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The Tumuli at Sé Girdan: Second Report

OSCAR WHITE MUSCARELLA

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IN JULY OF 1970 the Hasanlu Project, under the joint sponsorship of The Metropolitan Museum of Art and the University of Pennsylvania, began its second campaign at Sé Girdan, situated in the Ushnu valley in northwestern Iran.¹ It will be recalled that Sé Girdan is a cemetery consisting of eleven tumuli of various sizes near the modern village of Cheshmé Göl and below the recently discovered Urartian site of Qalatgah.² The campaign of 1968 had been basically a survey resulting in the partial clearing of the largest tumulus there, designated I, the excavation of a small plundered tumulus, II, and the excavation of an intact tumulus, III.

The aim of the second campaign was to excavate three additional tumuli and to complete the excavation of Tumulus I with the view to learning something about the culture and chronology of the people buried in the cemetery, since information of this sort had not been firmly established in the first season. Our season

did not begin until two weeks later than planned, and we were therefore not able to complete the clearing of Tumulus I. We were, however, able to excavate three of the other tumuli in the area, called IV, V, and VI.³ On the plan published in *Sé Girdan I*, fig. 2, these tumuli are labeled E, F, and G.

TUMULUS I

Work was concentrated on the completion of the wedge-shaped trench begun in 1968 in the southern part of the northwest quadrant (*Sé Girdan I*, figs. 3, 5). Although we assumed that the tomb would not be found here, it was thought best to finish this area in order both to get a complete section of the tumulus and to uncover at least part of the rubble stones that we assumed would be overlying the tomb. If the rubble stones could be cleared and measured, we would presumably get information about the position of the tomb.

1. Oscar White Muscarella, "The Tumuli at Sé Girdan: A Preliminary Report," *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 2 (1969) pp. 5 ff. (hereafter *Sé Girdan I*). Credits for the drawings in this first report are as follows: figs. 12, 15, 16 are by Carol Hamlin; figs. 6, 7, 10, 17, 18, 19, 22, 23 are by the author; the tracings from field notes and subsequent inking are by Maude de Schauensee. In the present report initials are included with the drawings; Marie Miller did the inking of the drawings. I wish to thank all for their help and cooperation in these undertakings.

2. *Sé Girdan I*, p. 5, note 4; a discussion of Qalatgah by the author will appear in a future issue of *Expedition*. For a discussion of other Urartian sites in Iranian Azerbaijan see W. Kleiss, "Bericht über zwei Erkundungsfahrten in Nordwest Iran," *Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran* 2 (1969) pp. 20 ff.; and W. Kleiss,

"Urartäische Plätze in Iranisch-Azerbaidjan," *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 18 (1968) pp. 1 ff.

3. The season began on July 17 and ended on August 27. The staff consisted of the author as director and Michael Nimtz (University of Pennsylvania), Karen Rubinson (Columbia University), and Betty Schlossman (Briarcliff College) as archaeologists; Robert Lewis surveyed and oriented the tumuli. Agha Nozar Sepheri was the able assistant to the director, and Agha Ardeshir Ferzanegan was the representative of the Iranian Archaeological Service. My aim in both *Sé Girdan I* and the present report is to publish the archaeological results as quickly as possible. I therefore do not claim to have exhausted all the evidence available for purposes of seeking comparisons and relationships.

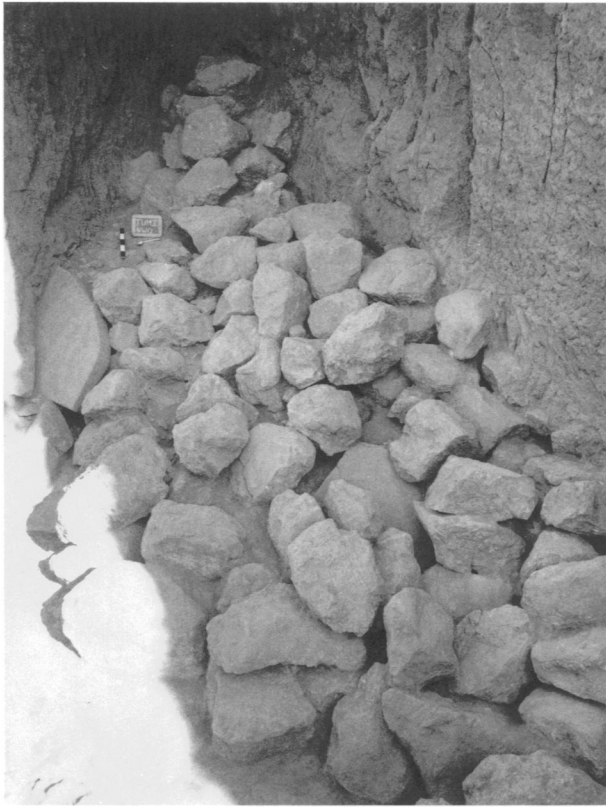


FIGURE 1
Rubble stones of Tumulus I. Note cleavage line
at right

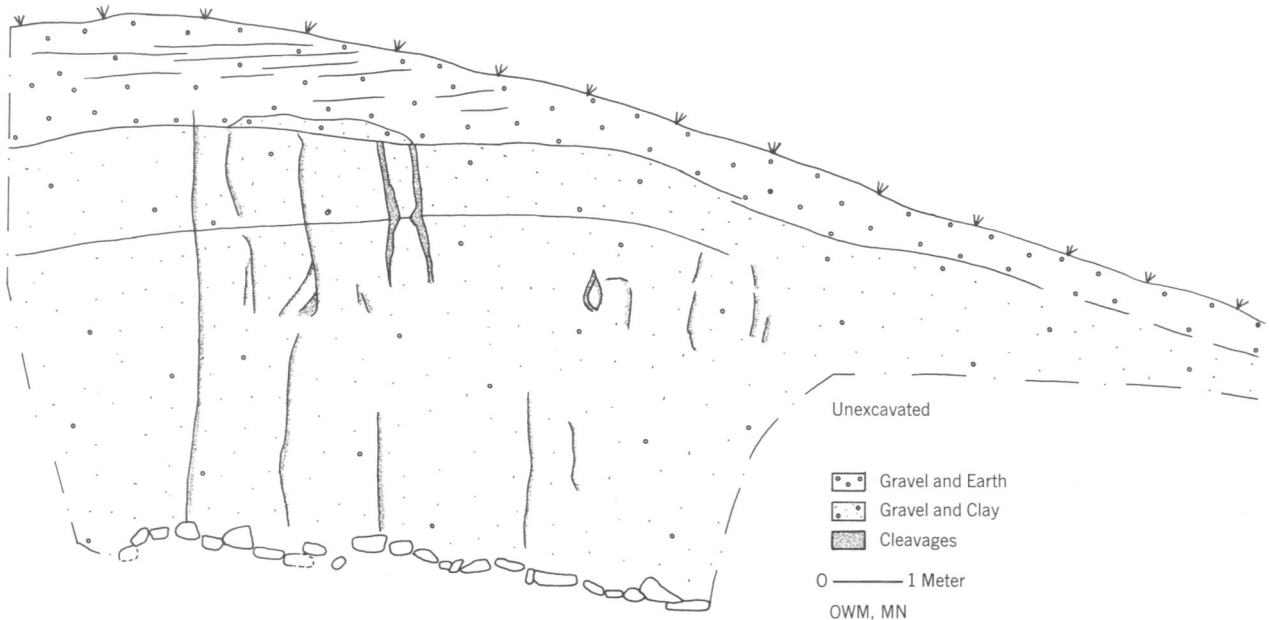
The trench was cleared down to the anticipated rubble stones (Figure 1), and a completed section of the trench was made (Figure 2). At a depth of 7 meters from the top of the tumulus we encountered soft clay (as opposed to the generally compact clay above) and then the rubble stones within 50 cm. These stones are fairly large, averaging between 20 and 65 cm. in diameter, and clearly form a roughly circular mass; they were laid down in several layers and mound toward the center. We cleared 2.70 meters of the rubble mass measuring out from the undug south balk. It seems certain that the tomb lies some distance to the south within the undug area.

The rubble mass was covered with about 50 cm. of soft clay, as stated, and over this began the mass of hard compact clay continuing for about 5 meters; earth and gravel were dumped above. The cleavage lines recognized in 1968 continued down to the top of the rubble mass (Figure 2; *Sé Girdan I*, pp. 7-11).

There were no visible signs that the cleared section of the rubble mass had been tampered with, and it would appear that the tomb remains unplundered. Its excavation will have to await a future season.

In *Sé Girdan I*, pp. 11-13 and fig. 5, it was recorded

FIGURE 2
East-west section of the northwest quadrant,
Tumulus I



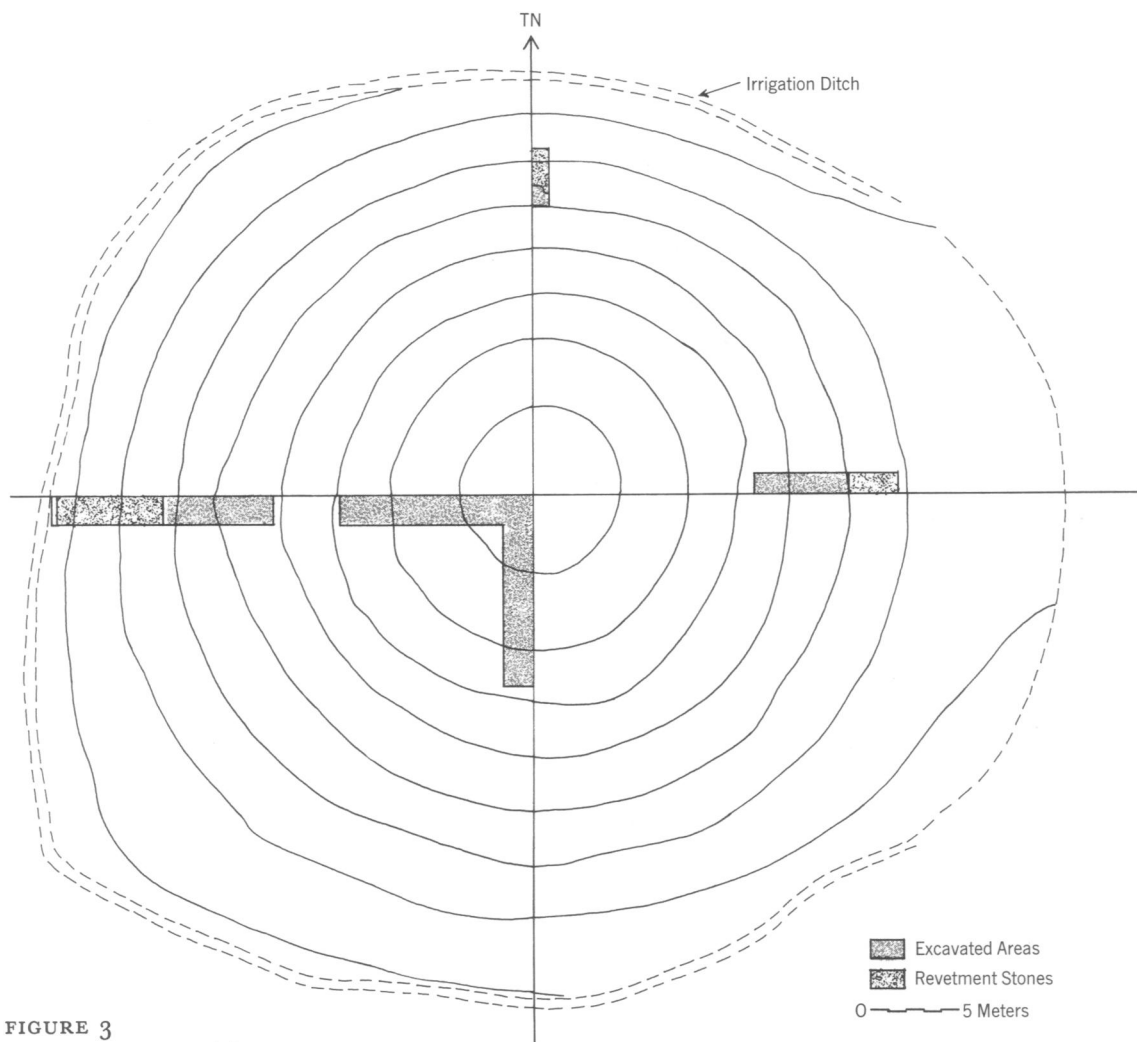


FIGURE 3
Plan of Tumulus IV

that 40 cm. below the sloping revetment stones in the main trench and 50 cm. below the revetment stones in test trench 3 (in the eastern part of the tumulus)⁴ a horizontal course of stones was found; this course did not appear in the three other test trenches dug. In 1970 we checked this information by redigging test trenches 1 and 4: no horizontal course was found. Why this course only occurs in the long trench and in one test trench is not known. Perhaps certain parts of the ground needed leveling.

4. Unfortunately, in *Sé Girdan I*, p. 9, fig. 5, the lower horizontal course was inadvertently not recorded correctly in test trench 3. It is interesting to note that when we redug the test trenches filled in by us in 1968 we found the gravel and earth to be hard and without any indication that they had been dug two years previously.

TUMULUS II

An attempt was made to dig a trench outward from the area cleared in 1968 in order to confirm that there was a stone revetment (*Sé Girdan I*, p. 16). Unfortunately, the landlord refused us permission although we promised to refill the trench. There can be little doubt, however, that this tumulus had a revetment since all the other tumuli excavated had such a feature.

TUMULUS IV

Tumulus IV is the second largest in the Sé Girdan cemetery; it is about 7.5 to 8 meters in height and about 52 to 58 meters in diameter (Figure 3). This

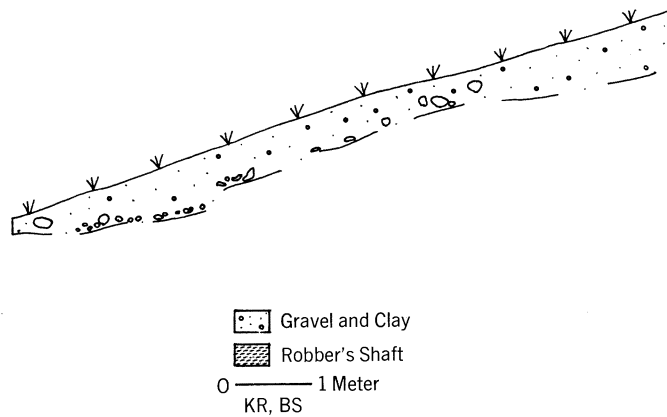
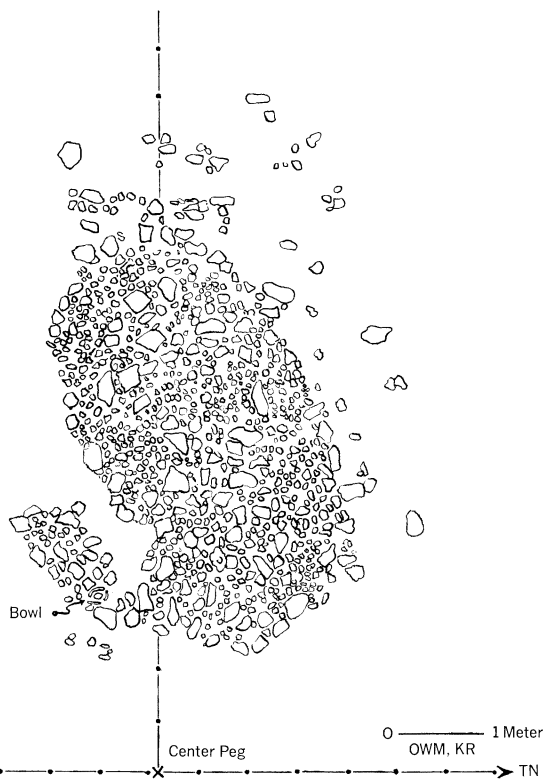


FIGURE 4
Plan of stones below the surface at the
top of Tumulus IV

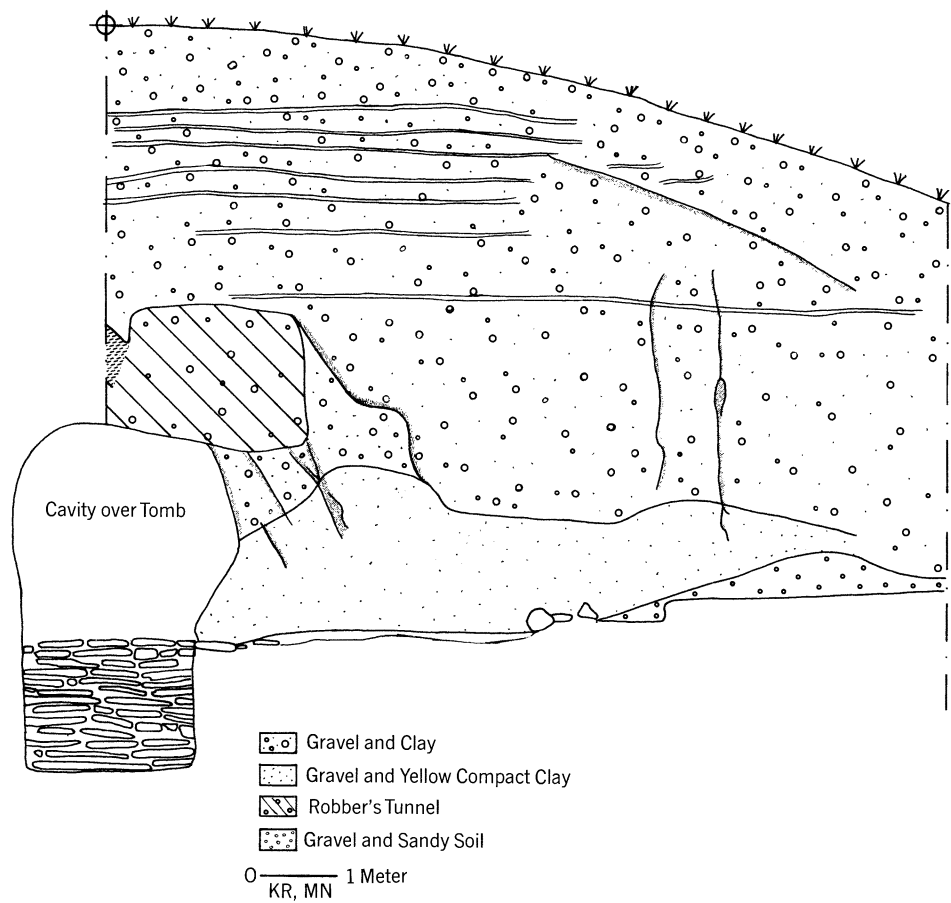


FIGURE 6
North-south section of the southwest
quadrant, Tumulus IV

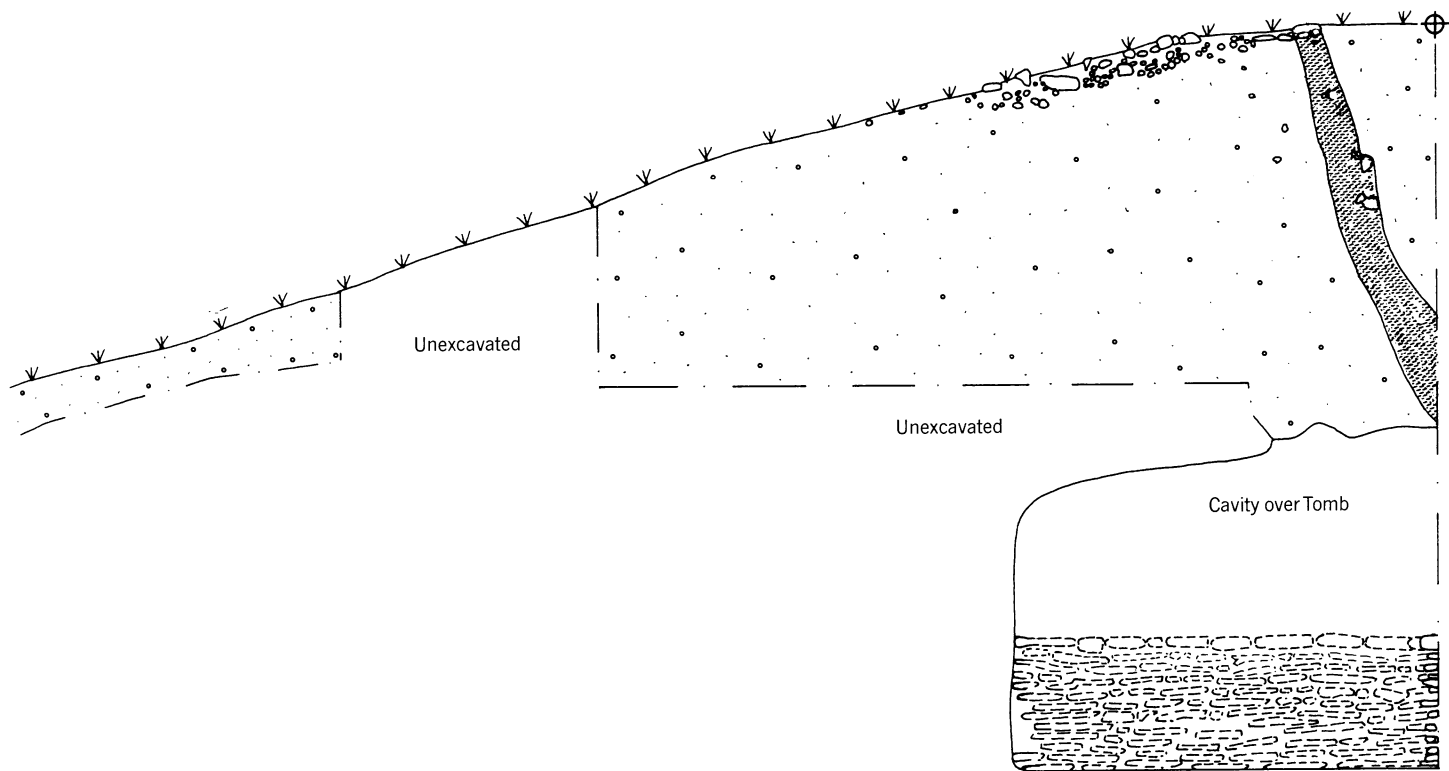


FIGURE 5
East-west section of the southwest quadrant, Tumulus IV. The tomb is restored for convenience

FIGURE 7
Part of the east-west and north-south sections of the southwest quadrant, Tumulus IV. Part of the tunnel may be seen to the left and below the metal tray; the western part of the tunnel has been removed

FIGURE 8
Tomb chamber in cavity of Tumulus IV. The ring of stones is to be seen in the foreground



tumulus, like all the others, is delimited by an irrigation ditch and cultivated fields. Its surface was covered by prickly weeds and was not under cultivation (*Sé Girdan I*, fig. 2, E on plan, figs. 1, 4).

The tumulus was divided into quadrants, with true north ($14^{\circ} 14'$ east of magnetic north) as orientation (n.b.: all the tumuli excavated in 1968 were divided into quadrants on a magnetic north orientation; those excavated in 1970 were given a true north orientation).⁵ Excavation began in the upper part of the southwest quadrant within an arc forming a wedge-shaped area extending 11.15 meters from the top of the mound.

Beginning about 1.50 meters west of the center of the mound, and just below the surface, a closely packed mass of small stones—10 to 20 cm. in diameter—was uncovered (Figure 4). The mass was approximately 3 by 6 meters in area and did not form any recognizable plan; it extended partly into the northwest quadrant and was one to two layers thick. A coarse, carinated bowl, dark gray in color, and showing evidence of burning, was found nestled within the stones on the southeastern edge; a stone was found inside the bowl (Figure 27). I will return to this bowl later.

The stones were removed, and excavation continued to a depth of 2.5 meters, whereupon the area of excavation was limited to two trenches at right angles to each other, along the north-south and east-west sides of the quadrant; the trenches were respectively 1.75 meters and 1.50 meters wide (Figure 3).

A short time after excavation started, an area of earth different in color from the surrounding earth was noted in the east-west section beginning just below the aforementioned stones. It soon became clear that the area was a narrow shaft, now filled in, that at one time penetrated into the tumulus (Figures 5, 7). At a depth of about 3.50 meters a horizontal tunnel was encountered extending from the shaft southward 1.75 meters, then turning westward until it disappeared into the undug balk (the west balk of the north-south trench). The tunnel was more than one meter in height, although we could not measure it exactly because its course was directly over a hollow cavity and it was not considered safe to work there.

5. This change was inadvertent. I assumed mistakenly that our surveyor in 1970 would use magnetic north as orientation. When I discovered the change, it was too late to make a correction.

The cavity began at a depth of about 5.50 meters, just below the tunnel. When the loose fill at the bottom of the cavity was cleared, the upper part of the tomb was exposed; the tomb chamber itself was completely filled with earth. The cavity extended over the whole area of the tomb (Figure 8), and at the southwest corner it became a tunnel that continued southwestward and upward from the tomb, beginning at a place where the latter was damaged, several stones having been torn away (Figures 9, 10). This part of the tunnel-cavity could safely be explored only superficially, but loose slabs of stone were seen there, slabs that certainly had been torn away from the walls of the tomb chamber.

The relationship of the cavity over the tomb and the vertical shaft and horizontal tunnel seems quite clear. Whoever dug the shaft, i.e., the tomb robbers, began it in an attempt to reach the tomb. (Because the shaft is so narrow in section, it may be assumed that we cut into it near its perimeter rather than at its widest part.) At a depth of 3.50 meters they decided to dig a tunnel, first going south, then west, and finally north, moving downward until they reached the tomb at its southwest corner. It seems plausible to assume that the robbers had a general idea where to find the tomb but were uncertain about its exact position. The clay over the tomb had been removed laboriously through the tunnel and up the shaft, work that must have been slow and hard, and we may assume that there were many helpers. The firmness of the clay kept the cavity and part of the tunnel intact, but the roof of the tunnel where it left the shaft had collapsed; the vertical shaft also filled up with earth and stones in the course of time—in fact, may have been deliberately filled in so as to cover any traces of the robbery.

The tomb lies in the western part of the tumulus, mostly in the southwest quadrant, partly in the northwest quadrant (using either true or magnetic north as orientation). It was placed so that, but for part of the short east wall, it was away from the center of the tumulus (*infra*) (Figure 10). The cavity created by the robbers' digging activities extended over the entire tomb and cleared part of the upper surface of all the walls. It took us several days to clean out the earth fill in the tomb, mainly because, as we approached the bottom, we encountered thick, wet mud, the water table being at hand.

The tomb is a well-made structure, rectangular in

plan, with internal measurements of 5.85 by 2.27 meters and an east-west orientation. It was carefully constructed of rectangular slabs of stone laid in thirteen courses, with thick mud mortar layers separating the slabs (Figures 11, 12). The slabs vary in size, averaging 60 to 80 cm. in length and 8 to 15 cm. in width; a few slabs are shorter in length, while others are as long as 1.50 meters. The mortar thickness varies from 4 to 20 cm., and the slabs and mortar layers do not always coincide from course to course. The corners of the tomb were built at right angles and interlock, some stones of one wall thrust into the other, locked in place by the upper and lower stones; this does not occur in a regular fashion (Figure 12).⁶

Large stone pebbles 5 to 15 cm. in diameter were found in the mud and cleared out. We are not sure whether or not these stones represent the floor of the tomb: it was not possible to determine any order with respect to the stones because of the mud. Excavation stopped at a point just below the lowest stone course of the tomb, but we encountered no clear indication that there was a floor. The depth of the tomb, based on a measurement of the walls, is about 1.60 to 1.70 meters.

In the southwest corner of the tomb five courses of stone were missing for about 1 meter to the east; in the western wall two courses were missing for about 40 cm. to the north (Figures 9, 10). This destruction occurred when the robbers entered the tomb from their tunnel, where, as already stated, some of the slabs were to be seen.

Although the tomb had been plundered, the robbers left some objects because of either haste or carelessness. No skeleton was found, but we did recover a few fragments of human bone, all showing definite red coloration; some of the pebbles from the tomb also had this red color. A small fragment of a smoky-clear obsidian blade was found in the fill above the tomb, and one of the stone pebbles removed from the mud was a red chert core from which blades had been chipped. Presumably this was not part of the tomb equipment but just another rubble stone. If we are correct in this observation, the stone must have come from a local field and suggests that a neolithic or earlier settlement ex-

isted in the area. A few coarse, nondiagnostic sherds and a few scraps of nondescript bronze were also found in the tomb fill.

More important objects were also recovered from the tomb fill. At the western part of the southern half of the chamber and close to the floor, within the mud, were found 565 gold beads of varying types and 38 stone beads.

The beads are all quite small, as may be seen in Figure 13. There were 431 flat, round beads (labeled 3), 3.5 mm. in diameter and .5 mm. in height; 87 round beads with double carination (5), 5 mm. in diameter and 1.5 mm. in height; 40 hollow, spherical beads (6), 7 mm. in diameter, with walls .5 mm. thick; 4 very thin, flat, round beads (8), 5 mm. in diameter and 5 mm. thick; 2 round, lentoid-shaped beads (4), 2.25 mm. in diameter and .5 mm. thick; and 1 round, narrow-walled bead with a relatively large hole (not numbered), 4.5 mm. in diameter and 3 mm. thick.

Those of stone included 31 round carnelian beads with a slight double carination (10), similar to but slightly larger than some of the gold examples, 6 mm. in diameter and 2 mm. in height; and 7 solid, round carnelian beads (9), 7.5 mm. in diameter and 4 mm. in height. In addition there was one simple flat bead apparently made of tortoise shell (11), 5 mm. in diameter and 2.5 mm. in height.

In the eastern part of the southern half of the chamber we found one flat bronze adze and three bronze axe heads, all of the same type, but each made in a separate mold (Figure 14). The bronzes were in excellent condition, albeit they were found in the mud. The edges of all the blades were quite sharp, and it would therefore seem that they belong to the original tomb contents and were not the tools used by the robbers to dig into the tumulus. Those tools were not left behind as they were needed to dig into the other tumuli in the area!

The adze is 13.8 cm. long and 3 mm. thick; it flares out slightly from a width of 3 cm. at the base to 4.35 cm. at the outer edge.

Each axe has a shaft hole close to the back part of the weapon, a single oblique point forming the rear, and an outward-flaring blade. The three axes have slightly different measurements: (12) length 14.3 cm., width 4.6 cm.; (13) length 14.5 cm., width 4.3 cm.; (14) length 13.9 cm., width 4.5 cm.

6. Although not too clear from the drawing in *Sé Girdan I*, fig. 16, the corners of the walls of the tomb of Tumulus II were made in the same way.

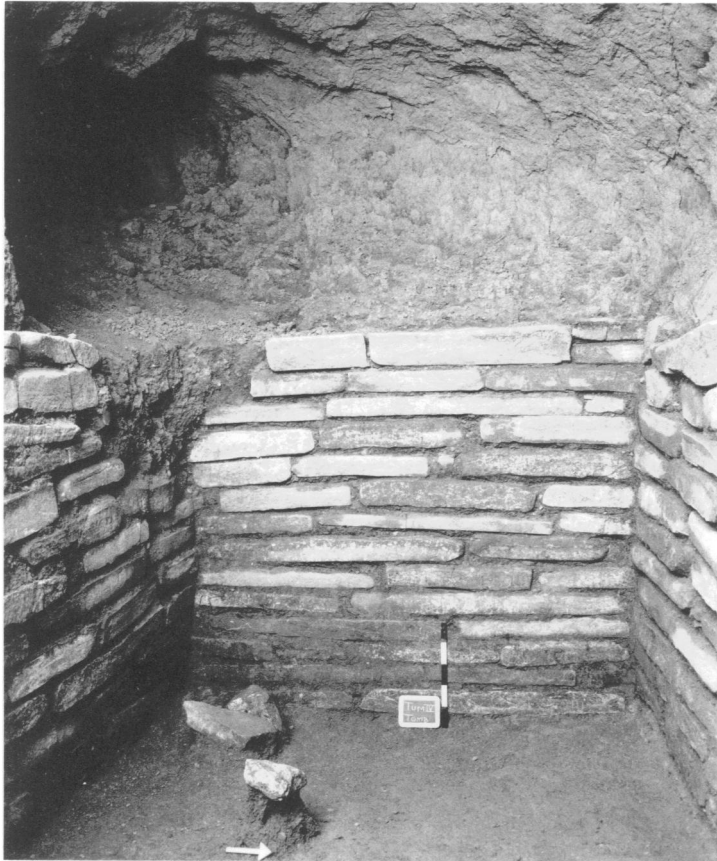
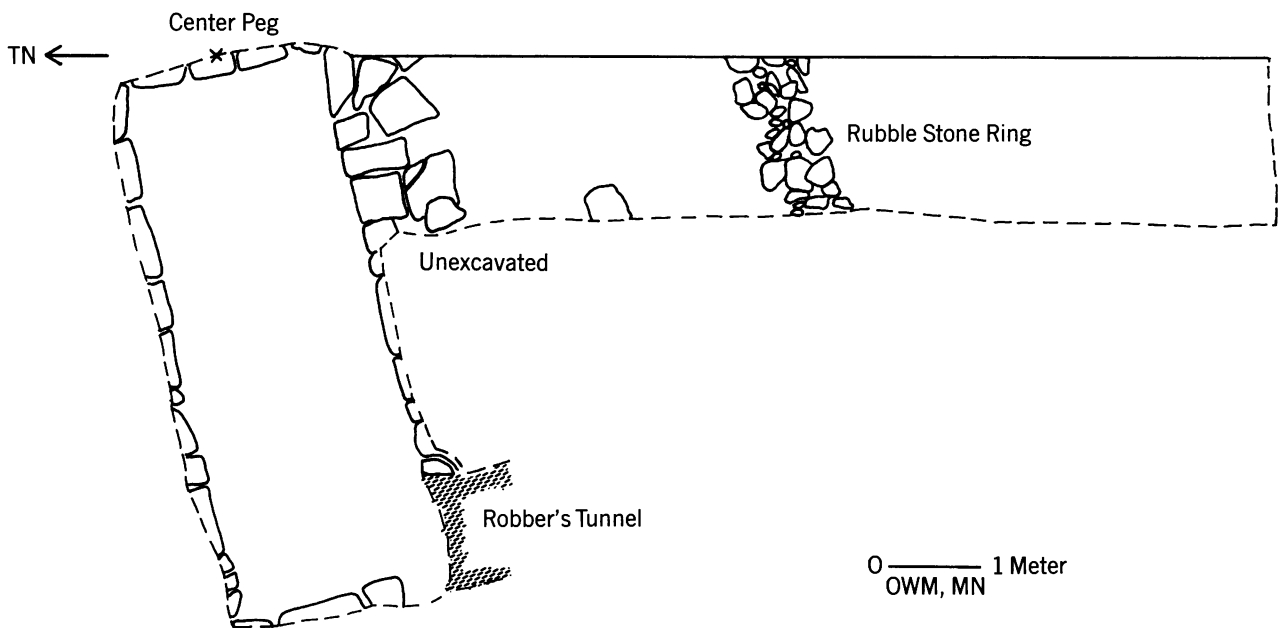


FIGURE 9
The western and part of the northern and southern walls of the tomb, Tumulus IV. Note the robbers' tunnel and entry at the left

FIGURE 10 Plan of the tomb and outer stone ring, Tumulus IV



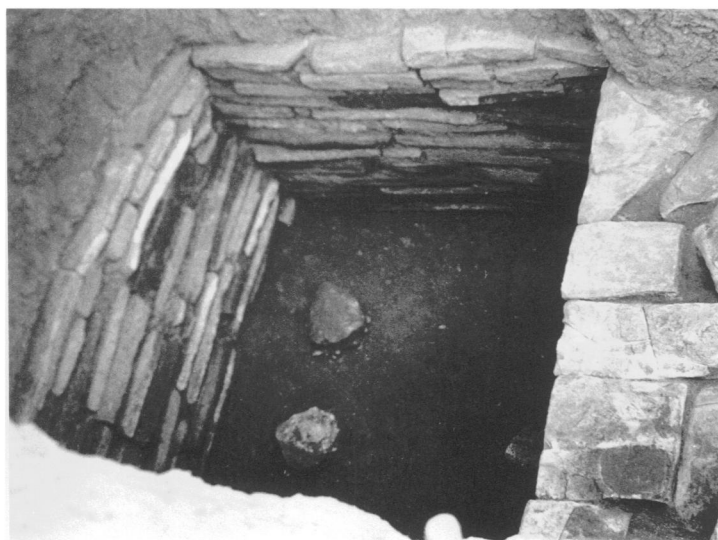
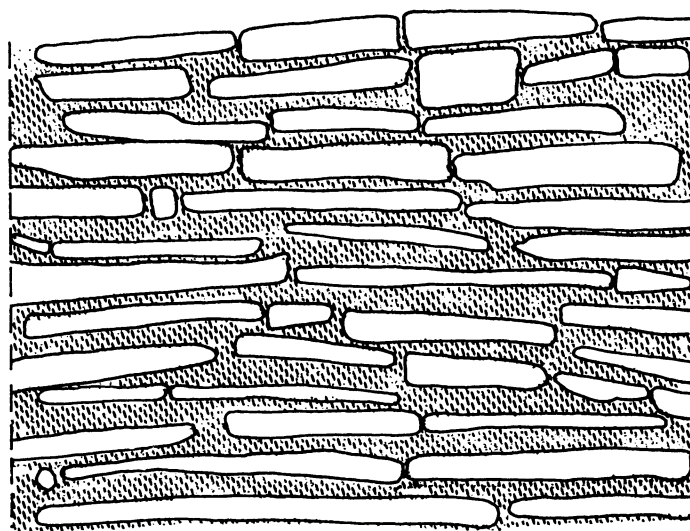


FIGURE 11
View of the tomb facing east, Tumulus IV

The north-south trench was excavated for a length of 10 meters, measuring south from the tomb edge, down to the level of the top of the tomb. At a distance of 4.5 meters south of the inner edge of the tomb we cleared an irregular section of rubble stones, three

FIGURE 12
Section of the east wall of the tomb, Tumulus IV



0 ————— 1 Meter
OWM, MN

stones and 90 cm. wide, extending east-west across the trench and disappearing into both undug balks (Figures 8, 10); 1.75 meters north of these stones was a single stone sticking out of the west balk.

There can be little doubt that the section of stones represents part of a ring that encircles the tomb, rather than the remains of a central rubble mass familiar to us from the other tumuli. No other stones—except the unexplained odd one in the west balk—are to be seen in any of the exposed sections, either around the tomb or in the north-south trench. The sections mentioned show clay not disturbed by the robbers and would show rubble stones in situ if they had ever been laid down. One problem cannot be resolved: where did the stones that were found on top of the tumulus next to the robbers' shaft come from if not from the area over the tomb itself? And what relationship, if any, exists between these stones, the stone circle, and those stones found within the tomb? It is possible that the area of the tomb chamber—but not the tops of the walls of the tomb—alone was covered with stones (what the roof consisted of is of course not known) and that the robbers removed most or all of these stones through their meandering tunnel and vertical shaft. But this suggestion cannot be proven and does seem unlikely, so the issue will have to remain unresolved.

To the south of the ring of stones the fill consists of gravel and sandy soil that form a bulge (Figure 6). To its north there is a layer of soft brown earth under a thick layer of clay. It would appear that after the tomb pit had been dug and the stone tomb constructed the area immediately adjacent was leveled up to the stone ring, and that the bulge may represent dumping during the digging of the pit and the leveling process. Directly over the tomb (whether or not it was covered with stones) and the surrounding area, grayish yellow clay in compact condition was laid down by dumping; on top of this was dumped a mixture of clay and gravel. One and possibly two cleavage lines, similar to those from Tumulus I (*infra*), were recognized, and this fact suggests that the tumulus was erected with the aid of portable partitions that held the clay while it was being laid down. Shortly before the tumulus reached its final shape, a revetment of small stones in one or two layers was placed around the lower part of the slope. The revetment was irregular in height and was not compact, suggesting that it was laid down in a hurry. Test

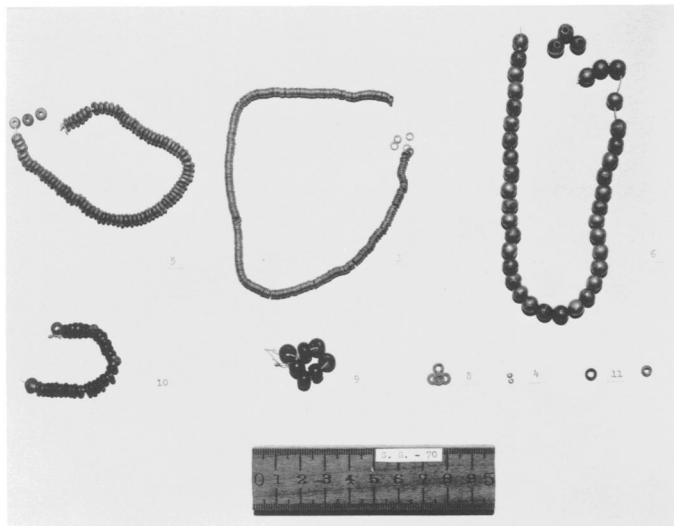


FIGURE 13

Gold and stone beads from the tomb, Tumulus IV

trenches dug around the tumulus confirmed the presence of the revetment around the whole perimeter (Figure 3). After this stage, gravel and clay were dumped and the desired tumulus shape was formed.⁷

TUMULUS V

This tumulus lies about 100 meters to the northwest of Tumulus IV, in a row with Tumuli I, II, and IV (*Sé Girdan I*, fig. 2, F on plan). Its present height is about 5 meters, its diameter 48 to 50 meters. At present it is assymetrical in shape with a deep pit at the top (Figure 15). There were no clear indications as to the location of the precise high point of the tumulus, so we arbitrarily chose the center of the pit as our center point (*infra*); we assumed that whoever dug the pit picked the highest point as the center. After the usual division of the tumulus into quadrants we chose the upper part of the southwest quadrant for excavation, using true north as orientation.

The fill consisted of gravel and clay; about 20 cm. below the surface we began to encounter scattered stones. They covered a good part of the southern area of the excavation but presented no pattern. Stones continued to be found throughout the fill (in the southern area). The northern part of the excavation, on the other hand, consisted of hard clay. After a time it became clear that the softer gravelly clay mixed with the stones represented a disturbed area, and we could see the faint outlines of an irregular pit (Figures 16, 17); the pit penetrated to a point just above the tomb subsequently discovered.

7. It has of course occurred to me that the revetments at Sé Girdan may actually have been originally exposed and not covered with earth as they now are: that is, they are covered now by earth from the upper part of the tumulus. However, the upper borders of the revetments are never uniform, and there is no regularity in the manner in which they are laid down: gaps and depressions, and shifts in levels, occur on all tumuli, as may be seen by looking at the sections. One might conclude that early stone robbing would account for these irregularities. I prefer to leave the matter open but suggest that the revetments were meant to be covered, as concluded in the text.

FIGURE 14

Bronze axes and adze from the tomb, Tumulus IV



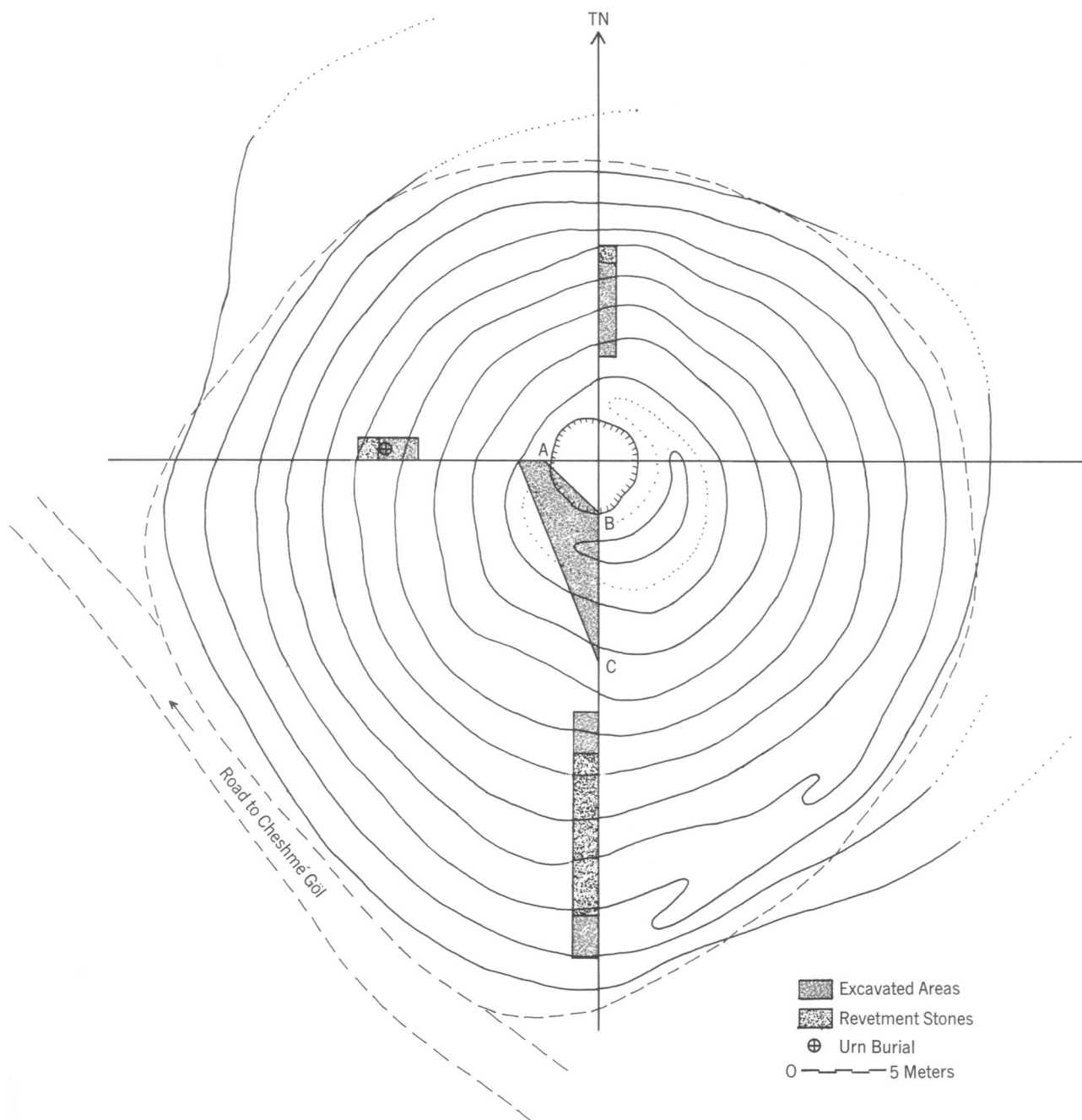


FIGURE 15 Plan of Tumulus V

In the northern part of the excavated area, the part consisting of hard clay, five distinct cleavages were recognized in the section, and we were able to isolate portions of them on the horizontal surface (Figure 18); other cracks in the section may be cleavage lines or cracks from the sun, but we could not tell. The five

cleavage lines mentioned here are distinct and unmistakable and, as with Tumuli I and IV, reflect the use of portable partitions.⁸ No cleavages were recognized in the north-south section.

8. The distances between cleavages were 17, 30, 12, and 15 cm.

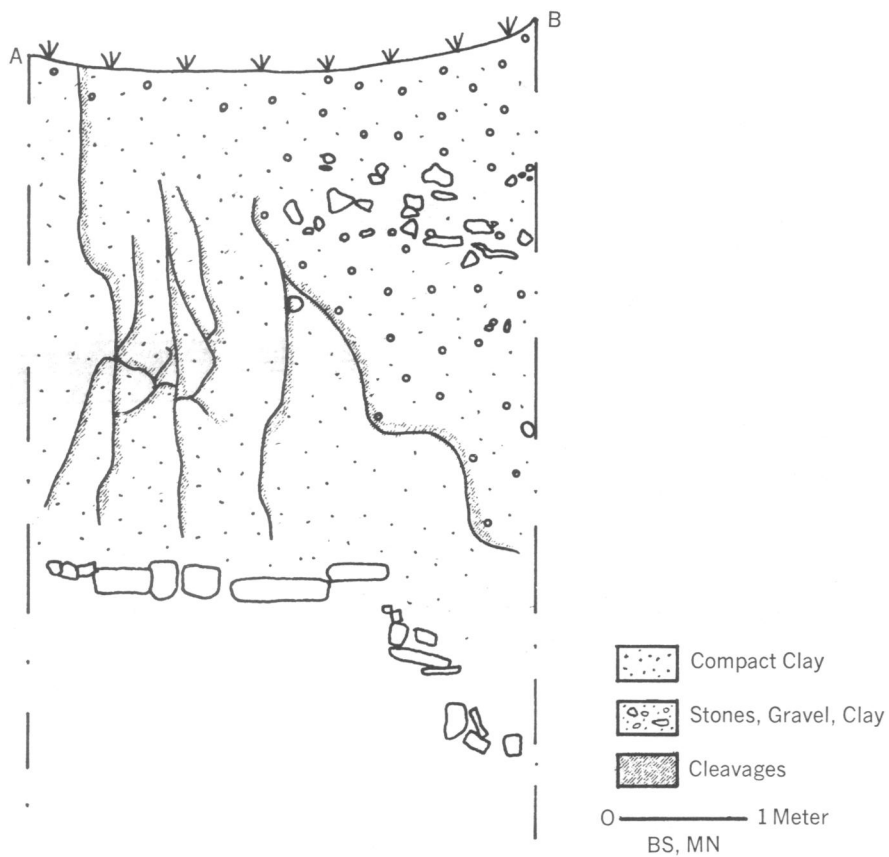
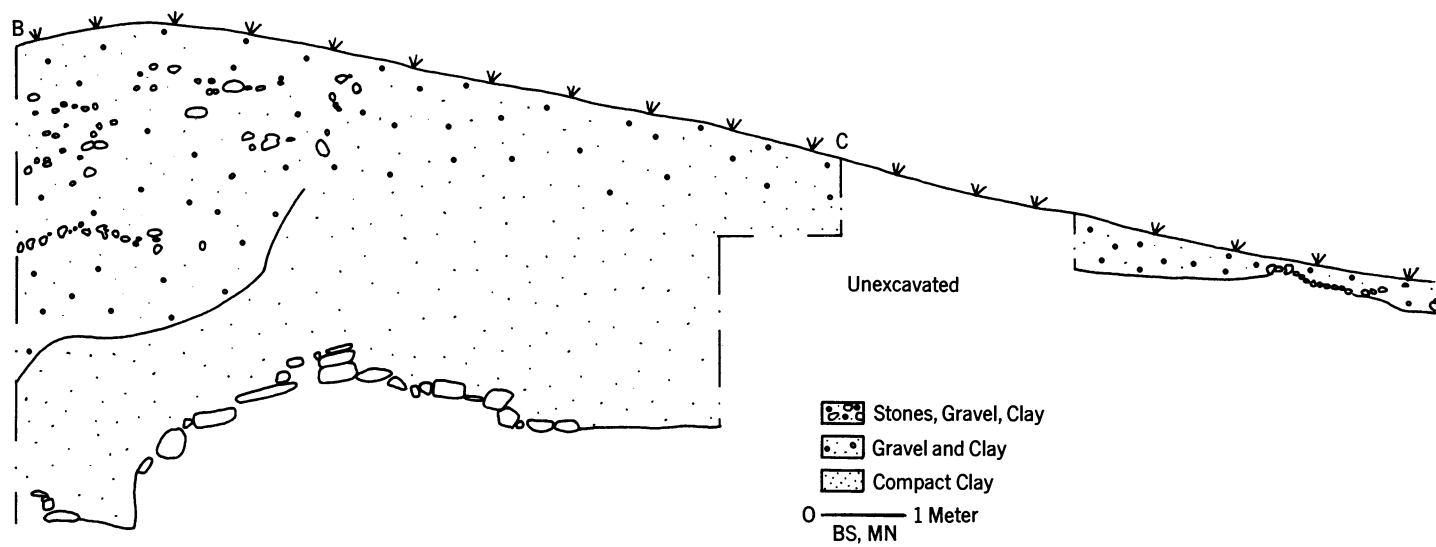


FIGURE 16
Section A-B, Tumulus V

FIGURE 17
Section B-C, Tumulus V



At a depth of about 4 meters large rubble stones mixed helter-skelter with flat stones appeared in the west, north, and south areas of the excavation. Unfortunately these stones turned out to be the remains of three sides of the tomb (we did not excavate the fourth side) and the disturbed rubble overlay (Figure 19).

The tomb was apparently rectangular in shape, about 2.25 meters in width, and formed from a pit dug into the earth. It was oriented roughly east–west, with the southern wall entering the B-C section, the northern wall entering the A-B section. The sides were the earth walls of the pit itself, but because of the havoc we could not tell if they had been plastered or smoothed. The upper edges of the pit apparently had been lined with irregular flat stones or slabs. We were able to surmise this information because some slabs were found on the edge of the pit and also because of the analogy with Tumulus VI (*infra*). Within the tomb pit some more slabs, also irregular in shape, were found (Figure 19), but we are not able to conclude whether they represent a floor that was torn up or fallen slabs that originally lined the edge of the tomb (*cf.* Tumulus VI). Otherwise, no floor could be recognized; the deeper we excavated, the muddier the earth turned.

Soft grayish white ashy deposits were found mixed with the stones and perhaps are the remains of a wood or reed roof, but we cannot be certain.

The tomb had been ruthlessly torn apart by the robbers, making it impossible to draw a plan. Originally



FIGURE 18
Cleavages, Tumulus V; A-B section at right

FIGURE 19
Tomb, Tumulus V; note the skull on the floor and bones on the stone in the left foreground

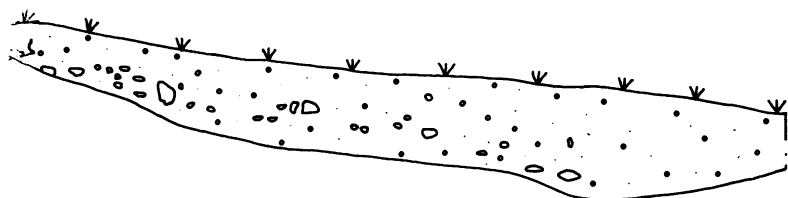




FIGURE 20
North-south trench with revetment stones,
Tumulus V

a rubble-stone overlay covered the tomb, but since this had been torn away, we found the rubble stones jumbled together with the flat stones. Within the tomb were found fragments of bone scattered about and part of the skull of a young adult male (Figure 19); a long bone was found on top of some stones outside of the tomb at the northwest edge. The only other objects recovered were a small gold bead, flat and like one of the four gold beads found in Tumulus IV (Figure 13, no. 8); a small, carinated, black and white stone bead, 1.2 cm. in diameter and 7 mm. in height; and small, nondiagnostic fragments of bronze. All were found in the disturbed fill around the tomb. Some pottery sherds were also found in the tumulus fill. They are red-buff wares and generally nondiagnostic (Figure 29) except for one sherd that was once part of a carinated bowl similar to

the one found in the stones on top of Tumulus IV (Figure 28).

Whether or not the tomb lies away from the center of the tumulus cannot be stated because of the disturbance caused by the large pit. Since the high point of the tumulus is now missing and the adjacent areas corrupted, we have no objective guide. I will return to this matter shortly.

Test trenches were dug in the north and west quadrants, and a long trench was dug from the main cut (Figures 15, 17, 20). These trenches revealed the expected revetment of small stones that encircled the lower slopes of the tumulus.

At the upper border of the revetment stones revealed in the test trench in the western quadrant (Figure 15, X on plan) and just below the surface, we found a red-buff-colored jar with an everted lip and a raised ridge at the shoulder (Figure 31). Within the jar, which was in fragments, were found badly crushed human bones, apparently those of an infant. The jar was placed at the edge of the stones just touching them, implying perhaps that those who deposited the burial knew about the revetment. Yet we cannot rule out the possibility that the deposition at this particular place was accidental. The vessel could be called an Iron II or III vessel, but I am reluctant to make a more definite decision on the basis of a coarse, undecorated jar. No other burials (except for an Islamic burial in Tumulus VI) were found within the fill of the tumuli at Sé Girdan, but since we have not cleared away all the upper fill of the tumuli, we are not in a position to make definitive statements on the matter. In any event, even if the jar was buried at the time of the erection of the tumulus, we do not know if the burial was a significant event or simply an instance of someone taking advantage of the tumulus as a convenience. I can see no reason to bring in a discussion of sacrifice.

Sir Aurel Stein mentioned that in his excavations of the tumuli in 1936 “. . . shafts were sunk on the top of a couple of these mounds. . . .”⁹ Stein did not mention which tumuli he tested with shafts nor how deep his shafts penetrated. We therefore do not know if the pit recognized in Tumulus V is Stein’s work, although this

9. *Old Routes of Western Iran* (London, 1940) p. 377.

is quite possible. For what seems fairly certain to me is that the pit does not represent the work of those who plundered the tomb: the pit does not penetrate as far as the tomb (Figures 16, 17). In fact, it seems very probable that the robbing and destruction of the tomb occurred *before* the erection of the tumulus. Hard clay exists directly over the tomb, and the cleavages, surely representing a technique of construction, were in situ in the fill over part of the destroyed area, the area not disturbed by the later pit. And directly below the hard clay and the cleavages was found the destroyed tomb. The only conclusion possible, it seems to me, is that the tomb had been plundered and destroyed after the interment and deposition of the grave goods, and that the mourners of the dead person decided to erect the tumulus nevertheless. Perhaps we may assume that the tomb was robbed as a result of an enemy or bandit raid. Following this act of desecration the survivors decided not to dishonor the dead man by leaving him unburied, and erected the tumulus; why they did not arrange his scattered bones eludes us.¹⁰

An interesting parallel (archaeological, not historical) for the erection of a tumulus after its tomb was plundered apparently exists in Tuekta, about 120 km. west of Pazyryk, in the Altai region of eastern Russia. S. I. Rudenko excavated two stone kurgans, dated to the late sixth century B.C., neither of which exhibited any signs of disturbance. Yet when the tombs were reached and cleared, it became obvious that they had been robbed. The conclusion seems to be that they were plundered before the tumulus was erected.¹¹

TUMULUS VI

This tumulus is the last one in the row of seven counting southeast to northwest (*Sé Girdan I*, fig. 2, G on plan). It is a relatively small and low mound, with a preserved height of 2.5 meters and a diameter of about

30 to 38 meters (Figure 21). Like the other tumuli it also is surrounded by cultivated fields.

In the top part of Tumulus G there was a large depression. Although the depression could have resulted from Stein's work, I was certain it was evidence of plundering. Therefore I wished to excavate Tumulus H, less than 190 meters to the northeast of Tumulus IV. But because there was confusion on the part of the local authority about whether or not H was part of the Sé Girdan cemetery, I reluctantly had to excavate G.

The tumulus was divided into quadrants, and we excavated most of the southwest quadrant and parts of others while clearing the tomb. It was not possible to be sure about the location of the original high point of the tumulus because of the disturbed nature of the area. We arbitrarily chose the center of the depression as the center point of our quadrants.

Surface features, aside from the depression, consisted of many stones 30 to 50 cm. in diameter lying around the lower edges of the tumulus. They appeared to have been loosened from the revetment stones encircling the tumulus. The upper part of the rubble revetment was exposed for the whole length of the southwest quadrant, and the complete length of the revetment was exposed in a narrow test trench in the northeast quadrant (Figures 21–23). The stones are of mixed sizes, 5 to 20 cm. in diameter, laid down in two or three courses. However, in the western half of the southwest quadrant the upper part of the revetment consisted of one or two courses of rather large slabs, similar in type to those lining the upper edge of the tomb.

The tomb is a pit cut into the earth and is an irregular oval in plan. It is oriented northwest by southeast with an interior measurement of 4.20 by 2.25/50 meters. It had (as surmised) been plundered in the past, and a section at its northwest end was destroyed. Because of the plundering and accompanying destruction it was not possible to discern if the walls had been plastered or smoothed, or if the floor had been covered with slabs. Several slabs were found in disorder lying flat and standing upright within the tomb, but we could not establish if they represented floor slabs or if they had fallen in from outside (Figure 24). Water began to seep into the pit at a depth of 1.37 meters, and even if there had been a smoothed floor, we could not have recognized it. (Our workmen were convinced we had

10. E. Lorenz, "Raubgräberei-nicht Aktenkundig," *Antike Welt* 1 (1970) pp. 39 f., suggests that graves and tombs were destroyed not only as a means of securing the contents, but as a political and religious action against the entombed and his culture.

11. S. I. Rudenko, *Kul'tura Naseleniia Tsentral'nogo Altai v Skifskoe Vrem'ia* (Moscow, 1960) pp. 93 ff., pls. XIII, XIV (I wish to thank Prof. Ann Farkas for helping me with translation); K. Jettmar, *Art of the Steppes* (New York, 1964) pp. 12 ff., figs. 104, 106.

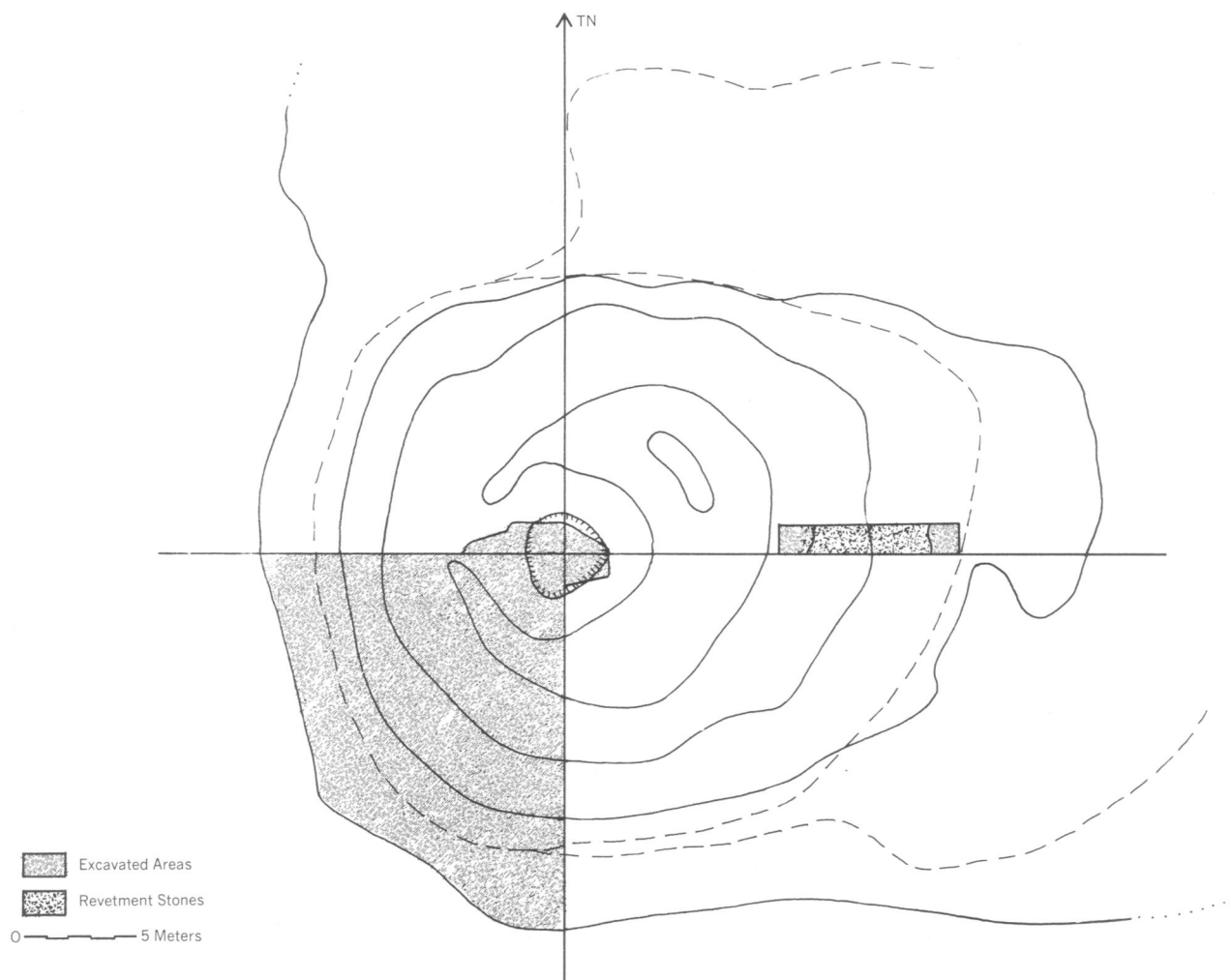


FIGURE 21
Plan of Tumulus VI



FIGURE 22
View of the tomb with surrounding rubble mass, and revetment stones in the foreground, Tumulus VI

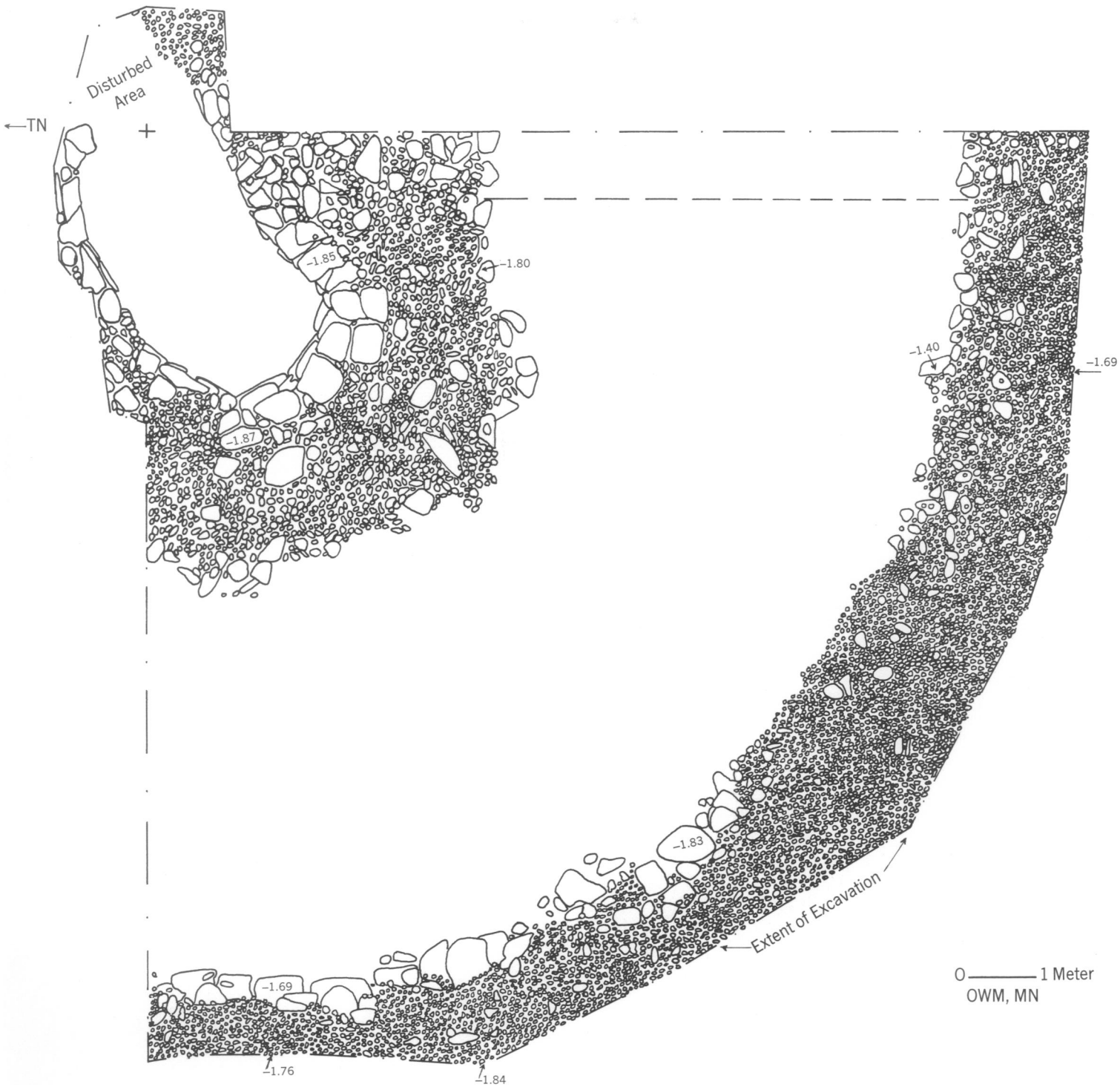


FIGURE 23
Plan of the tomb and revetment stones, Tumulus VI. Datum point at top of tumulus

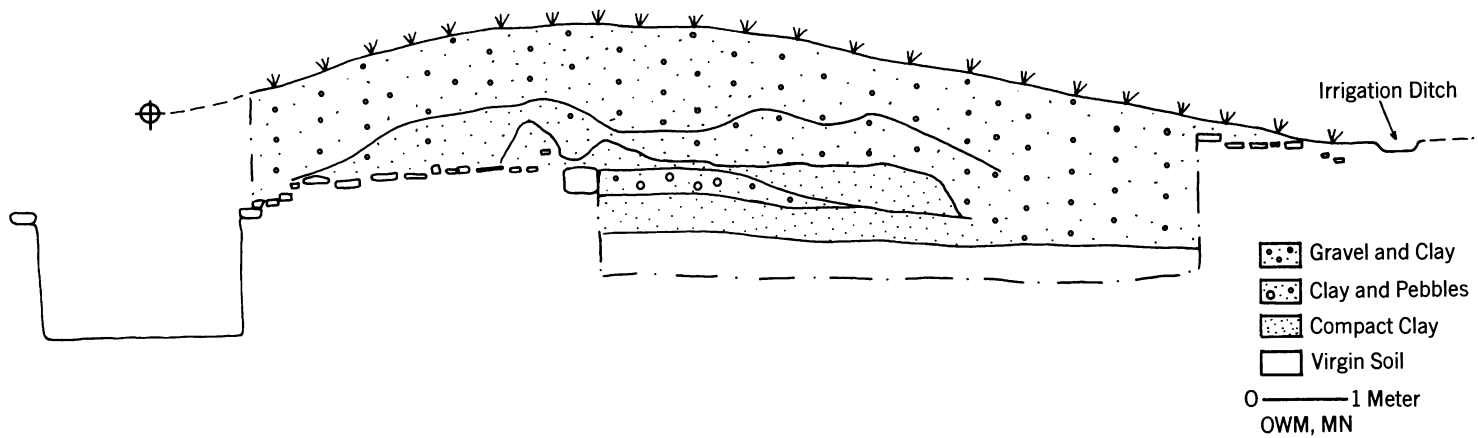


FIGURE 24
Tomb of Tumulus VI with slabs being excavated

FIGURE 25
Tomb of Tumulus VI with surrounding rubble mass



FIGURE 26
North-south section of the southwest quadrant, Tumulus VI



excavated a fountain and pool.) Not a single object or bone was found in the tomb, all having been taken or destroyed by the robbers.

The upper perimeter of the tomb pit was lined with two to four courses of stone slabs about 10 cm. thick and in sections overlapping each other (Figures 24, 25). These slabs were bordered by a large rubble mass, consisting partly of flat slabs but mostly of large and small stones, that formed a rough circle around the tomb. No evidence in any of the sections exposed suggested that the rubble stones ever extended over the tomb. Needless to say, we do not know the extent of the area cleared by the robbers, and the sections yielded no evidence in this matter, but it is doubtful to assume that they cleared away the stones neatly and uniformly down to the level of the tomb on all its sides. Therefore, it would seem that the rubble mass was laid down around the tomb and never functioned as an overlay, otherwise so common at Sé Girdan, as seen in Tumuli I, II, III, and V. In this respect, Tumulus VI reminds us of the fact that the tomb within Tumulus IV (another plundered and disturbed tomb) also seems not to have had a rubble overlay.

