allied with Zinjirli or not, evidently belonged to the same cultural tradition and looked, presumably, to the larger site for its craftsmen, much as Solomon, in building his temple and palace at Jerusalem, called in artisans from Tyre.¹¹⁰

I would suggest, therefore, that the SW7 ivories, as a coherent subgroup within the North Syrian style of the early first millennium B.C., were produced in the same cultural context as the Zinjirli and Sakçe Gözü reliefs—in Sam'al, during the reigns of both Tiglath Pileser III

and Bar Rakib. This would accord roughly with the date of about 740–730 proposed by Mallowan and Herrmann as the most reasonable period for the ivories' production.¹¹¹

At this time, Bar Rakib of Sam'al was a vassal of Tiglath Pileser of Assyria. An inscription written by Bar Rakib for his father, Panamu II, describes how the earlier king had been killed "running at the side" of the Assyrian king's chariot; in other words, while fighting with the Assyrian army, presumably against Damascus in 733.¹¹² The representation of foreign bowmen on the reliefs of Tiglath Pileser III (Figure 27) thus takes on greater significance as an illustration of the type of event recorded in the Aramaean inscription. And as further support for the suggestion of the ivories' manufacture in Sam'al, in a study of foreigners represented on Assyrian reliefs, M. Wäfler has shown that the particular hairdo of corkscrew curls (as seen on several of the ivories as well as on the "foreign" bowmen) is peculiar to men of Sam'al.¹¹³

While we cannot definitely conclude that the ivories could not have been begun before Tiglath Pileser's reign, or subsequently, in the reign of Sargon II (722–705 B.C.), it is likely that they were executed and delivered to Nimrud during Tiglath Pileser's time. Mallo-

108. D. Ussishkin, "The Dates of the Neo-Hittite Enclosure at Sakçagözü," *BASOR* pp. 181 (1966) 15–23. In his article cited in note 26, Ussishkin tried unconvincingly to show that the ivories should have been carved prior to the Sakçe Gözü huht relief, because of the six-spoked chariot wheels and the form of the chariot (*BASOR* 203, pp. 26–27). His arguments have been refuted by M. A. Littauer and J. Crouwel ("The Dating of a Chariot Ivory from Nimrun Considered Once Again," *BASOR* 209 [1973] pp. 27–33), who demonstrate that the profile of the chariot box on the ivory is one known from the reign of Tiglath Pileser III on, and that although the six-spoked chariot wheel is generally associated with the ninth century, there is at least one chariot of the period of Tiglath Pileser that has only six spokes. Ultimately, Littauer and Crouwel opt for a date in the reign of Sargon II of Assyria (722–705 B.C.) for the hunt ivory, because the four-passenger chariot first appears in reliefs at that time. However, it must be emphasized that the ivories are not Assyrian, but rather North Syrian. Just as the chariot with an eight-spoked wheel appeared earlier in North Syria than in Assyria, the four-passenger vehicle may well have been developed first in Syria and subsequently adopted in Assyria. I believe that the evidence amassed by Littauer and Crouwel is consistent with the strong arguments for dating the rest of the SW7 group within the reign of Tiglath Pileser III.

109. Akurgal, in *Greece*, p. 60, noted the relationship between the female sphinx orthostat of Hilani II at Zinjirli and the male sphinx orthostats of Sakçe Gözü, as well as that of the lions from

Hilani II with the gateway lions of the Hallenbau P, also at Zinjirli, thus establishing the stylistic unity of sculpture from a building dated to the reign of Bar Rakib with work from Sakçe Gözü. To this may be added close similarities in the various representations of Bar Rakib, as well as attendant-figures from Hilani III, with the Sakçe Gözü king relief, and in the female sphinx column bases from both sites (see my unpublished dissertation, pp. 207–210).

110. I Kings 5.

111. SW7, p. 62. The reference on p. 64 of SW7 to the presence of "Phoenician or Aramaean" fitters' marks on the backs of several plaques supports my argument. These markings were not recorded at the time of their excavation before they were masked in protective bandages. However, since the plaques are in the North Syrian style, the markings are probably not Phoenician. The presence of Aramaean signs would seem to rule out a provenance such as Carchemish, where the Hittite hieroglyphic script was still used, and would be consistent with the hypothesis that the ivories were produced in Aramaean Sam'al.

112. For the inscription of Panamu, see H. Donner and W. Röllig, *Kanaanäische und Aramäische Inschriften I* (Wiesbaden, 1962) pp. 223–224, no. 215.

113. M. Wäfler, *Nicht-Assyrische neuassyrischer Darstellungen*, *Alter Orient und Altes Testament* 26 (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1975) p. 186 and figs. 104, 106, 107.

wan makes it clear that Fort Shalmaneser was used by Tiglath Pileser.¹¹⁴ What is more, in 738, the king of Sam'al had been included in Tiglath Pileser's tribute lists, in which gifts of ivory were noted.¹¹⁵

The SW7 ivories may well have been tribute for the Assyrian king from his vassal at Sam'al, either Panamu or Bar Rakib, although, as it is assumed that Bar Rakib lived into the reign of Shalmaneser V (726–722 B.C.), it is possible that the furniture was a gift presented to Shalmaneser on his accession to the throne. That such a gift would have been considered appropriately lavish is implied in the annals of the various Assyrian kings who prized ivory furniture as booty or tribute. It is even more eloquently suggested in the poem of Ba'al, in the joy with which Athirat received her gifts of a chair, footstool, and table, fit "for a god."¹¹⁶

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Now that all of the threads of stylistic parallels for the SW7 ivories, their iconographic content, and chronological placement have been drawn together, the significance of the group becomes clear. For in this single collection we are provided with not one, but four conclusions regarding fine ivory work in the early first millennium B.C.

First, as regards centers of production, Barnett, in his publication of the Nimrud ivories excavated by Loftus and Layard, suggested that the entire group was carved at Hamath, which he proposed as the center of ivory working in the early first millennium.¹¹⁷ This was later supported by Riis, who cited waste flakes of ivory, as if from a workshop, found in the excavation of the palace at that site.¹¹⁸ Whether or not there was ivory carving at Hamath is not within the scope of this paper to determine. By distinguishing a significant subgroup within the Syrian style and attributing it to Sam'al, however, I do suggest the existence of at least one local center of manufacture. Since Sam'al was not one of the larger or wealthier states of North Syria in the ninth and eighth centuries B.C., such a conclusion implies a model of multiple centers of production of fine ivory work at this time—on the pattern of Syrian cities in more recent times, where most luxury production is carried out in independent operations in each major center.¹¹⁹ The validity of this suggestion for antiquity is strengthened

by the presence at Al Mina on the Syrian coast of ivory tusks partially sawed for carving. It is supported in the Assyrian records where receipt of ivory tusks is recorded from both Carchemish and Pattina, suggesting that the raw materials necessary for local production were at hand.¹²⁰ An implication that the existence of various centers of ivory production was recognized in antiquity itself is contained in the annals of Shalmaneser III of Assyria, in which the chronicler carefully distinguishes among the types of ivory furniture taken as booty from different cities: ebony furniture set with ivory from Carchemish, ivory furniture overlaid in silver and gold from Bit Adini, and inlaid ("tamlu") ivory furniture from Damascus.¹²¹ It is therefore highly likely that upon further stylistic analysis, additional subgroups within the Syrian style of ivory carving can be attributed to other centers of production, and that other media, for example metalwork, would also yield to subdivision.

Second, in addition to implying the existence of many ivory-working centers, the SW7 assemblage provides us with information about the organization of craft production during this period, unfortunately so absent in contemporary documents. For example, we can see that a single center contained multiple workshops, and that an individual workshop could include several craftsmen.

Third, the closely related panels in the SW7 collection exhibit a range in quality and treatment of the single iconographic theme that allows us to glimpse solutions chosen by individual artists within the program's specifications and that suggests the limits of any rigidly linear notion of stylistic development through time.

114. *N&R* II, p. 469.

115. *AR* I, §§ 772, 801.

116. *CML*, Baal II ii 29–31. For the value placed on fine ivory work, see R. S. 25.421 in Nougayrol et al., *Ugaritica* V, pp. 315, 317, in which a goddess's beauty is likened to the perfection of an ivory panel.

117. *CNI*, p. 46, and reaffirmed in R. D. Barnett, "Hamath and Nimrud," *Iraq* 25 (1963) pp. 81–84.

118. P. J. Riis, *Sukas* I (Copenhagen, 1970) p. 169.

119. See P. K. Hitti, *History of Syria* (London, 1951) p. 49, and A. H. M. Jones, "Asian Trade in Antiquity," in D. S. Richards, ed., *Islam and the Trade of Asia* (London, 1970) pp. 1–10, especially p. 8.

120. Al Mina: *CNI*, p. 165, note 1. Balawat: L. W. King, *The Bronze Reliefs from the Gates of Shalmaneser, King of Assyria* (London, 1915) pls. xxviii, xxxiii.

121. *AR* I, §§ 475, 476, 740.

And finally, fourth, the very recognition of a “program”—appropriate iconographic themes related to classes of objects—makes clear the close ties that must have existed between other classes of objects and their decoration at this time. This observation unites the SW7 ivories with a corpus of monuments as far-reaching as the chair of the archbishop of Ravenna, with its panels of the evangelists and John the Baptist (Figure 10), as well as the sculptural programs of classical and medieval architecture. In fact, it is perhaps particularly apt to close with the throne of the archbishop, as it

has been speculated that the front panel illustrated here is the product of a Syrian workshop, or of Syrian craftsmen in Constantinople during the sixth century A.D.¹²² This opens up the specific problem discussed here to the broader context in which the throne of Maximian is in a very real sense the heir to the Syrian ivory-carving tradition of the first millennium B.C. It suggests, despite gaps in the archaeological record, a continuity in tradition of considerable importance in the later history of the art of fine ivory work, of which the SW7 panels represent a significant part of the earlier phases.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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SOURCES ABBREVIATED

AiS

F. von Luschan, *Ausgrabungen in Sendschirli* (Berlin, 1893–1943)

AJA

American Journal of Archaeology

Anat. Stud.

Anatolian Studies

AR

D. D. Luckenbill, *Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia I, II* (Chicago, 1926, 1927)

BASOR

Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research

CML

G. R. Driver, *Canaanite Myths and Legends* (Edinburgh, 1956)

CNI

R. D. Barnett, *Catalogue of the Nimrud Ivories in the British Museum* (London, 1957)

JEA

Journal of Egyptian Archaeology

JNES

Journal of Near Eastern Studies

LAA

Liverpool Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology

N&R

M. Mallowan, *Nimrud and its Remains* (New York, 1966)

SW7

M. Mallowan and G. Herrmann, *Ivories from Nimrud (1949–9631), Fascicule III: Furniture from SW7, Fort Shalmaneser* (Aberdeen, 1974)

USK

W. Orthmann, *Untersuchungen zur spätethetischen Kunst* (Bonn, 1971)

122. R. Hinks, *Carolingian Art* (London, 1935) pp. 43, 44.

The Phoenician Inscriptions of the Cesnola Collection

JAVIER TEIXIDOR

THE PHOENICIAN INSCRIPTIONS studied here were discovered by Louis Palma di Cesnola at Kition during the years when he was Consul of the United States at Cyprus. The excavations of various archaeological sites, which he carried on from 1865 to 1871, unearthed a great number of statues, pottery, inscriptions, sarcophagi, and other artifacts. All these objects, some 35,000, formed the Cesnola Collection; the largest surviving part of the collection is owned today by The Metropolitan Museum of Art. It would be an arduous task to trace back the whereabouts of the dispersed objects. Some of the early finds were sold by auction in Paris in 1870;¹ others were bought from Cesnola by European and American museums, or by private collectors. In some cases Cesnola sold the objects to raise funds for his excavations. One consignment sent by him to London was lost at sea off Beirut. Furthermore, it should be remembered that Cesnola used to complain about tourists walking out of his museum at Larnaca with items stolen from the collection.²

The texts of the Cesnola Collection are either inscribed on fragments of votive bowls or stelae, or painted on earthenware jars. These inscriptions, like

everything else in the collection, have their own history. They were made known to the learned world for the first time on May 6, 1870, in a report read by E. Rödiger at the meeting of the Prussian Academy of Sciences of Berlin. Rödiger mentioned then many of the Phoenician inscriptions that are today in the Metropolitan Museum, but his interpretation of the texts was based on drawings made by his correspondent in Cyprus, and this correspondent did not know Phoenician. Two years later P. Schröder, a well-established authority on the Phoenician language, presented a more reliable report on the inscriptions to the Academy of Berlin. Schröder had had the opportunity of spending several weeks at Larnaca making facsimiles of the inscriptions stored in Cesnola's house. He failed to find all the texts published by Rödiger, but he found others unnoticed by Rödiger's correspondent.

Cesnola carried the whole collection to London in 1872 and it was acquired there by the Metropolitan Museum.³ However, it was not until May 1874 that the Trustees of the Museum were able to report that the collection had become the property of the Museum.⁴

In May 1874, at a meeting of the American Oriental

1. March 25–26. The catalogue does not mention any inscriptions among the 388 objects sold.

2. Myres states that several important objects of the collection never reached New York and that they are known from the descriptions of Cesnola, or of G. Colonna Ceccaldi, who saw them before the collection left Cyprus; see also CIS, p. 44. Important informa-

tion about Cesnola's activity in the island can be found in G. Perrot, "L'île de Chypre. Son rôle dans l'Histoire," *Revue des deux mondes* 48, III Series, December 1, 30 (1878) pp. 511–512; 49, III Series, February 1, 31 (1879) pp. 588–605, esp. pp. 593, 598.

3. Myres, pp. xvii–xviii.

4. Howe, p. 156.

Society, W. H. Ward presented a note on the Collection's Phoenician inscriptions. To the texts already known he added three that he himself had discovered at the Museum. In 1882 Isaac H. Hall became the Curator of the Department of Sculpture at the Museum; this department included "all the sculpture, antiquities, inscriptions, jewelry, glassware, pottery, porcelain, and such other objects of art as commonly are termed Bric-à-Brac."⁵ Hall then restudied the collection and discovered additional inscribed vases.

Meanwhile, the *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*, edited by E. Renan in 1881, contained only the inscriptions published by Rödiger and Schröder, with photographs and facsimiles sent to him by Cesnola, then the Director of the Museum.

The first systematic classification of all the Phoenician inscriptions of the Museum was made by J. L. Myres in 1914. Since then, there has been no review of this epigraphic material. While these inscriptions are

not an important part of the glamorous Cesnola Collection, they are nevertheless valuable for the study of the political and religious history of Cyprus during the Persian and Hellenistic periods. By publishing them here in a more accessible manner, with some new photographs and some improved readings, I hope to encourage scholars to search for other Phoenician materials from Cyprus that may be forgotten in local museums.

The inscriptions clearly fall into two groups: votive texts written on fragments of marble bowls and two broken stelae, and inscriptions on vases. Of the first group Schröder remarked that the fragments corresponded to 18 different bowls or kraters. This is easily verified when the fragments themselves are handled. The remark is in order here because the old facsimiles and the CIS photographs can give the erroneous impression that the fragments belong to a few bowls only.

VOTIVE INSCRIPTIONS

I. Three rim fragments of a krater:

74·51.2275–77. L. 5, 7, 9 cm. D. of krater 85 cm.

Bibliography: CIS 21, 17 ab, 20; RES 1531, 1528; Myres 1806–8; *Cyprus* pls. 9:3, 10:13; *Atlas* III, pl. 122:5 abc; Rödiger XLIII, XLVII; Schröder 4, 20; Hall 2, v abd; Teixidor 1974, 118.

Fine characters incised on rim:

... *bymm*]29 *lyrh*[... *bšnt* ...]4 *lmlk mlk*[*yt n mlk kty*] *w'dyl b*[*n bclrm* ...

"on the 29th day of the month ... in the year ... 4th of the reign of Milkyaton king of Citium and Idalium, son of Baalrom"

The plural form *ymm* is known at Kition; *KAI* 32, *Grammatik* no. 315a. Unlike my predecessors I see the sign 20 and not a *mem* in the broken stroke that appears before the numeral 9. The group *lmlk* is to be interpreted as an infinitive *qal* preceded by the preposition.

The reign of Milkyaton over Citium and Idalium is documented by Phoenician inscriptions and coins. It

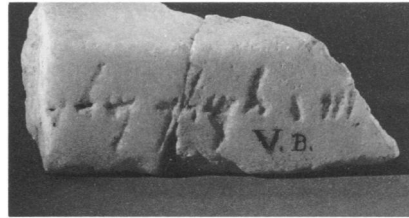
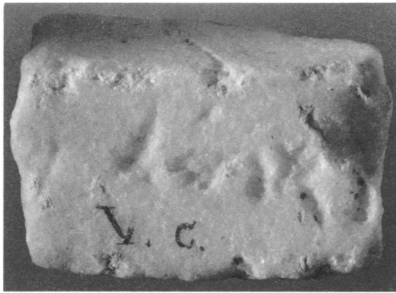
extended over a long period, probably from 392 to 362 B.C. The dynasty of Milkyaton had started around 475 B.C. with Baalmilk I and ended with Pumiyaton, Milkyaton's son. The name of Milkyaton's father is known from several inscriptions.⁶ Pumiyaton yielded to Alexander, but he must have recovered part of his power after Alexander's death for in the fortieth year of his reign he began to strike gold coins again (323 or 322 B.C.), and this privilege continued until his forty-seventh year (316 or 315).⁷ Diodorus Siculus (19, 79) says that he was put to death by Ptolemy because of his alliance with Antigonos. Pumiyaton's death took place in 312 B.C.

The union of Citium and Idalium started in the middle of the fifth century B.C., at the time the Persians

5. Howe, p. 219.

6. For the history of this period, G. Hill, *A History of Cyprus* I (Cambridge, 1949) pp. 125–155; Peckham, pp. 17–22. For the name of Milkyaton's father, CIS 88, 90; he does not bear the royal title, but there is another Baalrom whose title is "lord" or "prince," CIS 89 (*KAI* 39; II, p. 57), Peckham, p. 18, note 29.

7. Hill, *History* I, p. 158, note 3.



gained control over the island. Citium emerged then as the most important city after Salamis. This represented the triumph of the Phoenician elements of Citium over the cities that had been supported by Athens. Many Phoenician inscriptions from Citium and Idalium belong to the period in which the two kingdoms were united. The cultural significance of Citium's political victory over Idalium may be reflected in the inscriptions mentioning the cult of Rešef-Mukol. Rešef was the Phoenician Apollo of Idalium, and Mukol, according

to an inscription found in 1879, was the god of Citium. An inscription in the British Museum, published in 1968, deals with the dedication of a statue "to Rešef, the (god) Mukol who is at Idalium." The correct interpretation of the inscription seems to be "Rešef is the god Mukol of Idalium," that is, Rešef is to Idalium what Mukol is to Citium. Peckham has rightly seen in this syncretistic formula a diplomatic gesture of the victorious Citium vis-à-vis Idalium.⁸

**2. Fragment of rim: 74.51.2281. L. 4 cm.
(in the 1870s the L. was 7 cm.).**

Bibliography: CIS 18; Myres 1812; *Cyprus* pl. 10:12; *Atlas III*, pl. 122:9; Rödiger XLVIII; Schröder 6; Hall 2, ix.

... *lm*] *lk mlky* [*tn mlk kty w'dyl* ...

"of the reign of Milkyaton king of Citium and Idalium"



3. Fragment of rim: 74.51.2274. L. 5.5 cm.

Bibliography: CIS 19; Myres 1805; *Cyprus* pl. 10:11; *Atlas III*, pl. 122:4; Ward 2; Hall 2, iv.

...] *mlk kty w'd* [*yl* ...

"king of Citium and Idalium"



The following fragments (4–9) exhibit a similar type of text. The reconstruction of the full formula remains conjectural. After mentioning the day of the month and the regnal year of the monarch the inscriptions must have identified the objects dedicated to the deity as well as the name of the devotee and, occasionally, his title.

8. *Orientalia* 37 (1968), pp. 319–320; Teixidor 1970, 69.

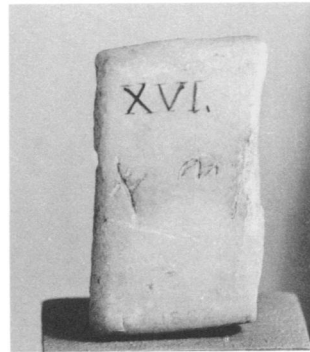
4. Fragment of handle: 74.51.2289.

H. 4.5, L. 2.5 cm.

Bibliography: CIS 30; Myres 1820; *Atlas* III, pl. 123:16;
Hall 2, xvi.

]t z '[š ytn . . .

The restoration [qbr]t, “cup,” seems likely. The term is known in Ugaritic and Hebrew. The sentence could be translated “. . . this cup which gave . . .”



5. Fragment of rim: 74.51.2286. L. 4 cm.

Bibliography: CIS 29; Myres 1817; *Cyprus* pl. 11:20;
Atlas III, pl. 123:14; Rödiger XLIX i; Schröder 13;
Hall 2, xiv.

. . .]ml 'z[. . .

The commentators have restored [s]ml 'z, “this statue” (or “this fictile object”), but this is conjectural. *sml* always means “statue,” hence the term is out of place here.



6. Fragment of rim: 74.51.2284. L. 5 cm.

Bibliography: CIS 34; RES 1533; Myres 1815; *Cyprus*
pl. 11:16; *Atlas* III, pl. 123:12; Rödiger XLIX o;
Schröder 17; Hall 2, xii.

]ndr.lm[

This has been read *ndr šlm l*, “offered an image to,” but the reading of *šade* can hardly be justified. Moreover, as said in no. 5, to mention the dedication of a statue on the rim of the bowl appears inappropriate. *ndr* may be here a noun to be interpreted as “vow” or “votive gift,” followed by the numeral 1.

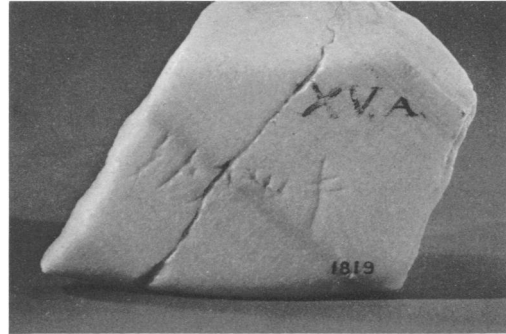


7. Fragments of rim: 74.51.2287–88.
Original D. 80 cm.

Bibliography: CIS 31, 35; Myres 1819, 1818; *Cyprus* pl. 11:18, 19; *Atlas III*, pl. 123:15 ab; Rödiger XLIX h, q, f, m; Schröder 11, 16; Hall 2, xv ab.

]ʹš ytn[. . . rš]p bn '[. . .
“which gave . . . son of . . .”

The letter before *bn* seems to be a *pe* rather than a *yod* as proposed in CIS. If so, I would restore a name such as Abdrešef, which is known at Idalium; CIS 93.



8. Fragment broken on all sides:
74.51.2293.

Bibliography: CIS 36; Myres 1824; *Cyprus* pl. 11:22; *Atlas III*, pl. 123:20; Schröder 19; Hall 2, xx.

]bn[
“son of . . .”



9. Fragment of rim: 74.51.2278. L. 13 cm.
Original D. 120 cm.

Bibliography: CIS 22 ab; Myres 1809; *Atlas III*, pl. 122:6; Rödiger XLV; Schröder 5; Hall 2, vi.

. . .]ytn ml[š] krsym l[. . .

Carefully incised, the words separated by dots, the inscription preserves the title of the dedicator of the krater. *mlš krsym*, or *mlš hkrsym*, appears in contemporary inscriptions of Citium (CIS 44) and Idalium (CIS 88)



as being the title of a certain Rešefyaton. Thus the name [ršf]ytn can be rightly restored in the Cesnola fragment. The title means “interpreter of the thrones.” Phoenician *mlš* is to be related to Hebrew *mlyš*, for instance in Genesis 42:23 where an “interpreter” (*hermēneutēs* in the Septuagint) stands between Joseph and his brothers. In Aramaic, Syriac, and Arabic *krs* means “throne” or “seat”; in Hebrew and Phoenician the term is *ks*. In any case it derives from Akkadian *kussu*. The Phoenician inscription thus exhibits the Aramaic form.

The title “interpreter of the thrones” must indicate the charge of “dragoman” to the court, whose office was to act as an interpreter between the Cyprian kings and the Persians.⁹ The title is probably Phoenician in

spite of its heteroclite character, since in the Aramaic documents of the Persian period the *sefira* was not only the “scribe” but also somebody who could translate the official documents.¹⁰ Interpreters, however, must have been much in demand under the Persian rulership. They are one of the seven classes (*hepta genea*) into which the Egyptians were divided, according to Herodotus (2, 164). One of the privileges granted by Psammetichus to the Ionians and Carians who helped him regain the throne, was to have Egyptian boys to whom Greek was taught (2, 154). We also know that the Seleucids instituted a service of interpreters to explain the orders of the generals to the soldiers, who usually were of various ethnic extractions.¹¹

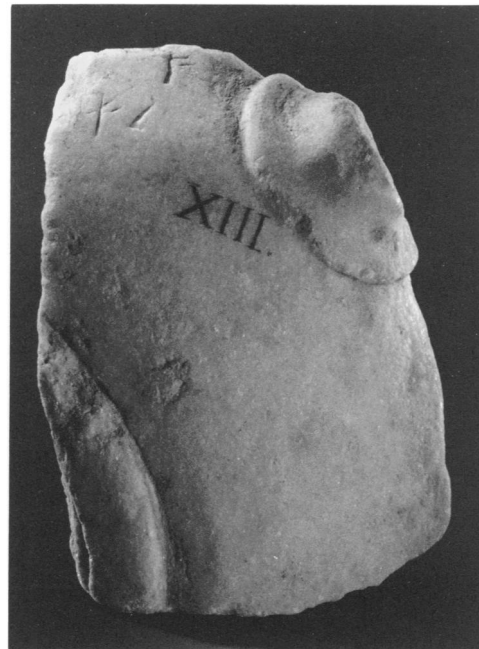
10. Fragment of bowl: 74.51.2285. L. of inscription 2 cm. D. of bowl 23 cm.

Bibliography: CIS 37; Myres 1816; *Cyprus* pl. 11:23; *Atlas III*, pl. 123:13; Rödiger XLIX k; Schröder 14; Hall 2, XIII.

Two lines of text are visible:

'[. . .
l'[dny l'šmn mlqrt ybrk]

In the first line the restoration '[š ytn], “which he gave,” is possible, but if the *aleph* is the first letter of the first word in the dedication, then the restoration '[gn], “ewer, bowl,” seems more appropriate. The term occurs frequently in the Late Aramaic texts but is also found at Ugarit. The second line is reconstructed in the light of the following fragments, which contain the final sentence of the dedication. For the cult of Ešmun-Melqart, see no. 16.



9. G. A. Cooke, *A Text-Book of North-Semitic Inscriptions* (Oxford, 1903) p. 61.

10. W. von Soden, “Dolmetscher,” *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum* 4 (1959) cols. 29–31.

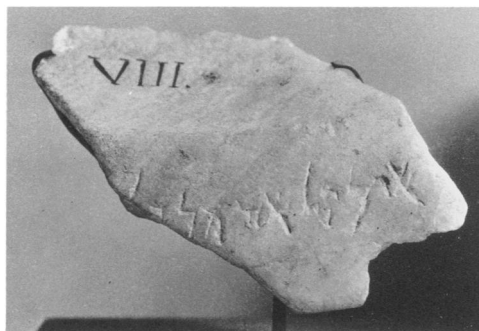
11. Polybius, 5, 83, 7; 13, 9, 4; E. Bickerman, *Institutions des Séleucides* (Paris, 1938) p. 97.

11. Fragment of rim: 74.51.2280. L. 7 cm.

Bibliography: CIS 23; Myres 1811; *Cyprus* pl. 10:10; *Atlas III*, pl. 122:8; Rödiger XLVI; Ward 3; Hall 2, VIII.

. . . l]’dny l’šmn wl[mlqrt ybrk]

The closing commendation “to his Lord Ešmun Melqart. May he bless him,” which appears in nos. 10–16, offers an interesting variation in this fragment. The text can be translated “to his Lord Eshmun *and* to Melqart,” thus confirming my conviction that the personalities of the gods, even when homologous, never merge. See no. 16.



12. Fragment of rim: 74.51.2292. L. 2.5 cm.

Bibliography: CIS 28; Myres 1823; *Cyprus* pl. 11:17; *Atlas III*, pl. 123:19; Rödiger XLIX p; Schröder 18; Hall 2, XIX.

. . . l’dny l’š]mn ml[qrt ybrk]



13. Fragment of rim and handle: 74.51.2279. L. of rim 7.5 cm.

Bibliography: CIS 39; RES 1534; Myres 1810; *Atlas II*, pl. 141, 1051; *III*, pl. 122:7; Hall 2, VII.

. . . bn cbd]mlqrt l’dny l’šmn[mlqrt ybrk

“ . . . son of Abdmelqart to his Lord Ešmun Melqart. May he bless him”

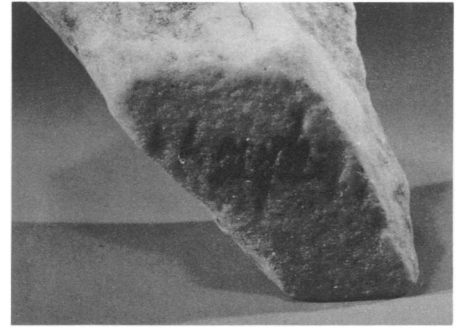


- 14.** Fragments of rim: 74.51.2272–73.
L. combined 19 cm. Original D. 140 cm.

Bibliography: CIS 16 ab; RES 1530; Myres 1803–4; *Cyprus* pls. 10:14, 9:1; *Atlas* III, pl. 122:3 ab; Rödiger XLIX a, XLII, XLIV; Schröder 7, 3; Hall 2, III ab; Teixidor 1974, 118.

*lml]k mlkytn[mlk kty w'dyl . . . b]n c'bdmrny l'dny
l'šmn mlq[rt ybrk]*

“of the reign of Milkyaton, king of Citium and Idalium . . . son of Abdmarnai to his Lord Ešmun Melqart. May he bless him”



- 15.** Fragment of rim and handle: 74.51.2282.
L. 9.5 cm.

Bibliography: CIS 25 ab; Myres 1813 ab; *Cyprus* pls. 10:15, 12:30; *Atlas* III, pl. 122:10; Rödiger XLIX l (incomplete); Schröder 15 (incomplete); Ward 1; Hall 2, x (who wrongly believed that Schröder 21 belonged to the inscription).

l'dny l'šmn ml]qrt ybrk



- 16.** Fragment of rim: 74.51.2283. L. 4 cm.

Bibliography: CIS 27; Myres 1814; *Cyprus* pl. 11:21; *Atlas* III, pl. 123:11; Rödiger XLIX c; Schröder 8; Hall 2, XI. (Myres' and Hall's references to *Cyprus* are incorrect.)

l'dny l'šmn ml]qrt yb[rk]



The CIS inscriptions 24 (Rödiger XLIX d; Schröder 9), 26 (Rödiger XLIX b), and 28 (Rödiger XLIX n) are not in the Museum; they were already missing in 1885 when Hall studied the collection. The inscriptions do not appear in *Cyprus* either.

Nos. 10–16 reveal a widespread form of Phoenician religiosity: the simultaneous worship of two deities. The theological conception underlining this practice requires a commentary.

Ešmun, the god of Sidon, was often invoked by the

Phoenicians as a healer. In his temple at Bostan esh-Sheikh, near Sidon, statues of crippled children were offered to the god of healing as pious ex-votos.¹² The god is explicitly identified with Aesculapius in an inscription of the second century B.C. from Sardinia.¹³ But Ešmun was also a vegetation god who, together with Melqart, provided Tyrians and Sidonians with “food,” “clothes,” and “oil,” as is stated in the final clause of the treaty made between the Assyrian King Esarhaddon and Baal, King of Tyre, in 677 B.C.¹⁴ In the Cesnola inscriptions Ešmun is always coupled with Melqart, and the question whether the copulative conjunction between the two divine names is used or not seems to me to be irrelevant. The worship of couples of deities is a known feature of Phoenician, Punic, and Aramaic pantheons: Aštart, Tenit, Šadrafa, Šid, Rešef, Mukol, Ešmun, Melqart, Bel, Yarhibol, Aglibol, Malakbel associated themselves in couples. The extant epigraphical material, however, does not support the conclusion that any two gods, when worshiped together, had their personalities merged into one. Besides the example offered by the dedication to Rešef-Mukol, cited in no. 1, there is the text of no. 11 where the names

of Ešmun and Melqart are separated by the conjunction *w* and the preposition *l*. A gold pendant of around 700 B.C., found at Carthage in 1894, is dedicated “to Aštart, to Pygmalion.”¹⁵ But the use of the preposition before the name of each deity is far from consistent. An inscription from Carthage mentions a certain Himilcat, attendant of “the temple of Šid Tenit”; a Carthaginian, Baalazor son of Eliša (*rlšt*), was “a devotee of Šid Melqart” (CIS 247, 249, 256).

The conclusion to be drawn from these and similar texts is that the associations of deities were cultic and not the result of metaphysical considerations. The faithful were not after a monotheistic conception of the divine. They saw in Ešmun of Sidon, or in Melqart of Tyre, or in Šadrafa of Sardinia¹⁶ the sponsors of their concrete enterprises and needs. This of course did not interfere with their belief in the supreme Phoenician Baal Shamin, the god to whom the heavens belong. The simultaneous fidelity to both a supreme god and to specialized gods in charge of specific functions is evidence of the religious unity of the Phoenician world, not its disunity.

**17. Fragment of rim: 74.51.2291. L. 5 cm.
Original D. 90 cm.**

Bibliography: CIS 33; Myres 1822; *Cyprus* pl. 9:5; *Atlas* III, pl. 123:18; Rödiger XLIX g; Schröder 12; Hall 2, xviii.

]*ht*

The two letters seem to be the end of a votive formula.



12. M. Dunand, *Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth* 18 (1965) pp. 105–109; Teixidor 1972, 115.

13. M. G. Guzzo Amadasi, *Le iscrizioni fenicie e puniche delle colonie in occidente*, Studi semitici 28 (Rome, 1967) pp. 91–92.

14. *The Ancient Near East. Supplementary Texts and Pictures Relating to the Old Testament*, ed. J. B. Pritchard (Princeton, 1969) pp. 97–98.

15. CIS 6057; *KAI* 73. The pendant and its archaeological context are studied in Peckham, pp. 119–124.

16. The cult of Šadrafa is associated with that of Šid at Antas, in Sardinia, according to an inscription recently found; M. Fantar, in E. Acquaro et al., *Ricerche puniche ad Antas*, Studi semitici 30 (Rome, 1969) pp. 79–81.

18. Fragment of rim: 74.51.2290. L. 5 cm.

Bibliography: CIS 32; Myres 1821; *Cyprus* pl. 9:6; *Atlas* III, pl. 123:17; Rödiger XLIX c; Schröder 10; Hall 2, xvii.

]m q ' h t[

aleph and *het* are uncertain.

The kraters presented in nos. 1–18 were most likely used in religious ceremonies. Similar cult objects have been found in Nabatean territory; at Palmyra, monuments and inscriptions indicate that large bowls were used in the sacred repasts.



19. Block of white marble: 74.51.2271.

H. 7, W. 7.5, Depth 6.5 cm.

Bibliography: CIS 15; Myres 1802; *Cyprus* pl. 9:4; *Atlas* III, pl. 122:2; Schröder 2; Hall 2, ii.

. . .]ytn hnnb[cl . . .

. . .]'š ndr lb[

This is the traditional reading of the two lines, which is confirmed by the examination of the stone. However, I must accept the reading of two *nuns* after *het* with hesitation, for *hnnb[cl]* is an unusual spelling of the name *hnbcl* (Hannibal). On the other hand, the presence of the phrase '*š ndr*, “which offered,” in the second line makes questionable the assumption that *ytn* here means “he gave.” If *ytn* is the second element in a theophorous name, the term that follows must be a title or the name of a profession.