The upper part of the tumulus fill, judging from the section in the north-south trench (Figure 26), consisted of light-colored clay and gravel. Below this was a layer of compact gray clay with pebbles that partly overlay the rubble stones, and next was a layer of compact light gray clay that was packed firmly against the outer border of the rubble mass. Below this were still another layer of clay, tan in color, and then dark and moist earth that must be virgin soil. We observed no cleavages in the sections or in the surfaces excavated.

A burial of an adult male was found about 38 cm. below the surface in a section that partly overlapped the west wall of the tomb. The skeleton was lying on its side and faced southwest; there were no objects with the burial, but two stones had been placed about 20 cm. above the head. This burial dates from Islamic times and has nothing to do with the tumulus and its construction.

THE "CENTER" OF A TUMULUS

An assumption has been made both in *Sé Girdan I* and in this report that the present high point of the tumulus is its "center" as understood by the ancient

architects. Most archaeologists who have excavated tumuli and discussed the tomb position seem to have taken this viewpoint without specifically defining their terminology. Yet it is important to realize that we do not know what shape a particular tumulus had in its original state, given more than two millennia of wind and rain erosion, not to mention human activities. Nor do we know if the tumulus was originally built so that the shape was uniform in its dimensions, i.e., whether it had uniform contour lines on all sides, or whether this effect was not required. And we do not really know if the highest point of the tumulus was understood to function as the "center," and that this point was kept in mind after a tomb was built. Another item to be remembered is that the original edge of the tumulus will always be buried under the present level of the surrounding fields.¹² And it seems probable to assume that this burying did not occur uniformly on all sides, so that the plan of the tumulus will have been altered. In other words, the original shape and geographical center of the tumulus may actually elude us.

The excavator of the tumulus at Takht-i-Suleiman in Iran stated that its original center, and high point, had moved about 3 meters to the north-northwest and did not correspond to the present high point ("Spitze des Hügels").¹³ I am hesitant to either reject or accept this conclusion because to my mind it is apparently possible from reading the published section to conclude that in fact the original and present high point are the same. This would mean that the stone pile and wooden marker excavated there, not under the present high point, were meant only to be a guide for the builders up to a certain stage of the construction and were not meant to mark the final high point of the completed tumulus.¹⁴ However, this conclusion is not based on direct observation of the excavated section. In any event,

12. See *Sé Girdan I*, pp. 8 ff., figs. 6, 7.

13. H. Wiegartz, "Die Ausgrabung am Tumulus (Tepe Madjid)," *Archäologischer Anzeiger* 1965, cols. 788 ff., especially 789. Unfortunately I did not become aware of this important article until *Sé Girdan I* was published. W. Kleiss sent me an offprint of his and R. M. Boehmer's contribution (but not Wiegartz's) on the excavations at Takht-i-Suleiman, "Die Grabungen auf dem Zendan-i-Suleiman," *Archäologischer Anzeiger* 1965, pp. 759 ff., and I assumed it was the only report; see *Sé Girdan I*, p. 24, note 22.

14. Wiegartz, "Die Ausgrabung," cols. 795 f., Abb. 79, where the fill described as "Kies-Bänder" would be the final course of earth laid down over the regular bands of "Lehm," "Kies," and

no tomb was found either under the stone marker or under the present high point, thereby establishing that, whatever unit is used as a modern guide, the tomb was in fact placed off-center.

Reexamining the evidence of the early excavations at Gordion, we find that the Koertes used such terms as “Gipfel,” “Mitte,” “Mittelpunkt,” and “Zentrum” when discussing the geography of the tumulus.¹⁵ I assume that “Gipfel” must signify the present high point. How they arrive at the term “Mittelpunkt” is not discussed, but they do state that the tombs within Tumuli II, III, and IV were not under the “Mittelpunkt” but under the “Gipfel,” that is, under the high point. At the same time, the grave of Tumulus I was almost exactly under the “Mittelpunkt,” and that of Tumulus V was three meters from the “Mittelpunkt”; the “Gipfel” is not mentioned.¹⁶ However, the later excavator at Gordion states quite definitely that the tombs he excavated were not under the center (i.e., high point, or “peak,” to use his term) of the tumuli, but off-center (and, moreover, in the southwest quadrant).¹⁷

The excavators at Sardis inform us that some of the tumuli are not under the present high point, while others are. And the excavator at Kerkenes Dagħ claimed that by digging into the centers he could not locate the tombs in some of the tumuli he excavated.¹⁸

Within Tumulus 3 on Cyprus the excavator found a brick beehive-shaped structure, the center of which he

interpreted as being the center and high point of the tumulus (the high point is now gone). Because the tomb chamber did not correspond to the position of the center of the brick structure, he concluded that the tomb was off-center, i.e., not under the high point of the tumulus. We are also told that at the same cemetery the “tomb,” actually a cenotaph, within Tumulus 77 “ne se trouve pas au centre du tumulus. . . .”¹⁹

In Europe, where the tombs appear always to be under the “center” of the tumulus, it is the present high point that is used as a guide.

In short, observations about a tomb placed off or under the “center” of a tumulus are usually (but see the Koertes at Gordion) based on the position the tomb has relative to the present high point. It is not easy to decide if this method is actually the correct way to judge if a tomb was *consciously* and originally placed away from or placed under the tumulus’ high point. Nevertheless, my own conclusion is that the ancient builders considered the top of the tumulus to be the point of orientation, the center, so to speak, whether or not it was in fact geographically so. Therefore, I do not wish to alter my opinions about the off-center placement of some tombs within tumuli in Anatolia, in Cyprus, and at Sé Girdan in Iran;²⁰ I only wish to explain the criterion for such statements. But if it can be demonstrated (by a geologist?) that the present high points of tumuli are arbitrary, resulting from erosion and thereby creating a new configuration in the shape

“Brauner Löss.” The “Humus” would be accumulated fill resulting from erosion and would not be part of the original tumulus. Note that my conclusion would better fit the suggestion that the stone circle surrounding the tumulus was originally exposed; see Wiegartz, “Die Ausgrabung,” col. 792.

15. G. and A. Koerte, *Gordion Ergebnisse der Ausgrabung im Jahre 1900 (Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Institut, Ergänzungsheft V; Berlin, 1904)* pp. 38 f., 99, 104 f., 129 f., 139 f.

16. Koerte, *Gordion*, pp. 129, 139. My comments in *Sé Girdan I*, p. 22, note 11, about the tomb of Tumulus III being under the center should be corrected to say under the “Gipfel.” The confusion is of course the reason for this present discussion on terminology. Note also that both the Koertes and R. S. Young found wood masts or markers over some of the tombs at Gordion: the Koertes found them under the “Gipfel,” the latter over the tomb. Did they mark off the high point and the tomb, or only the tomb? Following Young, they presumably marked off not the peak but the tomb. See p. 22 and note 8 of *Sé Girdan I*.

17. The references are in *Sé Girdan I*, p. 22, note 11. In the same footnote appear two different words used by T. Özgüç and M. Akok for describing the position of tombs within Tumuli 1 and 2 at

Ankara: under the “Gipfel” for 1, under the “Mitte” for 2. In 1969 a Phrygian tumulus was excavated near Ankara by archaeologists from the Middle East Technical University. The tomb seems to have been placed off-center, away from the present high point; it is still unpublished. Note that the Koertes, *Gordion*, p. 129, refer to the tomb of Tumulus I being in the southwestern quadrant of the tumulus fill, using the “Kuppe des Hügels” as the center.

18. *Sé Girdan I*, pp. 22 f., notes 11, 13.

19. *Sé Girdan I*, p. 23, note 14; now also see V. Karageorghis, *Excavations in the Necropolis of Salamis* (Nicosia, 1967) pp. 25 ff., 121 f.; V. Karageorghis, *Salamis: Recent Discoveries in Cyprus* (New York, 1969) pp. 71 f., 151 ff.

20. I originally thought that by using the upper border of the stone revetment as a circle in each tumulus, I could arrive at a true center point. I subsequently realized that this method would not work as there was no regularity in the position of these stones around the tumulus, and therefore I could not get a true circle; see, for example, *Sé Girdan I*, p. 9, fig. 5. For a brief discussion of the possible relationship of Lydian and Phrygian tumuli (and Cypriote tumuli also), see my article “Phrygian or Lydian?” *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 30 (1971) p. 63.

of the tumulus (as stated by the excavators at Takht-i-Suleiman), we may have to abandon any assignment of significance to tomb placement.

CONCLUSIONS AND SUMMARY

The three tumuli excavated this season share general features with the two excavated in 1968: Tumulus IV and probably also Tumulus I (unexcavated) contained tombs built off-center (we can say nothing definite about the tombs in the disturbed Tumuli V and VI); all the tombs were built into pits cut into the earth; all the tumuli have encircling stone revetments; Tumulus V had a rubble-stone overlay covering the tomb; Tumuli IV and V contained cleavage lines; and the stone tomb in Tumulus VI is of the same type as that in Tumulus II.

Within this area of agreement, differences do occur, demonstrating that variety did exist and that no rigid system of tomb architecture obtained. Tumuli IV and V contained pit tombs, the top borders of which were lined with slabs of stone. The plain pit tomb excavated in 1968 in Tumulus III did not have a stone-lined border. The tomb of Tumulus IV apparently did not have a rubble-stone overlay, but rather it had a feature unique in the Sé Girdan series, namely, a narrow rubble wall that must have encircled the tomb. And Tumulus VI apparently also did not have a true rubble overlay covering the tomb but a variety in the form of a packing laid down around the tomb. Finally, Tumulus VI is also unique at Sé Girdan for its roughly oval-shaped tomb pit; the tomb plans of all the other tumuli are rectangular.

Some general comments about tumuli as well as foreign parallels for the Sé Girdan tombs and tumuli have been presented in the first report; a few comments will be added here, although I make no claim that all sources have been covered.

Within Iran itself one must refer to the two tumuli at Takht-i-Suleiman, one of which, Tepe Majid, has been partly excavated (*supra*). This tumulus is larger than any at Sé Girdan. Aside from the conical rubble pile and wooden marker mentioned previously, a circle of stones, 1.50 meters wide, extended around the base of the tumulus. According to the excavator this circle was originally exposed. This is a feature shared with some tumuli in Europe and the Caucasus.²¹ The tech-

nique of tumulus construction was not the same as that recognized at Sé Girdan: at the latter site there were no central rubble piles with wooden masts and no outer circle of stones, and the earth was not laid down in the uniform manner observed at Tepe Majid. The significance of this will have to await the excavation of the tomb that no doubt lies within the tumulus. It has already been mentioned that no tomb was found at the center of the tumulus.

W. Kleiss recently published a plan of a tumulus from the Ardebil region west of the Caspian Sea.²² The tomb was constructed of stone and built into the center of the tumulus; it was oval in plan, reminding us of the plan of the tomb in Tumulus VI. No rubble-stone overlay covered the tomb, but there was a stone circle around the perimeter of the tumulus.

Another tumulus in Iran on which Kleiss reported lies at the foot of the Iranian-Urartian site of Bustam, 35 km. north of Khoy; it is still to be excavated and we have no data on it.²³ One wonders if there can be any significance in the fact that the cemetery at Sé Girdan also lies close to an Urartian site, Qalatgah.

At Boğazköy in Anatolia a tomb was excavated in 1958 that may have been originally placed under a tumulus, although this is not certain because of disturbances in the area.²⁴ The tomb is brought into discussion here because, to judge from the published plan,

21. References in *Sé Girdan I*, pp. 22 f., notes 15, 18. N. G. L. Hammond, "Tumulus-burial in Albania, the Grave Circles of Mycenae, and the Indo-Europeans," *The Annual of the British School at Athens* 62 (1967) pp. 77 ff., has written about Albanian and Greek Bronze Age tumuli. He discusses the House of Tiles at Lerna (see *Sé Girdan I*, p. 23, note 15) and grave circle B at Mycenae as tumuli with encircling stones. See also N. Yalouris, "A Mycenaean Tumulus at Samikos," *Deltion* 20 (1965) pp. 6 ff. (Greek with French résumé), a tumulus with a stone circle; M. Ervin, "News Letter from Greece," *American Journal of Archaeology* 74 (1970) p. 264, for Bronze Age tumuli (Early Helladic date?) at Marathon.

22. Kleiss, "Bericht über zwei Erkundungsfahrten," p. 19, fig. 16; *Sé Girdan I*, p. 24.

23. Kleiss, "Urartäische Plätze," p. 23. The conical mound at Tusikarn on the road from Kangavar to Jowkar looks to me as though it may be a tumulus, but it has not yet been excavated. There is a puzzling reference to a tumulus burial in Persia where Clearchus perished: Plutarch *Artaxerxes* 18. 5. Does Plutarch record an actual tumulus burial?

24. Peter Neve, "Die Grabungen im Wohnviertel J-K/20," *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft zu Berlin* 91 (1958) pp. 3 ff., Abb. 1a, 1b.

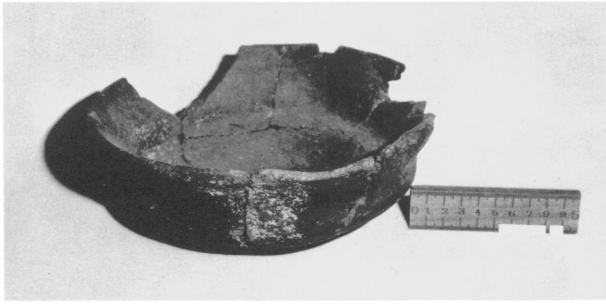


FIGURE 27

Gray ware bowl, smoke blackened, from stones below the surface at the top of Tumulus IV

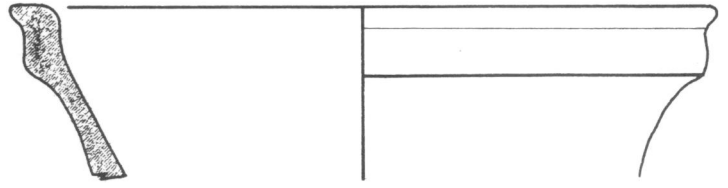


FIGURE 28

Buff ware, slipped, sherd from the fill of Tumulus V. Diameter 12 cm.

it was surrounded by a circular rubble-stone mass. This rubble mass did not cover, i.e., overlay, the tomb but was laid down against and around it, in the same manner we observed to occur with the tomb in Tumulus VI (Figures 22, 24, 25). The Boğazköy tomb could not be dated by objects, as none were found, but the excavator suggested it was built in Hellenistic times.

Two tumuli have been reported in Syria by a German survey team.²⁵ Each is surrounded by a stone circle, and at one point the stone circles touch each other. These tumuli have not yet been excavated. Other tumulus-like mounds have been reported in an area near Jerusalem, but no graves have been found within them.²⁶ Since the remains of platforms and steps are present, it has been concluded that the tumuli (or mounds) are the remains of ritual areas rather than coverings for burials.

At least three tumuli excavated at Trialeti in Georgia appear to contain tombs built away from the center. It is not clear to me if other tumuli at Trialeti also have this feature, as the texts relating to the excavations do

not mention the tomb position; the evidence comes only from an examination of the plans and sections.²⁷ Kurgan IV and X, dated by B. A. Kuftin to the Early Bronze period, and Kurgan V, dated by O. M. Japaridzi to the Middle Bronze period, have pit tombs in an area definitely away from the high point of the tumulus. These examples from Trialeti are the earliest examples of this feature known to me.

The finds from the three tumuli excavated at Sé Girdan in 1970 were few, as we have seen. Fortunately, several of the sherds found in the fill of Tumuli V and VI furnish us with some information about chronology. Several of the sherds come from deep bowls with plain incurving or outcurving sides (Figures 29, 30), and one sherd from Tumulus V (Figure 28) has an incurved rim and concave sides, representing a shallow bowl. Parallels for the vessels represented by the sherds occur in levels of the Iron III period at several sites in Iran, viz., Baba Jan, Godin, Hasanlu, Nush-i-Jan, Zendan, and Ziwiye.²⁸ On the assumption that the sherds in the

25. E. Heinrich, "Die Vorbereitung: Bericht über . . . die im Euphrattal bei Aleppo begonnenen archäologischen Untersuchungen," *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient Gesellschaft zu Berlin* 101 (1969) pp. 33, 35, Abb. 6. It is not certain in my mind that these are actually tumuli. A. Westenholz, "Berütum, damtum, and Old Akkadian Ki Gal: Burial of Dead Enemies in Ancient Mesopotamia," *Archiv für Orientforschung* 23 (1970) pp. 27 ff., discusses textual references to what appear to be tumuli to cover mass burials.

26. Ruth Amiran, "The Tumuli West of Jerusalem," *Israel Exploration Journal* 8 (1958) pp. 205 ff. I should also like to call attention to the fact that the tumuli excavated on Bahrein Island have their tombs placed under the center, and they also have a surrounding stone wall: E. Mackay et al., *Bahrein and Hemamieh* (London, 1929) pp. 3 ff., pl. iv; G. Bibby, *Looking for Dilmun* (New York, 1969) pp. 59 ff., pl. ii.

27. B. A. Kuftin, *Archaeological Excavations in Trialeti*, I (Tiflis, 1941) (in Russian) pp. 101 ff., figs. 107, 108; Claude Schaeffer, *Stratigraphie comparée et chronologie de l'Asie occidentale* (London, 1948) p. 506, fig. 41; O. M. Japaridzi, *Archaeological Excavations in Trialeti* (Tiflis, 1969) p. 76, fig. 47; I owe this last reference to Ann Farkas.

28. Bowls: C. Goff Meade, "Luristan in the First Half of the First Millennium B.C.," *Iran* 6 (1968) p. 122, fig. 10, nos. 1, 12; T. Cuyler Young, Jr., "A Comparative Ceramic Chronology for Western Iran, 1500-500 B.C.," *Iran* 3 (1965) p. 56, fig. 2, no. 6, p. 54, fig. 1, nos. 1, 2, 4, p. 58, fig. 3, nos. 1, 6, 11, 17; R. M. Boehmer, "Forschungen am Zendan-i-Suleiman in Persisch-Azerbeidschan 1958-1964," *Archäologischer Anzeiger* 1967, p. 580, fig. 8; D. Stronach, "Excavations at Tepe Nush-i-Jan, 1967" *Iran* 7 (1969) p. 17, fig. 6, nos. 1-3. Bowls with incurved rim and concave sides: Goff Meade, "Luristan," p. 122, fig. 10, no. 3; T. Cuyler Young, Jr., "A Comparative Ceramic Chronology," p. 54,

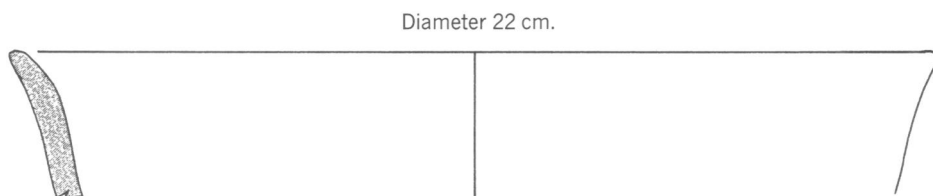
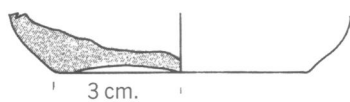
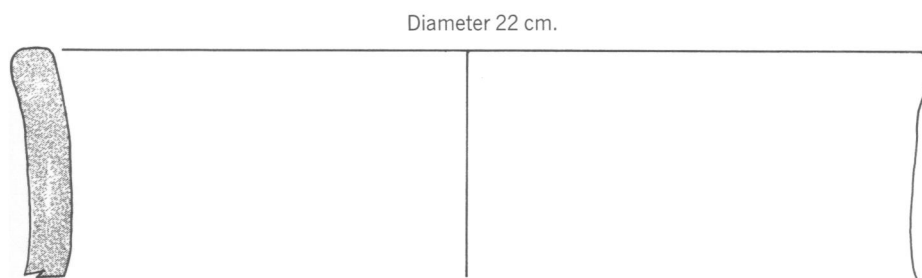
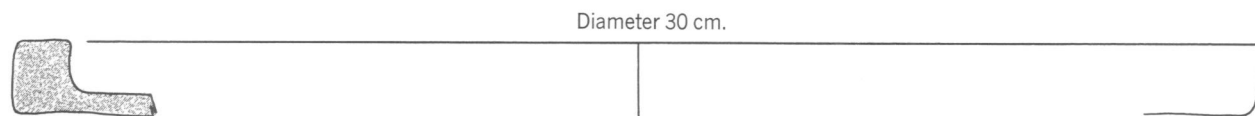
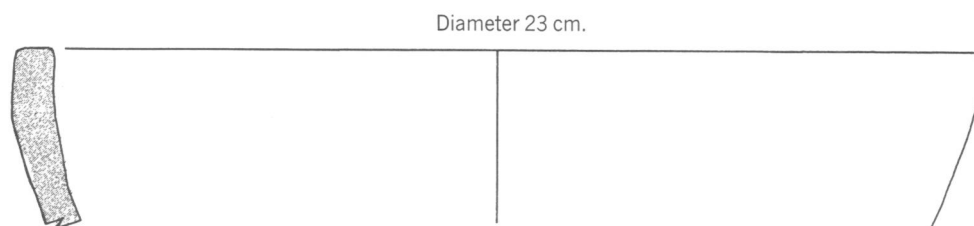
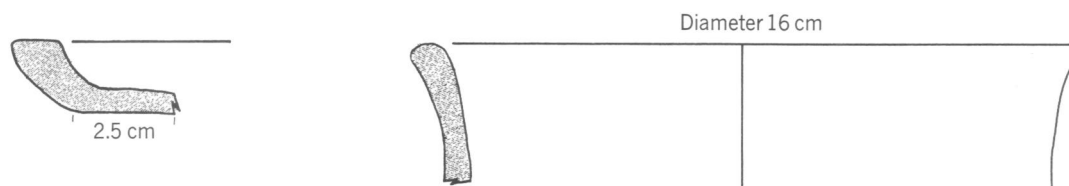


FIGURE 29
Sherds from the fill of Tumulus V

FIGURE 30
Sherds from the fill of Tumulus VI



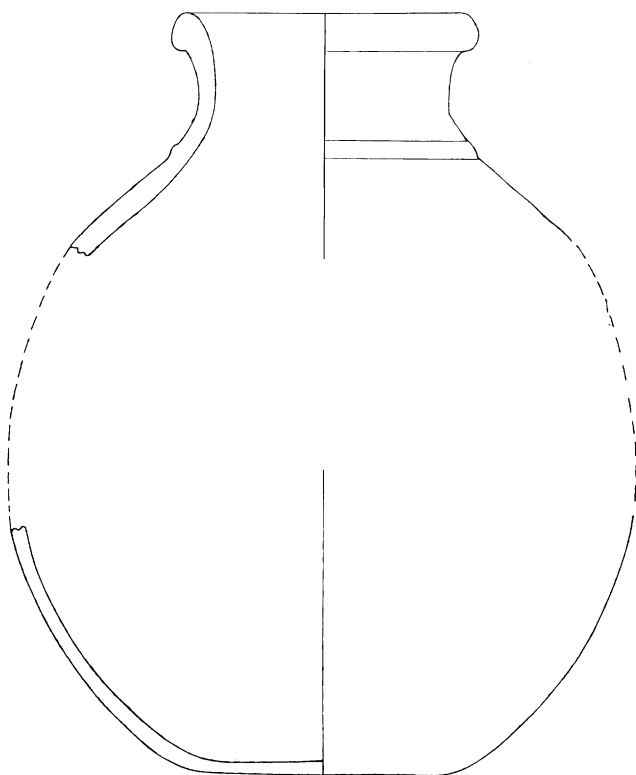


FIGURE 31
Red buff jar from Tumulus V. Height: 32 cm.

tumulus fill represent either earlier or contemporary material that was inadvertently dumped as fill, we have a *terminus post quem* date of Iron III for the tumuli. The vessel used as a container for the child's bones found in Tumulus V (Figure 31) seems to fit into an Iron II or III background, but I am reluctant to state this in absolute terms.²⁹

The nearly complete bowl found at the top of Tumulus VI (Figure 27) within the stone debris close to the robbers' shaft is indeed a good Iron III vessel similar to the sherd from Tumulus V mentioned above (Figure 28).³⁰ Its presence near the robbers' shaft and its broken state surely indicate that it is associated in some manner with the robbers' activity. But did it come from the tomb itself as booty, then to be dropped and abandoned? Or was it the personal bowl of one of the robbers, brought with him to hold his yogurt? We do not know, of course; but at least we have a *terminus ante quem* date for the tumulus, also Iron III or earlier. In this respect we have been able to reinforce the suggested dating for the Sé Girdan cemetery proposed in the first report (*Sé Girdan I*, p. 24).

The axes (Figure 14) present a more difficult prob-

lem in terms of chronology and foreign parallels because I cannot find any other axes of exactly the same shape with the single sloping rear point. Axes with flaring blades and multiple rear points are quite common in the Near East from very early times continuing into the first millennium B.C.³¹ At present it seems to me that it would be correct to date the blades tentatively to the seventh or sixth century B.C. on the basis of the archaeological interpretation reached for the date of the tumuli.

The gold beads from Tumulus I (Figure 13) are very similar to those found in the tomb of Tumulus III in 1968. However, they are not characteristic of any one particular period, and we cannot discuss them chronologically.

No evidence exists that would allow us to decide which tumuli are earlier and which later. Looking at the plan in *Sé Girdan I*, p. 6, fig. 2, we see that seven tumuli exist in a row placed roughly east-west. They are all spread out one from the other except for Tumulus II, which seems to have been tucked in between Tumulus I and IV, implying perhaps that it was built after those two were in existence. But we do not know which tumulus in the row was built first.

Tumuli H, I, J, and K exist outside of the row and are spread out in no apparent order. What their chronological relationship is to the others is of course not known, and guessing will not help. We must, therefore, conclude that the cemetery at Sé Girdan is an Iron III creation, perhaps seventh or sixth century B.C., and not make any finer distinctions.

fig. 1, no. 6, p. 56, fig. 2, no. 10, p. 60, fig. 4, nos. 7, 12; T. Cuyler Young, Jr., *Excavations at Godin Tepe: First Progress Report* (Toronto, 1969) p. 119, fig. 43, nos. 4, 5, 10, p. 123, fig. 44, nos. 6, 7, 9, 11, 14, 15, 17; Kleiss and Boehmer, "Die Grabungen," pp. 759 f., fig. 72, nos. 4, 5, 6; see also some close parallels in R. Ghirshman, *Village Perse-Achémenide, Mémoires de la Mission Archéologique en Iran* 36 (Paris, 1954) pl. xxxvii, nos. G. S. 1219d, G. S. 1224 from level 2; there are also good examples from Agrab Tepe and Pasargadae, not yet published.

29. See, for example, T. Cuyler Young, Jr., "A Comparative Ceramic Chronology," p. 56, fig. 2, no. 9 (with handles); p. 63, fig. 6, nos. 1, 9; p. 65, fig. 7, no. 9.

30. See note 27 for parallels.

31. Jean Deshayes, *Les Outils de Bronze de l'Indus au Danube*, II (Paris, 1960) pls. xviii ff. The closest example I could find is an iron pick excavated by Layard in the North West Palace at Nimrud, a structure built by Ashurnasirpal II and restored by Sargon II: A. H. Layard, *Discoveries Among the Ruins of Nineveh and Babylon* (New York, 1875) p. 165, fig. at top.

Divine Images in Stone and Bronze

South India, Chola Dynasty (c. 850–1280)

ASCHWIN LIPPE

INTRODUCTION

The southeast coast of India had been, from ancient through medieval times, the region where the maritime trade routes to Southeast Asia and China began and those from the Mediterranean and the Red Sea ended. We call this region—which harbored the oldest European settlements in India—the Coromandel Coast. The word *Coromandel* is derived from *Cholamandala*, “the realm of the Cholas.”

In India, the name of the Cholas has been kept alive by the religious literature and poetry created under their patronage, and by the innumerable temples with which they studded the land. Many of these are still extant and functioning. They include little-known masterpieces, which carry some of the most beautiful sculpture of medieval India; they also include the largest and tallest of all Indian temples, which are architectural and technical marvels.

The bronze icons of the Early Chola period are one of India’s greatest contributions to world art. In recent years, they have begun to make the Chola name once more familiar in the West.

During the first three or four centuries of our era, the far south of India had been divided among the “three crowned kings” of the Chera, Pandya, and Chola lines, who occupied the southern Malabar and Coromandel coastal plains. These kingdoms entertained a lively trade with the Yavanas (Greeks and Romans). Many

Roman coins have been found all over the south, and the remains of a Roman trading station were excavated near Pondichery.

After the interval of a mysterious “dark age” when Buddhists and Jains had the upper hand, the ancient kingdoms of the Pandya (Madurai) and Chera (Kerala) were reestablished in the sixth century. To the north of the Pandya realm, the mighty Pallava kings as well claimed to descend from an earlier dynasty of the same name.

It was not until the middle of the ninth century, however, that the Cholas reemerged from obscurity. At that time Vijayalaya, probably a Pallava feudatory, took Tanjavur (Tanjore) and the surrounding area from the Muttarayars, local chiefs who had transferred their allegiance from the Pallavas to the Pandyas. The region around Tanjavur and Tiruchirappalli was to remain the heartland of the Chola kingdom. The son of Vijayalaya, Aditya I (871–907), defeated and killed his Pallava overlord and annexed most of that dynasty’s territory (c. 890). A royal charter engraved on a copper plaque states that on both banks of the Kaveri River, from the Sahyadri Mountains (the Western Ghats) to the wide ocean, he built in honor of Siva rows of tall stone temples, which stood as monuments of his success.

The following centuries saw the stabilization and

NOTE: The following photographs are by the author: Figures 1–7, 13, 14, 16, 17, 22, 23, 25–31, 33–36, 43–48, 53–56.

enlargement of the Chola kingdom in fights against the Pandyas in the south and the Rashtrakutas in the north and northwest. The capital of the Pandya kingdom, Madurai, was conquered soon after 910, and the Pandya ruler had to flee to his ally, the king of Ceylon. Before 916, the Chola king Parantaka I defeated the Rashtrakutas and their tributaries.

However, in 949, the Chola crown prince was defeated and killed in a battle with the Rashtrakutas and their Ganga allies. The turn for the worse in the Chola fortunes lasted until about 985, and the territory of the Cholas was temporarily much reduced, although they managed to lead some victorious campaigns against the Pandyas and the Ceylonese in the south as well as against the Rashtrakutas in the north.

The accession of Rajaraja I in 985 marked the beginning of the great period of Chola power. He destroyed the Pandyas and Cheras in the south and, in an amphibious expedition, overran northern Ceylon. He conquered the Ganga territory in Mysore and, around 1007, administered a crushing defeat to the Western Chalukyas, successors of the Rashtrakutas in the Deccan. Toward the close of his reign, he destroyed the Chera fleet and conquered the Maldive Islands. It was Rajaraja who in 1010 built the Rajarajesvara, the great temple at Tanjavur.

His son and successor, Rajendra I, completed the conquest of Ceylon (1018) and installed a viceroy over the Pandya and Chera countries in the south. He defeated the Western (Deccan) and Eastern (Kistna River) Chalukyas as well as the rulers of Kalinga (Orissa) and marched northward until he reached the Ganges. After this victorious campaign to the north he built his new capital and the great temple at Gangaikondacholapuram; into the temple tank was poured water that his war elephants had carried back from the sacred Ganges River. Called to help by the Khmer king Suryavarman I, Rajendra also launched, during the first quarter of the eleventh century, one or two maritime expeditions against the kingdom of Sri-Vijaya in the Malay Peninsula and Sumatra; this country had probably been obstructing his profitable trade with Cambodia and China. Rajendra sacked the capital and took the king into captivity.

Under his successors, the campaigns against the Chalukyas were repeated; so were the naval expeditions. Intermarriage between the Chola and the East-

ern Chalukya dynasties finally led to a personal union of these two kingdoms under Kulottunga I (1070–1118). Ceylon was lost but the south was pacified once more, and there were several victorious campaigns into Kalinga, celebrated in a famous poem. Diplomatic relations with Sri-Vijaya, Burma, Cambodia, and China continued. Wars against the Pandyas and the Ceylonese weakened the Chola kingdom during the second half of the twelfth century, but Rajaraja II was still strong enough to build the Darasuram temple (before 1167). A last great ruler, Kulottunga III (1178–1218), delayed the disruption of the empire and built the last great Chola temple at Tribhuvanam, probably after the third conquest of Madurai (c. 1205).

The campaigns against the Pandyas and Sinhalese continued with varying fortune. One traditional enemy, the Western Chalukya kingdom, collapsed under the revolt of the Hoysalas and other former feudatories (c. 1190). But the Pandya resurgence finally was victorious, and the Cholas had to recognize the Pandya king as suzerain. King Rajendra III (1246–1279) made an unsuccessful attempt to restore the Chola power, and Jatavarman Sundara Pandya, who came to the Pandya throne in 1251, once more brought the old Pandyan kingdom to the peak of power in south India, defeated the Hoysalas, and invaded Ceylon. His successor again defeated the Hoysalas in 1279 along with their ally Rajendra III, who was the last Chola king. This was the end of the Chola dynasty and of one of the most glorious periods in south Indian history.¹

This article will summarize the theological and iconographical traditions that the Chola sculptors so beautifully translated into stone and bronze. It will examine some of the most important images of Hindu deities, nearly all of them in situ in dated or datable monuments, along with comparable examples in The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

I. BRAHMA

We generally think of Brahma as one of the members—together with Vishnu and Siva—of the Hindu Trinity (trimurti), which represents three basic aspects of God: as creator, preserver, and destroyer. However, the concept of the trimurti was a relatively late and artificial one, developed during Gupta times in order

to reconcile the sectarian trends in Hinduism. What little influence it had did not last long, and the vast majority of Hindus remained fundamentally monotheistic.

Brahma himself is a somewhat artificial creation. His earliest components or prototypes of later Vedic times are: the primeval man, Prajapati, the "Lord of Beings" who existed before creation; and Visvakarman, the architect of the universe. In the early Buddhist scriptures, Brahma and Indra are the greatest of the gods. In the great epic *Mahabharata*, Brahma is still important, but after Gupta times he was little worshiped. In the whole of India, only a handful of temples dedicated to Brahma have been identified, of which one is still functioning; there is another in Nepal.

The worship of Brahma seems to have been an exclusive privilege of the brahmins, the priestly caste. The god is represented as a brahmin sage. He has four faces, which symbolize the four ages; his mouths chant the four Vedas; he turns toward the four directions—an echo of his cosmic role as creator. His attributes are those of a priest: the ladle for purification, the water bottle for communion, the rosary for prayer.

The god's decline is expressed in the epic and Puranic legends, where he is weak and helpless, unable to cope with the magic power accumulated by gods and demons through penances and ascetic practices. Soon he is shown as being subservient to Vishnu or to Siva. Finally, his reputation is destroyed by character assassination: he is depicted as a liar and as an incestuous lecher pursuing his own daughter.²

Despite these misfortunes, Brahma is the standard occupant of the northern niche outside the sanctum of

a Chola temple.³ In the tenth-century temples of the Chola heartland (Tanjavur and Tiruchirappalli districts) he is invariably a standing figure. The same pattern prevails on the ninth-century temples of this area whenever they have sanctum niches (*devakoshtas*). I know only one exception to this rule, the Cholisvaram at Kilayur, built in 884 (see below). In the outlying districts the picture is, as we shall see, somewhat different.

Brahma may further appear in a niche on the north side of the neck (*griva*) of the sanctum building (*vimana*), i.e., below the cupola (*sikhara*) and above the top story of the superstructure, and sometimes as well in the northern niche of the upper story, if there is one. The latter two arrangements seem to occur, in the center of the Chola country, in temples of the ninth century only; the god sometimes is seated.⁴

We can compare a number of standing *devakoshta* images of the ninth and tenth centuries, from the Chola country.⁵ An important one is at Kumbakonam, an ancient and holy city on the banks of the Kaveri River not far from Tanjavur, the Chola capital. A local legend claims that Brahma's bottle of nectar, source of creation, was carried away from Mount Meru by the floods of the deluge and deposited by the subsiding waters at this very place. The Nagesvara temple at Kumbakonam was already sung by the famous hymnist Appar in the early eighth century. The principal parts of the present temple can, on the basis of the inscriptions, be assigned to the fifteenth year of Aditya I, second ruler of the Chola dynasty, i.e., to A.D. 886.

The Brahma image in the northern sanctum niche is a splendid life-size figure, carved in very high relief

1. The historical outline is based upon material in K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *History of South India* (Madras, 1958) and *The Colas* (Madras, 1955). For the maritime expeditions of Rajendra I, see R. C. Majumdar, "The Overseas Expeditions of King Rajendra Cola," *Artibus Asiae* 24 (1969) pp. 338 ff.

2. For the preceding paragraphs, I have consulted Gopinatha Rao, *Elements*, II, part 2, pp. 501 ff.; Banerjee, *Development*, pp. 514 ff.; Basham, *Wonder*, pp. 240, 312; P. Mus, "Brahma's Four Faces," *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art* 5 (1937) pp. 60 ff.

3. In the Viralur and Lalgudy temples, Bhikshatanamurti occupies the northern niche; see S. R. Balasubrahmanyam, *Early Chola Art*, pp. 56, 99. At Lalgudy, Brahma occupies the northern *griva* niche. A loose Brahma at Viralur may belong to the *griva* as well; if so, this might indicate that the Bhikshatanamurti in the sanctum niche is a later replacement.

4. Tirukkattalai (874), Viralur, and Visalur, all in Pudukkottai, see Balasubrahmanyam, *Early Chola Art*, pp. 90-91, 56, 57. Kilayur (884, see below) and Lalgudy in Tiruchirappalli district, see Balasubrahmanyam, *Early Chola Art*, pp. 110, 99. Sendalai, Tanjavur district, see Balasubrahmanyam, *Early Chola Art*, pl. 72 c, p. 140. For the outlying districts I mention the Pandya temples Vettuvankoil (c. 800), C. Sivaramamurti, *Kalugumalai* (Bombay, 1961) pl. 7, and Tiruvalisvaram (tenth century), both in Tirunelveli district, and the Bana temple at Tiruvallam in North Arcot district, Balasubrahmanyam, *Early Chola Art*, pl. 98 a.

5. In addition to the images illustrated and described here, I mention those at Tirukkattalai (874) in Pudukkottai and at Srinivasanallur (895) in Tiruchirappalli district, Balasubrahmanyam, *Early Chola Art*, fig. 47.



FIGURE 1

Brahma, 886. Nagesvara temple, Kumbakonam

(Figure 1). Parts of the block from which the figure was carved have been left attached where they are necessary for the support of the extremities, and have become a kind of back panel. The back hands hold, by their fingertips, a rosary (right hand) and a bottle (left hand); these emblems are tilted slightly inward. The front right hand is in the gesture of protection; the front left rests on the hip. The crown is conical. The sacred cord, a broad ribbon falling to the girdle and over the lower arm, seems to be tied on the shoulder; its loose ends fall low on the chest. We note the heavy, vertical belt pendants.

The knees look somewhat patched in, but the body is charged with inner life and radiates divine beauty. The gentle visage facing us is lit by a serene smile; the profiles recall the lovely nymphs on the vestibule of the same temple (see Figures 46, 47). The flat back panel is reduced to the areas between the arms and the body and faces. Almost circular in shape, and emphasized by the back hands and emblems, it seems to form a kind of halo.

The contemporary image on the Agastyesvaram⁶ at Kilayur (884), in the district of Tiruchirappalli, is slender and elongated (Figure 2); so is its crown. The front right hand is slightly tilted outward. Perhaps these features are echoes of the preceding Pallava style; on the other hand, the present Kilayur and its temple were, through the patronage of the local ruling family and its relations, associated with the Chera country (Kerala). The back hands are pulled close to the shoulders; the emblems are held almost vertically.

The back panel is much more in evidence than on the previous icon. It narrows from the calves upward to the bows of the lateral sashes, and rises behind the shoulders and emblems to the top of the crown in an irregular, nearly triangular shape. The thick sacred cord falls nearly to the girdle; a thin strand branches off to the right from the bell clasp with tassels—which is worn rather high. There are no vertical girdle pend-

6. The twin shrines Agastyesvaram and Cholisvaram are the principal parts of a Siva temple called Avani-Kandarpa-Isvaram; see Balasubrahmanyam, *Four Chola Temples*, pp. 14 ff.



FIGURE 2
Brahma, 884. Agastyesvaram temple, Kilayur

ants. The slender and graceful body is sensitively modeled; the principal face probably has been recut.

The differences between the two contemporary images show that the local schools or workshops followed somewhat different traditions. The sculptors of Kumbakonam, close to the Chola capital, worked in a manner more typical of the new Chola style than those of Kilayur and, as the awkward shape of the back

panel at Kilayur illustrates, were both aesthetically and technically a step in advance.

The icon on the Brahmapurisvara temple (910) at Pullamangai near Tanjavur (Figure 3) dates from the third year of the long reign of Parantaka I, who succeeded his father, Aditya, on the Chola throne. Only a quarter of a century later than the two previous examples, it shows a certain synthesis or unification of styles. The tall, elongated figure and its high crown echo the Kilayur icon, but the torso is less modeled and somewhat tubular. The scarves with their pronounced lateral bows, the vertical girdle pendant, the wide ribbon fall-

FIGURE 3
Brahma, 910. Brahmapurisvara temple, Pullamangai

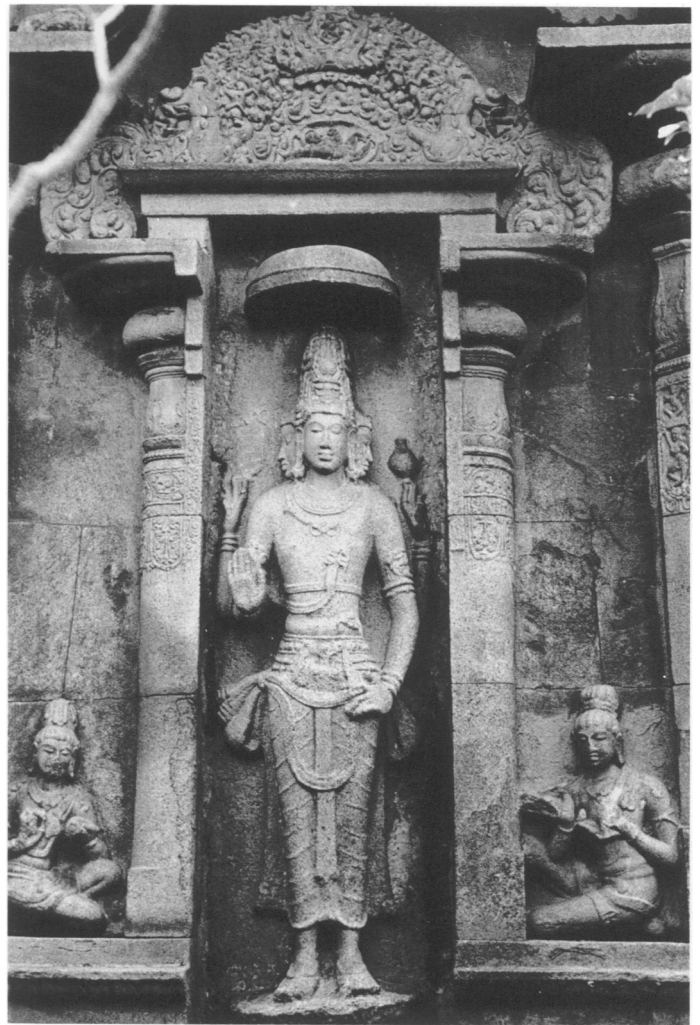




FIGURE 4

Brahma, c. 950. Naltunai Isvaram temple, Punjai

ing over the arm and tied on the shoulder, and the necklace with festoons of pearls all correspond with the Kumbakonam sculpture. The divine nobility of the god is emphasized by his proportions, compared to those of the kneeling worshipers on either side of him.

The back panel of the relief—supporting an umbrella—here fills almost the entire niche and thus is visually almost nonexistent. While the sculpture apparently was inserted after construction, the two worshipers were carved in situ. The pilastered niche with a projecting lintel supported by wide abaci and carrying a makara torana (crocodile arch) is a splendid example of Early Chola architecture.

The corresponding image on the Naltunai Isvaram temple (c. 950) at Punjai, near Tanjavur, is less slender and somewhat heavy (Figure 4). The torso again is rather tubular and only slightly modeled. We have already noticed this trend at Pullamangai, but here even the stomach roll has virtually disappeared. The sacred cord once more is a flat band without bell clasp but with a bow tied on the shoulder. The flap of the dhoti or sash sticking out above the girdle at the side has become more prominent and three-dimensional; the girdle clasp here is a real lion mask. In addition to the vertical belt pendant hanging between the legs—which already occurred on two of the preceding examples—there are heavy pendants and festoons hanging to the thighs. The frontal loop of the girdle is twisted and undulating. The lateral sashes falling from the large bows at the hips are shown as separated from the legs. The emblems are held almost vertically, as at Pullamangai. For the first time we notice two fly whisks in the background, flanking the divine head. The back panel neatly fits the niche; the relief was probably carved in situ.

The beautiful Punjai temple can be dated only approximately, to about 950. It is evident that its construction was not yet affected by the consequences of the defeat that the Cholas suffered in 949 at the hands of the Rashtrakutas in the battle of Takkolam, where their crown prince Rajaditya was killed, and the subsequent occupation of the northern realm by the enemy. King Parantaka I himself died a few years later, to-

ward 955. The shadow that these events cast over the Chola fortunes did not begin to lift until the reign of Uttama Chola (969–985), whose mother, Sembiyan Mahadevi, was a prodigious patron of religion and the arts and sponsored the construction of a large number of temples, many of which still exist.

The Brahma reliefs of the late tenth century once more have somewhat less tubular and more modeled bodies, but despite this they are more formalized and often lifeless. There are among them considerable differences in quality. A Brahma in the Tiru-Alandurai-Mahadeva temple at Kilappaluvur, near Kilayur (984),⁷ still carries a distant echo of the Punjai icon but has lost the latter's imposing majesty. The Brahma in the Gangajataadhara temple at Govindaputtur (982) in the same Tiruchirappalli district, which was built in the thirteenth year of Uttama Chola, is plump and mannered (Figure 5). The ribbon of the sacred cord, tied on the shoulder, is twisted into a sinuous curve, repeated in the bow of the sash. The undulating, twisted girdle loop recalls Punjai but has become soggy; the lion mask has lost its magic power. The mannered pose of the lower left hand is even more stilted than at Kilappaluvur; the knees, which had disappeared on the latter icon, here have become pudgy little cushions. The face, lovely still at Kilappaluvur, has lost its radiance. We notice the fly whisks first seen at Punjai, which are here much more prominent. The back panel fills most of the niche.

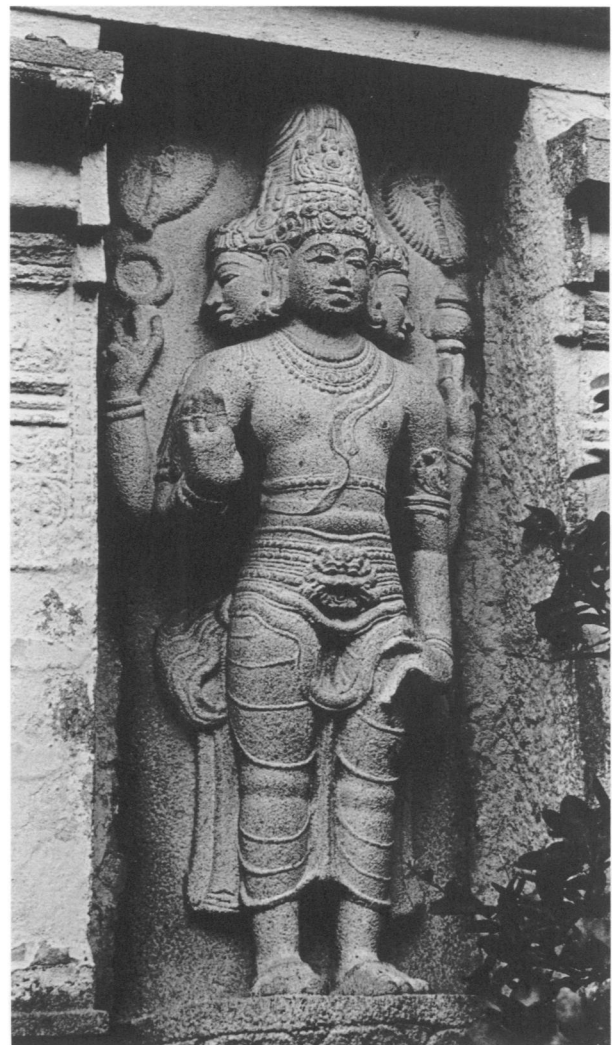
The extraordinary revival of Chola power and creativity that took place under the great Rajaraja I (985–1014) perhaps found its fullest expression in the construction of the great temple at Tanjavur, the Rajarajesvara (now Brhadisvara), in 1010 (Figure 56). Almost 200 feet high, it is probably the tallest and most beautiful of all Indian temples.

In the gate tower (gopura) of the Tanjavur temple we encounter for the first time the bearded Brahma, a northern variant of the icon.⁸ He occurs again on the great temple at Gangaikondacholapuram, which was built in 1030 by Rajaraja's son and successor Rajendra I.

I mentioned above that a seated Brahma sometimes

appears, in ninth-century temples of the Chola heartland, in the northern niche of the neck under the cupola or of the upper story, but extremely rarely in the northern sanctum niche. On the Cholisvaram, twin temple of the Agastyesvaram at Kilayur (884), there are, on the north façade, three seated Brahmas, one on each of the three architectural levels of the temple: at the top on the neck, beneath it in the upper-story niche, and below in the sanctum niche. In the top image, Brahma is seated on the double lotus, his right foot supported by a small lotus or extension of the throne. On

FIGURE 5
Brahma, 982. Gangajataadhara temple, Govindaputtur



7. Balasubrahmanyam, *Four Chola Temples*, fig. 24.

8. See Gopinatha Rao, *Elements*, II, part 2, p. 505, who quotes the *Rupamandana*.

the upper story he sits with crossed legs, on a regular throne.⁹ In the devakoshta image (Figure 6), Brahma again is sitting on a throne, his right foot supported (this part of the sculpture is unfinished). The crown is quite elongated. The sacred cord, tied rather high on the chest, falls to a position just below the stomach band. The back hands hold their emblems well above the shoulders. The front right hand is tilted outward as on the Agastyesvaram, in a manner typical for this early period. The pensive face is sensitively modeled; the eyes are half-closed. The body is either much eroded or, more probably, never was completely finished. The back panel fills almost the entire niche. For a more

perfect example of this period (except for the face) we have to refer to the standing Brahma on the neighboring Agastyesvaram (see Figure 2).

At some distance from the Chola center, a seated Brahma in the northern sanctum niche occurs in the Kadamba-Vanesvara temple at Erumbur in South Arcot district (Figure 7),¹⁰ built in the twenty-eighth year of Parantaka I (935). Here Brahma is seated on a double-lotus throne in a yoga position called "lotus

9. Balasubrahmanyam, *Four Chola Temples*, fig. 9.

10. S. R. Balasubrahmanyam and K. V. Raju, "Parantaka Cola's Erumbur Temple," *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art* 7 (1939) pp. 113-114.



FIGURE 6
Brahma, 884. Cholisvaram temple, Kilayur



FIGURE 7
Brahma, 935. Kadamba-Vanesvara temple, Erumbur



FIGURES 8, 9

Brahma, late ix or early x century. Height 58 in. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Eggleston Fund, 27.79

seat," i.e., with legs folded under and hands folded in his lap. The back hands holding the usual rosary and bottle are close to the shoulders and not raised above them; the front arms rest on the thighs. Consequently, the background panel has been retained only between body and arms, between upper arms and back hands, and below the back elbows. The relief almost creates

the illusion of seeing a sculpture carved in the round. The god's faces are distinguished by a gentle and meditative expression. The body is less sensitively modeled and rather tubular, although we still notice the stomach roll. This corresponds with the date of the temple, which places the icon between Pullamangai and Punjai (Figures 3, 4). We note the ribbon of the sacred cord,



tied on the shoulder. The parasol above has not been finished.

This last pattern of a seated Brahma in the northern sanctum niche is or was formerly applied in at least six temples of the late ninth century in the adjoining northern districts of North Arcot and Chingleput, which represent a local offshoot of the Late Pallava style.¹¹

In all six reliefs the back panel has been retained and fills most or all of the niche. In all of them it is the left



leg that is hanging down—contrary to the Chola pattern (Cholisvaram, Figure 6).

A different type of Brahma image, carved in the round, was first discussed by O. C. Gangoly. In 1928 he published the sculpture in *The Metropolitan Museum of Art* (Figures 8, 9)¹² and compared it to a very similar one in the Albright-Knox Art Gallery in Buffalo (Figures 10, 11), and to yet another, with two arms, from the temple of Kandiur in Tanjavur district, now

11. Tiruttani: D. Barrett, *Tiruttani* (Bombay, 1958) pl. 2. Tirukkallukkunram: Balasubrahmanyam, *Early Chola Art*, fig. 103 c. Tirupparkadal: Balasubrahmanyam, *Early Chola Art*, fig. 89 b. Takkolam: Balasubrahmanyam, *Early Chola Art*, fig. 94. The images from Kaveripakkam (Barrett, *Tiruttani*, pl. 18) and Tiruvakkarai (O. C. Gangoly, "A Group of Stone Sculptures from

Southern India," *Rupam* 35-36 [1928] pp. 62-64, fig. F; Balasubrahmanyam, *Early Chola Art*, p. 195) surely were in devakoshta as well.

12. O. C. Gangoly, "Some Images of Brahma of the Chola Period," *Rupam* 35-36 (1928) pp. 29-30, frontispiece, fig. A.

in front of the Collector's office at Tanjavur.¹³ A few more can be added to this group. One is a seated Brahma carved in the round that was given by Mrs. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., to the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston (Figure 12).¹⁴ A fifth image of this type was found at the canal near Karandai in the northern suburb of Tanjavur; it now is in the Tanjavur Art Gallery (Figure 13).¹⁵ In the Kandiyur temple there is a second sitting Brahma image carved in the round, which has four arms like most others.¹⁶ At least two more similar figures have been found in the Tanjavur area.¹⁷

The Metropolitan's splendid Brahma is a nearly life-size figure, carved in the round from south Indian granite. Face and body are those of a beautiful youth. The expression is serene and benign, lit by a faint smile. We note the sensitive modeling of chest and limbs, and the slightly swelling stomach. The god is represented as an idealized young brahman sage, ready to listen to the prayers of the believers and to bestow boons on the faithful. We remember that Indian naturalism aims at showing phases of spiritual conquest and attainment: the body is transformed by yoga.

Iconographically, all these three-dimensional images are nearly identical. The four-faced god is seated on a double-lotus throne, his right leg hanging down. His front right hand holds a lotus bud; the back right hand

is in the attitude of protection; the back left hand carries a rosary; the front left hand is in the attitude of charity or bestowing a boon. The god wears asymmetrical earrings, a broad, richly bejeweled necklace, and a string or strings of pearls with jewel and, in the case of the Buffalo sculpture, festoons (cf. Figure 3, Pullamangai). There are makara armlets, wristlets, rings, and thin foot ornaments. On the New York and Boston images, the sacred cord falls to the girdle; it consists—except at Kandiyur—of three strings of pearls and is held by a bell clasp with bow and tassels. On the New York and Boston examples two thin strands branch off from the clasp: the lower one disappears under the girdle; the upper one falls around the right chest, above the jeweled stomach band. On the Buffalo Brahma, we find only the upper one. The shape of the crown is conical on the New York image, somewhat more rounded on the Tanjavur and the two Kandiyur icons; that of the Buffalo Brahma is squat, that of the Boston image elongated. The first three recall the Kumbakonam icon (Figure 1), the last that of Pullamangai (Figure 3). The crowns of the New York, Boston, Buffalo, and Kandiyur images are decorated, in front, with a three-dimensional lion-head medallion supported by two adorsed makara protomas. We find this ornament on the Brahma images at Kilayur (Figure 2) and Pullamangai (Figure 3) as well as at a more distant temple

13. Gangoly, "Some Images," fig. c; K. R. Srinivasan, "Some Aspects," pl. vi; P. R. Srinivasan, "Rare Sculptures of the Early Chola Period," *Lalit Kala* 5 (1959) p. 63; P. R. Srinivasan, "Art and Architecture of Kandiyur," *Transactions, Archaeological Society of South India* 1957-1958, pp. 54 ff., fig. 9.

14. A. K. Coomaraswamy, "An Indian Image of Brahma," *Bulletin, Museum of Fine Arts* 40 (Boston, 1942) pp. 40-41. Coomaraswamy assigned it to the sixteenth century. Since the present article was written, the sculpture has been republished by Pratapaditya Pal ("South Indian Sculptures: A Reappraisal," *Bulletin, Museum of Fine Arts* 67 [Boston, 1969] pp. 151-173) and assigned to the tenth century.

15. P. R. Srinivasan, "Important Works of Art of the Early Chola Period from near Tanjore," *Transactions, Archaeological Society of South India* 1956-1957, fig. 62; *Guide Book, The Tanjore Art Gallery* (Tanjavur, 1958) pl. 1. Srinivasan assigns it to the second half of the ninth century.

16. Balasubrahmanyam, *Early Chola Art*, fig. 77 b. The earliest inscription on the Kandiyur temple is dated A.D. 876; it does not refer to the construction, which must be earlier.

17. Balasubrahmanyam, *Early Chola Art*, p. 149, mentions "similar figures of Brahma found at Sendalai, Nemam, and Karuntattangudi (now in the Tanjavur Art Gallery)." The last is also mentioned by P. R. Srinivasan ("Rare Sculptures," p. 63), who assigns its temples to Parantaka I (907-955). The Sendalai image is not illustrated by Balasubrahmanyam; the figure from Sendalai that he does illustrate (fig. 72 c) is not carved in the round and probably was placed on the griva. The Nemam image, not mentioned in his discussion of the temple (pp. 142-143), perhaps is identical with that in the neighboring Tiruvayaru temple mentioned by K. R. Srinivasan ("Some Aspects," p. 179); see also Balasubrahmanyam, *Early Chola Art*, pp. 149 ff.



FIGURE 12

Brahma, late ix or early x century. Height 63 ½ in. Courtesy of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, gift of Mrs. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., acc. no. 42.120

of the late ninth century,¹⁸ but no longer at Punjai (Figure 4) and Erumbur (Figure 7).¹⁹ The lion mask of the girdle clasp is less realistic on the Buffalo image.

In back, the end of the dhoti is pulled up between the buttocks and under the girdle, above which it stands out, three-dimensionally, as a furled, shell-

shaped splay; it is most prominent on the Buffalo icon. Between the shoulder blades of the Boston Brahma, a large pipal-shaped pendant hangs from the necklace. The backs of at least the New York, Buffalo, and Boston images—we have no photographs of the others—are rather flat and do not show the same precision and finish as the fronts; this is especially true in the case of the Boston one.

The stay supporting the right arm is, on all these sculptures, cut down to the absolutely necessary. In the four-armed images the back hands and their emblems are pulled close to the shoulders, reducing their support (the connection with the upper arm) to a minimum. The background panel seen in the relief sculptures has been almost entirely eliminated.

In front, the body is sensitively modeled. We notice the swelling stomach, which is almost a stomach roll on the sculpture in the Tanjavur Art Gallery. On the Buffalo icon, the chest muscles are underlined, while the torso of the Kandiur one seems to be rather tubular. The swelling stomach has been noted at Kumbakonam and Kilayur, and in even more pronounced form at Pullamangai and Erumbur, but it was not in evidence at Punjai.

Gangoly assigned the New York Brahma to the late tenth century. It seems fairly evident already that it cannot be as late as those at Kilappaluvur (note 7) and Govindaputtur (Figure 5). It is actually closer to the Kilayur icons (Figures 2, 6) than to those at Punjai and Erumbur (Figures 4, 7). The sensitive treatment of the slender body strongly recalls the Srinivasanallur image of 895.²⁰

Taking the regional differences into account, I do not believe that the entire group covers a period of much more than fifty years, approximately between 875 and 925. As we shall see, there are other arguments to support this date. Gangoly claimed that these sculptures were not and could not have been the main images of temples, but were subsidiary icons placed in niches outside the sanctum. Coomaraswamy also be-

18. Kaveripakkam: Barrett, *Tiruttani*, pl. 18.

19. At the other end of India, it occurs in Nepal in the eighth and ninth century; see Pratapaditya Pal, "Vaishnava Art from Nepal," *Bulletin, Museum of Fine Arts* 65 (Boston, 1967) pp. 40–60, figs. 3, 6.

20. Balasubrahmanyam, *Early Chola Art*, fig. 47.



FIGURE 13
Brahma, late ix or early x century, from Karandai. Tanjavur Art Gallery

lieved that they were devakoshta images, because their backs are flatter and not as well finished. I think that this emphasis on the front is due to the fact that it was here that the ritual offerings were made; here, too, was the main or only source of light.

I have shown that Brahma indeed belongs in the northern sanctum niche of an Early Chola temple but that he is nearly without exception standing. In all the devakoshta (as well as upper story and griva) im-

ages of the Early Chola period, including the seated ones, the relief technique is applied and the back panel retained. Only at Erumbur does the devakoshta icon come close in treatment to our group of images. None of the devakoshta icons is carved in the round—the griva and upper-story images are smaller as well—as there is no possibility of circumambulation.

The images carved in the round, consequently, were not placed in a sanctum niche as Gangoly and Coomaraswamy thought. Some may always have been placed in the cloister (prakara); others once were the main images of a temple or, more likely, of a secondary temple or shrine devoted to Brahma.

There are iconographical differences as well between the Brahmas carved in the round and the devakoshta images, which always have rosary and bottle in their back right and left hands. These differences probably are due to their different religious functions.²¹ The lotus in the right hand of the former images is, according to Coomaraswamy, a token of the essentially “playful” character of the divine act of creation. The lotus throne alludes to Brahma’s birth from a lotus and thus once more to creation—his role in the trimurti. There is a raised mark on his forehead that resembles the third eye of Siva or the luminous lock of the Buddha, but for this we have not been able to find an explanation. Perhaps it is a reflection of the concept of Siva as Dakshinamurti, repository of the wisdom of the Vedas (see pp. 31, 59), which in turn had been influenced by that of the Buddha as teacher. In any case, the images carved in the round emphasize the cosmic role or function of Brahma, whereas on the devakoshta reliefs he is little more than a deified priest.

Incidentally, the emblems of the devakoshta images also occur on some Chola bronze icons of the bodhisattva Avalokitesvara;²² perhaps this is another echo of the absorption of Buddhism.

21. I do not believe that the lower (front) left hand ever held an emblem (book, bottle, or ladle) as Coomaraswamy suggests.

22. T. N. Ramachandran, “The Nagapattinam and other Buddhist Bronzes in the Madras Museum,” *Bulletin of the Madras Government Museum* 7 (1954) pls. vii, 1; ix, 3, 4. In Gandhara sculpture, Maitreya was represented as a regally ornate version of Brahma; see A. Foucher, *L’Art Gréco-Bouddhique de Gandhāra*, quoted by J. M. Rosenfield, *The Dynastic Art of the Kushans* (Berkeley, 1967) p. 232. Compare the Gandhara Maitreya in The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Aschwin Lippe, “The Sculpture of Greater India,” *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 18 (1959–1960) p. 181.

The temple of Kandiur²³ (or Tirukkandiur) mentioned above provides the clue to the original location of at least some of the three-dimensional Brahma images, which now are placed in the outer cloister, or circuit around the sanctum. This temple devoted to Siva consists of three independent shrines for the trimurti. The temples of Brahma and Vishnu both face east; that of Siva is oriented to the west.

By an irony of mythology, Kandiur also is the place where, according to a late legend, Siva cut off, with his trident, the fifth head of Brahma, who—lecherous to the point of incest—was trying to seduce his own daughter. We shall encounter another instance of this downgrading of Brahma in the legend concerning the Lingodbhavamurti (see below).

Kandiur proves that, in the beginning of the Chola period, there were temples in which the trimurti was represented and worshiped in separate, individual shrines. The cult images were worshiped by circumambulation and consequently had to be carved in the round. When the worship of Brahma became less popular and his shrine fell into disrepair, his image was placed in the cloister.

K. R. Srinivasan has shown²⁴ that, in the preceding Pallava period, beginning in the reign of Mahendra (c. 600–630), the trimurti had been worshiped in the cave temples, but with a steadily increasing emphasis on Siva (or, respectively, Vishnu). In the trimurti cave at Mamallapuram (c. 700), Brahma is replaced by Brahmasasta, i. e., Subrahmanya or Kumara—son of Siva—who humiliated Brahma by exposing his ignorance of the Vedas. The popularity of Subrahmanya in the south was due to his identification with the Tamil god Murugan.

In the Kanchi Kailasanatha, Brahma and Vishnu are relegated to the walls of the vestibule. In the Muktesvara and other Pallava temples of the eighth century, Brahma already occupies the northern devakoshta; the other images as well are distributed in the pattern followed later by the Cholas.

In the Pandya cave temples (Tirumalaipuram, Tiruchirappalli), Vishnu and Brahma seem to have re-

tained a larger degree of power. The cult of the trimurti was (from c. 750) often combined with the cult of the gods of the “six creeds.”²⁵ The latter were reformed by Sankara (c. 800–825), who extolled the concept of Siva as the teacher—Dakshinamurti. Here as well the cult of Siva became dominant.

In far-off Java, which was colonized and missionized mainly from the east coast of India, the three central shrines of the great temple of Prambanam (c. 900) were devoted to the trimurti.

The concept of a triple Siva temple, which is so beautifully realized in the Muvarkovil at Kodumbalur²⁶ (between 956 and 973), perhaps still is an echo of the trimurti cult, as it serves the glorification of a Siva who has arrogated to himself the functions of both other gods.

According to P. R. Srinivasan,²⁷ Brahma worship was completely avoided from about the middle of the tenth century on. The Brahma cult was replaced by that of Subrahmanya, who was assigned one of the subshrines of the Early Chola temples, such as those at Narttamalai and Tirukkattalai, and thus had his individual cult, while Brahma was relegated to the northern devakoshta outside the sanctum. P. R. Srinivasan accordingly dates the Kandiur images to about 950, the four-armed one slightly later.

If the first statement is correct, I do not see how the Kandiur images can be dated to 950 and even later. I believe, following K. R. Srinivasan, that the religious change took place considerably sooner. It is perhaps significant that we know only one Early Chola bronze icon of Brahma.

Brahma already was relegated to the northern sanctum niche in the Muktesvara temple at Kanchi (eighth century). Ever since the very first Chola temples (Narttamalai, between 860 and 870; Tirukkattalai, 874), Brahma was not allotted any of the seven subshrines, but appears in the sanctum niche when there is one (Tirukkattalai). The earliest inscription on the Kandiur temple, registering a gift of gold and food, is dated 876. The original shrine probably was a Pallava foundation; it was celebrated by the hymnists Appar (early

23. Balasubrahmanyam, *Early Chola Art*, pp. 146–149.

24. K. R. Srinivasan, “Some Aspects,” pp. 177 ff.

25. Siva, Vishnu, Ganesa, Subrahmanya, Surya, and Sakti; see K. R. Srinivasan, “Some Aspects,” pp. 180–181.

26. Venkataranga Raju, “Cola Temples in Pudukkottai,” *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art* 5 (1937) pp. 78 ff.

27. P. R. Srinivasan, “Kandiur,” pp. 54 ff. and “Rare Sculptures,” pp. 63, 67.

eighth century), Sambandar (c. 730), and Sundarar (early ninth century). The present temple is, by architectural and sculptural details, closely related to other temples of the late ninth (Nagesvara, Kumbakonam, and Koranganatha, Srinivasanallur) and early tenth (Brahmapurisvara, Pullamangai) centuries.

All this confirms the above attribution of the three-dimensional images to the period of about 875 to 925 or perhaps even somewhat earlier. I believe that we can safely date the Brahma in The Metropolitan Museum of Art to the late ninth century. The magnificent image of Nisumbhasudani in the eastern suburb of Tanjavur,²⁸ which was dedicated by the first Chola king after his conquest of the area (c. 850), is ample proof that the sculptors of the period were able to create images carved in the round of such perfection and beauty.

II. VISHNU

Vishnu is one of the two great gods of Hinduism—the other being Siva. His manifold aspects and manifestations are due to the fact that he is, historically speaking, a composite deity, as indeed are all the others. His earliest component is a minor solar deity who occurs in the Rig Veda, he who with three strides traversed the entire universe (Trivikrama)—a legend referring to the movement of the sun. Subsequently, in the late Vedic period of the Brahmanas, Vishnu was associated with sacrifice and thus already more important. By the age of the epics and Puranas he had become the most powerful member of the later Brahmanical Trinity—a concept evolved in Gupta times.

His rise to this importance resulted from his identification with Vasudeva. Like the Buddha and the Jaina savior Mahavira, Vasudeva was a princely member of the warrior (kshatriya) caste and was associated with ancient religious reform. He too was deified after his death and soon widely worshiped by the Bhagavata sect as they called themselves. The famous column at Besnagar in central India, erected by the Greek

Heliodorus, shows that by the late second century B.C. his cult—associated with the sun bird Garuda—was embraced by the ruling classes and even the foreigners.

This Bhagavata cult absorbed the concepts of the Vedic sun god Vishnu and of the cosmic god Narayana, who appears in late Vedic verses and in the Brahmanas. To this was fused—perhaps somewhat later—the cult of Krishna, itself a merger of several traditions: tragic hero, amorous cowherd, and divine child. Of these aspects, the first may be of Near Eastern or European origin; the second probably was developed by the Dravidian tribes of the peninsula; the third perhaps was due to Christian inspiration. These three traditions and some other cults were fused—often in the form of incarnations (avatars) of Vishnu—and became the Vaishnava religion, prominent from the early Gupta period.

The theological development of Vishnu as the universal god continued. His incarnations were gradually formalized as ten, although some texts enumerate as many as twenty-two or thirty-nine, mainly seers and sages. However, Krishna alone is considered as a total incarnation. The ninth—the last historical avatar—is the Buddha, symbolizing the reabsorption of Buddhism into Hinduism, from which it had sprung. In the *Mahabharata*, as well as in the *Vayu-Purana*, the Buddha is not yet listed. According to most of the Puranic texts, incidentally, Lord Vishnu incarnated himself as the great teacher in order to delude the asuras, or titans, who threatened the supremacy of the gods, and the wicked. Kalki, the tenth avatar, riding a white horse and brandishing a flaming sword, is yet to appear in the twilight of this age of strife, “when all kings will be thieves.”

A myth prophesying the advent of a foreign avatar is today, in popular Hindu thought, sometimes quoted in order to claim Christ as an avatar of Vishnu. At any rate, there may be new incarnations in a future age, after the destruction and re-creation of the world.

Parallel to the incarnations of Vishnu, the concept of his emanations was developed. From the four basic emanations—Vasudeva with his brother, son, and grandson, really four aspects of Vasudeva—descend two groups of twelve subemanations. These twenty-four manifestations or aspects of the god, formalized at the end of the Gupta period, overlap with the incarnations, as both include the Man-Lion (Narasimha),

28. P. R. Srinivasan, “Important Works,” fig. 2; Balasubrahmanyam, *Early Chola Art*, fig. 8.

the Dwarf (Vamana), and Krishna. The emanations, incidentally, include all the principal components of Vishnu mentioned above (Trivikrama, Narayana, Vasudeva, and Krishna).

These twenty-four forms (murti) of Vishnu are distinguished by the distribution, in his four hands, of his emblems. The wheel disk, weapon and symbol of the sun, came to symbolize the universal mind. The conch calls to sacrifice and terrifies in battle; born of the causal waters, it was associated with primeval sound from which developed creation. The club or mace, weapon and emblem of authority, came to stand for the power of knowledge. The lotus is associated with creation and thus with the universe.²⁹

As I have mentioned above, the Cholas were Saivas, i.e., devotees of Siva, and most of the temples they built were dedicated to him. At the same time, they were tolerant even toward the Jains and Buddhists, not to speak of the Vaishnava Hindus, worshipers of Vishnu. Monasteries and temples dedicated to Vishnu continued to flourish and received endowments from members of the royal family.

Already during the preceding period, in the realms of the Pallavas and Pandyas, images of Vishnu, who was represented standing, seated, and reclining, included several of his incarnations and emanations. The most popular icon was perhaps Ranganatha or Seshasayana—Lord Vishnu in “wakeful slumber,” reclining on the coils of the serpent Sesha in the primordial waters, before creation. This concept, which emphasizes Vishnu’s cosmic role, is a development of his Narayana component.

I stated earlier that, already in the late Pallava temples devoted to Siva, Brahma was allotted the northern sanctum niche, Vishnu the most important western one, and Siva as the Teacher (Dakshinamurti) the one facing south. This pattern—reflecting the trimurti concept—was inherited by the Cholas; on the

early Pudukkottai temples, which have no sanctum niches, it was applied on the griva. However, it soon was modified. While Brahma kept his place and there was only a little variation in the occupancy of the southern niche, we notice a considerable amount of change in the western (or, in temples oriented west, the eastern) one.

Vishnu was gradually replaced first by the androgynous Siva (Ardhanarisvara), then by Siva in the flaming pillar (Lingodbhavamurti). On the whole, Ardhanari was favored in the days of Aditya I, while the Lingodbhavamurti succeeded as the standard icon; it will be discussed below. To the north of the Chola heartland the Pallava pattern lingered on; here Vishnu—just as Brahma—often is seated.³⁰

In the precinct of the Brahmapurisvara temple at Pullamangai (near Tanjavur), which dates from 910, two detached relief sculptures of Vishnu were found; one now is in the National Museum in New Delhi (Figure 15).³¹ The western devakoshta of this beautiful temple is occupied by a representation of the Lingodbhavamurti (Figure 27, 28). The latter is coeval with the temple; it shows the precise but gentle touch of the same sculptor who created the other icons, and the flanking figures of Vishnu and Brahma were carved in situ from the masonry blocks.

The Vishnu relief consequently cannot have been a part of the present temple; it is stylistically different as well. The posture is much more formal than that of the Brahma discussed above (Figure 3). The broad shoulders are high and straight, and the raised hands are pulled close to them. The elongated body is taut and tense; the torso is not modeled, except for a hardly perceptible swelling of the stomach. The sash around the hips and its lateral bows are less exuberant. The high crown is nearly cylindrical. All these traits recall earlier Pallava icons (Figure 14), of which this relief is a more elegant descendant.

29. For the preceding paragraphs, I have consulted Gopinatha Rao, *Elements*, I, part 1, pp. 80, 229, 231; Banerjea, *Development*, pp. 403 ff. and “Hindu Iconography (Vishnu),” *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art* 13 (1945) pp. 90 ff.; Basham, *Wonder*, pp. 300 ff.; B. B. Bidyabinod, “Varieties of the Vishnu Image,” *Memoirs, Archaeological Survey of India* 2 (1920); A. Danielou, *Hindu Polytheism* (New York, 1964).

30. Tiruvakkarai, Tirupparkadal, Takkolam, Tirukkalluk-

kunram: see O. C. Gangoly, “A Group,” pp. 64–65, pl. D; Balasubrahmanyam, *Early Chola Art*, pp. 193, 199, fig. 89 a, p. 210, fig. 92, p. 220, fig. 102 b. Tiruttani: see Barrett, *Tiruttani*. Compare note 11.

31. C. Sivaramamurti, “Some Recent Sculptural Acquisitions in the National Museum,” *Lalit Kala* 1–2 (1955–1956) pp. 113–120, pl. xxxvii, fig. 6. J. C. Harle, *Pullamangai* (Bombay, 1958) and “The Early Chola Temple at Pullamangai (Pasupatikoyil),” *Oriental Art* 4 (1958) pp. 96–108.



FIGURE 14
Vishnu, c. 800, from
Tirukkaraivasal. Tanjavur
Art Gallery



FIGURE 15
Vishnu, IX century, from Pulla-
mangai. Courtesy of the National
Museum, New Delhi

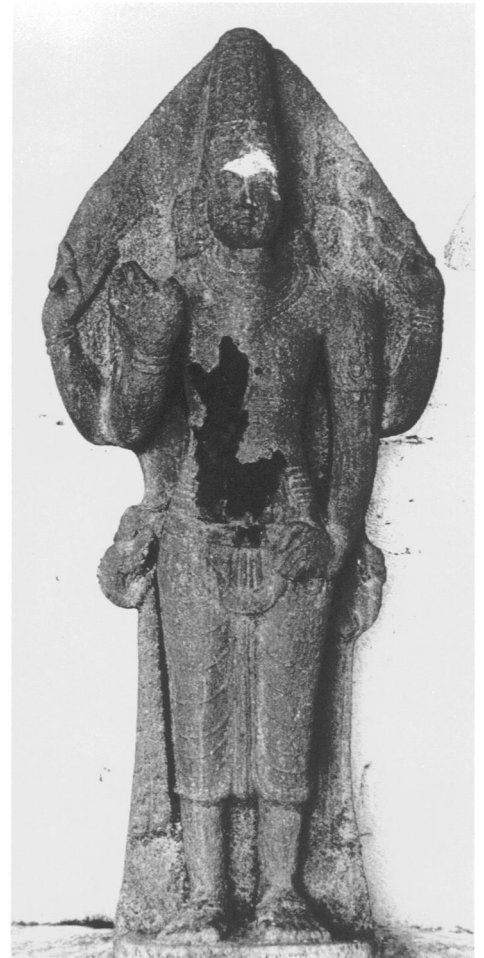


FIGURE 16
Vishnu, first half of the X century.
Sundaresvara temple,
Melappaluvur

The flaming emblems are tilted inward, and the disk is held edge forward. We note the girdle pendants that already occurred on late Pallava icons. The tasseled ribbons between the legs appeared on the Kumbakonam Brahma (Figure 1). The relief can be dated to the second half of the ninth century; perhaps it once occupied the western devakoshta of a brick temple that was replaced by the present structure.

Already in the Pallava cave temples Vishnu was represented with four arms: the back hands holding the disk (right) and the conch (left), the front right hand in the gesture of assurance, the front left placed

on the hip. The other two emblems, mace and lotus, generally were not shown. This pattern was followed constantly, whether the god was accompanied or not. It was applied to the seated images as well, where the front left hand rests on the thigh. This icon does not represent the god in any of his incarnations or emanations.

The Vishnu in the Sundaresvara temple at Melappaluvur (Tiruchirappalli district) must have occupied the western sanctum niche of the original temple (Figure 16). The figure is less elongated and less taut than the Pullamangai Vishnu. Despite the more relaxed



FIGURE 17

Vishnu, 982. Gangajathadhara temple, Govindaputtur

The emblems are held more vertically, the disk still with the edge forward. The front left hand is placed no longer on the hip but next to it, touching the sash, in a somewhat mannered pose. The twisted loop of the sash is U-shaped; the belt clasp is a realistic lion mask. An arch or mandorla (*prabhavali*) is carved in low relief on the back panel, which almost fills the niche.

A superb bronze icon of Vishnu was acquired by The Metropolitan Museum of Art in 1962 (Figures 18–21).³³ Crown, face, and chest are somewhat worn through worship, but luckily eyes and eyebrows were not recut, as happened so often. What the face has lost in sharpness, it has gained in the softened expression of remote kindness.

The image is in perfect condition—except for the loss of the hair ornament (*siraschakra*) in back, and perhaps a club or mace (*gada*) on which the front left hand may once have rested. The details, down to the last piece of jewelry, have retained an astonishing degree of their pristine crispness. The bronze is a masterpiece of casting and chasing.

Perfectly balanced, the god stands erect in all his iconic dignity and majesty but without any stiffness, clad in a human body of eternal youth and beauty. His additional arms—symbols of his manifold power—remind us of his godly nature.

The face is egg-shaped, recalling the Melappaluvur relief; the lips are full. The god wears his usual elongated crown, nearly cylindrical in shape, with a rounded top surmounted by a jewel. In front we decipher the “face of glory” (*kirttimukha*: a lion mask spitting jewels) above two addorsed makara protomas; this ornament seems to appear on the Pullamangai relief as well. The splendid earrings as usual are in the shape of sea monsters (*makaras*); here strings of jewels flow from their mouths and cascade along the god’s shoulders.

There is the customary double necklace, and a tasseled pendant hangs from the right shoulder. Each arm

posture, we are struck by a certain stiffness and lifelessness; the unmodeled torso is quite tubular. The bows of the sash on the hips and its lateral ends are more prominent; the front loop is twisted. The relief can be dated to the first half of the tenth century.³²

The Vishnu relief on the Gangajathadhara temple (982) at Govindaputtur (Tiruchirappalli district) is considerably more modeled (Figure 17). We note the stomach roll and the swelling calves. The posture is more relaxed, the expression more gentle. The god has become more human—but he has lost most of his power and majesty.

32. Balasubrahmanyam, *Four Chola Temples*, calls it “late ninth century”; Barrett, *Chola Bronzes*, dates it “circa 940.”

33. *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 22 (1963–1964) p. 69; *Archives of the Chinese Art Society of America* 17 (1963) p. 50, fig. 27.

is adorned with three elaborate jeweled wristlets as well as an elbow ornament consisting of a double bangle. The intricate armlets are worn high, on all arms. Suspended from them are two festoons and tassels, as on the Melappaluvur relief; in the center, there is the lion mask over makara heads (on the two front arms only), and above, a five-pronged ornament over which we notice the loop of the string that secures it to the arm. The thick, jeweled stomach band is adorned all around the waist with festoons and tassels.

The sacred cord is held high on the left side of the chest by a clasp and bow, which are much rubbed. The main cord of three strands falls over the stomach belt. The upper strand branching off at the clasp swings to the right above the belt, while the lower one falls straight down, disappears behind the girdle, and becomes visible again when it loops around the right ankle, as on the Pullamangai relief; both are adorned with jewels.

The girdle is held by a lion clasp, now somewhat rubbed. Jeweled festoons hang from a girdle band, interrupted by longer pendants with cruciform ornaments. The central festoon is fashioned in openwork. A three-dimensional strip of pearls with bangles and pendants is suspended in the center and falls between the legs to the shins. The end of a girdle band is tucked up, on the left side.

The usual sash is tied around the hips, hanging down in front in a narrowing loop, which is done in openwork; from the flaring bows at the hips, the two ends fall to the hem of the garment. Double incised lines indicate the pattern of the dhoti. The foot ornaments are once more double.

We note that the emblems held by the fingertips of the back hands are only slightly tilted toward the head; the wheel disk is partly turned outward, to about 45 degrees. Simple flames adorn the cardinal points, including the base, of both disk and conch. The front left hand perhaps once rested on a mace; the right is, as usual, raised in the gesture of reassurance.

At the back of the image we notice that a hair orna-

ment once was attached to the knob on the base band of the crown. The curled locks fall over neck and shoulders in a loose semicircle. The end of the dhoti stands out over the girdle in a beautiful large splay.

A flat double-lotus base crowns the low, articulated, rectangular pedestal, which has three more bands of lotus petals. The flamed arch, once fitted over the two spikes, is missing. The rings at the base served to hold poles, by means of which the image could be carried in procession.

The lotus is not represented in our bronze. We find it, however, in the lower (front) right hand of a number of bronzes generally attributed to the Pallava period, and in a few images of the late tenth century.³⁴

Disk and conch are, in all Pallava and Chola bronzes, in the same hands as they are in the New York bronze; we cannot always be sure whether the club or mace originally was represented or not. When all four emblems are shown, this pattern of distribution identifies, among the twenty-four emanations of Vishnu mentioned above, Janardana or, according to another scriptural tradition, Vasudeva;³⁵ it also corresponds with the representation of Vasudeva as the Supreme Lord.³⁶ I do not believe, however, that any of these interpretations was intended for the New York bronze.

The position of the lower left hand is the same as on the Govindaputtur relief. The standing Vishnu in this particular attitude was thought to represent Srinivasa, i.e., the Abode of Sri. Vishnu is thought to carry his consort Sri or Lakshmi, the goddess of good fortune, in his body. This cult was associated in particular with the Tirupati temple. The peculiar position of the lower left hand is said to indicate to the devotees that the ocean of mundane preoccupations (samsara) for them is only thigh-deep.³⁷ This interpretation seems a rationalization of the particular position of the hand as it looks without the mace, which has disappeared. It would then be based upon a bronze image—where the mace was cast separately and easily got lost. The Srinivasa concept as such, however, is much older; Vishnu is described as “the god who bears Sri in his chest” in a

34. P. R. Srinivasan, *Bronzes*, figs. 15, 17, 25, 123, 184; Sivaramamurti, *Bronzes*, pls. 10 b, 11 c, 14 a–b, 15, 17.

35. *Agni-Purana* and *Padma-Purana*; see Gopinatha Rao, *Elements*, I, part 1, pp. 227 ff., and Banerjea, *Development*, pp. 386 ff.

36. *Agni-Purana*; see M. Th. de Mallmann, *Les Enseignements*

Iconographiques De L'Agni-Purana (Paris, 1963) pp. 16, 24.

37. F. H. Gravely and T. N. Ramachandran, “Hindu Metal Images,” *Bulletin of the Madras Government Museum* 2 (1930–1937) p. 69.





FIGURES 18-21

Vishnu, c. 950-975. Height 33¾ in. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, purchase, John D. Rockefeller III Gift, 62.265



FIGURES 22, 23

Vishnu, c. 900–950. Height 31 in. Vira Narayana Perumal temple, Kodumudi

Tamil poem of the Sangam era (first half of the first millennium).³⁸

To return to certain details of the New York Vishnu, we note that a stomach band adorned all around with festoons like the one here occurs but rarely,³⁹ though a few festoons in front appear frequently on tenth century bronzes. The armlets are tied on in a similar way

on the New York Parvati (Figures 49–51) and on the Tiruchcherai Rama and Vishnu,⁴⁰ but without the

38. K. R. Srinivasan, "Some Aspects," p. 144.

39. We find it on the dvarapala from Kalyani at Darasuram (now in the Tanjavur Art Gallery).

40. Barrett, *Cola Bronzes*, pls. 45, 47.

FIGURE 24

Vishnu, c. 950. Height 35 in. Kalayana Varadaraja temple, Paruttyiur. (Photo: Courtesy of Mr. Douglas Barrett)

little loops at the top; we notice the latter on the Parvati at Konerirajapuram (Figure 53).

When we seek to compare the New York Vishnu with other outstanding Early Chola icons in bronze, the first that come to mind are the Vishnu images at Kodumudi and Paruttyiur. The Kodumudi Vishnu (Figures 22, 23) has been called "certainly the finest bronze representation of the deity in Indian art."⁴¹ The conch is inclined, the disk, edge on, held vertically; we note a fourth flame at the base. The lower left hand is in the same position as on the New York bronze. The crown is more elongated, but the earrings are the same. The five-pronged armlets with looped strings of pearls are similar, but there is no elbow band; the shoulder ornament (on the figure's right) is hardly in evidence. The triangular mark on the right chest, originally thought of as a lock of hair, is called *Sri-vatsa*, i.e., Beloved of Sri (Fortune), and symbolizes the Srinivasa concept mentioned above. The triple sacred cord and its two separate strands are of pearls; the vertical strand does not fall around the ankle, which is adorned by a jeweled bangle instead. There is no lion mask on the girdle clasp. The sash knotted around the hips falls in a wide, twisted loop in front of the thighs; its lateral bows are more prominent and lifelike, the falling ends less formalized. The folds of the dhoti—pulled up in the middle—are very naturalistically rendered. The jeweled festoons hanging from the girdle are longer and have long tassels; they adorn the back as well. Two chain strips carrying pipal pendants and tassels hang in front of the thighs, to the knees; between the legs an elongated pendant falls over two tasseled bands.

In back, we note the very large, shell-like splay of the dhoti and the delicate bows tying the armlets. An animal protoma spewing jewels decorates the hub of the lotus-shaped hair ornament. The broad shoulders and the powerful chest splendidly express the almighty god's grandeur and glory.

The outline of the face and the treatment of the torso suggest that this bronze is not far removed in time from the Melappaluvur relief. We might also place it some-



where between the Pullamangai and Punjai Brahma reliefs (Figures 3, 4), which brings us to the same date, i.e., the first half of the tenth century.⁴²

Another image of great beauty, the Paruttyiur Vishnu (Figure 24),⁴³ is close in style to the New York image. The shape of the crown is similar; so are the earrings with makaras pouring forth strings of jewels, as well as

41. Barrett, *Cola Bronzes*, p. 38. Kodumudi is located in Coimbatore district, in the old Kongu country.

42. The image has been dated by Sivaramamurti—who calls it Pandya—to the tenth century, by P. R. Srinivasan to about 950, by Barrett to about 940.

43. Sivaramurti, *Bronzes*, pl. 15 b (with *prabha*); P. R. Srinivasan, *Bronzes*, fig. 91; Barrett, *Cola Bronzes*, pls. 73–74.

the treatment of the shoulder ornament and the sacred cord, though the clasp is worn lower, in the center of the chest. The armlets, with a flower-shaped jewel above and festoons below, are not worn as high; there is an elbow band. The lower necklace has a pronounced central jewel. The emblems—with three flames each—are only slightly inclined, as on the New York image, but the disk is held nearly edge on; it is more simple and has fewer spokes. Only a small tucked-up end of a band stands out above the wide girdle; the intricate clasp has no lion mask. The sash falls in a similar U-shaped loop in front; the ends of the bows and the lateral strips are simple and less formalized. There are similar girdle festoons but shorter intermediate pendants hanging from the girdle; no pendant falls between the legs. There are no foot ornaments.

The curled locks in back are disposed somewhat more loosely; a pipal pendant hangs between the shoulder blades. There is no splay of the dhoti above the girdle. The folds still are indicated by slightly raised ridges—on the New York image they are represented by double incised lines. The whole figure is more slender than the one at Kodumudi. The back arms begin at the shoulders—not above the elbows as at Kodumudi. I might add that the mandorla with three-pronged flames and with loops at the top (not shown in Figure 24)⁴⁴ recalls those of the Kodumudi⁴⁵ and Tiruvedikudi⁴⁶ Natarajas. We can assign the Paruttiyur Vishnu to the middle of the tenth century.⁴⁷

The Vishnu of the famous Kalyanasundara group excavated at Tiruvengadam⁴⁸ (early eleventh century) wears a double sash with strongly formalized ends; the frontal loop is deep and narrow. The disk is turned to a frontal position, and both emblems are held up vertically. Datable stone sculptures confirm that this pattern had become dominant after about A.D. 1000.⁴⁹

The noble Vishnu in The Metropolitan Museum of

Art can be assigned to the middle or to the third quarter of the tenth century. There can, in any case, be no doubt that this bronze is the finest Early Chola image of Vishnu outside of India. Even among the published bronzes in India it ranks with the best.

III. SIVA LINGODDBHAVAMURTI

Siva, the third member of the Hindu Trinity, is, with Vishnu, one of the two most powerful gods of the Indian pantheon, around whom, in the course of the centuries, the two great sectarian religions of Vaishnava and Saiva were built. Contrary to Vishnu, Siva belongs (along with the Goddess, see below) to the oldest known stratum of Indian civilization and religion. His prototype in the Indus Valley civilization was a three-headed, horned, ithyphallic god associated with the bull and other animals. We can see this god's image on cylinder seals from Mohenjo-Daro, but we do not know his name; he probably survives as Siva-Pasupati, the "Lord of Beasts." Numerous lingas—phallic emblems that we can associate with his cult—were found at Harappa.

A later ancestor of this great Hindu god belonged to the pantheon of the Aryan invaders. The Vedic Rudra ("the Howler") was an amoral and terrifying god associated with storms; remote, dwelling in the mountains, he was an archer whose arrows brought death and disease to men and cattle. He was invoked to ward off plague and disaster. The father of the Maruts (winds), he also was identified with Agni, the fire god, and thought to manifest himself as lightning in the skies and as fire on earth. In his beneficent aspect, this ambiguous god was the guardian of healing herbs, which probably earned him the epithet Siva—"the Auspicious One." From the merging of the Vedic Rudra with elements of the ancient non-Aryan fertility god evolved the concept of Siva.

44. Sivaramamurti, *Bronzes*, pl. 15 b.

45. Sivaramamurti, *Bronzes*, pl. 90 a; P. R. Srinivasan, *Bronzes*, figs. 82–83; Barrett, *Cola Bronzes*, pls. 87–88.

46. Balasubrahmanyam, *Early Chola Art*, fig. 81 b; *Master Bronzes of India* (Chicago, 1965) no. 29.

47. Sivaramamurti: ninth–tenth century; P. R. Srinivasan: about 950; Barrett: about 975.

48. Sivaramamurti, *Bronzes*, pls. 85, 88 a; P. R. Srinivasan, *Bronzes*, figs. 126, 127 a; T. N. Ramachandran, "Bronze Images

from Tiru-Venkadu-Svetaranya," *Lalit Kala* 3–4 (1956–1957) pp. 55 ff., pls. xviii–xix.

49. See Barrett, *Cola Bronzes*, pl. 75 and p. 6. In addition to Figures 14–17, the following Vishnu images can be compared: that from Kottur in the Tanjavur Art Gallery (late Pallava, between 800 and 850); those in the Vaishnava cave at Narttamalai (about 860); that at Viralur (about 870); that at Alambakkam (about 910; Balasubrahmanyam, *Early Chola Art*, fig. 49 a); as well as those on the great temples at Tanjavur (1010) and Gangaikondacholapuram (1030).

A late hymn of the *Rig-Veda* mentions holy men (munis, “the silent ones”) who are not brahmans, who have drunk the magic cup of Rudra and rise on the wind to fly with the gods. The *Atharva-Veda* speaks of another group called vratyas who were priests of a non-Vedic fertility cult that involved ritual dancing and flagellation. These priests traveled about in carts, each with a woman whom he prostituted and a musician who performed.

By the time of the Upanishads, asceticism was widespread. Some ascetics were living in the forests as solitary hermits, suffering self-inflicted tortures; others were performing their fakir’s demonstrations in the “penance grounds” on the outskirts of towns. The quest for magical power led to the search for mystical knowledge as expressed in the Upanishads. Despite the extremes pursued by psychopaths and charlatans, the ascetics were the source of many new and profound developments in Indian thought.

Siva was believed to roam in burning-grounds for the dead and on battlefields; naked and covered with ashes, he wore a garland of skulls and was surrounded by goblins and demons. He laughed and wept, speaking like a madman, singing, playing the vina or beating the drum, and dancing in ecstasy. He presided over terrible rites, which included human sacrifices.

But he also was the great ascetic and patron deity of all ascetics who sits forever on Mount Kailasa in the Himalayas, in a deep meditation by means of which the world is maintained. He is seated on a tiger skin and wears the matted hair of a yogi. The third eye shows his superior wisdom, the crescent moon is suspended on his topknot, the river Ganges flows from his hair. His neck is black because, in order to save the other gods, he had drunk a deadly poison. This potion was created when gods and titans churned the cosmic ocean to produce the nectar of immortality. Poisonous snakes, whose lord he is, are writhing around his limbs; his weapon is the trident.

This imagery still shows his two-sided character, but developing away from the original Rudra, Siva gradually became a primarily beneficent deity, a bestower of grace and knowledge. It also shows that Siva, by and large, is a non-Aryan god. The brahman priests had hated this fertility god who accepted human sacrifice and the drinking of liquor, who danced in the burial grounds, who could be ritually worshiped by an initi-

ated member of the lowest caste (sudra); they despised the worship of the linga. In a Puranic legend we still hear that it had been all along ordained by the (Aryan) gods that no portion of any sacrifice should be offered to Siva. Nevertheless, ever since a time near the beginning of our era, the cult of the linga had a place in Hinduism, and by the Puranic period Siva had become one of the supreme deities. His reconciliation with the Aryan gods found expression in the cult of Hari-Hara, i.e., Siva and Vishnu combined in one body.⁵⁰

The temple is, as Stella Kramrisch put it, both the house and the body of god. In the sanctum or cella of a temple devoted to Siva, the god is worshiped in his essential and purest form—the linga. We have seen that the worship of this phallic symbol connected with an ancient fertility cult goes back to the Indus Valley civilization.

The essence of the god permeates the entire temple and is manifest in the icons and secondary sculptures on the outer walls. The most important of these occupies the niche on the outside of the back wall of the sanctum, on the axis of the temple.

I pointed out above that in this western devakoshta of the Early Chola temples Vishnu was first replaced by the androgynous Siva, i.e., Ardhanarisvara. This concept surely is related to that of Hari-Hara. The latter icon—rather rare in the south—combines the principal deities of the Saiva and Vaishnava cults; the former, those of the Saiva and Sakta (the devotees of Siva and of the Goddess, see pp. 68–69). Already in the Hari-Hara icon—at least in a Saiva temple—the Siva component probably was the dominant one. The manifestation of Vishnu (Hari) as a woman (Mohini) perhaps furnished the link to the concept of Ardhanari, the union of Siva with his consort, Parvati, or rather with his Sakti, his female energy. The latter at the same time represents the Goddess in all her aspects.

The beautiful relief on the Nagesvara temple (c. 886) at Kumbakonam (Figure 25) shows how successfully the Early Chola sculptor could cope with this aesthetically and “anatomically” difficult concept. The two halves of the divine hermaphrodite are perfectly fused, one exalting male strength, the other female grace.

50. For the preceding paragraphs, see Gopinatha Rao, *Elements*, II, part 1, pp. 39 ff.; Banerjea, *Development*, pp. 63, 446 ff.; Basham, *Wonder*, pp. 238, 244 ff., 298, 307.



FIGURE 25
Ardhanarisvara, 886. Nagesvara temple, Kumbakonam

Siva, two-armed, holds high his battle axe and leans on his bull vehicle, Nandi. Parvati has only one arm, which holds a mirror.

The Ardhanari icon was in turn succeeded by Siva in the fiery pillar (Lingodbhavamurti), which gradually became the standard occupant of the western devakoshta.

I mentioned previously Siva's slow but irresistible rise to power and how in the Gupta period the concept of the trimurti was created in order to reconcile the sectarians, already mainly grouped around Vishnu and Siva. But this reconciliation did not last. Brahma lost whatever power he had, and for the believers in either of the two great sectarian gods—Vishnu and Siva—their lord assumed the functions, virtues, and powers of the two other members of the trimurti as well.

This development is reflected in some of the Puranic myths.⁵¹ The story of the origin of the linga (lingodbhava) begins with an acrimonious dispute between Vishnu and Brahma, who both claim to have created the universe. While they quarrel, there appears in a blinding light a flaming pillar that seems to pierce heaven and earth. (We remember the ancient association of Rudra, the storm, with Agni, the fire.) They decide to investigate it. Brahma flies up into the sky to find its top while Vishnu digs into the earth to reach its bottom, but although they continue for a thousand years, their labors are of no avail. Only when they enter deep meditation does Siva in all his glory reveal himself to them in the fiery pillar; they worship him and are accepted as his right and left arm. In a later version,⁵² Vishnu assumes the shape of his boar avatar (Varaha) in order to burrow into the ground, while Brahma's mount, the wild goose (hamsa), rises to heaven.

At a somewhat later stage of the legend's development, Brahma lied, asserting that he had reached the top of the flaming pillar, bringing back as proof a pandanus flower that had fallen from Siva's headdress. Siva put upon him a curse depriving him forever of a cult of his own; in one version, he even cut off Brahma's

51. *Vayu-Purana, Brahmanda-Purana, Linga-Purana*; quoted by Gopinatha Rao, Banerjea, Basham. J. Filliozat, "L'Image de l'Origine du Linga (Lingodbhavamurti)," *Arts Asiatiques* 8 (1961) pp. 43–56; D. Barrett, "An Early Cola Lingodbhavamurti," *The British Museum Quarterly* 28 (1964) pp. 32–39.

52. *Skanda-Purana*, quoted by Filliozat, "L'Image," pp. 47–48.

fifth head. The Agamas, religious texts created in the south, follow the Puranic stories and describe the icon accordingly, with minor variations.⁵³

Although the cult of the linga is as ancient as the Indus Valley civilization, the Lingodbhavamurti concept appeared only in post-Gupta times and was created in south India. It corresponds with the aniconic tradition of the early historic south, which associated stones with burial (this idea continued in the hero stones) and included the worship of wooden posts, anthills, and trees. The puritanical element in the early medieval bhakti movement of the hymnists, moreover, did not take kindly to the vestiges of the old fertility cults, which had survived more freely elsewhere. Therefore the linga was now conceived as a flaming pillar, apparently devoid of phallic associations.⁵⁴

We first encounter the icon in cave XV at Ellora in the Deccan⁵⁵ (first half of the eighth century), and on the Kailasanatha temple at Kanchi⁵⁶ in the south (about 730), where a small Brahma (in his human form) and Varaha try to measure the fiery pillar while full-size figures of the two gods stand at either side worshipping Siva. The flames, garland, and lenticular opening of the linga as well as the flying Brahma and digging Varaha on the Virupaksha temple at Pattadakal in the Deccan⁵⁷ (about 740) still are very close to the Das Avatara (Ellora cave XV) sculpture, but the large figures of the two worshipping gods have disappeared. They are present, however, on another Chalukya temple of this period, the Padma-Brahma at Alampur.⁵⁸

In a Muttarayar cave temple of the late eighth century at Tirumayam in Pudukkottai (Figure 26), Siva has two arms and is not accompanied by Vishnu and Brahma in any form. The concept of the sudden and blinding manifestation of the god who reveals himself in the fiery pillar is most beautifully realized in this little-known relief.

The earliest Chola sanctuary in which the Lingodbhavamurti appears in the western sanctum niche is

FIGURE 26

Lingodbhavamurti, late VIII century. Cave temple, Tirumayam



53. Filliozat, "L'Image," pp. 47-48; Barrett, "Lingodbhavamurti," pp. 37-38.

54. K. R. Srinivasan, "Some Aspects," pp. 191 ff.

55. Louis Frédéric, *L'Inde* (Paris, 1959) pl. 127.

56. Gopinatha Rao, *Elements*, II, part 1, pl. xiii.

57. Filliozat, "L'Image," fig. 2.

58. Barrett, "Lingodbhavamurti," pl. xiii.

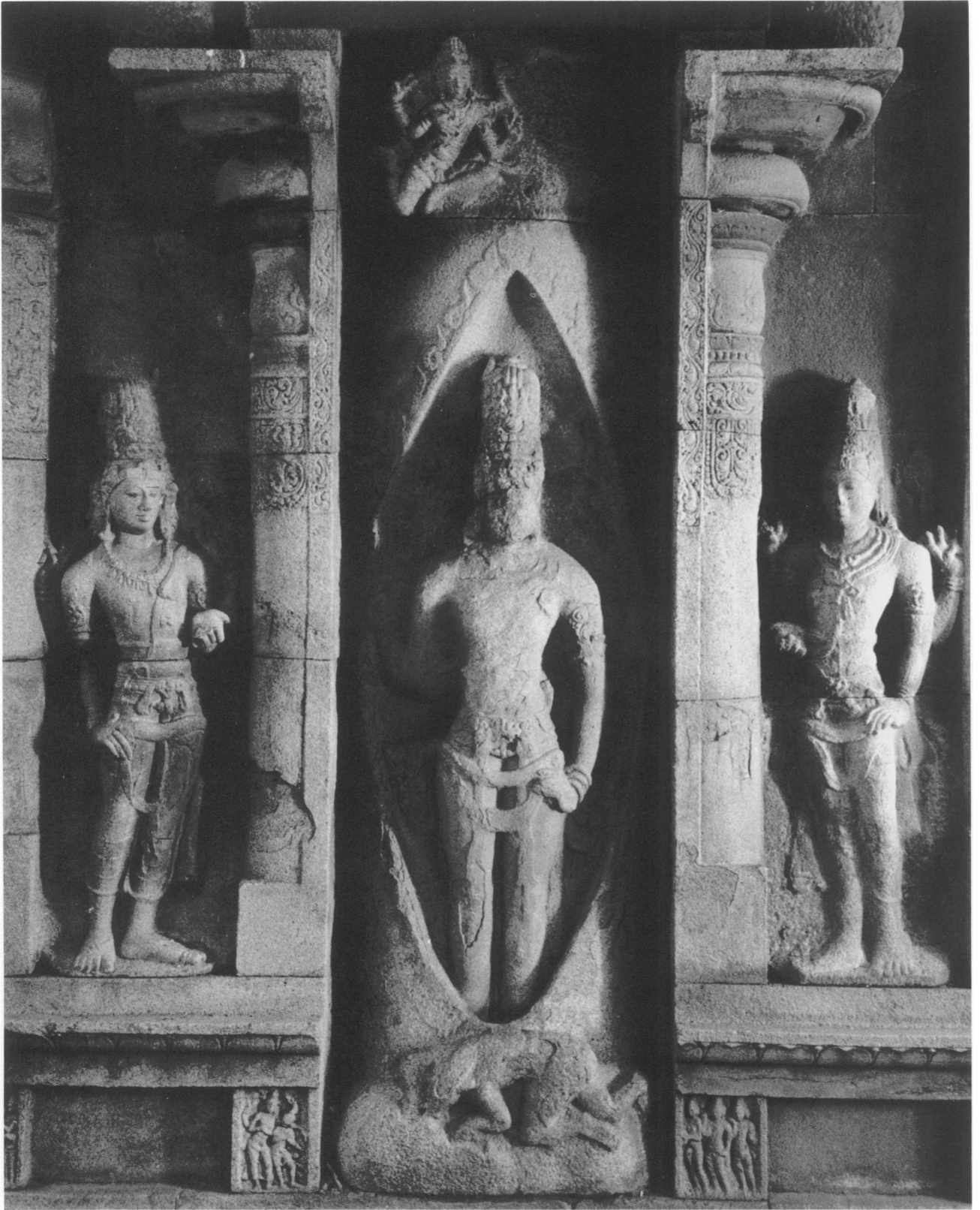


FIGURE 27
Lingodbhavamurti, 910. Brahmapurisvara temple,
Pullamangai

FIGURE 28
Brahma, detail of Figure 27



the Sundaresvara temple (c. 874) at Tirukkattalai in Pudukkottai.⁵⁹ About four decades later, on the Brahmapurisvara temple at Pullamangai (Figure 27), we once more find the complete representation as in Ellora cave XV. Following the Chalukya and Pallava pattern, Vishnu in his boar incarnation (Varaha) is burrowing into the ground; the flying Brahma, however, is shown on or in front of the linga, not beside it. The figure of Siva in a halo of flames is much eroded by worship. The two attending gods, however, chiseled in situ from the masonry blocks, still display all the delicate detail of the carving. In the guise of beautiful young princes, they stand in relaxed but elegant poses, each with one hand raised holding an offering. Their gentle and tender expressions do not signify awe, but bhakti, the love of god (Figure 28).

In the Naltunai Isvaram temple (about 950) at Punjai⁶⁰ (Figure 29), Vishnu, as Varaha, and Brahma, still in human form, again are vainly trying to measure the linga, adorned with garlands, but the worshipping gods have disappeared. Concurrently, a number of variants developed. On the Rajarajesvara temple (about 1010) at Tanjavur the flying Brahma has wings.⁶¹ At Kilur (about 930), Brahma is seated on his vehicle, the wild goose; this pattern continued to occur in the twelfth century.⁶²

At Kilappaluvur⁶³ (between 969 and 985), Brahma is represented by the hamsa; the worshipping gods are present. Without the latter, this concept still prevails on the Chidambaram gopuras⁶⁴ (twelfth century and later), where we also see the two garlands on the linga, first encountered at Punjai (Figure 30).

The last version of the legend, emphasizing Brahma's lie, is illustrated at Kamarajavalli⁶⁵ (about 960), where the pandanus flower is represented by a falling garland. In other examples we see a flower carried in the beak of the wild goose.

59. Balasubrahmanyam, *Early Chola Art*, pp. 89–92.

60. The same pattern already appears on the beautiful Early Chola Lingodbhavamurti in the British Museum, which has been dated "about A.D. 900"; see Barrett, "Lingodbhavamurti," pl. xii.

61. Barrett, "Lingodbhavamurti," pp. 38–39; Banerjea, *Development*, pl. xxxi, 4.

62. Barrett, "Lingodbhavamurti," p. 38.

63. Balasubrahmanyam, *Four Chola Temples*, fig. 23.

64. J. C. Harle, *Temple Gateways in South India* (Oxford, 1963) fig. 125 and p. 99.

65. Filliozat, "L'Image," fig. 8.



FIGURE 29

Lingodbhavamurti, c. 950. Naltunai Isvaram temple, Punjai

The worshipping gods in the flanking niches still appear on the Kampahesvara temple (between 1200 and 1215) at Tribhuvanam (Figure 31).

Not all the variants mentioned above can be related to the Agamas. We can probably interpret the relief where Vishnu and Brahma are not represented in any way (Tirumayam) as illustrating an earlier and more conciliatory version of the legend, while the representation of the pandanus flower and, perhaps, already the transformation of Brahma into his vehicle, hint at the latter's total humiliation.

The Lingodbhavamurti in The Metropolitan Museum of Art (Figure 32), carved from south Indian granite, certainly once adorned the western sanctum niche of a Late Chola temple. As usual, the four-armed Siva appears in the lentil-shaped opening of a pillar; his lower legs and the top of his crown are hidden. The front right hand, now broken off, once was in the gesture of protection; the back right holds a battle axe, the back left an antelope; the front right rests on the hip. Flower garlands fall over both shoulders.

The sacred cord is a sinuous ribbon, with an upper strand branching off at the clasp. The girdle with jeweled bands, festoons, and pendants is held by a lion-mask clasp. The sash falls in a formalized narrow loop in front; the vertical strips at the sides as well as the bow on the right hip are stylized and flat. Arms and legs are heavy and tubular, the knees knobby.

Varaha, a small figure with boar's head and human body, is burrowing into the earth in the right foreground. The wild goose flutters on the left near the top of the pillar, which is adorned with a flower garland.

Stylistically, the New York relief evidently belongs to the Late Chola period. When we compare it to the image on the Kampahesvara temple at Tribhuvanam (Figure 31)—which can be dated between 1202 and 1216—with its extremely knobby knees, we are tempted to date it a little earlier, close to the western gate tower at Chidambaram (Figure 30)—which was begun about 1150—or the somewhat later eastern one. Since only a rudimentary documentation of Chola temples is available, however, we can only date the sculpture approximately, to the twelfth or thirteenth century.



FIGURE 30

Lingodbhavamurti (right), c. 1150. Western gopura, Sri Nataraja temple, Chidambaram

The southern sanctum niche of an Early Chola temple is, as a rule, occupied by another manifestation of Siva, as Dakshinamurti, the Teacher. This beautiful icon is, once more, a creation of south India; its earliest occurrences are on Pallava temples of the first third of the eighth century and on a contemporary Chalukya temple at Pattadakal (in the Deccan),⁶⁶ which was directly influenced by the Pallava shrines.

The concept is based on that of Siva as the great yogi. He has replaced Brahma as the lord of the four Vedas and has become the guru or teacher par excellence.

Seated under a banyan or pipal tree, he is in meditation or playing the vina (vinadhara) or, most frequently, expounding the truth to his disciples and to the deer of the forest, which have come to listen to him. The latter features immediately recall the concept of Buddha as teacher, preaching the first sermon to the ascetics in the Deer Park near Varanasi (Benares).⁶⁷ We remem-

66. K. R. Srinivasan, "Some Aspects," p. 187.

67. Gopinatha Rao, *Elements*, II, part 1, pp. 273 ff.; Banerjea, *Development*, pp. 470 ff.



FIGURE 31
Lingodbhavamurti, c. 1200. Kampahesvara temple,
Tribhuvanam

FIGURE 32
Lingodbhavamurti, XII–XIII century. Height 47 ½ in.
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Fletcher Fund,
62.81





FIGURE 33 Dakshinamurti, c. 950. Naltunai Isvaram temple, Punjai

ber that Buddhism (and Jainism) had swept over south India before the Hindu revival that began in the seventh century. When we look at the beautiful Dakshinamurti (Figure 33) on the Punjai temple (c. 950), we recognize the heritage of the seated Brahma and, especially, of the teaching Buddha. The god is seated under a sacred tree, recalling the Tree of Wisdom; he has the matted hair of a yogi. His front hands are in the attitude of expounding the truth (right) and of bestowing a boon (left); the back hands hold rosary (right) and lotus (left). At one side of his foot is a resting deer and at the other a writhing serpent. Flanking the central niche, two listening sages accompanied by their disciples raise their right hands in the same gesture as the lord; their small scale in relation to that of the god underlines his greatness.

IV. SIVA NATARAJA

We have seen above that, from very early times, Siva and his cult were associated with the dance. This led to the concept of Natesa or of Nataraja, Siva as Lord of the Dance, to which we owe some of the most beautiful images ever created by man.

The symbolic significance of Siva's dance has been eloquently expounded by Ananda K. Coomaraswamy.⁶⁸ Coomaraswamy discusses three of the numerous dances of the god: the twilight dance in the Himalayas, with a chorus of gods who play musical instruments and sing, before the host of demigods; the wild,

68. A. K. Coomaraswamy, *The Dance of Siva* (New York, 1918).

ecstatic tandava dance, performed by the many-armed god in cemeteries and burning-grounds during his midnight revels; the nadanta dance before the assembly (sabha) in the golden hall of the Sri Nataraja temple at Chidambaram (south India), the center of the universe—first revealed to gods and ascetics (rishis) after the submission of the ascetics in the forest of Taramgam. It is this last dance that Coomaraswamy identifies with the particular dance pose called ananda-tandava (Figures 34–42).

In medieval Saiva thought, the fivefold activities of Siva were creation, preservation, destruction or absorption, conferment of grace, and power of concealment or obscuration; they correspond to the activities of Brahma, Vishnu, Rudra, Mahesvara, and Sadasiva. To the believer, they are all expressed in the Nataraja icon.⁶⁹

An early Tamil text says: “Creation arises from the drum; protection proceeds from the hand of hope; from fire proceeds destruction; the foot held aloft gives release.” We remember that the fourth hand points to the raised foot; the flaming mandorla in this context signifies illusion.

As Coomaraswamy explains, Siva by his dancing destroys heavens and earth at the close of a world cycle. He also destroys the fetters that bind each separate soul. The heart of the believer is the burning-ground where the ego is destroyed, where illusion and deeds are burnt away. Ananda means “bliss”; the perpetual dance is his play (lila). He dances to maintain the life of the cosmos and to give release to those who seek him.

The essential significance of Siva’s dance is threefold. First, it is the image of his rhythmic play as the source of all movement within the cosmos, which is represented by the arch. Secondly, the purpose of his dance is to release the countless souls of men from the snares of illusion. Third, the place of the dance, Chidambaram, the center of the universe, is within the heart.

Thus, at its roots the dance of Siva is the manifestation of primal, rhythmic energy. It is, as Coomaraswamy said, “the clearest image of the activity of God which any art or religion can boast of.”

Chidambaram (Tillai) was associated with the dancing Siva from very early times; the dance destroying the three demons’ fortresses in the skies was celebrated in song in the early eighth century by the hymnist Appar. However, the particular legend quoted by Coomara-

swamy that links the dance at Tillai with the discomfiture of the rishis is much later and first occurs in a text of the early fourteenth century.⁷⁰ But King Parantaka I (907–955) already had the roof of the sanctum covered with gold, and the god of Chidambaram, the Lord of the Dance (Sri Nataraja), became the family deity of the Chola kings.

In southern literature, the first definition of the three attributes held by the Lord of the Dance—serpent, drum, and bowl of fire—occurs in a song of the Saiva hymnist Sundarar (first half of the ninth century); this is repeated by Manikkavachakar (after 850), who is the first to mention the term ananda-tandava.⁷¹

The attempt has been made to interpret a well-known Indus Valley figurine⁷² as the dancing Siva, but the figure is neither male nor a dancer and probably dates from a much later period.⁷³ The famous bronze statuette of a dancing girl from Mohenjo-Daro⁷⁴ has a monumental quality and great beauty, but it cannot be used as absolute proof that ritual dancing was already practiced at the time of the Indus Valley civilization. We do know that religious dancing was part of the earliest known Tamil traditions and that the Nataraja concept was developed in the south. Among the oldest existing sculptures of the dancing Siva are the reliefs in the cave temples of Elephanta (near Bombay) and Ellora (cave XXI), which date from the late sixth or early seventh century. Around A.D. 630, the image appears in cave I at Badami (in the southern Deccan) and in the Pallava south at Siyamangalam (near Kanchi).

The last of these reliefs can perhaps be interpreted as a precursor of the ananda-tandava mode; the others show the god in the chatura or lalita pose in which both feet touch the ground. In the Pallava and Pandya temples of the eighth century the repertory is enlarged by at least two more dance poses; the Dwarf of Ignorance (apasmara) now makes his appearance under the feet of the divine dancer. The same pattern still prevails on the earliest Chola temples, where the dancing Siva

69. Banerjea, *Development*, p. 446.

70. Harle, *Temple Gateways*, p. 29.

71. K. R. Srinivasan, “Some Aspects,” p. 189.

72. H. R. Zimmer, *The Art of Indian Asia* (New York, 1955) pl. 3 e; Sir John Marshall, *Mohenjo-Daro and the Indus Civilization* (London, 1931) I, p. 46, fig. 1; *Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology* 12 (1937) p. 4 and pls. 1 d–e.

73. Communication to The Oriental Club of New York by Professor Eve Harrison on November 7, 1956.

74. Zimmer, *Indian Asia*, pl. 3 c.



FIGURE 34 Nataraja, c. 950. Naltunai Isvaram temple, Punjai

FIGURE 35

Nataraja, 1030. Siva temple, Gangaikondacholapuram

(Natesa) first occurs in one of the small relief panels⁷⁵ or in a torana.⁷⁶

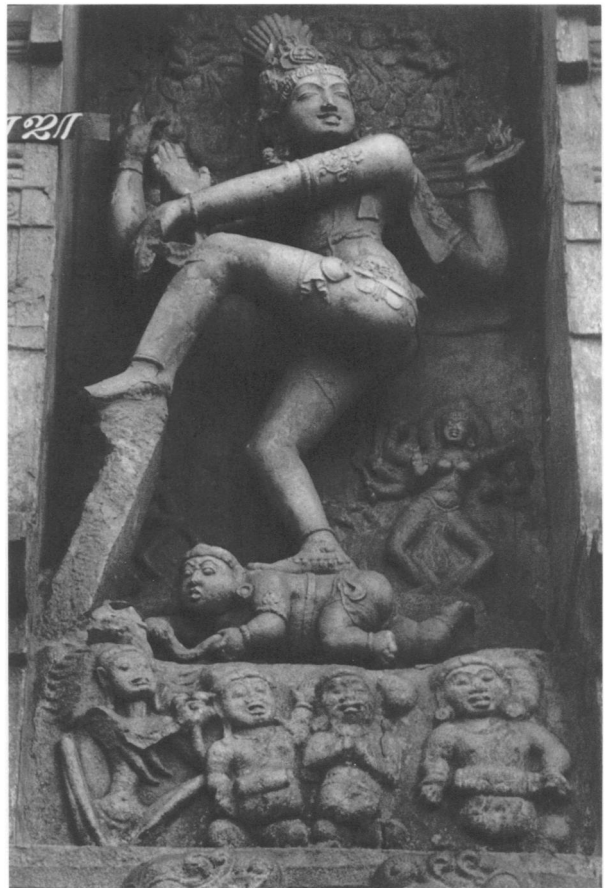
The specific form of the Nataraja, i.e., Siva dancing in the ananda-tandava mode, perhaps appears for the first time in a torana of the Naltunai Isvaram temple (c. 950) at Punjai (Figure 34).⁷⁷ The lovely figure of the dancing god is carved in very high relief and seems to be freestanding. Three musicians are seated next to him. The extraordinary arch, rising from the mouths of two sea monsters, is made up of rows of horned lions (vyalas), wild geese, and horsemen.

It is astonishing to see the perfection with which this motif—so difficult for sculpture—is realized even at its first appearance. The most likely explanation is that the Nataraja in ananda-tandava mode was first developed in bronze and was only afterward translated into

75. Kandiur (876), Srinivasanallur (895), Pullamangai (910).

76. Kilayur (884), Kumbakonam Nagesvara (886), Pullamangai (910).

77. Barrett, *Cola Bronzes*, p. 8, notes as the first appearance the torana figure at Tiruvaduturai; he dates the temple to 945. (Balasubrahmanyam, *Early Chola Art*, p. 254, interprets the inscriptions in favor of a date of 909.)



stone.⁷⁸ The literary evidence quoted above proves that at least by the second half of the ninth century the ananda-tandava concept existed.

From the miniature panel and the torana arch, the Nataraja soon moved to a more important place: a niche on the south wall of the porch or entrance hall (ardhamandapa). We find him in this place on the Uma-Mahesvara temple at Konerirajapuram (between 969 and 972 or 977).⁷⁹ From then on, this apparently was the standard placement. The relief on the great temple at Gangaikondacholapuram near Chidambaram, which was built in 1030 (Figure 35), illustrates the difficulties with which the sculptor had to battle in this medium. The swinging leg apparently was broken off—as in most extant examples—and (badly) repaired with the help of a strut; a certain awkwardness is the result.

78. This was first suggested by John Irwin.

79. Barrett, *Cola Bronzes*, pp. 21, 27.

FIGURE 36

Nataraja, c. 1010. Height c. 53 in. Rajarajesvara temple, Tanjavur



FIGURE 37

Nataraja, XII century. Height 60 ½ in. Museum van Asiatische Kunst, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

The god dances on top of the Dwarf of Ignorance (apasmara-purusha), who toys with a serpent. In the background, the Goddess dances in her terrifying aspect as Durga; other figures are concealed by the strut. As prescribed for the ananda-tandava mode, the back hands of the god carry drum and fire. A serpent writhes from his right arm, another behind his shoulder. His hair is adorned with a skull, a crescent moon, and a fan-shaped crown of feathers or leaves; the goddess of the river Ganges is not in evidence.

It is in the bronzes—portable icons made for pro-



FIGURE 38
Detail of Figure 37

cessions—that the unique potential of the Nataraja motif was realized in all its extraordinary beauty. The great Nataraja in the Rajarajesvara temple (c. 1010) at Tanjavur (Figure 36) is, both aesthetically and technically, a superb example of Chola bronze-casting. The flying locks, interlaced with garlands of flowers and ribbons, could not have been carved in stone; nor could the fluttering ends of the god's sash. The Dwarf, half turned, glances up in awe. The goddess of the river Ganges, a tiny mermaid, has become entangled in the lord's tresses and joins her hands in worship; we see

her on the mandorla at our left. The flaming mandorla (prabhavali), oval in shape, has been repaired, the lower part with the makara heads being a substitute for the original.

The energy of the swinging arm seems to flow into the elegant fingers that point at the tensely arched foot. The bent and the raised leg are at precisely the ideal angle. The composition is perfectly balanced. The divine dancer seems to be, for a timeless moment, suspended in the air, in a magically arrested movement full of rhythm and grace.

The Amsterdam Nataraja (Figures 37, 38) represents a somewhat later stage.⁸⁰ The mandorla, almost circular, issues from makara mouths and carries numerous five-pronged flames; a strut connects it with the headdress. This type of mandorla does not seem to appear before the late eleventh century.⁸¹ The feathers or leaves of the headdress, arranged fanwise in two tiers as at Tanjavur, here have a triangular shape. The god wears a small bell on his right shin—a feature that appears on the east gopura at Chidambaram (begun between 1178 and 1218).⁸² The first sector of the lateral locks is solid; those falling over the neck are bounded by a necklace.⁸³ The flying, flower-braided locks have been formalized into a kind of trellis, which now carries Ganga as well. The sash over the shoulder has lost its movement; the one around the waist has vanished. Arms and legs move gracefully and are well balanced, but the swinging hand and foot are more relaxed.

Torso and head are somewhat inclined to the right, and the head slightly more turned to the left; this de-

80. Sivaramamurti, *Bronzes*, pl. 69 b: "twelfth century"; P. R. Srinivasan, *Bronzes*, p. 232: "circa 1250"; J. Irwin, "The Amsterdam Nataraja," *Marg* 4, no. 2 (1950–1951) p. 32: "before 1300."

81. Compare the Nataraja from Syali (Sivaramamurti, *Bronzes*, pl. 27 a), whose lateral locks are still more formalized.

82. Harle, *Temple Gateways*, figs. 107, 113, 120, 129, 132, p. 63.

83. We can further compare a Nataraja in the National Museum, New Delhi (twelfth century?), C. Sivaramamurti, "Some recent sculptural acquisitions in the National Museum," *Lalit Kala* 1–2 (1954–1955) pp. 113 ff., pl. xl, fig. 8; the ornate openwork mandorla looks later than the New York image, but the lateral locks have, on both sides, a solid and decorated first sector. The Nataraja in the Dharmapuram Adinam at Tanjavur (late twelfth century?), P. R. Srinivasan, *Bronzes*, fig. 234, has a circular prabha, which is connected with the triangular, two-tiered feather headdress by an extension of the latter, as on the New York icon. The position of the front left hand and the shape of the pedestal are very similar as well.

FIGURES 39-41

Nataraja, late XII-early XIII century. Height 25 3/4 in. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 64.251





prives the Amsterdam bronze of some of the majestic vertical lift or levitation that seems to propel and sustain the Tanjavur icon. It has retained, however, an extraordinary buoyancy.

The lovely Nataraja in The Metropolitan Museum of Art (Figures 39–41) dances in the same classic ananda-tandava mode. The god wears a double jeweled necklace; the sacred cord is a triple strand. On the back arms there are armlets; on all arms, elbow bands and wristlets. This corresponds with the Amsterdam bronze but for the wristlet on the front left arm, which is loose and not a part of the cast. There is a string with bell on each shin. The bow of a short girdle band or sash is visible on the left hip; another short sash falls over the left shoulder, as on the Amsterdam bronze. The ear ornaments are—apparently also on the Amsterdam icon—a ring on the left and a makara on the lengthened right earlobe; the presence of two different ornaments probably is a hint at the god's androgynous nature. As usual, the base band of the headdress is decorated with flow-



ers; a rope holds the hair together. Next to the skull, a serpent is tucked in behind the rope; on the other side (left) we see the poisonous datura flowers and, above, the crescent moon. Three tiers of peacock feathers or kondrai leaves rise above the skull, spread out like a fan in a triangular shape, as on the Amsterdam icon. Here as well, the headdress is connected with the flaming mandorla by a strut. The braided locks end in tightly rolled curls and are treated in much the same way as the garlands or flower ribbons, which alternate with them and hold them apart. The trellis of tresses and flowers is less animated than at Amsterdam; once more it contains the goddess Ganga, in an attitude of worship. The first section of locks on the god's right is solid and treated as if it were part of a hair ornament.

The Dwarf of Ignorance is playing with a serpent; he seems to have acquiesced in his role, or does not feel the weight of the divine dancer. The mandorla—not issuing from makara mouths—is circular. It carries only nineteen flames, eighteen of them five-pronged



FIGURE 42
Nataraja, early XIII century. Victoria and Albert
Museum, London. Crown Copyright

and one seven-pronged, rising from flowers, and is decorated with rosettes and lozenges. The double-lotus base has a much larger lower part, and its profile is that of an inverted cup.

In back, there is the usual hair ornament (*siraschakra*) with three tassels. The locks falling over the shoulders are contained by the lower necklace as on the Amsterdam Nataraja. The tucked-up splay of the loincloth is not very pronounced.

The image must have been buried for a long time. Part of the sandy accretions could be removed, but the remainder is still attached to the patina, which originally had a lovely bluish hue.

The later of the two Natarajas in the Victoria and Albert Museum (early thirteenth century?) (Figure 42) is very similar to the New York bronze although it does not have the same lightness and elegance. The head-dress here again is attached by a strut to the circular mandorla; so are the back hands. The lateral locks are broken off. The god wears an anklet on the right leg.⁸⁴

In view of the parallels quoted above, we probably

can assign the New York Nataraja to the late twelfth or the early thirteenth century.

The unknown artist has succeeded, to a rare degree, in realizing the impression of weightlessness, of suspension, the illusion that time has stopped—which only a great dancer can achieve. The pose is, as we have seen, a classic one and defined by the scriptures. Yet the slightest change in the posture of the body, in the position and direction of a limb, affects the delicate balance of the composition and the effortless grace of the movement. The image is small in size and does not have the awe-inspiring power of some of the large icons. However, the graceful rhythm, the sensitive modeling, and the gentle and remote expression make it a masterpiece.

V. THE GODDESS

The Goddess—like Siva or his prototype—was already prominent in the oldest layer of Indian religion, represented by the Indus Valley civilization. Temporarily eclipsed in the pantheon of the Aryan invaders, she reasserted herself all the more strongly, and, deeply rooted in popular belief, infiltrated Buddhism and Jainism. In Hinduism, she manifested herself in many forms: as mother and as virgin, as goddess of fertility and of the earth, as consort of the gods, as helper, and as scourge. Disguised as a divine consort, the ancient Mother Goddess became socially acceptable to the upper classes. Her cult emerged, in the Middle Ages, from obscurity to a position of real importance. By the Gupta period, the wives of the gods, who had been shadowy figures in earlier theology, began to be worshiped in special temples.⁸⁵

The Hindu renaissance gave additional powerful impetus to the many cults focused on one or another of her aspects. This ecstatic, devotional Hinduism, which was spread by the wandering preachers and hymn singers of the Dravidian south, helped to make her once more the most popular divinity.

84. Two anklets appear on the Nataraja at Kankoduttavanitam (first half of the thirteenth century?), P. R. Srinivasan, *Bronzes*, fig. 250, and Sivaramamurti, *Bronzes*, pl. 70 a, which has many later features, like the ornate *prabha* narrowed near the base.

85. For the preceding paragraph, I have consulted Gopinatha Rao, *Elements*, I, part 2, pp. 327 ff.; Banerjea, *Development*, pp. 489 ff.; Basham, *Wonder*, pp. 311 ff.

While Durga (The Inaccessible) is one of the manifestations of the fierce and awe-inspiring aspects of the Goddess—very popular in the south as well—Parvati (Daughter of the Mountain) is the chief representative of her benevolent side. Her name refers to her father, Himavat, personification of the Himalaya Mountains.

As the spouse of Siva, she is his *sakti*, or female energy. While the god was conceived as inactive and transcendent, his female element was thought of as active and immanent. Thus, the Goddess embodied and represented the strength or potency of her male counterpart. Sankaracharya (ninth century) wrote: “When Siva is united to Sakti, he is able to create; otherwise he is unable even to move.”⁸⁶

86. Quoted in Balasubrahmanyam, *Four Chola Temples*, p. 51.

I mentioned above, in passing, the Ardhanarisvara motif, which is one iconic realization of this concept (Figure 25). The three-figured group of Siva, his consort Parvati, and their son Skanda (Somaskandamurti) is another manifestation of these beliefs. This Somaskandamurti had been the principal cult icon in the Pallava temples until about the end of the eighth century, when the transition to linga worship began. Subsequently on the Early Chola temples there is no Somaskanda.

The Goddess in her terrifying aspect, as Durga, also appeared in the Pallava cave temples. Her most popular manifestation was that of Mahishamardini, the slayer of the Buffalo Titan. The legend illustrates the reemergence of her power and popularity. The Buffalo Titan, evil incarnate, had become almighty, and the

FIGURE 43 Durga, 910. Brahmapurisvara temple, Pullamangai

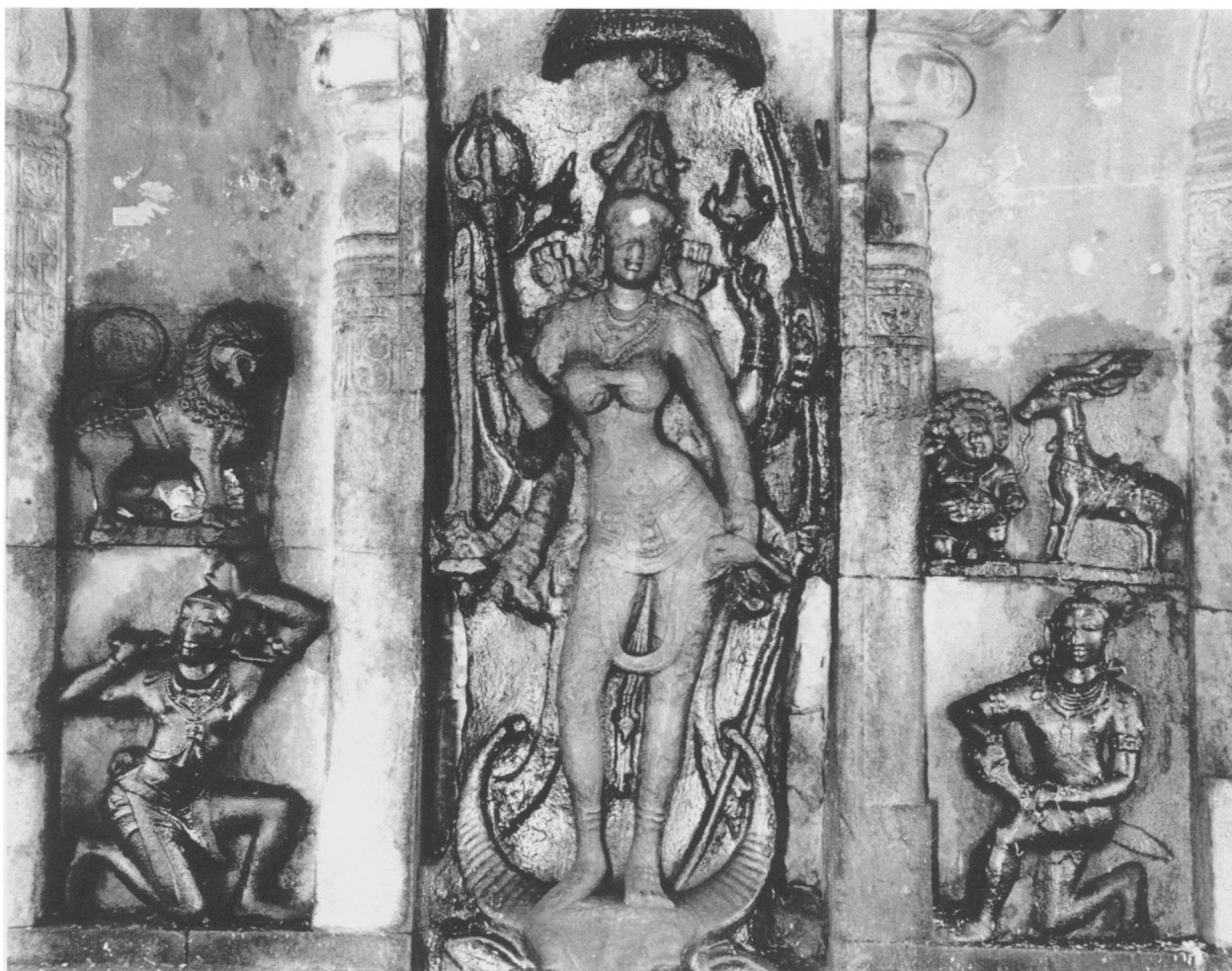




FIGURE 44

Durga, c. 950. Naltunai Isvaram temple, Punjai

gods were helpless against his arrogance. They handed their weapons, symbol and essence of their power, to the virgin Goddess, whom the demon had demanded in marriage. And it was the Goddess who engaged him and his host in bloody battle and slew him.

In the Pallava relief, this aspect of Durga generally is shown as a beautiful maiden standing on the severed head of a buffalo, wielding her many weapons, as an apotheosis of victory. Often she is accompanied by devotees, each about to cut off his head or a hand and lay it at her feet.⁸⁷ Such offerings actually took place, although often the devotees were only drawing blood with their swords as a symbolic sacrifice. This form of Durga has been identified with Korravai, the victory goddess of a south Indian tribe of cattle thieves, highwaymen, and professional soldiers.⁸⁸

Under the Cholas this cult continued, and Durga Mahishasuramardini was assigned a niche on the north wall of the porch or entrance hall (ardhamandapa). The beautiful relief on the Brahmapurisvara (c. 910) at Pullamangai (Figure 43) illustrates the early Chola sculptor's realization of this concept. Displaying a formidable array of weapons (we recognize sword, trident and wheel disk, two quivers of arrows, conch and bow) the victorious maiden in a graceful "triple-bend" pose, or tribhanga—as the Indians call the alternating rhythmic accent on inclined head, jutting hip, and bent knee—under a parasol, stands on her trophy, the buffalo head (*pars pro toto*). It is not the combat that is the subject, but the victorious power of sakti. In the lower sections of the flanking niches, two warriors are about to immolate themselves. Above them, at her right, a fierce lion—her mount and attribute—stands guard. At her left we see a gana, one of the sprites or goblins who make up Siva's host, leading a buck, which sometimes, in a specifically southern (Tamil) configuration,⁸⁹ is Durga's second mount.

87. As at Singavaram and Mamallapuram (late seventh century).

88. J. Ph. Vogel, "The Head-Offering to the Goddess in Pallava Sculpture," *Bulletin, School of Oriental Studies* 6 (London, 1930-1932) pp. 539 ff.; J. C. Harle, "Durga, Goddess of Victory," *Artibus Asiae* 26, nos. 3-4 (1963) pp. 237 ff.

89. K. R. Srinivasan, "Some Aspects," p. 153.

The glorious relief on the Punjai temple of about 950 (Figure 44) concentrates on the essentials of the motif and on the aesthetic effect. The warrior-devotees have been included in the composition of the panel; so have her two mounts, the lion and the buck (which has lost its horns), rising behind her shoulders, looking at her head. The divine maiden here has four arms only, the back hands holding Vishnu's disk and conch. Siva's trident and bow rise, magically suspended, behind her shoulders. The relief is less worn by worship and weather than the previous one. The stance is more erect and formal, the modeling of the body less soft and sensitive.

The image on the Gangajataadhara temple (982) at Govindaputtur (Figure 45) once more is eight-armed, and very successfully realized. Much attention is given to detail. The trident has disappeared; the emblems are held almost vertically, the disk still edge-on. The sinuous curves of the lateral sashes are a new feature. Altogether the formalizing trend that we already noticed at Punjai is much more in evidence now.

We do encounter, on a few very early Chola temples, beautiful life-size female figures that are not icons. They do not represent the Goddess, but they are emanations of the female principle on a theologically lower plane or even on a secular one. They have been taken for lady donors, Chola princesses. But both their scale and their attitude seem to exclude this attractive interpretation, and I believe that they are denizens of a higher realm, though not equal to the great gods—nymphs (apsarases) perhaps, or just devotees from the heavenly world. Unlike the icons, they are more immediately modeled on the human body and shown in a relaxed and human pose or stance as well. Among them we find some of the most beautiful sculptures of south India. On some of these early temples there are, in the secondary niches, both female and male devotees;⁹⁰ on later temples there are sometimes males alone.⁹¹

Two heavenly maidens on the Nagesvara temple (886) at Kumbakonam are among the loveliest realizations of this concept (Figures 46, 47). On each figure, the large coil of hair is braided with flowers; the raised hand holds a lotus. The sari clings to the slender legs,

90. Kumbakonam, Nagesvara (886); Srinivasanallur, Koranganatha (895).

91. Tiruvarur, Achalesvara (992); Tanjavur, Rajarajesvara (1010).



FIGURE 45

Durga, 982. Gangajataadhara temple, Govindaputtur

with a soft ripple of raised folds. Large pendants, suspended from the belt on heavy chains, fall to the knees. The bodies are modeled with a gentle softness that is matched by the chaste and demure expression. The slim waist and heavy breasts express the age-old Indian ideal of feminine beauty. The much-mutilated figure on the Koranganatha (c. 895) at Srinivasanallur (Figure 48) represents a different local school.