20. Block of white marble: 74.51.2294.

H. 18, W. 12, Depth 14 cm.

Bibliography: CIS 14; RES 1529; Myres 1801; *Cyprus* pl. 9:2; *Atlas* III, pl. 122:1; Schröder 1; Hall 1, pp. 25–26; 2, p. 7.

Eight lines, only six of which can be read:

[. . . lmlk pmyytn]

[m]lk kty w['] dyl bn

[ml]kytn mlk kty w

[']dy]l mnht 2 'l '[š]

[ytn w] ytn' 'bd'l[m]

[bn] 'bdmlqrt bn ['bd]

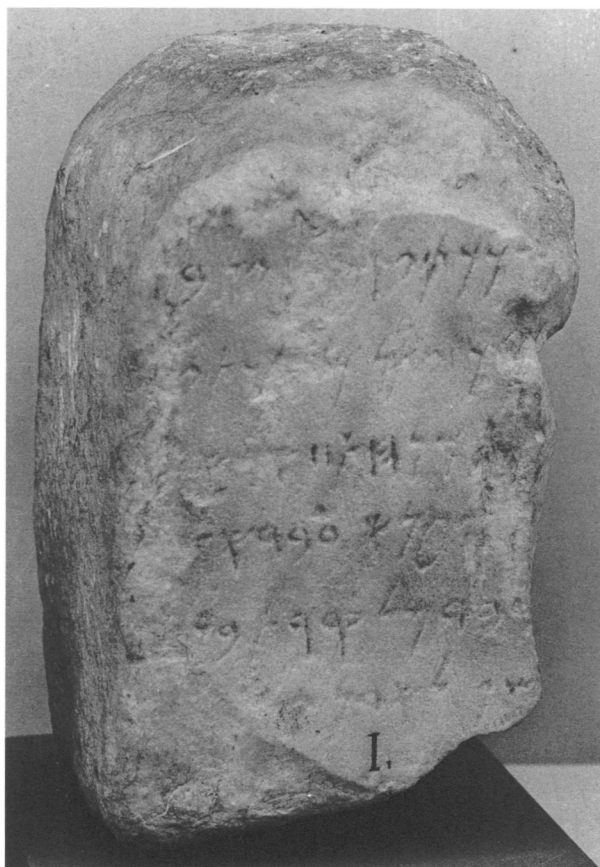
[r]šf l'dny []

[]

“ . . . of the reign of Pumiyaton king of Citium and Idalium, son of Milkyaton, king of Citium and Idalium, these two offerings which Abdelim son of Abdmelqart son of [Abd]rešef gave and dedicated to his Lord . . . ”

The sequence “gave and dedicated” is known from other Phoenician inscriptions, for instance a stele from Tamassos, between Lapethos and Idalium (RES 1212), and some of the stelae found at Idalium itself (CIS 88, 89). *mnht*, here in a plural form, means an offering made to the gods; I found it at Ugarit with the meaning of “tribute, gift.” The restoration of the name of the deity cannot be but conjectural: the CIS restores the name *Rešef Mukol* while Hall thinks of *Ešmun Melqart*. The existence of a cult of Rešef at Kition can be inferred from a dedication made by Bodo, the priest (*khn*) of the god “on the 6th day of the month Bul, in the 21st year of the reign of Pumiyaton” (341 B.C.). The text is written on an altar of white marble discovered by D. Pierides around 1860 in the marina of Larnaca and today housed in the Louvre. In the inscription the full cultic name of the god appears to be *ršf hš*, the interpretation of the element *hš* remaining as yet uncertain.¹⁷

At Ugarit, Rešef was identified with Nergal, but for the Phoenicians he was the Greek Apollo. This is made explicit in the Cypriote-Phoenician inscriptions from Idalium.¹⁸ In Palestine itself this identification must have been familiar, for the Arab village of Aršuf near Jaffa was known in Seleucid times as Apollonias.



INSCRIPTIONS ON VASES



17. CIS 10; *KAI* 32, II, p. 51; Teixidor 1970, 68. I no longer accept that the title of Rešef refers to lightning, thus making him a sort of weather god. It is possible that *hš*, “arrow,” indicate Rešef’s function as a god of plague, who inflicts disease by means of his arrows like Apollo hurling his darts on the Achaeans (*Iliad* 1.45-52).

18. O. Masson, *Les inscriptions chypriotes syllabiques* (Paris, 1961) pp. 246-248.

21. Amphora of coarse white ware:

74.51.2298a, b.

H. 56.5 cm. Date: end of seventh century B.C.

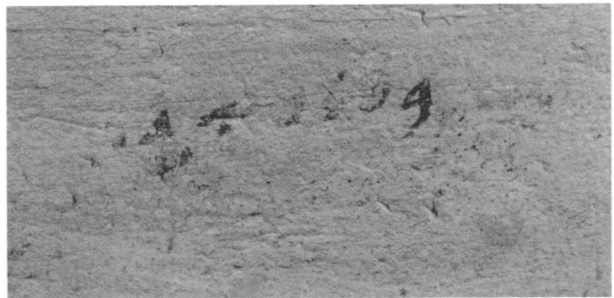
Bibliography: RES 1521; Myres 1826; *Cyprus* pl. 9:7; *Atlas III*, pl. 123:26; Ward 4; Hall 2, xxvi; Peckham, pp. 16-17; Masson-Sznycer, p. 119, pl. XIII, 4.

Four letters below the shoulder: *brly*, “Baalay,” the hypocoristicon of a theophorous name of Baal. The name is well attested in Phoenician and Punic inscriptions. Baalay was most probably the name of the owner of the amphora and its content.

- 22.** Amphora of coarse ware: 74.51.2299.
H. 69 cm. Date: fourth century B.C.

Bibliography: RES 1526; Myres 1828; Hall 2, xxvii; Peckham, p. 17, note. Hall and Myres refer to *Cyprus* pl. 12:29, but the *Cyprus* drawing is to be read *mnhm* (see de Ridder no. 555).

The inscription, below the shoulder, was painted before firing. The authors cited above read it as *brly zt*, but a closer examination of the characters proves that the text says *brlczr*, "Baalazor," a well-known theophorous name of Baal. The final *resh* is followed by a dot.



- 23.** Amphora of red earthenware:
74.51.2300. H. 58 cm.

Bibliography: RES 1520; Myres 1827; *Cyprus* pl. 10:8; *Atlas* II, 1049; III, pl. 123:25; Ward 5; Hall 2, xxv; Masson-Szzyr, p. 119, pl. xiii, 3; Peckham, pp. 16–17, discusses the date of this type of storage jar and places this one at the beginning of the seventh century B.C.

Inscription of three lines, the first below the shoulder, the others lower on the wall. (1) *brlpls*, "Baalpilles," the name of the owner of the amphora. (2) *ytñ*. I interpret this word as the personal name "Yaton" rather than as a verb. (3) I read *šmry*, not *šmry* as proposed by the authors cited above. The only questionable reading in the word is the final *yod*. I am inclined to interpret it as a sign or as an abbreviation. *šmr* is very likely the title of Yaton, namely "overseer" or "inspector." It



appears in an inscription of the second century B.C. found in Malta, *KAI* 62. Of course the translation "Yaton inspected" is equally possible. Thus the phrase "Yaton, inspector" or "Yaton inspected" may be here to authenticate the merchantable quality of the content.

- 24.** Alabastron: 74.51.2295a. H. 30,
D. 12 cm. Date: fourth century B.C.

Bibliography: RES 1523; Myres 1825; *Cyprus* pl. 12:25; *Atlas* II, 1048; III, pl. 123:22; Hall 2, xxii; Peckham, p. 17, note.

The inscription, incised below the rim, consists of the word *klšy* and a sign that is usually read as "100." So far no explanation of the word *klšy* has been offered. The same term seems to appear on an amphora of



earthenware mentioned by Hall 2, xxviii, Myres 1829, *Atlas* III pl. 123:28, and RES 1527, but the vessel is not in the Museum. The inscription does not appear in Rödiger or Schröder. Hall possibly repeated wrong in-

formation received from Cesnola without his seeing the amphora; Myres does not give its measurements, and confesses that the inscribed jar "is no longer recognizable" (p. 303).

25. Jug of red-slip ware: 74.51.1401.

H. 15 cm. Date: eighth century B.C.¹⁹

Bibliography: RES 1524; Myres 479; *Cyprus* pl. 12:26; *Atlas* II, pl. 141:1052; III, pl. 123:23; S. Birch, *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* 4 (1876) p. 23; Hall 2, xxiii; Peckham, pp. 105, 115, note; Masson-Szzyr, pp. 114–115, pl. xv, 1.

The inscription, incised before firing, reads *l'ntš*, "belonging to 'ntš." The personal name is unknown in both Phoenician and Greek.

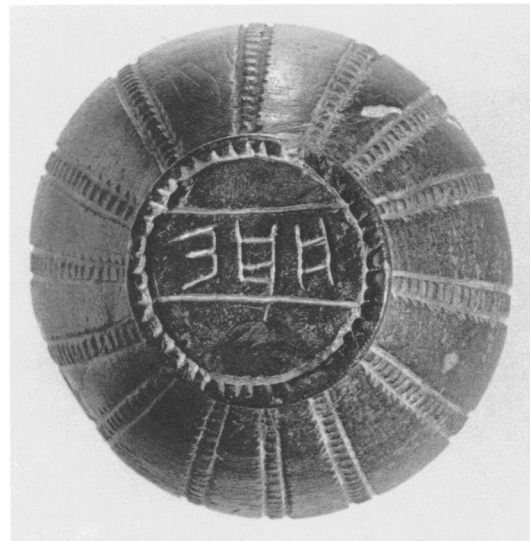


26. Vase of steatite: 74.51.5057a. H. 12 cm.

Cesnola wrote (*Cyprus*, p. 442) that the vase was purchased in the bazaar at Nicosia.

Bibliography: RES 1525; Myres 1540; *Cyprus* pl. 12:27; *Atlas* II, pl. 141:1050; III, pl. 123:24; Hall 2, xxiv; Peckham, p. 17, note; Masson-Szzyr, pp. 128–129, fig. 7, pls. xix, xxii, 2.

Three undeciphered signs incised on the bottom. RES and Hall read *hhy*, but Myres rightly thought that the characters probably were not Phoenician. He dates the vase in the ninth or tenth century. On the other hand, Masson-Szzyr consider the three signs as archaic and read *hhh*. They place the vase in the eleventh century B.C. The signs, however, hardly exhibit known forms, and the presence of two *hets*, one with three crosslines and the other with two, is very unlikely.

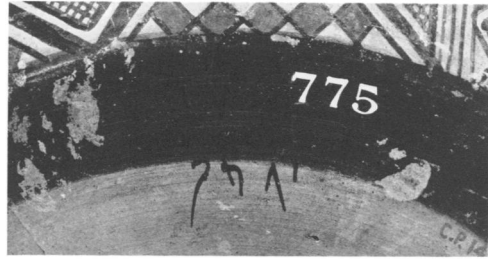


19. V. Karageorghis, "Some Inscribed Iron-Age Vases from Cyprus," *American Journal of Archaeology* 60 (1956) pp. 351–354; J. du Plat Taylor, "The Cypriot and Syrian Pottery from Al Mina, Syria," *Iraq* 21 (1959) pp. 62–92, esp. pp. 79–86.

- 27.** Vase of painted white ware: 74.51.1001.
H. 33 cm. Date: seventh century B.C.

Bibliography: RES 1522; Myres 775; *Cyprus* p. 68, pl. 10:9; *Atlas* II, pl. 141:1047; III, pl. 123:21; Ward 6; Hall 2, xxi; Peckham, p. 17, note; Masson-Szzyner, pp. 112–113, pl. xiv, 1, 2; Teixidor 1973, 132.

Four letters painted in black below a brownish band. The reading seems to be *d/r g m n*. The term is unknown in Phoenician.



- 28.** Sarcophagus of white marble:
74.51.2452. L. 2 m., 25 cm. Found at
Amathus. Myres, pp. 233–234. Date:
450–400 B.C. The letter *shin* appears on
the foot end of the lid.



Four more inscriptions that were originally in the Cesnola Collection but did not enter the Metropolitan Museum may be mentioned.

The first is believed to be a fragment of a krater similar to nos. 1–18. It was in the home of D. Pierides when J. Euting published it in 1885.²⁰ The inscription (RES 389) reads]ytn bn cbd[.

The second and third inscriptions were painted on amphorae found at Kition. They were in the Cesnola Collection until 1869. In 1872 they entered the de Clercq Collection, nos. 555 and 556, and were published by de Ridder in 1908. No. 555 is an amphora 46 cm. high, bearing the personal name *mnhm*, “Mena-hem.” For the text, *Cyprus*, pl. 12:24, RES 1518. No. 556 is an amphora 42 cm. high. The inscription consists of four lines of which there is only a poor drawing in *Cyprus*, pl. 11:24. For a possible interpretation, RES 1519. Myres mentioned this inscription (pp. 303, 524) and numbered it 1830 with the remark that the jar was “no longer recognizable.”

The two inscriptions of the de Clercq Collection

(now dispersed) were published without photographs.

The fourth inscription is on a jar of coarse red clay owned by the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; number 72.129. Height, 45.5 cm.²¹ Near one of the handles there are remains of a Phoenician inscription painted in black. I read *mem*, *het*, and maybe *yod*. This jar belonged to the Cesnola Collection until 1872 when it was purchased by subscription for the Museum of Fine Arts. It is possible that this is the one Schröder saw in 1870 and described, p. 340, pl. 3:22. The two discrepancies that seem to be against the identification, namely the position of the inscription and the size of the handles, may be due to Schröder’s lack of precision.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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SOURCES ABBREVIATED

Atlas

Louis P. di Cesnola, *A Descriptive Atlas of the Cesnola Collection of Cypriote Antiquities in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, Vols. II, III (New York, 1894, 1903)

CIS

Corpus inscriptionum semiticarum, Pars Prima, Tomus I (Paris, 1881)

Cyprus

Louis P. di Cesnola, *Cyprus: Its Ancient Cities, Tombs, and Temples* (London, 1877) p. 441, pls. 9–12

Grammatik

J. Friedrich and W. Röllig, *Phönizisch-Punische Grammatik*, 2nd ed. (Rome, 1970)

Hall 1, 2

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Howe

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A Hellenistic Find in New York

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IN 1973, THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM received on loan from Christos G. Bastis a find comprising bronze vessels and jewelry as well as silver coins. The group, of Hellenistic date, had previously been sold at auction in Paris.¹ The provenance given in the sale catalogue is Amphipolis, one of the main cities of northern Greece in Greek and Roman times,² and, as we shall see, the find is as typical of the area from which it reportedly comes as of the time when it was made. The interest of these objects extends even further, however. Individually and as a group, they can be related to material found all over the ancient world. Though they have never been comprehensively investigated, Hellenistic bronze vessels and jewelry exist in quantity, and the vessels in particular raise questions concerning typology, centers of production, and distribution. The importance of the Bastis bronzes is increased by the five silver drachms whose inclusion in the original find need not be doubted. The dates of the coins provide a *terminus post quem* for the burial of the lot, while their mints interest us for reasons of contemporary monetary policy and communication. The ramifications of the subject are greater than can be pursued here in detail, yet they must enter into the discussion insofar as they supplement the artistic aspect of the objects.

Description of the find begins with the bronze vases—two cups, a ladle, a funnel-strainer, and a bottle—which seem to form a basic set of drinking equipment. The cups (Figures 1, 2) are of the stemmed type with a bowl that is concave in profile; the handles, whose leaf-shaped roots are soldered to the underside of the bowl, curve up to the lip and end in a triangular projection.

Both are of about the same size; in both, the tips of the handle roots have broken away, and, in one, the top of the handle has been mended. The ladle (Figure 3) consists of a shallow bowl at the end of a long handle that has been broken and repaired. Between bowl and shaft are two small projections and, at the top, a duck's head finial³ that has also been rejoined. The most noteworthy piece in this group is the funnel-strainer (Figures 4, 5). It consists of a rather broad-rimmed bowl that develops into a funnel at the center; this is best seen on the outside, for on the inside, the center is covered by a strainer: a thin disc with holes punched in a pinwheel pattern. The utensil had two loop handles that curve in opposite directions, each ending in a duck's head; the head and most of the neck of one have broken away. Compared with the other pieces, this one is also the most extensively worked. It has beading on the rim, curlicues on the flat portion of the handles, and profiling around the strainer, the funnel, and on the underside of the rim. Finally, the bottle (Figure 6) is a squat, globular vase with a small ring base and a mouth that opens into a narrow, flat lip. It is intact and entirely undecorated.

From a technical standpoint,⁴ the bottle is the only

1. Vente Drouot, 14 November 1973, lot 138 (ill.).

2. J. Papastavru, *Amphipolis: Geschichte und Prosopographie* (Leipzig, 1936).

3. Such finials occur on utensils of many kinds in later Greek and Roman art. In the literature, the animals are variously identified as swans, ducks, or geese. Here, they will be called duck's heads.

4. D. K. Hill, "The Technique of Greek Metal Vases," *American Journal of Archaeology* [hereafter *AJA*] 51 (1947) pp. 248–256.

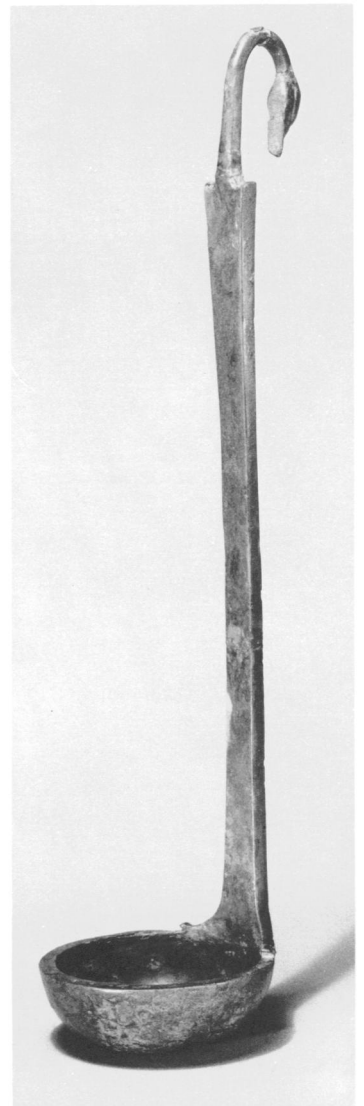


FIGURE 1
Bronze cup. H. 8.34, W. 24.04 cm. Collection of Christos G. Bastis, L.1973.117.1



FIGURE 2
Bronze cup. H. 8.44, W. 23.83 cm. Collection of Christos G. Bastis, L.1973.117.2

FIGURE 3
Bronze ladle. H. 26.7 cm. Collection of Christos G. Bastis, L.1973.117.5





bronze in the group that was raised; it is therefore relatively light. The other pieces were cast and finished according to the requirements of each shape. The cups, for instance, were cast in parts—bowl, handles, foot; the bowl and foot were finished on a lathe and then the parts were soldered together. The funnel-strainer was cast as a funnel, turned, and then provided with the sieve that had been hammered and pierced separately.

FIGURES 4, 5

Bronze funnel-strainer. L. as preserved 20.82, D. 10.85 cm. Collection of Christos G. Bastis, L.1973.117.4



FIGURE 6

Bronze bottle. H. 7.33 cm. Collection of Christos G. Bastis, L.1973.117.3



The appearance of all the pieces is similar, but suggests some tampering by a modern restorer; the brown surfaces have patches of red and green that look rather pasty for cuprite and malachite. Only the funnel-strainer preserves heavy deposits of green patina.

Although the five vessels do not form a matched set and although we do not know how they were used together, we can identify the general purpose of each. The cups represent the most typical form of drinking vessel; on the basis of inscriptions as well as pictures on vases and in tombs, they seem to have been used mainly for wine. To serve wine from the deep bowl in which it

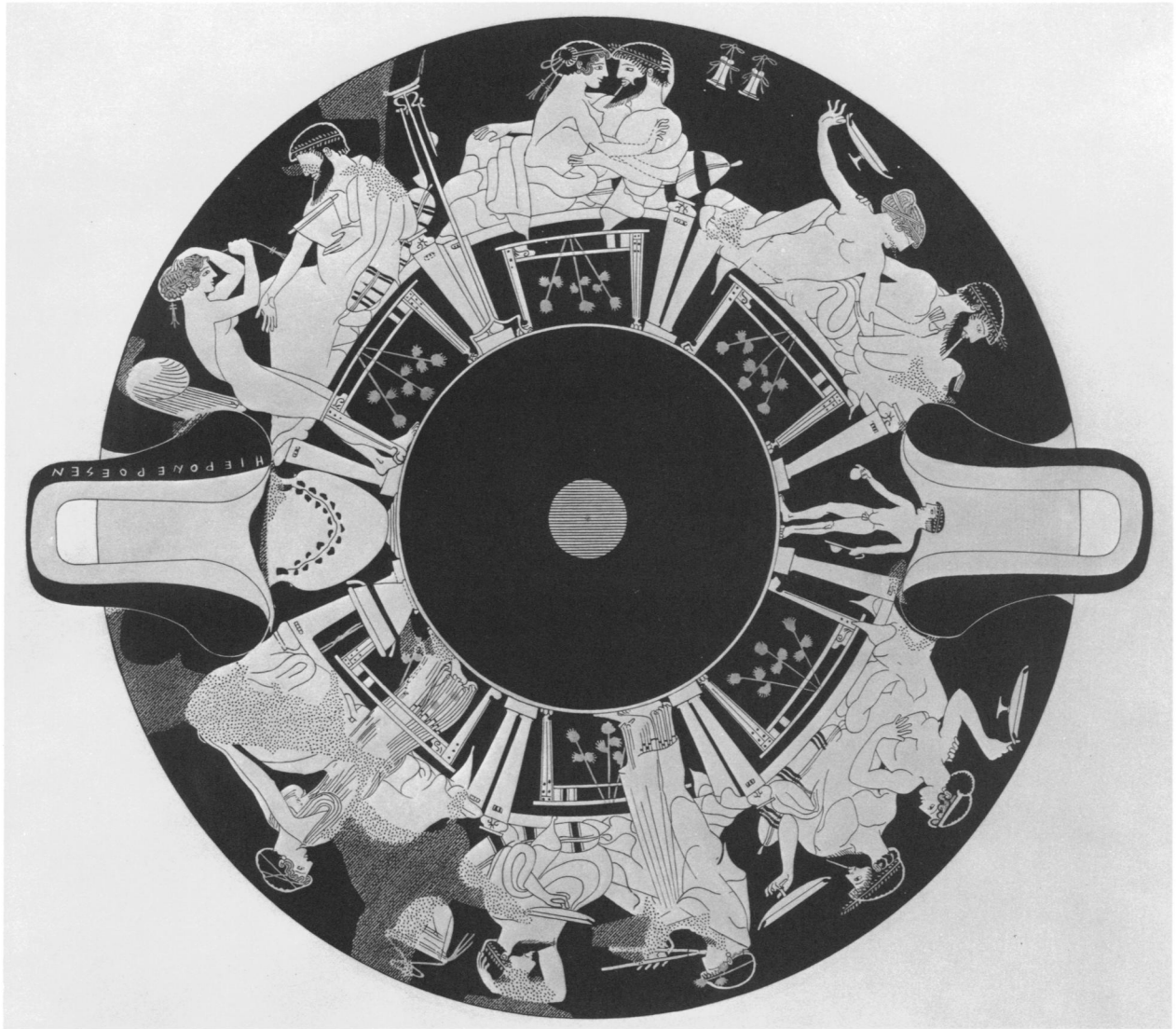


FIGURE 7
Attic red-figure cup. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 20.246



FIGURE 8
Attic black-figure pelike (detail). Vatican Museum, 413 (photo: Courtesy Dietrich von Bothmer)



FIGURE 9

Bronze bracelet. D. 4.6 cm. Collection of Christos G. Bastis, L.1973.117.6

FIGURE 10

Bronze ring. D. 2.5 cm. Collection of Christos G. Bastis, L.1973.117.7

FIGURE 11

Bronze ring. D. 2.15 cm. Collection of Christos G. Bastis, L.1973.117.8

was mixed with water, a ladle and strainer were basic utensils.⁵ On a red-figure cup of about 490 B.C. by the potter Hieron and the painter Makron (Figure 7), they are shown hanging from a lampstand, and an additional sieve, together with a small jug, is held by the young attendant beneath the right handle. The ladle was used to dip out the liquid from the mixing bowl, represented under the left handle of the Makron cup. The strainer filtered out the deposit as well as additives to the wine;⁶ an unusual form of evidence for this practice exists in a silver strainer shaped like a vine leaf.⁷

The most difficult piece to explain is the bottle. Its generalized shape would allow a variety of uses. It may once have contained the additives mixed into wine at a symposium and, later, been adopted as a convenient receptacle for coins, a function it may also have served in this find. Another possibility is that it contained oil,

scented or plain, in which case the funnel-strainer should perhaps be reconsidered.⁸ An Attic black-figure pelike in the Vatican⁹ shows an oil merchant removing his finger from the bottom of a funnel to allow its contents to fill a lekythos (Figure 8). While the use of a strainer is better documented with wine than oil, the funnel seems more necessary with a small, narrow-necked bottle than with an open drinking cup. In the absence of conclusive evidence, the connection between the five pieces is best left flexible. In any event, the funnel-strainer and bottle introduce two unusual shapes into a group of otherwise common bronze vessels.

The remaining bronzes in the Bastis find consist of a bracelet and two rings. The bracelet (Figure 9) has a thin hoop with flattened snake-head terminals; its small size suggests that it was made for a child. The rings (Figures 10, 11), by contrast, are for the fingers of an

5. D. K. Hill, "Wine Ladles and Strainers," *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* 5 (1942) pp. 41–55; M. Crosby, "A Silver Ladle and Strainer," *AJA* 47 (1943) pp. 209–216.

6. A. Jardé, "Vinum," *Dictionnaire des Antiquités Grecques et Romaines* (Daremberg et Saglio) V, p. 920.

7. Crosby, "Ladle and Strainer," p. 212, figs. 4–5, pp. 214–216; D. K. Hill, *Greek and Roman Metalware* (Baltimore, 1976) no. 51. The pieces are now in the Minneapolis Institute of Arts, numbers 72.103, 72.104 (information courtesy J. C. Mannell).

8. The best study of funnel-strainers is H. Sauer, "Ein etruskisches Infundibulum in Kopenhagen," *Archäologischer Anzeiger* [hereafter *AA*] (1937), cols. 285–308 (note especially cols. 288–292 concerning ancient literary evidence). The Etruscan material is reconsidered in M. Zuffa, "Infundibula," *Studi Etruschi* 28 (1960) pp. 165–207. A useful discussion of funnels, sieves, and strainers appears in D. A. Amyx, "The Attic Stelai, Part III," *Hesperia* 27, 4 (1958) pp. 255–264.

9. C. Albizzati, *Vasi Antichi Dipinti del Vaticano* (Rome, 1925–39) p. 183, no. 413, pl. 61. For other representations of a funnel used in an oil shop, see Amyx, "Stelai," pp. 258–259. D. von Bothmer has drawn my attention to a particularly unusual container represented on a red-figure cup by the Scheurleer Painter (J. D. Beazley, *Attic Red-figure Vase-painters* [hereafter *ARV*²] [Oxford, 1963] 169, 11; *Paralipomena* [Oxford, 1971] 338). One would certainly agree with Beazley that the youth holds a perfume vase in his left hand and smells the perfume on the fingers of his right hand. The shape of the vase, however, is problematical because one cannot tell whether a spreading lip or a ring base is represented at the top. If the vase had a wide mouth, it would represent a kind of funnel with the stem modified into a dropper. If it has a flat base, the shape is related to the phormiskos (see most recently O. Touchefeu-Meynier, "Un Nouveau 'Phormiskos' à Figures Noires," *Revue Archéologique* 1972, pp. 93–102) as well as to perfume pots and the guttus type of askos (see B. A. Sparkes and L. Talcott, *The Athenian Agora* XII



FIGURES 12, 13
Silver drachms of Alexander the Great, obverse and reverse. Collection of Christos G. Bastis, L.1973.117.9-13

adult. The hoops are elliptical in cross section. The bezels are decorated with a single motif in intaglio; the circular bezel shows a lion pacing to left, the oval one shows an Eros standing to left and playing the flute. Assuming that the Bastis find represents the grave goods placed with a burial, the inclusion of a child's bracelet adds to the rather heterogeneous character of the material. Was the person buried with mementos of his family or did the choice of objects depend on what was at hand? This is another question that must be left open.

The bronzes we have considered are attractive, but

their main interest is nonesthetic. This applies even more to the five silver coins that complete the find (Figures 12, 13). All are drachms of Alexander the Great with the youthful head of Herakles on the obverse and the image of Zeus seated with eagle and scepter on the reverse. All were minted in Asia Minor between 327 and 304 B.C. Their identification is most succinctly presented in a list, arranged chronologically (Figure 14).¹⁰ This evidence contributes to several aspects of the find as a whole. First and foremost, the coins allow us to estimate when the material was buried, thus the approxi-

FIGURE 14 Identification of the silver drachms

<i>Museum loan number</i>	<i>Mint</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Weight (grams)</i>	
L.1973.117.13	Sardis	327 B.C.	4.15	Thompson-Bellinger 5
L.1973.117.11	Abydos	324 B.C.	4	Thompson-Bellinger 2
L.1973.117.9	Lampsakos	322 B.C.	3.5	Thompson-Bellinger 8
L.1973.117.12	Kolophon	316 B.C.	4.2	Thompson-Bellinger 10
L.1973.117.10	Kolophon	305/304 B.C.	3.85	Thompson-Bellinger 21/22

[Princeton, 1970] pp. 157, 162-164). Although the vessel represented by the Scheurleer Painter is probably of terracotta, a phormiskos of silver from Taman may also be compared (B. Pharmakowsky, "Archäologische Funde im Jahre 1912: Russland," *AA* 1913, col. 187, fig. 18).

10. The basic study of Alexander drachms remains M. Thompson and A. R. Bellinger, "A Hoard of Alexander Drachms," *Yale Classical Studies* 14 (1955) pp. 3-45. The arabic number cited in our list refers to the authors' list of issues in each mint.

mate date before which the bronzes must have been made. From the degree of wear, the latest coin seems to have been in circulation about twenty-five years.¹¹ A *terminus ante* can therefore be set around 280 B.C.; we shall pursue the question of chronology in discussing the individual bronze shapes. The second noteworthy feature of the coins is that all come from Asia Minor. Under Alexander the Great, Amphipolis and, secondarily, Pella were exceedingly important mints, due partly to their proximity to the mines of Thrace. Both, however, supplied gold and silver currency in larger denominations, the first primarily for foreign trade, the second for local use.¹² "Small change," such as drachms, was evidently issued in Asia Minor for the whole empire; of the seven major centers, four are represented here.¹³ Owing to this feature of Alexander's monetary system, therefore, it is not surprising to find coins of rather distant mints in the heartland of his kingdom.

With the information gained, we may now return to the bronzes, especially the vessels, in order to consider more fully their typological, chronological, and, to a degree, their geographical context. The jewelry represents forms that are most familiar in gold and silver. Though by no means restricted to this area, personal ornaments decorated with snake-head terminals occur particularly often in Macedonia;¹⁴ it is noteworthy also that the bracelets found with burials are frequently child-size.¹⁵ Magnificent prototypes for the Bastis example exist in the Stathatos Collection.¹⁶ Closer coun-

terparts, however, may be found at sites like Olynthos¹⁷ and Mesembria.¹⁸ The bronze bracelet is surely a local product, and, in view of the tradition for such objects, it can be accepted as contemporary with the remaining material. The rings present just the opposite situation. While they do not appear characteristic of any one region of Greece, their shape points to a period between the late fifth and late fourth centuries;¹⁹ the fluting Eros also represents a type of subject favored at this time. Parallels from a well-excavated and published site may again be found at Olynthos;²⁰ other pertinent material, from Derveni²¹ and Nikesianes,²² for example, has yet to be fully illustrated. In publishing the rings from Olynthos, Robinson felt that those of bronze were more likely to have been made locally than imported.²³ One may assume the same for the Bastis examples.

Of the vases, the most difficult to place is the bottle, which has no exact counterparts among Greek shapes. On the other hand, the generally spherical, wide-mouthed, and handleless vase was a characteristic and exceedingly long-lived form²⁴ in the Balkan regions as well as southern Russia, and it is with this tradition that I should tentatively associate the Bastis bottle. During the period with which we are concerned, contacts intensified greatly between Greece, particularly Macedonia, on the one hand, and ancient Thrace and settlements around the Black Sea, on the other hand.²⁵ While such an explanation may seem unduly

11. Estimate made by C. Hersch, Mineola, New York.

12. E. T. Newell cited in A. R. Bellinger, *Essays on the Coinage of Alexander the Great* (New York, 1963) p. 44.

13. Thompson-Bellinger, "Alexander Drachms," pp. 6-8.

14. D. M. Robinson, *Excavations at Olynthus X* (Baltimore, 1941) p. 68; P. Amandry, *Collection Stathatos: Les Bijoux Antiques* (Strasbourg, 1953) p. 52. For further bibliography, P. Amandry, *Collection Stathatos: Objets Antiques et Byzantins* (Strasbourg, 1963) pp. 239-240.

15. G. Kazarow, "Zur Archäologie Thrakiens," *AA* (1918) cols. 23, 24, 27, 28; V. Kallipolitis and D. Feytmans, "Nekropolis en Kozane," *Archaiologike Ephemeris* 1948-49, pp. 91-92; D. Lazaridis, "Trouvailles de Mesembria," *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* [hereafter *BCH*] 77 (1953) pp. 422-423; Amandry, *Objets Antiques*, p. 212.

16. Amandry, *Bijoux Antiques*, pp. 50-51, nos. 112-119.

17. Robinson, *Olynthus*, pls. 12-13, pp. 69-72.

18. Kazarow, *AA* (1918) cols. 24, 27, 28.

19. F. H. Marshall, *Catalogue of Finger Rings in the British Museum* (London, 1907) pp. xl-xli; J. Boardman, *Greek Gems and Finger Rings* (London, 1970) pp. 212-215.

20. Robinson, *Olynthus*, pl. 26, esp. nos. 451, 465, 467; pp. 138-145.

21. Apart from the Derveni krater, other finds from this site are still most fully published by C. Makaronas, "Chronika: Derveni," *Archaiologikon Deltion* [hereafter *Deltion*] 18 (1963) pp. 193-196.

22. D. Lazarides, "Anaskaphe tymbou Nikesianes," *Praktika tes Archaiologikes Hetairias*, 1959 (1965) [hereafter *Praktika*] pp. 47-48.

23. Robinson, *Olynthus*, p. 133.

24. For the early period, M. Gimbutas, *Bronze Age Cultures in Central and Eastern Europe* (The Hague, 1965). Some examples of the Sarmatian and Roman periods may be found in M. P. Abramova, "Sépultures sarmates de Don et d'Ukraine," *Sovetskaya Arkheologiya* [hereafter *SA*] 1961, 1, pp. 90-110; I. Velkov, "Neue Grabhügel-funde aus Bulgarien," *Bulletin de l'Institut Archéologique Bulgare* [hereafter *Bull. Bulgare*] 5 (1928-29), pp. 13-55, esp. p. 50, fig. 73; D. Aladzov, "Ausgrabung einer thrakisch-römischen Hügelnekropole in Mericler," *Bull. Bulgare* 28 (1965) pp. 77-122, esp. p. 97, fig. 18, 2.

25. For a recent survey, *Découverte de l'Art Thrace: Trésors des Musées de Bulgarie* (Paris, Petit Palais, 1974).

complicated for so simple a shape, a craftsman in Amphipolis may well have made this versatile and well-proportioned vase after a type common in surrounding areas. The development and the diversity of bottle-like vases in eastern Europe can best be studied from the numerous examples in clay.²⁶ Examples in metal existed as well, and for our purposes it is significant that a considerable number are datable to the fourth century. Despite evident differences, as in the treatment of the neck and mouth, I should compare with the Bastis bottle the globular silver vases from Chmyrev,²⁷ the Taman peninsula (Sellenskaya),²⁸ Karagodeuashk,²⁹ and Gornyani in Bulgaria;³⁰ several more came to light in the recently excavated "Tolstaya Mogila" not far from Chertomlyk.³¹ The finds at Sellenskaya and Gornyani include, respectively, a gold stater of Alexander the Great and a silver tetradrachm of Philip II, thus providing a date roughly contemporary with that of the Bastis group. The bottle may also be compared with a silver vase of very similar form that has been modified by the addition of a handle; it was found near Bresovo,³² north of Plovdiv in Bulgaria, in a grave that is probably datable to the second half of the fifth century B.C. While the Bastis bottle certainly belongs with the other objects in the group and may well have been made together with the other bronzes, it is set apart by its shape and technique. Our hypothesis is an attempt, subject to correction and revision, at associating the piece with material that is pertinent chronologically, geographically, and stylistically.

In contrast to the bottle, the duck-headed ladle belongs to one of the best documented groups of ancient metal utensils. The development of the shape in silver has recently been traced by D. Strong,³³ and the Bastis piece corresponds perfectly to the Early Hellenistic type with its shallow bowl, short projections, and long handle. Contemporary examples have come to light over much of the Greek world. From northern Greece, we may cite the bronze ladles from Olynthos,³⁴ as well as silver ones from Potidaea³⁵ and, evidently, from Thesaly³⁶ and Akarnania.³⁷ Another³⁸ belonged to the group of silver vessels found at Prusias (Bithynia), now with the Walter C. Baker bequest in the Metropolitan Museum. From Russia come still other examples of bronze (Kerch,³⁹ Kop-Takil⁴⁰) and of silver (Kerch,⁴¹ Sellenskaya,⁴² Karagodeushk⁴³). The list of ladles with recorded and unrecorded provenances is long and fa-

miliar, so it need not be continued here.⁴⁴ The pieces we have enumerated, however, provide a direct frame of reference for the Bastis ladle and indicate that it fits well with what we have seen so far of the find.

With the funnel-strainer and the cups we reach perhaps the most interesting of the objects. In addition to being somewhat larger and more complex in their construction, they admirably demonstrate a typical feature of Greek metal and clay vases, the variations of form within a given shape. Funnel-strainers are known from a number of archaic Etruscan examples⁴⁵ as well as from the famous piece in the Chaource Treasure (third

26. Comparanda for the Bastis bottle: S. I. Makalatiya, "Raskopki Dvanskogo Mogilnika," *SA* 11 (1949) p. 232, fig. 11, 1; T. N. Troitskaia, "Pogrebenie u Sela Beloglinki," *SA* 27 (1957) p. 230, figs. 4, 5.

27. B. Pharmakowsky, "Archäologische Funde im Jahre 1909: Russland," *AA* (1910) col. 225, fig. 4; col. 222.

28. Pharmakowsky, *AA* (1913) col. 185, fig. 17; col. 182.

29. A. Lappo-Danilevskij and B. Malmberg, "Kurgan Karagodeuashk," *Materialy po Archeologii Rossii* 13 (1894) p. 44, fig. 10.

30. V. Mikov, "Grabfund von Gornjani," *Bull. Bulgare* 11 (1937) p. 209, fig. 189; p. 213.

31. B. N. Mozolevskii, "Kurgan Tolstaya Mogila," *SA* 1972, 3, p. 305, fig. 41 (only one).

32. I. Velkov, "Grabhügelfunde aus Bresovo in Südbulgarien," *Bull. Bulgare* 8 (1934) p. 6, fig. 4, 2.

33. D. E. Strong, *Greek and Roman Gold and Silver Plate* (Ithaca, New York 1966) pp. 91-92, 115-116, 143.

34. Robinson, *Olynthus*, pp. 194-198.

35. J.-P. Michaud, "Chronique des Fouilles: Potidée," *BCH* 94 (1970) p. 1069, fig. 392; M. Karamanolis-Siganidis, "Chronika: Potidaea," *Deltion* 21 (1966) pp. 342-343.

36. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery 57.909. Hill, "Ladles and Strainers," p. 40, fig. 1; p. 44; Hill, *Metalware*, no. 50.

37. Crosby, "Ladle and Strainer," p. 210, figs. 1, 2, pp. 209-214; Hill, *Metalware*, no. 51.

38. Metropolitan Museum of Art 1972.118.161. D. von Bothmer, *Ancient Art from New York Private Collections* (New York, 1961) p. 68, no. 266.

39. L. Stephani, "Erklärung der im Jahre 1862 bei Kerch gefundenen Gegenstände," *Compte-rendu de la Commission Impériale Archéologique* [hereafter *Compte-rendu*] (1864) p. 49, note 7.

40. S. Reinach, *Antiquités du Bosphore Cimmérien* (Paris, 1892) p. 95, pl. 44, 9.

41. Reinach, *Bosphore*, p. 80, pl. 30, 1-2; *Compte-rendu* (1864) p. 49, note 7.

42. Pharmakowsky, *AA* (1913) col. 185, fig. 11; col. 181.

43. Lappo-Danilevskij and Malmberg, "Karagodeuashk," pl. VI, 2.

44. See, for instance, Robinson, *Olynthus*, pp. 195-196, note 25.

45. Sauer, "Infundibulum"; Hill, "Ladles and Strainers," pp. 46-47.



FIGURE 15
Bronze funnel-strainer. British Museum, 1911.1-17.1 (photo: Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum)

century A.D.).⁴⁶ In Greek art, I am familiar with five examples, all of which seem to be Hellenistic. All, however, were acquired by European museums and have little or no documentation so that their provenances remain uncertain. Best preserved is a funnel-strainer in the British Museum (Figure 15); the holes of the sieve are randomly distributed, the handles end in dog's

46. H. B. Walters, *Catalogue of Silver Plate in the British Museum* (London, 1921) pp. 38, 39, no. 146.



FIGURES 16, 17
Bronze funnel-strainer. Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum, F 751 (photo: Courtesy Badisches Landesmuseum)

heads, and the handle plates develop extended curlicues that give this a more ornate appearance than the Bastis piece. In the Ashmolean Museum, there are two funnels, each of which originally had a pair of duck's-head handles; given the rather thick metal and the discoloration at the center of the bowl, they are probably funnel-strainers whose sieves have become detached and lost. The more complete piece (1932.440) resembles the one in London through the developed curlicues

and the beading around the bowl, while the other (1932.441), which lacks one of the duck's heads, is comparatively plain. C. Friedrichs' catalogue of bronzes in Berlin clearly includes at least one funnel-strainer;⁴⁷ bought from the Pourtalès collection, it was found at Cumae. The two following entries in the catalogue are described as being similar, but we cannot check their shapes since all three disappeared during the last war. Finally, a variant form of funnel-strainer is in Karlsruhe (Figures 16, 17).⁴⁸ It differs from the preceding pieces principally in the placement of the sieve, not within the bowl of the utensil but at the bottom of its relatively short, wide stem. This solution suggests a simplification of the type we have been considering, and the lack of detail in the handle plates and duck's heads points in the same direction.

The material cited presents parallels for the Bastis funnel-strainer, but virtually no chronological evidence. This we may derive, however, from a small number of two-handled strainers, without funnels, that correspond to the Bastis piece in all other respects. An example excavated at Potidaea⁴⁹ has the same duck's-head finials, short curlicues on the handle plates, and pinwheel sieve. Though extensively restored, another belongs to the Derveni find,⁵⁰ while a third was among a cache of fifth- and fourth-century objects found at Votonisi, near Metsovon.⁵¹ A fourth strainer, reputedly from Thessaly, is in Baltimore.⁵² The pieces from Potidaea and Derveni bring us once more to the latter part of the fourth century, where we should also place the Bastis funnel-strainer. As for the other funnel-strainers, we tentatively suggest that Oxford 1932.441 is roughly contemporary, that Oxford 1932.440 and London 1911.1-17.1 are somewhat later, while Karlsruhe F 751

is certainly the latest of the group. These conclusions receive further support from sieves with a single duck's-head handle. As examples from familiar sites, we may mention two of silver from Kerch⁵³ and Karagodeuashk⁵⁴ with which a bronze example in London⁵⁵ can be associated. The loop-handled sieve may be less familiar than the straight-handled variety, which is well known from finds and ancient representations; there can be no doubt, however, that it found favor in northern Greece, at least, during the earlier part of the Hellenistic period.

Our identification of the bronzes in the Bastis find has so far tended consistently toward the region in which they came to light and the years around the turn of the fourth century. As the kylikes present no exception, we shall dwell on their typology instead. Hellenistic drinking cups of metal may be divided into stemless and stemmed types and the latter subdivided into three main varieties according to the treatment of the bowl; the bowl may form a continuous curve, it may be non-continuous with a concave profile, and it may be kantharoid with a squat or calyx-shaped profile.⁵⁶ In all three cases, bronze examples typically have a fillet halfway up the stem, concentric rings where stem and bowl join, pointed handle roots, and triangular rather than rounded handle terminations at the height of the lip. The two Bastis cups perfectly exemplify the second variety, with the concave-sided bowl. They may be compared with several pieces whose provenances are important. One of these was discovered in grave B at Derveni,⁵⁷ thus providing a contemporary Macedonian counterpart. One now in West Berlin (Inv. 7264) reportedly comes from Corinth, and Stackelberg illustrated another, apparently from Ithaka.⁵⁸ Two cups of

47. C. Friedrichs, *Geräthe und Bronzen im alten Museum, Berlin* (Düsseldorf, 1871) p. 154, no. 657; Galerie Pourtalès (Paris, 1865) p. 142, no. 806.

48. K. Schumacher, *Beschreibung der Sammlung antiker Bronzen* (Karlsruhe, 1890) p. 94, no. 505.

49. Michaud, *BCH* 94 (1970) p. 1069, fig. 392.

50. Information about this piece from K. Rhomiopoulou. An example of silver from Derveni is illustrated in M. Andronicos, *The Greek Museums* (Athens, 1975) p. 282, fig. 17. It is complete and, on the rim of the bowl, is ornamented with a wreath.

51. J. Vocotopoulou, *Odegos Mouseiou Ioanninon* (Athens, 1973) p. 52, pl. 18; *BCH* 99 (1975) p. 773, no. 23 (includes further comparison).

52. Walters Art Gallery 57.910. Hill, "Ladles and Strainers," p. 40, fig. 1, pp. 52, 55; Hill, *Metalware*, no. 50.

53. Reinach, *Bosphore*, p. 82, pl. 31, 5.

54. Lappo-Danilevskij and Malmberg, "Karagodeuashk," pl. vi, 3.

55. 1847.8-6.139. Although it is possible that the sieve had two handles, the thinness of the metal makes it unlikely and virtually excludes the possibility of its having been a funnel-strainer.

56. Our discussion here will be limited to kylikes and not include skyphoi, phialai, and other vessels with small handles or none at all. For an introduction to this material, as well as to ancient plate generally, see Strong, *Greek and Roman Plate*. Our discussion also omits the ceramic counterparts to metal vessels, which may be found in black-glazed and West Slope wares, especially.

57. Makaronas, *Deltion* 18 (1963) pl. 228, b. See Andronicos, *Museums* p. 281, fig. 15, although the piece may not be the same one.

58. O. M. von Stackelberg, *Die Graeber der Hellenen* (Berlin, 1837) p. 42, pl. 54, 1. The register of objects in the British Museum's

FIGURE 18
Bronze cup. British Museum, 1878.10-12.6
 (photo: Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum)



the concave variety are included among the forty-seven bronzes from Galaxidhi acquired by the British Museum from the English consul Merlin in 1878 and 1882.⁵⁹ This find represented to an earlier generation of scholars what the Derveni material is for us today; W. Lamb, for example, called bronze stemmed cups such as we are discussing “the Galaxidhi type.” She also suggested that the chief center of production was Corinth,⁶⁰ a hypothesis that seems to be based as much on ancient literary sources like Strabo and Pliny⁶¹ as on archaeological evidence. Given other finds like the twenty pieces once in the Hoffmann collection⁶² and indications from the site itself,⁶³ Corinth probably was a center of production and diffusion, but not the only one.

Before leaving the stemmed cups with concave sides, it is worth recalling four of the most elaborate examples of this shape; they came to light in the Seven Brothers Kurgan⁶⁴ and are dated by Strong to the second half of the fifth century B.C.⁶⁵ Their technique is noteworthy insofar as they were made of silver, decorated on the inside of the bowl with engraved representations, and gilded without obscuring the scenes. Equally remarkable are the compositions, which in two cases consist of a tondo surrounded by a zone of auxiliary figures; one shows Bellerophon slaying the Chimaera with six warriors around, the other shows a male personage and a maenad surrounded by three pairs of satyrs and maenads. Ceramic counterparts to such objects may be found, for example, in the oeuvres of the Penthesilea

Painter and his colleagues,⁶⁶ who were active in Athens around the mid-fifth century. The silver cups are interesting not only in themselves but also for the unmistakable dependence on pottery models. By contrast, their later and simpler counterparts of bronze exist in their own right as utilitarian rather than luxury objects made in some quantity probably according to standardized methods.

The alternate variety of drinking vessel with a non-continuous bowl is frequently called a kantharos. Its squattest form, with a convex body surmounted by a flaring lip, is represented by examples in London from Galaxidhi (Figure 18), and in the Metropolitan Museum

Greek and Roman Department notes that their cup 1873.8-20.193 may be the one published by Stackelberg.

59. While the finds from Galaxidhi have become well known, there has never been a comprehensive publication of the whole group.

60. W. Lamb, *Greek and Roman Bronzes* (London, 1929) pp. 185–186.

61. See, for example, H. Payne, *Necrocorinthia* (Oxford, 1931) pp. 348–351.

62. Vente Drouot, 28–29 May 1888, lots 419–446. (Lot 427 is New York 21.88.68.)

63. G. Davidson, *Corinth XII* (Princeton, 1952) pp. 5, 64; H. Payne, *Perachora I* (Oxford, 1940) pp. 123–124.

64. L. Stephani, “Erklärung einiger Kunstwerke der kaiserlichen Ermitage,” *Compte-rendu* (1881) pp. 5–45, pl. 1, 1–5.

65. Strong, *Greek and Roman Plate*, pp. 78–79.

66. Beazley, *ARV*² 877–971. Apart from the main piece in Ferrara (*ARV*² 882, 35) see *ARV*² 908, 14; 934, 66 and 66 bis; 940, 8.



FIGURE 19
Bronze cup. Munich,
Staatliche Antikensamm-
lungen und Glyptothek,
S.L. 38 (photo: Courtesy
Staatliche Antikensamm-
lungen und Glyptothek)



FIGURE 20
Bronze cup. British Mu-
seum, 1882.10-9.2 (photo:
Courtesy of the Trustees
of the British Museum)

um.⁶⁷ A somewhat taller version with a larger interval between the convexity and lip appears in a piece purportedly from Galaxidhi, once in the Loeb collection

67. 07.286.130. G. Richter, *Metropolitan Museum of Art: Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes* (New York, 1915) p. 216, no. 595. An elongated variant of London 1878.10-12.6 occurs in Athens, Melas inv. 15 (*BCH* 99 [1975] p. 569, figs. 38-39). Compare also Melas

and now in Munich (Figure 19),⁶⁸ and another in the Metropolitan Museum.⁶⁹ The most elongated version of this type has a calyx-shaped body surmounted by a

inv. 16, except for the lip, which is closer to the pieces in Figure 20 and footnotes 70 and 71.

68. J. Sieveking, *Die Bronzen der Sammlung Loeb* (Munich, 1913) p. 84 and pl. 44, above.

FIGURE 21
Bronze cup. Munich,
Staatliche Antikensamm-
lungen und Glyptothek,
Br 3766 (photo: Courtesy
Staatliche Antikensamm-
lungen und Glyptothek)



pronounced lip; two examples came to light in grave D at Derveni;⁷⁰ others are known from Galaxidhi (Figure 20) and from the art market.⁷¹ Calyx-shaped cups without a distinct lip have been found, for instance, at Nikesianes,⁷² Ithaka,⁷³ and Galaxidhi.⁷⁴ Of special interest is the piece said to be from the vicinity of Amphipolis (Figure 21).⁷⁵ Although we shall not discuss them here, it should be noted that these shapes occur among stemless cups as well.⁷⁶ We shall conclude with two

special examples of the stemmed variety. The first, which was discovered in Kephallenia and published by Stackelberg,⁷⁷ often appears in the older literature because it was found with a Corinthian coin of the late fourth century; though somewhat peculiar in Stackelberg's engraving, the shape of the cup may have corresponded to the taller of the Loeb examples. The second piece is another showpiece of silver, from Chmyrev.⁷⁸ It also is of the intermediate kantharoid variety, with

69. 69.266. D. von Bothmer, *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (October 1970) p. 83.

70. Information from K. Rhomiopoulou.

71. Vente Hoffmann (1888), lots 423–424; Collection Borelli Bey, Vente Drouot, 11–13 June 1913, lot 264.

72. Lazarides, *Praktika* (1959) pl. 53, b.

73. H. Waterhouse, "Excavations at Stavros, Ithaca, in 1937," *Annual of the British School at Athens* 47 (1952) p. 233, pl. 47 a, b.

74. London 1882. 10–9.9. Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek S. L. 37 (Sieveking, *Loeb*, p. 84, pl. 44 below, purportedly from Galaxidhi). From another site: *Allard Pierson Museum: Algemeene Gids* (Amsterdam, 1956) pl. 38, 788 and p. 90. In the Allard Pierson catalogue, the provenance of this piece is variously given as Eleutheræ and Galaxidhi; the catalogue of the Scheurleer collection (C. Scheurleer, *Catalogus* [The Hague, 1919] p. 101, no. 159), from which the piece came, gives Eleutheræ as the finding place. See also *Burlington Fine Arts Club: Exhibition of Ancient Greek Art* (London, 1904) p. 65, no. 112.

75. Ex coll. Arndt. This is the piece mentioned in Scheurleer, *Catalogus*, p. 101, no. 159.

76. Squat kantharoid examples from Galaxidhi (*Allard Pierson: Gids*, pl. 38, 789 and p. 90; same as Scheurleer, *Catalogus* p. 100, no. 158), Anaktorion (London, 1907.5–21.1), and Votonisi (*BCH* 99 [1975] pp. 764–766, nos. 15–18; an example of the elongated variety with pronounced lip (Metropolitan Museum 11.106; Richter, *Bronzes*, p. 217, no. 597); a pair of silver cups from Derveni with calyx form and plain lip (Makaronas, *Deltion* [1963] pl. 228, a). A silver vase with the broad and low shape commonly associated with kantharoi was found at Gornjani (Mikov, "Gornjani," *Bull. Bulgare*, p. 208, fig. 188). A remarkable calyx-shaped bronze cup that seems to have been made without any stem or foot whatsoever comes from Szob, Hungary (E. Baja-Thomas, *Archäologische Funde in Ungarn* [Budapest, 1956] p. 166).

77. Stackelberg, *Graeber*, p. 42, pl. vii.

78. Pharmakowsky, *AA* (1910) cols. 219–220, figs. 18–19.



FIGURE 22
Bronze cup. British Museum,
1878.10-12.2 (photo: Courtesy of
the Trustees of the British
Museum)

unusual features like fluting on the convex portion of the body and a tondo of sheet gold showing a nereid, helmet in hand, riding a hippocamp.

The last of the cup shapes that we distinguished was that with a continuous bowl. A few examples suggest the range of possibilities even here. A cup in the Metropolitan Museum,⁷⁹ another lent by William Rome to the Burlington Exhibition of 1903,⁸⁰ and others from Galaxidhi⁸¹ in London have globular bodies of varying depths and handles attached at the sides; a further piece in London resembles the previous types in its shallower bowl with handles attached on the underside (Figure 22). Even greater variation occurs among the stemless examples with a continuous profile.

Our discussion here was not intended to be exhaustive, but rather to indicate several lines of inquiry suggested by the Bastis cups. In presenting the typological context to which the pieces belong, we have also had

the opportunity to survey the artistic diversity and richness existing in a subject that might well seem exceedingly prosaic. Geographically speaking, the material strongly suggests the existence of several centers of production, of which one may be located in Corinth, another or others in northern Greece; the presence of several in Macedonia is made likely by the number of cities in this region as well as by their access to trade routes and metals. Finally, although a few of our examples may be later, chronological indications for the class we have considered point toward the fourth and third centuries B.C., the earlier part of the Hellenistic period.⁸² In all of these respects, the cups fit perfectly with the other constituents of the Bastis find. Moreover, by virtue of its coins, this find joins those like Derveni, Nikesianes, Sellenskaya, and Gorniyani in providing fixed points to which a varied, important, and ever increasing amount of material can be related.

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79. 07.286.97. Richter, *Bronzes*, pp. 216–217, no. 596.

80. *Burlington Exhibition* p. 61, no. 97. Christie's 18 December 1907, lot 42.

81. "1878.10-12.4" (probably 1878.10-12.3); 1878.10-12.4; 1878.10-12.5; 1882.10-9.3; 1882.10-9.12.

82. A pair of silver cup handles that came to light at Welwyn, Hertfordshire, in 1906 (R. A. Smith, "On Late-Celtic Antiquities discovered at Welwyn, Herts.," *Archeologia* 63 [1912] pp. 1–30, esp. pp. 20–21) should not be restored on the type of cup we have considered but rather on a stemless cup with an open bowl, as, for example, Strong, *Greek and Roman Plate*, p. 94, pl. 24, p. 111. The handles may also be earlier than the first-century B.C. context in which they were found.

Two Panels by the Master of the St. George Codex in The Cloisters

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IN 1961, THE CLOISTERS acquired two beautiful small panel paintings, a Crucifixion and a Lamentation (Figures 1, 2), attributed to the fourteenth-century Italian panel painter and illuminator known as the Master of the St. George Codex.¹ Soon after their acquisition, the paintings were published as "Avignon panels,"² reflecting the widely held hypothesis, first proposed by Giacomo DeNicola in 1906, that the St. George Codex Master was an associate of Simone Martini in Avignon.³ The hypothetical French career of the Master has been a basis for the theory that the International Style grew out of the exchange of styles between French and Italian artists in fourteenth-century Avignon.⁴

Erwin Panofsky in 1953 had challenged the tradi-

tional view of Avignon's importance, stating that the history of art would have been the same had the popes stayed in Rome.⁵ He correctly observed that the stylistic amalgamation between Italy and France had been accomplished well before any important artistic activity had taken place under the popes in Avignon. However, critics of Panofsky's theory continued to use the putative career of the St. George Codex Master in Avignon to bolster their argument.⁶ Thus, the anonymous painter of the Cloisters' panels is a critical figure in a major historical debate.

DeNicola proposed that an illumination in the so-called St. George Codex in the Vatican depicting the battle between the saint and the dragon (Figure 3) was a copy of a lost fresco in Avignon painted by Simone

1. Tempera on wood, gold ground. Both panels 15½ x 10½ inches. Bequest of John D. Rockefeller, Jr., 61.200.1,2. First attributed to the Master of the St. George Codex by Adolfo Venturi, *Storia dell'arte italiana*, V: *La pittura del trecento* (Milan, 1907) p. 631. The Codex from which the Master derives his cognomen is Ms c. 129, Archivio di San Pietro, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.

2. Margaret B. Freeman, "The Avignon Panels: A Preliminary View," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 20 (1962) pp. 303–307.

3. Giacomo DeNicola, "L'Affresco di Simone Martini ad Avignone," *L'Arte* 9 (1906) pp. 336–344. Venturi, pp. 619–620, 631, and 1030, who first published the Cloisters' panels, also endorsed DeNicola's hypothesis. The only dissent from DeNicola's hypothesis was by Carlo Volpe, "Una crocifissione di Niccolò Tegliacci," *Paragone* XXI (1951) pp. 39–41. Earlier (1789), Luigi Lanzi, the

first to mention the St. George Codex (*The History of Painting in Italy* I, trans. Thomas Roscoe [London, 1847] p. 47) ascribed it to Simone Martini, although traditionally it was given to Giotto, as the Codex frontispiece of 1601 indicates.

4. Michel Laclotte, *L'Ecole d'Avignon: La peinture en Provence aux XIVe siècles* (Paris, 1960) pp. 57–58; Enrico Castelnuovo, *Un pittore italiano alla corte di Avignone* (Turin, 1962) pp. 139–154; Bernard Guillemin, *La Cour Pontificale d'Avignon (1307–1376)* (Paris, 1962) p. 275.

5. Erwin Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting* I (Cambridge, Mass., 1953) p. 24. Panofsky's thesis is supported by Millard Meiss, *French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry* (London, 1967) p. 26.

6. See Enrico Castelnuovo, "Avignone rievocata," *Paragone* 119 (1959) p. 33.



FIGURE 1
Master of the St. George Codex, Crucifixion. The Cloisters Collection, Bequest of John D. Rockefeller, Jr.,
61.200.1



FIGURE 2
Master of the St. George Codex, Lamentation. The Cloisters Collection, Bequest of John D. Rockefeller, Jr., 61.200.2

Martini between 1336 and 1344.⁷ The fresco, since its destruction in the early nineteenth century, is known only from early written descriptions, but DeNicola believed he had discovered a drawing copy of it in the Vatican library (Barb. lat. 4426, fol. 36) (Figure 4).⁸ He concluded that the St. George Codex illumination so closely resembled the drawing that it proved that the Master had copied Simone's Avignon fresco.

DeNicola's premise that the Barberini drawing was a copy of the fresco is reasonable but inconclusive. Barberini lat. 4426 is part of a collection of copies of monuments made for Cardinal Francesco Barberini in the seventeenth century; it contains miscellaneous drawings and maps from various locales, including at least five certain drawings of sites in and around Avignon.⁹ Although folio 36 depicts the same subject as the Simone fresco and stylistically could indicate a trecento work, there is no proof that it comes from Avignon. On

the other hand, the Barberini drawing must be a copy of a major work now lost, because a fresco of about 1350 in the Baptistery at Parma, perhaps by Francesco Traini, was evidently derived from the same work.¹⁰

A four-line prayer that once appeared below the Avignon fresco and is found also in the St. George Codex was used by DeNicola to further demonstrate the association between the St. George Codex Master and Simone Martini.¹¹ DeNicola concluded that the Master had copied the prayer, which is not in the Barberini drawing, from Simone's fresco in Avignon. However, a more convincing explanation for this relationship is that since the prayer was used as an antiphon in the Codex,¹² this was its original context and use, and that it was later adapted for the fresco. The antiphon, with the rest of the missal, was composed by Cardinal Jacopo Stefaneschi, as stated in the Codex.¹³

Simone's patron in Avignon had traditionally been



FIGURE 3
Master of the St. George Codex,
Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana,
Archivio di San Pietro,
c. 129, fol. 85r. (photo: Biblio-
teca Apostolica Vaticana)

7. The fresco was painted between Simone's arrival in Avignon sometime between 1336 and 1340, and his death in that city in 1344. He painted the St. George fresco on the south wall of the porch of Notre Dame-des-Doms and a Virgin and Child with Angels (and Donor) in the tympanum with Christ in Glory above. For a discussion of Simone's work in Avignon and a review of the controversy over his arrival date, François Enaud, "Les Fresques di Simone Martini à Avignon," *Les Monuments Historiques de la France* 9 (1963) pp. 111–180. Marthe Bloch, "When did Simone go to Avignon?," *Speculum* 2 (1927) pp. 470–472, demonstrated that the traditional date of 1340 was probably wrong; John Rowlands, "The date of Simone Martini's arrival in Avignon," *Burlington Magazine* 107 (1965) pp. 25–26, supported Bloch's date of 1336.

8. DeNicola, 1906, p. 338.

9. Besides the St. George scene on fol. 36, there are: the arch of Susa, fol. 5; Lampini Chapel, fol. 11; tomb of Cardinal Lagrange, fols. 24–25; tomb of Amé Genève, fol. 32; bridge on the Rhône near Arles, fol. 45.

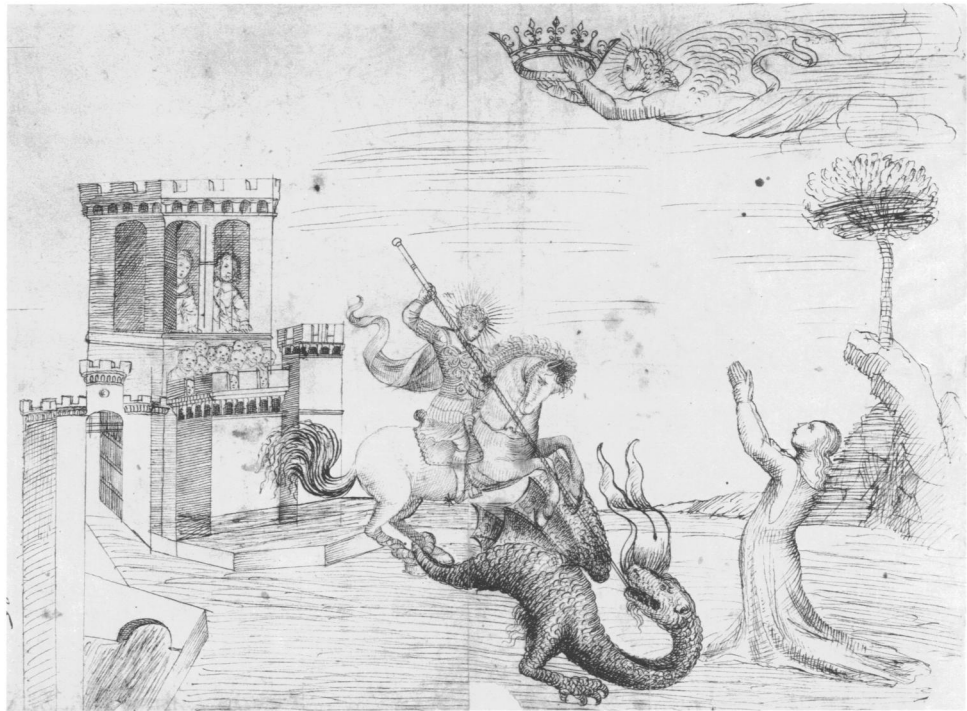
10. The connection of the drawing in Barb. lat. 4426 with the Parma Baptistery fresco, and the latter's attribution to Traini, was first made by Millard Meiss, "The Problem of Francesco Traini," *Art Bulletin* 15, (1933) p. 144. Luciano Bellosi, *Buffalmacco e il trionfo della morte* (Turin, 1974) p. 68, attributes the Parma fresco to Buffalmacco.

11. DeNicola, 1906, p. 338, quotes the fresco prayer recorded by a seventeenth-century traveler, André Valladier, which is the same as the one in the Codex: "Miles in arma ferox bello captare triumphum/Et solitus vastas pilo transfigere fauces/Serpentis tetrum spirantis pectore fumum/Occultas extingue faces in bella, Georgi."

12. In addition to appearing on fols. 81 and 82 of the Codex, as DeNicola noted, the prayer appears again on fol. 88; in both cases they are antiphons accompanied with musical notations.

13. "Jacobus sancti Georgii ad Velum aureum Diac. composuit," fol. 70.

FIGURE 4
Seventeenth-century
drawing, Biblioteca
Apostolica Vaticana,
Barb. lat. 4426, fol. 36
(photo: Biblioteca
Apostolica Vaticana)



considered to be Cardinal Annibaldo di Ceccano, but DeNicola, observing that the coats of arms on the fresco were those of the Stefaneschi family, concluded that Stefaneschi had been the patron, which he felt further supported his theory connecting the Master of the St. George Codex with Simone.¹⁴ However, DeNicola failed to mention that an inscription under the tympanum fresco, mentioned by several observers, gave the donor as Annibaldo.¹⁵ He also overlooked the fact that Annibaldo di Ceccano, the son of Cardinal Jacopo's sister, was a member of the Stefaneschi family.¹⁶ Cardinal Annibaldo, who was bishop of Naples from 1324 until 1327¹⁷ and could have been familiar with Simone's work there, might have commissioned the St. George fresco as a memorial to his uncle, who died in 1343.¹⁸

14. DeNicola, 1906, p. 338.

15. Eugène Müntz, "Les peintures de Simone Martini à Avignon," *Mémoires de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France* 45 (1885) p. 22, quotes the inscription, which was still legible in the nineteenth century; DeNicola, p. 338, quotes another account, dated 1600, giving the fresco donor as Cardinal Annibaldo, but he believed it was mistaken because of the presence of the Stefaneschi arms.

16. Arsenio Frugoni, *Celestiniana* (Rome, 1954) p. 71, and Ignaz Hösl, *Kardinal Jacobus Gaietani Stefaneschi. Ein Beitrag zur Literatur- und Kirchengeschichte des beginnenden vierzehnten Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, 1908) p. 29.

If Stefaneschi were the patron of Simone's fresco, it would have been the only instance, in a lifetime of extensive Maecenasship, that he ever used an artist who had no association with his native city, Rome.

Since one cannot argue on the basis of Stefaneschi's patronage that the illumination in the Codex was copied from Simone's fresco, the only remaining question is that of the resemblance DeNicola saw between the two St. George compositions, as well as the supposed similarities between the two painters' styles.

The Codex illumination and Simone's fresco are both examples of the so-called "complex" composition of St. George and the dragon that first appeared in twelfth-century Byzantine art.¹⁹ The complex composition included a princess, tower with spectators, land-

17. Müntz, p. 22, note 1; Hösl, p. 29; Frugoni, p. 71.

18. The date of Jacopo Stefaneschi's death continues to be unclear to some scholars. For example, Guillemain, p. 212, note 168, and Giovanni Paccagnini, *Simone Martini* (Milan, 1955) p. 168, repeat the erroneous date of 1341. Hösl, pp. 29–30 and p. 29, note 33, explained that the date 1341 was an eighteenth-century error, and gave proof for the date of 1343. Simone died in 1344.

19. Josef Myslivec, "Saint-Georges dans l'art chrétien oriental," *Byzantinoslavica* 5 (1933–34) p. 374, believes that the complex type grew out of literature in the East where it is first found in art in the twelfth-century fresco at Staraja Ladoga.



FIGURE 5
Bandiera di San Giorgio, Museo Sacro Vaticano, T177 (photo: Archivio Fotografico Gallerie e Musei Pontificie Vatican)

scape, and the encounter between the saint and the dragon. I believe that the earliest example of this complex type in the West is the banner known as the *Bandiera di San Giorgio* (Figure 5), commissioned by Cardinal Stefaneschi for his titular church of San Giorgio in Velabro probably around 1295–1305, after he was made cardinal.²⁰ We can trace a hypothetical history of the complex motif in Italy, keeping in mind the possibility of lost examples, from the *Bandiera* to the St. George Codex, both done for Stefaneschi, to Simone's frescino Avignon by way of Annibaldo. Also, given the interest in dramatic narrative and landscape in the trecento, and the dependence on Byzantine art, Simone

20. Museo Sacro Vaticano, T177. Appliqué and paint on cloth; gray, red, and yellow. See Wolfgang Fritz Volbach, *I Tessuti del Museo Sacro Vaticano* (Vatican City, 1942) pp. 56–57. According to Volbach, this may have been the same banner that Cola di Rienzo in 1347 carried to the Campidoglio as the banner of the Roman people. Volbach dates the banner between 1339 and 1341, believing that it followed the fresco by Simone (he uses the erroneous date of 1341 for Stefaneschi's death). The style of the banner,



FIGURE 6
Porta di San Giorgio relief. Florence, Collezione Civiche di Palazzo Vecchio (photo: Alinari)

and the Master could have come to this motif independently.