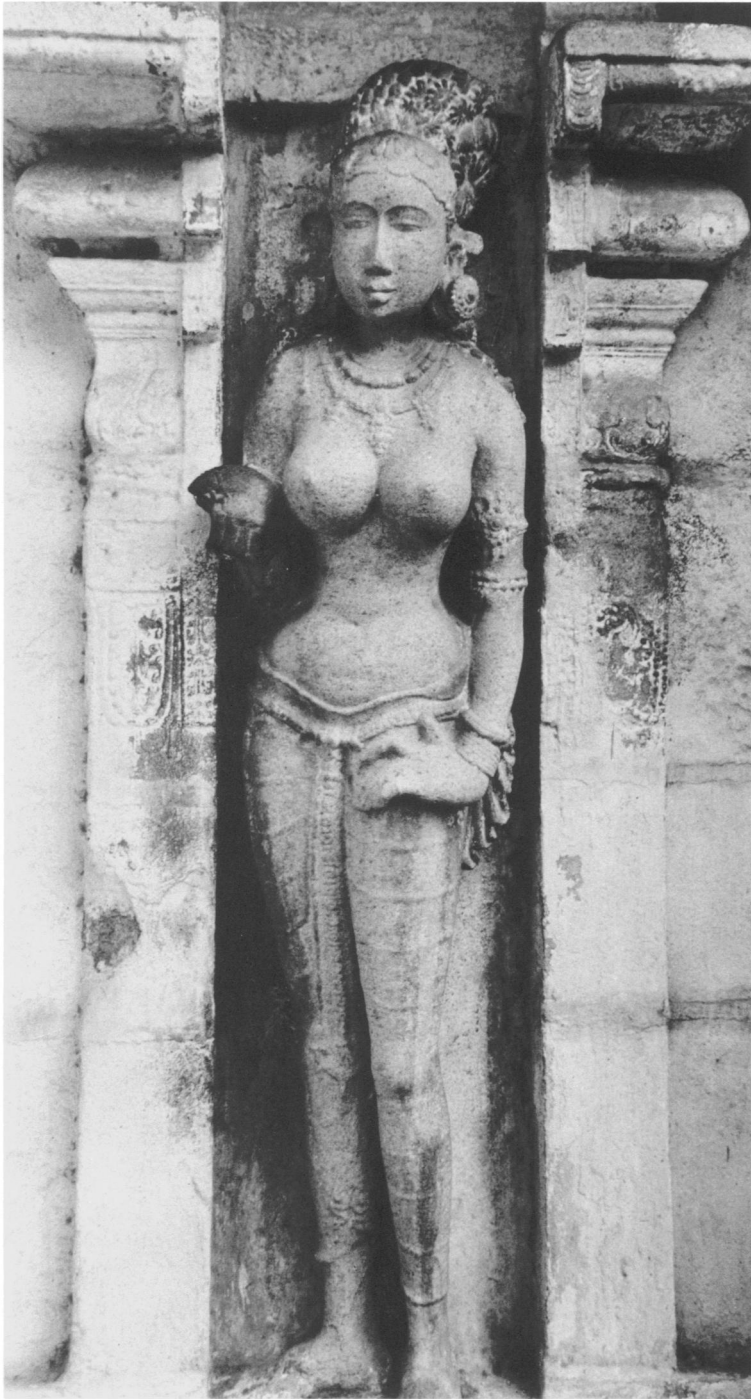


FIGURE 46
Maiden, 886. Nagesvara temple, Kumbakonam

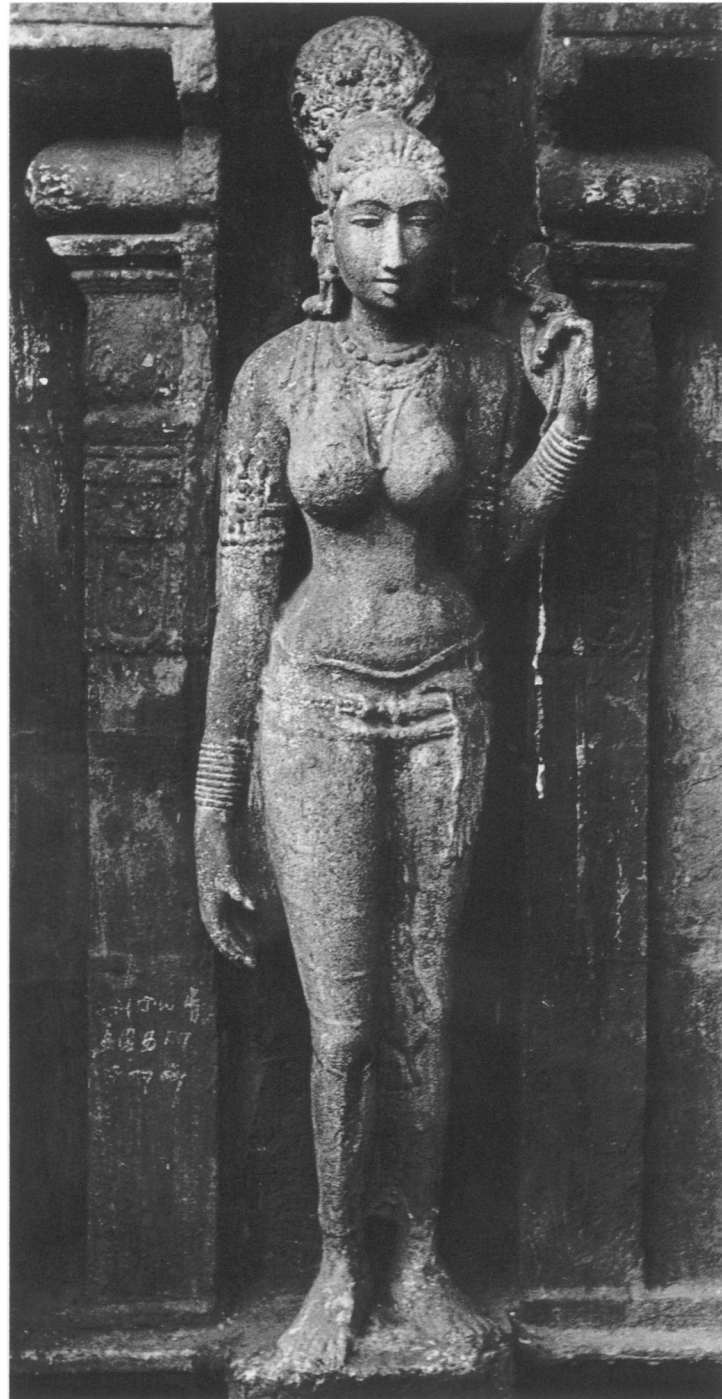


FIGURE 47
Maiden, 886. Nagesvara temple, Kumbakonam

In the temples of the Early Chola period, bronze images of the consort of the main deity (Bhogesvari) had been set up, judging from inscriptions, at least as early as the reign of Parantaka I (907–955).⁹² A separate shrine devoted to the Goddess was first erected by Rajendra I (1012–1044) in the precinct of his great temple at Gangaikondacholapuram (c. 1030). From the time of the accession of Kulottunga I (1070), at least, this was standard practice.⁹³

The magnificent bronze Parvati in The Metropolitan Museum of Art (Figures 49–51) is a bequest of Mrs. Cora Timken-Burnet, in whose collection she was for many years. The Goddess is standing in a gently accented “triple-bend” pose; her raised right hand once held a lotus. She wears a richly bejeweled crown, heavy circular earrings, a triple necklace, heavy wristlets, and foot ornaments. Each armlet carries a three-pronged jewel tied down by a string; below is a string of pearls forming festoons and tassels. We recognize a similar motif in the front of her crown and on its sides. The sacred cord, also of pearls, falls between her heavy breasts, following the flowing rhythm of her body; it is closed by a small round clasp with a bow. The girdle is held together by jeweled clasps; the tasseled end of a girdle band falls along her left thigh. Two large pipal pendants flanked by small bells hang from the girdle on chainlike straps, reaching almost to the knees. One folded end of the garment falls between her legs to a zigzagging tip; the other is tucked up on the left, falling over the girdle.

Looking at the back of the image, we note the flower-shaped hair ornament (siraschakra) with a small tassel of pearls hanging from the hub. At the nape of the neck, the hair is gathered in a loose coil. The rest of the curled locks fall loosely over the shoulders, some in closed or open loops; two end in a tasseled jewel. Between them we see the tasseled ends of a ribbon that probably holds the necklace and, perhaps, the pipal pendant falling between the shoulders. The armlets are tied in simple knots with tassels. That end of the garment which is pulled up between the buttocks and under the girdle stands out in a furred splay.

92. Barrett, *Cola Bronzes*, p. 33.

93. K. R. Srinivasan, “Temples of South India,” *Archaeological Remains, Monuments and Museums*, xxvi International Congress of Orientalists (New Delhi, 1969) part 2, p. 233; Balasubrahmanyam, *Early Chola Art*, p. 122.

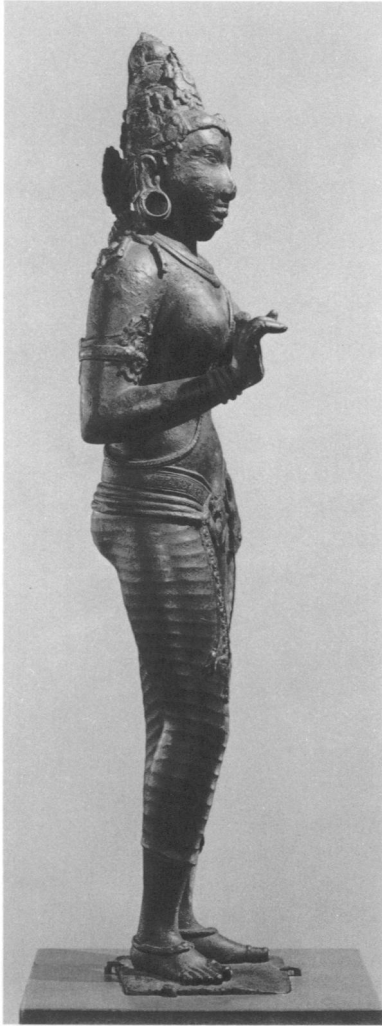


FIGURE 48
Maiden, 895. Koranganatha temple, Srinivasanallur



FIGURES 49–51

Parvati, late ix–early x century. Height 27 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, bequest of Cora Timken Burnett, 57.51.3



The tip of the nose and the index finger of the right hand are broken off and missing; the lower left arm is partly broken.

The bronze Parvati was first published in *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*⁹⁴ and dated to about A.D. 900. Authorities vary somewhat in dating this sculpture. C. Sivaramamurti⁹⁵ called her “ninth–tenth century” and praised her for possessing “all the charm of the transitional period”; the latter phase lasted, in his reckoning, until the accession of Parantaka I in 907. P. R. Srinivasan⁹⁶ dates her to c. 950. He compares her to the

FIGURE 52

Parvati, x century. Height 40 in. Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C.



Freer Gallery Parvati (Figure 52), which is assigned by him to c. 900–925. He also refers to the Kodumudi Vishnu (Figure 22), which he dates to the middle of the tenth century as well, but which I believe to be somewhat earlier (see above). Douglas Barrett⁹⁷ dates the New York Parvati to c. 975. He compares the image to

94. *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 16(1957–1958) p. 53; 18 (February, 1960) cover.

95. Sivaramamurti, *Bronzes*, pls. 58 a–b.

96. P. R. Srinivasan, *Bronzes*, figs. 76–77.

97. Barrett, *Cola Bronzes*, p. 24.



FIGURE 53

Parvati, c. 970. Height 35 ½ in. Uma-Mahesvara temple, Konerirajapuram

the Bhogesvari⁹⁸ and (Somaskanda) Parvati⁹⁹ at Pallavanisvaram and to the Sita¹⁰⁰ at Teruchcherai, assigning the same date to all of these. The similarities, especially with the Parvati and the Sita, are striking indeed and extend to details of the crown, coiffure, hair ornament, jewels, and rippling garment folds. Eyes and eyebrows of some of the images have been recut so that they do not have the dreamy expression of the New York Parvati. The bodies, however, especially that of the Pallavanisvaram Parvati, are modeled in the same sensitive and sensuous way; the latter has the same heavy breasts, the same gently accented waist.

According to Barrett these figures are coeval with the Konerirajapuram (Figure 53) and Tiruvelvikudi (Figure 54) bronzes, which can be related to each other and to dated inscriptions on the former temple (between 969 and 977). In my opinion, these elaborate and elegant images must be at the least a generation later than the New York Parvati and the bronzes related to it.

When we look back at the reliefs in stone, the first images that come to mind are the heavenly maidens on the Nagesvara temple at Kumbakonam (Figures 46, 47), where the treatment of the torso is quite similar, although the legs are longer and the figures in their entirety are more slender. We notice the very long and heavy pendant suspended from the waistband. On the Srinivasanallur relief (Figure 48) the treatment of the body is close to that of the New York bronze.

The graceful pose of the Durga at Pullamangai (Figure 43) is the same as that of the New York Parvati, including the lateral inclination of the head. We again notice the pipal pendant with tassels between the legs, below the knees. The pose of the Punjai Durga (Figure 44) is somewhat more formal, the modeling of body and limbs less sensitive.

98. Barrett, *Cola Bronzes*, pls. 32–34.

99. Barrett, *Cola Bronzes*, pls. 35–36.

100. Barrett, *Cola Bronzes*, pl. 44.

FIGURE 54

Kalyanasundaramurti, late x century. Height 37 in. Manalesvara temple, Tiruvelvikudi





FIGURE 55 Naltunai Isvaram temple, c. 950, Punjai

The Durga images of the last two decades of the tenth century (Figure 45)¹⁰¹ are much more formalized. The stance sometimes is awkward, the knees knobby, the modeling lifeless. There are iconographic changes as well.

Thus, we find the closest affinities with the Metropolitan Parvati in the stone images of the late ninth and early tenth century, while those of Barrett's Phase III (beginning c. 970) seem to be furthest removed.

The Tripurasundari from the Muvarkoyil (between 956 and 973) at Kodumbalur¹⁰² is an exception. She once more recalls the New York bronze in treatment and proportion of the body, while crown and jewels, girdle and sashes are more ornate. The temple—which follows in many ways an earlier style—is situated in Pudukkottai, at some distance from Tanjavur. Pudukkottai is ancient Pandya country; so is the Kongu-nadu (Coimbatore and Salem districts), where the famous Kodumudi Vishnu (Figures 22, 23) is found. The latter bronze is called Pandya by Sivaramamurti; it is generally assigned to the first half or the middle of the tenth century (see above).

In my opinion, the New York Parvati (as well as the related bronzes mentioned above) probably dates from the late ninth or the early tenth century. It is possible that the New York bronze comes from Pudukkottai, in which case it may be as late as the middle of the tenth century.

As only a few bronzes of the late tenth (compare Figure 53) and of the eleventh century can be dated with any certainty, the comparisons at best suggest a relative sequence. They do underline, however, the outstanding quality of the New York bronze. The image has been called "one of the world's best bronzes"¹⁰³ and "perhaps the only Early Chola bronze masterpiece to have left India."¹⁰⁴ The sensitive body of the Goddess is aglow with the refined voluptuousness of some spiritual realm. An interior life current swells the delicate forms. Her gentle and tender expression, the musical grace and flowing rhythm of her body, and the dignity of her

101. Other images that may be compared are those at Kilapaluvur (Balasubrahmanyam, *Four Chola Temples*, fig. 25; Barrett, *Cola Bronzes*, p. 12) as well as those at Sembian Mahadevi, Aduthurai, and Tiruvarur.

102. *Handbook, Madras Government Museum* (Madras, 1964) pl. vii; Nilakanta Sastri, *The Colas*, fig. 40.

103. P. R. Srinivasan, *Bronzes*, p. 133.

104. Barrett, *Cola Bronzes*, p. 24.



FIGURE 56

Rajarajesvara temple, 1010, Tanjavur

carriage leave us in wonderment at the greatness of south Indian sculpture.

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Beiträge zu Stil und Oeuvre des Jean de Liège

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EINER DER INTERESSANTESTEN Aspekte jenes Stilwandels, der sich zu Beginn des 14. Jahrhunderts in der französischen Kunst vollzieht, betrifft nicht eigentlich ihren Formenkanon, sondern ihre Farbigkeit. Sehr deutlich zeigen das die Werke der Glasmalerei: An die Stelle der in satten Rot- und Blautönen "glühenden" Fenster des 13. Jahrhunderts treten nun hellere Scheiben, in denen zunächst kühle, gebrochene Farben wie Grün und Lila mitsprechen, bis schließlich gelbes und weißes Glas für immer größere Flächen Verwendung findet. Ein ähnlicher Prozeß wird in der Buchmalerei durch Jean Pucelle eingeleitet, dessen eigentümliche Semigrisaille-Technik die kräftigen Lokalfarben vermeidet und sie durch die zart abgestufte Grauschattierung vorwiegend weißer Körper ersetzt. Das Stundenbuch der Jeanne d'Evreux in den Cloisters ist eines der ältesten und kennzeichnendsten Beispiele für dieses neue Kolorit, das in seiner ästhetischen Wirkung so stark an Elfenbeinreliefs erinnert. Von da an bis an

das Ende des Mittelalters ist die Semigrisaille, neben der traditionellen Buntfarbigkeit, als besonders verfeinerte buchmalerische Technik in Gebrauch geblieben.¹

In der Skulptur hatte eine parallele Entwicklung offenbar schon früher eingesetzt; die seit der Mitte des 13. Jahrhunderts aufblühende Elfenbeinschnitzerei mag für die allgemeine Verbreitung des neuen farblichen Geschmackes sogar eine bahnbrechende Rolle gespielt haben. Um 1300 treten dann auch in der Plastik größeren Formates die transluziden Materialien wie Alabaster und Weißmarmor neben den traditionellen Kalkstein. Zumindest für Mitglieder des französischen Königshauses und des Hochadels wird nun das Marmorgrabmal obligatorisch, das in der Regel aus einer Schwarzmarmortumba bestand, von der sich die aus weißem Stein gebildeten figürlichen und dekorativen Teile umso effektvoller abhoben² (Abb. 1–3). Spätestens ab dem zweiten Jahrhundert-

1. Vgl. beispielshalber die ganzseitige Krönungsminiatur von 1380 in den "Grandes Chroniques de France," ferner Beauneveus Propheten- und Apostelbilder in dem Psalter des Duc de Berry sowie die Illustrationen der Brüder Limburg zur Bible moralisée; farbige Abbildungen bei J. Porcher, *L'enluminure française* (Paris 1959) Taf. LVII, LXIII und LXIX. Es ist meines Wissens noch nicht untersucht worden, welche Gründe in jedem einzelnen Fall zu der Wahl dieses ungewöhnlichen koloristischen Prinzips geführt haben. Das gilt übrigens ebenso für die gleich noch zu besprechenden Werke der Plastik; bei diesen dürfte es allerdings die relative Kostspieligkeit der "weißen" Materialien (Elfenbein, Marmor und Alabaster) mit sich gebracht haben, daß sich ihrer nur eine kleine Elite von Auftraggebern bedienen konnte.

2. Die beiden ältesten in Saint-Denis erhaltenen Marmorfiguren sind die der Isabella von Aragon († 1271) und ihres Gemahls, Philipps III. († 1285). Beide sind allerdings erst etwas später ausgeführt worden—die Königin um 1280, der König zu Beginn des 14. Jahrhunderts. Vgl. P. Vitry und G. Brière, *L'église abbatiale de Saint-Denis* (Paris 1908) S.120 f., Nr. 25, 26. Ich verwende im folgenden die Bezeichnung "Alabaster" als Synonym für "weißen Marmor" und umgekehrt; die mittelalterlichen Quellen halten es bekanntlich ebenso. Für die Fragen stilistischer und ästhetischer Natur, mit denen sich dieser Aufsatz befaßt, dürfte eine präzise Unterscheidung dieser in ihrer künstlerischen Wirkung nahezu identischen Materialien nicht erforderlich sein.



ABB. 1

Jean de Liège, um 1380: Grabmal der Blanche de France-Orléans und ihrer Schwester Marie de France in Saint-Denis. Nach Gaignières (Photo: Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris)

viertel wird diese Materialkombination auch für Retabel üblich (Abb. 5), und die minderen Steinsorten finden zuletzt nur noch für monumentale Bauplastik sowie für solche Grabmäler oder Altäre Verwendung, deren Stifter den weniger wohlhabenden Ständen angehörten.

Auch diese Marmorskulpturen waren farbig gefaßt, doch beschränkte sich die Polychromierung nun auf

wenige Teile ihrer Oberfläche: auf das Haar und einige Einzelheiten der Gesichter, auf heraldische Motive und auf das Gold von Kronen, Schmuckstücken und kleineren Gewandpartien. Den Gesamteindruck bestimmten das Schwarz und das Weiß des Marmors sowie die vergoldeten Teile—ein strenger, feierlicher Dreiklang also, der sich von der viel bunteren Fassung der Steinskulpturen sehr deutlich unterscheiden haben muß.³ Im wesentlichen entsprach er zweifellos jener kühlen und vornehmen Farbwirkung, die uns von den zeitgenössischen Elfenbeinen und von den erwähnten Grisaille-Miniaturen vertraut ist.

Während von den Marmorgrabmälern des 14. Jahrhunderts immerhin einige fast intakt und von vielen anderen wenigstens die Bildnisfiguren der Verstorbenen auf uns gekommen sind, haben sich von den entsprechenden Retabeln nur wenige Bruckstücke erhalten; ein auch nur annähernd komplettes Ensemble, das uns eine Vorstellung von ihrem ursprünglichen Aussehen vermitteln könnte, gibt es meines Wissens überhaupt nicht. Man wird sie sich wohl, ähnlich wie die gleichzeitig entstandenen und in größerer Zahl überlieferten Kalkstein- oder Holzretabel, als ein niedriges Rechteck von beträchtlicher Länge vorstellen dürfen, an dessen Vorderseite, oft unter Blendarkaden, die einzelnen figürlichen Gruppen angebracht waren. Über die ungefähre Wirkung einer solchen Szenenfolge informieren uns etwa jene drei Marmorreliefs des Museum Mayer van den Bergh in Antwerpen, die heute wieder vor einer Platte aus dunklem Stein aufgestellt sind (Abb. 5).

Bei diesen Antwerpener Fragmenten handelt es sich wahrscheinlich um Pariser Arbeiten etwa der Mitte

3. Es gibt nicht mehr viele Beispiele gotischer Sand- oder Kalksteinplastik, vor denen man noch einen Eindruck ihrer ursprünglichen Buntheit gewinnen kann. Eine der Ausnahmen ist die zauberhafte Verkündigungsmaria des Metropolitan Museum of Art (Acc. No. 17.190.739), farbig reproduziert in: *The Middle Ages, Treasures from The Cloisters and The Metropolitan Museum of Art*. Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1969, cat. no. 79, ill. p. 173. Über die beabsichtigte Farbwirkung der Marmorgräber geben auch die zeitgenössischen Quellen Aufschluß. Von dem Doppelgrab Philipps IV. und der Jeanne d'Evreux für Maubuisson etwa heißt es in der Abrechnung mit dem Bildhauer: "... une tumba de marbre noir de Dinant, ... et dessus ycelle a 2 images d'albastre blanc, ... et sont lesd. ymages offroisiez d'or où il appartient, et autour de lad. tombe a lettres gravées et

des 14. Jahrhunderts.⁴ Mit ihrer strengen Komposition und Gruppenbildung, ihrer Flächenbezogenheit und der nur zaghaften Andeutung von Raumtiefe erinnern sie noch an die Chorschranken-Reliefs der Notre-Dame, die im Lauf der ersten Jahrhunderthälfte entstanden waren; auch bei einzelnen Figurentypen ist das Nachwirken älterer Vorbilder festzustellen. Alles in allem exemplifizieren sie eine technisch hochstehende, sonst aber nicht sonderlich originelle Serienproduktion, wie sie damals in mehreren französischen und niederländischen Werkstätten gepflegt worden sein dürfte. Dasselbe gilt für die meisten derartigen Reliefs, die erhalten sind. Umso größeres Interesse mußten die ganz wenigen künstlerisch hervorragenden Retabel-Fragmente bei den Kunsthistorikern erwecken: So hat man das wohl großartigste von ihnen, die schöne Darbringungsgruppe des Musée Cluny (Abb. 4), schon vor längerer Zeit mit André Beauneveu in Zusammenhang gebracht und in ihm den Rest eines großen Altaraufsatzes sehen wollen, den dieser Künstler gegen Ende seiner Laufbahn, also in den neunziger Jahren, für eine der Schloßkapellen des Duc de Berry geschaffen hätte.⁵

Diese Zuschreibung an einen der berühmtesten Meister der Epoche war vermutlich weniger durch greifbare Übereinstimmungen mit dessen gesicherten Werken als durch die ungewöhnlich hohe Qualität des fraglichen Reliefs motiviert. Will man ihre Stichhaltigkeit überprüfen, muß man zunächst eine möglichst präzise Vorstellung von dem bildhauerischen Stil Beauneveus zu gewinnen trachten,⁶ denn dieser ist noch längst nicht eindeutig definiert: Einesteils, weil sich die Forschung bisher viel intensiver darum bemüht hat, seine persönliche Eigenart von derjenigen

dorées." Andere Farben werden in dem Text nicht erwähnt. Vgl. B. Prost, "Quelques documents sur l'histoire des arts en France" (II), *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 36 (1887/II) S. 235–242; der zitierte Text auf S. 238.

4. J. de Coe, *Museum Mayer van den Bergh, Catalogus 2: Beeldhouwkunst* (1969) Nr. 2116–2118 ("südniederländisch-französisch, 3. Viertel 14. Jhdt."); neuerdings hat man auch ihre Entstehung um 1350/60 in Valenciennes erwogen—vgl. R. Didier u.a., "Une Vierge tournaisienne à Arbois . . .", *Bulletin monumental* 128 (1970) S. 105. Ein anderes gut erhaltenes Beispiel sind die vier Fragmente aus der Pariser Sainte-Chapelle im Louvre, die Geißelung, Kreuztragung, Kreuzigung und Grablegung darstellen. Vgl. M. Aubert und M. Beaulieu, *Description raisonnée des sculptures, vol. I: Moyen Age* (Paris 1950) Nr. 189–192.



ABB. 2

André Beauneveu und Jean de Liège (?), 1364–1379: Grabmal Karls V. und der Jeanne de Bourbon in Saint-Denis. Nach Gaignières (Photo: Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris)

5. G. Troescher, *Die burgundische Plastik des ausgehenden Mittelalters* (Frankfurt 1940) S. 33 f.; Th. Müller, *Sculpture in the Netherlands, Germany, France, and Spain 1400–1500* (Harmondsworth 1966) S. 15, 22. Die Beauneveu betreffende Literatur bis 1955 ist zusammengestellt bei M. Aubert, "Beauneveu," *Encyclopedia of World Art*, vol. II (1960), Sp. 409–411.

6. Seine Tätigkeit als Maler und Illuminator kann in diesem Zusammenhang außer Betracht bleiben.

jüngerer Meister (wie Claus Sluter oder Jean de Cambrai) abzugrenzen als von der seiner gleichaltrigen Zeitgenossen;⁷ andererseits auch, weil es im Grunde keine einzige Skulptur gibt, deren *eigenhändige* Ausführung durch Beauneveu einwandfrei belegt wäre. Das gilt schon von seinem ersten großen Auftrag, den Grabmälern der drei ältesten Könige aus dem Hause Valois in Saint-Denis, die Karl V. im Herbst 1364 bei ihm bestellt hat. In den Geldanweisungen, die der Meister für sie erhielt, wird er zwar vom König als "nostre amé Andrieu Biauneveu, nostre ymager" bezeichnet, empfängt jedoch die einzelnen Geldbeträge stets ausdrücklich "pour faire prest et paiement aus ouvriers qui font les dittes tumbes, et leur distribuer par la fourme et maniere que bon lui semblera."⁸ Von Art und Umfang seiner eigenen Beteiligung ist nirgends die Rede, so daß er hier in erster Linie als verantwortlicher Koordinator der Arbeiten erscheint, die offenbar von einem größeren Team in relativ kurzer Zeit durchgeführt werden sollten.

Drei der vier Liegefiguren, die damals bestellt wurden, haben sich in Saint-Denis erhalten: Philipp VI., Johann der Gute und Karl V.; über das ungefähre Aussehen der Johanna von Burgund, die Philipps VI. zweite Gemahlin und Karls V. Großmutter gewesen war, informiert uns nur eine alte Nachzeichnung der Sammlung Gaignières (Abb. 3). Die drei heute noch überprüfbaren Gisants stammen nun ganz offensichtlich nicht von einer Hand, sondern verraten, daß sie aus dem Zusammenwirken mehrerer Kräfte hervorgegangen sind. Die Figuren Philipps VI. und Johanns des Guten sind zwar in ihrem physischen Habitus, in Kostümierung und Faltenwurf nahezu identisch, tragen aber Köpfe, die sich voneinander durch ihren Stil und ihre technische Ausführung erheblich unterscheiden; mindestens zwei, wenn nicht sogar drei Meister müssen an ihrer Ausführung beteiligt gewesen sein. Karl V. endlich stimmt mit den beiden

genannten Statuen weder in der Kopf-, noch in der Körperbildung überein, sondern setzt sich von ihnen in jeder Hinsicht deutlich ab.⁹

Diese Figur des regierenden Königs ist zweifellos die künstlerisch bedeutendste von den dreien und scheint auch stilistisch ganz aus einen Guß zu sein (Abb. 6). Es spricht vieles dafür, daß wir es hier, wo es um das Grabmal des Auftraggebers ging, mit einer Schöpfung des leitenden Meisters, eben Beauneveus, zu tun haben.¹⁰ Diese Vermutung (denn um mehr handelt es sich zunächst nicht) gewinnt noch dadurch an Wahrscheinlichkeit, daß die einzige andere Skulptur, die Beauneveu relativ überzeugend zugeschrieben werden kann, wesentliche Stilmerkmale gerade mit dem Gisant Karls V. teilt. Es ist das die lebensgroße Statue einer hl. Katharina in der sogenannten Grafen- (oder Katharinen-) Kapelle zu Courtrai (Abb. 8), die der Meister vermutlich um 1373/74 geschaffen hat. Er stand damals in den Diensten des Grafen von Flandern, Louis de Male, der in dieser von ihm gestifteten und seit Ende des Jahres 1373 benützten Kapelle sein Grabmal errichten lassen wollte. 1374 erhält Beauneveu die ersten (und sogleich relativ hohen) Zahlungen "sur l'ouvrage d'une novele tombe que monseigneur lui fait faire pour lui."¹¹ Dieses Monument scheint jedoch nie vollendet worden zu sein, da Beauneveu in den folgenden Jahren auch mancherlei anderen Arbeiten in Ypern und Cambrai nachging¹² und Louis de Male noch in seinem Testament von 1381 Vorsorge treffen mußte, "que par dessus nostre corps soit faite une tombe par l'ordenance de noz executeurs . . . , telle comme bon leur semblera."¹³ In einem zweiten Testament, das erst knapp vor seinem Tod (1384) aufgesetzt wurde, verfügte der Graf schließlich, daß man ihn nicht in Courtrai, sondern in Lille begraben solle.¹⁴ Dort hat ihm dann allerdings erst sein Urenkel, Philipp der Gute von Burgund, ein Bronzedenkmal errichten lassen, das heute ebenso ver-

7. Vgl. Müller, *Sculpture*, S. 14 f., sowie St. K. Scher, "Beauneveu and Sluter," *Gesta* VII (1968) S. 3–14.

8. Dehaisnes, *Documents et extraits divers concernant l'histoire de l'art dans la Flandre, l'Artois et le Hainaut avant le XVe siècle* (Lille 1886) S. 452–454; L. Courajod und P.-F. Marcou, *Musée de sculpture comparée. Catalogue raisonné. XIVe et XVe siècles* (Paris 1892) S. 37 ff., Nr. 654.

9. Vgl. außer unseren Abb. 12 und 13 auch die Wiedergaben aller drei Köpfe bei M. Meiss, *French Painting in the Time of Jean de*

Berry. *The Late Fourteenth Century and the Patronage of the Duke* (London–New York 1967) Fig. 589–591.

10. P. Pradel, "Les tombeaux de Charles V.," *Bulletin monumental* 109 (1951) S. 273–296.

11. Vgl. Troescher, *Burgundische Plastik*, S. 23 f. Die entsprechenden Belege wieder bei Dehaisnes, *Documents*, S. 523 f.

12. Ebenda, S. 553 f.

13. Ebenda, S. 580.

14. Ebenda, S. 601.

ABB. 3

André Beauneveu und seine Werkstatt, 1364/65:
Grabmal der Jeanne de Bourgogne in Saint-
Denis. Nach Gaignières (Photo: Bibliothèque
Nationale, Paris)



schwunden ist wie die Reste des von Beauneveu begonnenen Marmorgrabes.

Die einzige aus der fraglichen Zeit erhaltene Plastik in Courtrai ist die erwähnte Katharinenstatue. Da Beauneveu damals an dem für die Katharinenkapelle bestimmten Grab arbeitete, liegt es nahe, ihm auch die Figur der Titelheiligen zuzuschreiben; diese dürfte sogar seine erste für Louis de Male ausgeführte Arbeit gewesen sein.¹⁵ Stellt man die Heilige dem Gisant Karls V. in Saint-Denis gegenüber (Abb. 6 und 8), erscheint es—zumal, wenn man den zeitlichen Abstand von rund zehn Jahren bedenkt—durchaus glaubhaft, daß beide Werke von ein und demselben Künstler stammen. Und dieser kann nach menschlichem Ermessen nur André Beauneveu gewesen sein, denn er allein ist sowohl für Karl V. in Saint-Denis als auch für Louis de Male in Courtrai tätig gewesen.

Von diesen zwei Skulpturen ausgehend, läßt sich Beauneveus Kunst zumindest in ihren wesentlichen Merkmalen bestimmen: Obwohl sie in Einzelheiten—etwa in dem packenden Porträtkopf des Königs (Abb. 12)—einen bis dahin unerhörten Realismus anstrebt und verwirklicht, sind ihr im Ganzen doch ein gewisser Adel und ein schöner, feierlicher Ernst eigen. Die Figuren werden einem strengen Umriß eingeschrieben und relativ flach gebildet; fast meint man, noch den Formzwang des Marmorblocks zu spüren. Trotzdem gelingt es Beauneveu, sowohl den ganzen Gestalten als auch allen Kleinformen eine betont haptische Wirkung zu verleihen. Gleichgültig, ob es sich um einen menschlichen Körper, um einen Kopf oder nur um die Nase, die Lippen, ja selbst die Augäpfel handelt—jedem einzelnen dieser Gebilde scheint eine besondere Schwellkraft eigen, die es gleichsam von innen her an die Grenzen der vom Künstler gewollten Form herandrängt. Ähnlich werden auch die Draperien primär durch einige großzügig schwingende und schön gerundete Faltenwülste, und erst in zweiter Linie durch die seichte Hohlform der Mulden definiert; selbst die Schlingen und Spiralen der Gewandsäume dienen hier nicht einem linearen—denn das

15. D. Roggen, "A. Beauneveu en het Katharinabeeld van Kortrijk," *Gentse Bijdragen tot de Kunstgeschiedenis* XV (1954) S. 223–231, hat diese alte Hypothese mit neuen und sehr überzeugenden Argumenten untermauert.



ABB. 4
Jean de Liège, um 1365/70: Darbringung Christi im Tempel. Musée Cluny, Paris (Photo: Bildarchiv Foto Marburg)



ABB. 5

Paris oder Hainaut, um 1350: Darbringung im Tempel, Einzug in Jerusalem, Christus auf dem Ölberg. Museum Mayer van den Bergh, Antwerpen (Photo: Bildarchiv Foto Marburg)

hieße: flächengliedernden—Effekt, sondern sollen vor allem die räumliche Tiefe der Faltenröhren bezeugen. All das ist zwar an der majestätischen Heiligen noch viel vollkommener entwickelt als an der älteren Bildnisstatue des von Natur aus schwächlichen Königs, doch werden beide Figuren unverkennbar von identischen Formvorstellungen geprägt. Soweit sie noch ihre originalen Hände besitzen (bei Karl V. ist nur die linke, bei der hl. Katharina die rechte intakt erhalten), folgen sogar die Finger demselben morphologischen Prinzip: Trotz ihrer Schlankheit wirken sie prall und fest, weil ihre klare, zylindrische Grundform weder durch Runzeln noch durch das übermäßige Betonen der Gelenke beeinträchtigt wird (Abb. 7).

Die Darbringungsgruppe des Musée Cluny (Abb. 4) läßt sich mit den beiden besprochenen Statuen nur schwer auf einen gemeinsamen stilistischen Nenner bringen. Hier wird die Körperlichkeit der Figuren bei weitem nicht so bewußt ausgekostet wie dort, sondern eher künstlich verschleiert: sowohl durch das komplizierte Spiel der Bewegungen und Faltenwürfe als auch durch die feine stoffliche Differenzierung der Oberfläche. Die Gewandfalten mit ihren schmalen, manchmal sogar scharfen Graten sind zahlreicher und zugleich schlaffer; sie betonen eher das lockere Fallen als das plastische Schwellen der Draperien. Der Kopf

Mariae (Abb. 9) ist zwar dem der hl. Katharina im Typus verwandt,¹⁶ doch erkennt man bei näherem Zusehen, daß sein eigentlicher Reiz nicht auf seinen plastischen Werten beruht, sondern auf der subtilen Behandlung seiner Oberfläche. Was hier zählt, ist die zarte, unter dem Druck des Fingers nachgebende Haut, nicht das Formgerüst aus Knochen und festem Fleisch. Noch drastischer unterscheiden sich die Hände, die in der Darbringung relativ plump wirken und an deren kurzen Fingern jedes Gelenk durch eine knotige Verdickung betont erscheint.

Das alles müßte die Autorschaft Beauneveus nicht unbedingt ausschließen, handelt es sich doch bei dieser Gruppe erstens um eine Skulptur viel kleineren Formats, zweitens um ein Relief und drittens vielleicht auch um ein Spätwerk des Künstlers aus seinen letzten Lebensjahren in Bourges, das von der Statue der hl. Katharina durch einen Zeitraum von rund zwanzig Jahren getrennt sein mag.¹⁷ Man könnte sich—wenn auch zögernd—mit dieser Begründung einverstanden

16. Eine gute Detailabbildung des letzteren bei Meiss, *French Painting*, Fig. 672.

17. Allerdings zeigt auch keine der in Bourges erhaltenen Skulpturen, die mit der dortigen Tätigkeit Beauneveus in Zusammenhang gebracht werden können, irgendeine Verwandtschaft mit dem Relief des Musée Cluny. Vgl. Scher, "Beauneveu and Sluter," dem das Verdienst zukommt, den spezifischen Stil dieser "Schule von Bourges" herausgearbeitet zu haben.



ABB. 6
André Beauneveu, 1364/65: Liegefigur Karls V.
in Saint-Denis (nach "Musées et Monuments de
France," I, 1936)

erklären, gäbe es nicht ein anderes Bildwerk, das der Darbringung um vieles näher steht als die Statuen Beauneveus und das zudem als Arbeit eines ebenso bedeutenden Bildhauers gesichert ist. Es ist dies das Eingeweidegrab König Karls IV. und seiner Gemahlin Jeanne d'Evreux, das 1372 in der Abtei Maubuisson aufgestellt wurde, von wo die beiden Liegefiguren in den Louvre gelangt sind (Abb. 11). Aus dem "Compte de l'exécution du testament" der erst 1371 verstorbenen Königin geht hervor, daß sie noch zu ihren Lebzeiten einen gewissen "Hennequin du Liege, ymagier à Paris" mit der Ausführung dieses Grabmals beauftragt hatte.¹⁸

Die Statuen des Königspaares sind unterlebensgroß; mit ihrer Länge von ca. 110 cm kommen sie dem Darbringungsrelief (Höhe 64 cm) relativ nahe. Das erleichtert den Stilvergleich, bei dem allerdings von den erneuerten Kronen und dem ergänzten rechten Unterarm der Jeanne d'Evreux abzusehen ist. Was an dem Doppelgrab zunächst ins Auge springt, ist die energische Haltung der Figuren, die nicht eigentlich ruhen (wie beispielshalber Karl V., Abb. 6), sondern sich vergleichsweise aktiv gebärden. Vor allem der König ist für eine Liegefigur ganz ungewöhnlich konzipiert: Wie er die rechte Hand, die ursprünglich das Szepter hielt,

18. Aubert u. Beaulieu, *Description raisonnée*, Nr. 220–221; Prost, "Quelques documents," S. 238.



ABB. 7
André Beauneveu: Die linke Hand Karls V. Vgl.
Abb. 6 (Photo: Stephen K. Scher)

ABB. 8

André Beauneveu, 1373/74: Die hl. Katharina.
Grafenkapelle, Courtrai (Photo: Copyright
A.C.L. Bruxelles)

vom Körper abspreizt, oder mit der linken den Eingeweidebeutel gegen die Brust drückt und den Mantel rafft, wie er den Rumpf vorstreckt und zugleich den Kopf zurückwirft, das alles zeugt von einer gewissen Freude des Künstlers an dramatischen Effekten, die sich nicht zuletzt auch darin äußert, wie er das üppige Haar Philipps locker und der Schwerkraft folgend nach hinten fallen läßt. Schon vor diesem Werk glaubt man zu spüren, daß Jean de Liège nicht ausschließlich Grabmäler oder Statuen, sondern auch szenische Gruppen geschaffen haben wird.

Die Darbringung Christi im Tempel ist von ihrem Thema her sowie nach alter ikonographischer Tradition ein feierlich ruhiger Vorgang; die Gruppe des Musée Cluny jedoch führt in dieses Geschehen sowohl inhaltliche als auch räumlich-körperliche Spannungen ein, deren Außergewöhnlichkeit einem erst voll zu Bewußtsein kommt, wenn man etwa die ältere Antwerpener Fassung desselben Gegenstandes zum Vergleich heranzieht¹⁹ (Abb. 5). Recht reizvoll ist dort das anekdotische Motiv des Christkinds, das ängstlich vor dem bärtigen Alten zurückzuweichen scheint; sonst aber zeigt keine der Figuren eine definierbare seelische Regung. In dem Pariser Relief dagegen verhält sich das Kind zwar passiv, steht aber räumlich und ideell im Mittelpunkt einer wirklichen Handlung: Liebevoll und nachsichtig lächelnd hält es Maria dem greisen Simeon hin, der sich mit behutsam ausgebreiteten Armen vorbeugt, während sich in seinem zerfurchten Antlitz schon die visionäre Erregung spiegelt (Luk. 2, 25–35). Auch wie die Begleiterin Mariae von hinten betulich herandrängt und zugleich die Blickverbindung mit dem Betrachter sucht, ist neu gegenüber der viel konventionelleren Haltung der entsprechenden Figur in Antwerpen.

19. Troescher, *Burgundische Plastik*, S. 33 f., hat dieses Relief für "eine vereinfachte jedoch deutliche Replik nach dem Pariser Marmorfragment" gehalten. Mir scheint es für eine Replik zu viele Unterschiede gerade in signifikanten Details aufzuweisen—abgesehen davon, daß eine Datierung an das Jahrhundertende, wie sie die These Troeschers impliziert, aus stilistischen Gründen nicht akzeptabel sein dürfte.



Der Meister des Pariser Fragments ist ein Menschenschilderer von hohen Graden und zugleich ein packender Erzähler gewesen, der die potentiell dramatischen Elemente eines Vorganges gleichsam instinktiv erfaßt haben muß. Schon diese Grundhaltung legt es nahe, ihn mit dem Schöpfer des eigenartig belebten Königspaares aus Maubuisson (Abb. 11) in Verbindung zu bringen. Ein Vergleich der stilistischen Merkmale der beiden Werke bestätigt vollends unsere Vermutung: Die Darbringungsgruppe des Musée Cluny ist nicht von Beauneveu, sondern von Jean de Liège geschaffen worden. Am klarsten zeigt das ihr sehr differenzierter und ein wenig spröder Faltenstil, für den die tiefen Einschnitte und knitterigen Brüche ebenso kennzeichnend sind wie die Dürftigkeit aller positiv plastischen Formwerte. Die Säume bilden keine voluminösen Spiralen, sondern schmiegen sich in flachen Schlingen oder locker geführten Meandern an die tiefer liegenden Gewandschichten an. Wohl wird oft der Kontrast zwischen energisch gerafften und locker fallenden Partien gesucht, aber weder Faltenbäusche noch Faltengehänge besitzen schwellende Kraft. In der Darbringung wie im Doppelgrab verrät die Gewandbehandlung dieselbe Tendenz, eher von der plastischen Substanz zu zehren als diese in ihrer Wirkung zu steigern. Gewisse, häufig wiederkehrende Formeln unterstreichen die Übereinstimmung im Grundsätzlichen: so die kleinen Faltschlaufen in den Ellenbeugen oder die hakenförmigen und dreieckigen Faltenbrüche, die sich vor allem beim Aufstoß des Gewandes über den Füßen bilden. Ein Vergleich der Hände (kurze, lebhaft bewegte Finger mit artikulierten Gelenken) und der Gesichtsbildung beseitigt den letzten Zweifel: Bei der Darbringungsmaria (Abb. 9) wie bei der Königin finden wir die gleiche kleine, aber fleischige Nase, die gleiche punktförmige Vertiefung in den Mundwinkeln und den gleichen Schnitt der Augen die mit ihren ein wenig geschwollenen Lidern in eine weich modellierte, fast kreisförmige Mulde eingebettet liegen.

Jean de Liège war—wie André Beauneveu—einer jener Bildhauer niederländischer Herkunft, deren Tätigkeit für französische Auftraggeber zwar durch zahlreiche Quellen belegt ist, von deren bezeugten Werken jedoch nur ganz wenige auf uns gekommen sind. Während nun die Tatsache, daß Beauneveu



ABB. 9

Jean de Liège: Ausschnitt aus der Darbringungsgruppe Abb. 4 (Photo: Bildarchiv Foto Marburg)

zuletzt im Dienste eines so vielseitigen und glänzenden Mäzens wie des Duc de Berry stand, das Interesse an ihm stets wachgehalten und wohl auch spekulative Zuschreibungen begünstigt hat, wurde Jean de Liège nur selten zum Gegenstand intensiverer Studien gemacht.²⁰ Die ersten Nachrichten, die wir von diesen

20. Eine Ausnahme ist Pierre Pradel, der sich in mehreren wichtigen Aufsätzen mit diesem Künstler beschäftigt hat: P. Pradel, "Les tombeaux," S. 281–291; derselbe, "Notes sur la vie et les oeuvres du sculpteur Jean de Liège," *L'Art Mosan. Journées d'études, Paris, Février 1952* (Paris 1953) S. 217–219; derselbe, "Les tombiers français en Angleterre au XIV^e siècle," *Mémoires de la Soc. Nat. des Antiquaires de France, Recueil du Cent Cinquantenaire* (Paris 1954) S. 235–243. Aus dem älteren Schrifttum sind zu nennen: A. Vidier, "Un tombier liégeois à Paris au XIV^e siècle," *Mémoires de la Soc. de l'Hist. de Paris et de l'Île-de-France* XXX (1903), S. 281–

beiden, vermutlich fast gleichaltrigen, kurz vor oder um 1330 geborenen Künstlern besitzen, stammen zufällig aus demselben Jahr: 1361 restaurierte Beauneveu in seiner Heimatstadt Valenciennes eine beschädigte Statue, während Jean de Liège, der damals schon als "faiseur de tumbes" in Paris seßhaft war, das Grab der Jeanne de Bretagne in der Dominikanerkirche zu Orléans errichtete.²¹ Karl V. hat dann, schon kurz nach seinem Regierungsantritt, beide Meister in

308; M. Devigne, *La sculpture mosane du XIIe au XVIe siècle* (Paris-Bruxelles 1932), S. 77–96; W. H. Forsyth, "A Head from a Royal Effigy," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* N. S. III (1944/45) S. 214–219.

21. Dehaisnes, *Documents*, S. 440 und 432. Dieses Grabmal ist nicht erhalten.

seinen Dienst genommen. Beauneveu wird 1364 mit der Herstellung der erwähnten Grabmäler in Saint-Denis betraut, und Jean de Liège wirkt spätestens ab 1365 an der Dekoration der "Vis du Louvre" mit, ja erhält sogar den besonders wichtigen Auftrag, die Statuen des Königs und der Königin für diese Prunktreppe zu schaffen. Beauneveu scheint Paris allerdings bald wieder verlassen zu haben und verschwindet vorübergehend aus den Quellen; wir treffen ihn erst in den siebziger Jahren in den Niederlanden wieder, und von 1386 bis zu seinem Tod um 1400 ist er—vor allem in Bourges—als Illuminator, Maler und Bildhauer für Jean de Berry tätig gewesen.

Jean de Liège aber scheint in Paris zum bevorzugten Grabplastiker des Hofes avanciert zu sein.



ABB. 10

Liegefiguren der Jeanne d'Evreux und Karls IV. in Saint-Denis (Photo: Gerhard Schmidt)



ABB. 11

Jean de Liège, vor 1371: Liegefiguren vom Eingeweidegrab der Jeanne d'Evreux und Karls IV. aus Maubuisson. Louvre, Paris (Photo: Bildarchiv Foto Marburg)



ABB. 12

Andrè Beauneveu: Der Kopf Karls V. Vgl. Abb. 6 (Photo: Stephen K. Scher)



ABB. 13

Jean de Liège (?), um 1365 oder um 1376/79: Kopf der Liegefigur Philipps VI. in Saint-Denis (Photo: Stephen K. Scher)

1367–1369 arbeitet er an dem Herzgrab Karls V. für die Kathedrale von Rouen, dessen Aussehen uns nur in einem leider nicht sehr aufschlußreichen Aquarell der Sammlung Gaignières überliefert ist;²² vor 1371 muß er das erwähnte Doppelgrab für Maubuisson gefertigt haben, und daß er auch in dem letzten Jahrzehnt seines Lebens nicht müßig war, geht aus seinem Nachlaßinventar hervor, das im Winter 1382/83, rund zwei Jahre nach seinem Tode, verfaßt wurde und das unter anderem auch die Skulpturenverzeichnet, welche die Exekutoren in seiner Werkstatt vorgefunden hatten.²³ Darunter befanden sich mehrere Grabmäler, sowohl aus Marmor als auch aus billigeren Steinsorten, ferner eine lebensgroße Madonna ("V piez et demi de lonc"), eine ebensolche Statue Johannes des Täufers, zwei Statuetten Mariae und eine weitere des Täufers ("toutes d'alebastre et d'un pié de lonc ou environs"), zwei Porträtfiguren Karls V. und seiner Gemahlin ("de pierre du franc de Vitry"), schließlich ein Steinretabel mit der "ystoire de la vie saint Martin" und

eine Anzahl von Alabastergruppen, die zweifellos auch für Altäre bestimmt waren: ein "crucifement où sont les ymages du crucefilx, de Notre Dame, de mons.

22. Pradel, "Les tombeaux," S. 281 ff. mit Abb.

23. Im Wortlaut publiziert von Vidier, "Un tombier," S. 290–308. Die Liste der Bildwerke auf S. 298 f., zwei weitere Stücke werden auf S. 301 erwähnt. Hier noch ein Wort über die Entstehungszeit dieses Dokuments und über die Hinweise, die es auf das Todesdatum des Jean de Liège gibt: Das Inventar ist nach dem 23. Dezember 1382 aufgesetzt worden, da ein einleitend zitierter Erlaß, mit dem das Parlament von Paris zwei Kommissare zu der Verlassenschaft delegiert, dieses Datum trägt. Abgeschlossen und von den Kommissaren signiert wurde das Schriftstück erst am 7. Mai 1383. (Vgl. Vidier, op. cit., S. 290 und 308.) Daß Jean de Liège damals schon rund zwei Jahre lang tot war, scheint daraus hervorzugehen, daß die Exekutoren Spesen für einen ebensolangen Zeitraum verrechnen. Unter "autres mises pour depens commun" heißt es nämlich (Vidier, op. cit., S. 306): "Item, pour plusieurs dyners faiz au Palaiz et en l'ostel dudit Hennequin, où nous, executeurs dessus dits, plusieurs notaires, examinateurs et autres, avons esté par deux années, XXXIIII l. p." Jean de Liège dürfte also bereits im Frühjahr 1381 gestorben sein.

saint Jehan l'Evangeliste," eine "Annunciacion" und eine "Gesine Notre Dame"—also Darstellungen der Verkündigung Mariae und der Geburt Christi.

Das Inventar zeigt Jean de Liège als einen relativ vielseitigen Bildhauer, der keineswegs nur Grabmäler und monumentale Statuen, sondern auch kleine Alabasterstatuetten und zahlreiche Altarreliefs geschaffen hat. Es liegt auf der Hand, daß unsere zunächst nur aus stilistischen Gründen erwogene Zuschreibung der Cluny-Darbringung durch diese Nachrichten noch erheblich an äußerer Wahrscheinlichkeit gewinnt.²⁴ Außerdem befindet sich unter den im Inventar erwähnten Grabmälern eines, das uns in seinen wichtigsten Teilen bis heute überliefert ist: "la tombe madame la duchesse d'Orleans et de sa seur, dont les ymages sont d'alebastre et la tombe est de marbre noir de Dinant." Es handelt sich hier um jenes Doppelgrab, das Blanche de France (†1393)—eine Tochter Karls IV. aus seiner Ehe mit Jeanne d'Evreux, seit 1375 kinderlose Witwe des Philippe d'Orléans und zuletzt die einzige noch lebende Angehörige der kapetingischen Hauptlinie—für sich und für ihre schon 1341 nur vierzehnjährig verstorbene Schwester Marie de France in Saint-Denis hat errichten lassen (Abb. 1). Dort hat sich nur die Liegefigur der Blanche erhalten, während die Marie in den Wirren der Revolution abhanden kam.²⁵ Erst in unserem Jahrhundert ist ihre Büste wieder aufgetaucht; sie gelangte 1941 in das Metropolitan Museum of Art, wo es bald darauf gelang, ihre Herkunft und Identität festzustellen.²⁶

Dieser makellos erhaltene Kopf und die ebenfalls noch weitgehend intakte Statue der Blanche²⁷ erlauben es uns, den Spätstil des Jean de Liège anhand von Originalen zu beurteilen, die in seinen letzten Lebensjahren, um 1380, entstanden sein müssen (Abb. 16, 21). Ganz anders als auf dem Doppelgrab aus Maubuisson, das mindestens zehn Jahre älter ist (Abb. 11), erscheinen die Liegefiguren nun völlig bewegungslos und von einem sehr schlichten Umriß bestimmt.²⁸ An dem Grundcharakter der Drapierung jedoch, die nach wie vor die scharf einschneidenden Mulden stärker betont als die schmalen Faltenwülste mit ihren spröden Schlaufen und Brüchen, hat sich kaum etwas geändert. Die Gesichter schließlich (Abb. 14, 21) zeigen noch immer dieselbe, ja sogar eine gesteigerte Empfindlichkeit für die besonderen Oberflächenreize des Inkarnats: Die ringförmig eingetieften Augenhöhlen, die leicht

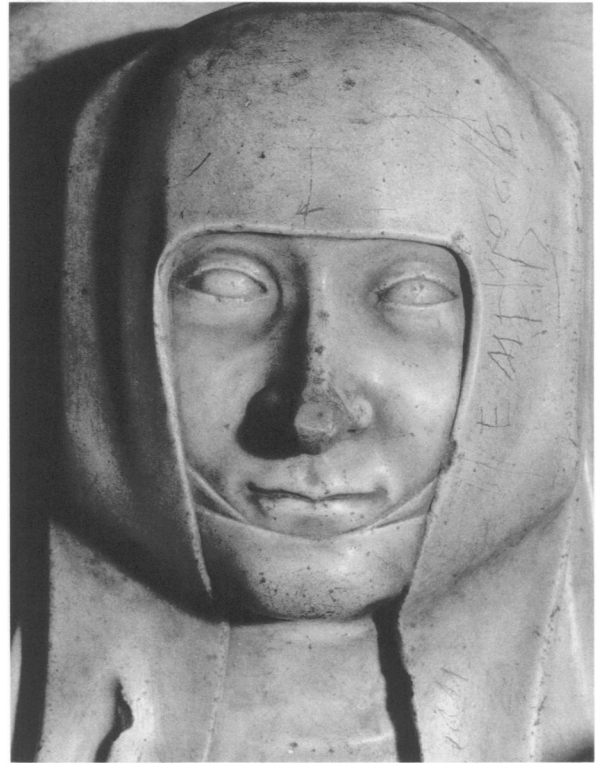


ABB. 14

Jean de Liège, um 1380: Kopf der Blanche de France-Orléans. Vgl. Abb. 1 (Photo: Stephen K. Scher)

geschwollenen Lider, das weiche Fleisch der Wangen, der Mund mit der schmalen, zipfeligen Oberlippe und den zwei punktförmigen Grübchen in den Winkeln—das alles scheint wie aus Wachs modelliert und gewinnt dem Marmor eine Wirkung von vibrierender Sinnlichkeit ab. Die individuelle Charakterisierung der Personen schließlich erreicht nun eine Schärfe, die den Vergleich mit Beaunevus Königsgrab (Abb. 12)

24. Es muß hier ergänzt werden, daß uns keine einzige der bisher bekannt gewordenen Quellen von einer ähnlichen Tätigkeit Beaunevus berichtet.

25. Courajod u. Marcou, *Musée*, S. 52 ff., Nr. 664; Vitry u. Brière, *Saint-Denis*, S. 130 f. Nr. 45.

26. Forsyth, "Royal Effigy."

27. Ergänzungen des 19. Jahrhunderts sind nur die gefalteten Hände, die äußerste Spitze der Nase und das unterste Viertel des Körpers.

28. Vgl. die Gesamtansicht der Blanche de France-Orléans bei G. Schmidt, "Drei Pariser Marmorbildhauer des 14. Jahrhunderts," *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* XXIV (1971), Abb. 221.

nicht mehr zu scheuen braucht; die mit allen körperlichen Merkmalen der Jugend ausgestattete und doch von der Schwermut eines frühen Todes gezeichnete Marie de France zählt, ebenso wie ihre ältere Schwester mit den klugen Augen und dem skeptischen Mund, zu den unvergeßlichsten Physiognomien, die das 14. Jahrhundert hervorgebracht hat.

Mit diesen beiden für Jean de Liège gesicherten und auch zeitlich annähernd festgelegten Doppelgräbern aus Maubuisson (vor 1371) und Saint-Denis (um 1380) besitzen wir zwei Anhaltspunkte, die es uns ermöglichen müßten, andere Zuschreibungen zu überprüfen und die ungefähre Entstehungszeit undatierter Werke zu ermitteln. Bezieht man etwa die Darbringung des Musée Cluny in den Vergleich ein, zeigt sich sofort, daß sie dem älteren Grabmal entschieden näher steht (Abb. 4, 11) und daher ebenfalls aus den Jahren vor oder um 1370 stammen wird.

Wo das ältere Schrifttum dem Jean de Liège andere als die zwei urkundlich bezeugten Werke zugeschrieben hat, geschah dies meist aufgrund irgendeines Hinweises

in den reichlich erhaltenen Quellen. So hat sich seinerzeit eine kleine Kontroverse darüber entsponnen, ob unser Meister identisch gewesen sei mit jenem Hennequin de la Croix, der 1374 ein bei Sauval beschriebenes Grab des Thévenin de Saint-Léger, des Narren Karls V., für eine Kirche in Senlis geschaffen haben soll;²⁹ da dieses Denkmal nicht erhalten ist, können wir die damit zusammenhängende Streitfrage vernachlässigen. Größeres Gewicht hat die heute fast allgemein akzeptierte Zuschreibung des Grabes der englischen Königin Philippa von Hennegau (†1369) in Westminster, für dessen Ausführung dem "Haukino Liege de Francia" am 20. Jänner 1367 eine Zahlung aus der königlichen Kasse bewilligt wird.³⁰ Es wäre immerhin denkbar, daß sich Jean de Liège—ungeachtet der politischen Spannung zwischen den beiden Ländern—vorübergehend in England aufgehalten hätte, nachdem die Vis du Louvre vollendet war und ehe er durch

29. Übersichtlich resümiert in dem Artikel "Jean de Liège" bei Thieme und Becker, *Allg. Lexikon der bildenden Künstler*, vol. XVIII (1925) S. 461 f.

30. Vgl. Pradel, "Tombiers français," S. 237.

ABB. 15

Jean de Liège (?), um 1375/79: Liegefigur der Maria von Spanien in Saint-Denis (Photo: Stephen K. Scher)



Karl V. mit der Ausführung seines Herzgrabes in Rouen beauftragt wurde. Dafür spricht nicht nur die Namensgleichheit (in Verbindung mit dem auffälligen Zusatz "de Francia"), sondern auch der vorzügliche Kopf der Philippa,³¹ der sich tatsächlich dem Frühstil unseres Meisters einzuordnen scheint. Die schlechte Sichtbarkeit des Originals in Westminster erschwert freilich ein abschließendes Urteil, und auf keinen Fall wird Jean de Liège viel mehr als diesen Kopf eigenhändig gearbeitet haben. Denn sowohl die Liegefigur der Königin als auch der Grabmaltypus insgesamt entsprechen viel unmittelbarer der englischen als der französisch-niederländischen Tradition.³²

Angeregt durch die Erwähnung zweier Statuen Karls V. und seiner Gemahlin im Nachlaßprotokoll

31. Ebenda, Fig. 1.

32. Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in London, vol. I: Westminster Abbey* (London 1924) Taf. 58, 187.

33. Devigne, *Sculpture mosane*, S. 84. Zu den Figuren vgl. Aubert u. Beaulieu, *Description raisonnée*, Nr. 223–224, und A. Erlande-Brandenburg, "Les statues de Charles V et de Jeanne de Bourbon du Musée du Louvre," *Bulletin monumental* 1968, S. 28–36.

von 1382 hat man diese mit den beiden Stifterfiguren von der Pariser Coelestinerkirche gleichsetzen wollen, die sich heute im Louvre befinden.³³ Eine solche Hypothese ist freilich durch stilistische Argumente kaum zu erhärten und stößt überdies auf chronologische Schwierigkeiten: Da die Coelestinerkirche bereits 1370 geweiht wurde, ist nicht recht einzusehen, warum ihre Portalfiguren noch zwölf Jahre später (und offenbar in vollendetem Zustand) in der Werkstatt des Bildhauers hätten stehen sollen.³⁴—Schließlich wurde auch, und zwar aus stilistischen Gründen, das Grabmal der Margarete von Flandern (†1382) in Saint-Denis mit der Werkstatt des Jean de Liège in Verbindung gebracht.³⁵ Diese Vermutung mag zutreffen, doch wird es sich bei dem in allen Einzelheiten plas-

34. Kürzlich habe ich an anderer Stelle auf die Möglichkeit hingewiesen, ein bisher nur aus den Quellen bekannter Bildhauer, Jehan de Torry, könnte unter Umständen der Autor der Skulpturen am Coelestinerportal gewesen sein: Vgl. *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 1971, S. 80, Anm. 17.

35. Vitry u. Brière, *Saint-Denis*, S. 131, Nr. 46; Pradel, "Jean de Liège," S. 218.

ABB. 16

Jean de Liège, um 1380: Liegefigur der Blanche de France-Orléans in Saint-Denis. Vgl. Abb. 1 (Photo: Stephen K. Scher)



ABB. 17

Jean de Liège, um 1375/80: Engel von einer Verkündigungsgruppe. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 17.190.390

tisch artikulierten Antlitz dieser Fürstin kaum um eine eigenhändige Arbeit des Meisters handeln.

Darüber hinaus gibt es schließlich noch eine Anzahl von bisher wenig beachteten Skulpturen, die ich allein aufgrund ihrer charakteristischen Stilmerkmale dem Jean de Liège zuschreiben möchte. An ihrer Spitze steht ein Verkündigungsengel aus weißem Marmor, der aus der Sammlung Morgan in das Metropolitan Museum of Art gelangt ist (Abb. 17). Früher soll er sich auf Schloß Bussy-Rabutin in Burgund befunden haben,³⁶ doch läßt diese Nachricht kaum Rückschlüsse auf seinen ursprünglichen Bestimmungsort zu. Sicher ist lediglich, daß er zu einem Marmorretabel gehört haben muß, das offenbar jenem ähnelte, von dem die Darbringungsgruppe des Musée Cluny stammt. Die Verwandtschaft der beiden Stücke ist nicht unbemerkt geblieben: Aus Aufzeichnungen im Metropolitan Museum geht hervor, daß Otto Pächt und Theodor Müller schon vor Jahren in mündlichen oder brieflichen Äußerungen einen Zusammenhang vermutet haben. Ihrer Größe nach³⁷ könnten die zwei Fragmente sogar von ein und demselben Ensemble stammen, doch sprechen gewisse Unterschiede sowohl des Materials als auch des Stils gegen diese Annahme. Denn erstens besteht die Darbringungsgruppe nicht aus dem gleichen makellos weißen Stein wie der Engel, sondern aus einem Material, das von bräunlichen Schlieren durchzogen ist, und zweitens weist ihre ein wenig schärfere Formgebung auf eine frühere Entstehung hin. Vergleicht man die beiden Stücke miteinander (Abb. 4 und 17), zeigt es sich zwar, daß sie in den grundlegenden Stilqualitäten übereinstimmen: Im Duktus seiner Körperbewegung entspricht Gabriel weitgehend dem Simeon, in den Drapierungsmotiven fast wörtlich der Maria, und seine das Spruchband unterstützende Linke gleicht in allen Einzelheiten jener Hand, mit der die Begleiterin Mariae einen

36. P. Vitry, "Les collections Pierpont Morgan," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 56 (1914/I) S. 435.

37. Die aufrecht stehende Maria der Darbringung ist 64 cm, der leicht gebückte Verkündigungsengel 61 cm hoch.



ABB. 18

Jean de Liège, um 1380: Der Evangelist Johannes. Musée Cluny, Paris (Photo: Gerhard Schmidt)

kurzen, zylindrischen Gegenstand hält.³⁸ Aber die Oberfläche des Engels ist eine Spur malerischer und in den Details großzügiger behandelt; man kann das vor allem an seinem weich modellierten, in den Einzelzügen wie verwischt wirkenden Antlitz und an den üppig geringelten Haarspiralen überprüfen, wenn man sie mit entsprechenden Details der Darbringungsgruppe vergleicht (Abb. 4, 9, 19). Insofern steht der Gabriel späteren Werken des Jean de Liège, namentlich der Marie de France (Abb. 21) näher, der man ihn ja sogar im Original gegenüberstellen kann.³⁹ Dabei erweist es sich, daß etwa die Profillinien der beiden Köpfe, der Augenschnitt und viele Einzelheiten der plastischen Bildung von Stirne, Wangen und Kinnpartie in einem Ausmaß übereinstimmen, das mit Hilfe von Photographien gar nicht anschaulich gemacht werden kann. Der Gabriel repräsentiert also sehr wahrscheinlich ebenfalls den Spätstil des Meisters und wird daher in die späten siebziger Jahre, wenn nicht um 1380 zu datieren sein.⁴⁰

Von diesem New Yorker Verkündigungengel ausgehend kann—wie ich glaube—noch eine weitere Figur überzeugend dem Jean de Liège zugeschrieben werden: die 115 cm hohe Marmorstatue eines hl. Johannes Evangelista des Musée Cluny (Abb. 18), die sich früher in der Abbaye des Dames zu Longchamps befunden haben soll. Als wohlponderierte, freistehende Rundfigur führt sie eine neue Gattung

38. Die Ergänzung dieses Objekts in Form eines Leuchterfußes sowie die zugehörige rechte Hand der Frau gehen auf eine jüngere Restaurierung zurück und wurden inzwischen entfernt. Insofern gibt unsere Abb. 4 den gegenwärtigen Zustand der Gruppe nicht ganz korrekt wieder.

39. Ich möchte an dieser Stelle den beiden verantwortlichen Beamten des Museums, Dr. Florens Deuchler und William H. Forsyth, für das außerordentliche Entgegenkommen danken, mit dem sie mir eine Untersuchung der beiden Plastiken aus größter Nähe und unter allen Blickwinkeln ermöglicht haben.

40. Es wäre natürlich verführerisch, in dieser Figur einen Teil gerade jener "Annunciacion Notre Dame où est l'ymage de Notre Dame et de saint Gabriel" sehen zu wollen, die im Nachlaßinventar erwähnt wird (Vidier, "Un tombier," S. 298); leider fehlt diesbezüglich jede Kontrollmöglichkeit.

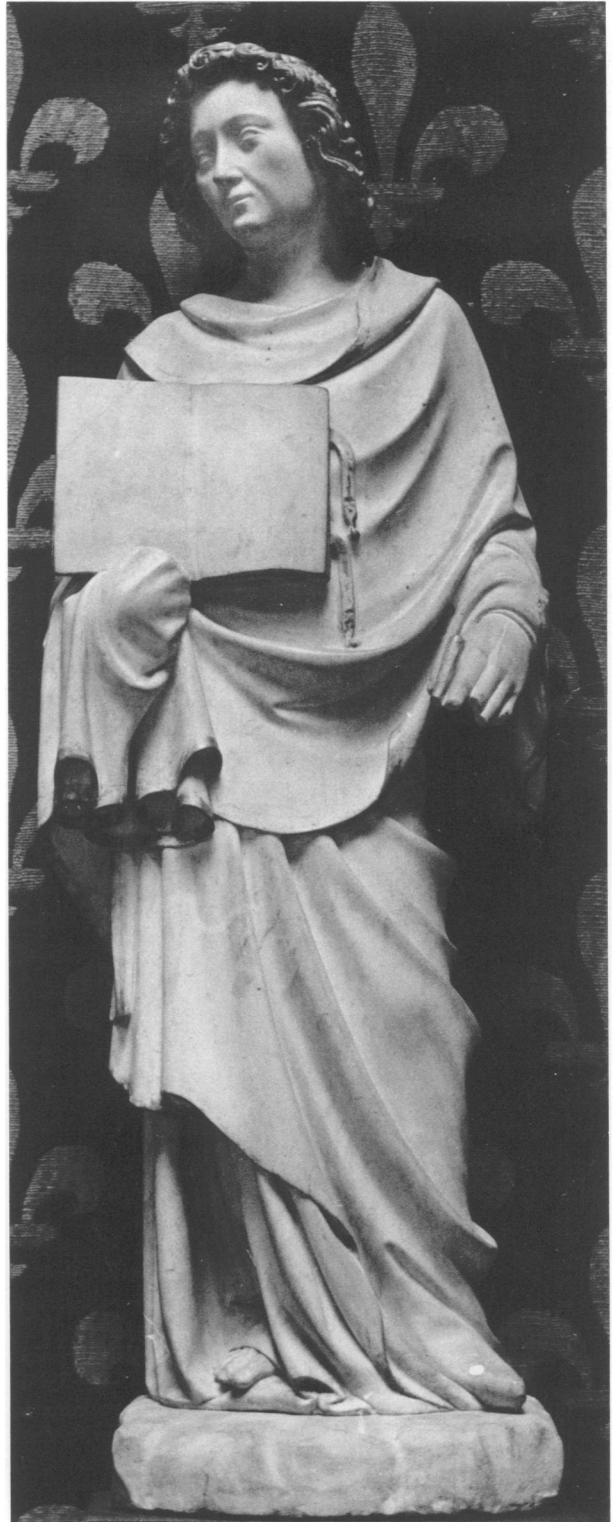




ABB. 19
Jean de Liège: Ausschnitt des Verkündigungse-
ngels. Vgl. Abb. 17

in das bisher besprochene Oeuvre des Meisters ein; allerdings legt es ihre grundsätzlich—etwa in der Betonung der Vorderansicht als einziger Schauseite—doch sehr “reliefhafte” Auffassung nahe, sie eher mit den Retabelfragmenten als mit den Grabmälern zu vergleichen. Der elegante, von raffinierten Kontraposten bestimmte Bewegungsrhythmus dieser Gestalt und die harmonisch schwingenden Faltenkurven ihres reich drapierten Mantels weisen bereits auf Formvorstellungen des Internationalen Stils voraus; sie befürworten—ebenso wie die enge Übereinstimmung des Kopfes mit dem Gabriel des Metropolitan Museum—eine Spätdatierung um 1380 (Abb. 19 und 20). Ob-

wohl das Gesicht des Heiligen ein wenig hagerer und im Ausdruck ernster wirkt als das des strahlenden Engels, ist die morphologische Verwandtschaft beider—etwa hinsichtlich der Mund- und Augenbildung oder der ganz unverwechselbaren Haarbehandlung—evident. Aber auch zu der älteren Darbringungsgruppe bestehen noch einige Beziehungen. Dort läßt vor allem der locker um die Schultern geworfene und die Hände verhüllende Umhang des Simeon einen Vergleich zu (Abb. 4 und 18). Einzelne Drapierungsmotive des Johannes schließlich gehören überhaupt dem konstanten Formenschatz des Jean de Liège an: die scharf einbrechenden Faltenwinkel an den Ellbogen etwa oder die ausgezackte Umrißlinie, die sich entlang des Spielbeines dadurch ergibt, daß einige Faltenstege des hochgerafften Mantels in teleskopartiger Schichtung straff um den Körperkern herumgeführt werden.

Auch das Kopffragment eines Prinzengrabes im Museum Mayer van den Bergh (Abb. 22) läßt sich aufgrund stilkritischer Vergleiche als sichere Arbeit des Jean de Liège agnoszieren. Im Gesichtsschnitt stimmt es weitgehend mit der Darbringungsmaria des Musée Cluny, hinsichtlich der Wiedergabe des Haares und der großen, fleischigen Ohren mit dem dortigen Jesuskind überein⁴¹ (Abb. 9, 22).

Von den im folgenden zu besprechenden Skulpturen halte ich es zwar für wahrscheinlich, daß auch sie von Jean de Liège stammen, doch erlauben sie aus dem einen oder anderen Grunde keinen so zwingenden Vergleich mit seinen besser gesicherten Arbeiten, daß man sie ihm ohne Vorbehalt zuschreiben könnte. Das wichtigste Werk dieser Kategorie ist das nur in einer Zeichnung der Sammlung Gaignières überlieferte Hochgrab Karls V. und seiner Gemahlin Johanna von Bourbon (Abb. 2), das—abgesehen von dem Gisant des Königs, den Beauneveu schon 1364/65 geschaffen hatte—erst zwischen 1376 und 1379 vollendet worden ist.⁴² Unter den drei erhaltenen und von Pradel identifizierten Originalfragmenten der rahmenden

41. Einen Zusammenhang mit Jean de Liège vermutet neuerdings auch R. Didier, “Les sculptures du musée Mayer van den Bergh à Anvers,” *Revue des Archéologues et Historiens d’Art de Louvain* IV (1971) S. 229.