The complex composition was preceded by the “simple” composition, which showed only the saint battling with the dragon. An example of this simple type, which both Simone and the Master may have known, is the late thirteenth-century relief from the *Porta di San Giorgio* in Florence (Figure 6),²¹ in which both the saint and the dragon face right. By comparing the traditional grouping in the relief to the drawing of the fresco and the Codex illumination, we can see that while Simone incorporated it wholly into the complex composition, the Master displayed a far more original manipu-

and the interest Stefaneschi had in his titular church when he was made Cardinal in 1295, suggest a date much earlier. The composition of the banner follows Eastern complex types more closely than does Simone's fresco as known from the drawing.

21. Richard Offner, *A Critical and Historical Corpus of Florentine Painting* III, VI (New York, 1930) p. 236, note 8, discusses the *Porta di San Giorgio* relief and its significance for St. George iconography in Italy.

lation of the elements by having the dragon and saint face each other, thus heightening the dramatic impact. The Master of the St. George Codex created a new central group in the iconography of St. George that was not used again until Donatello revived it in his relief for Orsanmichele nearly a hundred years later. The depiction of the dragon attacking the horse and rider has been suggested as a step toward a new free narrative representation, whereas Simone shows a continuation of an older symbolic motif.²²

Not only are there important compositional and iconographic differences between the Barberini copy and the St. George Codex illumination, there are also variations in the treatment of individual elements. If the St. George Codex Master had not been in Avignon but was influenced by Simone through the use of a model book, we might expect a change in the overall composition, since it has been demonstrated that only individual motifs were repeated in fourteenth-century model books.²³ But, since there are even changes in the individual elements, such as the posture of the saint, the placement of the tower with spectators, and the action of the dragon,²⁴ there seems to be no basis upon which to insist that a close relationship exists between the compositions by Simone and the St. George Codex Master. To say that both use the same new complex motif, even if in a different manner, and therefore show some affinity, could easily lead us to speculate that the Codex influenced Simone, especially since illuminations were used more often than frescoes as models.²⁵ Both theories, of course, ignore the earlier appearance of the Bandiera.

By using the Barberini copy along with the other works by Simone from the Avignon period, we can attempt to reconstruct the stylistic treatment of the figures and the landscape, and the handling of space or

other pictorial elements, in the lost fresco. Simone's line, to judge from the Barberini drawing, moves across the surface in sweeping arabesque contours like those of the folds and orphreys on the garments of the figures in his Holy Family in Liverpool (Figure 7) and frontispiece for Petrarch's *Virgil* in Milan (Figure 8), the only extant works that can be placed securely within Simone's Avignon period. The spiraling, fluttering cloak of St. George in the Barberini copy is nearly identical to the angel's cloak in Simone's Annunciation in the Uffizi (Figure 9), dated 1333, a few years before his Avignon journey. The cloak in the St. George Codex is arranged, on the other hand, in a series of tubular folds that fall in rows across the horse's rump. There are no arabesque contours within the Master's composition. Simone's late work tends to emphasize pattern and line; figures are not overlapped or are paired, forming a single unit. Individual features, such as eyes, hands, and feet, are stretched and attenuated. These are not characteristics of the St. George Codex Master's work.

When the Cloisters' panels were first attributed to the St. George Codex Master in 1907 by Adolfo Venturi, he connected them to two panels in the Museo Nazionale (Bargello) in Florence: the Coronation of the Virgin and the *Noli me tangere* (Figures 10, 11).²⁶ A year later, DeNicola suggested that a panel in the Louvre, the Enthroned Virgin and Child with Sts. John the Baptist and John the Evangelist and Angels (Figure 12), was also a part of the original ensemble.²⁷

The supposition that the Louvre, Bargello, and Cloisters' panels are all from one polyptych continues to be voiced,²⁸ but it is clearly untenable. In the first place, the panels are of slightly different sizes²⁹ and have entirely different tooled designs. In addition, the Cloisters' panels are from a later period in the Master's career, as I have argued elsewhere.³⁰ Therefore, I will 213-214, also attributed the Louvre panel to the Master but did not make a connection to other works.

28. Freeman, p. 304. Raimond van Marle, "Le Maître du Codex de Saint Georges et la peinture française du XIV^e siècle," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 5 (1931) p. 10, first doubted the connection of the Louvre panel with the others; Volpe, *Paragone* 21 (1951) p. 40, dated the Bargello and Cloisters' panels in different periods although he did not discuss the ensemble problem directly.

29. The Cloisters' panels: 15 $\frac{1}{8}$ x 10 $\frac{1}{8}$ inches each. The Bargello panels: 16 $\frac{1}{8}$ x 11 $\frac{1}{8}$ inches each. The Louvre panel: 22 $\frac{1}{8}$ x 8 $\frac{1}{4}$ inches. All apparently have engaged frames.

30. I have discussed this in my doctoral dissertation, *The Master of the St. George Codex*, University of Chicago, 1968.

22. Otto Freiherr von Taube, "Zur Ikonographie St. Georgs in der italienischen Kunst," *Münchener Jahrbuch der Bildenden Kunst* 6 (1911) p. 196.

23. R. W. Scheller, *A Survey of Medieval Model Books* (Haarlem, 1963) pp. 14-15. Scheller emphasizes that the accuracy in copies of individual motifs was not applied to entire compositions.

24. Meiss, *French Painting*, p. 25, has also pointed out that the horse's legs are grasped by the dragon's tail in the drawing but not in the Codex.

25. Scheller, pp. 18-20.

26. Venturi, p. 631.

27. DeNicola, "Opere del Miniatore del Codice di San Giorgio," *L'Arte* 11 (1908) pp. 385-386. Wilhelm Suida, "Studien zur Trecentomalerei," *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft* 31 (1908) pp.



FIGURE 7
Simone Martini, Holy Family. Liverpool, Walker Art Gallery (photo: Walker Art Gallery)

discuss the Cloisters' panels as independent products within the Master's oeuvre; their original function or context must remain unknown.

The Cloisters' panels possess an elegance that does not fit into the common view of fourteenth-century Florentine art dominated by Giotto. This quality is, of course, one of the reasons for the traditional view that their author was Siense. Superficially, there is some basis for this idea: the colors in the Cloisters' works are reminiscent more of the Siense, Duccio, than of the Florentine, Giotto. The St. George Codex Master had

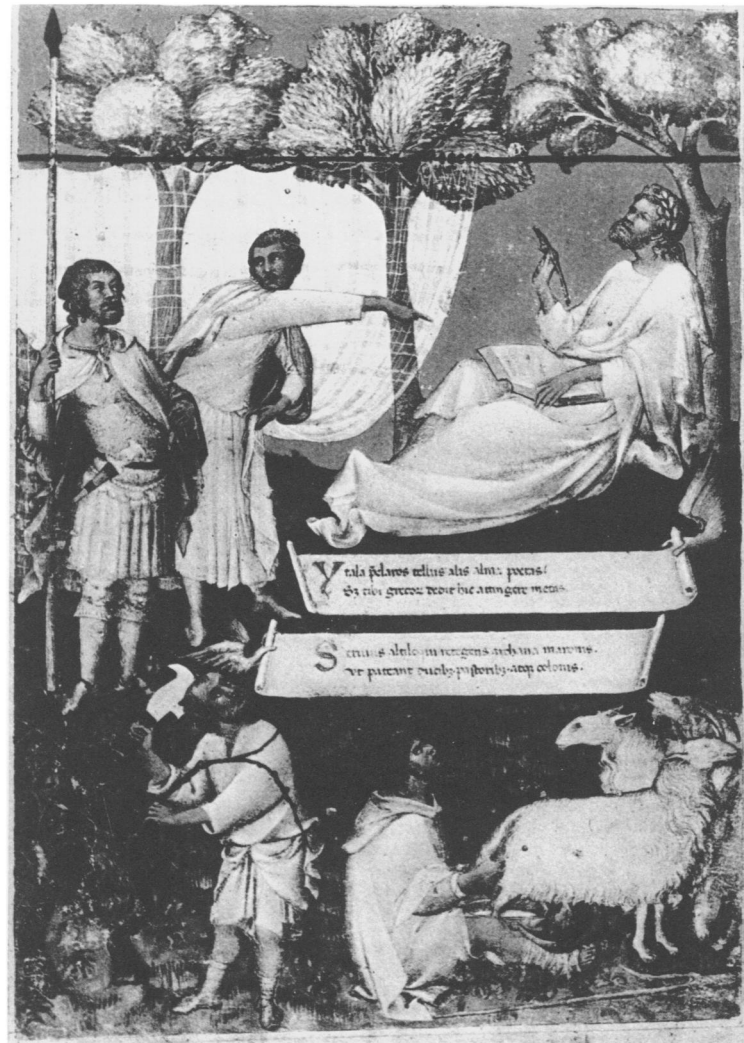


FIGURE 8
Simone Martini, Virgil frontispiece. Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana (photo: Biblioteca Ambrosiana)

a penchant for combinations of opulent hues that can be found, for example, in the figure of the Magdalen on the left of the Crucifixion panel, who wears a rose mantle with scarlet shadows trimmed and backed in lime green and gold, worn over a light orange robe with dark tangerine shadows, or the workman with the hammer and bucket at the left rear of the Lamentation, who wears a plum-colored hat, and a robe with deep purple shadows and electric rose lavender highlights. These color combinations attain a vibrant richness and *recherché* quality most likely inspired by Duccio.

But it is at this point that the peculiar Florentine formation of the St. George Codex Master emerges. As Offner pointed out, Duccio's Ruccelai Virgin was in Sta. Maria Novella as early as 1285, where it was seen and studied by the Florentine painters long before Giotto was active in Florence.³¹ Indeed, Sienese activity in Florence extended even into Giotto's mature period in the 1320s, continuing Duccio's influence.³² The Ducciesque Sienese style merged with a native non-Giottoesque tradition to create the new school to which the Codex Master belonged.³³

The Cloisters' panels do contain proof that their author was Florentine. The haloes in both the Crucifixion and Lamentation are tooled in small, spiked, radiating lines that Offner dubbed the "feather motif," found only in Florentine work.³⁴ Moreover, it was used exclu-

31. Offner, *Corpus* III, V, p. 7, and *Italian Primitives at Yale University* (New Haven, 1927) p. 14.

32. Ugolino di Nerio, one of Duccio's closest Sienese followers, did altarpieces in Florence for Orsanmichele, about 1315–29; Sta. Maria Novella, before 1324; and Sta. Croce, finished by 1325; Gertrude Coor-Achenbach, "Contributions to the Study of Ugolino di Nerio's Art," *Art Bulletin* 37 (1955) pp. 160–161.

33. All of Section III (8 vols. in 9 parts) of Offner's *Corpus* is devoted to artists defined by him as non-Giottoesque. Recently Bellosi, *Buffalmacco*, p. 78, has discussed the non-Giottoesque tendency in Florence and suggested that the St. George Codex Master may have belonged to it. I am indebted to Joseph Polzer for calling this to my attention.

34. The use of tooled ornament as evidence for establishing close associations among artists in this period was stressed by Offner, *Corpus* III, V, p. iii; also see Mojimir Frinta, "An Investigation of the Punched Decoration of the Medieval Italian and Non-Italian Paintings," *Art Bulletin* 47 (1965) p. 26; and Erling Skaug, "Contributions to Giotto's Workshop," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 15 (1971) p. 146, note 20.

FIGURE 9
Simone Martini, Annunciation. Florence, Uffizi (photo: Brogi)





FIGURE 10

Master of the St. George Codex, Coronation of the Virgin. Florence, Museo Nazionale (Bargello), no. 10 (photo: Brogi)



FIGURE 11

Master of the St. George Codex, Noli me tangere. Florence, Museo Nazionale (Bargello), no. 11 (photo: Brogi)

sively by a close-knit group specializing in panels and illuminations, which Offner termed the Miniaturist Tendency.³⁵

The feather motif is first found in the haloes of Sts. Francis and Clare in the *Tree of Life* painted around 1310 by Pacino di Bonaguida (Figure 13).³⁶ Pacino, in

35. Offner, *Corpus* III, I, pp. xv–xviii. Except for works by the St. George Codex Master, these are the works that have a “feather motif”: Pacino di Bonaguida: *Tree of Life*, no. 8459, Accademia, Florence; The San Martino alla Palma Master and his shop: *Crucifixion* (fragment), no. 9, Strossmayer Gallery, Zagreb; *Crucifixion* (fragment), Wildenstein collection, New York; *Virgin and Child with Angels* and *Last Judgment*, nos. B-6 and B-7, New-York Historical Society; *Virgin and Child with Angels*, S. Brigida all’Opaco; Bernardo Daddi’s shop: triptych, no. 60, Pinacoteca, Siena (dated 1336); triptych, no. 1904, National Gallery of Scot-

land, Edinburgh (dated 1338); *Annunciation*, no. 1301, Louvre; *Virgin and Child with Angels and Saints*, private collection, Germany (formerly Goldammer collection, Schloss Plausdorf); triptych, no. 109, Musées Ingres, Montauban; triptych, no. 32.100.70 (Friedsam bequest), Metropolitan Museum; *Virgin and Child with Saints*, no. 41.100.15 (Blumenthal bequest), Metropolitan Museum; Master of the Scrovegni choir: *Crucifixion*, J. S. Lewis collection, London. This last panel, which was sold at Sotheby’s December 6, 1967, has been attributed by Ferdinando Bologna as an early work by the Giotto follower who painted the frescoes in the choir of the Arena Chapel (*Novità su Giotto* [Turin, 1969] p. 106, fig. 97).

36. Offner, *Corpus* III, VI, p. 135.

37. Offner, *Corpus* III, II, pt. I, pp. i–ii.

38. Offner, *Corpus* III, II, pt. I, p. vi.

39. For Daddi’s influence see particularly volumes III, IV, V, and VIII of Offner’s *Corpus* III.

40. Offner, *Corpus* III, VII, pp. iv–v; VIII, p. 127. Skaug, *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 15 (1971) pp. 157–

Offner's view, was one of the principal artists in Florence in the early trecento and one of the fountainheads, along with Duccio, of the Miniaturist Tendency.³⁷ A characteristic of Pacino's shop was the presence of several different hands in one work, producing a style less unified than those of other major Florentine figures.³⁸ It is understandable that a painter like the St. George Codex Master could emerge from Pacino's shop along with such disparate artists as Jacopo del Casentino, the Biadaiolo Illuminator, the Dominican Effigies Master, and the most influential successor to Pacino in the second quarter of the century, Bernardo Daddi.³⁹

Since the feather motif was used in Florence from 1310 to 1338, when it is last found in a panel by an anonymous member of Daddi's circle, and since punched ornament, which the Master never used, appears in Florence and in Daddi's circle in the second quarter of the century,⁴⁰ we can give the approximate range of dates for the Master's activity. It began sometime after 1310, and ended in the 1340s. These dates are supported by other evidence in works by the Master and his contemporaries.⁴¹

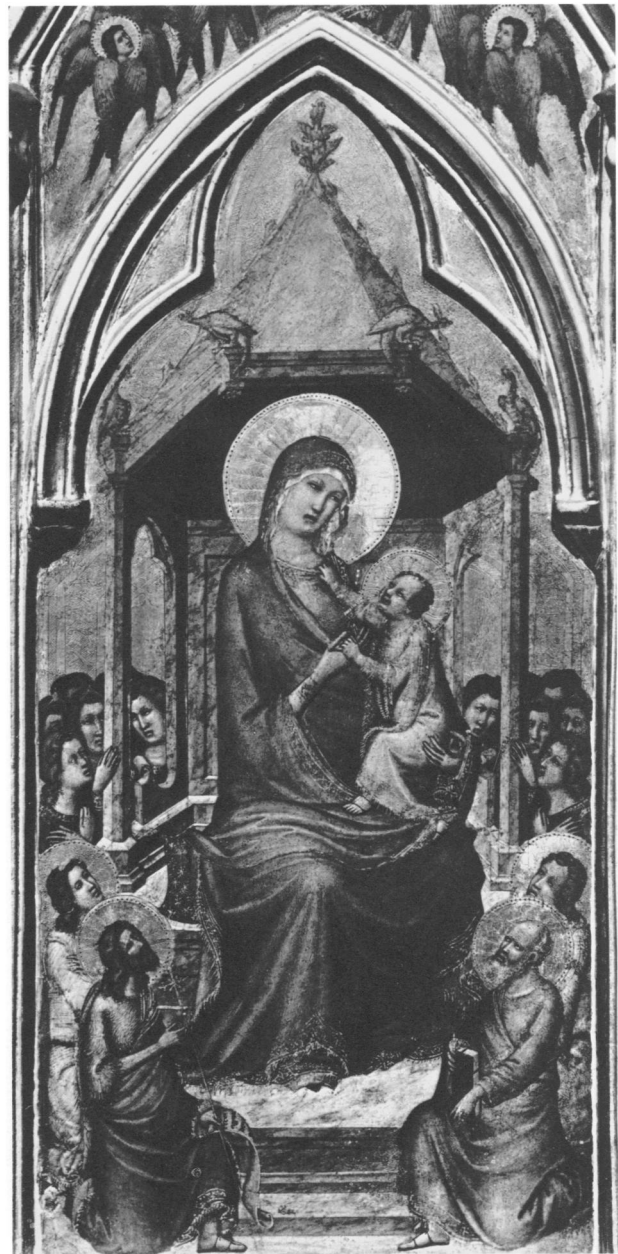
The figure of the sorrowful Virgin in the Cloisters' Crucifixion, muffling her mouth with her mantle, is an infrequent type whose closest known counterpart is the figure of St. John the Evangelist with crossed arms in Pacino's late signed polyptych from the thirties in Florence.⁴² The soldier in the upper left of the Cloisters' Crucifixion, with a shield curving around his body, shouldering a sword with the forefinger hooked over the guard, is found in nearly the same location in a panel from around 1340 by the Biadaiolo Illuminator 159, has claimed that punch work appeared in Florence in 1333 when it was introduced by Giotto, who had seen Simone's work in Naples. The St. George Codex Master and some of Daddi's following evidently resisted this innovation in ornament at first, although Daddi was one of the first to adopt it, using it in the Bigallo Tabernacle of 1333. In the 1340s the punch technique became dominant when, we must suppose, the Codex Master's career ended. Possibly he was a victim of the 1348 plague.

41. In my catalogue raisonné I retained four illuminated manuscripts, one group of manuscript cuttings, and nine panels (one double-sided) for the Master's oeuvre; two illuminations (leaves) and eight panels, at one time or another given to the Master, were rejected. See Appendix. I also accept the seven illuminations in the chorale at Santa Croce in Gerusalemme, Rome, recently reported by Carlo Bertelli ("Un Corale della Badia a Settimo scritto nel 1315," *Paragone* 21 [1970] pp. 14–30). His dating of between 1315 and 1328 is too early, in my opinion; I would date them around 1335.

42. Offner, *Corpus* III, II, pt. I, pp. iv and 12–13.

FIGURE 12

Master of the St. George Codex, Virgin and Child with Saints and Angels. Paris, Louvre, No. 1666 (photo: Archives Photographiques)



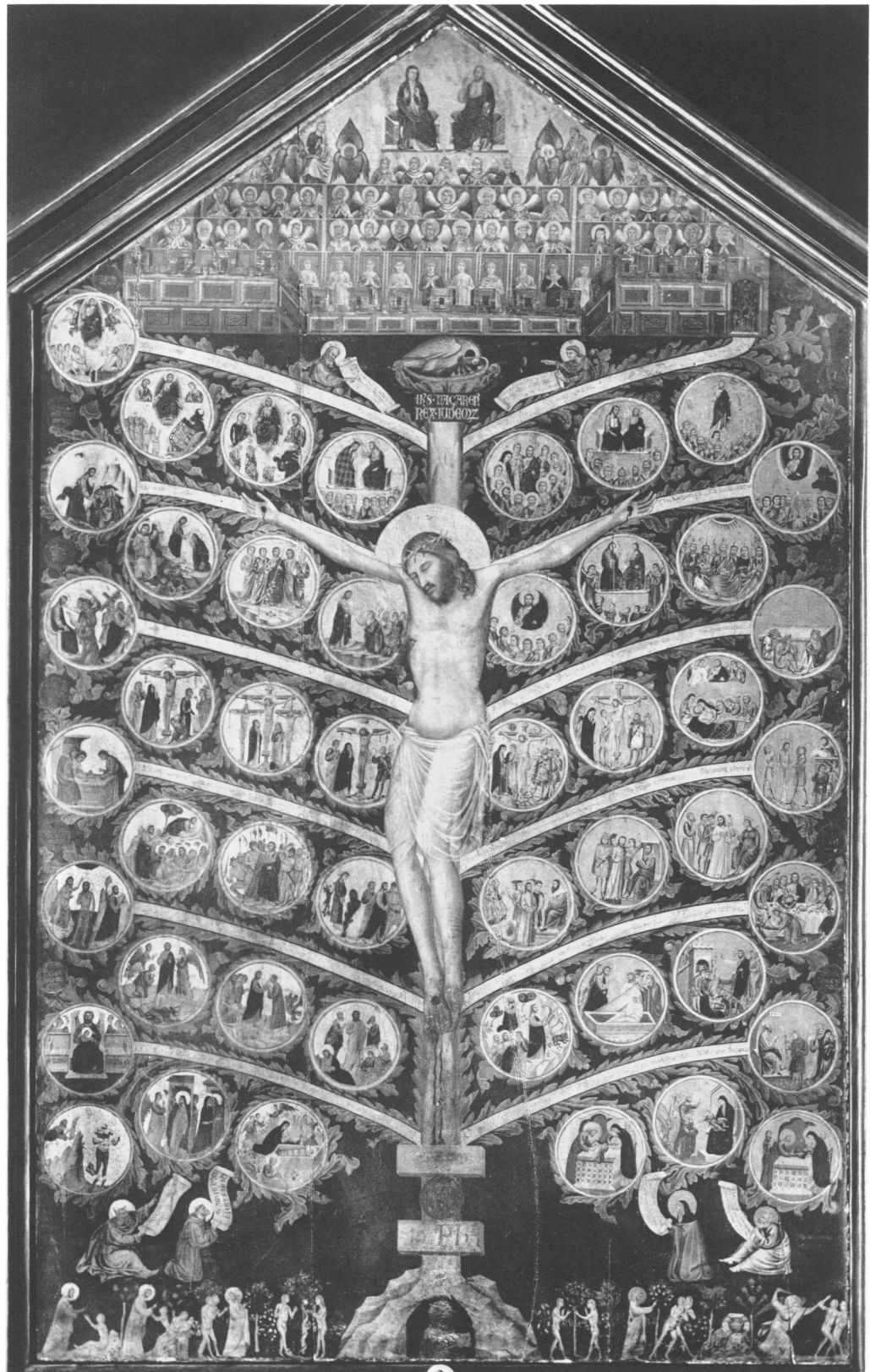
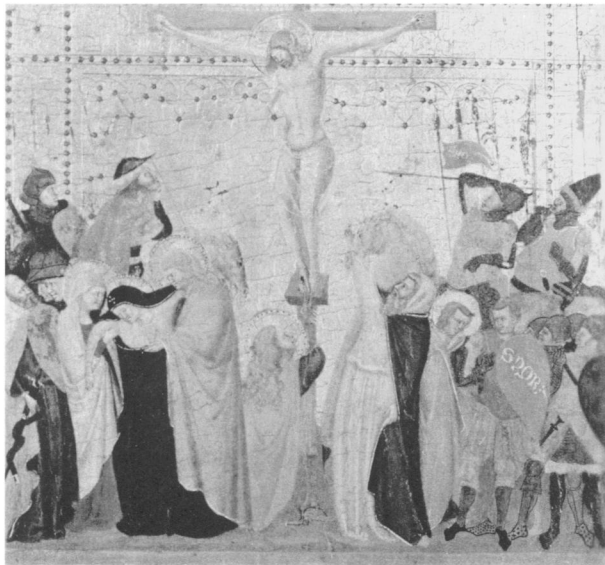


FIGURE 13

Pacino di Bonaguida, *Tree of Life*. Florence, Accademia delle Arti, no. 8459 (photo: Brogi)

FIGURE 14

The Biadaio Illuminator, detail from *Resurrection, Virgin and Saints, Crucifixion, St. Thomas Aquinas, Nativity*. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Robert Lehman Collection



(Figure 14).⁴³ The figure of Christ in the latter's work, with rounded hips, thin arms and legs, and small curled fingers, resembles the Christ in the Cloisters' panel. Both figures probably ultimately stem from Pacino's *Tree of Life*. A panel in Zagreb close to the San Martino alla Palma Master, a member of Daddi's circle in the Miniaturist Tendency, whose "feather" tooling links him to the St. George Codex Master, has mourning figures whose expressions, draperies, and modeling are close to those in the Cloisters' Crucifixion.⁴⁴

Typical Sienese Crucifixions after Duccio do not follow this somber type and do not exhibit the formal characteristics of the Cloisters' panel. The intense ex-

43. Offner, *Corpus* III, II, pt. I, pp. viii-x and 46. There are also many affinities between the illuminations by the Biadaio Illuminator and the St. George Codex Master.

44. Fragment from a Crucifixion, Strossmayer Gallery (No. 9), Zagreb: Offner, *Corpus* III, VIII, p. 138, pl. xxxviii.

FIGURE 15

Giotto and his shop, *Stefaneschi Altarpiece* (detail of left shutter with the Crucifixion of St. Peter). Pinacoteca Vaticana (photo: Archivio Fotografico Gallerie e Musei Pontificie Vatican)

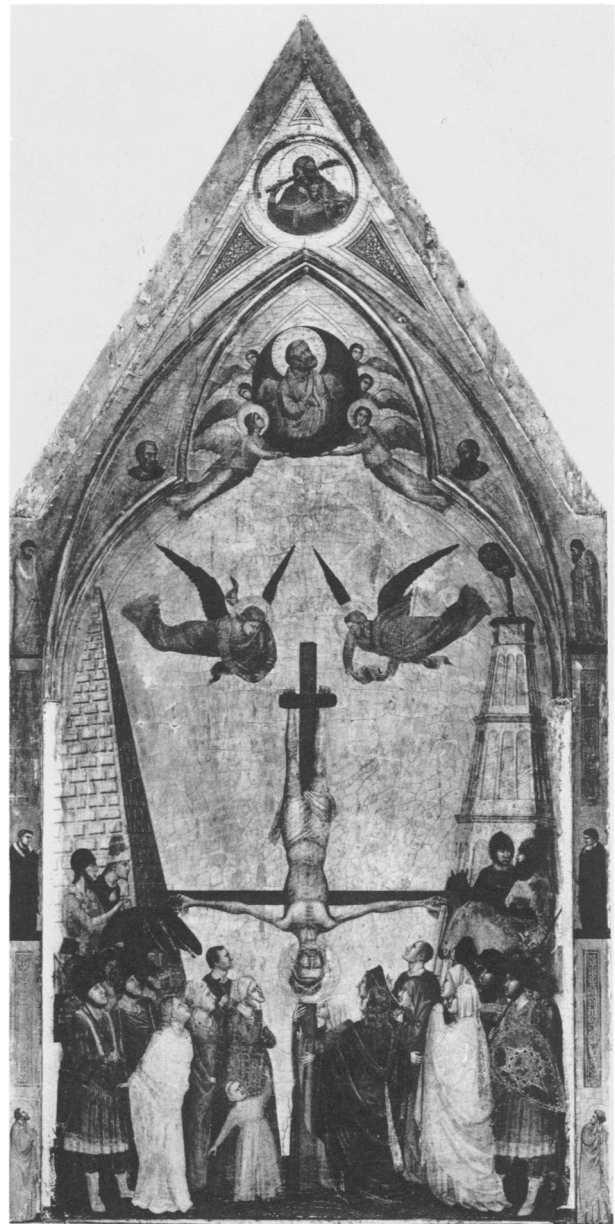




FIGURE 16

Giotto and his shop, Lamentation, Settignano, Berenson Collection, Harvard University (photo: Anderson)

pression and restlessness, tendency toward ornament, and loose organization of Simone's Orsini polyptych Crucifixion contrast with the Cloisters' panels' hushed mood and compact organization.⁴⁵

There are close and significant relationships between the Cloisters' Crucifixion and the famous altarpiece executed by Giotto and his shop for St. Peter's around

1335–40, commissioned by Jacopo Stefaneschi while a canon of St. Peter's.⁴⁶ Instead of linking Simone Martini to the Codex Master through Stefaneschi as a common patron, it is the link between Giotto and the Master that should be emphasized.

The connections between the Stefaneschi altarpiece and the Cloisters' panels can be seen in the Cloisters' Magdalen, in particular the spiraling folds of her mantle that cramp the gesture of her outstretched arms, and the female figure occupying approximately the same spot in the Crucifixion of St. Peter on the left shutter of the Stefaneschi altarpiece (Figure 15). The model for these figures could be the Magdalen in the Crucifixion fresco in the Lower Church at Assisi.⁴⁷ The rendering of the body of Christ on the cross in the Master's Crucifixion follows closely the body of the Stefaneschi St. Peter. The thin legs and arms, the development of the chest and shoulders, the outline of the torso, as well as the thin, curving folds of the garment, are the same in both. Another connection between the Cloisters' panel and the Crucifixion of St. Peter is the two soldiers in both, standing in the foreground on the extreme right, holding almond-shaped shields. The mourning figure to the left of the cross in Giotto's work repeats the gesture and expression of St. John in the Cloisters' panel.

The similarities between the work of Giotto and his shop and the St. George Codex Master show that in his later years Giotto was himself moving toward the style of the Miniaturist Tendency. His later work was more elegant, richer in color, with more attenuated figures.⁴⁸

The Lamentation panel employs a unique Florentine iconographic type that confirms the Master's for-

45. For the Crucifixion see Venturi, fig. 510.

46. Martin Gosebruch, "Giotto's römischer Stefaneschi-Altar und die Fresken des sogenannten 'Maestro delle vele' in der Unterkirche S. Francesco zu Assisi," *Kunstchronik* 11 (1958) pp. 288–291, has postulated a date of about 1320 for the altarpiece and connects it to the painter of the vault frescoes in the Lower Church at Assisi. Giovanni Previtali, *Giotto e la sua bottega* (Milan, 1967) p. 119, dates the Stefaneschi altarpiece, based on its stylistic characteristics, more probably to 1328–33. Julian Gardner, "The Stefaneschi Altarpiece: A Reconsideration," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 37 (1974) pp. 57–103, has recently argued strongly for a date of around 1300, but this is much too early and would make the altarpiece a stylistic anomaly for the period; I agree with Gardner that Giotto should be considered the primary author of the altarpiece but not without participation from the shop. My own feeling is that Giotto received the commission in Florence after his return from Naples in 1334. Because of his preoccupations as the new *capomaestro* of Florence, a large share of the work on the Stefaneschi

Altarpiece was given to assistants who may have had to finish it after Giotto's death in 1337. My dating of the altarpiece of around 1335 to 1340, which agrees with that of Offner (*Corpus* III, V, p. 240, note 1), fits more acceptably with the contemporary style of Florentine painting. Perhaps it was placed on the high altar of St. Peter's in 1341 after repairs on the roof were completed (as reported by Gardner, p. 66). As to the presence of Stefaneschi in Italy after the papal move to Avignon, we must assume that trips were made but not recorded.

47. Gosebruch, *Kunstchronik* 11 (1958) pp. 288–291; Venturi, fig. 376, and Previtali, pl. ciii. Bellosi, p. 79, recently made these same comparisons, evidently unaware of my earlier unpublished dissertation.

48. Roberto Longhi, "Stefano fiorentino," *Paragone* 13 (1951) p. 26, and Millard Meiss, *Giotto and Assisi* (New York, 1960) p. 9, have commented on the delicacy and refinement of Giotto's style in his late works.

mation as traced stylistically in the Crucifixion panel and the tooled feather motif. This type, found in works of Giotto's shop, depicts the Virgin fainting away from the prostrate Christ, thus paralleling him. A Lamentation in the Berenson collection is typical of the type (Figure 16).⁴⁹ Some of the figures are also similar, such as the old men with grizzled beards and mustaches, and the mourners with clasped hands held to their faces.

The Berenson panel shares with the Cloisters' Lamentation the same quiet mood of sorrow. It is unlike the typically Siense expression of violent hysterical grief on one of the Orsini polyptych panels by Simone depicting the same scene.⁵⁰ The Cloisters' panel is like the slightly later San Remigio Lamentation, usually given to Giotto's follower, Giotto, in which the somber, low-keyed sadness contrasts with Simone's highly charged expression of grief.⁵¹

The St. George Codex Master's early works (see Appendix) show an association with Pacino, stylistically as well as in his tooled ornaments, and with Pacino's colleague, Jacopo del Casentino. Like Jacopo's work in particular, the Codex Master's works from about 1325 to 1330 are marked by spatial disproportions and awkward relationships—signs of the struggle to assimilate two traditions of monumentality and lyricism. During the Master's transitional period, around 1335, he was concerned with organizing a more rational space and creating firmer, more convincingly expressive figures. The late works, which I place around 1340, and not much later than Cardinal Stefaneschi's death in 1343, show that with Pacino's and Jacopo's waning influence, the Master drew nearer to Daddi.⁵² Daddi's influence grew in this period throughout Florence, especially in the Miniaturist Tendency, and even in the later works of Giotto's shop, as I observed earlier.⁵³

The Master's late works consist of the Cloisters' pan-

els and the illuminations in the St. George Codex and Morgan Library M. 713 that were originally joined together in a multivolume missal in St. Peter's that I call the Stefaneschi Missal.⁵⁴ The style is relaxed and authoritative, much like Daddi's work in the thirties and forties.⁵⁵ Figures in the Cloisters' panels and Stefaneschi Missal illuminations occupy space in harmonious interrelationships. They are linked to the surface without disturbing the spatial transitions or resorting to a purely decorative pattern. The handling of the tempera, which especially in the early panels is heavy like that of Jacopo del Casentino, becomes refined and sophisticated, and the features, unlike those in the early works, convey subdued energy and convincing dramatic expression. These mature works possess restraint and depth of emotion, clarity and harmony of mass and space, an elegant and refined sensibility in color, tooling, and execution, a diminutive and articulate figural canon, and a lyric delineation of landscape details.

The Cloisters' panels can be dated only on the basis of stylistic analysis. The tooling can only provide the wide margins of after 1310 to the 1340s. Both the Cloisters' panels and the Stefaneschi Missal illuminations depend for their more precise dating—to about 1340–45—upon their relation to the Master's other works and the work of his Florentine associates, particularly Daddi.

The Bigallo tabernacle, painted in 1333, is one of Daddi's most important and influential works (Figure 17), and provides a stylistic model for the Codex Master's last products. The central panel of the Bigallo tabernacle contains a balance of elegance and verisimilitude with mass and space similar to that found in both the Stefaneschi Missal and Cloisters' panels. The grace and warmth of Daddi's Virgin seated in a spacious throne, her gently but firmly modeled features and

49. The Lamentation in the Berenson collection, Settignano, is probably not by Giotto but by a close assistant and is usually considered part of a series of seven; see Edi Baccheschi, *The Complete Paintings of Giotto*, intro. Andrew Martindale (London, 1969) pp. 115–116, nos. 131–137. It is possible that the paralleled figures of Christ and Mary have been used to emphasize the coredemptive Passions of the Son and Mother as found later, for example, in Roger van der Weyden's Escorial Descent from the Cross. See Otto von Simson, "Compassio and Co-Redemptio in Roger van der Weyden's Descent from the Cross," *Art Bulletin* 25 (1953) pp. 10–16.

50. For some typical examples of the Siense Lamentation, all of which resemble the type used by Simone in the Orsini polyptych,

see George Rowley, *Ambrogio Lorenzetti* (Princeton, 1958) figs. 31–34.

51. Luisa Marcucci, *Gallerie Nazionali di Firenze: I Dipinti Toscani del Secolo XIV* (Rome, 1965) no. 50, pp. 88–90.

52. See Appendix for a complete list of the Master's work.

53. Offner, *Corpus* III, II, pt. II, pp. ii–iii, and VIII, p. iii. Skaug, *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 15 (1971) p. 157, demonstrates on the basis of tooling motifs that Daddi and Jacopo del Casentino were both associated with Giotto's shop in the thirties.

54. See my dissertation, pp. 53–56.

55. Offner, *Corpus* III, VIII, pp. xvii–xviii.

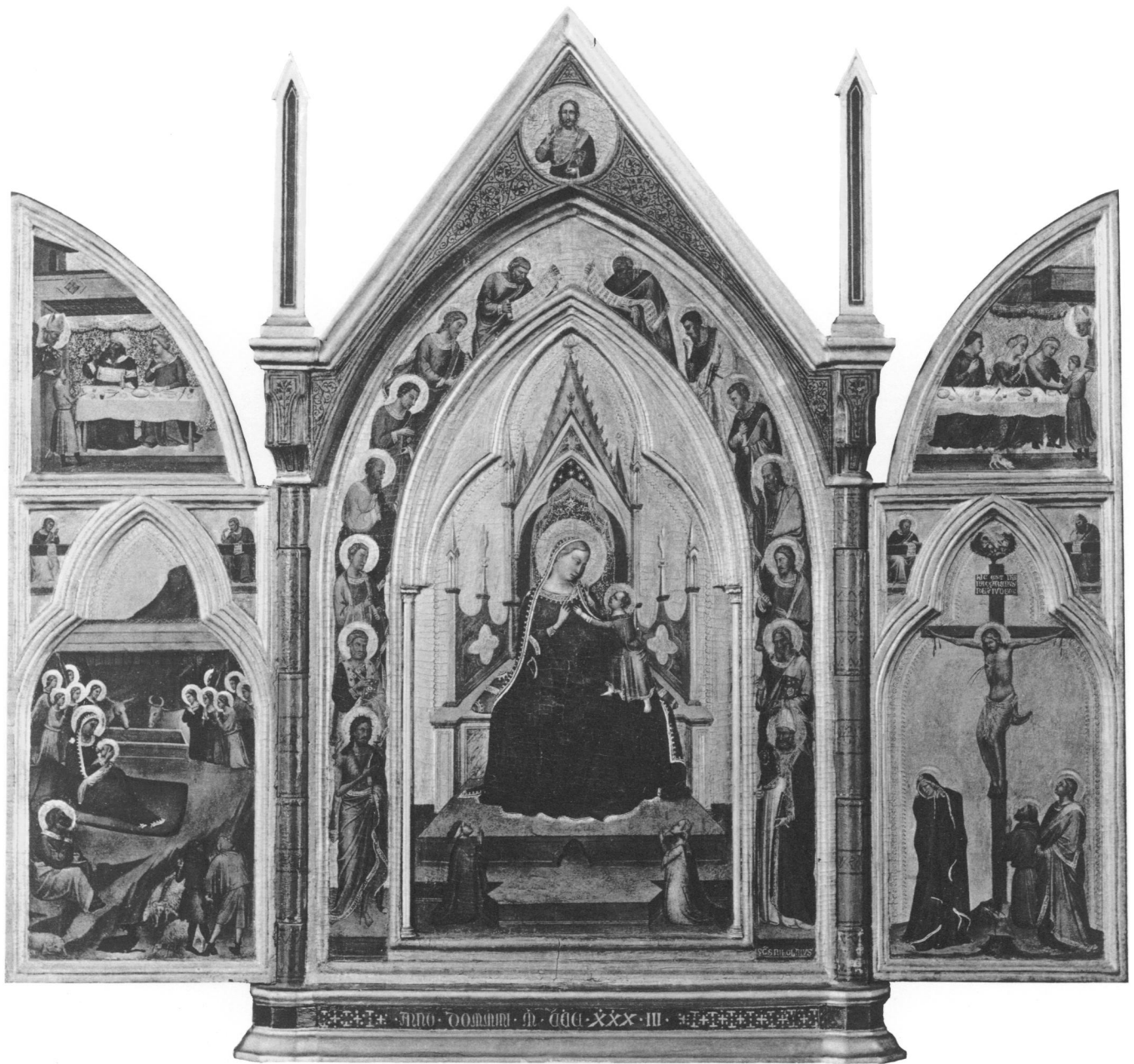


FIGURE 17

Bernardo Daddi, Bigallo Tabernacle. Florence, Bigallo Museum (photo: Alinari)

body, the restrained rhythm of the orphreys with their simple decoration, the expansiveness of the space, the opulent but low-keyed color combinations, and the strong features and eager gestures of the kneeling donors, all embody that unique union of trecento styles found also in the work of the St. George Codex Master. Daddi possesses a concern, emphasized by Offner, for

a reciprocity of surface pattern with forms in space that was basic to the Master's late style.⁵⁶

Carlo Volpe attempted to date the Cloisters' panels to the twenties and the Bargello panels in the thirties.⁵⁷

56. Offner, *Corpus* III, VIII.

57. Volpe, p. 40.

Volpe felt that the Bargello panels were more "Gothic" and closer to Daddi than were the Cloisters' panels; he thought the Cloisters' panels were related to the early work of Giotto's follower, Stefano, and the Giottesque frescoes by Simone Martini in the St. Martin Chapel at Assisi. Volpe's hypothesis is understandable, since there were apparently painters during this period who went through a similar development.⁵⁸ Volpe discusses only the Cloisters' and Bargello panels, and one in the sacristy of Sta. Maria della Carmine. The weakness in Volpe's argument is that the latter work is related to the Louvre panel, as well as some of the Master's early illuminations; this is also true of the Bargello panels. Therefore, we would have to date all of these works to the 1330s and later. Conversely, the Stefaneschi Missal illuminations, since they are related to the Cloisters' panels, would have to be dated in the twenties. This makes Volpe's hypothesis for the Master's evolution improbable, since I have shown that the early illuminations are dated around 1325, and the St. George Codex and Morgan Library manuscripts are from the period just before Cardinal Stefaneschi's death in 1343.⁵⁹

I believe that Volpe is correct in seeing the Cloisters' panels as more Giottesque than the Bargello panels, which, like the Master's other early work, are influenced not by Daddi, but by Pacino and Jacopo. As Offner and others have demonstrated, Daddi's and Giotto's styles became closer during the thirties at the very time that Daddi had a major influence on the Master.⁶⁰ It is this later Giottesque contact that is revealed in the Cloisters' panels.

The Cloisters' panels are, therefore, the sole extant representatives in panel painting of the St. George Codex Master's mature style around 1340-45, and are proof of his Florentine formation and career. Much of what has been called the Sienese influence on the later

International style must be re-examined in light of these Florentine sources. The St. George Codex Master and his associates in the Miniaturist Tendency establish an important link to the Tuscan International Style painters and illuminators in the late trecento and early quattrocento who are sometimes referred to as the "School of Sta. Maria degli Angeli."⁶¹ The illuminations and panels of painters like Bartolomeo di Fruosino, Simone Camaldolese, Silvestro dei Gherarducci, and Lorenzo da Monaco continue the earlier tradition not just of Siena, but also Florence, represented so magnificently by the St. George Codex Master.⁶² A tradition of lyric classicism persisted in Fra Angelico and other Renaissance masters side by side with the monumental classicism found in Masaccio, in the same way that their predecessors in trecento Florence, like our Master, had worked parallel to Giotto.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This study is based on research first done for my doctoral dissertation, a monograph and catalogue raisonné on the Master of the St. George Codex, completed in 1968 at the University of Chicago. Some of the arguments were presented in a lecture given at The Cloisters on April 23 (the Feast of St. George), 1970, under the auspices of The Cloisters and the International Center for Medieval Art, and in 1973 at the Southeastern College Art Conference in Atlanta. My sincere thanks to those who helped me during the writing of the dissertation, especially to Eleanor Greenhill and Earl Rosenthal, and also to Ulrich Middeldorf and the late Richard Offner. A grant from the Emory University Research Committee enabled me to continue my research. I am grateful to John Walsh, who helped me with the text of this article and to George Cuttino, who dated the colophon of the Morgan library manuscript. To Catherine Tekakwitha Howett, who has taught me most, this work is lovingly dedicated.

58. Millard Meiss, *Painting in Florence and Siena After the Black Death* (Princeton, 1951) p. 7, observed a general return to a "Gothic" style in Tuscany at mid-century.

59. These arguments are set forth in my dissertation.

60. Offner, *Corpus* III, VIII, pp. xvii-xviii.

61. Mirella Levi D'Ancona, "Bartolomeo Fruosino," *Art Bulletin* 43 (1961) p. 81, has demonstrated that what is usually called the "School of Sta. Maria degli Angeli" is found throughout Florence and its environs.

62. Marcucci, p. 165, has expressed the view that Lorenzo da Monaco may have been influenced by the St. George Codex Master.

Appendix: Works by the St. George Codex Master

Early period (around 1325–30):

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. lat. 15619, Pontifical, one illumination only: fol. 2r; Boulogne-sur-Mer, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 86, Fragment of a Pontifical (probably a fragment of Cardinal Stefaneschi's so-called Ceremonials); Paris, Louvre, No. 1666, panel: Virgin and Child with Sts. John the Baptist and John the Evangelist and Angels, Christ the Teacher (spandrel); Florence, Sta. Maria della Carmine (sacristy), panel: Virgin and Child with Sts. John the Baptist and the Evangelist; Brussels, Mme. Jacques Stoclet Collection, panel: Angel of the Annunciation (kneeling); panel: Virgin of the Annunciation (standing); Florence, Museo Nazionale (Bargello), No. 10, panel: Coronation of the Virgin; No. 11, panel: *Noli me tangere*.

Transitional period (around 1335):

Berlin (East), Staatliche Museen, Kupferstichkabinett, eleven cuttings: nos. 1984, 1985, 1986, 1988,

1990, 1991, 1992, 1995, 1996, 1998, 1999; Berlin (West), Staatliche Museen (Dahlem), Kupferstichkabinett, six cuttings: nos. 1987, 1989, 1993, 1994, 1997, 2000; Cracow, Czartoryski Muzeum, no. 99 (Inw. XII-186), panel (recto and verso): Annunciation; Sts. Lawrence and Stephen; Rome, Santa Croce in Gerusalemme, Chorale, seven illuminations: fols. 97r, 122r, 140v, 158v, 135v, 250v, 272v.

Late period (around 1340–45):

Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Archivio di San Pietro, Ms. c. 129, Fragment of a Missal (March 25 to June 9 of the Proper of the Saints—the Codex of St. George); New York, The Pierpont Morgan Library, Ms. M. 713, Fragment of a Missal (the Common of the Mass and Votive Masses—a fourteenth-century colophon states that this section was one volume of a seven-volume Missal; probably the Codex of St. George in the Vatican was the first section of the same Missal); Cloisters' Lamentation and Crucifixion panels.

The Story of the Emperor of China: A Beauvais Tapestry Series

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DETAILED RECORDS of the tapestry manufactory at Beauvais before 1723 have not survived, so that an account of any early series has to be put together from odd scraps of information. First the content must be determined, that is, how many tapestries made up the series and what their subjects were. For the Story of the Emperor of China, this has been done by Adolph S. Cavallo in his catalogue of tapestries in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston,¹ but he lists one subject, Gathering Tea, of which no tapestry has ever been found and which may never have existed.² His other titles are the Audience of the Emperor, the Emperor on a Journey, the Astronomers, the Collation, Harvesting Pineapples, the Return from the Hunt, the Emperor Sailing, the Empress Sailing, and the Empress's Tea. The sets seem usually to have been composed of six pieces like that in the Bavarian National Collection and one owned by the Comte du Manoir in 1925.³

Two of the subjects are always found as wide panels, the Audience of the Emperor (Figures 1, 2) and the Return from the Hunt (Figure 3); except for the figures, the two compositions are the same. There are many extant examples of the Audience and few of the Return from the Hunt, presumably because customers did not want two such similar designs in a single set and, of the two, preferred the livelier Audience. The latter is in the Metropolitan Museum (Figure 1); the Musée National of Compiègne (Figure 2); the Residenz Museum, Munich (from the Bavarian National Collection); the Hermitage, Leningrad; the Wernher collection at Luton Hoo (where, most unusually, it is paired with the Return from the Hunt); the M. H. de Young Museum, San Francisco; the Louvre (two examples); and the Banque de l'Union Parisienne, Paris (a very wide version, with three people behind the chariot on the left and an extra man on the far right).⁴ One from a private

1. Adolph S. Cavallo, *Tapestries of Europe and of Colonial Peru in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* (Boston, 1967) pp. 170–176.

2. The first published appearance of the title is in Jules Badin, *La Manufacture de Tapisseries de Beauvais* (Paris, 1909) p. 15, note 2. The subjects of the series are listed as “L’Audience du prince.—Le Prince en voyage.—Les Astronomes.—La Collation.—La Récolte des Ananas.—La Récolte du thé”; this information was presumably derived from the *registres de fabrication* of sets made in 1724 (Badin, *Manufacture*, p. 56). Possibly the last two titles were used for a single design, the Harvesting Pineapples, which is known from several extant examples; neither pineapples nor tea bushes would have been familiar objects at Beauvais in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.

3. Albert Maumené, “Le Château de Juaye,” *La Vie à la Campagne* 22 (January 1, 1925) pp. 20–23.

4. Max Ferrier, *Le Palais de Compiègne* (Paris, 1959) pl. 89; Hugh Honour, *Chinoiserie, the Vision of Cathay* (New York, 1962) pl. 38; N. Biroukova, *Les Tapisseries françaises de la Collection de l’Hermitage* (Leningrad, 1974) no. 57; M. Urwick Smith, *The History and Treasures of Luton Hoo, the Wernher Collection* (1966) pp. 11, 12, illus. on dining room wall; *European Works of Art in the M. H. de Young Memorial Museum* (Berkeley, 1966) p. 158; Eveline Schlumberger, “La collection Grog au Louvre,” *Connaissance des Arts* 261 (November, 1973) pp. 116, 117. Other examples are listed in the unpublished notes of the late Hubert Delesalle; I am grateful to Mme Delesalle for the opportunity to study these notes.

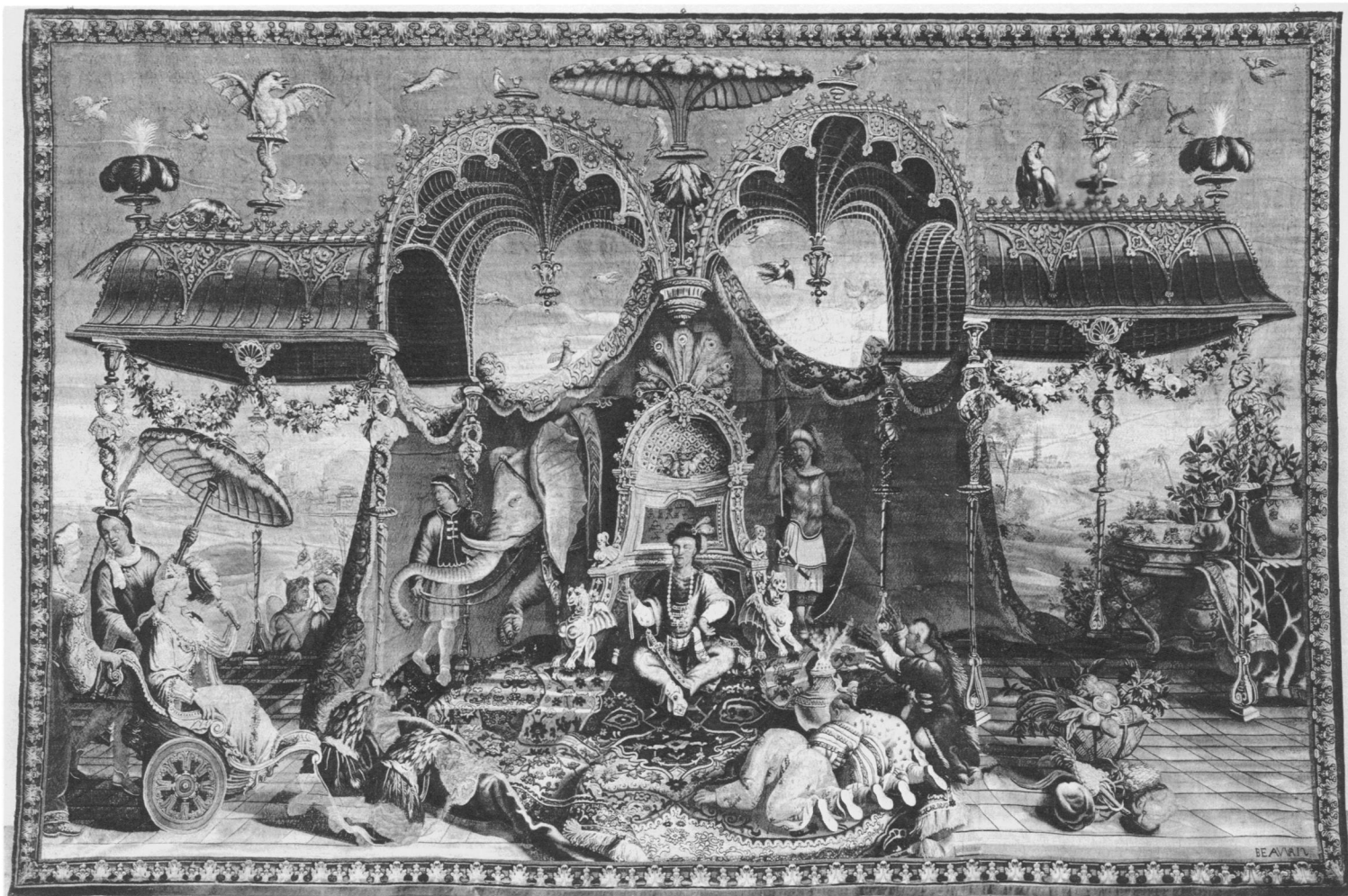


FIGURE 1

The Audience of the Emperor. Wool and silk tapestry, French (Beauvais), late seventeenth or early eighteenth century. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, gift of Mrs. J. Insley Blair, 48.7

collection was exhibited at Caen in 1965⁵ and others are recorded in 1958 and 1971;⁶ one is in the Singraven collection, Denecamp, Holland. Many have been sold at auction, so that at least fifteen are known to exist.

The richly dressed woman in the chariot on the left is presumably the empress; she appears in other tapestries of the series. The figure of the emperor and his throne have been adapted from the title page to Johan

5. Hotel d'Escoville, Caen, *J. B. Blin de Fontenay*, exhibition catalogue (1965) no. 5.

6. *Le Dix-septième Siècle français* (Paris, 1958) pp. 136, 328; Dario Boccara, *Les Belles Heures de la Tapisserie* (Paris, 1971) p. 137.

Nieuhof's *Legatio Batavica* (Figure 4), first published in 1665. The rug at his feet is perhaps Near Eastern, but the vases on the far right are related to Chinese originals; throughout the series, the ceramics reflect a familiarity with the Chinese porcelains then being imported into France, but the textiles have no trace of any Chinese patterns. The elephant behind the throne, though it appears to be African, would have seemed appropriate at the time; Nieuhof mentions the breeding of elephants in China.

The Return from the Hunt, as has been mentioned, is less frequently met with. An example belongs to the

FIGURE 2

The Audience of the Emperor.
Wool and silk tapestry, French
(Beauvais), late seventeenth
century. Palais de Compiègne

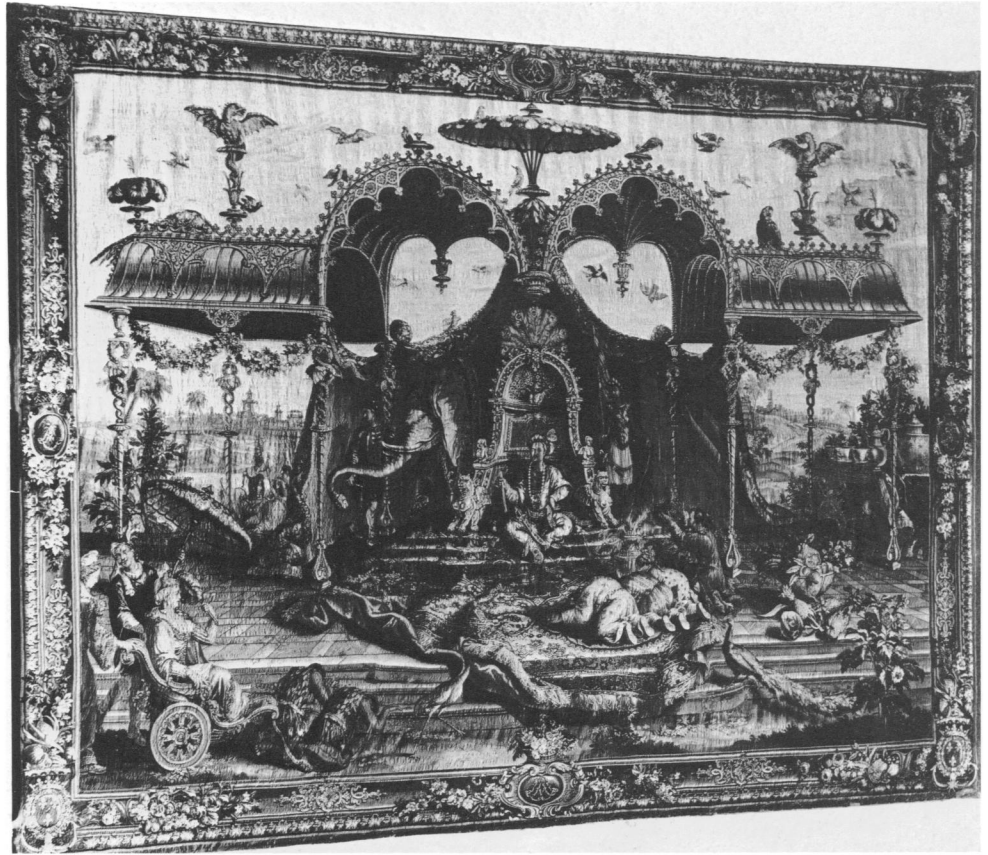


FIGURE 3

The Return from the Hunt.
Wool and silk tapestry, French
(Beauvais), late seventeenth or
early eighteenth century.
Owned by the city of Paris

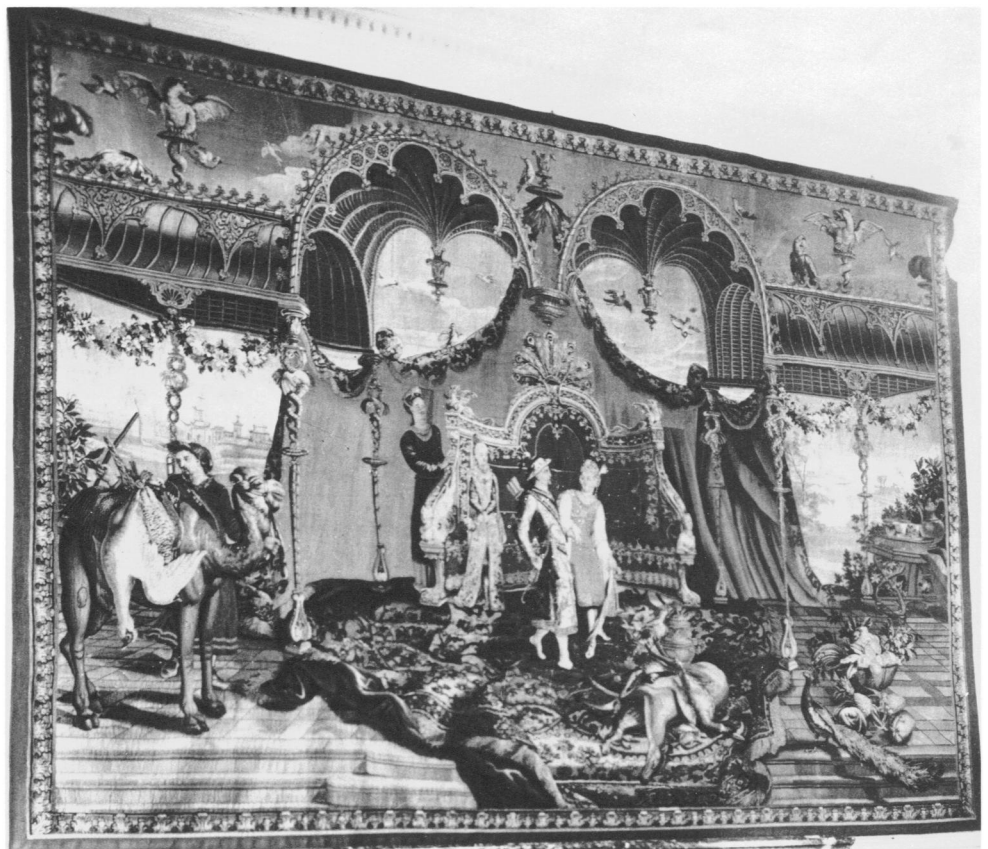




FIGURE 4

Frontispiece of Johan Nieuhof, *Descriptio Legationis Batavae* (Amsterdam, 1668). The Metropolitan Museum of Art Library

city of Paris (Figure 3)⁷ and there is one at Luton Hoo. The subject was included in the set made for the Comte de Toulouse, which will be described later. A tapestry showing the central portion only was sold at the Palais Galliera, Paris, May 30, 1973, no. C, and three pieces making up the complete design from the collection of the Baronne de Gargan were sold at the Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, May 6, 1904, no. 70. Another example was in the Comtesse de F . . . sale, Galerie Charpentier, Paris, December 5, 1959, no. 130. The central couple are presumably the emperor and the empress.

A subject that could be woven as a wide panel or as

a square one is the Astronomers, of which at least fifteen examples are known. The wide ones, such as that in the Francis L. Kellogg collection, New York (Figure 5), have a temple on a hill at the left, with an astronomer standing at the foot of its steps; this composition is often added to the main scene of the Emperor on a Journey. The Astronomers is in the collection of the city of Paris; the Munich Residenz Museum;⁸ the Musée de Tessé, Le Mans;⁹ the Musée Leblanc-Duvernay, Auxerre; and in many private collections as well.

It has long been recognized that the astronomers are the Jesuit missionaries who taught European science to important Chinese.¹⁰ As one of them, Father Ferdinand Verbiest, wrote in 1678, "our holy religion, under the starry cloak of astronomy, is easily introduced among princes and governors of provinces."¹¹ The man with a long white beard in the tapestry may be Father Johann Adam Schall von Bell (1591–1666), though the creature on his mandarin square is a winged dragon rather than the white crane proper to a mandarin of the first class, his Chinese rank.¹² The figure is clearly related to the portrait of Schall in Athanasius Kircher's *China Monumentis* (Figure 6), first published in 1667; the mandarin square in the print, however, seems to show a white swan. The print is thought to be derived from an original portrait made by a European in Peking.¹³

Some of the astronomical instruments in the tapestry

7. Juliette Niclausse, *Tapisseries et Tapis de la Ville de Paris* (Paris, 1948) no. 56.

8. Hans Thomas and Herbert Brunner, *Residenz Museum, Munich* (Munich, 1967) p. 48.

9. Chanoine Marquet, *La Cathédrale du Mans*, (Le Mans, 1954) p. 40, illus. p. 48. The tapestry is called "Les Jésuites enseignent les mathématiques et l'astronomie aux Chinois." It is said to be on loan to the museum from the cathedral.

10. Oskar Münsterberg, *Bayern und Asien im XVI., XVII. und XVIII. Jahrhundert* (Leipzig, 1895) p. 11. The author speaks of a *Tenture chinoise* after Boucher, but he describes the Astronomers from the earlier series in Munich. The seated man is identified as Father Schall, and the emperor Shun Chi (d. 1661) is also said to be present. The man on the temple steps in the background was identified as Father Schall by Henri Cordier, *La Chine en France au XVIII^e siècle* (Paris, 1910) p. 39.

11. Quoted, in French, from the original Latin in J. C. Gatty, *Voie de Siam de Père Bouvet* (Leiden, 1963) pp. xv, xvi.

12. George H. Dunne, *Generation of Giants* (Notre Dame, 1962) p. 349. Schall was also entitled to wear a red button on his hat.

13. Alfons Vöth S. J., *Johann Adam Schall von Bell S. J.* (Cologne, 1933) pp. 351, 352.



FIGURE 5
The Astronomers. Wool and silk tapestry, French (Beauvais), late seventeenth or early eighteenth century. Collection of Francis L. Kellogg, New York

FIGURE 6
Father Schall, print from Athanasius Kircher, *China Monumentis* (Amsterdam, 1667). The Metropolitan Museum of Art Library



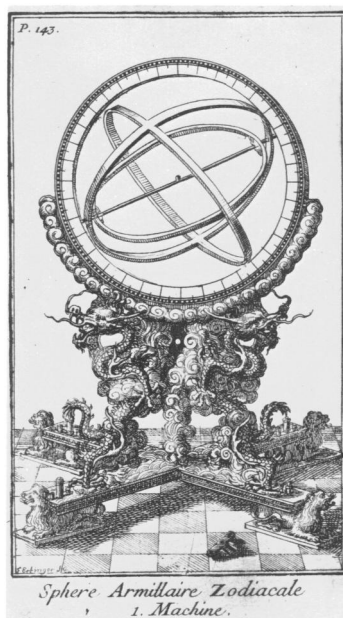


FIGURE 7
Armillary sphere, print from Louis Daniel Le Comte, *Nouveaux Mémoires sur l'Etat présent de la Chine* (Paris, 1697–1700). New York Public Library

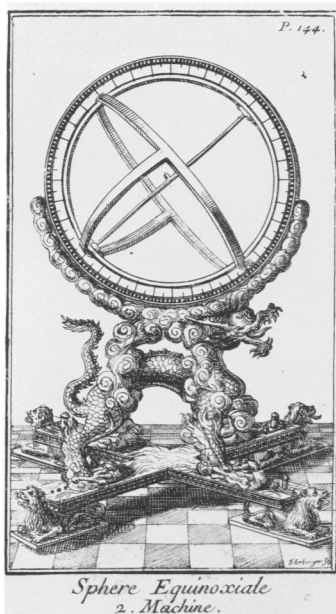


FIGURE 8
Equinoctial sphere, print from Le Comte, *Nouveaux Mémoires*. New York Public Library

may have been designed from descriptions of the pieces made in China to the instructions of Father Verbiest in 1673.¹⁴ The one on the right could be the ecliptic armillary sphere (Figure 7), but mounted on the single dragon of the equinoctial armillary sphere (Figure 8). The celestial globe in the center, also supported by dragons, appears with the other two instruments in the

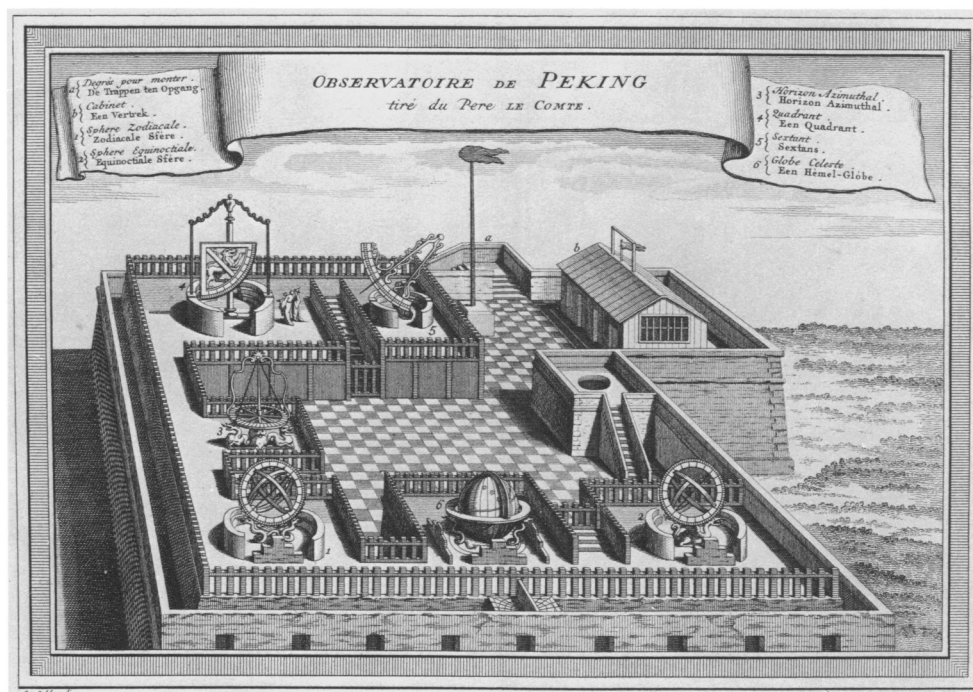


FIGURE 9
Peking Observatory, print copied from Le Comte, *Nouveaux Mémoires*. The Metropolitan Museum of Art Print Room, gift of Albert TenEyck Gardner, 50.506.31

foreground of the engraving made by Melchior Haffner for Verbiest's *Astronomia Europaea* (Figure 9), published in 1687; all three pieces are still preserved in Peking.¹⁵

14. This was noticed by Gatty, *Voiege*, p. LXXIII, note 5.

15. Joseph Needham, *Science and Civilisation in China* (Cambridge, 1959) III, pp. 451, 452, figs. 157, 158, 173, 176, 190, 191.

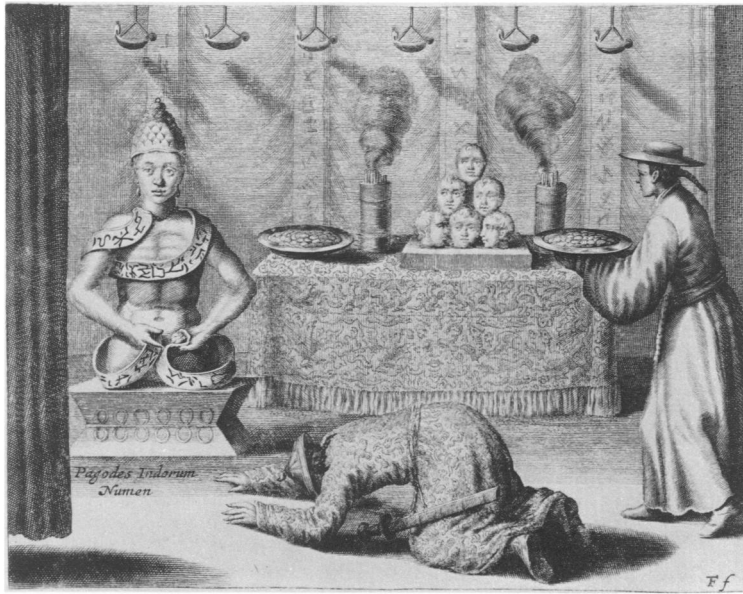


FIGURE 10

Idol Worship, print from Kircher, *China Monumentis*. The Metropolitan Museum of Art Library

Telescopes, conspicuous in the tapestry, were taken to China by the Jesuits; Father Schall wrote a treatise on them in Chinese. The standing man with a drooping mustache and a mandarin square behind the globe may be the emperor. The kowtowing figures seen on the left here and saluting the emperor in the Audience are derived from another Kircher illustration (Figure 10).

Another frequently found subject is the Emperor on a Journey. The example in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (Figure 11), is a narrow upright, but usually the temple from the Astronomers is added on the left and two or more horsemen on the right to make a wide panel. There are examples at Compiègne, in the Hermitage, the Louvre, and the Auxerre museum, as well as in private collections and sales.¹⁶

The pose of the emperor is again like that of the figure on Nieuhof's title page (Figure 4), and his feet rest on a Near Eastern rug, but his costume shows that the artist also knew the portrait of K'ang Hsi in Kircher's *China Monumentis* (Figure 12). He has been made appropriately older, as K'ang Hsi was only thirteen when the book was published. How the Chinese represented this emperor is shown by a portrait in the Metropolitan Museum (Figure 13). The horsemen who accompany the emperor in the tapestry resemble mounted soldiers in

the illustrations of Nieuhof's *Legatio Batavica*, but cannot be said to have been copied from them.