42. Vgl. die scharfsinnige Untersuchung dieses Denkmals bei Pradel, “Les tombeaux,” S. 287 ff., wo auch schon die Autorschaft des Jean de Liège vermutet wird.



ABB. 20

Jean de Liège: Kopf des hl. Johannes. Vgl. Abb. 18 (Photo: Gerhard Schmidt)

Arkatur⁴³ befindet sich auch eines, das noch Teile einer Bischofsfigur enthält; ihre spröden und tief eingeschnittenen Gewandfalten entsprechen tatsächlich der Art des Jean de Liège. Ebenso überzeugend ist ein Vergleich der Königin mit gesicherten weiblichen Grabfiguren dieses Meisters, der sich freilich nur anhand der Gaignières-Zeichnungen durchführen läßt (Abb. 1 und 2). Wenn man etwa die Jeanne de Bourgogne danebenstellt, die unter Beauneveus Leitung schon um die Mitte der sechziger Jahre entstanden sein dürfte (Abb. 3), wird die Zusammengehörigkeit der jüngeren Königin mit Blanche und Marie de France nur umso deutlicher.

Fast gleichzeitig mit diesem königlichen Auftrag könnte der Künstler auch an dem Grab der Maria von Spanien (†1379) gearbeitet haben, das ursprünglich in der Jakobinerkirche stand und jetzt ebenfalls in Saint-Denis Platz gefunden hat.⁴⁴ Die Statue gehört wieder demselben Typus an, den auch Blanche und Marie de France vertreten (Abb. 1, 15, 16, 21), doch ist die Oberflächenbehandlung des Gesichtes nicht ganz so subtil wie bei der letztgenannten. Die

43. Vgl. die Abb. ebenda, S. 288.

44. Zusammen mit der wohl schon früher entstandenen Liegefigur ihres bereits 1346 bei Crécy gefallenen Gemahles Charles de Valois. Vgl. Vitry u. Brière, *Saint-Denis*, S. 129, Nr. 42, 43; die ganze Figur der Maria von Spanien ist bei Schmidt, "Marmorbildhauer," Abb. 219, reproduziert.

plastische Härte der Einzelformen und der schärfere Schnitt der Augen erinnern sogar ein wenig an die Art Beauneveus (Abb. 12), der freilich schon aus chronologischen Gründen nicht als Autor in Frage kommen dürfte. Man wird deshalb entweder eine stärkere Beteiligung von Gehilfen oder eine etwas frühere Entstehung dieser Figur (noch vor dem Tod der Dargestellten, schon in den frühen siebziger Jahren?) für die erwähnten Anomalien verantwortlich machen müssen. Diese sind aber insgesamt nicht so groß, daß sie die Zuschreibung an Jean de Liège ernsthaft in Frage stellen würden.

Noch schwieriger liegt der Fall eines weiteren Grabmals in Saint-Denis, das durch eine leider nicht ganz eindeutige Nachricht mit unserem Künstler in Zusammenhang gebracht wird, weshalb man es gelegentlich auch unter seine Werke gezählt hat. Dieselbe Quelle, der wir unsere Informationen über das Doppelgrab aus Maubuisson verdanken, berichtet nämlich zugleich von zwei anderen Zahlungen, die die Exekutoren der Königinwitwe Jeanne d'Evreux dem Jean de Liège leisteten "pour faire descendre du tresor de l'eglise de Saint-Denis en France, l'image d'albâtre et l'asseoir sur la tombe de mad. dame en lad. eglise, XL sols parisis. Item, pour semblablement en l'eglise des Freres mineurs de Paris où le cuer de mad. dame fut ensepuluré, XXXII sols parisis."⁴⁵ Es handelt sich hier um zwei Gräber, die offenbar schon zu Lebzeiten der Königin ausgeführt worden waren und die nun lediglich an den vorgesehenen Bestattungsorten aufgestellt werden sollten; das dafür ausgeworfene Honorar ist dementsprechend gering. Aus der Tatsache, daß gerade Jean de Liège mit dieser Arbeit betraut wurde, folgert natürlich nicht zwingend, daß er auch der Schöpfer der betreffenden Figuren gewesen sein muß, doch ist ein solcher Gedanke zumindest nicht von der Hand zu weisen.⁴⁶

Das Herzgrab der Jeanne d'Evreux ist verloren; die erhaltene Liegefigur ihres Grabes in Saint-Denis aber müßte eine Kontrolle dieser Hypothese erlauben. Die Königin ist auch dort an der Seite ihres Gemahls beigesetzt (Abb. 10), doch gehören die beiden Figuren stilistisch nicht zusammen. Von Karl IV. wissen wir,

45. Prost, "Quelques documents," S. 238.

46. Nur Devigne, *Sculpture mosane*, S. 81 f., und der Artikel in Thieme u. Becker, *Lexikon*, S. 462, schreiben ihm die beiden Gräber ohne Vorbehalt zu.

daß sein Grab gleich nach seinem Tode (1328) errichtet wurde;⁴⁷ von der Statue seiner Witwe jedoch hören wir zum ersten Mal aus der oben zitierten Quelle von 1372. Vergleicht man das Eingeweidegrab aus Maubuisson (Abb. 11) mit den Figuren desselben Paares in Saint-Denis, so fällt immerhin auf, daß die Königin in beiden Denkmälern einen sehr verwandten Typus vertritt, während sich die Darstellungen ihres Gemahls radikal voneinander unterscheiden. Auch Einzelheiten der Faltenbehandlung und der Gesichtsbildung könnten dafür sprechen, daß Jean de Liège die Statue der Königin in Saint-Denis nicht nur aufgestellt, sondern auch selbst angefertigt hat. Andererseits wurde ebenso zutreffend darauf hingewiesen, daß diese Figur in manchen Zügen—etwa in dem noch relativ ausgeprägten "déhanchement"—einer ganzen Reihe von Frauengräbern in Saint-Denis ähnelt, die sicher schon in den zwanziger Jahren entstanden waren.⁴⁸

Eine klare Entscheidung dieses besonders problematischen Falles scheint mir derzeit nicht möglich. Vielleicht liegt die Wahrheit hier tatsächlich in der Mitte:

47. Courajod u. Marcou, *Musée*, S. 20 ff., Nr. 629–630.

48. Vitry u. Brière, *Saint-Denis*, S. 127.

Jeanne d'Evreux mag zwar ihre Grabfigur für Saint-Denis schon in den ersten Jahren ihrer Witwenschaft, also um 1328/30, angeschafft haben, rund vierzig Jahre später aber hätte sie diese inzwischen unmodern gewordene und gewiß nicht mehr porträtähnliche Statue von Jean de Liège überarbeiten lassen. Gerade die Herstellung des Eingeweidegrabes durch denselben Künstler könnte dazu den Anstoß gegeben haben, und das würde auch erklären, warum diese beiden Liegefiguren der Königin—trotz des grundsätzlich verschiedenen Körpergefühls—in manchen Einzelheiten übereinstimmen.

Ich glaube, daß man noch eine letzte Grabplastik mit Jean de Liège in Verbindung bringen darf, obwohl sich auch diese Zuschreibung ausschließlich auf stilkritische Beobachtungen stützt und durch die urkundlichen Nachrichten eher in Zweifel gezogen als bekräftigt wird. Wir haben schon anlässlich der ersten Erwähnung der drei unter Beauneveus Leitung entstandenen Königsgräber von 1364 angemerkt, daß zwar die *Liegefiguren* Philipps VI. und Johanns des Guten eng verwandt sind, nicht aber ihre *Köpfe*. Es ist nun gerade das Antlitz des erstgenannten (Abb. 13), das alle Merkmale der uns inzwischen vertraut gewordenen künstlerischen Handschrift aufweist; kon-

ABB. 21

Jean de Liège, um 1380:
Büste der Marie de France
von ihrem Grab in Saint-
Denis (vgl. Abb. 1). The
Metropolitan Museum of
Art, gift of George
Blumenthal, 40.100.132



frontiert man es mit der Physiognomie Karls V. (Abb. 12), wird man sofort an den Unterschied zwischen der ausgesprochen "plastischen," jede Einzelform in ihrer Körperlichkeit betonenden Art Beauneveus und der "malerischen" Faktur des Jean de Liège erinnert, dem es viel mehr auf die sinnliche Wirkung der Oberfläche und auf die abwechslungsreiche, Licht und Schatten fein nuancierende Modellierung ankommt. Zum Vergleich mit diesem Kopf bieten sich etwa die Begleiterin Mariae und der Simeon der Darbringungsgruppe (Abb. 9, 24), aber auch noch die Blanche de France von ca. 1380 an (Abb. 14).

Jean de Liège mag also in den mittleren sechziger Jahren vorübergehend mit Beauneveu zusammengearbeitet haben. Da er damals bereits im Dienst Karls V. stand und am Skulpturenschmuck des Louvre mitwirkte, ist seine Beteiligung an einem anderen königlichen Unternehmen im Grunde gar nicht überraschend, ja es wäre sogar denkbar, daß ihm dessen Leitung übertragen wurde, als Beauneveu aus ungeklärten Gründen den französischen Hof verließ. Da die erhaltenen Nachrichten über Zahlungen an Beauneveu, die von Oktober bis Dezember 1364 reichen, offenkundig nur den Anfang der Arbeiten betreffen, sind wir über deren Fortgang und den Zeitpunkt ihrer Vollendung auf Spekulationen angewiesen.⁴⁹ So wäre es übrigens auch vorstellbar, daß die eine oder andere der vier Grabfiguren beim Ausscheiden Beauneveus noch unfertig war und in diesem Zustand blieb, bis Karl V. in den siebziger Jahren die Aufstellung seines eigenen Doppelgrabes neuerlich betrieb. Da er sich, wie wir gesehen haben, zu diesem Zweck vermutlich des Jean de Liège bedient hat, mag er ihn gleichzeitig auch mit der Vollendung der allenfalls noch unfertigen Liegefigur seines Großvaters beauftragt haben. Tatsächlich scheint der Kopf Philipps VI. hinsichtlich seiner Oberflächenbehandlung mit relativ späten Arbeiten des Jean de Liège noch besser übereinzustimmen als mit den um oder vor 1370 entstandenen. Angesichts dieser möglichen Alternative möchte ich ihn nicht vorbehaltlos als sein vermutlich ältestes erhaltenes Werk ansprechen, solange nicht wenigstens *ein* verlässlich datierbares Beispiel für seinen frühen Stil bekannt geworden ist, das eine Kontrolle gestatten würde.

49. Vgl. Dehaisnes, *Documents*, S. 452 ff., und Pradel, "Les tombeaux," S. 275 ff.

Schließlich muß noch ein Retabelfragment aus Alabaster in unsere Betrachtung einbezogen werden: das etwa 38 cm hohe Teilstück einer figurenreichen Kreuzigungsgruppe (Abb. 23), das in der Skulpturensammlung des Louvre durch seine souveräne Technik und die packende Gruppierung der ausdrucksvoll agierenden Personen sofort die Aufmerksamkeit gefangen nimmt.⁵⁰ Der unter dem Kreuz—zu dem er weinend aufblickt—zusammengekauerte und die Hände ringende Johannes stimmt zwar nicht mimisch, wohl aber in vielen physiognomischen Details mit dem New Yorker Gabriel und mit der Statue des Evangelisten im Musée Cluny überein (Abb. 19, 20). Der Kopf des Hauptmanns wieder ruft mit seinem ein wenig zotteligen Haar und dem halbgeöffneten Mund die Erinnerung an den ähnlich ergriffenen Simeon der Darbringung wach (Abb. 24). Das relativ viel

50. Vom Louvre 1933 erworben. Bei Aubert u. Beaulieu, *Description raisonnée*, nicht besprochen.

ABB. 22

Jean de Liège, um 1370: Kopf eines Prinzen von einem unbekannten Grabmal. Museum Mayer van den Bergh, Antwerpen (Photo: Bildarchiv Foto Marburg)





ABB. 23

Jean de Liège (?), um 1380: Fragment einer Kreuzigung. Louvre, Paris (Photo: Bildarchiv Foto Marburg)

kleinere Figurenformat des Louvre-Fragments erschwert einen detaillierten Vergleich des Faltenstils, doch dürfte die Gruppe auch in dieser Hinsicht keine Merkmale aufweisen, die mit der Autorschaft des Jean de Liège unvereinbar wären. Am zweifelhaftesten ist wohl, ob ein so dicht komponiertes und in mehrere Raumschichten aufgelöstes Relief überhaupt schon vor 1380 entstanden sein kann. Ähnliche Effekte kennen wir sonst erst aus Werken der neunziger Jahre wie den beiden Retabeln des Jacques de Baërre in Dijon, und auch die bizarren Kostüme der Soldaten scheinen eine etwas spätere Datierung nahezulegen. Diese für unseren Zuschreibungsversuch entscheidende Frage muß hier offen bleiben. Sie ließe sich vielleicht beantworten, wenn es gelänge, die ikonographische Quelle (wohl eine Malerei?) aufzufinden, die dieses kleine Meisterwerk inspiriert haben muß.

Alle besprochenen Skulpturen stammen offenbar aus der Pariser Zeit des Jean de Liège, die meisten von ihnen dürften sogar erst in seinen letzten zehn bis zwölf Lebensjahren entstanden sein. Von seinen An-

fängen in den Niederlanden aber und von seinem Pariser Frühstil wissen wir so gut wie nichts. Dennoch erscheint sein greifbares Oeuvre ziemlich umfangreich, besonders wenn man bedenkt, daß sich aus Beaunevus viel längerer Schaffenszeit noch wesentlich weniger Werke erhalten haben, die ihm überzeugend zugeschrieben werden können. Das mag zum Teil daran liegen, daß—trotz aller ihrer Verluste—ein relativ hoher Prozentsatz der Pariser Plastik des 14. Jahrhunderts auf uns gekommen ist, während diejenige der Niederlande, wo Beauneveu gerade während seiner Reifejahre tätig war, noch viel radikaler dezimiert wurde. Aber auch ein zweiter Grund ist nicht zu übersehen: Während uns Beauneveu vorwiegend als Organisator und Unternehmer entgegentritt, der die Tätigkeit größerer Künstlerkollektive beaufsichtigte und nur wenige besonders wichtige Arbeiten selbst ausführte, scheint sich Jean de Liège stets einer relativ kleinen Werkstatt mit nur wenigen Gehilfen bedient zu haben.⁵¹ Die aus diesem Atelier hervorgegangenen Skulpturen werden also vorwiegend seine eigenhändigen Schöpfungen gewesen sein und schließen sich deshalb zu einem viel einheitlicher wirkenden Oeuvre zusammen als jene Stücke, die mit dem Namen Beaunevus verbunden sind und deren stilistische Variationsbreite der Forschung so viele Rätsel aufgibt.

Das erklärt auch, warum es im Grunde nur so wenige Denkmäler gibt, vor denen man im Zweifel ist, ob sie dem Jean de Liège selbst, oder mehr allgemein seiner "Werkstatt," seinem "Umkreis" oder seiner "Nachfolge" zuzuschreiben sind. Eigentlich stellen uns nur zwei der weiter oben erwähnten Bildwerke vor eine solche Entscheidung: die Margarete von Flandern in Saint-Denis und das kleine Kalvarienberg-Fragment

51. Wenigstens um 1364/65 in Saint-Denis und dann wieder von ca. 1386 bis gegen 1400, als er die bildhauerische und malerische Ausstattung der Bauten des Duc de Berry leitete, war Beauneveu zweifellos primär als Organisator und nur sekundär als ausübender Künstler tätig—vgl. Pradel, "Les tombeaux," und Scher, "Beauneveu and Sluter." Von Jean de Liège hingegen wissen wir, daß er in seinem Atelier nur einen Altgesellen (Robin Loisel) und einen untergeordneten Gehilfen namens Regnaud beschäftigt hat; vgl. Vidier, "Un tombier," S. 285.

des Louvre. Die meisten jener Pariser Marmorgräber aus den späten siebziger bis frühen neunziger Jahren aber, die man tatsächlich als "Richtung des Jean de Liège" zu klassifizieren versucht wäre, stammen offenbar von einem einzigen, seinerseits präzise faßbaren Bildhauer; dieser ist höchstwahrscheinlich mit jenem Robin Loisel identisch, der durch längere Zeit ein Gehilfe unseres Meisters war und der es, trotz seiner viel bescheideneren Begabung, verstanden zu haben scheint, in die Rolle eines Nachfolgers hineinzuwachsen.⁵²

Bei Beauneveu ist das anders: Seine künstlerische Bedeutung vermag man nur dann in ihrem ganzen Umfang zu würdigen, wenn man außer den wenigen verläßlich eigenhändigen Werken auch jene Skulpturen in die Betrachtung einbezieht, an denen sich sein prägender Einfluß auf das gesamte frankovlämische Milieu manifestiert. So darf man vielleicht das um 1374 entstandene Eingeweidegrab Karls V. aus Maubuisson, heute im Louvre,⁵³ als Beispiel dafür zitieren, daß es noch im Paris der siebziger Jahre so etwas wie eine Beauneveu-Nachfolge gegeben hat; ein anderes Stück aus seinem Umkreis, das unverkennbar die Formensprache der Katharina in Courtrai nachahmt, ist das schöne Bostoner Statuenfragment einer hl. Anna, die Maria das Lesen lehrt (Abb. 25). Sicher könnte auch ein Teil der spärlich erhaltenen niederländischen Bauplastik des letzten Jahrhundertdrittels indirekte Aufschlüsse über Beauneveus dortige Tätigkeit geben; dazu wird man dieses Material allerdings erst ebenso eindringlich analysieren müssen, wie das—in Hinblick auf dasselbe Problem—bisher nur für die in Bourges erhaltenen Skulpturen versucht worden ist.⁵⁴

Aber auch schon beim gegenwärtigen Stand unserer Kenntnisse vermag man festzustellen, daß sich Beauneveu und Jean de Liège nicht nur in ihrem Temperament und in ihrer Arbeitsweise, sondern auch hinsichtlich ihrer künstlerischen Bildung unterschieden haben müssen. Ihre Werke geben von fast gegensätzlichen

Formvorstellungen Zeugnis, obwohl beide Meister niederländischer Herkunft waren und auch ungefähr der gleichen Generation angehört haben dürften. Nun war Beauneveu aus Valenciennes, also dem Hennegau, gebürtig, während Jean de Liège aus dem Maasgebiet stammte; regionale Traditionen mögen daher schon bei ihrer Ausbildung eine Rolle gespielt und gewisse Unterschiede begründet haben. Leider wissen wir zu wenig über die hennegauische Plastik des 14. Jahrhunderts, um eine solche Vermutung bezüglich Beauneveus kontrollieren zu können; bei Jean de Liège aber liegen die Dinge günstiger. Seitdem es gelungen ist, eine Gruppe maasländischer Skulpturen der dreißiger und vierziger Jahre zusammenzustellen, die offenbar aus einem einzigen großen und relativ langlebigen Atelier hervorgegangen sind, besitzen wir eine sehr

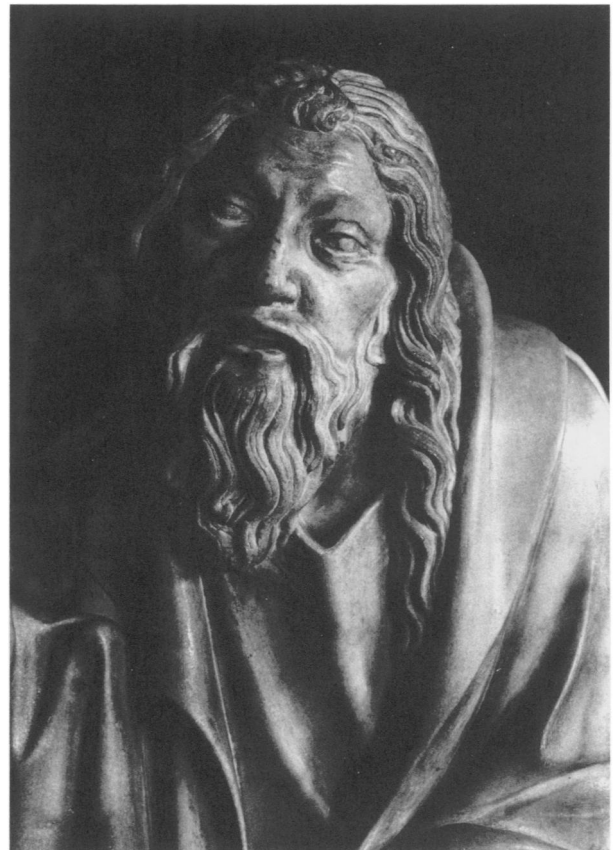


ABB. 24

Jean de Liège: Ausschnitt aus der Darbringungsgruppe Abb. 4 (Photo: Bildarchiv Foto Marburg)

52. Sein umfangreiches Oeuvre ist zusammengestellt bei Schmidt, "Marmorbildhauer." Er scheint schon zu Lebzeiten des Jean de Liège manche Grabmäler ganz selbständig ausgeführt zu haben, unter anderem das für die Coelestinerkirche bestimmte Eingeweidegrab der Jeanne de Bourbon (um 1378), von dem die heute in Saint-Denis befindliche Liegefigur dieser Königin stammt.

53. Aubert u. Beaulieu, *Description raisonnée*, Nr. 222.

54. Und zwar von Scher, "Beauneveu and Sluter."

konkrete Vorstellung davon, wie das Bildungsmilieu unseres Meisters ausgesehen haben dürfte.⁵⁵ Gerade die kennzeichnendsten Elemente seines Figurenstils scheinen sich tatsächlich von dieser älteren Werkgruppe herzuleiten, wenn sie bei ihm auch in den Dienst eines besonders kraftvollen und individuellen Künstlertums gestellt werden: So die subtile Oberflächenbehandlung, dank welcher die weich modellierten Gesichter eine viel geringere stoffliche Dichte zu besitzen scheinen als etwa die Gewänder; so auch viele Motive des Faltenwurfes und des Saumlineaments; so schließlich der dramatische Grundzug, der sich—ohne den Wohllaut formaler Zusammenklänge zu stören—in der Vorliebe für Kontraposte aller Art manifestiert. Selbst an Einzelheiten lassen sich diese Beziehungen noch ablesen: Die Darbringungsmaria des Musée Cluny beispielshalber (Abb. 9) weist eine auffällige physiognomische Verwandtschaft mit jener 1340 nach Saint-Denis gestifteten "Notre-Dame-la-Blanche" auf, deren Zusammenhang mit der Maaskunst von Forsyth entdeckt worden ist,⁵⁶ und der hl. Johannes aus Longchamps (Abb. 18) folgt in Körperschwung und Drapierung noch immer dem Schema der um fast fünfzig Jahre älteren, aus Lüttich stammenden Marmormadonna in der Kathedrale von Antwerpen.⁵⁷

Daß Jean de Liège an die Tradition dieser maasländischen Werkstatt anknüpfen konnte, erscheint noch unter einem anderen Blickwinkel bedeutsam. Es liegt ja auf der Hand, daß jenes Aufblühen der Marmorskulptur im Norden, von dem einleitend die Rede war, das Interesse der gotischen Bildhauer auf Italien lenken mußte, wo die Bearbeitung dieses Materials seit der Antike ohne Unterbrechung gepflegt worden war. Manche von ihnen werden wohl selbst die Toskana aufgesucht haben, um technische Fertigkeiten zu erwerben; dort aber konnten sie damals auch schon die Werke der Pisani und ihrer Schule kennen lernen. Ein kleiner Künstlertrupp aus dem oben erwähnten maasländischen Atelier etwa muß bereits in den dreißiger Jahren nach Mittelitalien gekommen sein; das bezeugen Skulpturen aus Carrara, Pisa und Sarzana, die teils von den niederländischen Meistern

selbst stammen, teils ihren Einfluß auf bodenständige Bildhauer erkennen lassen.⁵⁸ Dieser unmittelbare Kontakt mit dem Süden erklärt wohl auch, weshalb gerade spätere Arbeiten der maasländischen Werkstatt gelegentlich so "ungotisch" wirken: Sie setzen sich offenkundig mit trecentesken Figurentypen auseinander, die etwa der Art des Giovanni Pisano oder des Tino di Camaino entsprochen haben dürften.⁵⁹ Aus denselben Quellen muß aber auch Jean de Liège geschöpft haben, und zwar höchstwahrscheinlich nicht bloß aus zweiter Hand, sondern durch persönliches Studium der italienischen Originale. Wir haben schon die ausgezackte Konturlinie erwähnt, die an der Beinpartie mancher seiner Figuren dadurch entsteht, daß stufenförmig geschichtete Faltengehänge seitlich um die Körperumrundung herumgeführt werden (Abb. 4, 17, 18); dieses Motiv ist bekanntlich bei Giovanni Pisano vorgebildet, am prägnantesten wohl an der "Madonna della Cintola" in der Kathedrale zu Prato. Aber auch die rundlichen Frauengesichter eines Tino di Camaino und eines Giovanni di Balduccio mit ihren schmalen, tief in das Fleisch eingebetteten Augenschlitzen dürfte unser Lütticher Meister gekannt haben.⁶⁰ Und schließlich weist die sonst ungebräuchliche Wiedergabe des kleinen Jesus als Wickelkind mit bloßen Schultern und Armen, die an der Darbringungsgruppe des Musée Cluny im Gegensatz zu dem Antwerpener Beispiel auffällt (Abb. 4, 5), auf italienische Anregungen hin; Jean de Liège scheint hier bewußt auf den andachtsbildartigen Christkind-Typus anzuspitzen, der sich spätestens

58. Ebenda, Fig. 26, 27. Vgl. ferner U. Middeldorf und M. Weinberger, "Französische Figuren des frühen 14. Jahrhunderts in Toskana," *Pantheon* 1928/I, S. 187 ff.

59. Ein vorzügliches Beispiel für die trecenteske Modifikation des Werkstattstils liefert die große Marmormadonna von 1345 im Metropolitan Museum (Acc. No. 24.215), die aus dem Beginenhaus in Diest stammt; vgl. Forsyth, "Mosan Sculptures," S. 43, Fig. 1. Stellt man sie der zweifellos älteren Madonna in Antwerpen gegenüber (ebenda, Fig. 19), springt dieser Wandel der künstlerischen Haltung umso stärker ins Auge, als beide Figuren demselben ikonographischen Typus angehören.

60. Vgl. J. White, *Art and Architecture in Italy 1250-1400* (Harmondsworth 1966) Taf. 131 u. 147.—Beauneveu verdankt der toskanischen Trecentoplastik ebenfalls gewisse Anregungen, doch scheint er sich mehr auf Vorbilder in der Art des Nino Pisano zu berufen, die stilgeschichtlich und chronologisch bereits einer jüngeren Stufe angehören. Sollte auch Beauneveu eine Italienfahrt unternommen haben (was mir durchaus glaubhaft erscheint), dann könnte diese in die Jahre vor und um 1370 gefallen sein, aus denen wir im Norden keinerlei Nachrichten über ihn besitzen.

55. W. H. Forsyth, "A Group of Fourteenth-Century Mosan Sculptures," *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 1 (1968) S. 41-59.

56. Ebenda, S. 57, Fig. 30, 31.

57. Ebenda, S. 52, Fig. 19, 20.



ABB. 25
Umkreis des André
Beauneveu, um 1375/
80: Die hl. Anna,
Maria das Lesen lehr-
end (Fragment). Mu-
seum of Fine Arts,
Boston (Photo:
Courtesy, Museum of
Fine Arts, Boston)

im zweiten Viertel des Trecento in Siena ausgebildet hatte.⁶¹

Bei alledem bleibt Jean de Liège doch unverwechselbar ein Vertreter der "frankovlämischen" Schule. Die italienische Komponente geht in der Regel völlig in der nordisch-gotischen Grundsubstanz seiner Kunst auf und wird nur gelegentlich in Einzelheiten wie den eben angeführten greifbar. Hingegen dürfte ihn gerade seine niederländische Herkunft zu dem wohl wichtigsten Beitrag prädestiniert haben, den er zu der weiteren Entwicklung leistete: Der radikale Sensualismus zumindest seiner schönsten Bildnisköpfe weist auf verwandte Phänomene sowohl der niederländischen Malerei als auch der toskanischen Marmorplastik des 15. Jahrhunderts voraus, ja er nimmt sogar—wenn man unseren Meister überhaupt in ein so weitma-

schiges Netz kunsthistorischer Zusammenhänge einbeziehen darf—spezifische Formqualitäten des Barock und Rokoko vorweg. Daß man der Marmoroberfläche den matten Glanz und den taktilen Reiz menschlicher Haut verleihen kann—diese kostbare Erfahrung der antiken Plastik hatte das an ganz anderen ästhetischen Werten interessierte Mittelalter während eines vollen Jahrtausends in Vergessenheit geraten lassen. Auch die neuerliche Hinwendung zu den hellen und bildsamen Materialien wie Elfenbein und Alabaster, die sich um 1300 vollzog, hat daran zunächst nicht viel geändert; sie ergab sich ja, wie wir gesehen haben, in erster Linie aus einem allgemeinen Wandel im koloristischen Geschmack der Epoche. Erst Jean de Liège hat dann—früher und intensiver als alle seine Zeitgenossen nördlich wie südlich der Alpen—auch die "sinnliche" Qualität des weißen Steines wieder gespürt und sie aufs neue in das Bewußtsein der abendländischen Kunst gehoben.

61. Vgl. hierzu U. Schlegel, "The Christchild as Devotional Image in Medieval Italian Sculpture," *The Art Bulletin* 52 (1970), S. 1–10.

Contributions on the Style and Works of Jean de Liège

AN IMPORTANT change took place in French art at the beginning of the fourteenth century, possibly due to the influence of the then popular ivory carving. There appeared a tendency to abandon polychromy in favor of a "semi-grisaille" scale of colors, a few subtle and subdued tones combined with white and gray. This tendency is typical for stained glass of the fourteenth century, but is also found in manuscript illumination, introduced by Jean Pucelle's *Book of Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux* (1325–1328), at The Cloisters. In monumental sculpture a partial abandonment of polychromed limestone in favor of more translucent material—alabaster and white marble—also took place, with colors restricted to a few details on faces and to heraldic devices, and with gold used on crowns, in jewelry, and in clothing ornaments. Effigy figures carved in white marble or alabaster, set against a background of black marble, are found on many royal tomb monuments.

Some of these fourteenth-century tombs have survived, but only a few fragments remain from related contemporary altar retables. Among the latter are three marble reliefs in the Mayer van den Bergh Museum, Antwerp, probably made in a Paris workshop of the mid-fourteenth century. As in many similar pieces from contemporary Netherlandish and French ateliers, a high-quality workmanship combines here with lack of originality.

Far more important is a relief in the Cluny Museum, Paris, depicting the Presentation at the Temple. This relief was long supposed to have been part of a retable carved by André Beauneveu for the chapel in one of the châteaux of Jean, duc de Berry. Yet it does not convincingly relate in style to the only two works that can

safely be attributed to Beauneveu: the gisant of Charles V at Saint-Denis and the statue of St. Catherine made for a chapel at Courtrai.

The Cluny relief, for its part, shows much closer affinities to two other gisants in the Louvre, of Charles IV and his queen, Jeanne d'Evreux, from the abbey of Maubuisson, documented as by "Hennequin du Liège, ymagier à Paris." These sculptures have in common a dramatic liveliness apparently typical of the work of Jean de Liège, which is different from the more sedate and noble plastic style of Beauneveu. The difference in stylistic temperament between the works of these two contemporary sculptors may be partly explained by the difference of their places of origin, Jean de Liège coming from the middle Meuse Valley, and Beauneveu from Valenciennes in Hainaut. Both were born about 1330, and both worked in the 60s in Paris for French royalty, Beauneveu later working in the Low Countries, and in Bourges for Jean, duc de Berry, while Jean de Liège continued to work in Paris for the royal family until his death in the early spring of 1381.

The posthumous inventory of Jean's atelier, made in 1382–1383, lists not only tomb effigies and large figures of saints, but also a retable and several alabaster groups with scenes from the life of Christ. Thus the attribution of the Cluny relief to Jean de Liège becomes all the more plausible. Also listed in this inventory is the double tomb of Marie and Blanche de France, daughters of Charles IV and Jeanne d'Evreux. The effigy of Blanche is still at Saint-Denis, where she and Marie were buried, while the head of the lost effigy of Marie is now in the Metropolitan Museum. The Cluny relief may be dated about 1370, by comparison to Jean de Liège's effigies of Charles IV and Jeanne d'Evreux

from Maubuisson (before 1371) and to that of Blanche de France (about 1380).

An Angel of the Annunciation in the Metropolitan Museum, from a retable as well, may also be attributed to Jean de Liège because of stylistic similarities to the Cluny relief and to the head of Marie de France. The Angel is datable in the late 1370s or around 1380.

Three more attributions to the same sculptor are proposed here: a marble statue of St. John the Evangelist in the Cluny Museum, the head of a young prince in the Mayer van den Bergh Museum, and the gisant of Marie of Spain (d. 1379), made for the church of the Jacobins, Paris, and now in Saint-Denis. Tentatively attributed to Jean de Liège are several minor fragments surviving from the tomb of Charles V and Jeanne de Bourbon, completed about 1376–1379; the lost gisant of this queen, known only from de Gaignières's drawings; the head of Philippe VI, which belongs to one of the royal gisants at Saint-Denis made under Beauneveu's supervision; and finally the remarkable alabaster fragment from a Crucifixion in the Louvre.

In 1367 a minor payment was made to "Haukino Liege de Francia" for the tomb of Philippa of Hainaut in Westminster Abbey, but only the head of the queen's effigy is unquestionably in the style of our artist. The gisant of Margaret of Flanders (d. 1382) at Saint-Denis is probably to be attributed to his workshop. Besides, several tomb monuments dating from the 80s and 90s, and obviously depending on older prototypes by Jean de Liège, may have been made by his collaborator and pupil Robin Loisel.

Jean de Liège is definitely a representative of the so-called Franco-Flemish school. His subtle treatment of surfaces, facial modeling, and drapery folds have connections with the style of the Meuse Valley from which he came. He also shares the Mosan familiarity with Italian style, including the drapery patterns of Giovanni Pisano, and the sensuous surfaces of his marble sculpture foreshadow aspects of baroque and rococo art.

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Some Sixteenth-Century Flemish Tapestries Related to Raphael's Workshop

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1. THE ADORATION OF THE KINGS

In 1930 Max J. Friedländer listed the small Adoration of the Kings in the Altman Collection of the Metropolitan Museum (Figure 1) among the dozen tapestry sets and pieces “die offensichtlich auf Entwürfe van Orleys zurückgehen.” He added: “Zwar kenne ich kein Gemälde dieser Komposition, würde mich aber nicht wundern, zu erfahren, dass van Orley um 1520 ein Gemälde konzipiert hätte, dem . . . der Tapisserieentwurf entnommen wäre.”¹ But he included in his list of Bernard van Orley's paintings the closely related tiny Adoration of the Kings in the Johnson Collection,

Philadelphia (now in the Philadelphia Museum), as a work of about 1522 (Figure 2).² He did not mention a very similar small painting published by Ludwig Baldass in 1944, when it belonged to a Viennese dealer.³ This work is dated 1533 on the scabbard of the Moorish king's sword, the latest date known on any van Orley painting, but Baldass noted that the Virgin and Child were reminiscent of van Orley's *vorklassischen* style, which lasted until about 1521, when *Romanismus* became dominant.

For the composition of these works, van Orley had turned to another Adoration of the Kings that must have been very well known to him, the tapestry in the

1. Max J. Friedländer, *Die altniederländische Malerei*, VIII (Berlin, 1930) pp. 125–129; the reference on p. 127, note, to the illustration of the Metropolitan Museum tapestry in Heinrich Göbel, *Wandteppiche, I. Teil, Die Niederlande*, II (Leipzig, 1923) should read “Abb. 133.”

2. Friedländer, *Altniederländische Malerei*, p. 170, no. 105. The relationship between the painting and the tapestry was noticed by François Monod, “La galerie Altman au Metropolitan Museum de New-York. II. Les sculptures et les objets d'art,” *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 5th period 8 (1923) pp. 373, 374. He dated the tap-

estry c. 1525 and said of the painting that it was “dans le goût de Van Orley . . . et d'un style Renaissance un peu moins avancé, première idée ou rappel du carton.”

3. Ludwig Baldass, “Die Entwicklung des Bernart van Orley,” *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien* 13 (1944) p. 187, pl. 160. The picture reappeared in a sale at Sotheby's, London, March 11, 1964, no. 128, and was sold again at the Kunsthhaus Lempertz, Cologne, November 18–27, 1968, no. 34. The differences between this painting and the one in Philadelphia are mainly in the minor figures and the background.



FIGURE 1

The Adoration of the Kings, Flemish (Brussels), about 1525. Tapestry; wool and silk. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, bequest of Benjamin Altman, 14.40.706

so-called *Scuola nuova* set, Scenes from the Life of Christ (Figure 3),⁴ or the design for it.⁵ This is itself an amalgam, for the Virgin, the Child, and one king are adapted from the fresco of the subject in the Vatican Logge, completed in 1519 (Figure 4),⁶ and the man in a dark

robe on the right is close to a figure in the Logge Judgment of Solomon.⁷ This economical use of material by the heavily burdened Roman workshop, especially after Raphael's death on April 5, 1520, is to be expected, but it is surprising to notice that van Orley was



FIGURE 2

The Adoration of the Kings, by Bernard van Orley. Oil on panel. Courtesy of the John G. Johnson Collection, Philadelphia

4. The resemblance between the *Scuola nuova* tapestry and the Philadelphia painting was pointed out by Wolfgang Krönig, *Der italienische Einfluss in der flämischen Malerei im ersten Drittel des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Würzburg, 1936) pp. 44, 45. The much-debated subject of the three Raphaellesque tapestry sets being made for the papal court in the 1520s—the *Scuola nuova*, the Playing Children, and a set of bed hangings—and the parts played in their design by Giovanni da Udine, Tommaso Vincidor, and Raphael will not be considered here. For a summary of the various contentions, see Philip Pouncey and J. A. Gere, *Italian Drawings in the Department of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum* (London, 1962) pp. 80, 81 (nos. 137, 138), 87–90 (no. 155). But support for the theory that the designs for the *Scuola nuova* arrived in Brussels, in whatever form, very early in the decade is provided by the date assigned to the van Orley Adoration of the Kings in Philadelphia. The long-lasting influence of the *Scuola nuova* Adoration of the Kings on Flemish painting has been shown by Fritz Grossman, “Bruegels Verhältnis zu Raffael und zur Raffael-Nachfolge,” *Festschrift Kurt Badt zum siebenzigsten Geburtstage*, ed. Martin Gosebruch (Berlin, 1961) pp. 135–143, and by Georges Marlier, “Lambert Lombard et les tapisseries de Raphael,” *Miscellanea Jozef Duverger* (Ghent, 1968) pp. 247–259.

5. Van Orley was suggested as the painter of the cartoon for the *Scuola nuova* Adoration of the Kings by D. R. de Campos, “La tapisserie vaticane de l’Epiphanie, une oeuvre inconnue de Bernard van Orley,” *L’Illustrazione Vaticana* 3 (1932) pp. 32–34. The au-

thor’s sketch purporting to show the letters *BO* on the collar of the kneeling king on the right is not convincing. It may be doubted whether van Orley, who had been named court painter to the regent of the Netherlands in 1518, would have undertaken some years later to make a full-scale cartoon from another man’s drawing, even if that man was believed to be Raphael himself. The attribution is, however, considered possible by Krönig, *Italienische Einfluss*, p. 19. The much-repeated story that van Orley supervised the production of the papal tapestries, though possibly true, is not supported by contemporary documentation. It rests on the statements by André Felibien that van Orley “a fait exécuter tous les Tapisseries que les Papes, les Empereurs, et les Rois faisoient faire en Flandres d’après les desseins d’Italie” (*Entretiens sur les Vies et sur les Ouvrages des plus excellents Peintres*, II [London, 1705; 1st ed., 1666] p. 254) and by Roger de Piles that he “a eu le principal soin de faire exécuter celles du Pape, et des Souverains de ce tems-là, sur les Desseins de Raphael” (*Abrégé de la Vie des Peintres* [Paris, 1699] p. 355). Both authors may have been influenced by what they knew to be the situation at the Gobelins manufactory, where the weavers were subordinated to an artistic director; this was a new arrangement, never known in Brussels.

6. This relationship was noted by Francesco Filippini, “Tommaso Vincidor, scolaro di Raffaello e amico del Dürer,” *Bollettino d’Arte* 8 (1928–1929) pp. 309–324, figs. 4, 8, who attributes the fresco tentatively to Vincidor.

7. Krönig, *Italienische Einfluss*, p. 19, note 7.



FIGURE 3

The Adoration of the Kings, Flemish (Brussels), 1520–1530. Tapestry; wool, silk, and metal thread. Vatican, Rome (photo: Alinari)

also able to use the Logge design; the figure on the far left in his paintings and tapestry is not in the *Scuola nuova* tapestry, but is derived from the standing St. Joseph in the Logge fresco.

How did van Orley know this fresco, which apparently was not engraved at an early date?⁸ It is of course possible that he had seen it on his trip to Italy, if he ever made one, but far more likely that he worked from

a drawing, such as the one in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford (Figure 5).⁹ Perhaps a substantial number of Raphaellesque drawings were in Brussels in the 1520s. Though full-scale cartoons for the Acts of the Apostles (the so-called *Scuola vecchia*) had been prepared in Rome and had made the journey to Flanders some years earlier, by 1520 the Raphael workshop may well have learned (doubtless to its great relief—and to that of the

8. Marcantonio Raimondi's Logge prints (B. XIV, 4 ff.) do not include it. The many engravings of the Logge frescoes ("Raphael's Bible") given in Herman Dollmayr, "Raphaels Werkstatt," *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses* 16 (1895) p. 292, all date from the seventeenth century or later.

9. Catalogued as probably a copy of the Logge painting. K. T. Parker, *Catalogue of the Collection of Drawings in the Ashmolean Mu-*

seum, II, *Italian Schools* (Oxford, 1956) no. 656. The figure on the left is called a king, but it is clear in the Logge painting that two kings, carrying their gifts, and the third, kissing the Child's foot, are all on the right, so that the man standing on the left, opening the foremost king's vase, must be St. Joseph. He is shown in a similar position, holding a vase, in the Giottesque Epiphany in the Metropolitan Museum.



FIGURE 4
The Adoration of the Kings, by a Raphael follower. Fresco. Logge, Vatican, Rome (photo: Anderson)

FIGURE 5
The Adoration of the Kings, probably copy of Logge fresco. Ink over black chalk, heightened with body color, on paper. Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. By courtesy of the Ashmolean Museum



papal treasury) that this labor and the expense of shipping such large and fragile objects were unnecessary. Frederick Hartt has convincingly argued that Giulio Romano and other assistants, working under Raphael “as a kind of stage director,” did all the preliminary work for the Acts, down to the actual outlining of the cartoons, but that the color was entirely put on by Raphael himself.¹⁰ This was not the customary Flemish procedure; here the designer made what was apparently a fairly finished small drawing, which was then reproduced either by the designer himself or by another artist as a full-scale cartoon on paper, ready to be cut up by the weaver.¹¹ The coloring could be very summarily indicated.¹² The many extant fragments of the cartoons for the *Scuola nuova* tapestries (including six in the Metropolitan Museum) are catalogued as School of Raphael or School of Giulio Romano, but it is quite

possible that they were all painted in Brussels after drawings brought from Rome.¹³

Van Orley treated his sources fairly freely. The portions of his design that appear in the *Scuola nuova* tapestry but not in the Logge fresco, especially the extended pose of the king who kisses the child's foot, with his spiky crown on the ground beside him, and the king striding forward on the right, have been skillfully abstracted from the mass of figures in the huge Vatican tapestry and balanced against the single figure on the left from the Logge design. In a few details, the van Orley tapestry is closer to the Vatican tapestry than are his two paintings. The most noticeable of these are the left hand and leg of the king who kisses the Child's foot; the king's almost bare foot, with the great toe separated from the others as he braces himself to sustain his position, is, however, not from the same figure

10. Frederick Hartt, *Giulio Romano*, I (New Haven, 1958) pp. 19, 20.

11. The *locus classicus* for the procedure was in the accounts for 1513 of the Brotherhood of the Holy Sacrament at Louvain, a record of payments for a Legend of Herkenbald tapestry now in the Cinquantenaire Museum, Brussels. The document no longer exists. It was first published in Edward van Even, *Louvain Monumental* (Louvain, 1860) p. 181, notes 2–4, and lists payments for the preliminary drawing and for the cartoon: “*Item*, betaelt meester Jan van Brussel, te Brussel, van den ontwerpe daer ons patroen na gemaekt es: 2½ Rhynsgulden. . . . *Item*, betaelt Philips, den schilder, van dat patroen te maken: 13½ Rhynsgulden.” Philip was also paid half a guilder for bringing the *patroen* to Louvain and hanging it in the church, presumably so that the purchasers could see what the finished tapestry would look like in place. Thousands of words have been written about this document and the artists named in it, but, for determining the preliminary steps in sixteenth-century Flemish tapestry making, the important point would seem to be that the *ontwerp* (often translated *petit patron*) was comparatively cheap and that there was not necessarily an intermediary stage between it and the *patroen*, such as the small colored renderings that are documented for later periods. The weaver of the Herkenbald tapestry (called both Lyon and Leon in the account) received little more than the cartoonist; his itemized bill amounted to 18 guilders, exclusive of the gold thread, from which a small tip was to be given to the men who actually sat at the looms, “den cnaepen die 't werk wirken.” That the *ontwerp* was a small black-and-white drawing can be presumed from the fact that many such drawings for tapestries by van Orley, Pieter Coecke van Aelst, and other designers have survived, but no small colored sketches from the sixteenth century comparable to those made for tapestries by Rubens or Boucher. It should perhaps be noted that G. T. van Ysselsteyn does not believe the Louvain document refers to the Herkenbald tapestry (*Tapestry, the Most Expensive Industry of the XVth and XVIth Centuries* [The Hague, 1969] p. 107).

12. The cartoon for Pieter Coecke's Martyrdom of St. Peter in the Hôtel de Ville, Brussels, is in grisaille with touches of green and red; other color names, such as gold or blue, are written in. Georges Marlier, *Pierre Coeck d'Alost* (Brussels, 1966) p. 318.

13. These could have been taken to Brussels in 1520 by Tommaso Vincidor (Ernst Diez, “Ein Karton der ‘Giocchi di Putti’ für Leo X. Beiträge zur Geschichte der Raffaelwerkstätte,” *Jahrbuch der königlich preussischen Kunstsammlungen* 31 [1910] p. 33). Vincidor, writing to Leo X on July 20, 1521, said that he had made twenty cartoons (“Io o fato vinti chartoni”) for the Playing Children, but added: “Vere che non porne [possono] eser tute lavorate de mia mani. Io disegno [sic] lo tuto lo ordinatia lavoro la piu parte sulicito per l'onore de V.S.” (Eugene Müntz, “Un collaborateur peu connu de Raphaël, Tommaso Vincidor de Bologne,” *La Revue de l'Art* 6 [1899] pp. 336–338). The designs for the Playing Children, however, have been connected with Giovanni da Udine; if this is correct, Vincidor's “disegno” could have been the outlining of the cartoons, taken from small drawings he had brought with him, while he left the coloring to local artists under his supervision.

The minute dimensions of the *Scuola nuova* cartoon fragments are puzzling. The strips into which cartoons were divided by the weavers were much larger; each of the huge cartoons of the Acts, for example, was divided into only four or five pieces (John Pope-Hennessy, *The Raphael Cartoons* [London, 1950] p. 7). Perhaps they were intended to be souvenirs. At least one fragment, the Head of a Mother from the Massacre of the Innocents in the British Museum, shows the arbitrary straight cuts that might have been made in the tapestry workshop, but these have been rejoined so as to make a complete head (Pouncey and Gere, *Italian Drawings*, no. 138). But others are unattractive morsels, meaningless in themselves. The fact that a number of the fragments have the collector's mark of Richardson Sr., who died in 1745, shows that they were in their present form by this date (information kindly provided by Jacob Bean).

in the Vatican tapestry, but from the left foot of the striding king.

More interesting, in fact, than van Orley's borrowings is what he has done with them, especially in his tapestry. In the paintings, he has added a figure, the somewhat ridiculous king sprawled across the steps, but in the tapestry the strong diagonal leading into the third dimension has been far more satisfactorily provided by changes in the height and posture of the man on the outer left. The gentle Joseph of the Logge and the stolid attendant of the van Orley paintings have been transformed into an impressive, red-armored giant, looming up on one side like the warrior in the wing of van Orley's triptych of 1521 in Brussels that shows Job's flocks being stolen. The composition of the tapestry, as compared with the paintings, has been not only simplified but intensified, made more compact and telling, more concentrated on its exact center, the Child. Like other van Orley designs known in both painted and woven versions, the tapestry is far the more effective.¹⁴ Van Orley, a second- or third-rate painter, was a first-class tapestry designer. Tapestries, in fact, perhaps should not be designed by supreme artists, just as the best ballets are danced to music by Scarlatti or Chopin, not Bach or Beethoven. Charles Le Brun, not Poussin, Boucher, not Fragonard, Bernard van Orley, not Raphael, were the painters who

provided the groundwork for the greatest masterpieces of their fellow craftsmen, the weavers of tapestries.

2. THE STORY OF MERCURY AND HERSE

A set of eight tapestries called *The Loves of Mercury* was owned by the rulers of Savoy in the eighteenth century, when it was attributed to Raphael.¹⁵ A single piece, representing Mercury changing Aglauros into stone and leaving Athens by air, survives in the Quirinale, Rome;¹⁶ this shows that the set was a version of the *Story of Mercury and Herse*, of which two pieces from another weaving were bequeathed to the Metropolitan Museum by George Blumenthal in 1941 (Figures 6, 8).¹⁷

This famous series well deserves an extended study, but all that will be attempted here is to show that the attribution to Raphael was not quite as farfetched as it appears, even if only the two pieces in the Metropolitan Museum are considered. The *Bridal Chamber of Herse* (Figure 6) is based on the print by Giovanni Jacopo Caraglio after Raphael of the *Marriage of Alexander and Roxana* (Figure 7);¹⁸ especially close are Herse herself, the stool at her feet, and the cupid removing her sandal. *Mercury Changing Aglauros to Stone* is less clearly Raphaellesque, but the event takes place in a

14. As was pointed out by Friedländer, *Altniederländische Malerei*, p. 141, instancing the central panel of the Haneton triptych in the Brussels Museum and the Lamentation tapestry in the National Gallery, Washington.

15. Mentioned by Eugène Müntz, *Les Tapisseries de Raphaël au Vatican et dans les princéaux Musées et Collections de l'Europe* (Paris, 1897) p. 57, as presumably in the palace at Turin, "mais nous savons que jamais Raphaël n'a traité un sujet analogue."

16. Mercedes Ferrero-Viale, "Essai de reconstitution idéale des collections de tapisserie ayant appartenu à la Maison de Savoie au XVII^e et XVIII^e siècle," *La Tapisserie flamande au XVIII^e et XVIII^e siècle* (Brussels, 1960) p. 290, fig. 1.

17. The literature on the published sets of the series is fairly extensive, but somewhat superficial. One set is complete, though scattered. It was owned by the Spanish de la Cerda family, dukes of Medinaceli; all the pieces are illustrated in José Ramon Mélida, "Les tapisseries flamandes en Espagne. Les Fables de Mercure," *Les Arts anciens de Flandre* 1 (1905-1906) pp. 169-171, and the same author's "Una tapicería inédita," *Forma* 2 (1907) pp. 242, 244-251. The duchess of Dénia, who is frequently named as the owner, was a dowager duchess of Medinaceli, given another title in 1882. Two pieces of this set are in the Metropolitan Museum, two are in the

Prado (Antonio Blanco Freijeiro, "La tapicería de la fábula de Aglauro," *Arte Español* 25 [1963] pp. 11-17), and one each in the collections of the duchess of Híjar, the duke of Lerma, the duchess of Cardona, and the duke of Medinaceli. Six pieces of another set are in Barcelona (F. Duran Canyameras, "Els tapissos de l'Audència al nostre museu," *Butlletí Museu d'Art de Barcelona* 7 [1937] pp. 367-384). The Quirinale piece and one in the Château d'Espéran, Saint-Gilles, Gard, represent another set, and a fourth is known only from the photograph of a single piece, the *Bridal Chamber of Herse* that was at one time in the possession of Karl Haberstock, art dealer to Hitler (information kindly provided by Georg Himmelheber). The last-named tapestry corresponds in its main features to the other examples, but almost all the ornamentation on walls, draperies, costumes, and accessories has been replaced by plain surfaces. Even the vase of flowers on the cornice in front of a cupboard has been omitted. No borders are shown.

18. B. XV, p. 95, no. 62. The print was also used by Hendrick Goltzius for his illustration of the story in a set of 52 plates by R. W. de Baudous for Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (early editions, 1589-1615). F. W. Hollstein, *Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts, VIII* (Amsterdam, n.d.) p. 130, nos. 10-61.

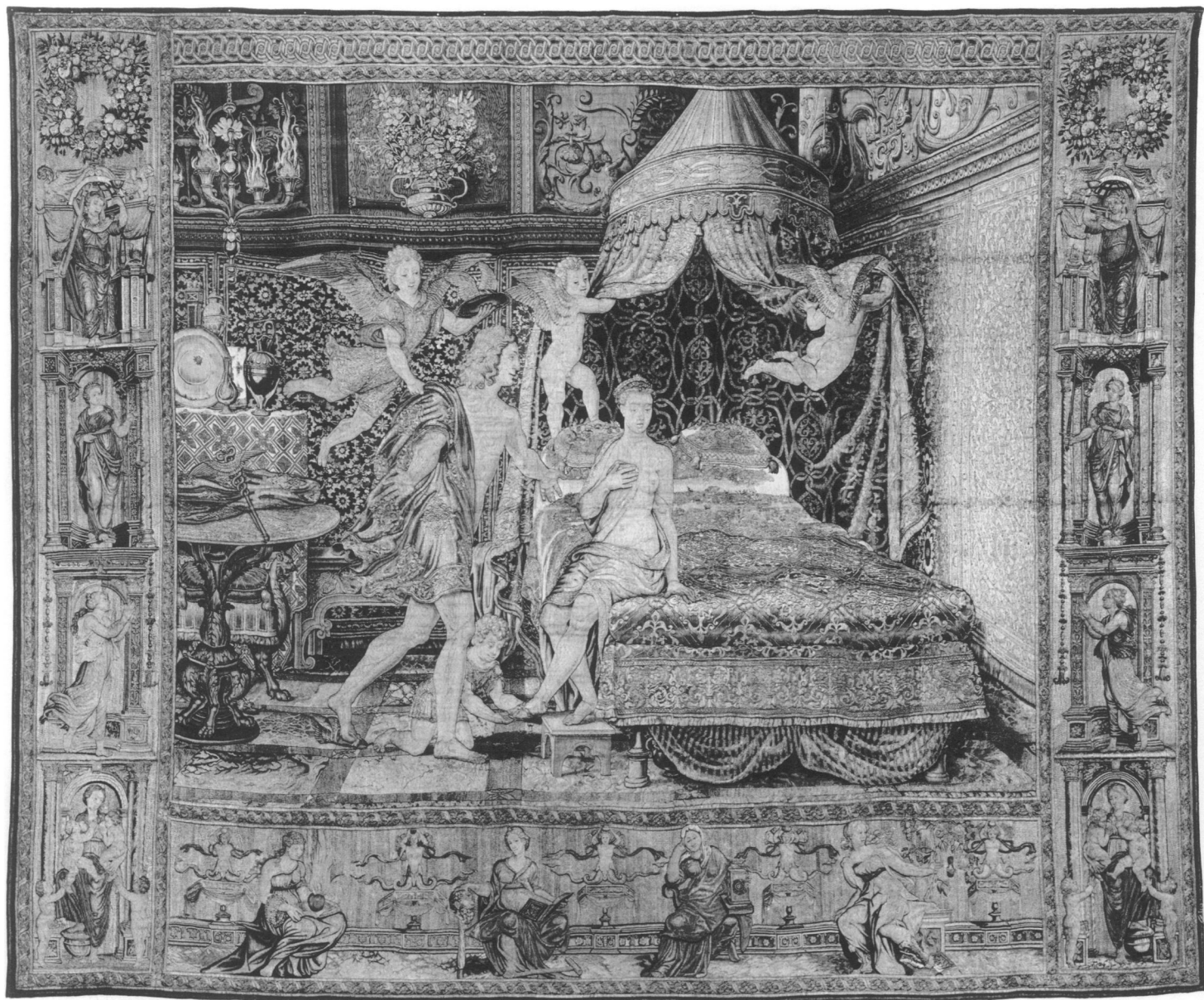


FIGURE 6

The Bridal Chamber of Herse, Flemish (Brussels), workshop of Willem de Pannemaker, about 1550. Tapestry; wool, silk, and metal thread. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, bequest of George Blumenthal, 41.190.135

setting derived from that of St. Paul Preaching at Athens in the tapestry series of the Acts of the Apostles (Figure 9). The steps, the high building behind them, and, especially, the temple on the right, with the pedimented entrance between the columns and the half-concealed statues in niches, are similar in both works

of art. Though the main actors are entirely different, the figures on the right in both tapestries, seen only to the waist, have a certain resemblance, and the head of Herse's father, Cecrops, in the doorway of his palace is like that of the bearded man on the far left of the St. Paul cartoon.

But it was probably the borders of the tapestries that were more instrumental in bringing Raphael to mind.¹⁹ The vertical borders show the three Theological (Figure 6) and the four Cardinal Virtues (Figure 8) that were originally designed in Raphael's workshop for the Sacrifice of Lystra and the Blinding of Elymas in the Acts of the Apostles tapestries.²⁰ The border with the Theological Virtues was actually woven as one piece with the Death of Ananias, but it has been shown that

this was not Raphael's intention.²¹ All the borders to the Acts of the Apostles were as carefully planned iconologically as the central subjects, and their lighting schemes were arranged to suit the place where each tapestry would be hung in the Sistine Chapel. Raphael, in fact, was thinking as a muralist, not as a tapestry designer. Such foresight and precision would have been unimaginable in Flanders, where tapestries, however complicated iconologically, were still considered hangings to

19. Or Giulio Romano. George Leland Hunter, *The Practical Book of Tapestries* (Philadelphia, 1925) p. 133.

20. A fourth woman was added to the Theological Virtues, probably to make these borders resemble more closely those on the other tapestries of the set. She has no attribute on the left side

but holds a sword on the right, and so is presumably Justice, who, of course, is also in her proper place among the Cardinal Virtues.

21. John White and John Shearman, "Raphael's tapestries and their cartoons," *Art Bulletin* 40 (1958) pp. 210, 211, 219–221.

FIGURE 7

The Marriage of Alexander and Roxana, by Giovanni Jacopo Caraglio, after Raphael. Engraving. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Joseph Pulitzer Bequest, Purchase, 17.50.16–8





FIGURE 8

Mercury Changing Aglauros to Stone, Flemish (Brussels), workshop of Willem de Pannemaker, about 1550. Tapestry; wool, silk, and metal thread. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, bequest of George Blumenthal, 41.190.134

be put up and taken down according to the need for what might be called instant splendor. The cartoons for the borders to the Acts evidently arrived on separate pieces of paper (none is known to survive) and without adequate instructions for assigning them to their correct central subjects. The weaver, Pieter van Aelst, allotted the Cardinal Virtues and some of the other borders correctly, but he misplaced many of them.

The borders to the Acts are said by Vasari to have been designed by Giovanni Francesco Penni. The Theological Virtues at least had already been used by the workshop elsewhere. They appear in the Logge of the Vatican, and Charity is also closely related to the same Virtue in the Sala di Costantino, finished by 1524. This

fresco is attributed to Giulio Romano;²² a drawing (Figure 10) in the Ashmolean Museum has also been given to him, but is catalogued as a copy after either the fresco or another drawing.²³ The tapestry designer has added a second standing child, a mirror image of the one in the fresco and drawing, to balance the group.

The lower borders of the Metropolitan Museum tapestries are filled with a more enigmatic assembly, but these figures also have a connection, though somewhat remote, with the Raphael workshop. They appear first

22. Hartt, *Giulio Romano*, I, p. 49, note 18, pl. 78.

23. Parker, *Italian Schools*, no. 665.

on the version of the Acts of the Apostles woven for Philip II (now in the Spanish National Collection) to replace the original lower borders showing scenes from the history of the Medici. They were also used on the Acts set made for Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga, now at Mantua; a Moses set in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna; an Adam and Eve set in the Bavarian National Museum; and a Hannibal set, of which four pieces are in the same museum and three in the Bargello, Florence. There is no evidence to show whether they were

designed in Rome or in Brussels, but the latter city seems a far more probable place. They were planned, of course, to harmonize with the Raphaelesque vertical borders.

No coherent scheme has been discerned for these figures, which include, on tapestries not in the Metropolitan Museum, such heterogeneous personifications as Architecture, Abundance, and Fortune, as well as the Labors of Hercules and the story of Prometheus. It is not even possible to identify positively each figure

FIGURE 9

St. Paul Preaching at Athens, by Raphael. Tapestry cartoon, sized colors on paper. Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Crown Copyright





FIGURE 10

Charity, copy of fresco by Giulio Romano. Black chalk heightened with white. Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. By courtesy of the Ashmolean Museum

on the two tapestries in the Metropolitan Museum,²⁴ but, on the Bridal Chamber, they are, from left to right, possibly Love or Faith, with a burning heart and garlands; Fortitude or Courage, with the head of Holofernes and the hammer of Jael (Figure 11); Temper-

24. The following identifications have been taken, with some exceptions, from Elisabeth Mahl, "Die 'Mosesfolge' der Tapisseriensammlungen der kunsthistorischen Museums in Wien," *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien* 63 (1967) pp. 7–38. For most of them, other interpretations are possible.

ance, with a clock (an emblem more typical of northern than of southern symbolism); and Diligence (the words "Diligentia est" are written on her book in the Vienna example). The first figure on Mercury Changing Aglauros to Stone is an unidentified woman with a ewer and an eagle; then comes Peace, with an olive branch and a tame lion; possibly Victory, seated on a trophy of arms; Hope, with her anchor; perhaps Fortune, holding a sphere; Luxury or Vanity, with an ape and a mirror; and possibly Obedience, with a bundle of twigs.²⁵

The Raphael borders, apart from their beauty, are interesting for the influence they apparently had on Flemish tapestry borders in general. The late medieval Brussels tapestry border before the arrival about 1516 of the Raphael cartoons shows most commonly a design of flowers and fruit, sometimes with birds; when (rarely) there are figures, they hold inscribed scrolls explaining the main subject, or are related at least peripherally to the main subject, like the Tree of Jesse round the Baptism of Christ of about 1500–1510 in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna. Raphael's intention was, as has been mentioned, to make the connection between subject and border much closer, but, paradoxically, his designs had exactly the opposite effect. For the borders to the Acts, with their "grotesque" features, were a type of "modern" art that, unlike the main subjects, could be easily and highly successfully taken into tapestry design. Though the figures were unnamed, the symbols showing them to be Virtues, Elements, Seasons, Hours, and other not too difficult abstractions would have been comprehensible to customers and the more literate of the heads of weavers'

25. These figures were probably the inspiration for another group found on several borders, such as those to the Abraham set at Hampton Court, which have their names inscribed beside them; they are even more wildly mixed, including such conceptions as Tyrannis, Resurrectio, Acceptatio, Consolatio, Trinitas, and Pugna.

FIGURE 11

Fortitude or Courage, detail of Figure 6



shops. But their subtle connection with the subjects of the Acts tapestries was not understood, and they were assigned apparently almost at random to the different pieces.²⁶ From this time on, it becomes difficult to find a Flemish tapestry border that is related to the subject it surrounds. It can even be fantastically inappropriate,

like the beautiful children beating drums, walking on stilts, riding cockhorse, bowling hoops, and embracing each other round the van Orley Lamentation in the National Gallery, Washington—or the Christian Virtues framing scenes of illicit love and the vengeance of a pagan god in the Story of Mercury and Herse.²⁷

26. The Flemish designers would have been accustomed to similar discrepancies in the borders of manuscripts and contemporary printed books. A striking example is the frontispiece to Erasmus's New Testament of 1519, where the text of Leo X's letter to him is surrounded by Venus, Cupid, Apollo pursuing Daphne, and other pagan figures. Roland H. Bainton, *Erasmus of Christendom* (New York, 1969) p. 206.

27. Other sixteenth-century Flemish tapestries in the Metropolitan Museum connected with the Raphael workshop are a panel of grotesque ornament with Minerva and the Doria coat of arms (Eleanor B. Saxe, "A Tapestry in the Kane Bequest," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 22 [1927] pp. 72–74, ill.). The series to which this piece belonged has been attributed, at least in part, to Amico Aspertini (A. M. Louise E. Erkelens, "Rafaëleske grotesken op enige Brusselse wandtapijtseries," *Bulletin van het Rijks-*

museum 10 [1962] pp. 115–138), but the older attribution to Perino del Vaga remains more convincing. Two smaller tapestries with grotesques (Stella Rubinstein-Bloch, *Catalogue of the Collection of George and Florence Blumenthal, New-York*, IV [Paris 1927] pl. xv) are certainly designed by a Fleming, perhaps Cornelis Floris, but they illustrate the popularity and the suitability for tapestry of the grotesque style that originated in Rome. Two rather crude pieces, probably from a Life of St. Paul set made at the end of the century (D. F. Friedley, "An Important Bequest of Tapestries," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 10 [1915] pp. 247–252, ill.), have figures taken from the Blinding of Elymas and the Miraculous Draught of Fishes in the Acts of the Apostles series. The borders show reminiscences of the grotesque style and include Mars and Venus in chariots.

Thomas Cole's The Titan's Goblet: A Reinterpretation

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THE TITAN'S GOBLET (Figure 1) is by far the most unusual of Thomas Cole's imaginary landscape compositions. The obvious change in scale between the goblet and the landscape is so abrupt, so startling in effect, that this small painting was naturally included in the exhibition *Fantastic Art, Dada, Surrealism* at The Museum of Modern Art in 1936—the only American pre-twentieth-century painting to be honored in this way.¹ It is true that Cole also made fantastic drawings of the surface of the moon, as well as views from space looking back toward the earth, but he never repeated these subjects in oil paint for public display.² Within his entire career, *The Titan's Goblet* remains a *singular* work, extraordinary and unique.

At first sight, the size of Cole's goblet may remind one of other immense stone objects left by an earlier race of beings according to Greek mythology.³ Cer-

tainly, the title chosen for the picture was meant to evoke a sense of great distance in time between the making of this gigantic drinking vessel and the present age when the earth is inhabited only by men. The mood of retrospection, solemn reverie, or even melancholy is enhanced by the setting sun, a further romantic symbol for the passage of time. In addition to its poetry, however, the image of this mythical goblet, isolated against the distant landscape, is presented with such inescapable force that it becomes emblematic. The painting as a whole seems to invite a cosmological interpretation.

On one hand, *The Titan's Goblet* might possibly be compared to the painting in grisaille by Hieronymus Bosch (Figure 2) that appears on the exterior of the wings of *The Garden of Earthly Delights* triptych in Madrid; the scene represents the creation of the world,

1. Alfred H. Barr, Jr., *Fantastic Art, Dada, Surrealism*, exhibition catalogue (New York, 1936) no. 105.

2. A pen-and-wash drawing by Cole, inscribed "View in the Moon," is reproduced on p. 112 of Howard S. Merritt, *Thomas Cole*, exhibition catalogue (Rochester, 1969) no. 71 (dated c. 1828). A sketchbook drawing (c. 1827–1829) of a "Man Observing the Sun and the Earth from Space" is reproduced as pl. 18 in my dissertation, "Thomas Cole's 'The Course of Empire': A Study in Serial Imagery" (Yale University, March 1970). The interpretation of *The Titan's Goblet* that is presented in this study was first outlined in chap. 1 of my dissertation.

3. In the curatorial files of the Department of American Paint-

ings and Sculpture at The Metropolitan Museum of Art is a letter of July 1, 1963, from the late Erwin Panofsky concerning *The Titan's Goblet*. After explaining that he knew and admired Cole's picture, Professor Panofsky concluded that it had, in his opinion, "little to do with the Nordic Tree of Life which is described in an entirely different way." Instead, he suggested a general connection with the stone objects thought by the Greeks to have been made by giants. For a discussion of giants in Greek mythology, their use of huge trees and rocks as weapons, and their war with the gods, see Francis Vian, *La Guerre des Géants: Le Mythe avant l'Epoque Hellenistique* (Paris, 1952) pp. 185–191.

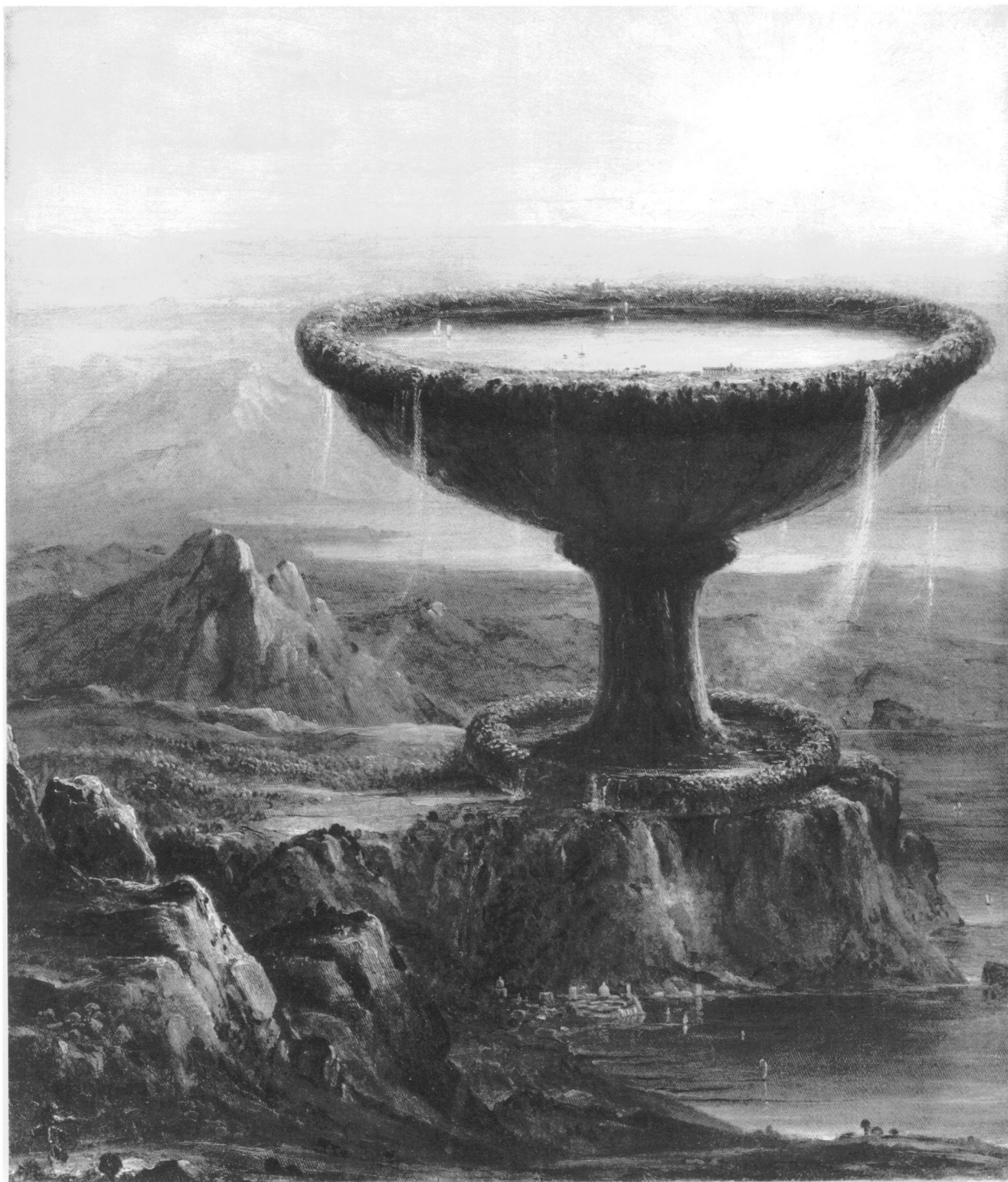


FIGURE 1

The Titan's Goblet, by Thomas Cole, 1833. Oil on canvas, 19 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 16 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, gift of Samuel P. Avery, Jr., 04.29.2

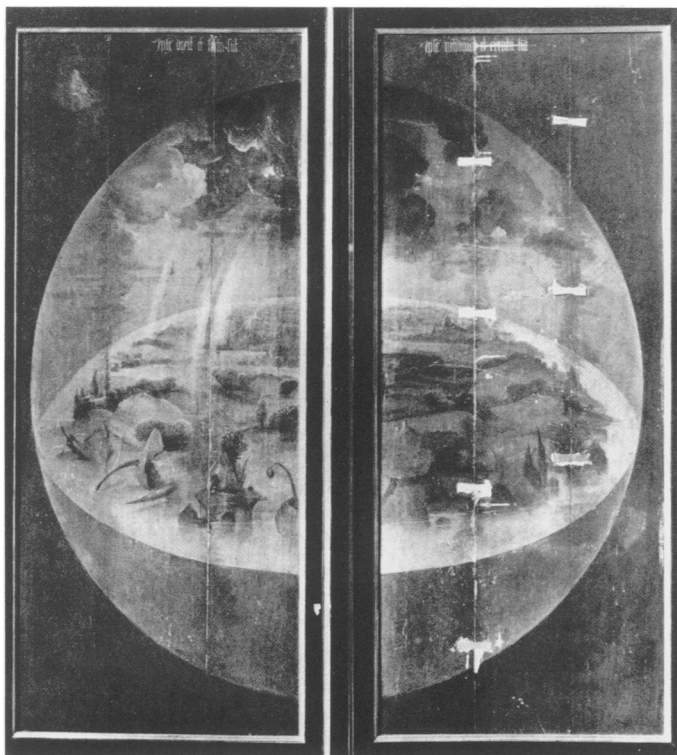


FIGURE 2
The Garden of Earthly Delights triptych (wings closed), by Hieronymus Bosch, c. 1500. Museo del Prado, Madrid

or perhaps the world after the Flood as recently suggested by E. H. Gombrich.⁴ To be sure, there is a separate “world” contained in the bowl of Cole’s goblet, but this cup has less than half the symbolic shape of Bosch’s transparent sphere, and the relative roles of earth and water have been reversed. Furthermore, Cole’s painting contains no image of God the Father in one corner to give it an explicit religious significance, and it bears no inscription save for the signature and date, “T. Cole 1833,” to the lower right and “The Titan’s Goblet / T. Cole / 1833” on the back (on pa-

4. A basic summary of the literature on this painting can be found in Charles De Tolnay, *Hieronymus Bosch* (New York, 1966) pp. 360–363. For the recent reinterpretation of this entire triptych, which might better be renamed “Sicut erat in Diebus Noe” or simply “The Lesson of the Flood,” see E. H. Gombrich, “Bosch’s ‘Garden of Earthly Delights’: A Progress Report,” *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 32 (1969) pp. 162–170.

5. There are two important catalogue entries for this painting: Albert TenEyck Gardner and Stuart P. Feld, *American Paintings:*

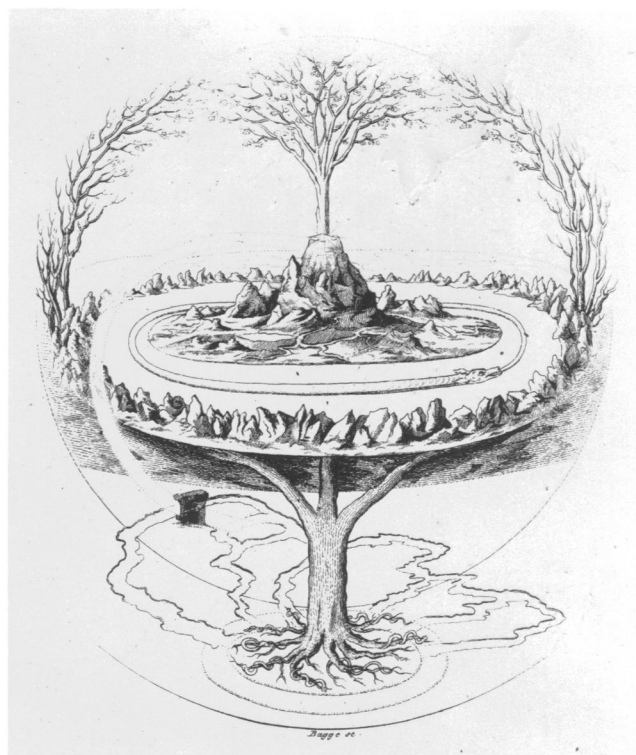


FIGURE 3
Yggdrasil, The Norse World Tree. Illustration for Finnur Magnusson, *Eddalaeren*, volume III, Copenhagen, 1825

per).⁵ Even though Cole often furnished a literary passage to go with his most important compositions, no quotation that might provide some printed clue as to the artist’s intentions was ever associated with *The Titan’s Goblet*.⁶

In 1885, on the other hand, it was suggested by Theophilus Stringfellow, Jr., of Milwaukee, “that this drinking vessel of the Titans is really meant for a tree, . . . supporting a world of life, and is in fact, a subtle reproduction of the world-tree of Scandinavian mythology and implies all that that wonderful tree involves

A Catalogue of the Collection of The Metropolitan Museum of Art, I (New York, 1965) pp. 226–227; and Howard S. Merritt, *Thomas Cole*, no. 27, pp. 29–30.

6. No quotation was supplied when the painting was shown at the National Academy of Design in 1834 (no. 41), and no explanation appeared in the catalogue for the *Dunlap Benefit Exhibition* at the Stuyvesant Institute in 1838 (no. 37), when the painting was displayed again. For a full list of exhibitions, see Gardner and Feld, *American Paintings* (note 5 above).

in its meaning, and far more.”⁷ This same interpretation was repeated when the painting was offered for sale through Anderson Auction Company, New York, in 1904. The author of the sale catalogue referred to it as a “remarkable symbolic painting” that was “influenced by the Norse legend of the Tree of Life”:

The spiritual idea in the centre of the painting, conveying the beautiful Norse theory that life and the world is but a tree with ramifying branches, is carefully carried out by the painter, the stem of the goblet being a massive tree-trunk, the branches of which spread out and hold between them an ocean dotted with sails, surrounded by dense forests and plains, in which appear Greek ruins and a modern Italian building, typical of Ancient and Modern Civilization.⁸

It has been shown that a representation of the Yggdrasil myth (Figure 3) was published eight years before Cole painted *The Titan's Goblet*; it appeared as one of three diagrammatic illustrations at the end of Volume III of Finnur Magnusson's *Eddalaeren* (Copenhagen, 1825).⁹ Nevertheless, the first mention of this World Tree concept in reference to Cole's painting occurred in 1885, a fact that suggests a far more common knowledge of Scandinavian mythology at the end of the nineteenth century than at the beginning. Moreover, when this landscape was exhibited for the first time at the National Academy of Design in 1834, the reviewer for the *American Monthly Magazine*, who admired Cole's style in general, while disapproving of his more imaginative works, was totally mystified by the subject. No connection with the Norse Yggdrasil myth occurred to him:

We were in truth somewhat puzzled at the name of this picture, and confess ourselves to be much more puzzled, now that we have seen it. It is well painted—

the mountains in the back ground, particularly so—but the conception we do not at all admire; it is merely, and gratuitously, fantastical.¹⁰

Still more revealing is the fact that the Reverend Louis L. Noble made no reference to the Yggdrasil either in his description of *The Titan's Goblet*. As Cole's friend and biographer, Noble would be expected to have known what the artist had in mind, but to him the vessel or vase was a perfect “picture within a picture”:

There it stands, rather reposes upon its shaft, a tower-like mossy structure, light as a bubble, and yet a section of a substantial globe. As the eye circles its wide rolling brim, a circumference of many miles, it finds itself in fairy land; in accordance though with nature on her broadest scale. . . . Tourists might travel in the countries of this imperial ring, and trace their fancies on many a romantic page. Here steeped in the golden splendors of a summer sunset, is a little sea from Greece, or Holy Land, with Greek and Syrian life, Greek and Syrian nature looking out upon its quiet waters.¹¹

Ultimately, the similarity between Cole's gigantic goblet and the Yggdrasil, pointed out long after the artist's death, rests on nothing more substantial than the resemblance of the goblet's stem (in stone) to the trunk of a huge tree. In all other details the idea of the World Tree is definitely not “carefully carried out by the painter.” Cole shows neither the branches spreading out to support the sky nor the three roots extending to the three important regions of the universe—the mountain of the gods (Heaven), the Earth, and the Underworld.¹² What is more, the decorative rings on the goblet's stem—a large one around the base and a smaller one at the top of the shaft where it joins the bowl—are carved ornaments, not natural parts of a

7. This quotation appears in a pamphlet entitled *The Titan's Goblet*, which was published in 1886 by John M. Falconer, Brooklyn, New York, then the owner of the painting. Pp. 2–5 of this pamphlet comprise a long quotation from Theophilus Stringfellow, Jr., which is dated September 30, 1885.

8. Anderson Auction Company, *Catalogue of the Interesting and Valuable Collection of Oil Paintings, Water-colors and Engravings Formed by the late John M. Falconer, Brooklyn, N.Y.* (New York, 1904) no. 407, p. 41.

9. All credit goes to Howard S. Merritt for this discovery (see note 5 above), which was accomplished through the intermediate of an illustration in Mrs. J. H. Philpot, *The Sacred Tree; or, The Tree in Religion and Myth* (London, 1897) p. 115. Figure 3 in this article

was taken from a copy of the Magnusson text in The New York Public Library.

10. *American Monthly Magazine* 3 (1834) p. 210.

11. This passage is part of a longer quotation from Noble, not included in his biography of Cole, which appears in Falconer's pamphlet on *The Titan's Goblet* (see note 7 above).

12. The Yggdrasil myth is described at length in Rasmus Bjorn Anderson, *Norse Mythology; or, The Religion of Our Forefathers, containing all the Myths of the Eddas, systematized and interpreted*, 6th ed. (Chicago, 1898) part 1, chap. 2, pp. 188–191. Earlier editions of this work predate Mrs. Philpot's book on *The Sacred Tree* as well as the Theophilus Stringfellow suggestion of an influence on Cole in 1885.

tree. The goblet is simply a stone object being reclaimed through time by Nature: only stone could hold an “ocean dotted with sails” so convincingly, while supporting buildings and vegetation along its “wide rolling brim.”

It becomes clear that Cole had no intention of making a specific cosmological statement in *The Titan's Goblet*. The giant vessel exists, not in an abstract setting, but in a continuous, earthly landscape that reaches from the foreground rocks and trees to the distant high horizon. In addition the goblet is placed well to the right of center within the picture frame, and this deliberate asymmetry serves as a final denial of any emblematic meaning. This is not to say that the painting is without iconographic significance, however. On the contrary, it involves several pictorial themes, both public and private. To understand the evolution of this image in Cole's mind it is necessary to retrace the young artist's steps on his first European tour (1829–1832), for the concepts expressed in this work of 1833 are related to the Mediterranean, rather than Nordic, ideas accumulated on that journey.

Cole had been advised by Washington Allston (1779–1843)—the advice received indirectly through Henry Pickering—to begin his tour of Europe by visiting England in order to study the present English school, especially the work of J. M. W. Turner (1775–1851). In Allston's opinion there was “no modern school of landscape equally capable with the English,” and Turner stood at the head of this department with “no superior of any age.”¹³

Almost immediately after his arrival in London on June 27, 1829, Cole began his study of contemporary

British painting by visiting the annual exhibition at the Royal Academy. He went with great expectations and some fear, as he wrote to his parents, but he found most of the landscapes to be “far from perfection in the art,” though he did confess his admiration for “many excellent ones by Turner, Calcot [*sic*] and others.”¹⁴ Of Turner's four oil paintings in the exhibition, Cole must have been profoundly impressed by the *Ulysses deriding Polyphemus*; Homer's *Odyssey* (Figure 4), now in the National Gallery, London. Although he failed to mention this picture by name, he did make two drawings after it in one of his London sketchbooks: the first recorded the arrangement of the brilliant colors, if in a rather shorthand manner (Figure 5); while the second, more carefully drawn, traced the major outlines of the composition and the areas of light and shade (Figure 6). The existence of these two drawings, each marked “Turner,” seems to be an acknowledgment on Cole's part that one sketch would have been far from enough to capture the success of “this wonderful display of Mr. Turner's power.”¹⁵

Such an intimate study of Turner's work raises a key issue for Cole's own career. He explained in a letter to his family in New York that as he was about to visit the Royal Academy for the first time, about “to see the works of painters highly estimated,” he almost trembled for fear that he should find his own littleness.¹⁶ Clearly, his self-image as an artist was at stake. He had come to Europe to learn from older artists, not to be overwhelmed by their achievements. The important thing was to grow, to find his own mature style, and perhaps to keep something of that “wilder image bright” from his successful early career in New York (1825–1829).¹⁷

13. Jared B. Flagg, *The Life and Letters of Washington Allston* (New York, 1892) pp. 203–204. Allston's letter to Pickering, with advice for a young landscape painter on the eve of his departure for Europe, was dated November 23, 1827.

14. This letter is reprinted in Louis L. Noble, *The Life and Works of Thomas Cole*, ed. Elliot S. Vesell (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1964) p. 78.

15. *The Athenaeum and Literary Chronicle*, no. 81, May 13, 1829, p. 300. This review found some fault with Turner's coloring as being too violent, but it concluded that “the poetical feeling which pervades the whole composition, the ease and boldness with which the effects are produced, the hardihood which dared make the attempt,—extort out wonder and applause.” For similar reviews in praise of Turner's originality, see *The Gentleman's Magazine, and Historical Chronicle* 99 (1829) p. 537; *The New Monthly Magazine and*

Literary Journal, part 3, Historical Register, June 1, 1829, p. 253.

16. See note 14 above.

17. Cole was exhorted to “keep that earlier, wilder image bright” in a poem by William Cullen Bryant, “To Cole, The Painter, Departing for Europe,” but Bryant later approved of the new style Cole developed abroad. In his *Funeral Oration, Occasioned by the Death of Thomas Cole* (New York, 1848) p. 21, Bryant praised the fact that “while in Italy, the manner of Cole underwent a considerable change; a certain timid softness of manner . . . was laid aside for that free and robust boldness in imitating the effects of nature, which has ever since characterized his works.” Something of this new boldness is visible in the extreme thinness of the paint that allows the texture of the canvas to show through in *The Titan's Goblet*.

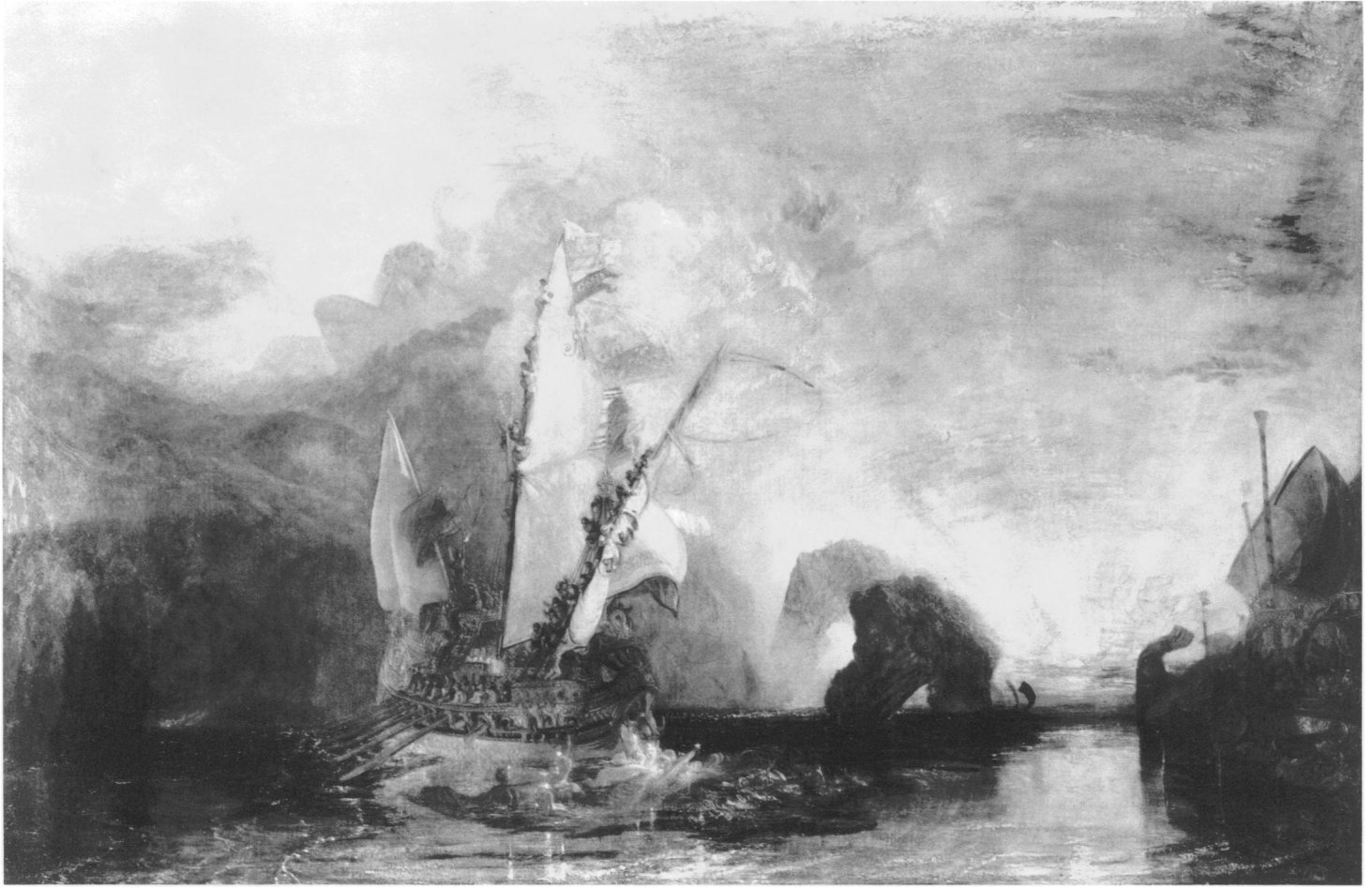


FIGURE 4

Ulysses deriding Polyphemus; Homer's *Odyssey*, by J. M. W. Turner, 1829. Oil on canvas, 52 ¼ x 80 ½ in. National Gallery, London (Turner Bequest), no. 508

Considering the natural hesitancy with which he began to measure himself against the English artists with established reputations, and considering the problems he must have experienced as an outsider in the London art world,¹⁸ it is not surprising to discover that Cole's written statements are not always a true indication of what he studied closely and what he dismissed among contemporary works. His remarks on Turner are an important case in point.

Whereas the two drawings after the *Ulysses deriding Polyphemus* speak of unguarded enthusiasm, Cole's

description of his personal visit to Turner's gallery on December 12, 1829, offers no more than a mixed review of the man and his paintings:

I had expected to see an older looking man with a countenance pale with thought, but I was entirely mistaken. He has a common form and common countenance, and there is nothing in his appearance or conversation indicative of genius. He looks like a seafaring man, a mate of a coasting vessel, and his manners were in accordance with his appearance. . . . I can scarcely reconcile my mind to the idea that he painted those

18. For Cole's complaint that no one visited his rooms except Americans, see William Dunlap, *History of the Rise and Progress of*

the Arts of Design in the United States, II (New York, 1834) pp. 361–362. Most of the artists in London Cole found “cold and selfish.”

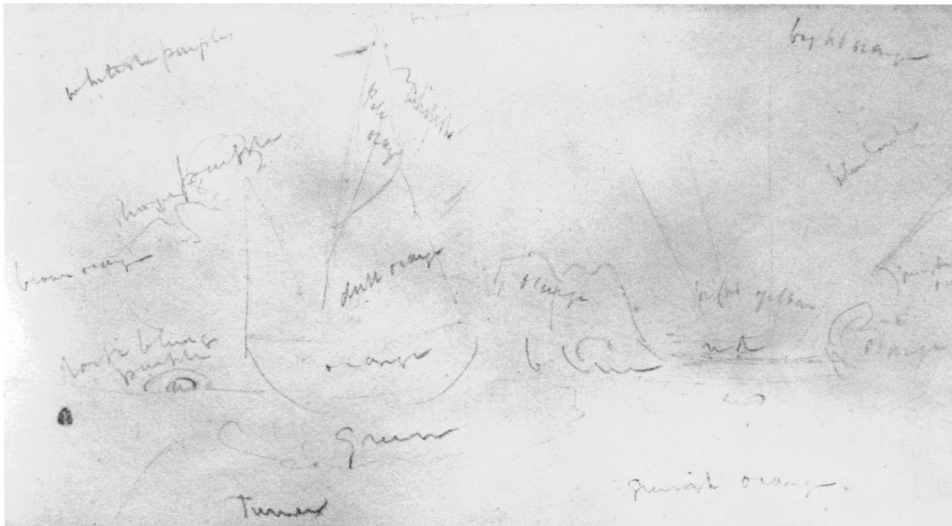


FIGURE 5
Drawing after Turner's Ulysses deriding Polyphemus (color notes), by Thomas Cole, 1829. Sketchbook No. 5, The Detroit Institute of Arts, 39.560a

FIGURE 6
Drawing after Turner's Ulysses deriding Polyphemus (chiaroscuro study), by Thomas Cole, 1829. Sketchbook No. 5, The Detroit Institute of Arts, 39.560a



grand pictures. The exterior so belies its inhabitant the soul.¹⁹

After particular praise for *The Building of Carthage*, a “splendid composition . . . full of poetry,” which “very much resembles some of Claude’s,” and for the *Hannibal Crossing the Alps*, “a sublime picture with a powerful effect of *Chiaro Scuro*,” Cole concluded the entry in his sketchbook with the observation that, while he admired Turner’s later pictures, they had a “very artificial look” to his eye:

They are splendid combinations of colour when it is considered separately from the subject, but they are destitute of all appearance of solidity. Every object appears transparent or soft. They look as though they were made of confectionary’s Sugar Candy Jellies. This appearance is produced by an undue dislike to dullness or black. The pictures are made up of the richest, brightest colours in every part, both in light and shade. The most beautiful nature I ever beheld has dullness and darkness in its combination and above all solidity.²⁰

Cole seized on these qualities—ample darkness and solidity—as the major concepts that separated his art and artistic intentions from Turner’s.²¹ So sure was he of the correctness of this judgment that he used the same notes again as the basis for his discussion of Turner’s work in a letter of 1834 to William Dunlap, written after his return from Europe. Dunlap, in turn, published the following passage verbatim:

Turner is the prince of the evil spirits. With imagi-

nation and a deep knowledge of the machinery of his art, he has produced some surprising specimens of effect. His earlier pictures are really beautiful and true, though rather misty; but in his late works you see the most splendid combinations of colour and *chiaro-scuro*—gorgeous but altogether false—there is a visionary, unsubstantial look about them that, for some subjects, is admirably appropriate; but in pictures representing scenes in this world, rocks should not look like sugar-candy, nor the ground like jelly.²²

No matter how poetic Cole’s mind may have been by nature, he obviously preferred the solid corporeality of natural objects to the vaporous, dreamlike suggestion of their presence to be found in Turner. In the light of this fundamental predisposition, it is fascinating to see what the American artist thought of doing with the *Ulysses* and *Polyphemus* theme. As if in response to Turner’s image of the escape of *Ulysses* and his companions, Cole chose to illustrate the beginning of the *Polyphemus* episode from book 9 of *The Odyssey*. In a surviving pencil drawing (Figure 7) Cole pictured the cyclops resting on the edge of a cliff by the sea, while watching a small ship row into the bay below.²³ Although the challenge of Turner’s work was taken up in this drawing, the idea was never carried out as an oil painting. Thus, only these pencil outlines are left to give some indication of how much darker or more substantial—not to say prosaic by comparison with Turner’s masterpiece—the rocks, the cliffs, and even the figure of the cyclops might have been in Cole’s version.²⁴

19. Entry for December 12, 1829, in Cole’s *London 1829 Sketchbook*, New York State Library, Albany, New York.

20. *London 1829 Sketchbook*.

21. Fascinated, even overawed by some of Turner’s effects, Cole still resisted the Siren’s call. Knowing Charles Robert Leslie in London, and through Leslie, John Constable, Cole was actually allied with the opposing camp of artists who could admire and praise Turner’s genius, while decrying the existence of his many imitators. Cole, obviously, had no intention of being another imitator. For one example of Leslie’s opinion of Turner’s later work, see his letter to Robert W. Weir (August 18, 1845) in Irene Weir, *Robert W. Weir, Artist* (New York, 1947) pp. 54–55.

22. Dunlap, *History of the Arts of Design*, II, p. 363. Except for the frank admiration for a fellow artist’s technical mastery, the tone of Cole remarks matches some of the criticism of Turner’s later works in English periodicals. The reviewer for *Blackwood’s Edinburgh Magazine* (40 [1836] p. 551) described Turner’s *Juliet and her Nurse* (Royal Academy, 1836, no. 73) as being assembled “from models of different parts of Venice, thrown higgledy-piggledy together, streaked blue and pink, and thrown into a flour tub. Poor Juliet has been steeped in treacle to make her look

sweet, and we feel apprehensive lest the mealy architecture should stick to her petticoat, and flour it.” It was the intemperance of this particular review that prompted Ruskin’s first, passionate, but unpublished defense of Turner as a landscape poet (in opposition to the pupils of Sir George Beaumont)—see E. T. Cook and A. Wedderburn, *The Complete Works of John Ruskin*, III (London, 1903) pp. 635–640.

23. Howard Merritt has noted the existence of this drawing in connection with an undated entry in Cole’s list of “Subjects for Pictures”: “Scene from *The Odyssey*. When *Ulysses* approaches the Cyclopean coast and sees the cyclops cave—Book 19th, line 211 to 224—fine subject.” See Merritt, *Baltimore Annual II: Studies on Thomas Cole, An American Romanticist* [1968] appendix II, no. 98, p. 96.

24. Like Turner, Cole might have known prints after Poussin’s classical landscapes with giant figures, such as the *Landscape with Polyphemus*, 1649 (Hermitage Museum, Leningrad). However, his drawing of a cyclops on a cliff has a semiabstract quality that makes it a distant relative of the outline engravings by John Flaxman, which he could also have known.



FIGURE 7

Ulysses and Companions arriving in the Bay near Polyphemus' Cave, by Thomas Cole, c. 1829–1830. Pencil drawing. The Detroit Institute of Arts, 39.353

In any event, this drawing of a cyclops on a cliff demonstrates Cole's interest in the creative possibilities of such a Mediterranean scene. This is significant because, as he began collecting architectural ideas for *The Course of Empire* (The New-York Historical Society), his first major series, he would have encountered an important classical precedent for a similar composition. On looking into Vitruvius's *Ten Books on Architecture* Cole would have discovered the story of Mount Athos.²⁵ As an introduction to the second book, deal-

ing with the origin of building, Vitruvius related the story of Dinocrates, the Macedonian architect, who suggested to Alexander that Mount Athos be formed into "the statue of a man holding a spacious city in his left hand, and in his right a huge cup, into which shall be collected all the streams of the mountain, which shall thence be poured into the sea."²⁶

Illustrations of this legendary project were also available. Cole might have seen the engraving published in Joseph Gwilt's translation of Vitruvius (London, 1826)

25. Architectural projects involving Mount Athos are mentioned in several other places as well, although the name of the architect and the exact nature of the project vary greatly. See Bernadotte Perrin, trans., *Plutarch's Lives*, VII, "Alexander," 72 (London, 1949) pp. 425–427; Horace Leonard Jones, trans., *The Geography of Strabo*, VI, (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1960) 14. 23, pp. 227–229; and Leone Battista Alberti, *Ten Books on Architecture*, trans. Cosimo Bartoli and James Leoni (London, 1955) book 6, chap. 4, p. 116.

26. Joseph Gwilt, trans., *The Architecture of Marcus Vitruvius Pollio in Ten Books* (London, 1826) p. 34. The idea of reshaping an entire mountain into a human form is a concept that has always appealed to artists. For a brief survey of the history of this fascinating theme from Alberti to the end of the eighteenth century (in terms of unrealized dreams, drawings, engravings, and garden sculpture), see Werner Korte, "Deinokrates und die Barocke Phantasie," *Die Antike* 12 (1937) pp. 289–312.



FIGURE 8

Der Macedonische Berg Athos in Gestalt eines Riesen. Plate xviii in part 1 of J. B. Fischer von Erlach, *Entwurf einer Historischen Architectur*, Vienna, 1721

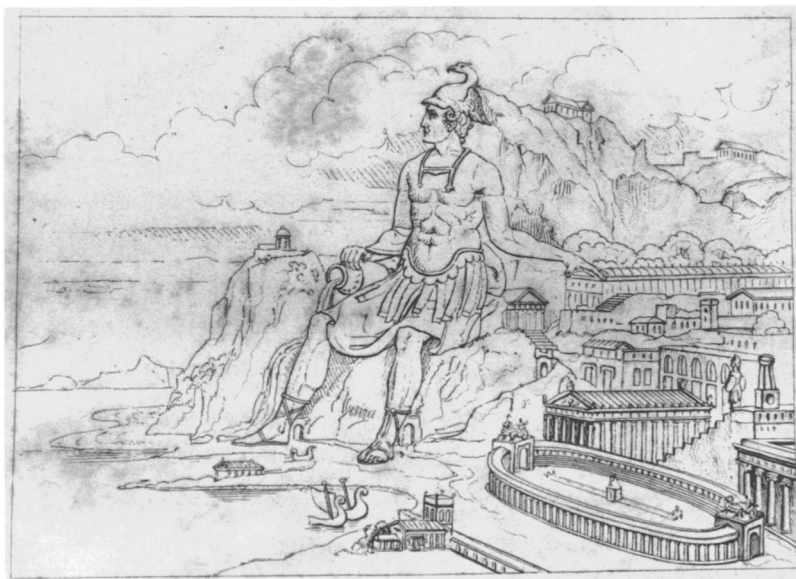


FIGURE 9

Mount Athos as proposed to be sculpted by Dinocrates. Headpiece illustration for book 2 of *The Architecture of Marcus Vitruvius Pollio in Ten Books*, translated by Joseph Gwilt, London, 1826

(Figure 9); but more importantly, he might also have had access to the representation in Fischer von Erlach's *Entwurff einer Historischen Architectur* (Figure 8), a book that appeared first in Vienna in 1721 and then in an English translation (London, 1737).²⁷ In The Titan's Goblet the waters have been collected in a huge cup, but there is no Titan. As a landscape painter, untrained in rendering the human figure on a large scale, Cole can easily be excused for his far greater interest in depicting stone and water, light and air. The connection with Fischer von Erlach's plate is apparent once the waters spill out of the cup and are distributed "to the sea by great Precipices."²⁸ In both of these landscape images, there are buildings next to the water on an upper level, and in both the descending streams make one final plunge down a steep cliff into an arm of the sea where small boats are sailing and where a small city rises under a cliff.

The existence of two cities in Cole's painting—one at sea level and the other on the rim of the goblet with its own "ocean dotted with sails," creating, in effect, a landscape within a landscape—is not such a unique idea after all. The precedent of the Mount Athos tradition explains that these cities were not meant in themselves to represent the opposites of ancient versus modern civilization, as is often suggested. Instead, the gigantic structure of the goblet, created in ancient times, is inhabited on several levels simultaneously in the present. Moreover, if mere men had proposed to carve an entire mountain into the form of a man holding a city in one hand and a cup in the other, then it may have been human beings alone who carved this goblet out of the living rock. The precedent of a classical architectural fantasy on this scale supplies an alternative to the natural assumption that the Titan's goblet was actually made by a giant who simply left it behind, carelessly, as he wandered off and eventually vanished from the earth.

If part of Cole's inspiration came from contact with tradition, another part stemmed from the rich soil of his own imagination. The goblet itself is not a World Tree, but a fusion of several different ideas that are closely related; the vessel exists as part fountain, part vase, part vegetation, and part volcanic lake. Among the Cole drawings in The Detroit Institute of Arts are two, dating from his sojourn in Europe or just after his return, that reveal a deep fascination with fountains

and basins of incredible proportions. The first of these (Figure 11), enclosed within its own frame, shows a cornucopia-shaped fountain with its jet of water, supported by a giant leafy stalk. This magical form can be compared to similar fountains of equal vitality, such as the one visible in Piranesi's view of the Villa d'Este gardens, Tivoli (Figure 10), which must have delighted Cole during his tour of Italy (1831–1832). The number and variety of fountains he encountered in Florence, Rome, and Tivoli must have supplied the raw materials for this type of fantasy.

Interest in Italian fountains was shared by other early nineteenth-century artists, to be sure. One of the works by Sir Augustus Wall Callcott (1779–1884), for example, that Cole must have admired at the Royal Academy in 1829, was a painting entitled *The Fountain—Morning*. In a Claudian manner, according to contemporary reviews, it contained a fountain, a classical building, and arcadian figures in the foreground, with a prospect of the snowy summits of the Apennines in the distance—all in glowing color.²⁹ By contrast, the scale employed in Cole's drawing (Figure 11) transforms the sense of pleasure, traditionally associated with Italian fountains, into a sense of awe. The gigantic basins to the right descend in a sublime series, one below the other, toward the sea. They differ from the catch basins of a typical Roman fountain (Figure 12) not only in terms of scale, but also in terms of surface qualities and relative position. Instead of smooth stone, they are fringed with dense forests of vegetation, and each body of water is held up separately to the sun, which is hovering above the sea in the distance.

If a sublime effect is produced by this first drawing, the opposite was intended in a related pencil sketch, which is inscribed "Design for Vase—Imitation of Moss" (Figure 13). Here, the small birds above the brim and the vine growing over the base suggest that the vase is but a garden ornament, and yet the connec-

27. For a discussion of Fischer von Erlach's text and of this plate in particular, see George Kunoth, *Die Historische Architektur Fischers von Erlach* (Düsseldorf, 1956) especially pp. 54–55. Also see Thomas Lediard, trans., *A Plan of Civil and Historical Architecture, in the Representation of the Most Noted Buildings of Foreign Nations, both Ancient and Modern*, 2nd ed. (London, 1737) pl. xviii.

28. Lediard, *A Plan of Civil and Historical Architecture*, p. 13.

29. *The Atheneum and Literary Chronicle*, no. 81, May 13, 1829, p. 300.

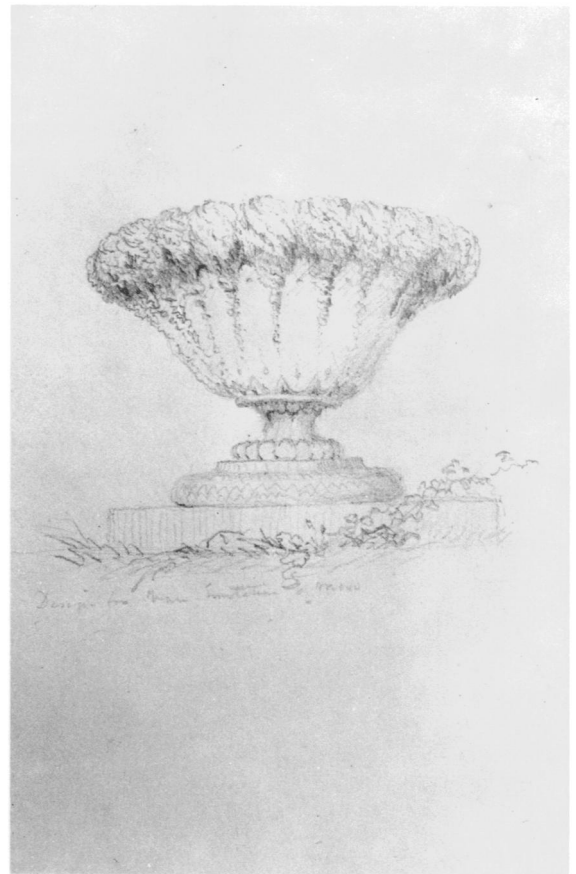
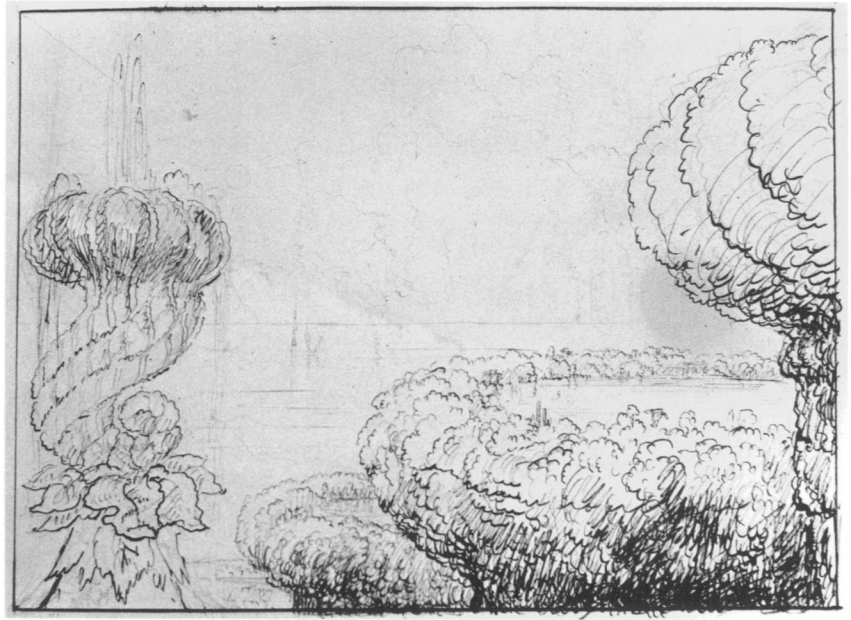
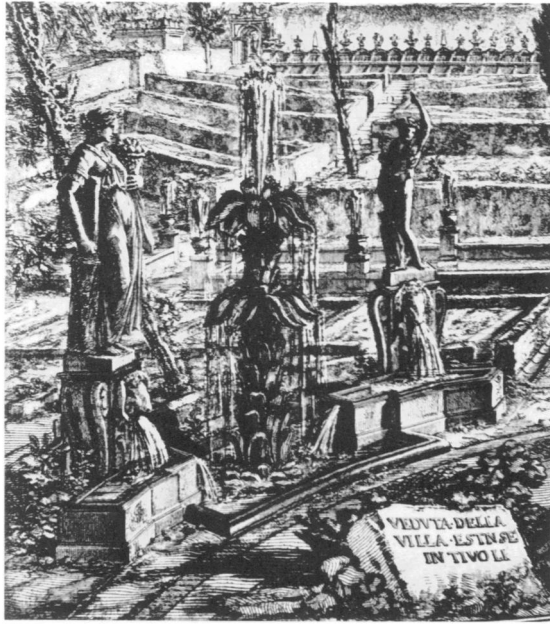


FIGURE 10

Veduta della Villa Estnse in Tivoli (detail), by G. B. Piranesi, c. 1773. Etching for the *Vedute di Roma*

FIGURE 11

Fantastic Fountain and Basins with a View of the Sea, by Thomas Cole, c. 1832–1833. Pen and pencil drawing. Sketchbook No. 2, The Detroit Institute of Arts, 39.559

tion with The Titan's Goblet is still evident. The fact that Louis L. Noble referred to the painted goblet as both a "vase" and a "towerlike mossy structure" makes perfect sense in the light of this drawing. The ground-level view gives the design a monumental quality far beyond its relative size, while the idea of decorative rings around the base, the treatment of the underside of the basin, and the curving mossy rim can be found in the final painting as well.

On a different level in the conception of The Titan's Goblet, it is possible that a basic visual analogy was at work in Cole's thoughts, an analogy between actual landscapes he had observed and the shape of the water vessels and basins he imagined. The volcanic origin (through subsidence, rather than eruption) of Lake Albano and Lake Nemi, which Cole visited in the spring of 1832, was well known. Speaking of Lake Albano in his *Description of Active and Extinct Volcanos* (1826), Charles Daubeny admitted that because of "the physical structure of the lake itself . . . its curved

form, the absence of any *natural* outlet for its waters, and the volcanic materials surrounding it, [it] might at once be taken for the crater of a volcano."³⁰ The drawings of Lake Nemi and Lake Albano in Cole's 1832 sketchbook (Figures 15, 16) tend to stress the important structural properties of volcanic lakes—their circular form, the steep sides covered with trees and shrubs, and the absence of a natural outlet for the waters.³¹

These same properties are apparent in Piranesi's views and schematic renderings of Lake Albano, c. 1762–1764—and it is worth noting that a set of Piranesi's works, given by Napoleon on the occasion of his election to honorary membership in the American Academy of Fine Arts, was available in New York through the 1830s.³² In a key cross-section diagram (Figure 14) Piranesi pictured the lake as a curved basin, surrounded by a high bank that is covered with vegetation; through this bank the artificial outlet carved by the Romans (396 B.C.) is clearly indicated. Although similar drainage outlets can also be found in fountains (see Figure 12), the fact that they appear in

30. Daubeny, *Description of Active and Extinct Volcanos* (London, 1826) p. 131.

31. Although these drawings by themselves belong to a long history of traditional views of the Alban lakes, The Titan's Goblet might be considered in terms of more unusual volcanic scenes in which the viewer looks down on the complete crater from a great height—as in William Hodges's *A Crater in the Pacific*, 1772–1775 (Art Gallery and Museum, Brighton, England). It may also be noted that Cole used his drawings of a shrine and a view of Lake Nemi, which appear on facing pages of his sketchbook (Figure 16), for a more conventional painting, called *View of Lago di Nemi*, near Rome, or *Il Penseroso* (unlocated), in 1845. Henry T. Tuckerman described this work in his *Book of the Artists: American Artist Life* (New York, 1867) p. 231: "The shores rise abruptly to a great height, and are covered with dense and shadowy foliage. A dash of Salvator's gloom broods over the scene, and an ancient shrine, before which a single peasant kneels, increases the religious solemnity of the landscape." Its companion picture, *L'Allegro*, or *Italian Sunset*, was recently with Hirschl and Adler Galleries, New York.

32. Napoleon's election was probably arranged through Robert R. Livingston, the first president of the American Academy, who became Minister to France. For specific mention of the "twenty-four volumes of the works of Giovanni Battista Piranesi, the Italian etcher of ancient Rome," which were unfortunately consumed by fire in April 1839, see Winifried E. Howe, *A History of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, With a Chapter on the Early Institutions of Art in New York* (New York, 1913) pp. 13, 34.

FIGURE 12

Fountain in the Piazza d'Ara Coeli, Rome. Photograph from Cesare d'Onofrio, *Le Fontane di Roma*, Rome, 1957

FIGURE 13

Design for Vase—Imitation of Moss, by Thomas Cole, c. 1832–1833. Pencil drawing. Sketchbook No. 11, The Detroit Institute of Arts, 39.569

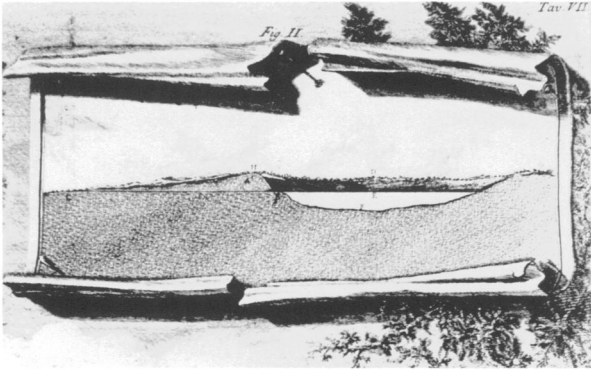


FIGURE 14
Cross-section of Lake Albano, by G. B. Piranesi.
Plate VII, figure II (detail) from *Descrizione e disegno dell'Emissario del Lago Albano*, Rome, c. 1762–1764

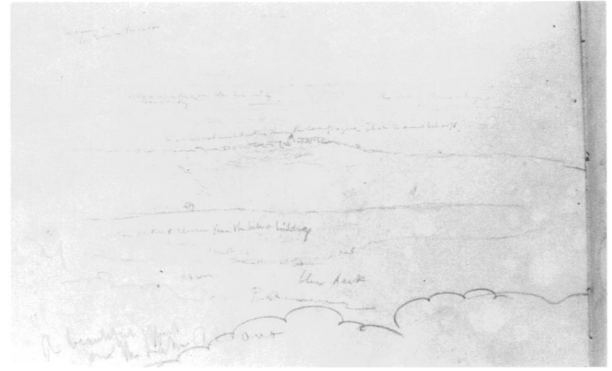


FIGURE 15
A beautiful effect on the Lake Albano, by Thomas Cole, 1832. Pencil drawing. Sketchbook No. 7, The Detroit Institute of Arts, 39.565

FIGURE 16
A Shrine and a View of Lake Nemi, by Thomas Cole, 1832. Pen and pencil drawings (facing pages). Sketchbook no. 7, The Detroit Institute of Arts, 39.565



The Titan's Goblet seems to confirm the drinking vessel-volcanic lake analogy. Rather than allowing the water to spill over the top of his giant goblet (Figure 18), Cole has shown the waters escaping at only a few places on the outer edge of the rim, as if flowing through carefully planned *emissarii*, designed to keep the lake inside the goblet at a constant level.

Furthermore, there is still another way in which Cole's experience of Lake Albano can be related to the "landscape within a landscape" of The Titan's Goblet. To make the drawing, which is inscribed "A beautiful effect on the Lake Albano" (Figure 15), Cole must have climbed to a suitable height on Monte Albano in order to look down on the lake with its "reflection darker and clearer than the hill & buildings" in the morning light (as recorded on the drawing). From the same vantage point he could also see over the roofs of the buildings at Castel Gandolfo on the far rim. The Campagna and the sea are visible to the west. This is almost precisely the same geographical and topographical arrangement used in the final painting (Figure 18), although the time of day was altered for dramatic effect. From an extremely elevated position, facing the sunset, the viewer is able to look down onto the surface of the circular lake inside the goblet, but at the same time he can also see over the far rim to the high horizon.

The sense of Lake Albano's elevation (960 ft.) above the surrounding countryside, implied in the "beautiful effect" drawing by Cole, just as it is in a panoramic view by Piranesi (Figure 17), is carried to the point of total isolation in The Titan's Goblet, and yet the identity of the lake is never lost. Of the two buildings that are clearly visible on the rim of the goblet, the nearer one is a Grecian templelike structure, probably related to Cole's painting of the temples at Paestum.³³ There is no need to refer to Greece and Syria, instead of Italy alone, since the larger, blocklike structure on the dis-

tant rim reminds one instantly of the papal summer palace at Castel Gandolfo (see Figure 17). The presence of this landmark with its dark reflection in the water offers further proof that Cole was thinking primarily of Lake Albano.

Dated 1833, The Titan's Goblet was probably painted during the summer or early autumn of that year. At that time Cole had already received a commission from Luman Reed for a large Italian Scene, Composition (The New-York Historical Society), but he was also beginning to make arrangements with Reed to paint the series of The Course of Empire. Henry T. Tuckerman recorded that The Titan's Goblet originally belonged to Reed,³⁴ but it may have been that Cole simply sent it to his new patron on approval, as noted by Howard S. Merritt.³⁵ When Reed returned the painting, it soon found another owner in James J. Mapes, who allowed Cole to exhibit it at the National Academy of Design in 1834.

To the same exhibition, it is worth noting, Frederick S. Agate (1807-1844) sent The Old Oaken Bucket, a pastoral scene with a boy drinking from a bucket at a well. Attached to the title of this picture in the catalogue were the following lines: " 'How sweet from the green mossy brim to receive it, / As poised on the curb, it inclined to my lips; / Not a full, blushing goblet could tempt me to leave it, / Though fill'd with the nectar that Jupiter sips. . . ' — Woodworth."³⁶ This kind of reference to a classical goblet in contemporary poetry might have had a place in Cole's invention process, if only in terms of the picture's title; but it is even more important to realize that he must have known paintings of goblets as well.

The fact that Cole sent The Titan's Goblet to Luman Reed at a time when he was planning to paint many other canvases for the Reed Gallery may be highly significant. Among his collection of "Old Masters" Reed

33. Cole's View of the Temples at Paestum, belonging to Miss H. Douglas, was exhibited at the National Academy of Design in 1833 (no. 141); this was undoubtedly the same work, showing the sun setting behind the "Temple of Poseidon" and identified as having been painted in Florence, 1832, that was with Vose Galleries, Boston, some years ago.

34. Tuckerman, *Book of the Artists*, p. 228.

35. Merritt, *Thomas Cole*, p. 29, no. 27.

36. For the poem by Samuel Woodworth, see his *Melodies*,

Duets, Trios, Songs, and Ballads; Pastoral, Amatory, Sentimental, Patriotic, Religious, and Miscellaneous, 3rd ed. (New York, 1831) pp. 12-13. A review of Agate's picture from the *New-York Mirror* is reprinted in James T. Callow, *Kindred Spirits: Knickerbocker Writers and American Artists, 1807-1855* (Chapel Hill, 1967) p. 190. This review identified Agate's picture as an improvement upon the frontispiece illustration for Woodworth's first edition of the *Melodies*, 1826.

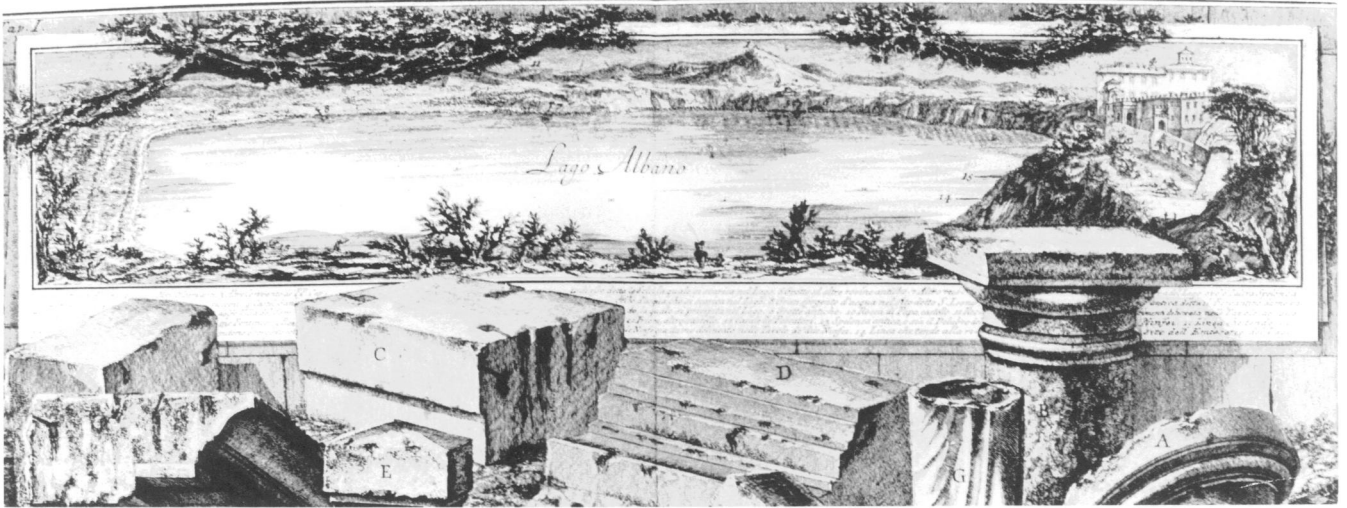
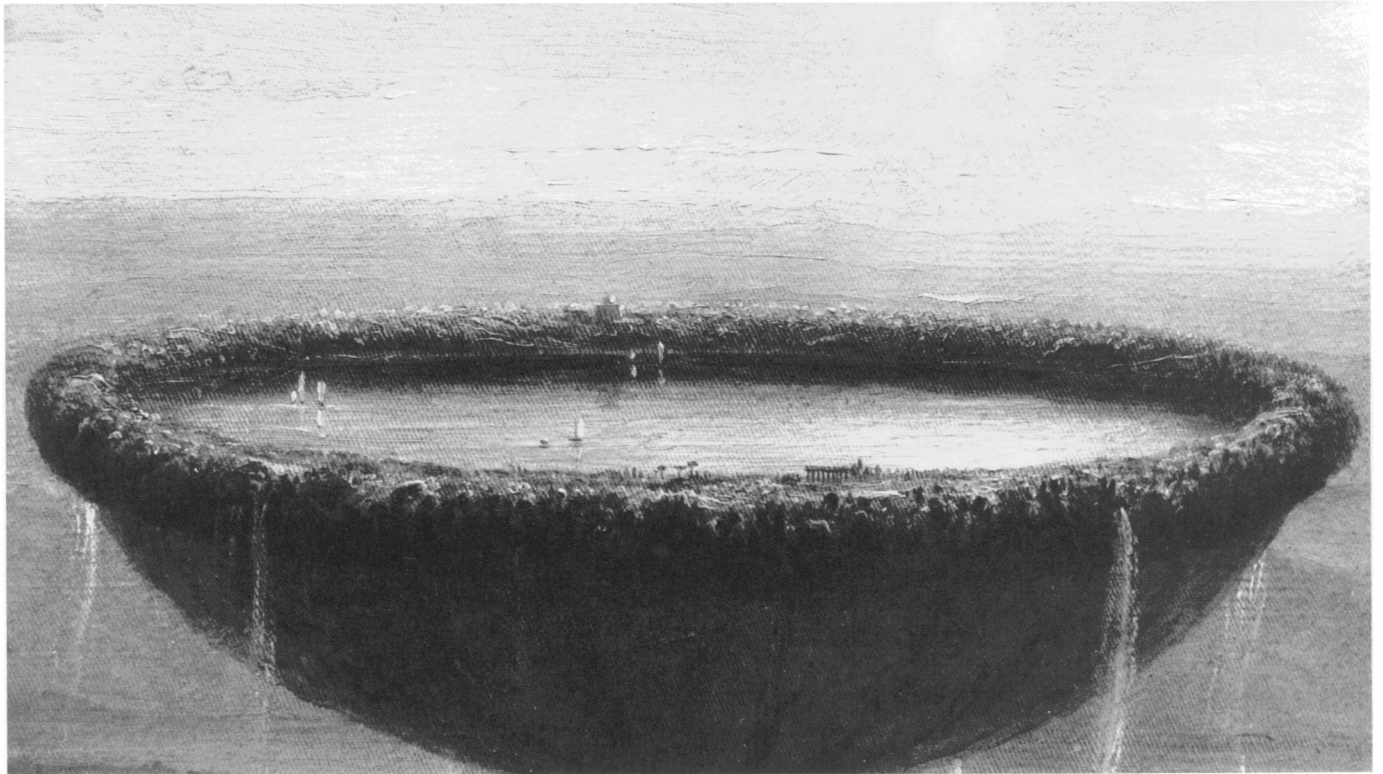


FIGURE 17
Lago Albano, by G. B. Piranesi. Detail of Plate I, *Antichità d' Albano e di Castel Gandolfo*, Rome, 1764

FIGURE 18
The Basin of The Titan's Goblet (detail of Figure 1)



owned a still-life painting by Willem van Aelst (Figure 19) in which a goblet, a bowl, and a lemon, along with other objects on the edge of a table, are sharply illuminated against the dark background.³⁷ The pres-

ence of this picture in Reed's home, where Cole was always a welcome visitor, suggests the unusual, but not impossible idea that The Titan's Goblet was meant to be a landscape painter's answer to this type of work in

37. Luman Reed's collection of "Old Masters" was acquired from the picture dealer Michael Paff, according to John Durand, *The Life and Times of A. B. Durand* (New York, 1894) pp. 106–107. When Reed lost confidence in his supplier and the quality of the "goods," he turned to contemporary American artists, extending

his patronage to Cole, Asher B. Durand, William Sidney Mount, and G. W. Flagg. For the titles and attributions of the fifty-five paintings owned by Reed, now in The New-York Historical Society, see its *Catalogue of the Gallery of Art* (New York, 1866) nos. 1–55.

FIGURE 19

Still-life with Goblet and Lemon, by Willem van Aelst, Dutch, xvii century. Oil on canvas, 32 x 27 in. The New-York Historical Society (Reed Collection), 1858.¹⁵



another genre. Although smaller in size, Cole's painting does have a similar vertical format. Within this frame, however, instead of showing the play of indoor light over various surfaces and textures, he chose to create a compelling sense of depth filled with radiant sunlight. Nevertheless, in spite of these differences in space and lighting, the deliberate off-center placement of the Titan's goblet on a flat table of land suggests that Cole had absorbed one of the fundamental formal devices of still-life painting, which he adapted successfully for his own use.

Ultimately, the generative force behind this visionary landscape, given the fact that it was painted without a commission, must have come from Cole's own imagination. He apparently asked only \$100 for the

painting, considerably less than the \$250 to \$500 prices for his full-scale landscapes at this time,³⁸ but the exact figure depended on the size of the canvas and the degree of finish, not on the artist's opinion of its other values. The small size of *The Titan's Goblet* and the thinness of the paint indicate that it was executed quickly, but even if it had been "dashed-off" in only a week or two, it was still the product of a long, involved, and highly inventive thought process. It is a tribute to Cole's pictorial imagination that, by means of overlapping ideas and sudden changes in scale, he was able to fuse several European landscape concepts into a single, coherent, and haunting image intended for his American public.

38. Howard Merritt found a sheet among Cole's miscellaneous papers (New York State Library, Albany) on which the artist apparently kept a record of his financial transactions with Luman Reed. Dated 1834, the list begins with the entry "To Goblet picture 100 By returned Goblet picture 100" and ends with the

notation "to Series of the Course of Empire 3500 . . . etc. / to total of \$3650." The large and highly finished *Italian Scene, Composition* (37½ × 54¼ in.), which Reed commissioned, cost \$500. See Dunlap, *History of the Arts of Design*, II, p. 367.

The Technical Aspects of Degas's Art

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I. In his attitude toward the technical aspects of his art, Degas was at once more radical and more conservative than almost any major artist of his generation. While the other Realists and Impressionists were largely content to employ the most conventional techniques of European art, even as they brought about the most far-reaching changes in its content and formal structure, he experimented constantly with materials and methods whose novelty would match that of his vision of modern life. But on the other hand, while his colleagues accepted the limitations of the relatively simple traditional techniques they used, enjoying the spontaneity of expression these afforded, he longed for the virtuosity and mystery he associated with the more complex methods of the old masters, blaming their loss on the shallow materialism of his own age. He could delight in the search for new procedures and remark with disdain, when told of another artist's satisfaction at having "found" his method, "Heureusement que moi, je n'ai pas trouvé ma manière; ce que je m'embêterais."¹ But he could also despair of his ignorance, asserting to the young Rouault, "à propos de

certaine anarchie actuelle et de la technique admirable des anciens, 'Il faudra redevenir esclaves.'"²

Underlying these contradictions in Degas's attitude was a more fundamental contradiction in his creative personality. In addition to the artist and the writer, there was in him something of the amateur scientist and inventor, who drew on the progressive currents in his culture to achieve some remarkable innovations in artistic technique. Yet there was also something of the disenchanted dreamer and reactionary, who regretted the disappearance of time-honored methods and who, despite the expert advice of friends, allowed many of his works to be disfigured by a curious indifference to material requirements.

Both the positive and the negative elements in this attitude have been discussed in Denis Rouart's pioneering monograph *Degas à la recherche de sa technique*,³ but without sufficient attention to the strong convictions and prejudices reflected in them. Thus, the explanation of Degas's nostalgia for the so-called secrets of the old masters seems to accept his own explanation too readily, failing to ask whether the loss was felt as keenly

1. A. Vollard, *Degas* (Paris, 1924) p. 80. This statement and the others in A. Vollard, "Degas et la technique," *Beaux-Arts*, no. 219 (March 12, 1937) p. c, are simply reprinted from the earlier publication.

2. G. Rouault, *Souvenirs intimes* (Paris, 1927) p. 99. Rouault had met Degas in the 1890s, through his teacher Gustave Moreau.

3. See the list of frequently cited sources on p. 166; also J. Rewald's review of Rouart's book in *Magazine of Art* 40 (1947) p. 38.

by many of his Impressionist colleagues, some of whom were as deeply interested in older art, or whether it was felt at all by many of his conservative colleagues, who continued to instruct their students in the use of old-fashioned procedures. Moreover, in the twenty-five years since this study was published, much has been learned from more detailed investigations of the artist's notebooks, sculptures, drawings, monotypes, and prints, all of which, when supplemented by Rouart's own fine observations, provides a fuller understanding of this complex subject.

II. Let us begin with the amateur scientist and inventor in Degas, since it is his remarkable achievements that make the whole question worth discussing and at the same time require most explanation. His attitude was one of endless curiosity about the methods he employed and of boundless enthusiasm for the novel results he often obtained. Thus, his friend Desboutin, describing Degas's recent experiments with printing monotypes from zinc and copper plates, wrote in July 1876: "Il en est à la phase métallurgique pour la reproduction de ses dessins au rouleau et court tout Paris—par ces chaleurs—à la recherche du corps d'industrie correspondant à son idée fixe! C'est tout un poème!"⁴ And Degas himself, proposing to Pissarro a new method of tinting etchings that made use of wood blocks and copper stencils, wrote in 1880: "Il y aurait là à faire de jolis essais d'impressions originales et curieuses en couleur. . . . Je vous enverrai bientôt des essais de moi en ce genre. Ce serait économique et nouveau."⁵ Indeed, while Desboutin, Pissarro, and most of their Impressionist colleagues were working with conventional techniques, Degas was converting his studio into a kind of attic laboratory in which he could experiment with altogether new ones.

It is sometimes said that Degas was forced to do this because the recipes and procedures that had formerly been handed down from master to pupil had disappeared at the time of the French Revolution; and he himself says as much in a conversation reported by his disciple Georges Jeanniot.⁶ Actually, there was no such dramatic breakdown of the studio tradition, and well into the nineteenth century conservative artists continued to study and employ Renaissance techniques. Degas himself was trained by pupils of Ingres who did

so in their attempt to create a monumental religious art like that of the past, and with a few exceptions he followed their methods closely during the first decade of his career. Nor did he abandon them altogether during the second decade, even though he was by then exploring both the modern urban subjects and the novel compositional schemas that characterize his mature art. Some of his most original pictures, such as *A Woman with Chrysanthemums* and *Sulking* (Figure 1), are after all painted in a conventional oil technique—a very sober technique of uniformly thin, flat strokes whose surface displays that smoothness which Degas so much admired in the work of Ingres and other masters.⁷ It was only in the third decade of his career, between 1875 and 1885, that the iconographic and stylistic innovations he had achieved in works like these were accompanied by equally radical innovations in material or method.

What seems really to have motivated Degas was something more fundamental—a fascination with the technical as such. He lived in a period of rapid scientific and technological progress, when the experimental method was widely regarded as a model for intellectual achievement, not only in the critical essays of Taine and his followers, but in the novels of the Goncourt brothers, Zola, and other Naturalist writers with whom Degas was acquainted.⁸ Hence it was natural for him to apply the same method to his own practice, or at least to invest the latter with an appearance of modernity, however far from strict empiricism his practice actually was. One of his closest friends, Henri Rouart, was an inventor and metallurgical engineer whose circle consisted of other engineers, industrialists, and artillery officers, and as Jacques-Emile Blanche points out, "Ces messieurs avaient l'habitude de la précision, ils étaient des spécialistes dont le langage

4. Letter to Léontine de Nittis, July 1876, in M. Pittaluga and E. Piceni, *De Nittis* (Milan, 1963) p. 359.

5. Letter to Pissarro, datable to 1880, in Degas, *Lettres*, ed. M. Guérin (Paris, 1945) pp. 52–54. According to Guérin, p. 54, note 2, "Degas n'a jamais réalisé ces essais."

6. G. Jeanniot, "Souvenirs sur Degas," *Revue Universelle* 55 (1933) pp. 167–168. Jeanniot had met Degas about 1881.

7. P. Valéry, *Degas danse dessin* (Paris, 1938) p. 174. The pictures cited above are Lemoisne, nos. 125, 335; see Sterling and Salinger, *French Paintings*, pp. 57–70, 71–73.

8. T. Reff, "Degas and the Literature of His Time," *Burlington Magazine* 112 (1970) pp. 580–589, 674–681.

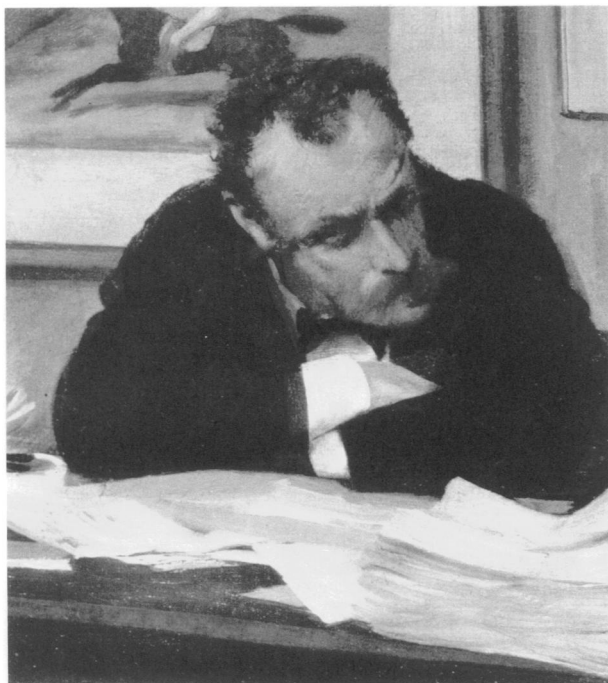


FIGURE 1

Detail from *Sulking*, by Degas. Oil on canvas. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, bequest of Mrs. H. O. Havemeyer, the H. O. Havemeyer Collection, 29.100.43

technique, les connaissances scientifiques, l'esprit d'ordre et de discipline plaisaient tant à M. Degas."⁹ All expressions of a specialized knowledge or skill seem to have interested him, as they did the Naturalist writers and critics with whom he was acquainted. When he painted laundresses in their shops or dancers in their practice rooms, he observed their characteristic gestures and habits of speech, and later surprised Edmond de Goncourt, himself a connoisseur of the precise word, by showing him pictures of these women while "parlant leur langue, nous expliquant techniquement le coup de fer *appuyé*, le coup de fer *circulaire*, etc. . . . Et c'est vraiment très amusant de le voir, sur le haut de ses

pointes, les bras arrondis, mêler à l'esthétique du maître de danse l'esthétique du peintre."¹⁰ Many years later the master founder Palazzolo was equally surprised to find the aged Degas making long trips to visit the foundry where some of his statuettes were being cast, not in order to supervise the work, but simply to observe professional founders engaged in their tasks, to ask their advice about technical problems—in short, to enter their expert, specialized world.¹¹

Nothing reveals Degas's fascination with the purely material aspects of his art more clearly than the recipes and projects scattered through his notebooks, some evidently recording practical advice given by colleagues, others more theoretical and even unrealizable, like many of those in Leonardo's notebooks. About 1879, a period of very active interest in graphic methods for his projected magazine *Le Jour et la Nuit*, he made detailed notes on the laying down of an aquatint, notes probably based on discussions with Bracquemond, with whom he also corresponded about this subject at the time.¹² A few years earlier, he had recorded many other observations and recipes for printmaking, and in terms that once again show a delight in professional parlance: "L'essence de lavande dissoudre mieux l'encre de report que l'essence térébenthine. . . . Sur un zinc reporter une gravure imbibée de sulfate de cuivre. En soumettant à un bain léger d'acide chlorhydrique on a une taille douce. . . . Sur une plaque argentée (de daguerre[otypie]) appliquer une gravure imbibée (et essorée) de chlorure d'or. Mettre sous presse. Il en sort une plaque damasquinée en négatif. . . ."¹³

In reading these completely impersonal formulas, devoted to the mastery of a difficult procedure, we are reminded of the terms Valéry employed to define Degas's whole conception of art: "Il ne voyait dans l'art que problèmes d'une certaine mathématique plus subtile que l'autre. . . . Il disait qu'un tableau est le résultat d'une *série d'opérations*."¹⁴ And we can hardly

9. J.-E. Blanche, *Propos de peintre, de David à Degas* (Paris, 1919) p. 258.

10. E. and J. de Goncourt, *Journal, Mémoires de la vie littéraire*, ed. R. Ricatte (Monaco, 1956) X, pp. 163–165, dated February 13, 1874.

11. J. Adhémar, "Before the Degas Bronzes," *Art News* 54, no. 7 (November 1955) p. 35; based on an interview with Palazzolo, who had known Degas about 1910.

12. Letter to Bracquemond, datable to 1879, in Degas, *Lettres*, pp. 48–50. The notes on aquatinting are in Bibliothèque Nationale, Dc 327d réserve, Carnet 9, fol. 22. See T. Reff, "The Chronology of Degas's Notebooks," *Burlington Magazine* 107 (1965) p. 614.

13. Bibliothèque Nationale, Dc 327d réserve, Carnet 7, fols. 67, 60, 58, respectively. See Reff, "Chronology of Degas's Notebooks," p. 614.

14. Valéry, *Degas danse dessin*, p. 8.

imagine as their author any other artist in the Impressionist circle; even Renoir and Pissarro, both of whom were soon to seek alternatives to the intuitive, spontaneous methods they had previously employed, the one turning back to traditional art in a reactionary mood that resembled the later Degas's,¹⁵ the other temporarily adopting the rigorous process and scientific interests of Neo-Impressionism, never pursued their respective studies so intensively. Moreover, the advice Degas recorded in his notebooks was generally given by colleagues who, thanks largely to his own advocacy, sometimes exhibited with the Impressionists, but whose work sharply distinguished them from the latter: about aquatinting, for example, he learned from Bracquemond, about the monotype from Ludovic Lepic.¹⁶ And the technical discussions he so much enjoyed were usually with artists outside Impressionism, such as Jeaniot, Chialiva, and Henri Rouart.