The Collation is found in the Munich Residenz Museum (Figure 14), the collection of the city of Paris, the Auxerre Museum, and the Wine Museum of the Baron Philippe and Baroness Pauline Rothschild at Mouton.¹⁷ With examples in private collections and sales, at least fifteen pieces are known to exist. The peacock feathers in the emperor's hat are again reminiscent of Nieuhof's title page (Figure 4) and the servants, though less ferocious, have some resemblance to the warriors that flank the emperor in the print. The empress, facing the emperor across the table, is clearly the woman in the chariot of the Audience. The vases on the buffet at the left are Chinese, though the method in which they and the platters are displayed is purely European. The exotic stringed instrument, however, is like an Indian sitar.

Two tapestries that are always upright panels are the Emperor Sailing and the Empress Sailing. The Emperor Sailing is in the Louvre (Figure 15)¹⁸ and seven or eight others have been reported. The Empress Sailing is rarer. There were examples in the collection of King Louis Philippe; the Leo Spik sale, Bad Kissingen, June 10, 11, 1960, no. 245; the Comtesse de F . . . sale, Galerie Charpentier, Paris, December 5, 1959, no. 129 (Figure 16); and in a sale at the Palais Galliera, March 7, 1967, no. 152.

The Empress Sailing shows once more that the de-

16. A full list, with references, is given in Cavallo, *Tapestries*, p. 175. His eighth example ("Private collection, United States") is the Astronomers in the Kellogg collection (Figure 5) and numbers ten and eleven (Schloss Hermsdorf and Hermitage) are the same tapestry, as the Hermitage has acquired four of the five pieces of the Hermsdorf set (Biroukova, *Tapisseries*, nos. 57-60). Cavallo omits one Louvre example, acquired with the Grog collection in 1973, and the piece at Auxerre. A tapestry in the Château de Champs shows the composition, in its large format, reversed and somewhat simplified; it is probably a German adaptation, though it is closer to the original than most of the German versions of other pieces in the series. An Audience with a typical German border that was in a private collection in Athens in 1972 is also very close to the Beauvais original, reversed and simplified. For the German tapestries, see Cavallo, *Tapestries*, p. 176, and *China and Europa*, exhibition catalogue (Schloss Charlottenburg, Berlin, 1973) p. 215, no. J20.

17. "Baron Philippe de Rothschild's tapestry at Mouton," *Connoisseur* 155 (1964), p. 120, illus.

18. Roger-Armand Weigert, *French Tapestry* (London, 1962) pl. LVI.



FIGURE 11

The Emperor on a Journey. Wool and silk tapestry, French (Beauvais), late seventeenth or early eighteenth century. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, gift of Mr. and Mrs. Henry U. Harris in the name of Mrs. Edwin S. Webster and Mr. and Mrs. Henry U. Harris, 63.1352 (photo: courtesy Museum of Fine Arts)



FIGURE 12

The Emperor K'ang Hsi, print from Kircher, *China Monumentis*. The Metropolitan Museum of Art Library

signer had looked at Nieuhof's *Legatio Batavica*; the boy standing on one leg on a pole and the man playing a double pipe are taken from an illustration of entertainers (Figure 17).¹⁹ Two of the dancing rats and mice are also found on the tapestry. The pagodas and other buildings in the background, the dragon on the rooftop

19. The man in the print is not playing a pipe, but performing an unpleasant trick: "Filamenta per hirquos oculorum infigere, ut naribus emungerentur, & utraque extremitate prehensa serram, lacrimis guttatim decidentibus, ducere, frequens." Johan Nieuhof, *Legatio Batavica* (Amsterdam, 1668) *pars ultima*, p. 23.

and the palm tree seen in this plate and elsewhere in the book have obviously been noted by the tapestry-designer and used on other pieces of the series; he would have seen similar things in Kircher's *China Monumentis*. In Nieuhof, also, he could have found buildings with uptilted eaves and bells hanging from them, like the temple in the left background of the Astronomers



FIGURE 13
The Emperor K'ang Hsi. Colors on silk, Chinese, nineteenth century. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 42.141.2



FIGURE 14
The Collation. Wool and silk tapestry, French (Beauvais), late seventeenth or early eighteenth century. Schloss Nymphenburg, Bavaria

(Figure 5).²⁰ But in neither of these books could he have seen anything like the architectural setting that makes a framework for the figures on the Emperor Sailing and the Empress Sailing, or for the very similar structures of the Audience and the Return from the Hunt. The inspiration for these fantastic arches and vaults is clearly and astonishingly late Gothic architecture—a

strange anticipation of the mixed Gothic and chinoiserie style in England a hundred years later.²¹

20. Such as the pagodas of Teywanmiao and Sinkocien. Otto Pelka, *Ostasiatische Reisebilder im Kunstgewerbe des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig, 1924) pl. 15, no. 28, pl. 20, no. 39.

21. Cavallo, *Tapestries*, p. 173, speaks of the roof of the palanquin in the Emperor on a Journey as having a "Chinese-Gothic" dome.



FIGURE 15
The Emperor Sailing. Wool and silk tapestry, French (Beauvais), late seventeenth or early eighteenth century. The Louvre, Paris



FIGURE 16
The Empress Sailing. Wool and silk tapestry, French (Beauvais), late seventeenth or early eighteenth century. Location unknown (sold, Galerie Charpentier, Paris, December 5, 1959, no. 129)

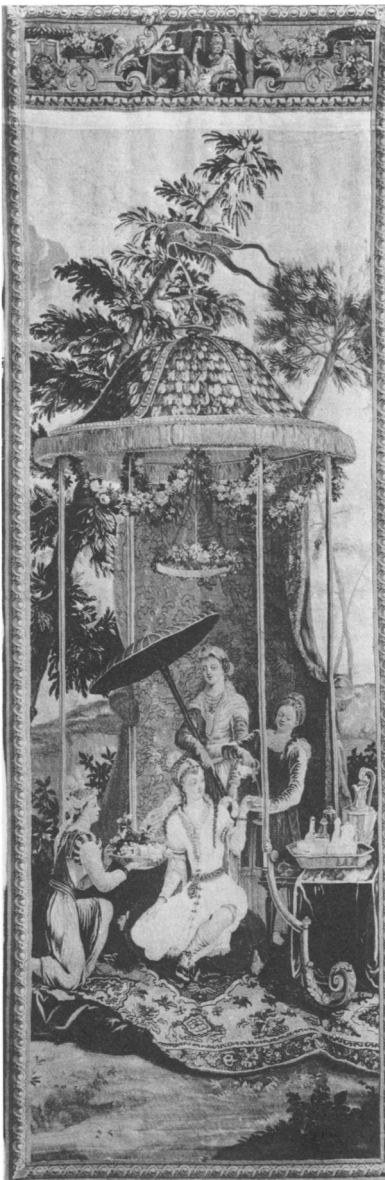


FIGURE 17
Chinese Entertainers, print from Nieuwhof *Description*. The Metropolitan Museum of Art Library

The Empress's Tea is found in the Louvre (Figure 18), the Hermitage, the Munich Residenz Museum, Luton Hoo, and several auction sales, some ten examples in all. Harvesting Pineapples is in the collection of the city of Paris, the Hermitage, the Auxerre Museum (Figure 19), and several private collections and auction sales. The woman with a fan on the left is perhaps the empress. The pineapple is described in seventeenth-century books as having been brought to China from Brazil via the East Indies.

FIGURE 18

The Empress's Tea. Wool and silk tapestry, French (Beauvais), late seventeenth or early eighteenth century. The Louvre, Paris



The most usual border for the series is that seen on Figures 1, 3, 5, 11, 16, and 19: small acanthus leaves in dull yellow and red brown, simulating a carved wooden frame. The chinoiserie border of Figure 15 and two other pieces in the Louvre is frequently used on the series known as the Grotesques de Berain;²² the seated fig-

22. It is found on a set of five pieces in the John M. Schiff collection, on loan to the Metropolitan Museum since 1957. An example of its use on another series is a Vertumnus and Pomona in the Lewisohn sale, Parke-Bernet, May 17, 1939, no. 298.

FIGURE 19

Harvesting Pineapples. Wool and silk tapestry, French (Beauvais), late seventeenth or early eighteenth century. Musée Leblanc-Duvernay, Auxerre (photo: Phéliphot-R. G. Phéliepeaux)



ure at the sides is taken from the Nieuhof title page (Figure 4), like the emperor in the Audience (Figure 1), but here the parasol over his head is retained. The border of the set of six in the Bavarian National Collection (Figure 14) is also found on the four pieces in the Hermitage and the fifth piece of the same set that was with them in Schloss Hermsdorf near Dresden in 1904;²³ it may be the one mentioned in a Beauvais list of 1724 as “d’un dessein nouveau” and in an inventory of 1732 as by Rolly, one of the artists at the manufactory in 1724.²⁴

Several elaborate borders were made for commissioned sets. The first weaving is described in a memorandum by Philippe Behagle, head of the manufactory from 1684 until his death in 1705, as including gold thread and “vendu par M. d’Isrode à Monseigneur le duc du Maine, vingt mil livres”; two others are listed as sold to d’Isrode for 14,000 and 10,000 livres and one as made for the Comte de Toulouse for 10,565 livres; since all brought in a profit of 33 per cent or more, the last three were either smaller or without gold, perhaps both.²⁵

The Duc de Maine’s set with gold thread, most unusual at Beauvais, has not been identified, but that made for the Comte de Toulouse has survived, at least in part. In 1718 it was in his château of Rambouillet, when it was described in an inventory as “l’histoire du roi de la Chine, sur trois aunes et demi de haut, manufacture de Beauvais, faite par Behagle.” Six pieces were in the *antichambre du roi*, three in the *chambre du roi*, and one in a storeroom above the stables.²⁶ Six of these are certainly no. 8 in the sale of the tapestries owned by King Louis Philippe (Toulouse’s descendant, through

his mother) on January 25–27, 1852; their height, 4.20 m., corresponds to three and a half aunes,²⁷ and three of them are said to have had the arms and initials of the Duc de Penthievre, Toulouse’s son, in the borders. The subjects were the Empress’s Tea, the Journey, Collation, Astronomers, Return from the Hunt, and Gathering Pineapples. Two more tapestries of the series, the sailing scenes, were no. 13 in the sale; they had the Penthievre arms, but were only 3.55 m. high. Two wide tapestries of the set, an Audience (Figure 2) and another Journey were not in this sale, as they belonged to the empress Eugénie. She placed them in the Palace of Compiègne, where they remain; the arms on them are those of the Comte de Toulouse, with the anchors that indicate his position as head of the navy. Six pieces of this set are recorded as having been owned by the duchess d’Uzès and brought to America to be sold in 1926.²⁸

Another commissioned set is mentioned in a list of tapestries made between 1722 and 1724 as “6 pièces du dessein des *Chinois* pour Monseigneur le Garde des Sceaux.”²⁹ This official was Fleuriau d’Armenonville, appointed in 1722. Five pieces of this set, the Journey, Audience, Astronomers, Collation, and Harvesting Pineapples, were in the Château de L . . . sale, Galerie Jean Charpentier, Paris, March 12, 1937, nos. A–E; the Journey was looted from M. Jansen in World War II,³⁰ and the Collation was in a private collection in Paris in 1964.³¹ The rich borders include d’Armenonville’s arms and emblems of his office. Two portières with the same arms and new designs by Jacques Vigoureux-Duplessis were added to this set; they were signed by the artist and dated 1724.³² In early 1975 they were owned by a Paris dealer, but they were destroyed by

23. Cornelius Gurlitt, *Beschreibende Darstellung der älteren Bau- und Kunstdenkmäler des Königreichs Sachsen* . . . XXVI, *Amtshauptmannschaft Dresden-Neustadt* (Dresden, 1904) p. 21.

24. Badin, *Manufacture*, pp. 18, 19, 26. Nothing more is known of this artist.

25. Badin, *Manufacture*, pp. 12, 13. The memorandum must have been written after 1692, as it mentions the Duchesse du Maine, who was not married until that year. Surprisingly, great emphasis is laid on the profit Behagle was making; tapestries are listed that cost forty-five livres a square aune and were sold for sixty-four. Presumably the memorandum was written for a prospective purchaser of the manufactory. “M. d’Isrode” must have been an agent or a dealer.

26. Montié and de Dion, “Quelques documents sur le Duché-pairie de Rambouillet,” *Mémoires et Documents publiés par la Société archéologique de Rambouillet* 7 (1886) pp. 208, 227.

27. The *aune de France* (1.19 m.) was used at Beauvais for memoranda, registers of the king’s gifts, etc.; the *aune de Flandres* (.7 m.) was used in the *registres de fabrication*. Hubert Delesalle, “Aunes de France et aunes de Flandres,” *Revue de Métrologie* (March, 1964) pp. 95–98.

28. “Vom amerikanischen Kunstmarkt,” *Cicerone* 18 (1926) pp. 271, 272.

29. Badin, *Manufacture*, p. 18.

30. Commandement en Chef français en Allemagne, *Répertoire des Biens spoliés en France durant la Guerre 1939–1945* (Berlin, 1947) p. 354, no. 107. illus.

31. J. F. B. Watson, “The Paris collections of Madame B. 2: French eighteenth-century objects of art,” *Connoisseur* 155 (1964) p. 72.

32. Badin, *Manufacture*, p. 19; Madeleine Jarry, “Chinoiseries à la mode de Beauvais,” *Plaisir de France* 41 (May, 1975) p. 56.

fire later in the year.

A Journey and an Emperor Sailing, sold at the Hôtel Drouot, December 10, 1948, nos. 76, 77, have the arms of the elector Clement Augustus, Archbishop of Cologne; they are said to have been given to him by Louis XV. The arms are at the top of the central field of each tapestry; those on the Emperor Sailing are cleverly incorporated into the upper part of the arch spanning the scene. The Journey was sold again at the Palais Galliera December 1, 1966, no. 104, from the Baron de Rothschild collection.

Who designed the series? The already quoted Behagle memorandum says "quatre illustre peintres" and de Mérou's list of 1731 names "les sieurs Batiste, Fontenay et Vernansal."³³ "Baptiste" was the name by which his contemporaries called Jean Baptiste Monnoyer. His only Salon entry, four paintings of flowers exhibited in 1673, was catalogued as by "M. Baptiste"³⁴ and paintings of his signed with this name are known.³⁵ He went to England in 1690, so that the work on the Story of the Emperor of China must have been carried out before that date;³⁶ perhaps this is why the second artist named is also a flower painter, called in to take Monnoyer's place.³⁷

This second designer listed by de Mérou, the flower painter Jean Baptiste Blin (Belin or Blain) de Fontenay, was Monnoyer's pupil and son-in-law. Flowers are certainly important in the tapestries, but they are not the

most conspicuous components of the designs. It seems probable that the chief designer of the tapestries was the third artist named, Guy Louis Vernansal the Elder. Two examples of the Collation, in fact, are signed: Vernansal Inv. et Pint;³⁸ much the same wording is found on a painting of 1700 by Vernansal in the Orléans museum.³⁹ Most of Vernansal's other known works for tapestry weaving could not have been signed in this way, as he did not both design and paint them. It was after sketches by Berain that he made the cartoons for the borders of the Conquêtes de Charles XI;⁴⁰ at the Gobelins, where he was a "peintre ordinaire," he copied Le Brun's Story of Alexander in reverse for *basse-lisse* weaving and carried out other similar tasks. Enlarging paintings was apparently his specialty; he was frequently paid for such work at Versailles and elsewhere.⁴¹ He was fairly successful, however, being a professor at the Academy and an exhibitor at the Salons of 1699 and 1704. The Swede, Daniel Cronström, tried to lure him to Stockholm in 1699, but he was making 3000 to 3500 livres a year and the Swedish king was evidently unable to pay him as much.⁴²

Another instance is known, however, of original compositions for tapestries undertaken by Vernansal. In 1704, he signed an agreement to make designs for twenty *basse-lisse* tapestries for a Danish official in Copenhagen, whose representative in Paris was Jean Berain. The contract called for one piece to be:

33. Badin, *Manufacture*, pp. 13, 21.

34. *Collection des Livrets des Anciennes Expositions . . . Exposition de 1673* (Paris, 1869) p. 34.

35. Michel Faré, *Le Grand Siècle de la Nature Morte en France* (Fribourg and Paris, 1974) p. 290.

36. In February, 1690, Monnoyer took leave of the Academy for three or four months; in 1692, he wrote that he was still away. Though he is supposed to have returned to France, he is believed to have left again immediately. Faré, *Grand Siècle*, pp. 299, 308. He went to England to work on the decoration of Montagu House and died there in 1699. Edward Croft-Murray, *Decorative Painting in England I* (London, 1962) p. 255. Monnoyer's eldest son, also called Jean Baptiste, was a battle painter. Faré, *Grand Siècle*, pp. 290, 323. Biroukova, *Tapisseries*, nos. 57–60, attributes a share in the Story of the Emperor of China to "A. Monnoyer le Jeune, dit Baptiste." This is presumably Antoine Monnoyer, who was a flower painter and sometimes signed his works "Antoine Monnoyer Baptiste," but he was not born until 1677 and would probably have been too young to have worked on this tapestry series. Faré, *Grand Siècle*, pp. 316–323.

37. It has been suggested that "Baptiste" might be Jean Baptiste Martin (Cavallo, *Tapestries*, p. 170). But this painter was

known as "Martin des Batailles" and his title at the Gobelins Manufactory was "premier peintre de conquêtes du roi." There is no evidence that he was ever called Baptiste.

38. One was in a private collection in New York in 1923; see *Antiquarian* 1 (September, 1923) p. 2. It was owned by the Berlin dealer Hermann Ball in 1928, *Cicerone* 20 (1928) p. 45. The other was in a sale at the Palais Galliera, May 30, 1973, no. G.

39. Jennifer Montagu, "The painted enigma and French seventeenth-century art," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 31 (1968) p. 320, pl. 78c. The subject of the painting is "Sainte Bathilde vendue au maire du palais Archambault devient la femme de Clovis II"; it is also an "enigma," standing for porcelain imported into Europe, but, except for the turban worn by the man selling the saint, there is nothing to connect the picture with the East.

40. John Böttiger, *La Collection des Tapisseries de l'Etat suédois IV* (Stockholm, 1898) p. 85, note.

41. Eugène Thoisson, "Notes sur les artistes se rattachant au Gatinais: les Vernansal," *Réunion des Sociétés des Beaux-Arts des Départements* 25 (1901) p. 117.

42. *Les Relations artistiques entre la France et la Suède, 1693–1718* (Stockholm, 1964) p. 225.

2 aulnes et demie 6 pouces de haut [about ten feet] et de 20 pouces et demi de large [about one foot nine inches] composée d'architecture, figures et ornements; cette pièce servira pour les 19 autres pièces de tapisseries, sauf pour le sujet du milieu qui sera différent.

Vernansal was to be paid 1000 livres for the basic design and 150 livres for each of the nineteen varied centers. The tapestries were to be woven by Gilles Bacor, called "Maître tapissier aux Gobelins" in the contract, but who probably had a workshop elsewhere in Paris.⁴³ Though these unusually narrow tapestries must have been very different from the Story of the Emperor of China, the scheme, an architectural setting with varied central subjects, is like the one Vernansal used for the Audience and the Return from the Hunt, as well as for the two sailing scenes. The Bacor tapestries have not been identified, but perhaps they showed something of the wild imagination manifest in the Story of the Emperor of China, which is entirely absent in Vernansal's paintings.

There is no way to find out who the fourth "illustrious painter" may have been, if, indeed, he ever existed.

Nowhere in the scanty records is there a clear indication of when the Story of the Emperor of China was designed and first woven. The Behagle memorandum already quoted mentions four weavings of the series, but it could have been written at any time between 1692 and 1705. In 1732, an inspector's report included the statement that "le dessein des Chinois, qui est un des plus agréables de la manufacture, est si usé qu'on n'y distingue presque plus rien."⁴⁴ It has been suggested that the origin of the series is connected with the return to France from China of the French Jesuit, Father Joachim Bouvet, in 1697,⁴⁵ but, if this is true, the elder Monnoyer could not have been one of the designers, as he was then in England. Father Bouvet's return in 1697 did, indeed, arouse great interest, but the arrival

of the Siamese ambassadors in 1684 and 1686 and the departure of the French missionaries in 1685 had also been matters of much public concern with the Far East.

It is quite possible that an event in the autumn of 1684 caused the series to be undertaken. The *Mercure Galant* of September in that year informed its readers that the "Empereur des Tartares s'est rendu maistre de toute la Chine, à la reserve de l'Isle de Formose" and then printed a long letter describing the visit of a missionary and one of his congregation:

Vous serez sans doute bien aisé d'apprendre que le Pere Couplet Iesuite est de retour de la Chine, où il estoit allé travailler aux Missions, & qu'il en a amené un jeune Indien de Nanking, Capitale de la Province du mesme nom. . . . Bien que la Pere Couplet soit de Malines, & qu'il ait demeuré vingt-quatre ans, parmi les Chinois, chargé de la conduite de soixante grandes Eglises composées de plus de soixante mille Chrétiens, il parle bon François, & avec sa riche taille, il porte bien la caractère d'un Héros de l'Evangile dans sa 62. année. Le jeune Chinois qu'il a amené parle assez bien Latin, & s'appelle *Mikelh Xin*.⁴⁶ Ils allerent le quinze de ce mois à Versailles, où ils eurent l'honneur de saluer Sa Majesté. Ils virent ensuite jouer les eaux, & se trouverent le lendemain au dîner du Roy. Le jeune Indien estoit en ses habits Indiens, ayant une riche Veste de Brocard d'or fond bleu, avec des figures de Dragons, & un visage affreux sur le haut de chaque manche. Il avoit par dessus une espee de Tunique de soye verte. Sa Majesté après avoir entendu ses Prières en Langue Chinoise, luy fit servir une Assiette sur la Table, pour voir la propreté, & l'adresse des Chinois à manger avec deux petites Baguettes d'ivoire à quatre pans, & d'un pied de long, qu'ils tiennent dans la main droite, entre deux doigts.

Later the Chinese with two Jesuits visited "M. Hubin, Emailleur du Roy, si connu dans toute l'Europe par son travail des yeux artificiel," who demonstrated to them "la nécessité de la pesanteur de l'air." The

43. Daniel Wildenstein, *Documents inédits sur les Artistes français du XVIII^e siècle* (Paris, 1966) pp. 157, 158. For the Bacor family of weavers, see Weigert, *French Tapestry*, p. 163.

44. Badin, *Manufacture*, p. 78.

45. Gatty, *Voyage*, p. LXXII, note 5. A summary of scholars' opinions on the date of the series is given in Cavallo, *Tapestries*, pp. 172, 173. The "unpublished letters in the Metropolitan" there mentioned are communications from P. A. Jehl in 1958; he believes the series was not started until 1697 and that the Jesuit in the Astron-

omers is Father Verbiest. This is unlikely, as Verbiest does not wear a mandarin square in the engraving showing him with Father Matteo Ricci and Adam Schall included in J. B. du Halde, *Description . . . de l'Empire de la Chine* (Paris, 1735) III p. 78. Only Schall is dressed as a mandarin. Probably the tapestry designer was not attempting to depict any particular Jesuit, just as the emperor in other tapestries of the series is not a portrait of Shun Chi or K'ang Hsi.

46. The name is given elsewhere as Michael Chin Fo-Ts'ung.

Chinese showed portraits on Chinese taffeta, including one of Confucius; “cette sorte de Peinture n’a point de corps,” comments the narrator. The eighty million Chinese characters, the eleven meanings of the word *po*, and the idol with three heads, of “*Confusius, Xequiam, & Tauzu*,” were discussed. “Ils adorent aussi le Diable. . . . C’est pourquoy sa figure est sur la Proüe de leur Navires, & la Veste de Brocard d’or du jeune Indien a cette mesme figure sur le haut de chaque manche.”

The *Mercuré Galant* recorded another incident the following month:

Comme les Chinois ne sont pas moins polis que sçavans, & que la galanterie est en usage chez eux, celui-cy voyant que Monsieur le Duc [Condé] examinoit son Habit avec quelque sorte de curiosité, prit la liberté de la luy offrir, encore qu’il ne connust pas ce Prince pour ce qu’il étoit. Monsieur le Duc le refusa, mais il ordonnast qu’on prist sa mesure pour lui en faire un à la Française, voulant qu’on le fit très-magnifique, & qu’on le luy portast de sa part; afin qu’estant de retour en son Pays, il pust s’habiller comme l’on s’habille en France.⁴⁷

Father Couplet’s chief purpose in returning to Europe was to obtain more missionaries for China. One of his most enthusiastic supporters was Louis XIV’s legitimized son, the Duc de Maine. Father Bouvet wrote of him:

Car aiant appris pars les discours du P. Couplet, qu’il y avoit tant de choses rares & curieuses dans la

Chine, il ne cessa de dire qu’il falloit y envoyer des Jésuites François pour s’en informer particulièrement. Il en parla même plusieurs fois au Roy; si bien qu’il eut beaucoup de part à tout ce dessein, & que la dernière résolution qui fut prise de nous envoyer pouvoit estre considérée comme son ouvrage.

The young duke (he was only fifteen) received the missionaries before they left and gave them a scientific instrument that he had had made for his own use.⁴⁸ It will be remembered that the first set of the Story of the Emperor of China was acquired by the duke. Father Bouvet states that he was interested in the scientific aspect of the enterprise, but does not mention any concern for the proselytizing activities of the missionaries; the Astronomers tapestry shows no indication that the scientists are Christians. The series was possibly commissioned by the Duc de Maine or by M. d’Isrode to be sold to him; the first set was, as has been mentioned, unusually rich and expensive.

Whether it dates from 1685 or 1697, the series shows the characteristics of the first form of chinoiserie. The Chinese are portrayed as dignified human beings, engaged in normal, even if occasionally exotic, occupations. Among these, it may be noted, war is not included; the contrast with the Gobelins Story of Louis XIV is striking. The Chinese here are not pretty, playful, and whimsical as Watteau would make them, and they are far indeed from the comic caricatures of later eighteenth-century artists, for some of whom there was little difference between chinoiserie and singerie.

47. Quoted from the Lyon edition in the Houghton Library, Harvard University.

48. Gatty, *Voilage*, p. 16.

The Herzfeld Archive of The Metropolitan Museum of Art

MARGARET COOL ROOT

ERNST EMIL HERZFELD (1879–1948) was an orientalist whose many talents led him to explore all phases of Near Eastern culture, from the prehistoric period to Islamic times and from linguistics and religion to art and architecture. Richard Ettinghausen wrote of him:

A list of his main fields of interest reads like the disciplines of a school of Oriental studies with an extensive faculty: historical geography and topography of the Near East; the stone age, copper age, and bronze age of Iraq and Iran; Hittite, Babylonian, and Assyrian civilizations; Achaemenid art, and the glory of Persepolis; the prophet Zarathustra; the problems of Parthian and Sasanian archaeology; the genesis of Muslim art; trends in the development of Islamic architecture; the epigraphic and numismatic documents of Achaemenid, Sasanian, and Muslim periods; the many intricacies of Near Eastern iconography—all these and many others were his fields of research and in all of them his keen and resourceful mind made new and vital contributions. . . . Even when, at times, scholars disagree with Herzfeld's interpretations, his points of view are always taken into serious account.¹

In preparation for his departure for the Near East upon retirement from the Institute for Advanced Study in 1944, Herzfeld offered for sale to the Metropolitan

Museum his archaeological library as well as a collection of his drawings, photographs, notebooks, note files, and journals—reflections of a lifetime and a life's work. The material so acquired by the Museum represents only a small part of Herzfeld's accumulation of such documents. In 1946 he willed the bulk of his archive to the Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., with the provision that it be made available for scholarly research. Joseph Upton is now preparing a detailed catalogue of this material so that it will be accessible for this purpose.

Since no real inventory was ever made of the Herzfeld papers acquired by the Metropolitan, and in view of the ongoing project in Washington, it seemed appropriate to discover in detail what the Metropolitan's documents consist of and to what extent they duplicate or complement the material in the Freer Archive. Accordingly, for the summer of 1974 I received a grant from the Department of Public Education of the Metropolitan Museum to work within the Department of Ancient Near Eastern Art to put the collection of pre-Islamic Herzfeldiana into order. The system I formulated is similar to Joseph Upton's, and the hope is that it will be possible eventually to cross-index the completed catalogues of the two separate collections.

The pre-Islamic material is deposited in the Department of Ancient Near Eastern Art. Scholars desiring to study it will find a descriptive catalogue available there to acquaint them with the collection's history, contents, and the principles and specifics of

1. "In Memoriam Ernst Herzfeld," *Ars Islamica* 15/16 (1951) p. 261. For a bibliography of Herzfeld's published works see George C. Miles, "The Writings of Ernst Herzfeld Compiled by George C. Miles," *Ars Islamica* 7 (1940) pp. 82–92, and "Additions to the Bibliography of Ernst Herzfeld," *Ars Islamica* 15/16 pp. 279–280.

its organization.² From this catalogue the researcher can easily learn where to look in the accompanying card file for detailed information on, and the storage location of, specific items. The documents fall into these categories:

Drawings: Almost exclusively published drawings and preliminary or alternate versions of published drawings. Drawings of prehistoric pottery, artifacts, and decorative motifs (including 236 drawings of Samarra wares); Mitannian and Assyrian wares; plans, elevations, isolated architectural elements, and representations of architecture in ancient Near Eastern art; ancient Near Eastern relief sculpture; objects of the minor arts, including first-millennium jewelry and furniture elements and seals and buttons of the Jemdet Nasr period.

Study Collections: Integrated notes, photographs, and sketches organized by period and type.

1. Cultural assemblages: Ubaid period through Isin Larsa period.
2. Cultural assemblages (primarily sculpture): Hammurabi period through neo-Assyrian period with additional sections on the Hittites, the Urartians, and on Syrian sculpture by site.
3. Sixteen categories in art and archaeology of the second and first millennia.
4. Painted pottery by period or site, including a section on prehistoric pottery interconnections and a section on the pottery of eastern Persia, India, and China.
5. Sasanian studies: toreutics, architecture, ornament, numismatics.
6. Material on the Paikuli inscription. A large collection.
7. Geographical notes.
8. Notes on Parthian material, primarily from Assur.
9. Notes on Iranian architecture.
10. Notes on Elamite and Old Persian cuneiform.

Skizzenbücher: Sketchbooks in which Herzfeld recorded his observations on topography, landscape, ar-

2. The Islamic portion of the Metropolitan Museum's purchase is deposited in the Museum's Department of Islamic Art. Manuel Keene of this department has made a preliminary listing of the material, but it has not yet been catalogued.

chaeological remains, architecture, and artifacts. One series documents stages in Herzfeld's trip to Shiraz and Samarra in 1905. Another records his daily progress on expeditions from Nineveh to the area of Suleimaniyeh, September-November, 1916.

Photo Albums: Mounted prints, many with dated captions, documenting Herzfeld's travels. The negatives for many of these prints are in the Freer Archive; since Herzfeld did not label the negatives, the Metropolitan's albums are a useful complement to the Freer's material. Especially important in this respect are Albums I (approximately 170 photos of places, sites, and people in Iraq, 1904-1916) and 2 (approximately 60 photos, made mainly in Iran, Syria, and Italy).

Notebooks: Five unrelated books. One contains accounting records for the Oriental Institute Persian Expedition, 1931. Another contains records of disbursements to Iraqi workmen, no date. The others record academic data. One, dated 1907 and labeled "Salsolea Proben," contains pressed botanical specimens from Egypt. One is partially filled with annotated transliterations of Akkadian texts relating to the Mitanni. One, with no date or site specified, contains notes on the find spots in numbered buildings and on the state of preservation of a large number of "Kisten."

Personal Journals: The Freer Gallery owns many of Herzfeld's journals; the Metropolitan has but one, kept from 1897 when Herzfeld was twenty.

Manuscripts: Drafts of published and unpublished works by Herzfeld and Friedrich Krefter, the architect who worked in association with Herzfeld for many years. Of the manuscripts by Herzfeld himself two are published (Mss. 3 and 15a, b), eight are apparently unpublished (Mss. 1, 2, 4, 9, 10, 11, 13, 18), and three are lectures delivered but not published (Mss. 12, 16, 17). The unpublished mss:

1. "Die Sasanidische Kunst." Text for a handbook on Sasanian art in six chapters. No date.
2. Review article on Georg Husing's "Völkerschichten in Iran," *Mitteilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien* 46, 1916. Dated 12/9/17.

4. "Die Kunst Vorderasiens (ausser Syrien und Kyprien)." Intended for publication in the *Handbuch der Altertums-Wissenschaft*.

9. "Der letzte Zug durch Transkaukasien." Short story describing Herzfeld's trip from Persia to Constantinople by way of Baku and Batum in 1905.

10. "Summary of the Most Important Discoveries made during an Archaeological Expedition to Persia, 1923-25," Intended for a popular journal.

11. Review of F. D. J. Paruck's *Sasanian Coins* (Bombay, 1924).

13. "Die Münzprägung der Sasaniden." Text with a listing by ruler of coin types.

18. "Bericht über eine neue entdeckte Sasanidische Burg in Persien." Report on Ardashir Khurrah, the city mound of ancient Firuzabad.

Newspaper Clippings: Items relating to archaeology. A particularly interesting series concerns the controversy over F. D. J. Paruck's *Sasanian Coins*, from the Persian journal *Jam-e Jamshid*.

Maps: Printed maps, frequently annotated by Herzfeld, as well as original maps in his hand. At least 315 printed maps of areas in the Near East, most of them produced before 1920. Also a group of reproductions of ancient and medieval maps. A superb collection.

Professional Correspondence: Includes letters from F. H. Weissbach, C. Uhlig, and a large series from many colleagues concerning the publication of Herzfeld's study of the Paikuli monument, which eventually appeared as *Paikuli, Monument and Inscription of the Early History of the Sasanian Empire* (Berlin, 1924).

Squeezes: Primarily squeezes of textile patterns on the Sasanian reliefs at Taq-i Bistan.

Postcards and Photographs: Representing miscellaneous ancient objects and monuments. A small collection.

The eclectic nature of this material, combined with considerations of conservation and storage, suggested these divisions of the catalogue rather than divisions by historical period or geographical area, and this is basic-

ally the system followed by Upton as well. The largest category, *Drawings*, I divided into four subgroups: pottery drawings (PD), sculpture drawings (scD), architecture drawings (arcD), and minor arts drawings (m.a.D).

As an example of how the system works, each drawing is entered on a 3 x 5 file card under the appropriate primary group heading. The card contains basic descriptive information, bibliographic information when obtainable, and the storage location. The numbering system begins at "1" for each group or subgroup. Thus, there is a PD-1 and an arcD-1. Whenever possible, I have grouped all drawing versions of the same object together, with explanatory notes. Thus, there are cards for PD-87, PD-87a, and PD-87b. PD-87, with the notation "pub" in the upper right corner of its card, is the drawing of the painted design on a prehistoric vessel from Samarra as published in 1930 (Figure 1). PD-87a is an inaccurate and unpublished reconstruction of the central motif on the same vessel. PD-87b represents a preliminary attempt to join the fragments of the pot correctly (Figure 2).