III. To appreciate the extent to which Degas's lifelong search for technical mastery and innovation manifested itself in his art, we must examine in greater detail his uses of specific materials and media. Denis Rouart has described the remarkable number of ways in which he worked in pastel, a traditionally minor medium that he endowed with the versatility and power of a major one, and at a time when no one else was doing this.¹⁷ If Degas's early pastels, such as *The Rehearsal on the Stage* (Figure 2), are smooth and highly finished, in the manner of La Tour and other eighteenth-century pastellists whom he admired, those of the 1880s, such as *A Woman Having Her Hair Combed* (Figure 3), are rougher in texture and more vigorously executed, with strokes of vividly contrasted color overlapping each other to create a flickering surface not unlike that in contemporary paintings by Monet and Pissarro.¹⁸ In Degas's late pastels, such as *Dancers in*



FIGURE 2

Detail from *The Rehearsal on the Stage*, by Degas. Pastel. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, bequest of Mrs. H. O. Havemeyer, the H. O. Havemeyer Collection, 29.100.39

the *Wings* (Figure 4), these overlapping layers of chalk are heavier in substance and even more brilliant in hue, yet they are prevented from smearing by means of a fixative given to him by Chialiva, one whose composition was supposedly so secret—and how this aspect, too, would have delighted Degas—that it could never be duplicated.¹⁹ Previously, Degas himself had

15. See the remarks reported by A. André, *Renoir* (Paris, 1928) pp. 13–14, 55–60; also Renoir's preface to C. Cennini, *Le Livre de l'art*, trans. V. Mottez (Paris, 1911; first ed., without preface, 1858) pp. viii–ix.

16. E. P. Janis, *Degas Monotypes* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1968) pp. xvii–xviii.

17. Rouart, pp. 16–34. See D. Cooper, *Pastels by Edgar Degas* (New York, 1953) pp. 12–13.

18. Lemoisne, nos. 498, 847; Sterling and Salinger, *French Paintings*, pp. 76–77, 86–88. On Degas's admiration for La Tour, see J. Fèvre, *Mon oncle Degas* (Geneva, 1949) pp. 69–70.

19. E. Moreau-Nélaton, "Deux heures avec Degas," *L'Amour de l'Art* 12 (1931) p. 269; from an interview in 1907. According to E. Rouart, "Degas," *Le Point* 2, no. 1 (February 1937) p. 22, Chialiva also gave him pastels that were both vivid and light-fast. *Dancers in the Wings* is Lemoisne, no. 1015.



FIGURE 3
Detail from *A Woman Having Her Hair Combed*,
by Degas. Pastel. The Metropolitan Museum of
Art, bequest of Mrs. H. O. Havemeyer, the H. O.
Havemeyer Collection, 29.100.35



FIGURE 4
Detail from *Dancers in the Wings*, by Degas.
Pastel. Collection of Franz Koenigs, Haarlem

devised an ingenious method of blowing steam over the initial layers of a pastel drawing, either to dissolve them into a vaporous film that would seem to float on the surface or, on the contrary, to melt them into a paste that could then be reworked with visible strokes of the brush, as in the background of *Dancer with a Fan* (Figure 5).²⁰ But whether he went so far as to use the intriguing “pastel-soap” that he mentions in a notebook of about 1880—“mélanges des couleurs à l’eau avec de la glycérine et de la soude; on pourrait

faire du pastel-savon; potasse au lieu de soude”—we do not know.²¹

Even in oil painting, perhaps the most conventional of the media he employed, Degas experimented with a number of unusual procedures and effects. Although his early works are on the whole rather straightforward technically, there are among them preparatory studies for larger compositions, such as the one for *The Young Spartans* (Figure 6), which are painted in oil colors on a sheet of previously oiled paper, so that the

20. Lemoisne, no. 545. See J. S. Boggs, *Drawings by Degas* (New York, 1967) no. 93, and Rouart, pp. 22–25, for descriptions of the techniques employed.

21. Paris, formerly Collection Marcel Guérin, *Carnet 4*, fol. 3 verso. See Reff, “Chronology of Degas’s Notebooks,” p. 615 and note 132.



FIGURE 5

Detail from *Dancer with a Fan*, by Degas. Pastel. Private collection, courtesy of the Dallas Museum of Fine Arts

matte surface, as in *Dancers Practicing at the Bar* (Figure 7).²³ And toward the end of his life, when his approach was in general becoming much bolder, he employed the brush with extraordinary freedom and inventiveness, spreading rather dry paint in swirling rhythms reminiscent of chalk rather than oil strokes, as in *Scene from a Ballet* (Figure 8), or he abandoned the brush altogether and dabbed on paint in heavy masses with a rag or his fingers, thus suggesting in an easel picture something of the roughness and strength of a frescoed wall, as in *The Bath* (Figure 9).²⁴ According to Vollard, he had always wanted to paint an actual fresco like those he admired in Renaissance art: "Ça [a] été le rêve de toute ma vie de peindre des murs. . . ."²⁵

In view of the importance Degas attached to drawing, it is surprising that he rarely experimented in it with new techniques, except of course in pastel, which

brush would slide more swiftly, "glissant avec aisance et volupté (comme il disait lui-même)." ²² Later, while continuing to use this method occasionally, he also discovered a means of obtaining the opposite effect, equally smooth but dry and chalky, without sacrificing ease of execution; this was done by soaking the oil out of the colors, diluting them with turpentine—hence the name *peinture à l'essence*—and applying them to a

22. M. Guérin, "Notes sur les monotypes de Degas," *L'Amour de l'Art* 5 (1924) p. 77. The preparatory study is Lemoisne, no. 70; see Boggs, *Drawings by Degas*, no. 36.

23. Lemoisne, no. 408; Sterling and Salinger, *French Paintings*, pp. 78–81. Rouart, p. 10, states incorrectly that the medium is tempera. Later examples of the use of oiled paper are *Achille de Gas* (Lemoisne, no. 307) and *Four Studies of Grooms* (Lemoisne, no. 383).

24. Lemoisne, nos. 610, 1029. Although begun about 1880, the former was evidently reworked much later. On the technique of the latter, see Rouart, pp. 44–49.

25. Vollard, *Degas*, pp. 77–78. However, Vollard is often an unreliable source; see J. Guenne, "La Verité sur Vollard," *Les Cahiers de Belles-Lettres* 1, no. 3 (May 1944).

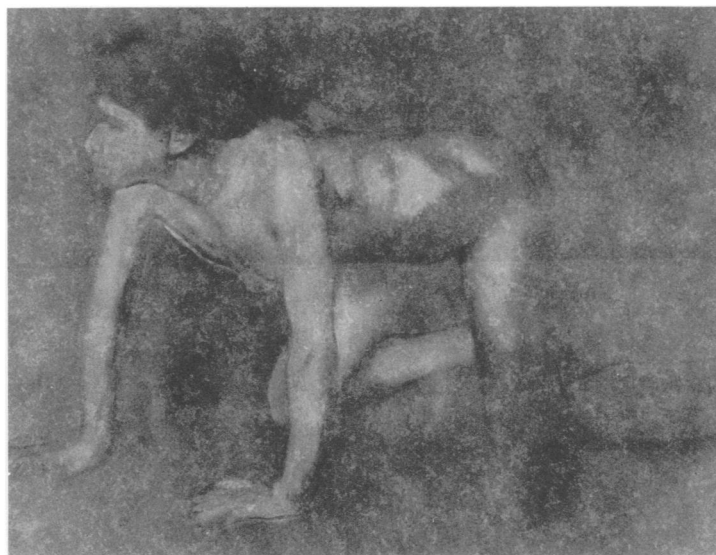


FIGURE 6

Study for *The Young Spartans*, by Degas. Oil on paper. Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge, Massachusetts, gift of Mrs. Mary W. Reinhardt

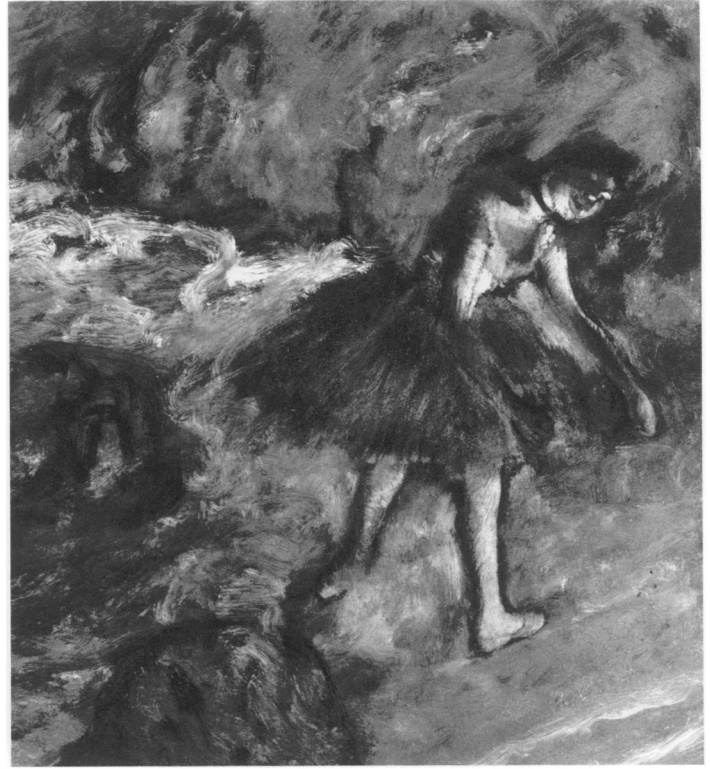


FIGURE 7

Detail from *Dancers Practicing at the Bar*, by Degas. Oil on canvas. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, bequest of Mrs. H. O. Havemeyer, the H. O. Havemeyer Collection, 29.100.34

FIGURE 8

Detail from *Scene in a Ballet*, by Degas. Oil on canvas. Formerly Collection of Mouradian and Vallotton, Paris



FIGURE 9

Detail from *The Bath*, by Degas. Oil on canvas. The Carnegie Institute, Museum of Art, Pittsburgh



FIGURE 10

Detail from Study for Dante and Virgil, by Degas. Drawing in mixed media. Collection of Mr. and Mrs. Norton Simon, Los Angeles



FIGURE 11

Study for The Misfortunes of the City of Orleans, by Degas. Drawing in mixed media. Musée du Louvre

is as much a form of painting. This was probably because, like Leonardo da Vinci, he conceived of drawing as an instrument of thought and intimate expression, in which manipulation for aesthetic effect would be unnecessary or inappropriate. From the beginning, however, he did delight in exploring the traditional methods of drawing and in combining them in unusual ways. Close examination of a preparatory study for his first major composition, Dante and Virgil (Figure 10), shows that, despite its simple appearance, he used pencil and sanguine for the figures and black chalk and wash for the background.²⁶ And in a similar study for The Misfortunes of the City of Orleans (Figure 11), he seems to have analyzed the structure of a figure by outlining its unclothed forms in sanguine and superimposing its costume in pencil with white chalk accents, the differences in color corresponding to different levels of visibility.²⁷ Later he continued to exploit the chromatic contrasts between media, often choos-

26. Boggs, *Drawings by Degas*, no. 25 verso, with incomplete description of the media employed.

27. Boggs, *Drawings by Degas*, no. 41; reproduced in color in H. Rivière, *Les Dessins de Degas* (Paris, 1922–1923) I, no. 14.

ing a sheet of brightly tinted paper to begin with. A powerfully realistic drawing of a young woman on a sofa (Figure 12), for example, combines transparent and opaque *peinture à l'essence* and delicate pastel on a rose-beige paper; and that of a ballet master seen from behind (Figure 13), which is more complex in technique, was begun in pencil, reworked in pen and ink, shaded in water color or gouache, and finally revised in diluted oil paint.²⁸ In the 1890s, Degas also developed two unusual, if not novel, methods of correcting his charcoal and pastel drawings easily: by pulling counterproofs of them on heavy, dampened paper, or by tracing their outlines on thin, transparent paper, and then in each case beginning anew. Hence those groups of virtually identical, but reversed or slightly

FIGURE 12

A Woman on a Sofa, by Degas. Drawing in mixed media. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, bequest of Mrs. H. O. Havemeyer, the H. O. Havemeyer Collection, 29.100.185



FIGURE 13

The Ballet Master, by Degas. Drawing in mixed media. The Art Institute of Chicago

enlarged, drawings that are so characteristic of his late work. Ironically, in view of Degas's contempt for the Ecole des Beaux-Arts, he learned of the tracing method from a student of architecture there, where it had long been standard practice.²⁹

In the decade 1875–1885, probably the most creative phase of his technical experimentation, Degas

28. Lemoisne, no. 363, and Boggs, *Drawings by Degas*, no. 66, respectively.

29. J. Chialiva, "Comment Degas a changé sa technique du dessin," *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de l'Art Français* 24 (1932) pp. 44–45; he was a student at the Ecole from 1897 to 1906. See also Rouart, pp. 63, 67–68.



FIGURE 14

Detail from *The Song of the Dog*, by Degas. Pastel and gouache on paper. Collection of Horace Havemeyer, New York

began in his paintings and pastels to combine different media, as he had done previously only in his drawings. The advantages were twofold: he could increase the variety of represented textures, without abandoning his principle of smooth, flat painting; and, something that was always important and that probably accounts for his predilection for pastels, monotypes, and wax sculpture, he could prolong indefinitely the process of revision, since each phase of the process was undertaken in a different medium. Denis Rouart has described in detail this use of pastel combined with other media. In *The Song of the Dog* (Figure 14), for example, Degas contrasted the smoothly modeled arms and face of the figure, drawn in pastel, with the mottled forms of the foliage behind her, painted in gouache.³⁰ In the technically more complex work *Dancers behind a Stage Flat* (Figure 15), he evidently drew the whole

FIGURE 15

Detail from *Dancers behind a Stage Flat*, by Degas. Mixed media on paper. Collection of Mrs. Edouard Jonas, New York



30. Lemoisne, no. 380. For a more detailed analysis, see Rouart, p. 22.



FIGURE 16

Fan with Dancers, by Degas. Mixed media on silk. Collection of Mr. and Mrs. W. Hilding Lindberg, Tacoma, Washington

in pastel, reworked the floor and stage flat in powdered pastel diluted with water, and accented the background foliage and flowers in the dancers' hair in tempera or gouache, thus attaining a remarkable variety of textures.³¹ And in the *Fan with Dancers* (Figure 16) and similar fans, he achieved a virtual tour de force by using pastel, gouache, and *peinture à l'essence* to establish the forms, adding gold and silver paint to the costumes and decor, and finally sprinkling on flecks of gold leaf, so that the surfaces themselves would suggest the brilliant artificiality of the theaters in which such fans were meant to be used.³² The unconventionality of this mixing of media was already appreciated during Degas's lifetime; in an article published in 1890, George Moore observed, obviously apropos *The Rehearsal of*

the *Ballet on the Stage* (Figure 17), which was then in England, "There are examples extant of pictures begun in water-colour, continued in gouache, and afterwards completed in oils; and if the picture be examined carefully it will be found that the finishing hand has been given with pen and ink."³³

It was also in the 1870s that Degas began to combine several techniques in his graphic works and sculpture. If his prints of the previous decade were almost exclusively simple etchings, with aquatint occasionally added in later states, those of about 1880 were complex combinations of pure etching, soft-ground etching, aquatint, drypoint, and *crayon électrique*, a system so complicated that more than twenty trial proofs had to be pulled of certain plates, such as *At the Louvre*:

31. Lemoisne, no. 585. See Rouart, pp. 18–20.

32. Lemoisne, no. 564; Boggs, *Drawings by Degas*, no. 94. On Degas's fans, see *Choix d'une collection privée*, Klipstein und Kornfeld, Bern, October 22–November 30, 1960, pp. 18–33.

33. G. Moore, "Degas: The Painter of Modern Life," *Magazine of Art* 13 (1890) p. 423. This description, however, is inaccurate; see Lemoisne, no. 400, and especially Sterling and Salinger, *French Paintings*, pp. 73–76.



FIGURE 17
Detail from *The Rehearsal of the Ballet on the Stage*, by Degas. Mixed media on canvas. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, gift of Horace Havemeyer, 29.160.26

FIGURE 18
At the Louvre: Mary Cassatt in the Painting Gallery, by Degas. Etching and aquatint. The Art Institute of Chicago

Mary Cassatt in the Painting Gallery (Figure 18).³⁴ In the same years Degas experimented with the use of aquatint and drypoint to obtain an effect like that of a pastel, by establishing the major areas of tone with aquatint, drawing the lighter forms over them with a burnisher, and adding the dark accents in drypoint, as in *Two Dancers* (Figure 19).³⁵ He even took up

34. Delteil, no. 29; *Etchings by Edgar Degas*, ed. P. Moses, University of Chicago, May 4–June 12, 1964, no. 31. Our illustration shows the fifteenth state.

35. Delteil, no. 22; *Etchings by Edgar Degas*, no. 19.



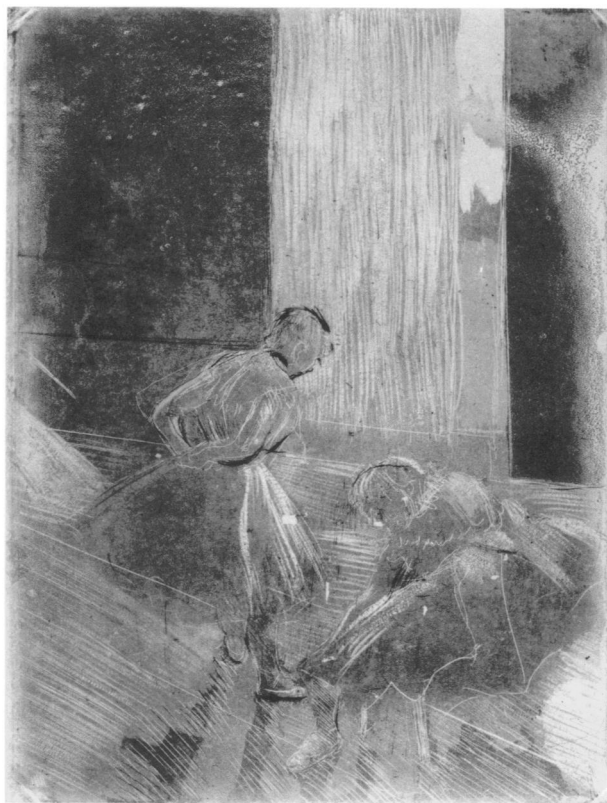


FIGURE 19
Two Dancers, by Degas. Etching and aquatint. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 25.73.1

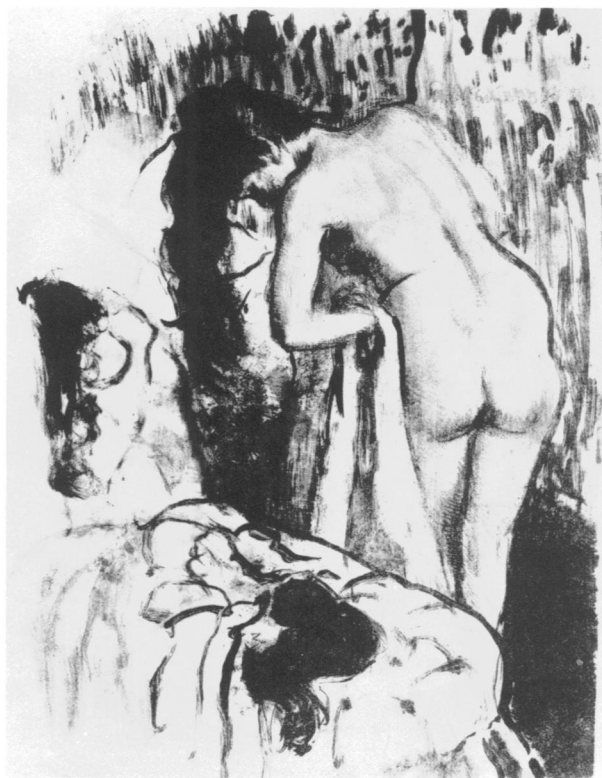
FIGURE 21
Nude Woman Standing, at Her Toilette, by Degas. Lithograph. Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, Williamstown, Massachusetts

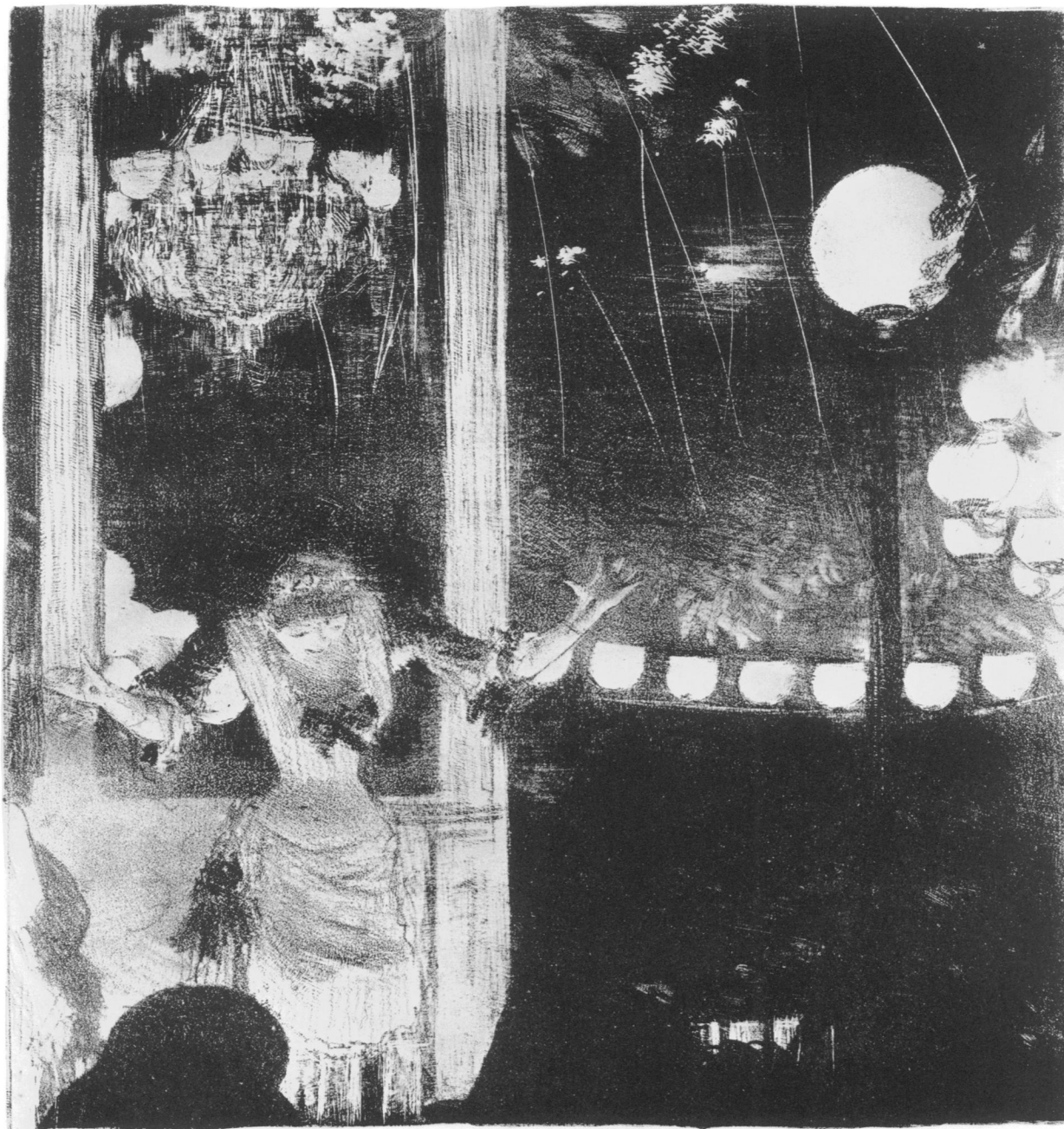
again a plate he had etched twenty years earlier, transforming its delicately bitten lines into a somber Rembrandtesque chiaroscuro by heavily inking the surface and wiping it unevenly before printing.³⁶ Indeed, so unconventional were the methods he now employed that their exact description still eludes us at times; about the unique proof of the *Head of a Woman* (Figure 20), on which Mary Cassatt had written the cryptic phrase, “*essai de grain liquide*,” the most recent au-

36. This is *The Engraver Joseph Tourny*: Delteil, no. 4 (first state only); *Etchings by Edgar Degas*, no. 8 (both states).



FIGURE 20
Head of a Woman, by Degas. Etching. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, bequest of Mrs. H. O. Havemeyer, the H. O. Havemeyer Collection, 29.107.52





thority can only state, "what Degas actually did remains something of an enigma."³⁷

If Degas's lithographs, more limited than his etchings in number and in chronological span, pose fewer unsolved problems of procedure, they are no less complex and original technically. For some prints, such as

Nude Woman Standing, at Her Toilette (Figure 21), he abandoned the lithographic crayon and drew on the stone almost exclusively with a brush and liquid

37. P. Moses, in *Etchings by Edgar Degas*, no. 29; dated there to "around 1879 when the artists [Degas and Cassatt] were collaborating on prints." See also Delteil, no. 42.

FIGURE 22

Mille Bécats at the Ambassadeurs, by Degas. Lithograph. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 19.29.3

lithographic ink.³⁸ Here he also used the scraper afterward to define a few highlights; elsewhere he employed it much more extensively, either held at an angle to create areas of soft illumination or held upright to pick out brilliant light shapes against a dark ground, as in *Mille Bécats at the Ambassadeurs* (Figure 22).³⁹ Despite the coloristic effects thus obtained in black and white, he felt compelled to add accents of pastel color to some impressions of this and similar prints; and inevitably, once he had begun retouching, he proceeded so far that other impressions became pastels whose lithographic bases were almost entirely obscured. In the late 1870s, having mastered the monotype process, he ingeniously applied it to lithography, drawing the design first in printer's ink on a copper plate or sheet of celluloid, printing it on a prepared stone rather than a sheet of paper, and reworking it with lithographic ink and crayons in the usual manner.⁴⁰ The use of celluloid, of course, made it possible to see the design reversed, as it would ultimately appear.

Far more than a first stage in the creation of lithographs, the monotype soon became for Degas an end in itself, a spontaneous form of graphic expression that allowed and even encouraged him to experiment with unorthodox materials and methods. In the "dark-field manner," where the design is produced by removing ink from a plate completely covered with it, he was forced to abandon conventional means of defining form and to improvise new ones, including the use of rags, pieces of gauze, blunt and pointed instruments, and his own fingers, with which he could blend two tones or create a distinct texture, as in *The Foyer* (Fig-

ure 23).⁴¹ He also learned to vary the viscosity of the medium itself, contrasting areas of diluted ink brushed on (or off) with a rag or soft brush and areas of thick, tacky ink worked with a stiff bristle brush. And if, in the "light-field manner," he did draw directly on the plate with a brush, he often combined this more incisive draftsmanship with densely textured or patterned forms produced in the other manner, as in *Siesta in the Salon* (Figure 24).⁴² The outstanding examples of his confidence in the suggestiveness of the medium, an attitude that anticipates twentieth-century practice, yet also recalls a famous passage in Leonardo's notebooks, are the landscape monotypes Degas executed in the early 1890s; for here printer's ink or oil pigment was manipulated by all the means previously mentioned, but was also allowed to spread and drip into accidental patterns of its own, as in the *Landscape with Chimneys* (Figure 25).⁴³ Equally prophetic here are the chromatic effects Degas achieved by reworking in pastel an impression printed in oil colors rather than black ink, the two types of color partly harmonizing and partly contrasting, so that "the most dramatic spatial effect is not in the view represented but rather in the optical vibration set up between the two layers of color."⁴⁴

There was a similar development toward greater colorism and technical complexity in Degas's sculpture. If the earlier statuettes of horses and dancers were modeled entirely in monochromatic wax with the intention of casting them eventually in bronze, the later ones, representing more difficult subjects with clothed and unclothed figures and occasional accessories, were made of multicolored waxes, of clay with small pebbles sometimes added, or even of wax combined with actual objects and fabrics. When it was exhibited in 1881, the *Ballet Dancer (Petite Danseuse de Quatorze Ans)* (Figure 26), a figurine of astonishingly lifelike colored wax, wore a linen bodice, a muslin tutu, a satin ribbon on its hair, and satin slippers lightly coated with wax, all of

38. Delteil, no. 65; *Lithographs by Edgar Degas*, ed. W. M. Ittmann, Jr., Washington University, St. Louis, January 7–28, 1967, no. 18.

39. Delteil, no. 49; *Lithographs by Edgar Degas*, no. 3.

40. Guérin, "Notes sur les monotypes de Degas," p. 77. See *Lithographs by Edgar Degas*, nos. 5, 6.

41. Janis, *Degas Monotypes*, no. 37; Guérin, "Notes sur les monotypes de Degas," p. 79.

42. Janis, *Degas Monotypes*, no. 18. For the range of effects Degas could thus obtain, see the other monotypes in this series, nos. 16–27.

43. Lemoisne, no. 1054; Janis, *Degas Monotypes*, no. 68. J. P. and I. A. Richter, *The Literary Works of Leonardo da Vinci* (London, 1939) I, pp. 311–312.

44. Janis, *Degas Monotypes*, p. xxvi. See D. Rouart, "Degas: Paysages en monotype," *L'Oeil*, no. 117 (September 1964) pp. 10–15, for color reproductions.

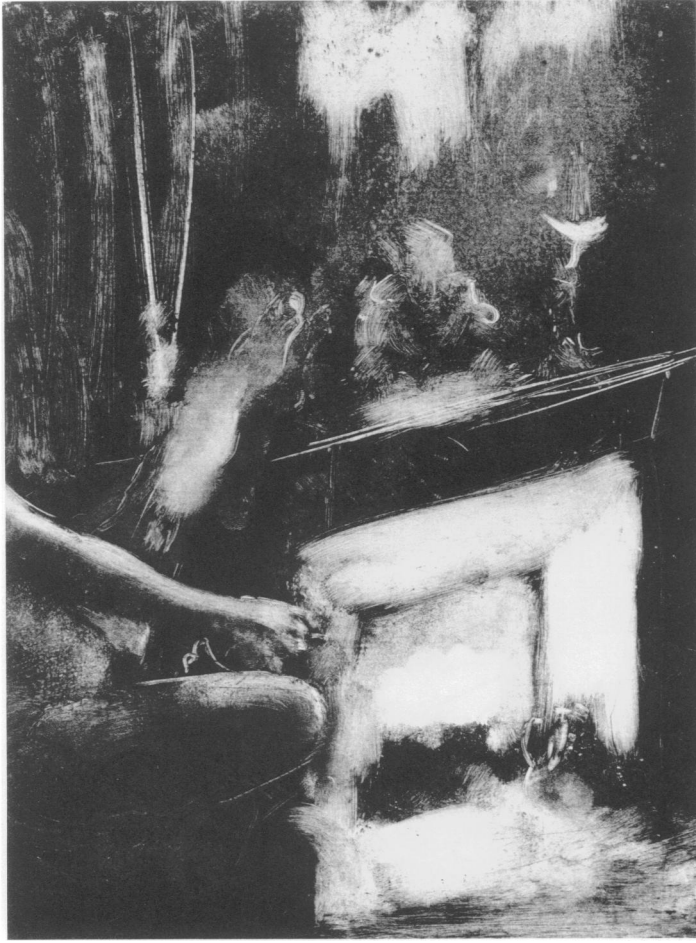


FIGURE 23

Detail from *The Foyer*, by Degas. Monotype. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, Elisha Whittelsey Fund, and Douglas Dillon gift, 68.670

FIGURE 24

Detail from *Siesta in the Salon*, by Degas. Monotype. Private Collection



which heightened its startling illusionism.⁴⁵ Even the long ponytail was made of real hair, which Degas had gone to the trouble of buying from a manufacturer of dolls' wigs. Among those who saw it, however, Huysmans alone realized that with this work Degas had challenged the principle of material unity which governed most traditional sculpture: "Tout à la fois raffinée et barbare avec son industriel costume, et ses chairs colorées qui palpitent, sillonnées par le travail des muscles, cette statue est la seule tentative vraiment moderne que je connaisse, dans la sculpture."⁴⁶ What

45. J. Rewald, *Degas Sculpture* (London, 1957) no. 20 and pp. 16–20. See also T. Reff, "Degas's Sculpture, 1880–1884," *Art Quarterly* 33 (1970) p. 277. Our illustration shows a bronze cast with a muslin tutu and satin ribbon only.

46. J.-K. Huysmans, "L'Exposition des Indépendants en 1881," *L'Art moderne* (Paris, 1883) p. 227.



FIGURE 25
Detail from *Landscape with Chimneys*, by Degas.
Monotype. Private Collection, New York

FIGURE 26
Ballet Dancer: Statuette, by Degas. Bronze, with
tulle skirt and satin hair ribbon. The Metro-
politan Museum of Art, bequest of Mrs. H. O.
Havemeyer, the H. O. Havemeyer Collection,
29.100.370





FIGURE 27

The Tub: Statuette, by Degas. Bronze. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, bequest of Mrs. H. O. Havemeyer, the H. O. Havemeyer Collection, 29.100.419

Huysmans could not foresee, of course, was the extent to which it also anticipated the assemblage techniques of the twentieth century, preparing the way, in its realism that was also a form of surrealism, both for the brilliantly inventive formalism of Cubist sculptures and the more psychologically disturbing combinations in Surrealist and later works.⁴⁷ Nor was this the only example of such a practice in Degas's sculptural oeuvre: in the *Woman Washing Her Left Leg*, he placed beside the wax figurine a porcelain pot, playing its cool green against the warmer tones of the wax; and in *The Tub*

(Figure 27), he set a similar figurine of red-brown wax inside a metal basin, surrounded it with a piece of cloth, then coated the basin and cloth with liquified plaster.⁴⁸

Nothing is more revealing of the confidence and even the audacity with which Degas approached technical problems in his maturity than the delight he took in triumphing over them under particularly difficult conditions. He seems in fact to have gone out of his way to practice his art during vacation sojourns in his friends' country homes and at other times when he was deprived of the materials normally available to him.⁴⁹

47. L. Tannenbaum, "Degas: Illustrious and Unknown," *Art News* 65, no. 1 (January 1967) p. 53.

48. Rewald, *Degas Sculpture*, nos. LXVIII and XXVII, respectively.

Our illustration shows a bronze cast, where the differences in material are obscured.

49. In addition to the examples discussed here, see also that of the bust of Hortense Valpinçon, discussed below, p. 165.

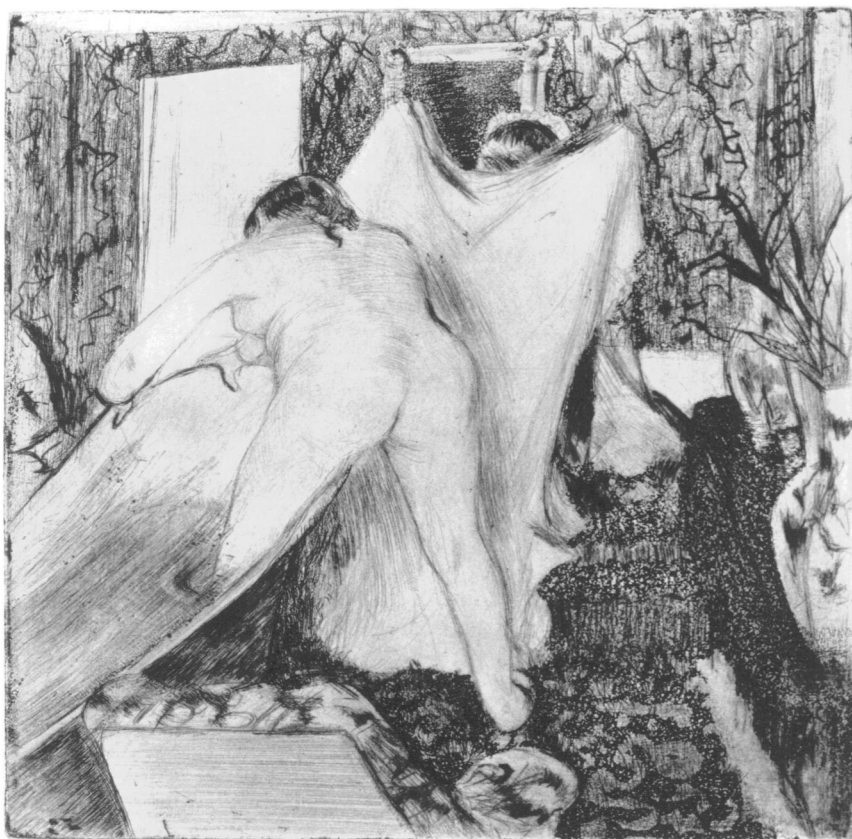


FIGURE 28

Woman Leaving Her Bath, by Degas. Etching. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 21.39.1

Thus, when a heavy sleet storm prevented him from leaving the house of Alexis Rouart one day in 1882, he succeeded nevertheless in making an etching, the *Woman Leaving Her Bath* (Figure 28), by using a *crayon électrique*, an instrument made of the carbon filament from an electric light bulb, which Rouart had found in his factory next door; and significantly, this then became one of Degas's favorite means of etching.⁵⁰ And when an attack of bronchitis obliged him to take a cure at Mont-Doré in 1895, he took up outdoor photography with what was, even for him, an extraordinary

fervor, ordering the latest panchromatic plates from Paris and specifying unusual methods of development, so that he could capture such subtle effects as the fleeting illumination of dusk.⁵¹ His references to panchromatic plates in letters of August 1895 seem all the more remarkable when we discover that the earliest scientific report on their usage, employing the term *panchromatisme* for the first time, had been made by Auguste and Louis Lumière only a few months earlier. After Degas's death, enlargements of similar photographs, taken of the countryside around Saint-Valéry-sur-

50. Delteil, no. 39; *Etchings by Edgar Degas*, no. 35. Our illustration shows the eighth state. See Rouart, p. 65, and Degas's letter to Alexis Rouart, 1882, in Degas, *Lettres*, pp. 61–62.

51. B. Newhall, "Degas, photographe amateur," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 61 (1963) pp. 61–64 on this, and what follows on the Lumière brothers.

Somme, were found in his studio and recognized to have been the inspiration for a number of landscapes he had made in the 1890s; and according to Cocteau, he even worked directly on some of these photographs in pastel, "émerveillé par la mise en page, le raccourci, la déformation des plans," thus anticipating what would later become a familiar Surrealist technique.⁵²

IV. Photography was evidently one of the few fields in which Degas remained enthusiastic about technical innovations in his old age, for as he grew more disillusioned and more conservative generally, he seems to have turned more nostalgically toward the past. All those who knew him at this time report his fascination with the methods employed by the Renaissance masters, the loss of which eventually came to ob-

FIGURE 29

Copy of part of Sebastiano del Piombo's Holy Family, in the Louvre, by Degas. Oil on canvas. Collection of Mme Marcel Nicolle, Paris



sess him. "Il me parla de Memling et de Van Eyck," Rouault recalled, "il aurait voulu une matière rare mais solide et éternelle. 'Ces tableaux de Memling n'ont pas encore bougé' disait-il."⁵³ And in one of those numerous discussions of technique with Chialiva and Jeanniot, about which the latter informs us, Degas sounded the familiar lament: "Nous vivons à une drôle d'époque, il faut l'avouer. Cette peinture à l'huile que nous faisons, ce métier très difficile que nous pratiquons sans le connaître! pareille incohérence ne s'est jamais vue."⁵⁴ In this condition he found at once a further reason for rejecting what he considered the shallow, naturalistic art of his own age and an initiation into the cult of the mysterious past. "Le beau est un mystère," he told Daniel Halévy, "mais on ne sait plus! On oublie les recettes, les secrets; on plante un jeune homme en pleins champs, et on lui dit: peignez! et il peint une ferme sincère; c'est imbécile!"⁵⁵ In this nostalgia for the technical secrets of the Renaissance there was, of course, also a certain amount of fantasy, of which Degas's remark that "Van Dyck tenait d'une vieille demoiselle, qu'il avait connue à Gênes, des secrets confiés à celle-ci par Titien" is an amusing example.⁵⁶

The so-called secrets of the Venetians, the methods of underpainting and glazing whereby they achieved subtle, glowing colors, which had previously intrigued three generations of English artists from Reynolds to Turner, also preoccupied Degas. About 1865 he had already made three careful copies in oil of a Holy Family in the Louvre that was then attributed to Giorgione (e.g., Figure 29),⁵⁷ but his study of its coloristic structure seems to have remained without immediate influence on his own art. Some fifteen years later, however, Jeanniot was amazed to see him complete a picture of

52. J. Cocteau, *Le Secret professionnel* (Paris, 1922); quoted in L. Hoctin, "Degas photographe," *L'Oeil*, no. 65 (May 1960) pp. 39-40. See also Guérin's remarks in Degas, *Lettres*, p. 224, note 1.

53. Roualt, *Souvenirs intimes*, p. 94.

54. Jeanniot, "Souvenirs sur Degas," pp. 167-168. See also Vollard, *Degas*, p. 79, reporting Degas's uncertainty about methods of priming a canvas.

55. D. Halévy, *Degas parle . . .* (Paris, 1960) p. 133, dated May 1904. Halévy had known Degas since childhood and had begun recording his remarks in 1888.

56. Moreau-Nélaton, "Deux heures avec Degas," p. 269.

57. Not in Lemoisne; see T. Reff, "New Light on Degas's Copies," *Burlington Magazine* 106 (1964) pp. 255-256 and fig. 10. The other copies are Lemoisne, nos. 193, 193 bis.

jockeys by adding oil glazes: "Ce prétendu 'impressionniste' aimait les vieilles méthodes qui étaient, à son avis, toujours les meilleures."⁵⁸ Moreover, Degas began to seek similar effects, based on the interaction of warm and cool tones in different levels of the color structure, in the pastels to which he turned increasingly after 1875, and above all in those that he drew over a monotype base, which constitute about one-fourth of the total. Indeed, so fascinated was he with this procedure that he began regularly to pull two impressions of his monotypes, so that the second one could be reworked extensively in pastel.⁵⁹ By allowing the layers of chalk to remain distinguishable from that of the ink below

FIGURE 30

Detail from *Nude Woman Combing Her Hair*, by Degas. Pastel over monotype. Collection of Mr. and Mrs. Henry Ittleson, New York

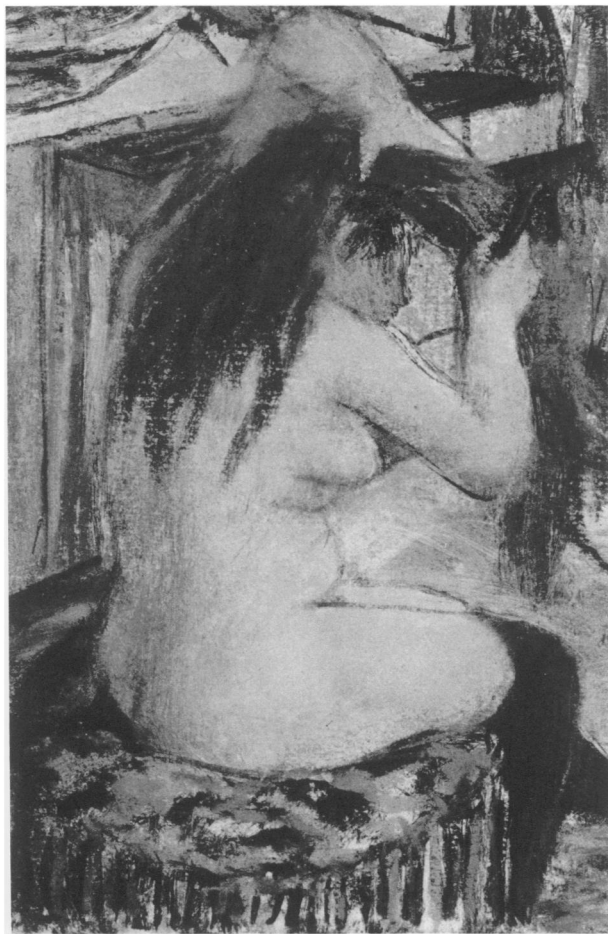


FIGURE 31

Detail from *After the Bath*, by Degas. Oil on canvas. Formerly Collection of Dr. Georges Viau, Paris

them, thus partly blending and partly competing with it in pattern and color value, as in the *Nude Woman Combing Her Hair* (Figure 30), he obtained an effect not unlike those he admired in Venetian art, although more modern in its directness and intensity.⁶⁰ He must in fact have studied the Venetian masters closely again in the 1890s, for in a number of oil paintings he seems to have followed their procedure of underpainting in monochromatic cool tones and glazing in warm bright ones, as is particularly evident in *After the Bath* (Figure 31), which was left unfinished in the grisaille state.⁶¹

58. Jeannot, "Souvenirs sur Degas," p. 154.

59. E. P. Janis, "The Role of the Monotype in the Working Method of Degas," *Burlington Magazine* 109 (1967) pp. 21–22. According to the same source, about eighty of Degas's monotypes were reworked in pastel.

60. Janis, *Degas Monotypes*, no. 43. See H. Troendle, "Das Monotype als Untermauerung; zur Betrachtung der Arbeitsweise von Degas," *Kunst und Künstler* 23 (1925) pp. 357–360.

61. Lemoisne, no. 1231. For a more detailed discussion, see Rouart, p. 50.

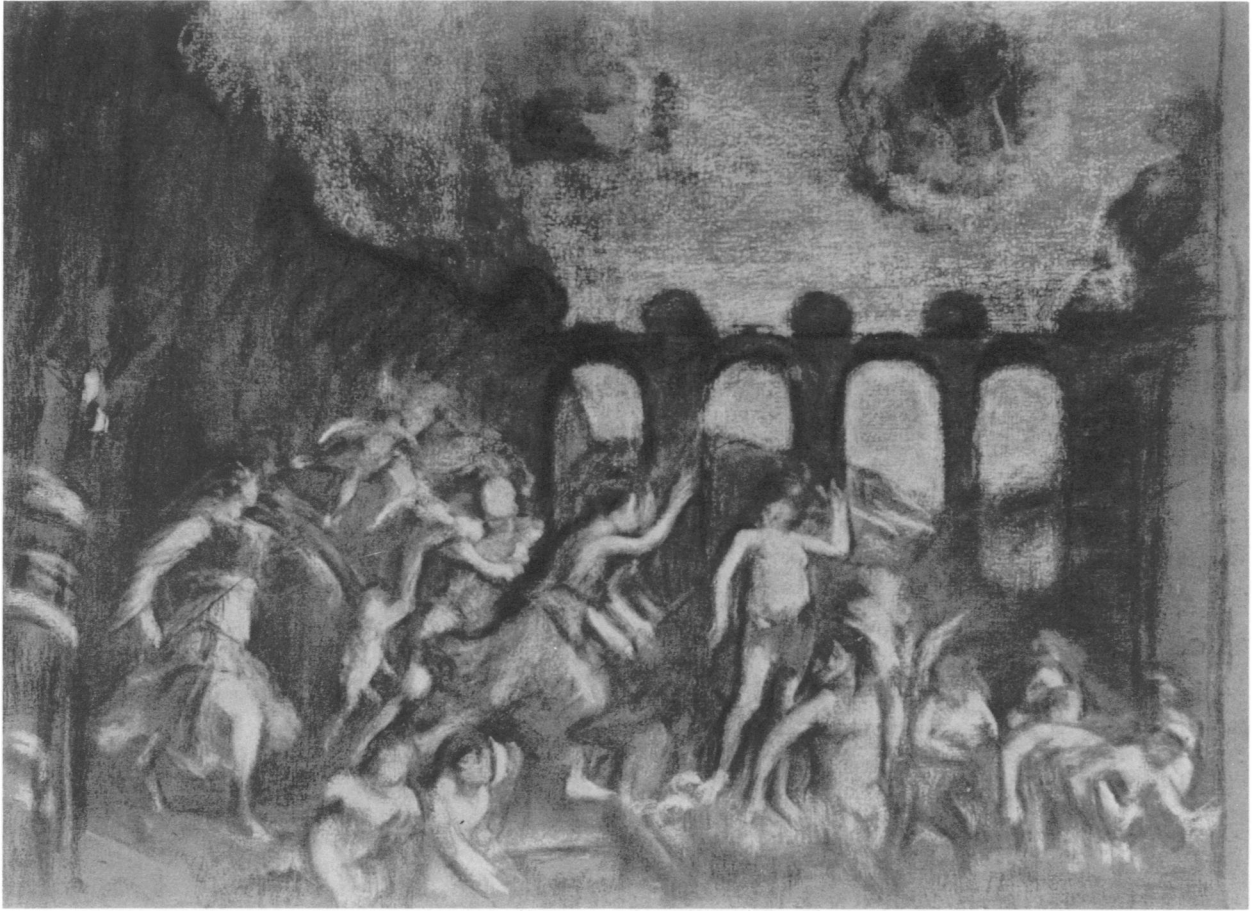


FIGURE 32

Copy of Mantegna's *Virtues Victorious over the Vices*, in the Louvre, by Degas. Charcoal and pastel on canvas. Musée du Louvre

In the mistaken belief that Mantegna, too, had employed this method, Degas required his friend Henri Rouart's son, an informal pupil of his in 1897, to copy the *Virtues Victorious over the Vices* in the Louvre by underpainting in earth green tones and, when these did not seem bright enough to Degas, in apple green tones, and then glazing in warmer red tones. The results were, of course, disastrous, for as Ernest Rouart himself realized, "Il avait alors des idées neuves sur la pratique des anciens, et prétendait me faire exécuter cette copie suivant une technique imaginée par lui et qui rappelait beaucoup plus celle des Vénitiens que celle de Mantegna."⁶² Ironically, Degas's own copy of the *Virtues Victorious over the Vices* (Figure 32),

which he began at the same time, working in his studio from a photograph, was drawn directly on a brown-toned canvas in charcoal and white chalk.⁶³ Yet there was some reason in Degas's apparently foolish instructions to his pupil: he had probably read about just such a progression from green to red tones in the discussion of fresco painting in Cennino Cennini's *Il Libro dell'Arte*,

62. Valéry, *Degas danse dessin*, pp. 165–169, from a memoir by Ernest Rouart. See the documentary evidence of this and other copies made by Rouart in 1897, in T. Reff, "Copyists in the Louvre, 1850–1870," *Art Bulletin* 46 (1964) p. 558.

63. Not in Lemoisne; see Reff, "New Light on Degas's Copies," p. 256 and fig. 5.

where in fact it is recommended that the same procedure also be followed in panel painting.⁶⁴ A translation of Cennini's treatise by Victor Mottez, a pupil of Ingres, had been published in 1858, at just the time when Degas, who had studied under other pupils of Ingres concerned with the revival of monumental religious art, would have been most inclined to read it. Indeed, according to his niece Jeanne Fèvre, his library already contained then "des ouvrages sur la technique du peintre, en particulier ce traité étonnant de Cennino Cennini sur la fresque."⁶⁵

Among the other technical treatises in his library was probably Eastlake's *Materials for a History of Oil Painting*, an equally popular work, in which Degas would have found a chapter describing what the "Venetian Methods" actually were.⁶⁶ It was evidently this account of the Venetian system of underpainting in red, black, and white tones, laying on a thin, semi-transparent film of white, and glazing over it in warm tones that Degas had in mind when he painted a café interior in the presence and for the benefit of his disciple Jeannot. According to the latter, he outlined its principal lines in black ink on a white canvas, drew a grid of red and yellow lines over them, dissolved and spread all these colors over the surface to produce a warm, semitransparent film, and finally reworked individual forms with more opaque colors.⁶⁷ Obviously, however, Degas's method was as much his own invention as a faithful imitation of the Venetian one, and although his café interior is unknown today, it can hardly have possessed the subtlety or depth of color he admired in Venetian art. It is interesting that Degas, in attempting thus to combine effects of transparency and opacity in a single process, was repeating Leonardo's equally unsuccessful experience when painting the

Last Supper, as Rouault seems already to have realized at the time: "Comme Léonard, Degas eut rêvé d'allier fresque et peinture à l'huile, de réunir pour bien dire deux qualités un peu opposées."⁶⁸

V. The story of Ernest Rouart's copy is not the only instance, even in Degas's own oeuvre, of failure due to inadequate knowledge of or indifference to traditional techniques. One of his most important early pictures, *Mille Fiocre in the Ballet* from "La Source," was partly ruined when he tried to remove a coat of varnish he had impulsively decided to have applied on the eve of its exhibition at the Salon of 1868, and it was only many years later that he was able to have the remainder of the varnish removed and to repair the damaged areas; even then, "il ne fut qu'à demi satisfait du résultat."⁶⁹ Another picture, painted entirely in egg tempera, quickly cracked and was ruined, because he had used as a vehicle the white rather than the yolk, although here too it is likely that he was confused by Cennini's discussion of the legitimate uses of egg white in tempera painting.⁷⁰ When another picture became badly cracked, he at first blamed modern methods of color manufacture, expressing a reactionary attitude typical of his old age: "On ne saura jamais tout le mal que la chimie a fait à la peinture."⁷¹ But as Vollard, who tells the story, goes on to explain, the damage was in fact caused by Degas's having painted on a canvas whose lead white priming was not thoroughly dry. That the latter was always somewhat uneasy about the consequences of his technical experiments is evident from a remark reported by Edmond de Goncourt in 1890: "Il n'a pas été voir ses tableaux de la vente May, parce qu'il . . . redoute une désagrégation de sa peinture, à cause d'un

64. Cennini, *Le Livre de l'art*, pp. 51–54, 107–108. Mottez's notes on p. 153 actually state that "ce système de Giotto a été plus tard celui du Titien et de toute l'école vénitienne," and the well-known treatise by J. F. L. Mérimée, *The Art of Painting in Oil and in Fresco* (London, 1839; first ed., Paris, 1830) pp. 284–285, cites Cennini's passage as a model for coloring in general.

65. Fèvre, *Mon oncle Degas*, p. 26.

66. C. L. Eastlake, *Materials for a History of Oil Painting* (London, 1847–1869) II, chap. vi. There was no French translation, but Degas did read English. See also Mrs. [M. P.] Merrifield, *Original Treatises . . . on the Arts of Painting* (London, 1849) I, pp. cxvii–cxlviii, summarizing "opinions of eminent Italian artists as

to the practice of the old masters."

67. Jeannot, "Souvenirs sur Degas," pp. 293–294. The only known picture that fits this description, *In the Café* (Lemoisne, no. 624), is painted on panel, not canvas.

68. Rouault, *Souvenirs intimes*, p. 94. Significantly, Degas's friend Chialiva maintained that Leonardo had used *peinture à l'essence* as a means of underpainting before glazing; see Rouart, p. 15.

69. Valéry, *Degas danse dessin*, pp. 163–165, from a memoir by Ernest Rouart. The painting is Lemoisne, no. 146.

70. Rouart, p. 10. See Cennini, *Le Livre de l'art*, pp. 94–95, 117.

71. Vollard, *Degas*, pp. 75–76.



FIGURE 33
Detail from *Alexander and the Bucephalus*, by Degas. Oil on canvas. M. Knoedler and Co., New York



FIGURE 34
Detail from *The Ballet Class*, by Degas. Oil on canvas. Private Collection, Zurich

mélange de vinaigre avec je ne sais quoi, un mélange dont il a été toqué un certain moment.”⁷²

If the number of Degas's pictures ruined by unsound procedures is relatively small, the number of those disfigured by later revisions, often in a different technique from the one originally employed, is surprisingly large. After his death, many of these partially repainted works were found in his studio, including not only youthful ones like *Alexander and the Bucephalus* (Figure 33), whose carefully rendered details were half obliterated by heavy paint applied with a palette knife rather than a fine brush, but also mature ones like *The Ballet Class* (Figure 34), a picture of about 1880 whose equally de-

structive repainting many years later is more difficult to understand.⁷³ Probably the most poignant evidence of this dangerous compulsion to revise is found, once again, in Ernest Rouart's memoir:

. . . revoyant constamment chez mon père un délicieux pastel que celui-ci avait acquis et qu'il aimait beaucoup, Degas fut pris de son habituel et impérieux besoin de retoucher le tableau. Il y revenait sans cesse et, de guerre lasse, mon père finit par lui laisser emporter l'objet. On ne le revit jamais. Mon père demandait souvent des nouvelles de son cher pastel; Degas répondait d'une façon dilatoire, mais il dut finir par avouer son crime; il avait complètement démoli l'oeuvre à lui confiée pour une simple retouche.⁷⁴

72. Goncourt, *Journal*, XVII, p. 64, dated June 7, 1890. The picture in question is probably *The Dancing School* (Lemoisne, no. 399), painted in distemper.

73. Lemoisne, nos. 91 and 587, respectively. See also Ernest Rouart's observation, in Valéry, *Degas danse dessin*, p. 163: "Le

besoin de reprendre une chose incomplète à son gré ne le quitta jamais et, chez lui, nombreuses étaient les toiles qu'il avait l'intention de retoucher. . . ."

74. Valéry, *Degas danse dessin*, pp. 161–162, from Ernest Rouart's memoir.

Still more numerous are the examples of Degas's sculpture disfigured by excessive revision or by technical inexperience—indeed, so numerous that they constitute the rule rather than the striking exception. Determined to create figures with a powerful effect of movement and immediacy, yet impatient with the usual methods of building armatures, he improvised with pieces of wire and wood; and when these began to collapse, as they inevitably did, he repaired them with matchsticks or paintbrushes, or simply propped up the broken limb with whatever was at hand.⁷⁵ For perverse reasons of economy, he also insisted on making his own wax, which soon became too friable, and on mixing into it some tallow, which made it less durable. At times he also added bits of cork, which periodically rose to the surface, destroying the modeling and making necessary extensive repairs.⁷⁶ It is not surprising, then, that when his dealer Durand-Ruel inventoried the contents of his house after his death, he found “about one hundred and fifty pieces [of sculpture] scattered over the three floors in every possible place. Most of them were in pieces, some almost reduced to dust.”⁷⁷ Indeed, as early as 1890, before the majority of them had been made, George Moore wrote that in Degas's studio “there is much decaying sculpture—dancing-girls modelled in red wax, some dressed in muslin skirts, strange dolls. . . .”⁷⁸

It has been argued that what led Degas to devise such primitive methods, rather than rely on the sounder ones urgently recommended by his friend Bartholomé, a professional sculptor, was his love of independence and improvisation; and it is true that with them he was able to create effects of motion and intimacy unknown to Bartholomé and his colleagues.⁷⁹ Nevertheless, there is something paradoxical in the obstinacy with which Degas, who had long been fascinated by artistic tech-

niques and indeed by the technical as such, refused to follow expert advice or even common sense and instead allowed many of his finest statuettes to be destroyed. Nor was this attitude typical only of his old age, when a profound pessimism seems to have pervaded all his activities. In 1882, for example, he allowed an ambitious clay relief with half life-size figures, his one attempt at bas-relief sculpture, gradually to dry and eventually to crumble; “J’ai vu de lui,” Renoir recalled, “un bas-relief qu’il laissait tomber en poussière, c’était beau comme l’antique.”⁸⁰ This is *Picking Apples*, of which only a small wax replica or sketch now survives (Figure 35).⁸¹ And in 1884, after weeks of frustrating work on a bust of Hortense Valpinçon—typically, it had become a half-length figure by the time he had finished—he decided impulsively to mold it himself, rather than call in an expert as he had planned, and then mixed ordinary plaster with the inadequate supply of molding plaster he had at hand, so that both the figure and its mold were broken and soon lost.⁸² While working on the bust, Degas had lamented his insufficient technical knowledge, but far from trying to supplement it, he seems to have enjoyed groping and experimenting. “Que j’ai pautagé d’abord, bons Dieux!” he wrote to Henri Rouart, “et que nous savons peu ce que nous faisons quand nous ne laissons pas un peu au métier le soin des choses qu’il nous faut. On a beau se dire qu’avec la naïveté on fera tout; on y arrive peut-être, mais si salement.”⁸³ In this case, unfortunately, he did not “arrive” at all.

The chronicle of these technical disasters recalls those that beset Leonardo da Vinci, with whom we have already compared Degas several times. His “disregard for media of execution,” writes Kenneth Clark, “marked all his most important works. The Last Supper, the Battle of Anghiari, the canalisation of the Arno

75. Jeannot, “Souvenirs sur Degas,” pp. 299–300. See also P.-A. Lemoisne, “Les Statuettes de Degas,” *Art et Décoration* 36 (1914–1919) p. 114.

76. A. Michel, “Degas et son modèle,” *Mercure de France* 131 (1919) pp. 471–473. The author had been Degas's model in the early 1900s.

77. Letter to R. Cortissoz, June 7, 1919, in the latter's *Personalities in Art* (New York, 1925) pp. 245–246.

78. Moore, “Degas: The Painter of Modern Life,” p. 416. He had known Degas since 1879.

79. Rewald, *Degas Sculpture*, pp. 12–13.

80. A. Vollard, *Auguste Renoir* (Paris, 1920) p. 95. See also the memoir of P.-A. Bartholomé, recorded in Lemoisne, “Les Statuettes de Degas,” p. 110.

81. Rewald, *Degas Sculpture*, no. 1; generally dated 1865–1870. For the correct date, see Reff, “Degas's Sculpture, 1880–1884,” pp. 278–279.

82. Rewald, *Degas Sculpture*, pp. 21–22. See S. Barazzetti, “Degas et ses amis Valpinçon,” *Beaux-Arts* no. 191 (August 28, 1936) pp. 1, 4, based on an interview with Hortense Valpinçon.

83. Letter to Henri Rouart, datable to 1884, in Degas, *Lettres*, p. 89.



FIGURE 35
Picking Apples: Bas Relief, by Degas.
Bronze. The Metropolitan Museum
of Art, bequest of Mrs. H. O.
Havemeyer, the H. O. Havemeyer
Collection, 29.100.422

were all damaged or even annihilated by this defect, which sprang not only from impatience and experimentalism but from a certain romantic unreality.”⁸⁴ In a less extreme form, the same might be said of much of the sculpture and some of the painting of Degas, whose artistic personality and attitude toward creation resembled Leonardo’s in many respects. This fascinating parallel, which we have also seen Roualt draw, has struck other artists who knew Degas or have studied his oeuvre. Thus the American painter R. H. Ives Gammell, for whom Degas’s notes and remarks are equaled only by those of Leonardo and Ingres as “verbal records of their professional thinking which are of comparable value to practicing painters,” concludes that Degas’s “experimental turn of mind and widely ranging curiosity relate his thinking more closely to Leonardo’s. . . .”⁸⁵ And the French painter Henri Rivière, “évoquant devant nous Degas, rappelait à son sujet les scrupules de Léonard de Vinci. . . . Scrupules admirables dans leur humilité mais qui, s’ils poussaient l’artiste à des recherches utiles, l’amenaient aussi à des déceptions retardant sa production.”⁸⁶ As in Leonardo, however, the “romantic unreality” in Degas

was only the reverse of the coin: its obverse was a remarkable ingenuity and daring in the invention of new media or new methods of combining traditional ones. No matter how poignant or intriguing the failures may be, it is because the successes were so brilliant that the problem is worth discussing at all.

84. K. Clark, *Leonardo da Vinci* (Cambridge, 1939) p. 88. See the interpretation proposed in S. Freud, *Leonardo da Vinci*, Eng. trans. (New York, 1947) pp. 32–35, 115–116.

85. R. H. Ives Gammell, *The Shop-Talk of Edgar Degas* (Boston, 1961) p. 46.

86. Reported in Lemoisne, I, p. 46. Rivière had known Degas in the 1890s.

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NOTES

An Egyptian Glass Vessel in The Metropolitan Museum of Art

BIRGIT NOLTE

LOOKING THROUGH the great number of late sand-core vessels in the Greek and Roman Department of The Metropolitan Museum of Art, I came across a sand-core vessel purely Egyptian in character (Figure 1). The pear-shaped vessel is made of translucent, copper blue glass and decorated with white and yellow thread designs. Its height is 8.11 cm., the maximum diameter of the rim 4.0 cm., and the maximum diameter of the body 5.65 cm. A piece including parts of rim, neck, and shoulder was chipped off and has been put back in place. The vessel was bequeathed to the Museum by E. C. Moore in 1891.¹

Egyptian sand-core vessels are known with certainty to have been produced from the early fifteenth century until the tenth century B.C.² Almost four hundred of these glowingly colored and delicately adorned vessels have been preserved as well as innumerable fragments. As far as we know, it was not before the sixth century B.C. that the sand-core technique was revived and a slightly different thread ornamentation became popular in the Mediterranean region.³ The so-called late

1. Acc. no. 91.1.1365; it was recently transferred to the Department of Egyptian Art. I am most grateful to Dr. Henry G. Fischer, Lila Acheson Wallace Curator in Egyptology at The Metropolitan Museum of Art, for his kind permission to publish this vessel.

2. P. E. Newberry, "A Glass Chalice of Tuthmosis III," *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 6 (1920) pp. 155-156.

3. P. Fossing, *Glass Vessels before Glass-blowing* (Copenhagen, 1940) p. 42.



FIGURE 1
Sand-core vessel, Egyptian, mid-xiv century B.C.
Height: 8.11 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of
Art, bequest of Edward C. Moore, 91.1.1365

sand-core vessels were produced on such a great scale that we still possess thousands of them. The sand-core technique continued to be used until the beginning of the Christian Era, when it was quickly made obsolete by the invention of glassblowing. This revolutionary change turned the manufacture of glass into entirely new channels. Although the Egyptian and the late sand-core vessels were both fashioned around a sandy core,⁴ these two types usually differ in quality of glass, in colors, and especially in shapes and ornamental design.

The Egyptian glass vessel from the Greek and Roman Department mentioned above is one of the most interesting specimens. While its shape and even the combination of patterns are almost unique, it can be placed with probability among a series of Egyptian vessels.

To produce this vessel, a pear-shaped sandy core was attached to the end of a metal rod. It was dipped into copper blue, molten glass and turned around until a thick layer covered it. Next the decorations were applied: a white thread of glass was wound in a spiral five times around the upper part of the body and another one six times around the lower part of the body. In both cases a single strand of yellow was added at top and bottom. The ornamentation was pressed into the still soft surface by rolling the vessel on a flat stone slab. Then on the upper part of the body the spirals were dragged upward fifteen times with a bronze pin, so as to obtain the festoons with which Egyptian glass vessels are frequently adorned. They end in loops, where the pin was taken out of the matrix. On the lower part of the body, the spirals were pulled out of place upward and downward to form a featherlike pattern. There are places where the threads are mingled with the matrix, giving the appearance of an additional, translucent, light blue thread design.

The vessel was then rolled again on a flat stone slab. But the material had already annealed too far and had become too stiff to acquire by this procedure a uniform and smooth surface. Next the rim was worked out of the body. The rim still retains traces of the pincers

used to shape it. Horizontal threads of glass were then applied to the vessel to complete the decoration. The threads surrounding rim and base are yellow. The one above the festoons is also yellow, while the one below is white. A yellow band divides the upper from the lower part of the ornamentation. The feather pattern is encircled by yellow bands. The horizontal threads surrounding the body partly overlap the festoons and the feather pattern and still protrude in relief. Finally the core with its coating of glass was slipped off the metal rod and probably put between pieces of charcoal for annealing. After the glass cooled, the sandy core was scraped out to obtain a hollow vessel.

Most Egyptian glass vessels are perfectly preserved owing to the dry climate in Egypt. However, Egyptian glass vessels exported to the Mediterranean region⁵ and most late sand-core vessels have been damaged by moisture. As the translucent, copper blue vessel in question has hardly suffered from time, I would suggest that this vessel was found in Egypt. The surface retains its polish; there are only a few spots where the glass has turned silver blue through corrosion. Traces of brown earth still adhere to the side of the vessel where it touched the ground.

For several reasons this vessel can only be compared with Egyptian specimens. It is a pear-shaped alabastron. This shape is unknown among late sand-core vessels, which include tall and slender alabastra, amphoriskoi with button-shaped feet, oenochoi, and aryballoi, most of them fitted with different types of handles.⁶ Among the various Egyptian glass vessels,⁷ however, there are some rare examples in the shape of a pear. Of special interest to us is one in the Museo Egizio, Turin, that is dated to the first years of the reign of Amenhotep III (1403–1365 B.C.). It belongs to the funeral equipment of Cha from tomb no. 8 of Deir el Medineh in Thebes (Figure 2).⁸ This vessel, like the one in the Metropolitan Museum, has a protruding rim and a pear-shaped body with a somewhat flattened base, but it is taller, its height being 11.0 cm., and the body is wider, the diameter being 8.0 cm.

4. W. M. F. Petrie, *Tell el Amarna* (London, 1894) p. 27; A. Lucas, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries* (London, 1962) p. 192; B. Nolte, *Die Glasgefäße im alten Ägypten* (Berlin, 1968) p. 29.

5. W. M. F. Petrie, *Ancient Gaza*, II (London, 1932) pp. 10, 48, pl. xxvi, 139, 140; III (London, 1933) pp. 11, 38, sec. 7; IV (London, 1934) p. 11, pl. xxxvi, 1, 2.

6. Fossing, *Glass Vessels*, pp. 43 ff.

7. Nolte, *Die Glasgefäße*, pp. 160 ff.

8. A. Fabretti et al., *Regio Museo di Torino, Antichità Egizie* (Turin, 1882) Suppl. 8480. E. Schiaparelli, *Relazione sui lavori della Missione Archeologica Italiana in Egitto*, II, *La tomba intatta dell'architetto Cha* (Turin, 1927) pp. 109, 111, fig. 92.



FIGURE 2

Sand-core vessel, Egyptian, early XIV century B.C.
Height: 11 cm. Museo Egizio, Turin, no. Suppl.
8480

As this vessel, when excavated, was covered by a glass lid, we can assume there existed a cover of the same kind for the similarly shaped vessel in the Metropolitan Museum, though without such decoration as the little birds on top, which are unique to the cover of Cha's vessel. Such lids were used on Egyptian glass vessels only when they imitated broad-rimmed stone vessels⁹ identical in shape to the two vessels under discussion. In contrast, glass vessels copying the shapes of vessels made of materials such as clay and metal seem to have been closed with pieces of linen and wax.¹⁰

9. E.g., British Museum, no. 24391, color pl. in W. Haberey, "Der Werkstoff Glas im Altertum," *Glastechnische Berichte* 30 (1957) fig. 5.

10. G. Daressy, *Fouilles de la Vallée des Rois, Catalogue général* (Cairo, 1902) nos. 24099, 24753, 24769, 24773.

Not only the shapes but also the thread decorations of the two vessels show similarities. The thread designs can easily be distinguished from those copied hundreds of years later in the Mediterranean region to decorate the late sand-core vessels. Apart from differences in the colors (for instance, instead of the Egyptian bright yellow color, there appears an orange; instead of sky blue, a turquoise) there are other differentiating characteristics.

The Egyptian threads are regular in thickness and in distance from one another, whereas the threads of the late sand-core vessels are often surprisingly irregular in spacing and breadth, some of them extremely fine in execution, some rather crude. In the case of an ornamental design with alternating colors, the Egyptian threads were interrupted after each different colored spiral—whether it turned only once or several times around the body. This resulted in a very exact decoration. The ornamentation of the late sand-core vessels, though, was usually built up in another way: A thread of one special color was used once only and was wound without interruption spirally around the body, leaving narrow intervals where ever the color was wanted for the pattern, and broad intervals where ever a thread of another color was to be applied later on. After this procedure, a thread of a second color was coiled on top of the first one to fill in the sparsely decorated areas, crudely crossing places where the first thread had been closely spaced. Up to three different colors were used.

The Egyptian spirals were pulled out of place to form festoons or feather patterns. Any straight bands were applied afterward. A great part of the spirals on the late sand-core vessels, however, often remained untouched to form straight ornamental designs, and usually only the threads of the body's medial areas were dragged into different kinds of festoons and featherlike patterns.

Both of the Egyptian glass vessels referred to above have yellow threads surrounding the rim and the upper part of the body. As the rest of the ornamental design of the vessel in possession of the Metropolitan Museum is much more delicate and reveals a greater technical skill than the simple festoons decorating Cha's vessel, one is inclined to look upon the former vessel as a product of glassmakers who reached a higher degree of craftsmanship. It might therefore be dated to the sec-



FIGURE 3
Sand-core vessel, Egyptian, first half of the xiv
century B.C. Height: 10 cm. Louvre, Paris, no.
AF 2622

ond half of the reign of Amenhotep III or to the beginning of the Amarna period. The dating is strengthened by the fact that fragments with similar patterns have been excavated in Malkata¹¹—Thebes—as well as in Amarna.¹² However, Cha's vessel was made during the first years of Amenhotep III's reign, when the palace area, Malkata, had not yet been erected. The similarity of a great number of fragments from Malkata and Amarna results from the fact that the same group of manufacturers who worked in Malkata under Amenhotep III followed Amenhotep IV (1365–1347 B.C.), the successor to the throne, to his new capital at Tell el Amarna. As glass had a high trade value, and as the aristocratic class, who were the only ones who could afford these precious objects, had moved, the glass-makers of necessity moved with them from Malkata to Amarna. The decorations on the Metropolitan Museum's vessel can be compared with those on many

fragments from these factories, which have the same designs.

As to the regular festoons ending in loops, there is a similar design on a blue fragment from Malkata in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, no. 421/33-1897, decorated with yellow, white, and light blue, and on a great number of fragments from the South Village and the Magazines in the area of Malkata that are now in the Metropolitan Museum. The same kind of festoon occurs on fragments from Amarna, which are in various other museums, for instance, a very typical one in the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Ägyptische Abteilung, no. 131, which shows the same translucent, copper blue matrix adorned with white festoons surrounded by yellow ones, as on the vessel in question.

The same type of feather pattern, though more vivid, appears in the same colors on a fragment from Malkata in the Victoria and Albert Museum, no. 421/48-1897, as well as on many other fragments in similar combinations of colors that were excavated by the Metropolitan Museum in the South Village area and in the Magazines of Malkata. As most of these fragments are very small, they have not been given numbers, and the same is true of many other similar fragments from Amarna in various museums. Many of them are analogous to the fragment in the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, no. 73. Patterns enclosed by straight horizontal bands occur occasionally in Malkata, but they are much more common in Amarna. Two handled flasks from Amarna show this type of decoration, for instance.¹³

The vessel in the Metropolitan Museum can also be compared with a series of vessels that were previously assigned to a group of manufacturers of the time of Amenhotep III and Amenhotep IV.¹⁴ There are in particular two vessels showing many similar details. One is a glass amphoriskos in the Louvre, no. AF 2622

11. Newberry, "Glass Chalice," p. 156; A. M. Lythgoe, "The Egyptian Expedition 1916–17," supplement to *Bulletin of The Metropolitan Museum of Art* 13 (1918) p. 6; H. E. Winlock "The Work of the Egyptian Expedition," *Bulletin of The Metropolitan Museum of Art* 7 (1912) pp. 187–188.

12. Petrie, *Tell el Amarna*, p. 27; J. D. S. Pendlebury, *Tell el-Amarna* (London, 1935) pp. 95, 142; *Ausgrabung der Deutschen Orientgesellschaft in Amarna* (unpublished).

13. T. E. Peet, "Excavations at Tell el-Amarna," *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 7 (1921) p. 175, pl. xxx, top; T. E. Peet et al., *The City of Akhenaten*, I (London, 1923) p. 24, pl. xii, 7.

14. Nolte, *Die Glasgefäße*, no. 11, no. 15, pp. 105 ff.

(Figure 3).¹⁵ This shows two patterns separated by three horizontal bands, a yellow one flanked by white ones, exactly as they occur on the vessel in question. The design consists of festoons and arcades running into feather patterns and ending in loops, again exactly as they decorate the Metropolitan Museum's vessel.

The other vessel of special interest to us is no. 1836 in the Ägyptische Abteilung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (Figure 4).¹⁶ It is decorated with a feather pattern encircled by straight bands, as on the Metropolitan Museum's vessel, and adorned with festoons of the same kind as those on Cha's vessel, but in this case bordered by horizontal threads.

Thus it is possible to establish a chronological correlation between the vessel in the Metropolitan Museum and several Egyptian glass vessels and fragments. Certainly the Metropolitan's vessel was produced in Egypt by a group of manufacturers working originally in the palace area of Amenhotep III, Malkata, and later on in the capital of Amenhotep IV, Tell el Amarna. For several reasons I am inclined to date it even more precisely and to ascribe it to the glass factories of Tell el Amarna. There are, for instance, the horizontal bands encircling the patterns as well as the composition of a copper blue matrix decorated with yellow and white threads only. These traits were still rare during the reign of Amenhotep III and became more popular only a little later.



FIGURE 4
Sand-core vessel, Egyptian, first half of the xiv century B.C. Height: 12.5 cm. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Ägyptische Abteilung, no. 1836

15. W. Froehner, *Verrerie antique appartenant à M. J. Pierpont Morgan, Collection Julien Gréau*, part 1 (Paris, 1903) pl. xxiii, 8.

16. R. Lepsius, *Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien*, Textband I (Leipzig, 1897) p. 155, fig. 3; *Ars Vitruvia, Kunstgewerbemuseum Schloss Koenig* (Berlin, 1965) p. 31, fig. 4.

A Cousin for Aristotle

JIRI FREL

Associate Curator of Greek and Roman Art, The Metropolitan Museum of Art

THE FINE MARBLE head of a philosopher with a striking resemblance to Aristotle in The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (Figures 2–6), has attracted little attention, perhaps because “no replicas are so far known.”¹ An unpublished one does, however, exist in the museum of Chieti, in central Italy (Figure 1).²

If a glance at Figures 1 and 2 is sufficient to show that the heads are identical in subject, a critical examination serves to reveal differences in detail. Some of these can be accounted for by the present condition of the two heads. Thus the skull of the Chieti replica appears more powerful. However, not only has the sculptor further simplified the thin and carefully combed hair of the subject, but a modern hand has smoothed the subsequently damaged surface. The New York head, on the contrary, has survived without retouching, but the surface is considerably battered. It has suffered especially over the temples: on the left a thin layer of marble is missing, leaving a trace of the working of the hair (originally very deep) but considerably disfiguring the profile, which was not in any case the strong point of the original. In the Chieti replica the restorer also reduced the indications of wrinkles across the brow, which were probably damaged, and in particular, the thickness of the lower left eyelid. In the process the eyeballs were enlarged still further by comparison with the New York version.

In general, the execution of the Chieti head is more cursory; thus the lively and delicate strands of the hair

and beard of the New York head have been replaced by heavy tufts, clumsily rendered. The modeling, rich and detailed in the New York marble, is here somewhat stylized and flat, and the same difference can be remarked in the technical execution. The drill was used on the New York head with unmistakable virtuosity and great discretion, whereas the channels left by the same instrument in the hands of the Chieti sculptor gape, not only in the incisions indicating the beard, but also in the cleft between the lips. Since this copyist was obviously no more than a simple artisan without pretensions, the characterization of the subject has lost much beside the masterly New York head. If the latter, in its vigorous workmanship, is comparable to the best portraits between the age of Claudius and the beginning of the Flavian era, the Chieti replica is assuredly to be dated later, and not before the close of Hadrian's reign at the earliest.

In one essential detail, however, both heads agree—a marked difference between the two sides of the face. It is not just a matter of asymmetry, a feature of all Greek sculptured heads whether portrait or ideal,³ but of a real and striking disparity. By comparison with the right side, the left eye socket is placed higher and transcribes a wider arc, while the cheek below is broader, the modeling being flatter. Both craftsmen faithfully copied the pose of the original statue in the two-thirds turn of the head to the right. This is by no means an isolated instance; the four replicas of Miltiades, for in-

1. Acc. no. 26.269. Formerly in the possession of the Danish sculptor J. A. Jerichau, in Rome. Height 32.5 cm. See G. M. A. Richter, *Catalogue of Greek Sculptures* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1954) p. 97, no. 187, pl. 131 (with the previous bibliography including the reference to F. Matz and F. von Duhn, *Antike Bildwerke*

in *Rom* [Leipzig, 1881–1882] no. 1762, and several mentions of the head by Miss Richter herself).

2. Carrara marble. Height 31.7 cm.

3. See R. Boehringer, “Gesichtshälften,” *Römische Mitteilungen* 59 (1944) pp. 7–16.

FIGURE 1

Portrait of a Greek. Chieti, Museo civico. Photograph courtesy of Prof. A. Giuliano

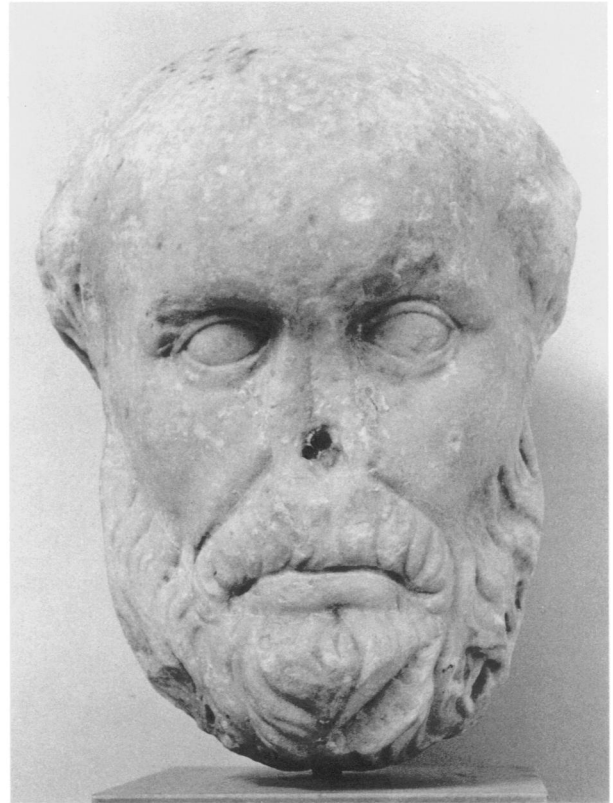
FIGURES 2–5

Portrait of a Greek. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 26.269

stance, have similarly preserved the identical position established for the statue.⁴

Judging from the cursory execution, it is probable that the Chieti head formed part of a herm. The Museum marble, on the contrary, was a bust worked for insertion into a statue, the back of the neck being preserved on the right down to the flange. This fortunate circumstance allows us to reconstruct the original appearance of the entire statue. Judging from the forward inclination of the neck the figure must have been seated. The head, turned to the left, was slightly tilted upward. In all probability the eyes followed an eloquent gesture of the left hand emerging from the himation. The angle of the neck and tension of the muscles indicate that the right shoulder was drawn back, with the hand resting on the back part of the seat. This pose determines the probable disposition of the feet, with the right leg extended and the left bent at the knee.

According to Miss Richter, the original of our portrait was “not much later than the portraits of Aristotle, which may be dated at the end of that philosopher’s

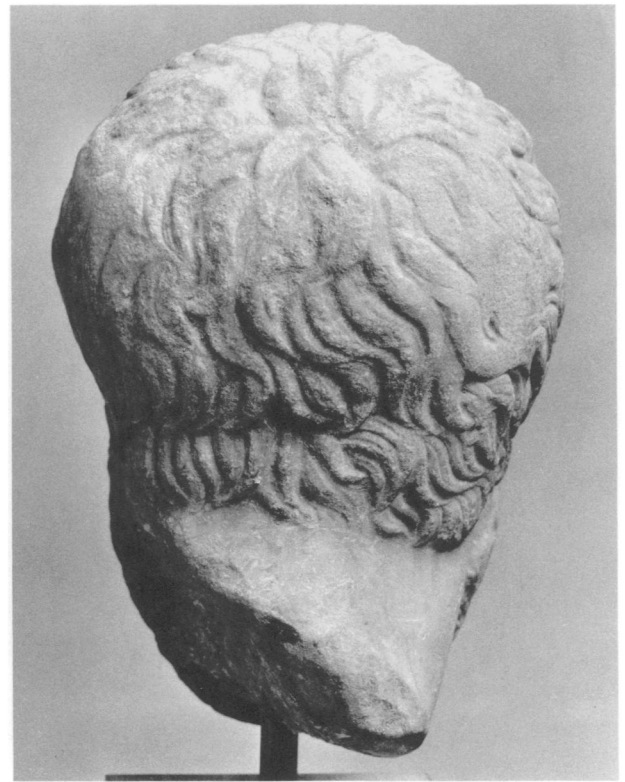
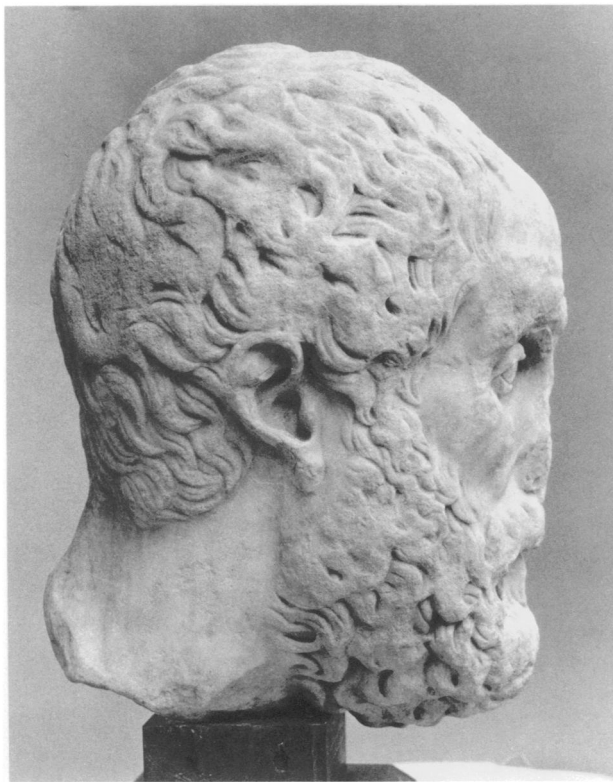
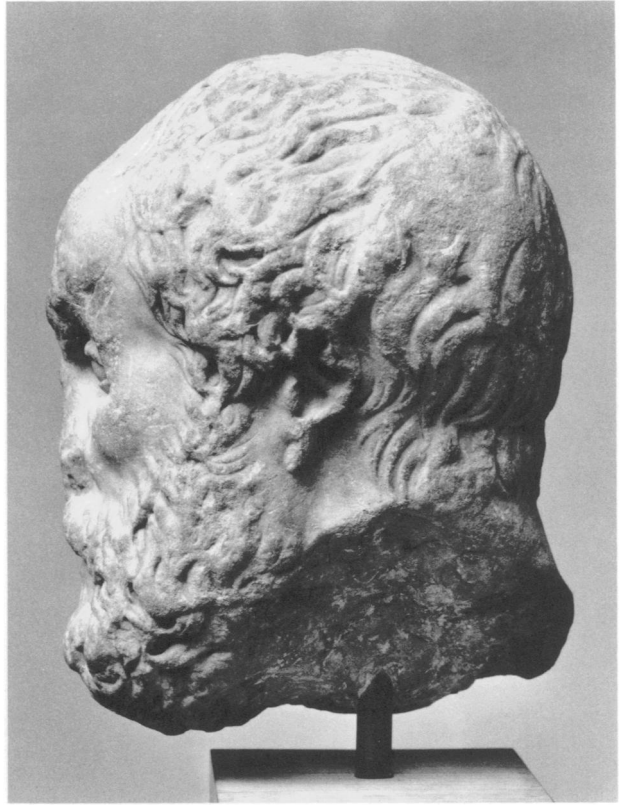
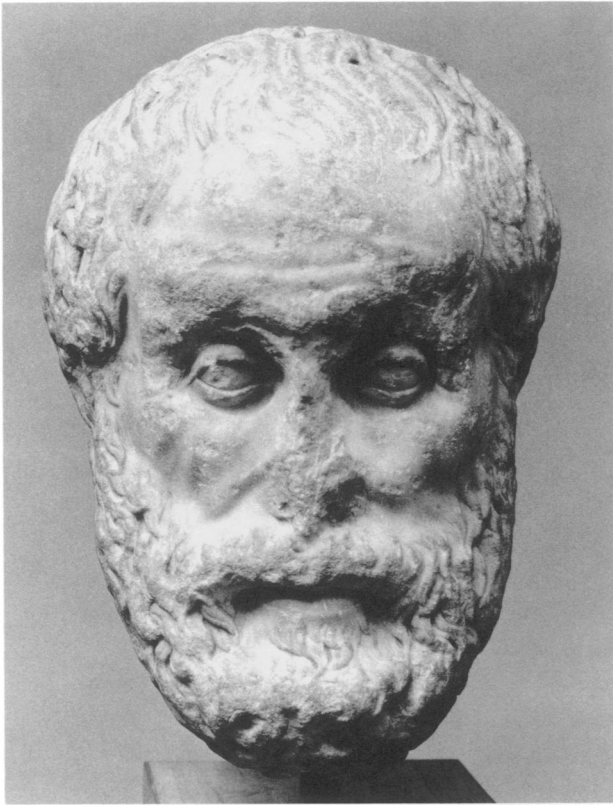


lifetime”⁵ (384–322 B.C.). On the assumption that the statue of Aristotle was dedicated by Alexander,⁶ the question may well be asked whether it dates back to the time when relations between the two were still untroubled, that is, before the execution of the philoso-

4. See J. Frel, *Contributions à l'iconographie grecque* (Prague, 1969) pp. 28–30, 37, and “Il ritratto di Milziade,” *Felix Ravenna* 1969, pp. 1–17, for the inscribed herm in Ravenna (G. M. A. Richter, *The Portraits of the Greeks* [London, 1965] figs. 381–384; P. E. Arias, “Le erme di Ravenna,” *Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen Instituts* 63 [1953] pp. 102–106, figs. 1–5). The central part of the face, including the nose, the lips, and most of the beard, is a fifteenth-century restoration; what remains corresponds perfectly (including the marked asymmetry) with the other replicas: herm Ravenna II (*JdI* 63 [1953] pp. 107–110, figs. 6–9); head from a herm, Madrid, Prado (from Tivoli, A. Blanco, *Catalogo* [Madrid, 1957] no. 32 E; P. Arndt and F. Bruckmann, *Griechische und römische Porträts* [Munich] pls. 627–628; Richter *Portraits*, figs. 385–387); head from a herm, Aranjuez, Casa del Labrador (from Tivoli, Arndt-Bruckmann, pls. 629–630; *JdI* 63 [1953] p. 111, fig. 11—the caption confuses it with the head in Madrid). A drawing (C. C. Vermuele, *The Dal Pozzo-Albani Drawings of Classical Antiquities in the Royal Library at Windsor Castle* [Philadelphia, 1966] p. 162, no. 8848, fig. 244) reproduces another herm replica of Miltiades; the facial asymmetry is well shown.

5. Richter, *Catalogue*, p. 97.

6. Antiquity of course knew other portraits of Aristotle, but this may be the principal original executed in his lifetime; the dedication is recorded in the inscription of a headless herm found in the Stoa of Attalos, Athens—see Richter, *Portraits*, p. 171, no. 1, fig. 1014. On pp. 172–174 eighteen replicas of the only preserved type of Aristotle are listed. No. 3 is a small double herm in Museo delle Terme, Rome: the face interpreted as Aristotle is much corroded (figs. 1006–1008), but it must be Euripides of the Farnese type since the head with which it is coupled (figs. 1031–1033) is manifestly the Farnese Sophocles, as suggested already by R. Paribeni; Miss Richter (p. 178) would prefer for the latter a follower of Aristotle, but the taenia in the hair, visible even in her illustrations and not suited to a philosopher, is not omitted in any of the replicas of the Farnese Sophocles. An important contribution of K. Lehmann (*Hesperia* 12 [1943] pp. 123–124) should be cited as it gives evidence that the bearded type of Aristotle, resembling Leonardo and very popular in the Renaissance, can be ascribed to Cyriacus of Ancona; he gave the name of Aristotle to a marble bust he saw in Samothrace.



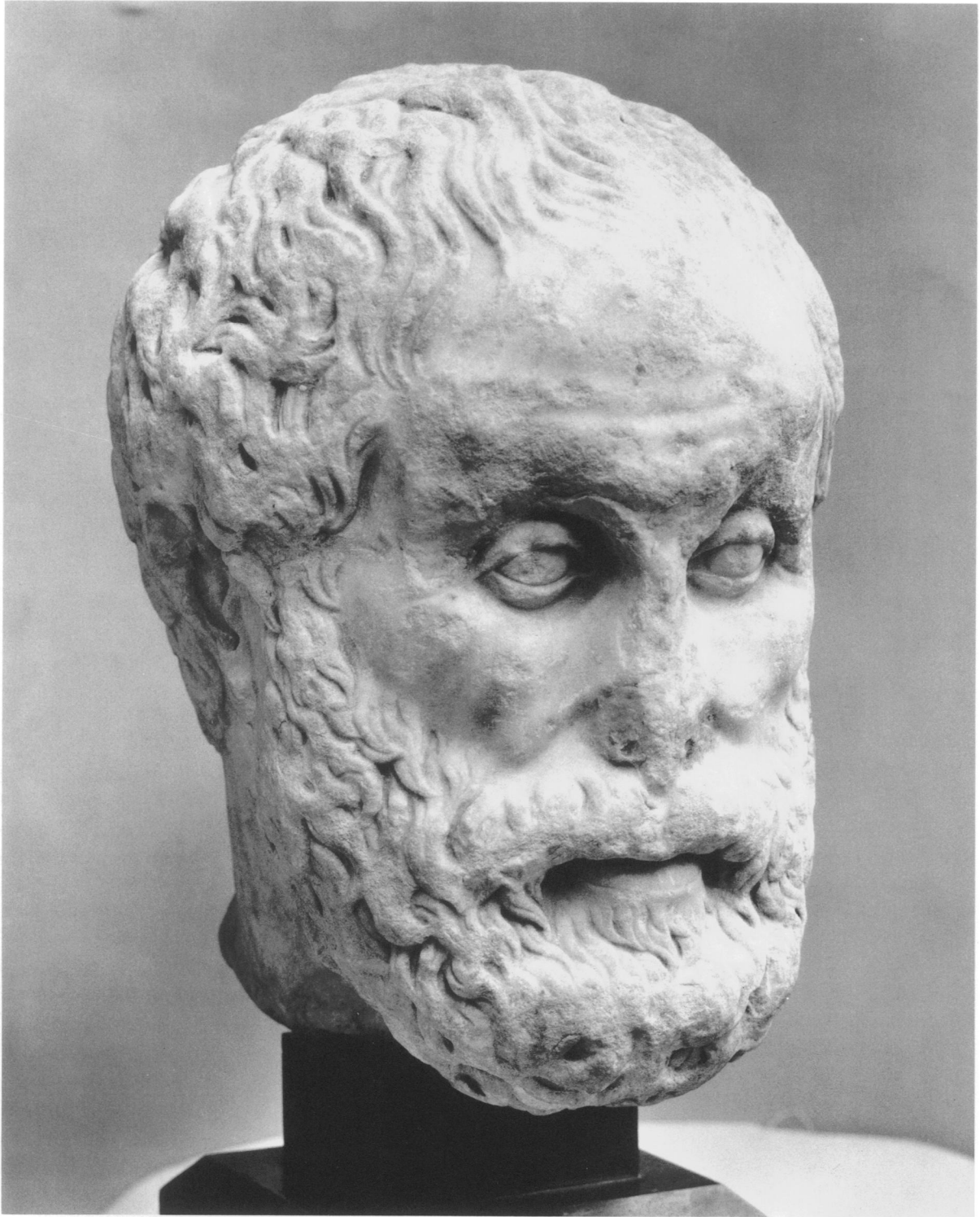


FIGURE 6
Portrait of a Greek shown in Figure 2

pher's nephew, or whether it represents a subsequent act of homage, intended, if not to placate his old master, at least as a gesture toward reconciliation. While these must remain matters for speculation, it is on the contrary certain that the Aristotle type appeared on a funerary stele prior to 320, and moreover, the attribution to Lysippus is generally accepted.⁷ A comparison between the Aristotle type (Figure 7) and the New York–Chieti type demonstrates clearly that whereas there is a marked resemblance in physiognomy between the two originals, they are widely divided in time. A difference in the age of the subjects has been stressed, but in reality, if Aristotle wears his sixty-two years lightly, no effort has been made in the other portrait to mitigate the effects of old age. Beside this relentlessly realistic portrayal, the head of Aristotle, while being the first true Greek portrait, reveals the full extent to which it still reflects the impersonal type. Even in this work, Lysippus, the *magnus parens* of Hellenistic sculpture, has not repudiated the close links binding him to the classical tradition. In psychological penetration and in the characteristic physiognomy it is equally reserved; the divinespark in Aristotle finding expression in his thought contrasts with the inward concentration of his descendant. We may note in passing a common trait that is shared by the two philosophers, serving to emphasize their kinship, viz., the delicate irony of the scanty hair carefully combed forward to disguise their baldness. To summarize, the distance between the two portraits is greater than between the inspired enthusiasm of Alexander and the official rhetoric in the representations of his successors. Within the ranks of philosophers the original of the New York–Chieti portrait falls chronologically into place between the portraits of Zeno and Chrysippus.⁸ This would place it in the last decades of the third century. One detail convincingly confirms this dating—the treatment of the eyes. Aristotle's eyes are not so deeply sunken and are relatively flat in modeling. Even Demosthenes is not directly comparable, and it is only when we come to Chrysippus that the eyes are sunk still more deeply into the empty sockets under aged lids, his look expressing the supremacy of thought over the decline of the flesh.

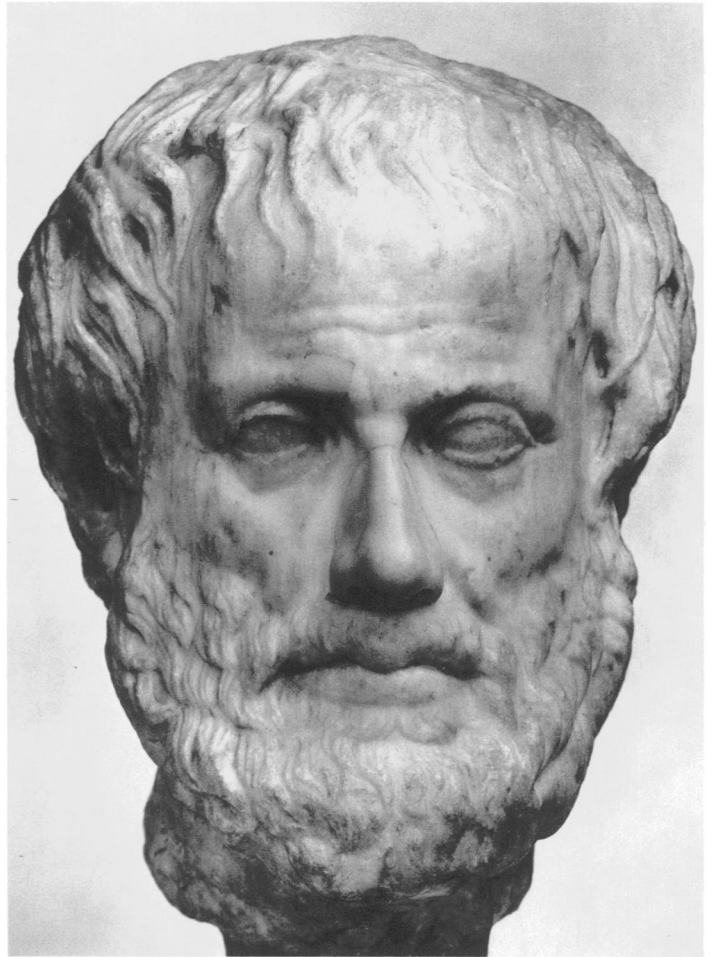


FIGURE 7
Aristotle. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum.
Photograph courtesy of Prof. R. Noll

One question, that of the identity, must for the present remain unanswered: only the fortunate chance of a new discovery will give us the name of our philosopher. Of all the baptisms that adorn the pages of iconographical studies so many have proved vain. Xenophon was a case in point, where the discovery of a herm bearing an inscription put an end to gratuitous designations. However, one possibility remains open. Our portrait might well be a second version of Aristotle created, let us suppose, for the centenary of his death. In principle, there is nothing against such a hypothesis. The objection of the apparent difference in age as against the Lysippean portrait can easily be answered. May not

7. Athens, National Museum 2113. A Conze, *Die attischen Grabreliefs* (Berlin) no. 464 (113); see Frel, *Contributions*, p. 44, pl. xiv.

8. See Richter, *Portraits*, pp. 186–189, 190–194.

the manifestation of age have less to do with the subject than with a different stage of art? The disparity in physiognomy is no greater than between the contemporary versions of Euripides,⁹ or between the Lycurgan Sophocles and the Hellenistic Farnese Sophocles.¹⁰ But it is precisely a comparison of these two heads of Sophocles that is most damaging to the hypothesis of a Hellenistic Aristotle. The Farnese Sophocles consists in effect of a fresh version of the great tragedian, but the novelty is limited to the presentation of a classic within the framework of a different age and to stylistic elements. There is no difference in the characterization of the subject, no development of him as an individual; all that the sculptor has done is to make use of factors pre-existing in the earlier portrait and to adapt them to suit a different taste. The New York–Chieti head, on the contrary, shows us a visage more profound, a personality more complex, than the Lysippean portrait. And

so it would seem that the wisest course for the moment is to retain the general designation of a cousin once removed for Aristotle.¹¹

Another portrait, known in two replicas, has features manifestly inspired by those of Aristotle. The head, placed on a bust with the paludamentum, is intended as a representation of a Roman general. Once the emperor Probus was suggested; later the portrait (with drilled pupils) was dated in the Antonine period. As a matter of fact, the portrait is a successful creation of the Italian Renaissance; the workmanship of both replicas can not be earlier than the sixteenth century.¹²

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The author's thanks are due to D. von Bothmer for his kind assistance, to E. Beatson for help with the English version, and to A. Giuliano for the photograph of the Chieti head.

9. See Richter, *Portraits*, pp. 134–141 (she refuses to accept the Rieti type for Euripides).

10. Richter, *Portraits*, pp. 125–130.

11. Two comparable cases should be mentioned. Apart from the canonical type of Antisthenes, there is another similar portrait, sometimes taken for a variant, sometimes thought to represent a different personage (Richter, *Portraits*, pp. 180–181). More complicated is the case of Zeno (to the list of replicas, Richter, *Portraits*, pp. 188–189, add still another head in Schloss Fasanerie, H.J. Kruse, *Archäologischer Anzeiger* 1966, pp. 386–395, and a strangely omitted example in the Museo Capitolino, Stanza dei filosofi 82, H. Stuart Jones, *Catalogue* [Oxford, 1912] pl. 24). A portrait closely resembles him: Kleanthes? (see Frel, *Contributions*, p. 33, note 149; there are at least three replicas: Rome, Museo delle Terme, B.M. Felletti Maj, *I ritratti* [Rome, 1953] no. 37, Arndt-Bruckmann, pls. 1133–1134; Rome, Villa Borghese, P. Arndt and W. Amelung, *Photographische Einzelaufnahmen antiker Sculpturen* [Munich] no. 1871; Cambridge, Massachusetts, Fogg Art Museum, formerly in the Robinson collection, *American Journal of Archaeology* 59 [1955] pl. 21.48, Richter, *Portraits*, figs. 1034–1036, p. 178, where she calls him “Lycon”; possibly, the same man is also coupled with Socrates in

a lost double herm, formerly in Berlin, K 195, Richter, *Portraits*, figs. 973–975). This brings up the whole problem of identification in portrait and Greek sculpture in general, a problem that is well beyond the scope of this short note.

12. See J. J. Bernoulli, *Römische Ikonographie*, II, part 3 (Stuttgart, Berlin, and Leipzig, 1894) pp. 188–189. Bust in Naples, National Museum, no. 6100 (from the Farnese collection): A. Ruesch, ed., *Guida illustrata del Museo Nazionale di Napoli* (Naples, n. d.) p. 255, no. 1064; A. Hekler, *Die Bildniskunst der Griechen und Römer* (Stuttgart, 1912) fig. 272 a; F. Poulsen, *Greek and Roman Portraits in English Country Houses* (Oxford, 1923) p. 83, fig. 49. Bust in Leningrad, the Hermitage: G. Kieseritzki, *Muzej drevney skulptury*, 4th ed. (St. Petersburg, 1901) pp. 27–28, no. 69; O. F. Waldgauer, *Rimskaya portretnaya skulptura v Ermitazhe* (Leningrad, 1923) pp. 62, 64, fig. 22; G. I. Sokolov, *Antichnaya skulptura-Rim* (Moscow, 1965) fig. 46. There is a variant of the same portrait in Rome, Museo delle Terme: Felletti-Maj, *Ritratti*, pp. 136–137, no. 270, R. Calza, *Scavi di Ostia*, V, *I ritratti*, I (Rome, 1964) p. 99, no. 161, pl. 95; it is said to be from Ostia, but it must also have been sculpted in the sixteenth century.

Addenda to "Ceremonial Arrowheads from Bohemia"

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AS A CONSEQUENCE of the publication of my article about decorated arrowheads of the fifteenth century in volume 1 of the *Metropolitan Museum Journal*, twelve more examples have been brought to my attention. While a comprehensive article dealing with the entire complex has been published in the *Acta Musei Nationalis Pragae* of the National Museum, Prague,¹ a short outline of the new findings will be given here, in order to complete the material compiled in volume 1.

Though the arrowheads—also twelve in number—published in volume 1 were unquestionably of Bohemian origin, as proved by inscriptions in medieval Czech, strangely enough not a single one of them came directly from Czechoslovakia: seven were preserved in Hungarian collections (Budapest, Keszthely, Pécs, Veszprém), three in Austria (Innsbruck, Schloss Kreuzenstein, Vienna), and one in Germany (Munich); the one acquired by the Metropolitan Museum came from an English private collection.

However, among those recently come to light eight are in various museums in Czechoslovakia (four in the National Museum² and one in the Museum for Decorative Arts in Prague, two in the East Bohemian Museum in Pardubice, and one in the Town Museum in Smiřice), two more in Hungary (Győr and Nyiregyhaza³), one in the Tower of London, and one in the Museum of the Turkish Army in Istanbul.

Their distribution—with the exception of the one in the Tower—follows a pattern. They are usually found

in locations where Bohemian mercenaries—very much sought after, particularly as crossbowmen—have fought. One of the four specimens in the National Museum in Prague is known to have come from the field of a battle fought in 1436 (Plačice). The one in Keszthely, Hungary, was found near a castle (Sümeg) repeatedly besieged by the Turks during the fifteenth century. The one in the Turkish Army Museum in Istanbul must have been captured and brought there as a trophy, and the same must be true for the one in the Metropolitan Museum, which bears the "Turkish arsenal mark."

All these arrowheads have in common unusual size—on the average twice the length of an ordinary head of a crossbow bolt—and decoration by engraving and inlay of brass. The engraved decoration consists of characteristic scale patterns, floral scrolls, short inscriptions, and emblematic monograms, though several are in such a corroded condition that only the brass inlays still show engraving (Figure 1).

Of the better-preserved specimens among the newly found, the one in the Museum of Decorative Arts in Prague has a decoration very similar to that on the piece in the Metropolitan Museum—a large monogram *ar* surmounted by a crown on one side, and a crowned *S* on the other, an inscribed scroll (*marya pany?*), and similar foliate scrollwork. Monograms surmounted by ostrich feathers are the characteristic decorative motif on most of the other arrowheads with still recognizable decoration: letter *S* (National Museum, Prague), letter *a* (Győr) (Figure 2), letter *k* (Pardubice) (Figure 3), letter *m* (Pardubice) (Figure 4), and two illegible letters under feathers (National Museum, Prague). The inscription *marya* twice repeated, and the monograms *d* and *a* combined with crown and ostrich-feather designs, are to be found on the piece in the

1. Helmut Nickel, "Böhmische Prunkpfeilspitzen," *Acta Musei Nationalis Pragae* ser. A, 23 (1969) pp. 101–163.

2. J. Koula, "České šípy z XV. věku," *Památky Archaeologické a Místopisné* 16 (1893–1895) pp. 139–142.

3. János Kalmár, "Számszeríjász parancsnoki jelvény-nyílhegyek," *Arrabona* 1962, part 4, pp. 71–84.



FIGURE 1
Arrowheads with engraved brass decoration.
National Museum, Prague, Inv. nos. 202, 203

Tower of London. All these motifs are also found in the decoration on Bohemian pavises—shields for crossbowmen—a circumstance that confirms the assumption that these arrowheads were military objects, and not, as has been suggested, insignia for sports guilds.

Most of these letters can be interpreted as the royal monograms of kings of Bohemia—Sigismund (1419–1437), Albrecht (1437–1439), Kasimir (1457–1459)—while *m* probably stands for the Virgin Mary. The letter *m* surmounted by crown and ostrich plume was an emblem used on shields by the revolutionary Hussites; apparently the royal Bohemian badge of a monogram combined with a crown and an ostrich feather was by that time considered to be a national Bohemian cognizance, and therefore was used even by the rebels against the royal authority, who as a rule only substituted monograms of a religious nature for those of the king.

The use of ostrich feathers as emblems in Bohemia brings to mind the legend of the origin of the badge of the Prince of Wales. It is said that Edward the Black Prince, after the Battle of Crécy (1346), adopted the three ostrich feathers that formed the plume on the helmet of the slain John the Blind, king of Bohemia. The ostrich feather, used by several members of the Plantagenet family during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries (the Black Prince, however, seems to have been the first one), was a symbol of steadfastness and unruffledness, because it never gets disheveled, no matter how hard the wind blows. On the other hand, the ostrich in medieval lore was credited with an all-digesting stomach. Usually shown with a nail, a horseshoe, or an arrowhead in his beak, he was a symbol of endurance and the power to overcome obstacles. Besides this, it was fabled that his extraordinary eyesight was sharp and “hot” enough to hatch his young just by his looking at the eggs for three days. Even the conception of the young was thought to be the result of the sharp look of his eyes; for reason of this form of immaculate conception the ostrich became—already in the thirteenth century—incorporated in the iconography surrounding the Virgin Mary.⁴

4. Bury Palliser, *Historic Devices, Badges, and War-Cries* (London, 1870) pp. 356–368; Lord Howard de Walden, *Banners, Standards, and Badges From a Tudor Manuscript in the College of Arms* (The De Walden Library, 1904) p. 4; W. R. Staehelin, “Der Vogel Strauss in der Heraldik,” *Archives Héraldiques Suisses* 39 (1925) pp. 49–57.



FIGURE 2

Device on an arrowhead, letter *a* surmounted by an ostrich feather. Xántus János Muzeum, Győr



FIGURE 3

Device on an arrowhead, letter *k* surmounted by an ostrich feather. Východočeské Muzeum, Pardubice, Inv. no. 1217



FIGURE 4

Device on an arrowhead, letter *m* surmounted by an ostrich feather. Východočeské Muzeum, Pardubice, Inv. no. 633

All the above-mentioned qualities of the ostrich, and *pars pro toto* his feather, could be applied to explain the use of ostrich feathers as decoration on Bohemian pavises and arrowheads. Though it is doubtful whether King John the Blind ever had a badge of ostrich feathers, in view of the miraculous powers of its eyesight the ostrich certainly could have had a deep significance for him. Steadfastness, endurance, and sharp eyesight are virtues generally desirable for a fighting man and particularly for an archer. Therefore, the use of the ostrich-feather device on arms—pavises and ceremonial arrowheads—worn by crossbowmen was very appropriate. The arrowhead in the Metropolitan Museum even bears the inscription *waruy/woka* = “beware my eye”! A connection with the cult of the Virgin is indi-

cated by the repeated invocations of Mary on these arms. Finally, during the fifteenth century St. George was often represented wearing a distinctive headdress sporting a plume of ostrich feathers; perhaps the ostrich feather was also meant to symbolize this knightly saint, patron of warriors.

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Luisa Boncompagni Ludovisi Ottoboni dei Duchi di Fiano, spätere Gräfin Francesco Papafava dei Carraresi, und ihr Bildnis von Ingres

HANS NAEF

IM SOMMER 1952, bei einem Gespräch in Paris, hatte Miss Agnes Mongan, Konservatorin der Zeichnungssammlung des Fogg Art Museum in Cambridge, die Freundlichkeit, uns auf ein der Ingres-Literatur unbekanntes weibliches Bildnis aufmerksam zu machen, das einige Zeit zuvor in Italien zum Vorschein gekommen und dann in amerikanischen Privatbesitz eingegangen sei (Abb. 1). Im gleichen Gespräch vernahmen wir, die Zeichnung stamme aus der Zeit des ersten römischen Aufenthalts von Ingres zwischen 1806 und 1820 und stelle eine junge *Prinzessin Falzacappa* dar.

Einige Jahre später, in einem Brief vom 13. Februar 1956, schrieb uns Miss Mongan, das Bildnis habe inzwischen seinen Besitzer gewechselt und gehöre nunmehr zur berühmten Sammlung Robert Lehman in New York; überdies glaube man neuerdings, es sei die Dargestellte nicht eine Falzacappa, sondern eine *Prinzessin Fiano*.

Als im folgenden Jahr 1957 die Sammlung Robert Lehman in der Pariser Orangerie ausgestellt wurde, erschien das Blatt zum ersten Mal in der Öffentlichkeit. Was die Identität der Dargestellten betrifft, so drückte sich der Ausstellungskatalog vorsichtig aus. Die 1817 aus Rom datierte Zeichnung ist darin unter dem Titel *Portrait de jeune femme* aufgeführt, und im wortkargen Kommentar heisst es: "Le modèle est identifié traditionnellement comme princesse Fiano."¹ Abgebildet wurde die Zeichnung zum ersten Mal nicht im Katalog, sondern in einer Besprechung der Lehman-Ausstellung, die am 12. Juni 1957 in der Pariser Wochenzeitung *Arts* erschien.² Die Reproduktion auf Zeitungspapier liess bei aller Dürftigkeit auf ein vollständiges Werk von Ingres' Bildniskunst schliessen.

Indes haben die Ausstellung und Veröffentlichung des Porträts zu seiner Deutung wenig beigetragen. Noch zehn Jahre später, als der Schreibende 1967 zusammen mit Miss Mongan den Katalog der vom Fogg Art Museum zum hundertsten Todestag von Ingres veranstalteten Ausstellung verfasste, wussten die beiden Autoren von der Dargestellten mehr nicht als den unsicheren Namen Fiano zu vermelden und mussten eingestehen: "We have been unable to add anything more to her history."³

Wir müssen allerdings zugeben, dass vom Namen Fiano aus es nicht unmöglich gewesen wäre, einige Nachforschungen anzustellen, doch fehlte es dazu am nötigen Auftrieb, nicht allein deshalb, weil aus der rätselhaften Prinzessin Falzacappa ohne fassbaren Grund eine ebenso rätselhafte Prinzessin Fiano geworden war, sondern mehr noch, weil es uns nicht recht gelingen wollte, in dem etwas dünnblütigen, helläugigen und offenbar blondhaarigen Modell von Ingres eine Italienerin zu erkennen. Auch sind ja trotz der langen Romaufenthalte des Künstlers die italienischen Modelle in seinem Bildnis-Oeuvre in verschwindender Minderzahl.

Die Wendung zu einer besseren Einsicht in das lange vernachlässigte Problem brachte schliesslich der Zufall. Im Frühjahr 1968 studierten wir auf dem Archivio del Vicariato in Rom, in völlig andern Zusammen-

1. *La collection Lehman de New York*, Paris, Orangerie, 1957, Nr. 139.

2. Raymond Charmet, "La collection Lehman," *Arts*, Nr. 623, Paris, 12. Juni 1957, Abb. S. 14.

3. Agnes Mongan und Hans Naef, *Ingres Centennial Exhibition* Greenwich, Conn., 1967, Nr. 42.



ABB. 1

J.-A.-D. Ingres: Porträt der Contessa Francesco Papafava dei Carraresi, geborene Prinzessin Luisa Buoncompagni Ottoboni Ludovisi dei Duchi di Fiano; Rom, 1817. Bleistift auf cremefarbenem Büttenpapier: 204 × 169 mm. Courtesy of the Robert Lehman Collection, New York



ABB. 2

Rinaldo Rinaldi: Porträt der Contessa Francesco Papafava dei Carraresi. Marmor. Sammlung Papafava, Padua

hängen, die Stati delle Anime von S. Lorenzo in Lucina, das heisst die Einwohnerverzeichnisse der gleichnamigen Kirchgemeinde. Zu dieser gehört der am Corso gelegene mächtige Palazzo Fiano, der im vergangenen Jahrhundert so viele illustre Rombesucher aus allen Weltgegenden beherbergt hat. Mehr zur Beruhigung des Gewissens als mit wirklicher Hoffnung nahmen wir das Einwohnerverzeichnis jenes Jahres 1817 vor, in welchem Ingres das ungedeutete Bildnis gezeichnet hat. In diesem Verzeichnis wird als Hausherr des Palazzo Fiano der damals achtundsiebzig-

ABB. 3

Ferdinando Cavallieri: Porträt der Contessa Francesco Papafava dei Carraresi als heilige Katharina, nach Raffael. Sammlung Papafava, Padua



jährige Duca Marco Ottoboni genannt. Er lebte dort 1817 mit seiner siebenundvierzigjährigen Gattin Giustiniana, seinen beiden im Alter von siebenzehn beziehungsweise dreizehn Jahren stehenden Töchtern Luisa und Giovanna und mit seinem zwölfjährigen Stammhalter Alessandro.⁴ Die gleiche fünfköpfige Familie lebte schon spätestens 1809 im gleichen Hause. Im Stato dieses Jahres sind die einzelnen Familienglieder ein wenig genauer benannt. Der Hausherr, S. E. Don Marco Ottoboni, ist als Duca di Fiano bezeichnet und seine aus Neapel stammende Gattin als S. E. Giustiniana Campana Sambiasi. Ferner ist zu ersehen, dass die ältere Tochter Donna Luisa aus Rom, Donna Gio-

4. Fol. 74 v°.

vanna aus Neapel und der Sohn Alessandro wiederum aus Rom gebürtig war.⁵ Aus den jährlich neu erstellten Verzeichnissen griffen wir schliesslich noch dasjenige von 1823 heraus und stellten dabei fest, dass in der Familie zwischen 1817 und 1823 grosse Veränderungen eingetreten waren: die Herzogin Giustiniana bewohnte den Palazzo 1823 als Witwe, die beiden Mädchen Luisa und Giovanna waren ausgezogen, und nur noch der junge Alessandro, nunmehr Duca di Fiano, lebte bei der Mutter.⁶

Es war anzunehmen, dass die beiden ausgeflogenen Töchter zwischen 1817 und 1823 ihren eigenen Hausstand gegründet hatten. Tatsächlich fanden wir in den Heiratsregistern von S. Lorenzo in Lucina, dass Donna Luisa am 18. November 1817 die Gattin des Grafen Francesco Papafava aus Padua geworden war⁷ und dass ihre jüngere Schwester Giovanna am 30. April 1822 den Marchese Girolamo Serlupi Crescenzi geheiratet hatte.⁸ Wenn eines der beiden Mädchen als Modell von Ingres in Frage kam, so musste man in erster Linie an die ältere Luisa denken, die zur Zeit des besagten Porträts im Alter von siebzehn Jahren stand, was mit der Erscheinung von Ingres' Modell sich einigermaßen im Einklang befindet. Wir liessen uns aber durch die Heiratsurkunde ihrer Schwester Giovanna auf eine andere Fährte locken, weil nämlich deren Trauung vom späteren Kardinal und damaligen Erzbischof Giovanni Francesco *Falzacappa* vorgenommen wurde. In einem und demselben Dokument die beiden einzigen Namen anzutreffen, die bisher im Zusammenhang mit dem mysteriösen Porträt gefallen waren, schien merkwürdig genug, und es war von hier aus der Verdacht nicht abzuweisen, das Modell der Zeichnung könnte die jüngere Schwester Giovanna sein.

Die Frage war naturgemäss am ehesten zu entscheiden, wenn zum Vergleich mit der physiognomisch prägnanten Ingres-Zeichnung sich ein anderes charakteristisches Porträt von Giovanna finden liess. Da die Familie Serlupi Crescenzi, der Giovanna durch Heirat angehörig wurde, in Rom noch heute vertreten ist, wandten wir uns auf der Suche nach einem solchen Bildnis an einen der gegenwärtigen Repräsentanten

des Geschlechts, den Marchese Crescenzo Serlupi Crescenzi, dem wir eine Photographie der Zeichnung vorlegten. Es war schliesslich ein Bruder von ihm, der sich der Frage freundlicherweise annahm und uns wissen liess, dass es in der Familie nicht an Darstellungen von Giovanna fehle, diese Bildnisse aber mit der Ingres-Zeichnung keinerlei Ähnlichkeit aufweisen, "poichè Giovanna aveva i tratti duri, non armonici ed insomma brutti."⁹

Trotz dieser Auskunft waren wir der falschen Fährte nicht vergeblich gefolgt. Marchese Serlupi Crescenzi wusste uns nämlich die heutigen Repräsentanten der Familie von Luisa Papafava namhaft zu machen, der das Interesse sich nunmehr wieder zuwenden musste. Die Papafava leben noch heute im Veneto, und ihr Oberhaupt ist der Urenkel von Luisa, Graf Novello Papafava dei Carraresi in Padua und Bastia di Rovolon. Die Geschichte des Hauses wird heute am lebendigsten erinnert von dessen Gattin, geborenen Gräfin N. O. Bianca Emo Capodilista. Diese wurde uns mit ihrer unermüdlichen Freundlichkeit und Geduld zur providentiellen Helferin bei der Lösung des schwierigen Problems, und es liegt uns daran, ihr auch an dieser Stelle unseren herzlichen Dank auszusprechen.¹⁰

Die Frage der Identität von Ingres' Modell wurde schon gleich durch die ersten Briefe der Gräfin Papafava entschieden. Sie machte uns durch Photographien mit zwei Bildnissen der jungen Luisa bekannt, die unter sich und mit der Ingres-Zeichnung eine derart frappante Ähnlichkeit aufweisen, dass jeder Zweifel an der Identität von Ingres' Modell ausgeschlossen wird. Das eine dieser Bildnisse ist eine Marmorbüste von Canovas paduanischem Lieblingsschüler Rinaldo Rinaldi (Abb. 2). Die andere Darstellung, ein Gemälde von Ferdinando Cavallieri, ist kein eigentliches Bildnis: der Maler hat sich physiognomisch zwar genau an die Züge von Luisa Papafava gehalten, sie aber als Heilige Katharina dargestellt (Abb. 3), unter enger Anlehnung an das gleichnamige Gemälde von Raffael in der Londoner National Gallery. Die Büste wie das Gemälde befinden sich noch heute im Familienbesitz und sind schon seit 1928 publiziert, in einem Aufsatz von Bruno Brunelli über die prachtvolle klassizistische Wohnung

5. Fol. 89 v°.

6. Fol. 106 r°.

7. Fol. 62.

8. Fol. 102.

9. Mündlich, Juli 1968.

10. Umfangreiche Korrespondenz mit Gräfin Papafava, 1968/69; wir verdanken ihr insbesondere auch zahlreiche Angaben zu unserem genealogischen Schema.

der Papafava in Padua.¹¹ Das Rätsel der Ingres-Zeichnung hätte sich auf Grund der beiden Abbildungen schon längst lösen lassen, doch sind wir auf Brunellis Aufsatz erst durch unsere freundliche Helferin aufmerksam geworden.

Gräfin Bianca Papafava hatte uns indes noch Interessanteres zu melden. Sie selber kannte die Ingres-Zeichnung sehr genau, denn sie hatte sie während langen Jahren aufgestellt gesehen auf dem Schreibtisch von Albertino Papafava, dem Grossvater ihres Gatten und dem jüngsten Sohn von Ingres' Modell, der erst 1929 gestorben ist. Gräfin Bianca und ihr Gemahl waren selber die Testamentsvollstrecker von Albertino Papafava, der die kostbare Zeichnung seiner Nichte Luisa Cittadella Vigodarzere vermachte. Diese Enkelin von Ingres' Modell starb unvermählt und hinterliess das Porträt ihrer Nichte Pia Valmarana, die 1948 in Rom, ebenfalls unverheiratet, starb und die Zeichnung ihrem Bruder Giuseppe Valmarana zudachte. Dieser starb in den fünfziger Jahren in Venedig. Er war der letzte Verwandte von Ingres' Modell, der das Bildnis sein eigen nannte. Er trennte sich noch zu Lebzeiten von dem kleinen Juwel, vermutlich deshalb, weil ihm von seiner Gattin keine Kinder beschieden waren.¹² Als Miss Mongan zu einem von ihr nicht mehr genau erinnerten Zeitpunkt vor 1952 die Zeichnung kennen lernte, befand sie sich im Besitz von Alberto Clinton Landsberg. Dieser, ein südamerikanischer Staatsbürger, war als Kunstfreund in der Gegend von Padua kein Unbekannter. Er befand sich damals seit Jahren schon im Besitz von Palladios berühmter Villa Foscari, genannt La Malcontenta, die unweit von Venedig und Mestre liegt und von ihm verdienstvollerweise restauriert worden ist. Fast auf das Jahr genau lässt sich bestimmen, wann die Zeichnung von Giuseppe Valmarana an Landsberg ausgehändigt wurde. Wie Miss Mongan feststellen konnte, geht aus den Papieren des Fogg Art Museum hervor, dass Landsberg das Blatt in diesem Museum 1949 restaurieren liess.¹³ Da das Bildnis noch bis 1948 der Gräfin Pia Valmarana gehörte, muss ihr Bruder und Erbe Giuseppe es Landsberg frühestens 1948 oder spätestens 1949 überlassen haben. Im Februar 1950 wurde die restaurierte Zeich-

nung vom Fogg Art Museum an Landsberg zurückgegeben. Leider verfügt der Konservator der Sammlung Lehman über keine Auskünfte, wann und von wem Robert Lehman das Blatt erworben hat.¹⁴ Wie wir eingangs gesehen haben, erfolgte der Besitzerwechsel spätestens vor Februar 1956. Miss Mongan hält es für wahrscheinlich, dass die Zeichnung ohne Zwischenträger direkt von Landsberg an Lehman überging. Unter dieser Annahme kennen wir nun die Herkunft des Porträts so gut wie lückenlos, das heisst von seinem Modell her bis zu seinem gegenwärtigen Aufenthalt in der Robert Lehman Foundation, die seit dem Tode Robert Lehmans im Jahre 1969 ihre Absicht kundgetan hat, diese unschätzbare Sammlung dem Metropolitan Museum einzugliedern.

Unter den nach hunderten zählenden Bildnismodellen von Ingres ist Luisa Papafava nach unseren heutigen Kenntnissen neben einer Gräfin Giraud die einzige Frau, die der Künstler aus der höheren italienischen Gesellschaft zu porträtieren bekam. Ohne dass wir im einzelnen wüssten, wie die Prinzessin Luisa den Weg in sein Atelier fand, ist dieser Weg doch nicht ganz unerklärlich. Ihr Vater nämlich gehörte zu jenen italienischen Adligen, die 1809 die Besetzung Roms durch Napoleon willkommen hiessen und sich aktiv an der neuen Herrschaft beteiligten. Schon im Jahr der Besetzung, als Papst Pius VII. von den Franzosen in Gefangenschaft geführt wurde, stieg der Herzog von Fiano in den Rang eines Senatore del Consiglio Municipale auf. Dies ist der Kurzbiographie zu entnehmen, die wir in einem auf der Bibliotheca Hertziana in Rom vorhandenen Buch über die berühmten Familien Italiens gefunden haben. Der seltsame Band ist ohne Angabe des Autors, des Jahres, des Ortes und ohne Pagination erschienen. Im Kapitel über die Familie Buoncompagni Ludovisi Ottoboni Duchi di Fiano ist über den Vater von Luisa Papafava das Folgende zu lesen:

Marco, nato nel 1741, andò ad ereditare il ducato di Fiano nel 1803 per la morte di suo fratello Antonio, che cessò di vivere senza successione. Il detto Marco si diede alla professione dell'armi con tutte le speranze d'un esito felice, et di fatto riportò il grado di Capitano dopo

11. Bruno Brunelli, "Un appartamento neoclassico a Padova," *Dedalo*, Rom und Mailand, Juli 1928, Abb. S. 56, 60.

12. Gräfin Papafava in ihren Briefen an den Verfasser, 1968/69, *passim*.

13. Miss Mongan an den Verfasser, 5. Februar 1969.

14. Dr. George Szabo an den Verfasser, New York, 22. Januar 1969.

non molti servigi resi alla milizia austriaca; trasferito quindi in Napoli fu dal re Ferdinando IV fatto cavaliere dell'ordine Costantiniano e commendatore di S. Paolo in Sicilia. Dopo non molto tempo il pontefice Pio VI lo nominò vicecastellano di S. Angelo e cameriere d'onore di spada e cappa; e dallo stesso pontefice, quando poi nel 1800 Pio VI lo elesse suo cameriere segreto si di spada che di cappa. Nel 1809 fu senatore del Consiglio Municipale in Roma, istituito di Napoleone, allorchando questo imperatore univa quella città all'impero Francese. Marco sposò Giustiniana, figlia di Vincenzo . . . di Napoli, principe di Campana, ed ebbe per prole Luigia, fattasi moglie nel 1817 col cavaliere Francesco Pappafava de' Carraresi di Padova; Giovanna, sposatasi nel 1822 col marchese Girolamo Serlupi Cescenzi, ed Alessandro successo al padre nel ducato di Fiano, fu alfiere nelle milizie pontificie, eletto nel 1821 dal sommo pontefice Pio VII e dall'imperatore d'Austria Francesco I, e finalmente venne creato ciambellano nell'anno 1830. Egli sposò Costanza, figlia del principe Luigi Buoncompagni, per cui gli nacque un figlio per nome Marco.¹⁵

Im Glanz der imperialen Gesellschaft von Rom zeigte sich gerne auch des alten Herzogs Gattin Giustiana, um einige dreissig Jahre jünger als ihr Mann—*“bernant son vieux mari, souche d'aimables filles, qui avait [déjà] fait les délices des officiers de Macdonald et de Championnet,”*¹⁶ wie Louis Madelin sich in seiner Geschichte des napoleonischen Rom ausdrückt.

Ingres, der unter den kaiserlichen Herren von Rom etwelches Ansehen genoss und zu dessen Auftraggebern der Oberkommandierende Miollis und der Präfekt Camille de Tournon gehörten, mag den Eltern von Luisa Papafava vage ein Begriff gewesen sein; und es ist nicht ausgeschlossen, dass diese sich seiner erinnerten, als man im Hochzeitsjahr der Tochter ein Bildnis von ihr wünschte. Es ist aber auch denkbar, dass die Wahl auf Ingres von Seiten der Papafava fiel. Wie dem erwähnten Aufsatz von Brunelli zu entnehmen ist, war Francesco mit zwei Schwestern und einem Bruder unter der Obhut seiner früh verwitweten Mutter Arpalice herangewachsen, die ihrerseits für die Franzosenherrschaft Partei ergriffen hatte. Alessandro, der jüngere und begabtere der beiden Söhne, war mit Rom schon 1803 bekannt geworden. Er gelangte von Padua in die Ewige Stadt im Drange seiner lebhaften künstlerischen Interessen. Zuerst dem Studium der Rechte bestimmt, wandte er sich bald mit Begeisterung der Kunst und insbesondere der Architektur zu. Ein sehr ansehnliches, noch im Familienbesitz vorhandenes

Gemälde von Angelika Kauffmann zeigt Alessandro zusammen mit Francesco an einem Tisch sitzend, auf dem Zirkel und Masstab liegen.¹⁷ Während Francesco ein Lesebuch in den Händen hält, hat Alessandro vor sich ein grosses Album mit Architekturzeichnungen aufgeschlagen. Seiner Lieblingsbeschäftigung nachhängend, hatte er im Lauf der Jahre oft in Rom gewelt, und in den Tagen, da sein Bruder Francesco dort seine künftige Gattin fand, konnte er ihm zweifellos als Cicerone dienen. Es ist nicht ausgeschlossen, dass Francesco mit seiner Luisa vom kunstsinnigen Alessandro mit den Vorzügen von Ingres bekannt gemacht wurde.

Als es 1817 galt, der jungen Römerin ihr paduanisches Heim zu gestalten, fand Alessandro Papafava die schönste Gelegenheit, seine künstlerischen Gaben ins Werk zu setzen. Er hatte sich schon 1804 dafür eingesetzt, dass seine Familie den 1763 erbauten Palazzo Trento erwerbe, den er in der Folge restaurierte. Sein Meisterwerk aber lieferte er mit der Ausgestaltung der darin seinem Bruder und seiner Schwägerin eingeräumten Gemächer. Er arbeitete ein bis in die Einzelheiten reichendes Projekt aus und liess dieses von Künstlern und Handwerkern ausführen, die unter seiner Leitung über sich selbst hinauswuchsen. Das Gesamtkunstwerk ist noch heute in der Form erhalten, die er ihm gegeben hat, und es ist eine angenehme Vorstellung, dass die Ingres-Zeichnung dort während Jahren ihren angemessenen Platz besass. Im Aufsatz von Bruno Brunelli kommen die Heirat von Donna Luisa und die Gemächer, die die junge Frau in Padua empfangen sollten, mit Folgendem zur Sprache:

Francesco Papafava, durante un soggiorno a Roma, s'invaghì di Luisa Boncompagni Ottoboni dei duchi di Fiano, e l'ottenne in isposa. La bella giovane, dotata di tutte le qualità più seduttrici di cuore e di mente e di una bellezza non comune e freschissima,—aveva allora sedici anni,¹⁸—sarebbe stata accolta con tutti gli onori nell'illustre famiglia padovana. Gli Ottoboni rammentavano in tale occasione come i loro servigi verso la Serenissima li avessero già per il passato idealmente

15. *Famiglie celebri italiane*, s.l., s.d., s.p.

16. Louis Madelin, *La Rome de Napoléon*, Paris, 1927, S. 553, 562.

17. Brunelli, “Un appartamento,” Abb. S. 41.

18. Maria Carolina Luisa Giovanna Geltrude, wie sie mit allen ihren Vornamen hiess, wurde am 27. Oktober 1799 in Rom geboren (Taufregister von S. Lorenzo in Lucina, p. 68, Archivio del Vicariato, Rom).

legati alle terre venete. Nel secolo XV essi avevano recato alla flotta veneziana l'aiuto delle loro navi e della loro perizia di capitani di mare; Stefano specialmente (1490) aveva sacrificato la vita sulla sua nave fatta saltare in aria dai turchi. Avevano inoltre dato a Venezia tre cancellieri grandi: e a Marco Ottoboni, che all'età di 92 anni aveva offerto alla Repubblica 100.000 ducati, era stata conferita la nobiltà veneziana (24 agosto 1446).

Per le nozze cospicue la contessa Arpalice Papafava e il conte Alessandro vollero apprestare un appartamento sontuoso. E all'abilità, non soltanto di architetto, ma di artista, di Alessandro si deve la bellissima decorazione dell'appartamento di stile neoclassico, che si ammira ancor oggi nel palazzo Papafava, decorazione di un gusto purissimo e di una tale finitezza di particolari, tuttora fedelmente rispettati, dalle pareti ai mobili, dai soffitti ai lampadari, agli oggetti, ai ninoli, come raramente si può vedere in Italia. [. . .]

Risulta evidente agli occhi del visitatore come un'unica mente abbia guidato nei minimi particolari, direi quasi con pedantesca minuzia, l'allestimento di quelle stanze, in modo da correggere i disegni dei mobili di Gaetano Manzoni eseguiti poi dal padovano Carnera, scendendo a cure insolite agli architetti faciloni d'oggi, e da precisare persino il numero dei cassetti e le dimensioni esatte di un mobile. Così che se tanta varietà di mobili et di ninoli, di lumiere, di opere d'arte e di gingilli si fonde nell'armonia dell'assieme, e se le pareti e i soffitti formano la più degna cornice all'arredamento, è tutto merito di chi preparò e volle così disposto l'appartamento per accogliervi la sposa colta, intenditrice d'arte, venuta a ravvivare con la spiritualità geniale le severe stanze d'un antico palazzo padovano.¹⁹

Über den Charakter und die Geisteseigenart von Luisa Papafava ist leider wenig beizubringen. Gräfin Bianca Papafava, unsere freundliche Helferin, wusste unsere Neugier nur auf den Aufsatz von Brunelli zu verweisen. Dieser schreibt über Ingres' Modell, ohne dass es ihm als solches bekannt war, beiläufig das Folgende:

La dama stabili sua dimora a Padova e nella villa di Frassanelle, e raccolse intorna a sé persone dell'aristocrazia ed eletti ingegni, che le cure delle arti e della letteratura anteponevano a quelle della politica. [. . .] Esprimeva con dolce grazia qualche osservazione sua, dava un giudizio, approvava i versi estemporanei di qualche poeta, o ascoltava interessata la lettura delle *Notti* di Young o dei poemi di Ossian. I cavalieri approvavano ed ammiravano, appena osando quella timida corte che era doveroso omaggio allo spirito e alla bellezza. Luisa, che sapeva tenere a freno quelle

menti facili ad accendersi e che presentivano i furori romantici, volle occuparle in un lavoro, che certamente le suggerì qualche spiritello ironico: dagli assidui del suo salotto fece confezionare un tappeto da porsi innanzi al caminetto. Era diviso a riquadri, dove, su fondo verde, con lane bianche e rosse quei signori riprodussero a ricamo gli oggetti sparsi nelle varie stanze. Finché lavoravano non dicevano sciocchezze, e ascoltavano più attentamente le declamazioni poetiche . . . [. . .]

Luisa Papafava, che l'abate Fabris chiamò "gemma fra le dame"²⁰ e un altro abate, dallo stile involuto, disse, con curiosa espressione, che "tutta grazia e bontà direbbesi de' cicisbei avere unite le forze di attrazione e repulsione,"²¹ moriva, a soli 36 anni, nel gennaio del 1836. Il conte Francesco le sopravviveva di dodici anni, e si dedicava specialmente ad istituzioni benefiche.²²

Donna Luisa war in ihrem kurzen Dasein sechsmal Mutter geworden, doch als sie 1836 starb, waren ihr ein Sohn und eine Tochter im Tode schon vorausgegangen. Als 1848 ihr Gemahl ihr nachfolgte, lebte von seinen Söhnen nur noch der jüngste Albertino, der dann das Ingres-Bildnis seiner Mutter erbte. Er wuchs in der Obhut seines kunstsinnigen Onkels Alessandro heran, der ihm auch die Zeichnung hütete,²³ bis der junge Mann das Kleinod nach seinem Wert zu schätzen wusste. Vielleicht hätten die beiden noch sagen können, was sich heute nicht mehr feststellen lässt: ob das im Hochzeitsjahr entstandene Porträt Luisa als Braut oder schon als Sposina von Francesco Papafava darstelle.

Ausgestellt:

La collection Lehman de New York, Orangerie, Paris, 1957, Nr. 139 ("le modèle est identifié traditionnellement comme princesse Fiano").—The Lehman Collection, Cincinnati Art Museum, Cincinnati, 1959, Nr. 276 ("Princess Fiano").—Ingres in American Collections, Paul Rosenberg Gallery, New York, 1961, Nr. 23, Abb. ("Princess Fiano").—The Lehman Collection, at 7 West 54th Street, New York, [1962], S. 28 ("Princess Fiano").—Ingres Centennial Exhibition, Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge, 1967, Nr. 42, Abb. ("La principessa Fiano").

19. Brunelli, "Un appartamento," S. 50, 56.

20. *Esequie di S. E. Co. Alessandro Papafava Antonini dei Carraresi, Elogio funebre letto dal canon. A.M. dott. Fabris*, Padova, tip. del Seminario, 1861, p. 24, n. 7 (Anm. von Brunelli).

21. G.A. ab. Moschini, Lettera da Venezia, 2 agosto 1823, alla signora E. Treves Consolo, in Biblioteca del Museo Civico di Padova, ms. BP. 2537, XIX (Anm. von Brunelli).

22. Brunelli, "Un appartamento," S. 58 f., 59, 63.

23. Gräfin Papafava an den Verfasser, 15. November 1969.

Herkunft:

Zuerst vermutlich im Besitz der Dargestellten (gestorben in Padua 1836).—Francesco Papafava dei Carraresi, Padua (Witwer der Vorigen, gestorben 1848).—Anschliessend in der Obhut von Francesco Papafava dei Carraresi (Bruder des Vorigen, Erzieher des Folgenden, gestorben in Padua 1861).—Albertino Papafava dei Carraresi (Sohn der Dargestellten, Neffe des Vorigen, gestorben in Padua 1929).—Luisa Cittadella Vigodarzere (Tante und Nichte des Vorigen, Enkelin

der Dargestellten, unverheiratet gestorben nach 1929).—Pia di Valmarana (Nichte der Vorigen, unverheiratet gestorben in Rom 1948).—Giuseppe di Valmarana (Bruder der Vorigen, kinderlos gestorben in Venedig nach 1950).—Von Giuseppe di Valmarana 1948 oder 1949 abgetreten an Alberto Clinton Landsberg, La Malcontenta, Mestre.—Zwischen 1950 und 1956 vermutlich direkt von Alberto Clinton Landsberg verkauft an Robert Lehman in New York (gestorben 1969).—Seit 1969 das Eigentum der Robert Lehman Foundation.

Luisa Boncompagni Ludovisi Ottoboni dei Duchi di Fiano, Later Countess Francesco Papafava dei Carraresi, and Her Portrait by Ingres

IN 1952, a portrait of a female hitherto unknown in the Ingres literature was brought to the author's attention by Miss Agnes Mongan. The drawing was at that time in an American private collection. Said to be from the period of Ingres's first stay in Rome, between 1806 and 1820, it was thought to represent a *Princess Falzacappa*.

Several years later, the portrait entered the collection of Robert Lehman, New York; in the meantime, the identification of the sitter had been changed to a *Princess Fiano*. Since then the drawing has been exhibited under the name Fiano.

An accidental discovery gave us a better insight into the problem. In 1968 a study of the *Stati del Anime* of S. Lorenzo in Lucina in Rome revealed that in 1817—the date of our portrait—the owner of Palazzo Fiano was Marco Ottoboni, duke of Fiano, who lived there with his wife, their daughters, Luisa (17) and Giovanna (13), and their son, Alessandro (12).

From the supposed date of the portrait, it seemed logical to assume that the young lady represented was Donna Luisa. But, interestingly enough, the marriage document (1822) of her sister Donna Giovanna showed that her marriage was performed by an Archbishop *Falzacappa*.

It was possible to contact Count Novello Papafava,

a great-grandson of Donna Luisa, and his wife, Countess Bianca. The latter drew our attention to two other portraits of Donna Luisa, which proved her identity conclusively: a marble bust by Rinaldo Rinaldi, and a painting—though not exactly a portrait—by Ferdinando Cavallieri, which bears Donna Luisa's features, but represents St. Catherine. Both works of art are still in the possession of the family.

Through information provided by Countess Bianca Papafava we know the entire history of the portrait over the last century. It was in the possession of her husband's grandfather, Count Albertino Papafava, who was the youngest son of Donna Luisa. When he died in 1929, he willed the portrait to his niece Luisa Cittadella Vigodarzere, who left the drawing to her niece Pia Valmarana; on her death in 1948 the portrait was left to her brother Giuseppe Valmarana, who died childless during the fifties in Venice. He was the last owner who was related by blood to Ingres's model. During his lifetime, at the latest in 1949, the drawing came into the possession of Alberto Clinton Landsberg. Unfortunately, it is not known exactly when the portrait passed from Landsberg into the Robert Lehman Collection, though it must have been before February of 1956.

HELMUT NICKEL