A list of plate and figure numbers of the published drawings, arranged by publication, are included as an appendix to the catalogue. These should be of use to the student who doubts the accuracy of a published drawing, especially when photographic and written records do little to clarify puzzling points, and where the object drawn is now lost or has substantially deteriorated. Let us suppose, for instance, that a student is interested in Herzfeld's published drawing of the Palace P relief at Pasargadae that shows King Cyrus the Great standing, followed by an attendant (Figure 3). If the student checks the appended list he will find that the Archive contains an original Herzfeld drawing of this relief, though not the published one. After obtaining the scD number from the list, he can check the card file for the location of the drawing. When he has the drawing (Figure 4) in hand he will notice a significant discrepancy between the published and unpublished versions. In the published drawing Herzfeld shows on the preserved lower part of the relief a considerable portion of a parasol handle, presumably held by Cyrus' attendant. On the rougher unpublished drawing, one perhaps more likely to have been made on the spot, this handle does not appear at all on the preserved part of the relief. Herzfeld has, however, reconstructed an entire parasol

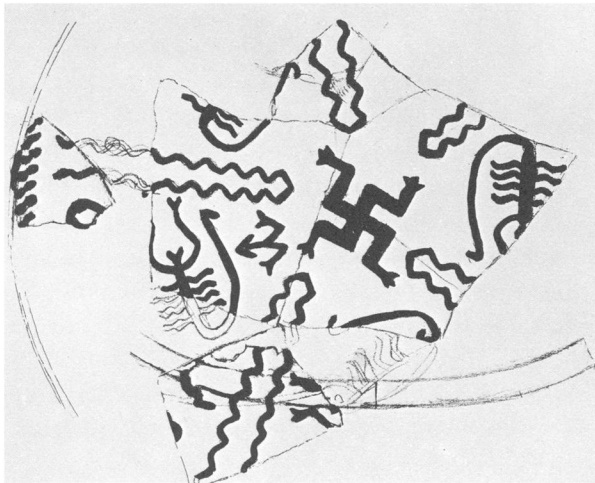


FIGURE 1
Drawing by Herzfeld, ^PD-87. Painted design on a prehistoric vessel from Samarra, as published in *Die vorgeschichtlichen Töpfereien von Samarra V* (Berlin, 1930) no. 4, fig. IV

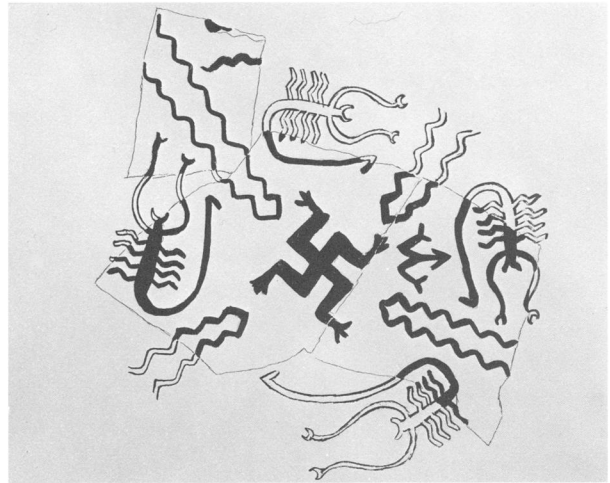


FIGURE 2
Unpublished drawing by Herzfeld, ^PD-87b. Preliminary attempt to reconstruct the vessel from fragments

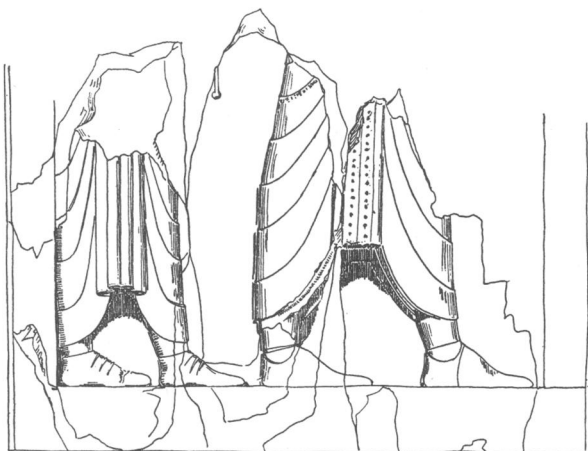


FIGURE 3
Drawing by Herzfeld. Palace P at Pasargadae, as published in *Iran in the Ancient East* (New York, 1941) fig. 363

FIGURE 4
Unpublished drawing by Herzfeld, ^{sc}D-11

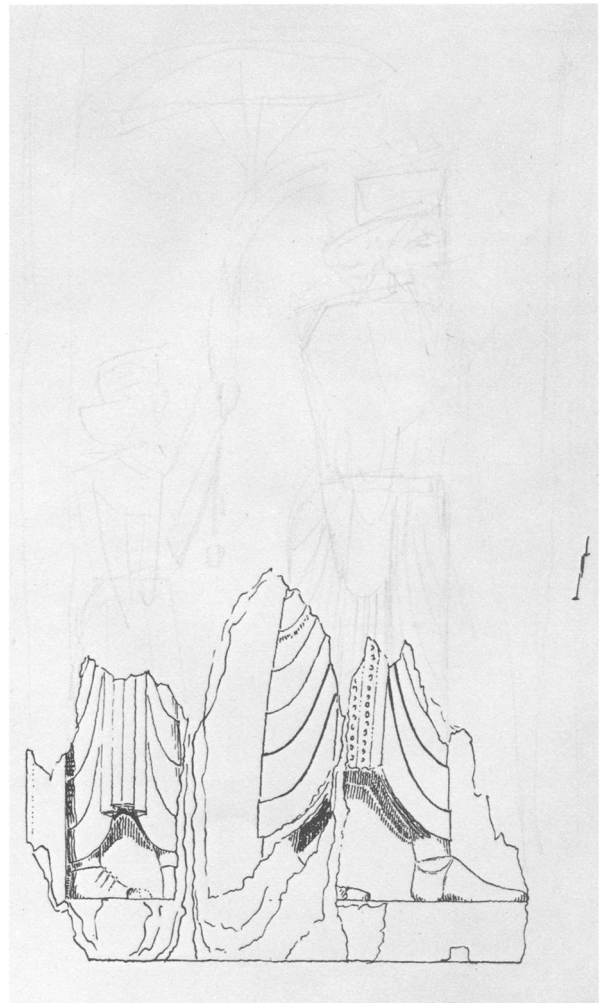




FIGURE 5
Photograph by Herzfeld, Photo Album-2. Outside the Russian Consulate, Isfahan, December 1905

in pencil above the broken edge of the preserved portion of the relief.³ Without entering here into the questions raised by such a discrepancy, it is obvious from this example that the appendix list can be quite useful.

The Study Collections of notes, photographs, and drawings are of great interest, since much of the material assembled here seems to be that from which Herzfeld wrote his cross-cultural art historical syntheses such as “Die Kunst des zweiten Jahrtausends in Vorderasien.”⁴ At the very least, these notes and drawings will be suggestive and stimulating to the modern student, since some of the objects mentioned and sketched seem never to have been published, others appeared long ago in obscure publications, and still others, well known, have otherwise unknown fragments recorded here.

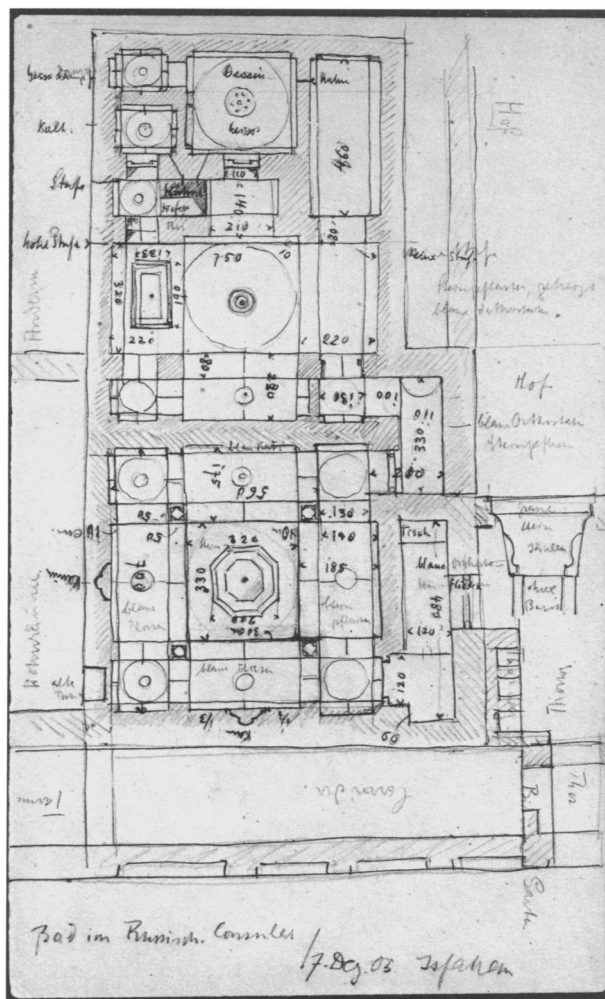
In broadest terms, the Metropolitan’s Herzfeld Archive will acquaint the interested student with the working methods and patterns of conceptualization of a man whose visual sensitivity and classical education

3. No parasol handle can be detected on the actual Palace P relief today. In his first publication of the relief (“Bericht über die Ausgrabungen von Pasargadae 1928,” *Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran* 1 [1929], p. 14) Herzfeld mentions that the attendant holds the handle of some object. The photograph he publishes (plate III) does not clarify the matter, although it does seem that some slight protrusion shows up at the point where he indicates in the published drawing the presence of the parasol handle.

4. *Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran* 8 (1937) pp. 103–160, and 9 (1938) pp. 1–79.

allowed him to synthesize vast bodies of information on art and linguistics. His penchant for free-associating may shock the sensibilities of the modern archaeologist; but Herzfeld, born in Germany in 1879, was the product of a different, pioneering era. Many of the questions of interrelationship with which he struggled are still open, even though the present method of tackling them is usually more precise. The Archive as a whole is a worthwhile reminder of a previous generation’s universalist overview of ancient civilizations, a perspective now virtually impossible to realize because the greatly increased volume of knowledge on the Near East forces the modern scholar to specialize.

FIGURE 6
Sketch by Herzfeld, Skzb-4. Baths in the Russian Consulate, 7 December 1905



In addition to these documents of archaeological import, the Archive contains papers that reveal facets of Herzfeld's personal concerns and preoccupations. In the Personal Journal, for example, Herzfeld, at age twenty, quoted poets, philosophers, and political figures whom he admired and aspired to emulate. As a restless youth who would soon explore vast territories of the world and of the intellect, Herzfeld wrote almost prophetically that he craved "Neue Menschen, neue Städte, neue Situationen, neue Ideen, neue Impressionen, neue Anschauungen, neues Angeschautes . . . und vor allem viel."

Another document that offers insights into Herzfeld's personal feelings in Ms-9, "Der letzte Zug durch Transkaukasien," in which he recounts his perilous journey in late December 1905 from Persia to Constantinople by way of Russia during the workers' strikes that accompanied the 1905 Revolution. Herzfeld's journal for this period is in the Freer Archive, N-82. In the short story as well as the journal Herzfeld describes his difficulties in obtaining accurate information on the political situation from the Russian Consul in Isfahan before setting out. In one of the Photo Albums is a labeled photograph (Figure 5), perhaps made on 7 De-

cember, the day when Herzfeld, despite his pressing business there, found time to draw a plan of the baths in the Russian Consulate (Figure 6). The short story, a later version, presents considerable embroidery on his understandably brief journal entries. The entire experience made a lasting impression on him, from his fascination with the sea of faces in the Baku station waiting room to his horror at the sight of an Armenian farmer being carried off by an angry mob to certain death.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I wish to express my thanks to the Department of Public Education for appointing me Graduate Assistant to the Department of Ancient Near Eastern Art for the summer of 1974, thereby making my work on this project possible. Special thanks are due Vaughn E. Crawford and Prudence Oliver Harper of the Department of Ancient Near Eastern Art for their advice, their scholarly interest, and their friendly encouragement. In addition I am grateful to Kim Otis who, as a summer intern in the Department of Paper Conservation, did an excellent job repairing damaged drawings in the Archive. I am indebted, furthermore, to Joseph Upton for patient explanations of his method of cataloguing the material in the Herzfeld Archive of the Freer Gallery of Art.

NOTES

More Emblematic Uses from Ancient Egypt

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IN MY ARTICLE "Some Emblematic Uses of Hieroglyphs" (*Metropolitan Museum Journal* 5 [1972], p. 22) I have described a fragmentary statue of the mid-Eighteenth Dynasty that shows a large 𓆎 -pendant suspended from a cord around the neck. The sign 𓆎 is incised immediately below this, and it seemed likely that the whole represented the owner's name: $\text{𓆎}\text{ḥ}\text{-ḥtp}$. An apparent parallel (Figure 1)¹ is to be found on a Twelfth Dynasty coffin that, like many funerary monuments of the same period, adds an 𓆎 -sign to the customary pair of wḏst -eyes,² and more exceptionally appends the sign 𓆎 as well. In this case the pair of signs definitely alludes to the name of the deceased, "the Mistress of the House Ḥtp (𓆎)." ³

The Middle Kingdom analogy might suggest that the emblems on the New Kingdom statue similarly re-

fer to an individual named Ḥtp , who is in this case a man. As my footnote 69 warns, however, the principal inscription of the statue is lost, and it is therefore possible that both signs simply represent a "motto."

That alternative is confirmed by a second occurrence of the same emblems on a statue of similar date, which I noticed during a recent visit to the British Museum (Figure 2).⁴ Since, in this case, the name is known to be Tti/Ttity , it is clear that the emblems can only be a motto, presumably meaning "life and peace!" or "may he live and be at peace!"⁵ Labib Habachi, who has discussed the other aspects of the statue in some detail, suggests that it was placed in one of the temples at Deir el Bahri,⁶ and that view is supported by the first example, which was excavated there. I do not, however, know of any other evidence from Deir el Bahri.⁷

1. From R. Engelbach and others, *Riqqeh and Memphis VI* (London, 1915) pl. 26.

2. See H. G. Fischer, "An Eleventh Dynasty Couple Holding the Sign of Life," *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache* 100 (1973) p. 24, note 36.

3. Compare Margaret Murray, *Riqqeh*, p. 28, who interprets the group as "may Hetep live"; at the same time $\text{𓆎}\text{ḥ}\text{-ḥtp}$ may simultaneously be understood as a motto, as discussed below.

4. BM 888. I am indebted to T. G. H. James for this photograph and for the detail shown in Figure 3. The inscriptions are published in *Hieroglyphic Texts . . . in the British Museum* V (London, 1914) pl. 25, and have been translated and discussed by Labib Habachi in "The First Two Viceroys of Kush and their Family," *Kush* 7 (1959) pp. 45-47. This occurrence of the ḥtp -sign is noted by Habachi on p. 55 but the other emblems are not described or pictured here or elsewhere.

5. Taking $\text{𓆎}\text{ḥ}(w)$ $\text{ḥtp}(w)$ as old perfectives on the analogy of $\text{𓆎} \parallel$ "may he live, be prosperous and be healthy!"; see Sir Alan Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar* (London, 1957) §313.

6. *Kush* 7 (1959) p. 55.

7. I have inquired about two other block-statues in particular: E. Naville, *The XIth Dynasty Temple at Deir el-Bahari*, pt. III (London, 1913) pl. 4 (3) (Oriental Institute, University of Chicago, 8635) and pl. 5 (1) (Oriental Institute 8636). David Silverman has kindly examined both and reports that, although both statues are headless and the surface is destroyed in front of the neck, the horizontal area surrounding this point is sufficiently preserved to show that neither 𓆎 nor 𓆎 are present. Mr. Edward Brovarski has kindly called my attention to two somewhat later representations of 𓆎 as an amulet, both belonging to Ḥc-m-wst , the son of Rameses II: one is a relief in Santa Barbara, California, the other a shawabti-figurine (Mariette, *Le Sérapéum de Memphis* [Paris, 1857] pl. 13). Mr. Brovarski notes that the same combination of signs repeatedly follows the titles and name of this crown prince as an epithet on a statue of his, Cairo CG 42147 (cf. Farouk Gomaà, *Chaemwese* [Wiesbaden, 1973] fig. 24, p. 124). Here the sequence is regularly 𓆎 or $\text{𓆎} \parallel$ so that, in this case at least, one must understand it as "at peace and living" or $\text{ḥtp}(m)$ $\text{𓆎}\text{ḥ}$ "having gone to rest in life" (*Wb.* III, p. 191 [20-26]).

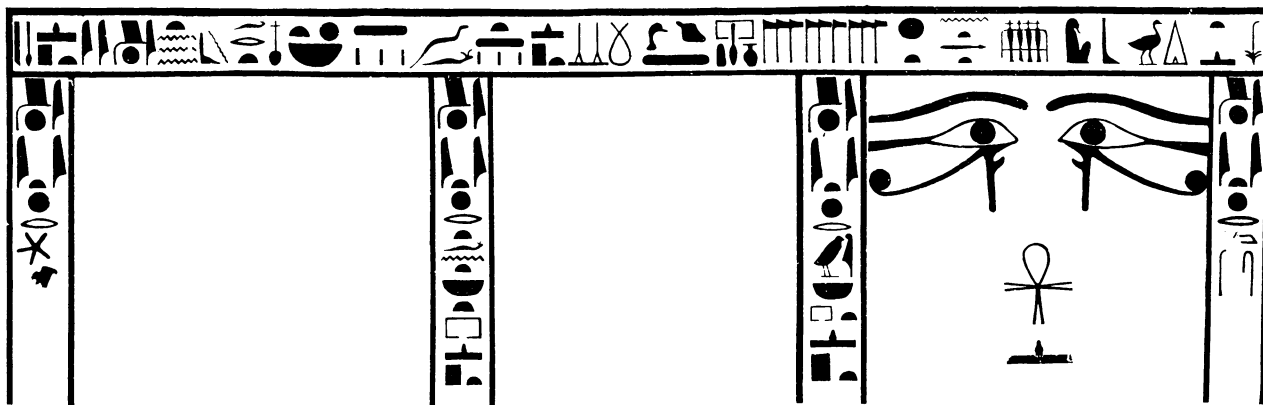


FIGURE 1
Front of coffin of *Htp*. After Engelbach

FIGURE 2
Statue of *Tti/Tity*, BM 888. Courtesy British Museum

The British Museum statue also displays the cartouche of Tuthmosis III on the upper part of the proper right arm—a feature that is first known from the reign of that king. In addition, the back of each hand bears a most curious pair of devices (Figure 3): on the spectator's left (in this case the statue's proper left hand, since the arms are crossed), the crescent moon is combined with the crown of Lower Egypt ($\text{☾} + \text{☖}$); on the right the sun is combined with the crown of Upper Egypt, to which the uraeus cobra is attached so that it appears to link both elements ($\text{☼} + \text{☐}$). All of this is doubtless meant to express the universal circuit in much the same way that the emblem ☐ does, placed between a pair of *wdt*-eyes of Horus at the top of funerary monuments. The eye of Horus is, in fact, equated with the crown of Upper Egypt and with the sun in hymns of the late Middle Kingdom; its counterpart is, more indirectly, equated with the crown of Lower Egypt and the moon.⁸ Moreover, an inscription of Tuthmosis III reinforces the idea of an all-embracing realm as “all these things $\text{☾} \rightarrow \text{☼}$ which the moon illuminates and that which the sun-disk encompasses


8. A. Erman, *Hymnen an das Diadem der Pharaonen* (*Abhandlungen der Königl. Preuss. Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Kl.* 1911, no. 1 [Berlin, 1911]). The associations with the sun and moon are discussed on pp. 12–14.





FIGURE 3
Detail of BM 888. Courtesy British Museum

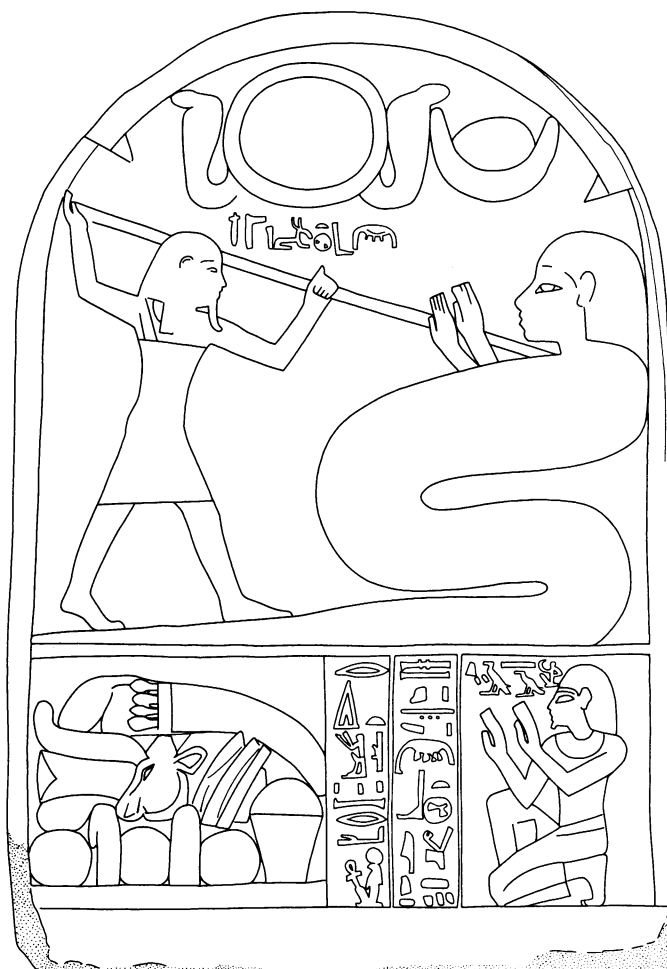
FIGURE 4
Stela of *Tkn*, Leiden V 62

when it rises.”⁹ In much later inscriptions the group  has an equally all-embracing meaning, but in a temporal sense, as a writing of *rr nb* “every day” (*Wb.* II, p. 402 [5]).

Despite these literary associations, the sun and moon are rarely paired in ancient Egyptian iconography. The only further example known to me is a later new Kingdom stela in Leiden that shows the god Seth vanquishing the Apophis-serpent (Figure 4).¹⁰ It will be observed that the sun is on the spectator’s left, as is the victorious god, that side being normally reserved for the principal subject of any scene. And stelae of the New Kingdom and earlier regularly place emblems of Upper Egypt on

9. K. Sethe, *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie*, (Leipzig, 1907) p. 808, cited, along with kindred material, by H. Grapow, *Die bildlichen Ausdrücke des Ägyptischen* (Leipzig, 1924) p. 34. See also Ricardo Caminos, *The New-Kingdom Temples of Buhen I* (London, 1974) pl. 62 (9) and p. 49.

10. Drawn from a photograph in P. A. A. Boeser, *Beschrijving van de Egyptische Verzameling in het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden VI* (The Hague, 1913) pl. 6 (no. 25).



the spectator's left, since the southern part of the country has priority as the "front," while Lower Egypt, the "rear," is on the right.¹¹ It therefore seems likely that, in the case of the statue, the sun and moon are reversed so that the greater luminary is on the back of the right hand, the lesser on the left. It is true that such an explanation cannot be applied to a statue of Queen Isis, the mother of Tuthmosis III, which has a pair of cobras on the forehead, one wearing the crown of Upper Egypt, the other the crown of Lower Egypt.¹² Here again it is the Lower Egyptian crown that is on the proper right. But this example evidently represents an exception; all the regalia of Tutankhamun regularly show the vulture of Upper Egypt on the proper right, while the cobra representing Lower Egypt is on the proper left.¹³

And the crowned cobras on the statue of a Nineteenth Dynasty queen are oriented in the same manner.¹⁴ Finally it may be recalled that New Kingdom dyads representing a man and his wife regularly locate the man on the spectator's left. Thus we may conclude—so far as the New Kingdom is concerned, at any rate—that the dominant or primary element of the composition is normally on the spectator's left (which is the monument's proper right), regardless of whether the composition is two- or three-dimensional. In both cases, the orientation is ultimately explained by right-handedness, but that of two-dimensional compositions is more immediately related to the orientation of hieroglyphic writing,¹⁵ while that of statuary may be attributed to a New Kingdom emphasis on the right hand as such.¹⁶

ABBREVIATIONS

BM—British Museum

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

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

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

CG 34001–34189: Pierre Lacau, *Stèles du Nouvel Empire* (Cairo, 1909–26);

CG 42001–42250: Georges Legrain, *Statues et statuettes des rois et des particuliers I–III* (Cairo, 1906–14).

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

11. New Kingdom: CG 34026, 34099, 34183; Florence 2565 (S. Bosticco, *Le Stele egiziane del Nuovo Regno* [Rome, 1965]). CG 34025 exceptionally reverses the orientation. Middle Kingdom: CG 459, 20392, 20557.

12. CG 42072.

13. H. Carter, *The Tomb of Tut-ankh-Amen II* (London, 1923–33) pls. 69, 71, 73, 75; III, pl. 54.

14. CG 600.

15. H. Fischer, *Egyptian Studies II, The Orientation of Hieroglyphs; Part 1: Reversals* (forthcoming) §4.

16. R. Engelbach, "Some Remarks on *Ka*-statues of Abnormal Men in the Old Kingdom," *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte* 38 (1938) p. 295.

On the Cityscape of the Mérode Altarpiece¹

JACQUES DUCHESNE-GUILLEMIN

Liège University

THE MÉRODE ALTARPIECE, with its abundant symbolism, has often been studied, even before its acquisition by the Metropolitan Museum. This note concerns the interpretation of the right-hand panel (Figure 1), which shows Joseph in his workshop. The decisive step in its interpretation was made some time ago by Meyer Schapiro of Columbia University.² The interpretation put forward by Schapiro seems to me unsailable, and I shall not try to change it, but I think I have something to add.

The mousetraps on the windowsill and the table allude, Schapiro has shown, to the idea, found first in St. Augustine, that the holy cross was a mousetrap set by God for Satan—in Augustine's words, *muscupula diaboli, crux domini*, "the cross of the Lord was a mousetrap for the Devil." Augustine also wrote that *esca qua caperetur mors domini*, "the death of the Lord was the bait by means of which the Devil would be taken in." Gregory of Nyssa wrote that "the Deity was hidden under the veil of our nature, so that as is done by greedy fish, the hook of the Deity might be gulped down along with the bait of the flesh."

This notion of baiting the Devil is illustrated in another object in the panel: the board into which Joseph is boring holes. Several interpretations of it had been offered before Schapiro intervened. Schapiro cites E. Panofsky and C. de Tolnay, who argued that the board was the perforated cover of a foot warmer. Margaret Freeman suggested that it was a spike-block that hangs from Christ's waist in certain images of the Via Crucis.³ Schapiro more convincingly adduced for comparison an illuminated manuscript, the property of a New

York collector. The text deals with the Mystery of the Incarnation, and in the margin of one page a fishing scene is represented with, amongst the fishing tackle, a boat-shaped box for bait. Such a box, rectangular in form, is common in our day, "and we may assume," writes Schapiro,

that it was known in the 15th century. The context of the miniature and the other connections between the two works lead us to believe that in the Mérode picture too, the board on which Joseph is at work belongs to the same complex of trapping and bait associated with the Redemption. That mousetrap and fishing could be cited together as metaphors in an account of the Redemption is shown in a sermon in a breviary of the 14th century on Monte Cassino.⁴

Now, the two churches in the background of the right-hand panel (Figure 2) are not, as we shall see, part of an insignificant landscape, a mere backdrop to the scene of Joseph in his workshop. But it needed an inhabitant of my native town, Liège, such as my wife, to identify the churches, one of which is no longer extant. Documents have survived, however, that make the

1. Based on a lecture delivered at the Metropolitan Museum on 20 June 1975.

2. Meyer Schapiro, "'Muscupula Diaboli,' The Symbolism of the Mérode Altarpiece," *Art Bulletin* 27 (September, 1945) pp. 182–187; Meyer Schapiro, "A Note on the Mérode Altarpiece," *Art Bulletin* 41 (December, 1959) pp. 327–328.

3. Margaret Freeman, "The Iconography of the Mérode Altarpiece," *MMA Bulletin* 16, p. 138.

4. Schapiro, "A Note," p. 327.

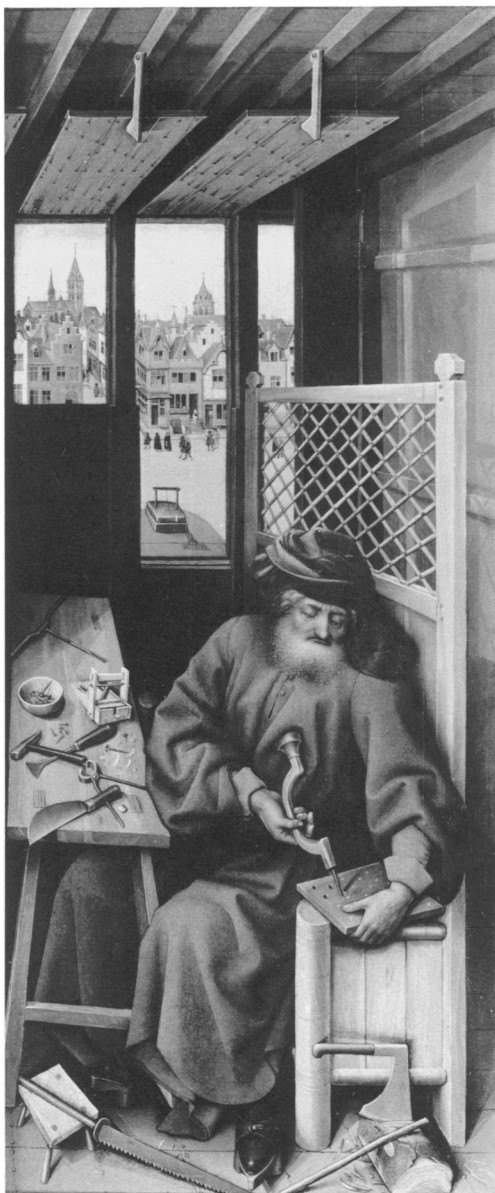


FIGURE 1
Right-hand panel of the Mérode altarpiece.
The Cloisters Collection

identification possible. A model of the city in past centuries is on display at the University of Liège. A photograph of part of this model (Figure 3) shows the two churches with their characteristic features and in the same relative position as in the painting; the one to the right with a polygonal tower and a low roof, the other with a square tower and a tall, tapering steeple. I may add that the two churches appear in the photograph exactly as they would if seen from a hill across the creek Legia, after which Liège is named.

One might ask what interest is there, except for the local people, in identifying the churches. Can this identification enhance our appreciation of the picture? Well, it does, and on two counts.

For one thing, it may help to answer the question of who painted the Mérode altarpiece. There is an enduring controversy on this point. Many scholars attribute the painting to Roger van der Weyden, who worked in Brussels, some to Robert Campin, who was active in Tournai,⁵ a town in western Belgium, and yet others to the Master of Flémalle, a pupil of Jan van Eyck. I shall not attempt to answer a question manifestly beyond my competence, but I think it is not irrelevant to note that the panel must have been painted by an artist to whom the Liège landscape was familiar, and to remember that Flémalle was, and is, a suburb of Liège.

However, this is not my chief concern. The important point is the significance of the two churches, their part in the symbolism of the panel—in other words, their essential connection with Joseph's workshop. Remember that Joseph is making mousetraps, an allusion to the cross of the Lord, and a cover for a bait box, a part of fishing tackle. Now, to whom were the churches dedicated? The one still extant, to la Sainte Croix, the Holy Cross. The other, no longer extant, to St. Pierre, St. Peter, the fisherman.

5. Hence the suggestion by Theodore Rousseau, Jr., in "The Mérode Altarpiece," *MMA Bulletin* 16, p. 128, that the town in the background of the right panel was "perhaps Tournai."



FIGURE 2
Detail of the right-hand
panel

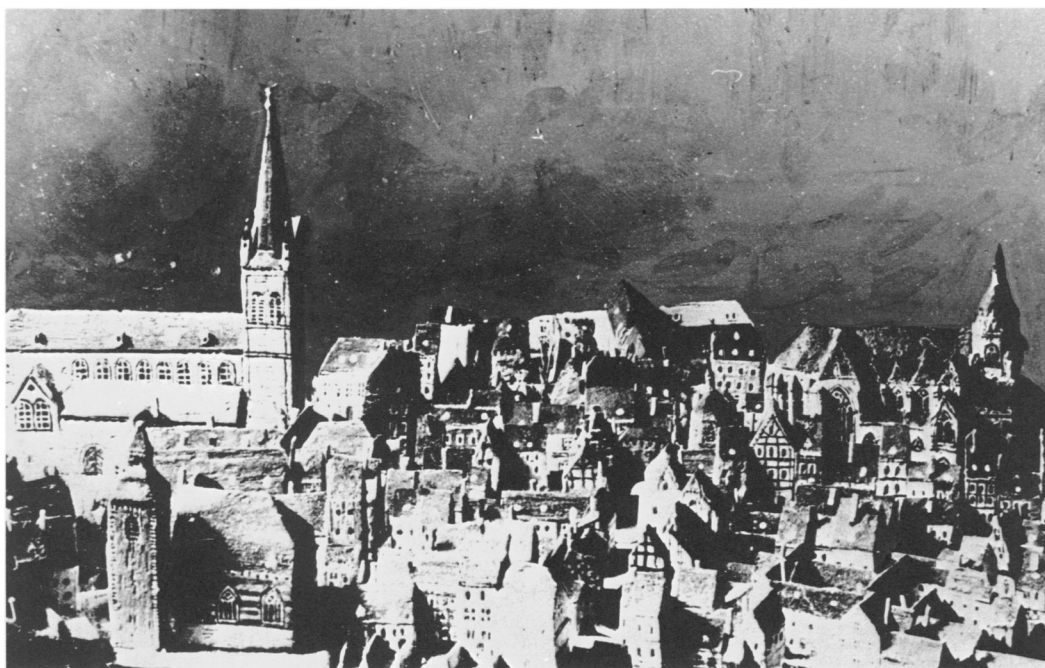


FIGURE 3
Detail of the model of the
city of Liège, showing the
church of St. Pierre at left
and that of Sainte Croix at
right

A Fifteenth-Century French Architectural Drawing at The Cloisters

ROBERT BRANNER *

IN THE LATE GOTHIC PERIOD architectural drawings were commonplace. Among other purposes they were made in order to show patrons the finished form of the projected work, to provide the lodge with a permanent record so that the master's design could be faithfully executed in his absence or after his death, and to serve as guides for such technical matters as the shaping of templates and the location of finished stones. Such a situation resembled that of our own times much more than it did the one that obtained prior to the thirteenth century, when small scale designs were first being used.¹ Solutions of theoretical and practical problems were also consigned to parchment, and treatises were written—and sometimes published—to explain the drawings. Matthew Roritzer, Rodrigo Gil de Hontañón, and Philibert Delorme are well known for their booklets or chapters on the techniques of design and stereotomy, and many more works of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, such as the treatise of Alonso da Vandaelvira, still await publication. At the present time a number of projects are under way to make this material available to the public.²

Even the most cursory survey of extant drawings, however, reveals an interesting fact. Hundreds upon

hundreds of drawings have been preserved from German-speaking lands and from Central Europe, whereas there are considerably fewer from Spain and Italy, less than a handful from France, and, to the best of my knowledge, only one from England.³ Positive as well as negative factors probably account for this discrepancy: the great *Bauhütten* of Germany and the east, at Cologne, Prague, Strasbourg, and Vienna, were centers of tradition where drawings were preserved as a matter of course; lodge traditions in western Europe, on the other hand, varied greatly in strength and duration, one of the chief reasons fewer drawings are extant from this area. In Spain and Italy, however, church archives and *opere* do still contain a substantial number of drawings, mostly unpublished. But in England and France these archives were largely dispersed or destroyed during the Dissolution and the Revolution. Until a short time ago only three drawings or groups were known to me from France: the Reims palimpsest, containing a set of designs from the mid-thirteenth century and inadvertently preserved when the parchment was reused for a necrology; the late Gothic façade of Clermont-Ferrand Cathedral; and the “cathedra” at Rouen.⁴ The parchment containing the ground plans of the

*This article was completed in 1971, two years before the author's death.

1. R. Branner, “Villard de Honnecourt, Reims, and the Origin of Gothic Architectural Drawing,” *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, LXI (1963) pp. 129–146.

2. Most recently see F. Bucher, “Design in Gothic Architecture,” *Journal, Society of Architectural Historians*, XXVII (1968) pp. 49–71. A project to republish and translate the German treatises

into English has been announced by Lon R. Shelby of the University of Southern Illinois.

3. H. M. Colvin, ed., *The History of the King's Works* (London, 1963) pp. 271–272 and pl. 20, a perspective rendering of King's College bell tower at Cambridge.

4. For the Reims palimpsest: R. Branner, “Drawings from a Thirteenth-century Architect's Shop: the Reims Palimpsest,” *Journal, Society of Architectural Historians*, XVII (1958) pp. 9–21; for

chevets of Notre-Dame in Paris and Sainte-Croix in Orléans, from the early fourteenth century, might constitute a fourth example, were it not preserved in the *oeuvre* at Strasbourg, a fact that suggests it was made by and for the Alsatian *Bauhütte*.⁵ The reappearance of just one more French drawing—the object of the present remarks—is therefore a noteworthy event.

The drawing, recently acquired by The Cloisters (accession number 68.49), measures 44.8 by 30 cm. and shows part of two portals of a Flamboyant church façade. Formerly in the Beurdeley, Destailleur, and Vionnois collections, it was published in facsimile in 1844.⁶ At that time it was about 1 cm. wider than at present; the lost portion ran along the left edge and contained a small additional amount of the design. There is a crescent-shaped loss at the top left side, and the following inscription, in a sixteenth-century hand, can be read along the right side:

A.D. / Cest un desseing de la face dun portail des carolles au dessus des vitres et du pignon avec leurs enrichissements ceste la / cousue avec celle marquee B.C.

The latter sheet, unfortunately, seems to be lost. Although “carolle” usually meant an ambulatory, the drawing shows a façade, almost certainly a west front, and the inscription should probably be translated, “A.D. This is a design for the elevation of a façade, from the aisles to (a point) above the windows and gable, with their embellishments; this part / sewn together with the one marked B.C.” Some words in the last phrase may have been lost through trimming along the upper edge.

Although the inscription was added to the drawing, it indicates one important fact, namely, that the skin was once part of a group. Most late Gothic drawings of façades were made from a number of parchments stitched together to provide a larger working surface than could be had with one skin. This is the case, for example, with the drawings of the west fronts of Clermont,

Cologne, and Strasbourg cathedrals, all of which are assemblages of several skins. The inscription on The Cloisters’ drawing seems to indicate the same thing. “A.D.” is a skin that at some point became detached from a larger drawing, and the letters were added to show where it belonged.

From the inscription and from certain details of the drawing, it is possible to obtain a fair idea of what the original looked like. The “whole” portal on the parchment must have been the central portal to the church, while the fragment to the left probably faced an aisle. The latter was lower and undoubtedly narrower than the central element, as is indicated by the curve of the arch, the more closely placed canopies, and the lower finial *en accolade* at the top. On the other hand, the left part of the drawing represents only a false opening, for a plinth can be seen running horizontally across the bottom and the tracery does not rest upon an arch as it does in the central portal; it must have been blind and, with the plinth, simply decorated an otherwise blank wall.

The central portal, however, was a bona fide opening, with a glazed tympanum above an arch *en anse de panier*. It was separated from the left “portal” by a pointed buttress with a high opening for a statue surmounted by an elaborate canopy and finial. A similar element is found to the right of the portal but was never terminated since the right-hand portal was not drawn. It would have been a mirror image of the one on the left and hence could be omitted.⁷ Above the portals there runs a series of Perpendicular boxes indicating blind tracery.

If the inscription is taken literally, this skin was completed by a second one (later marked “B.C.”) that showed the upper portions of the façade. There, presumably, were to be seen a west window and a crowning gable, both above the central portal on The Cloisters’ skin. This suggests that the façade had no tower or towers—they would have required heavier buttressing be-

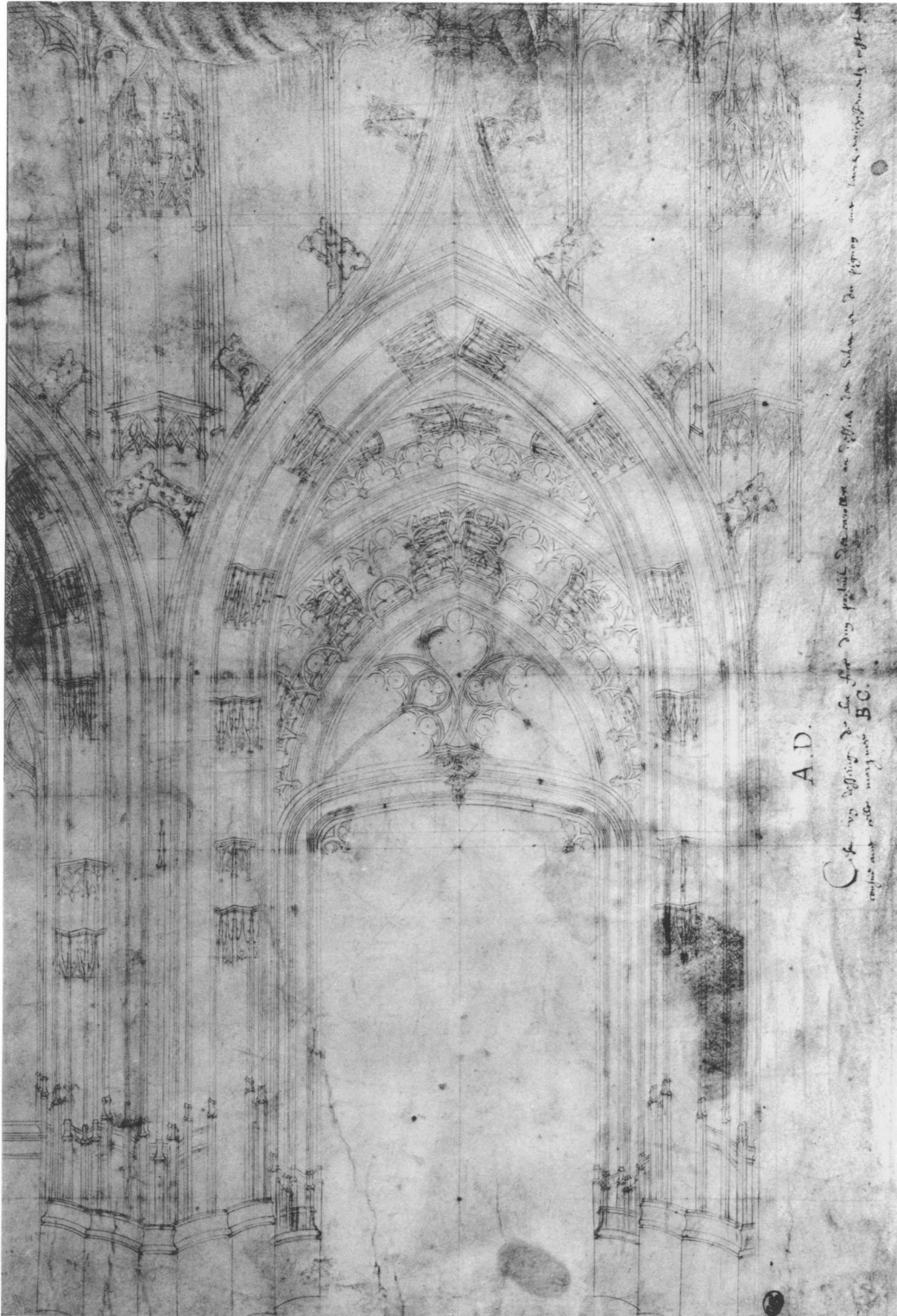
the Clermont drawing, A. Tardieu, *Histoire de Clermont-Ferrand*, I (1870) p. 222, and J. Harvey, *The Gothic World* (London, 1950) fig. 14; for the Rouen “cathedral,” J. Talaron in *Les Monuments historiques de la France* (1956) pp. 119–120 and figs. 7–8. The publication of a drawing of the chapel of Saint-Laict in Reims cathedral (1488) was mentioned in 1844 (J. Renouvier, see my note 6), but I have not been able to locate it.

5. Strasbourg, Musée de l’oeuvre Notre-Dame, no. 21. See O.

Kletzl, “Ein Werkriss des Frauenhauses von Strassburg,” *Marburger Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft*, XI–XII (1938–1939) pp. 103–158.

6. J. Renouvier and A. Ricard, “Des maîtres de pierre et des autres artistes gothiques de Montpellier,” *Mémoires, Société archéologique de Montpellier*, II (1841–1850) pp. 135–350, and separate (Montpellier, 1844), with folding plate.

7. As in the case of Strasbourg A.



Design for two portals of a Flamboyant church façade. French, late fifteenth century. The Cloisters, Cloisters Fund, 68.49

tween the openings and would presumably have been mentioned in the inscription—and, in turn, that the buttressing system of the nave may have been visible above the left-hand “portal.” Once again such elements did not have to be repeated on the right. In sum, the original design may well have shown the west façade of a small church with three portal-like elements at ground level, only the central one of which was actually a door, and with a window and gable above.

An interesting feature of the drawing is the inclusion of two planes of masonry. The Perpendicular tracery rests on arches and embrasures that descend to the very bottom of the skin, where we find a plinth composed of segmental curves. But the opening through the arch shows a series of other arches that clearly spring from behind, indicating the presence of a certain space between the portal proper and the proscenium screen. This is confirmed by a separate, shorter plinth for the jambs of the door. A similar arrangement was outlined in the left-hand “portal.” Such a space could have been seen most clearly on a plan of the façade, which conceivably once lay directly below the elevation, in the same position as on the Clermont-Ferrand drawing.

We are, then, in the presence of a layered design of the Flamboyant period, with elaborate openwork screens. The portal of the church, repeated by blind variations to either side, was covered by a proscenium screen whose three openings were arranged so as to un-

derline the distinctness of each plane. The distance may have been no more than a few feet, for what mattered was the effect rather than the actual size of the separation.

The absence of any constructional devices such as squares or diagonals in the drawing seems to mean it was not a working drawing to be used in the lodge.⁸ On the other hand it is virtually impossible to name a site for which the drawing may have been made; indeed, even at the time the inscription was added, no site was specified. It may, of course, have been an essay, of the kind sometimes required of journeymen to demonstrate their mastery of design. The fineness of the execution, however, and the “perspective” rendering of the plinth and the canopies suggest it was made for a patron who intended to build—that is, that it was a “show drawing.”

The stylistic features of the drawing point to a date in the latter part of the fifteenth century. Parallels can be found at St.-Maclou at Rouen (after 1432), Notre-Dame d’Esperance at Montbrison (after 1443), St.-Wulfran at Abbeville (1488), and St.-Germain at Argentan. It is not possible, however, to associate the drawing with any of these monuments or their architects, although Montbrison is probably the closest. It is to be hoped that more precise information will someday be adduced about the draftsman, the place, and the date of this beautiful French addition to The Cloisters Collection.

8. The three diagonals (two in the portal opening and one at the upper right) seem to be in pencil and were probably made at the time the drawing was to be reproduced in 1844.

Vetri, Ceramiche, e Oggetti Metallici nella Collezione di Cosimo di Bernardo Rucellai

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IL RITROVAMENTO DI INVENTARI quattrocenteschi tra le carte custodite negli archivi fiorentini rappresenta un fatto così frequente e scontato, che si è spesso portati a non prestare eccessiva attenzione a quei lunghi elenchi, nei quali una moltitudine di oggetti, spesso insufficientemente descritti, si ripete con grande monotonia. Nel caso in esame l'interesse si impone, sia per il rango del proprietario—Cosimo di Bernardo Rucellai—appartenente ad una delle più prestigiose famiglie fiorentine del Rinascimento, sia per la qualità delle suppellettili menzionate. La descrizione di queste ultime, specialmente per quanto riguarda i vetri, le ceramiche e gli oggetti di metallo, costituisce infatti una documentazione interessante, che non sarebbe giusto ignorare completamente.

Il documento—un inventario datato 1504¹—trae origine da quell'insieme di norme previste dalla legge allorquando dei minori sono chiamati a succedere: Cosimo muore infatti nel 1495, a soli 25 anni, lasciando due figli in tenerissima età.² Tra i vari provvedimenti che devono essere adottati per difendere gli interessi degli eredi e per consentire a colui che viene investito dell'intera procedura (l'Ufficiale dei Pupilli) di svol-

gere la sua funzione, la compilazione di inventari dettagliati dei beni rientranti nella massa ereditaria costituisce uno dei momenti più importanti e delicati.³

Del lungo e ricco elenco di suppellettili che figurano nell'inventario verranno presi in considerazione soltanto gli oggetti di metallo, di vetro e di maiolica che Cosimo e sua moglie Giovanna, figlia del Magnifico signore Gabriello Malaspina, acquistarono e collezionarono a Firenze, negli ultimi decenni del Quattrocento. Si potrebbe forse avanzare l'ipotesi che una parte dei beni provenga dalle famiglie dei genitori (la madre di Cosimo era Nannina de' Medici, sorella del Magnifico, e la nonna Iacopa Strozzi),⁴ però non si può in ogni caso parlare di una vera e propria eredità paterna, in quanto il padre Bernardo morirà soltanto nel 1514.⁵ Non sembra invece doversi attribuire significato particolare alla posizione sociale della moglie, appartenente ad una vecchia famiglia feudale, cioè ad una classe che alla Firenze del Quattrocento non aveva più nulla da insegnare, ma che vedeva nelle figure di umanisti, mecenati e collezionisti d'arte dell'epoca un nuovo ed affascinante modello da imitare.

Tralasciando dunque gli oggetti di maggior pregio

1. Archivio di Stato, Firenze, *Pupilli avanti Principato*, n. 182, cc. 90r-91r.

2. L. Passerini, *Genealogia e Storia della famiglia Rucellai* (Firenze, 1861) tav. xvi. Dei due bambini—Giovanna e Cosimo—soltanto il maschio è in vita al momento della compilazione dell'inventario che qui presentiamo.

3. Lo statuto è stato pubblicato da F. Morandini, "Statuti e Ordinamenti dell'Ufficio dei pupilli et adulti nel periodo della Repubblica fiorentina (1388-1534)," *Archivio Storico Italiano*, 1955,

anno cxiii, disp. iv, p. 522 s. Ulteriori riferimenti all'eredità Rucellai—ma senza la presentazione dell'inventario—sono contenuti nel codice 115 dello stesso fondo, alle carte 58r-59v (e nei fogli sciolti ivi inseriti).

4. Sul padre, cfr. G. Pellegrini, *L'umanista Bernardo Rucellai e le sue opere storiche* (Livorno, 1920) p. 3; F. Gilbert, "Bernardo Rucellai and the Orti Oricellari," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* xii (1949), pp. 101-131.

5. Pellegrini, p. 22.

quali gli arazzi, gli argenti, i gioielli, i tessuti d'oro e di seta, tutti contenuti in tre cassoni che al momento della morte di Cosimo erano già depositati in custodia presso monasteri fiorentini e che ora vengono ritirati, passiamo a considerare l'altro gruppo di suppellettili, anch'esse riposte in un cassone, che soltanto ora vengono consegnate ad un istituto religioso, sempre a scopo di custodia. A questi ultimi beni se ne possono accostare altri, sempre di proprietà di Cosimo, i quali—come ora vedremo—sono o in una villa in campagna o momentaneamente presso Piero Soderini, il famoso gonfaloniere di Firenze, cognato del Rucellai.⁶

Inventario di chosse appartenenti a detta redità, chome si dirà qui da pie', messe in uno chasone e mandato nel Munistero delle Murate per serbare per Cosimo pupili, questo di 25 di genajo 1503,⁷ e prima:
 2 rinfreschatoi di christallo mezanetti con lavori d'orro con piedistallo, paghonazzi
 2 rinfreschatoi di lattimo con piedistallo, picholetti
 uno rinfreschatoio picholetto coloratto d'allabastro, cioè è di vetro
 3 tazzoni con pie' di vetro coloratte d'alabastro
 uno vasso di vetro azurino con coperchio e lavori
 uno vasso di vetro azzurro chiuso con coperchio di più lavorri
 una chopetta di christallo con coperchio e lavori d'orro
 uno bosoletto tondo con coperchio e più lavori d'orro
 2 chandelieri di vetro e con colori d'allabastro e uno candeliere di vetro verde con orro
 2 horcoletti di vetro con colore d'alabastro
 uno bosoletto azzuro con coperchio
 una saliera in 2 pezzi di vetri coloratti
 uno chalamaio di lattimo bianco con coperchio
 5 copette di vetro christalino: 3 con coperchio e 2 senza
 uno rinfreschatoio basso marmolino rotto, entrovi:
 10 pezzi di più cosse di lattimo e di vetro christalino
 uno calamaio di marmo nero o vero di serpentino
 uno bichiere con più lavori: è rotto
 una tazza e una luccerna di vetro
 uno piattelo grande di Maiolicha, di primo lavoro
 uno rinfreschatoio mezano di Maiolicha, di primo lavoro

6. Piero Soderini sposò infatti Argentina Malaspina, sorella di Giovanna, moglie di Cosimo Rucellai: P. Litta, *Famiglie celebri italiane* (Milano, 1819), famiglia Malaspina, tav. xiv, ramo dei marchesi di Fosdinovo. Si tenga presente che su questi legami di parentela vengono a volte riportate, nelle stesse opere a stampa, indicazioni contrastanti.

7. Secondo il calendario fiorentino, che seguiva lo stile "ab incarnatione," in base al quale l'anno iniziava il 25 marzo; equivale dunque al 1504.

4 schodelle e 4 schodelini di Maiolicha, di primo lavoro

 una sechiolina d'ottone col manicho
 uno candeliere d'ottone co' lucerne d'ottone, nostralle

. . . .
 uno afbiattoio d'ottone doratto

Inventario e notta di chosse che si trovarono questo di 19 di marzo 1503⁸ in chassa Piero Soderini, e prima:

. . . .
 uno bacci(no) d'ottone da piedistallo, di libre⁹
 uno baccino d'ottone co' rilievo, nel mezo co' l'arme de' Pucci e de' Buondelmonti, ismaltatte con ariento
 uno baccino piano d'ottone mezano
 una miscirobba col manicho con 2 bochucci
 4 chandelieri di più sorte d'ottone
 2 chandelieri d'ottone con 2 lucernuze d'ottone
 uno sechione di rame d'aquaio, di libre¹⁰
 33 pezi di stagnio, cioè piattegli e schodelle e schodelini e quadretti e uno tondo picholo, pesorno in tutto libre 35 in circa¹¹

. . . .

Inventario di benni mobili e maserizie e arnessi e chosse che si truova questo di 10 di marzo 1503¹² nella detta abitazione di sopra¹³ da signiore, apparteneti a detta redità, e prima:

. . . .
 in sala grande di sopra

. . . .
 uno rinfreschatoio di Maiolicha, mezano
 uno quarto e ½ quarto di terra, co' l'arme di chasa
 una meзина di terra con lavoro, di Monteluppo

. . . .
 in chamera in su detta sala

. . . .
 uno piattelo grande da Maiolicha

. . . .

Come si vede, i singoli beni formano praticamente tre gruppi distinti, dei quali il primo, senz'altro il più importante, viene depositato presso il Convento delle

8. Vedi nota precedente.

9. In bianco nel testo.

10. In bianco nel testo.

11. Nell'originale il testo prosegue nel *verso*.

12. Vedi nota 7.

13. È la villa che i Rucellai Malaspina possedevano nel "popolo di Santo Stefano a Calcinaia, nel comune di Gangalandi, luogo detto alla Loggia": AS, Firenze, *PaP*, n. 182, c. 90 v.

Murate; il secondo si trova temporaneamente in casa di Piero Soderini, un personaggio illustre nella vita politica e culturale dell'epoca; il terzo, infine, viene lasciato in una villa dei Rucellai a Gangalandi, nei dintorni di Lastra a Signa.

L'abitudine di affidare cose di pregio ad istituti religiosi è sempre stata molto diffusa presso famiglie di un certo livello, le quali vedevano in tale pratica una forma sicura di custodia in caso di guerre o disordini politici e nello stesso tempo di garanzia, considerata la natura del depositario. Particolarmente interessante è l'intenso ricorso che a questa forma di deposito oneroso si faceva nei periodi di epidemie, quando il timore di un'elevatissima mortalità spingeva i cittadini a preferire ai banchi privati i grandi monasteri, ove vivevano molte decine di religiosi, anche se a volte proprio il maggior assembramento era causa di più elevata mortalità. Un momento del tutto particolare fu quello che precedette il famoso assedio di Firenze del 1529 da parte degli imperiali, durante il quale molti palazzi fiorentini si vuotarono delle cose più preziose, al punto che la stessa autorità pubblica nel 1530 intervenne, obbligando gli istituti religiosi ed i banchi privati a presentare, entro due giorni, elenchi dettagliati di tutti gli ori ed argenti ricevuti in consegna.¹⁴

È interessante rilevare, nell'elenco, la mancata designazione, per molti dei beni, della provenienza e dei centri di produzione; ciò non toglie che per alcuni di essi sia ugualmente possibile risalire all'origine. Da Valenza-Manises, intanto, provengono certamente i 7 pezzi (piatti, rinfrescatoï e scodelle) definiti "di Maiolica," per i primi 6 dei quali è ulteriormente indicato "di primo lavoro". Senza sollevare altri problemi—che rinviando ad altra sede—inerenti a questa particolare descrizione, la quale sembrerebbe indicare ceramica priva di lustro, del tipo "azul,"¹⁵ notiamo soltanto come

il termine "Maiolica" in questo caso continui ad avere ancora il significato originario di ceramica ispanomoresca, a riflessi matallici, come si incontra nel Trecento, mentre già nella seconda metà del Quattrocento si incomincia a parlare a Firenze di maiolica, attribuendole il suo significato odierno.

Toscane sono invece le altre ceramiche presenti nell'inventario: di Montelupo la mezzina decorata; di Firenze il quarto ed il mezzoquarto.

Di produzione locale sono certamente gli oggetti d'ottone, per i quali alcuni artigiani fiorentini, detti appunto "ottonai", avevano raggiunto livelli altissimi di capacità: si pensi soltanto a quel Martino di Giuliano, ottonaio, che nella seconda metà del Quattrocento poteva vantare tra la sua clientela le più esigenti famiglie fiorentine e—all'estero—importanti esponenti dell'aristocrazia e dell'alto clero.¹⁶ Tra i numerosi pezzi d'ottone, il bacino con decorazione a rilievo e con gli stemmi Pucci e Buondelmonti sembra l'esemplare più importante. Anche se nulla di preciso si può dire sulla sua origine, l'ipotesi di un matrimonio tra quelle due famiglie rimane sempre plausibile, quantunque non si debba dimenticare l'usanza—molto frequente nel Rinascimento, ma oggi quasi mai ricordata dagli studiosi—di regalare anche in occasioni diverse (particolarmente nascite e battesimi) oggetti di varia natura, quasi sempre di arte minore, sui quali venivano posti gli stemmi, appunto, del padrino e del neonato.

Da notare è la presenza di alcuni oggetti di lattimo, dei quali Venezia (e poi Firenze) aveva ottenuto una produzione molto interessante, che nel Quattrocento conobbe una certa diffusione anche al di fuori della laguna.¹⁷ Nelle case fiorentine dell'epoca è dato incontrarne qualche raro esemplare—per lo più saliere, tazze e scodelle—quasi sempre di origine muranese.

Di analoga provenienza si possono considerare i

14. AS, Firenze, *Consigli della Repubblica, Provvisioni, Registri*, n. 209, c. 21 r.

15. Ad esempio i numerosi esemplari conservati a Valenza: J. Martínez Ortiz-J. De Scals Aracil, *Collección cerámica del Museo Histórico Municipal de Valencia, Catálogo—Inventario* (Valenza, 1962), in particolare le illustrazioni v-viii.

16. Ci limitiamo a segnalare due casi: lucerne di ottone mandate dagli Strozzi di Firenze agli Strozzi di Napoli nel 1491 (AS, Firenze, *V Serie Stroziana*, n. 51, *Libro debitori e creditori di Filippo Strozzi e compagni*, 1489-1491, c. 135 s) e altre lucerne spedite dai Cambini a Roma, nel 1451, per un vescovo portoghese (Archivio dello Spedale degli Innocenti, Firenze, *Estranei*, n. 244, c. 83 s).

Quest'ultimo codice è stato studiato da C. Bolognesi, *La complessa e vasta attività della grande società di Francesco e Carlo Cambini, nel 1451-1452, attraverso il suo "Libro grande giallo, segnato E" (con trascrizione del codice)*, tesi di laurea, Università di Firenze, anno accademico 1968-69.

17. Sul lattimo, si veda A. Gasparetto, *Il vetro di Murano dalle origini ad oggi* (Venezia, 1958) p. 92 ss; L. Zecchin, "Le avventure del lattimo," *Vetro e Silicati* VII, N. 4 (luglio-agosto 1963) pp. 21-24. Questo prodotto viene ricordato in tutti i *Tre trattatelli dei secoli XIV e XV ora per la prima volta pubblicati*, a cura di G. Milanese, Bologna, 1968, ristampa anastatica dell'edizione del 1864. Molto utile è il recentissimo articolo di T. H. Clarke, "Lattimo—A Group

vetri, anche se proprio per alcuni di essi può sorgere in realtà qualche dubbio, in quanto Firenze stessa produsse, in misura limitata, vetri anche di qualità. È questo un problema molto complesso ed allo stesso tempo estremamente importante, sotto tutti gli aspetti (si pensi, fra l'altro, a quello economico) per il cui inquadramento si imporrebbe la presentazione di ulteriore documentazione archivistica, che siamo costretti a rinviare ad altro momento.

Non è il caso di insistere sulla qualità dei vetri dalla colorazione azzurra o verde, tutti riferibili alla migliore produzione muranese della seconda metà del Quattrocento, e per i quali viene da pensare ad esemplari celebri, sparsi oggi in numerosi musei.¹⁸ Da sottolineare è la presenza dei candelieri di vetro, generalmente ancora piuttosto rari, almeno a Firenze, nella seconda metà del secolo XV.

Incerti rimangono gli oggetti di cristallo—i due rinfrescatoio e la coppetta—tutti con “lavori d'oro”, di fronte ai quali sembra più opportuno pensare ad una produzione in cristallo di rocca.¹⁹

Dei restanti oggetti che figurano nell'inventario non è possibile aggiungere altro: alcuni non sono sufficientemente descritti, altri non presentano interesse particolare.

Nel documento in esame non è indicata la valutazione dei singoli pezzi (che, del resto, non possiamo aspettarci da simile fonte) ma, ricorrendo ad altra documentazione coeva e soprattutto pensando ai prezzi in genere degli oggetti di lusso sul mercato fiorentino, si può ugualmente affermare che i vetri montati in oro—se questo è il significato da attribuire all'espressione “lavori d'oro”—sono i pezzi di maggior pregio, a causa

dell'elevatissimo valore del metallo prezioso, prima dei massicci arrivi dalle Americhe, mentre il loro valore diminuirebbe notevolmente, fino a scendere al di sotto di quello degli oggetti metallici, se si trattasse—come sembra più probabile—di semplice decorazione color oro. Ciò non toglie che la fragilità dei vetri, dei “vetri cristallini” in genere (quest'ultimo nel suo significato veneziano di vetro trasparente)²⁰ e dei cristalli li rendesse più preziosi agli occhi del proprietario, come dimostra la prevalenza di queste suppellettili nel cassone.

Tra i vari oggetti, le maioliche costituiscono quasi sempre il gruppo di beni di minor pregio. È comunque necessario distinguere la produzione locale da quella importata dalla Spagna, alla quale vanno tutte le simpatie della Firenze quattrocentesca, ed i cui prezzi sono ovviamente più elevati,²¹ anche se non raggiungono mai il livello degli oggetti metallici di qualità. Insignificante è invece il valore delle maioliche di fabbricazione toscana,²² per la conservazione delle quali non vengono mai adottate particolari precauzioni, a cominciare dal deposito presso istituti laici o religiosi, che avrebbe comportato un onere superiore al valore delle cose da custodire.

In generale, a meno che non si tratti di opere d'arte di primo piano o dai caratteri tutti peculiari, è estremamente difficile poter agganciare un oggetto conservatosi sino ai nostri giorni alla relativa fonte archivistica,²³ e questo a causa dell'incompletezza del documento e dell'enorme distruzione, più o meno naturale, che con il passare del tempo si è avuta in tutti i prodotti delle arti minori, spesso destinati ad un uso quotidiano. Ciononostante, la descrizione delle maioliche richiama

of Venetian Glass enameled on an opaque-white Ground,” *Journal of Glass Studies* XVI (1974) pp. 22–53, nel quale l'Autore procede ad un attento esame dei pochi esemplari conservatisi sino ai nostri giorni. Vale la pena di sottolineare che i rinfrescatoio ed il calamaio ricordati nell'inventario dei Rucellai sembrano costituire, per quanto riguarda la forma, una novità. Comunque è bene essere molto cauti nell'esprimere giudizi, in quanto una normale ciotola con una montatura metallica (ad esempio il pezzo al Kunsthistorisches Museum di Vienna) può diventare un rinfrescatoio, così come lo strano vasetto di Leningrado poteva essere un calamaio. Questi ultimi lattimi sono tutti pubblicati nel citato saggio di T. H. Clarke alle pp. 50 e 55.

18. Si pensi in particolare alla famosa coppa Barovier (Murano, Museo Vetrario), ai calici ed alle tazze di Firenze (Bargello), Bologna (Museo Civico), Londra (Victoria and Albert, British Museum), Colonia (Kunstgewerbemuseum), pubblicati da Gasparet-

to, tavv. 21–27, al quale rimandiamo anche per alcune illustrazioni di importanti esemplari di lattimo.

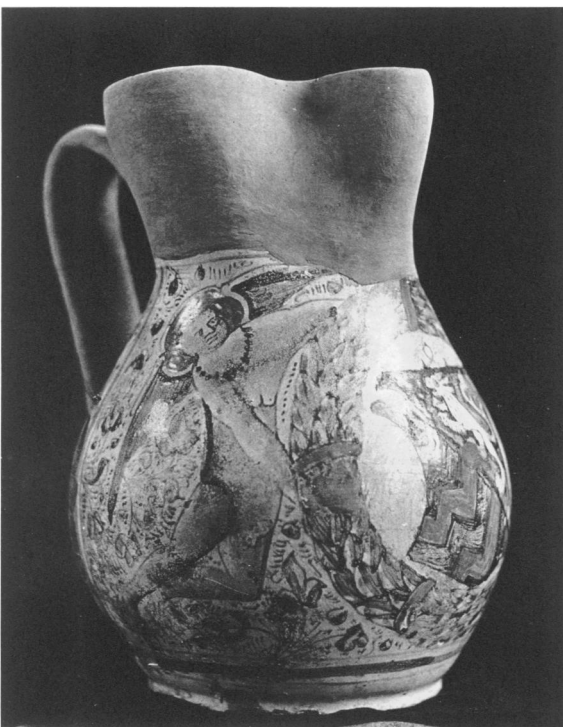
19. Nella Firenze quattrocentesca i termini vetro, vetro “cristallino” e cristallo vengono a volte usati impropriamente, generando spesso confusione.

20. Per il vetro veneziano, cfr. Gasparetto; sul vetro “cristallino,” in particolare L. Zecchin, “Il vetro ‘cristallino’ nelle carte del Quattrocento,” *Vetro e Silicati* VII, N. 2 (maggio-giugno 1963) pp. 21–24.

21. Cfr. M. Spallanzani, “Il vaso Medici-Orsini di Detroit in un documento d'archivio,” *Faenza* LX (1974) n. 4–6, p. 90.

22. Si veda G. Cora, *Storia della maiolica di Firenze e del contado, Secoli XIV e XV* (Firenze, 1973), le schede dei vasai ed in particolare p. 158.

23. Si pensi, ad esempio, alle difficoltà e contraddizioni, recentemente sottolineate da Heikamp, che si verificano anche per



TAV. 1

Boccale ansato con stemma Rucellai (altezza: cm. 20; parte originale: cm. 15). Monocromia turchina con interventi di giallo e bruno di manganese. Rifatto nelle parti mancanti. Firenze, circa 1470. Museo Nazionale, Palazzo del Bargello, Firenze (Gabinetto Fotografico—Sopr. Gallerie—Firenze)



TAV. 2

Grande boccale ansato con stemma Rucellai (altezza: cm. 35). Monocromia turchina con interventi di giallo e bruno di manganese. Firenze, circa 1470. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Robert Lehman Collection

immediatamente alla memoria i due famosi boccali di produzione fiorentina, dei quali uno è conservato a Firenze, al Bargello (Tav. 1)²⁴ e l'altro a New York, al Metropolitan, Collezione Robert Lehman (Tav. 2),²⁵ i quali recano entrambi lo stemma della famiglia Rucellai, inscritto in una ghirlanda sorretta da due angeli alati. Tanto il boccale del Bargello, di dimensioni piuttosto modeste (altezza cm. 20), quanto quello del Metropolitan, di misure senz'altro notevoli (altezza cm. 35) potrebbero essere i due esemplari ricordati nel documento.²⁶ In entrambi l'unanime attribuzione da parte degli studiosi a botteghe fiorentine della seconda metà del Quattrocento trova piena corrispondenza nella fonte archivistica la quale, anche in questo caso, rispet-

tando in pieno la regola generale, nulla dice sulla provenienza di un oggetto di fabbricazione fiorentina.²⁷

Sulla sorte dei beni di Cosimo di Bernardo Rucellai mancano notizie precise: alcuni (quelli presso Piero Soderini) sono praticamente vincolati, a garanzia di debiti precedentemente contratti; gli altri è probabile che siano rimasti di proprietà dei Rucellai. Le stesse condizioni economiche (più che favorevoli) della famiglia fanno pensare che quelle suppellettili non siano state alienate neppure negli anni immediatamente successivi, come accadeva spesso nei casi di tutela di minori, allorquando si procedeva alla vendita di parte dei beni per creare una disponibilità finanziaria immediata.

SUMMARY

An inventory of the household goods of Cosimo di Bernardo Rucellai (1470–95), preserved in the Florence city archives, is of particular interest because of the prominence of the family and the quality of the pieces listed. They are datable to the closing decades of the century and are described more fully than is usual in inventories. This adds even more to the importance of the document, drawn up, according to a law protecting the inheritance of minors, in 1504.

The entries for glass, majolica, and brassware—the luxury items of lower value than the silks, tapestries, jewels, and silver—show that lamps, candlesticks, inkwells, and wine coolers, as well as wine glasses and cups were made in glass. Milk

white, white striped, green and blue, as well as clear glass are mentioned and the stated decoration is enameling and gilding. Brassware, some of it with relief decoration, the specialty of the Florentine artisans known as “Ottonai,” was not too humble to be owned by a family such as the Rucellai. The majolicas were of both Valencia-Manises origin, and Tuscan; one specifically is designated as “of Montelupo.” The two jugs of differing size, decorated with the Rucellai arms within a wreath held by two angels, both of a type all scholars agree is Florentine, may be the very ones now in the Robert Lehman Collection in the Metropolitan Museum and the Bargello Museum, Florence.

oggetti del tutto eccezionali quali i famosi vasi di Lorenzo: D. Heikamp—A. Grote, *Il tesoro di Lorenzo il Magnifico*, II, *I vasi*, (Firenze, 1975) p. 53 s.

24. Inventariato con il numero 477: G. Conti, *Palazzo del Bargello, Catalogo della maioliche* (Firenze, 1971).

25. Discusso da O. Raggio, “The Lehman Collection of Italian Maiolica,” *Bulletin of The Metropolitan Museum of Art* (aprile 1956) pp. 186–197; e *Exposition de la Collection Lehman de New York*, Paris, Musée de l'Orangerie, 1957, p. 151, no. 251, ill. Entrambi i pezzi sono pubblicati da Cora, tav. 158 a, b, 159 b, c.

26. Si tenga presente che il quarto corrisponde a litri 4, 558; il mezzoquarto (o fiasco) a l. 2, 279 (Cora, p. 228). I due boccali presentano una marca: “BB” nell'esemplare del Bargello; una “S” in quello di New York (Cora, marca M 30 a tav. 338 e M 162 a tav. 347).

27. E questo anche se un'eccezione si presenta proprio nel documento in esame.

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