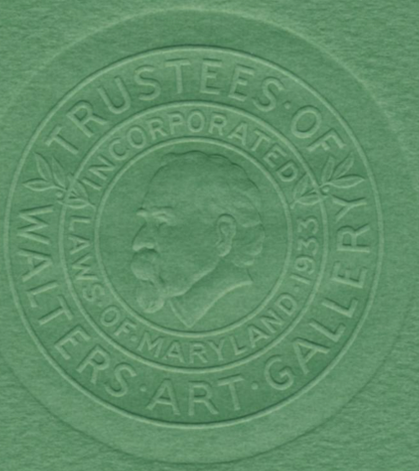
THE JOURNAL OF THE WALTERS ART GALLERY



1940

BALTIMORE, MARYLAND

PUBLISHED BY THE TRUSTEES

THE JOURNAL OF THE WALTERS ART GALLERY

VOLUME III
1940

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THE WALTERS ART GALLERY

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FRONTISPIECE

DAUMIER

La Chanson à Boire
Detail (2½ x)

ESNAULT-PELTERIE COLLECTION

DAUMIER: DRAFTSMAN-PAINTER

BY HENRI MARCEAU
Philadelphia Museum of Art
and DAVID ROSEN
The Walters Art Gallery

IN ALL THE annals of nineteenth-century painting, Daumier perhaps remains the greatest enigma. Although his graphic art has received the fullest study by competent scholars, the relatively few paintings he produced remain the subject of misunderstanding and controversy. The *catalogue raisonné*, so much in vogue, has been of little use in clarifying the subject. In at least one instance[1] this approach has produced a list of oil paintings by, or attributed to, Daumier of close to three hundred items. Of this work, it may be said that some items admittedly are included because they have from time to time been associated with Daumier, and not necessarily because of any firm conviction that they are autograph works by the master. Although the catalogue is of value in furnishing a ready means of comparison, final critical judgment between the true and the false must be supplied by the reader. Thus the state of confusion with respect to the painter's artistic personality is prolonged and rendered even more difficult to reconstruct.

Before presenting a theory leading to a clearer view of Daumier's development as a painter, it may be useful to inquire into the causes for the confusion which exists with respect to his works. This apparent lack of understanding has encouraged belief in the most sanguine attributions and at times the ready acceptance of the crudest forgeries. We have been too prone in our critical approach to apply vague aesthetic formulae. These, for the most part, have been concerned with generalized and literary discussions of subject matter or have dealt with superficial characteristics—the very ones that are seized upon by imitators to aid in the production of forgeries. Thus, the dark outlines defining the contours of figures, the lumpy and uneven character of the *impasto*, the generally unfinished state of many of Daumier's productions—these have been assumed to be the sole handwriting of the master. The penetrating observation of life, and the power to characterize the innermost thoughts and emotions of his actors, so obvious in the artist's graphic works, are ever present in Daumier's paintings. His struggle to express these in the oil medium has been lost sight of. Daumier's

[1] Eduard Fuchs, *Der Maler Daumier* (Munich, 1930).



FIGURE 1 PHILADELPHIA MUSEUM OF ART

COROT

Gypsy Girl at the Fountain
Detail (1½ x)

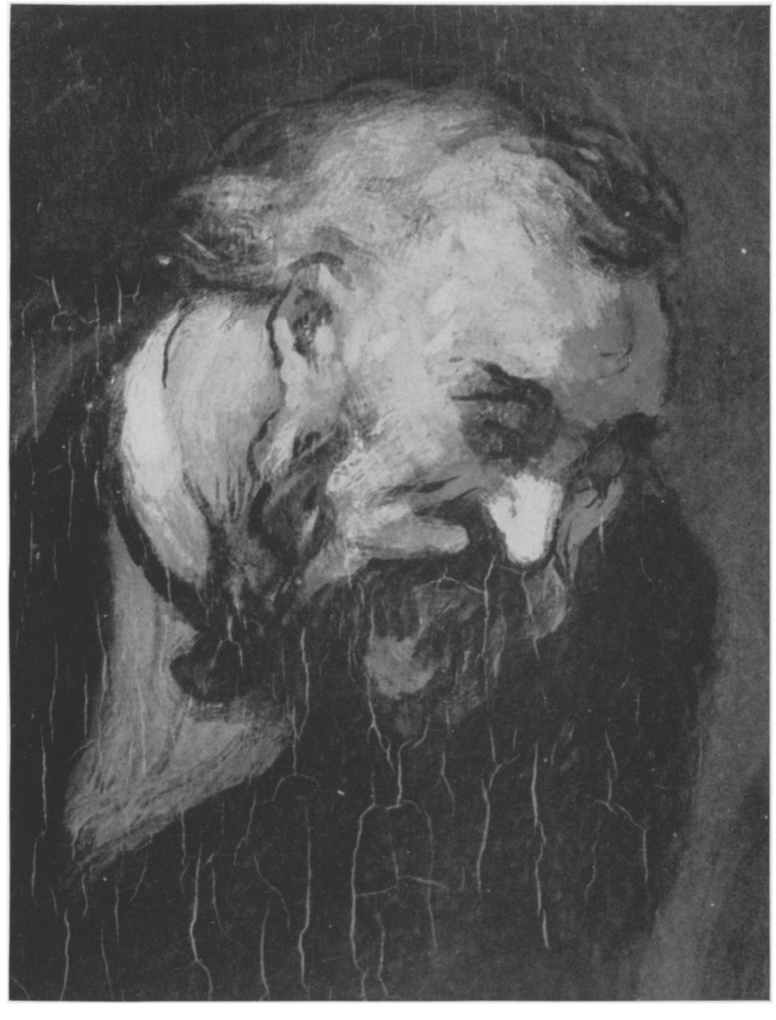


FIGURE 2 ESNAULT-PELTERIE COLLECTION

DAUMIER

La Partie de Dames
Detail (1½ x)



FIGURE 3 PHILADELPHIA MUSEUM OF ART

COROT

Gypsy Girl at the Fountain
Radiographic detail



FIGURE 4 METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

DAUMIER

Wagon de Troisième Classe
Radiographic detail

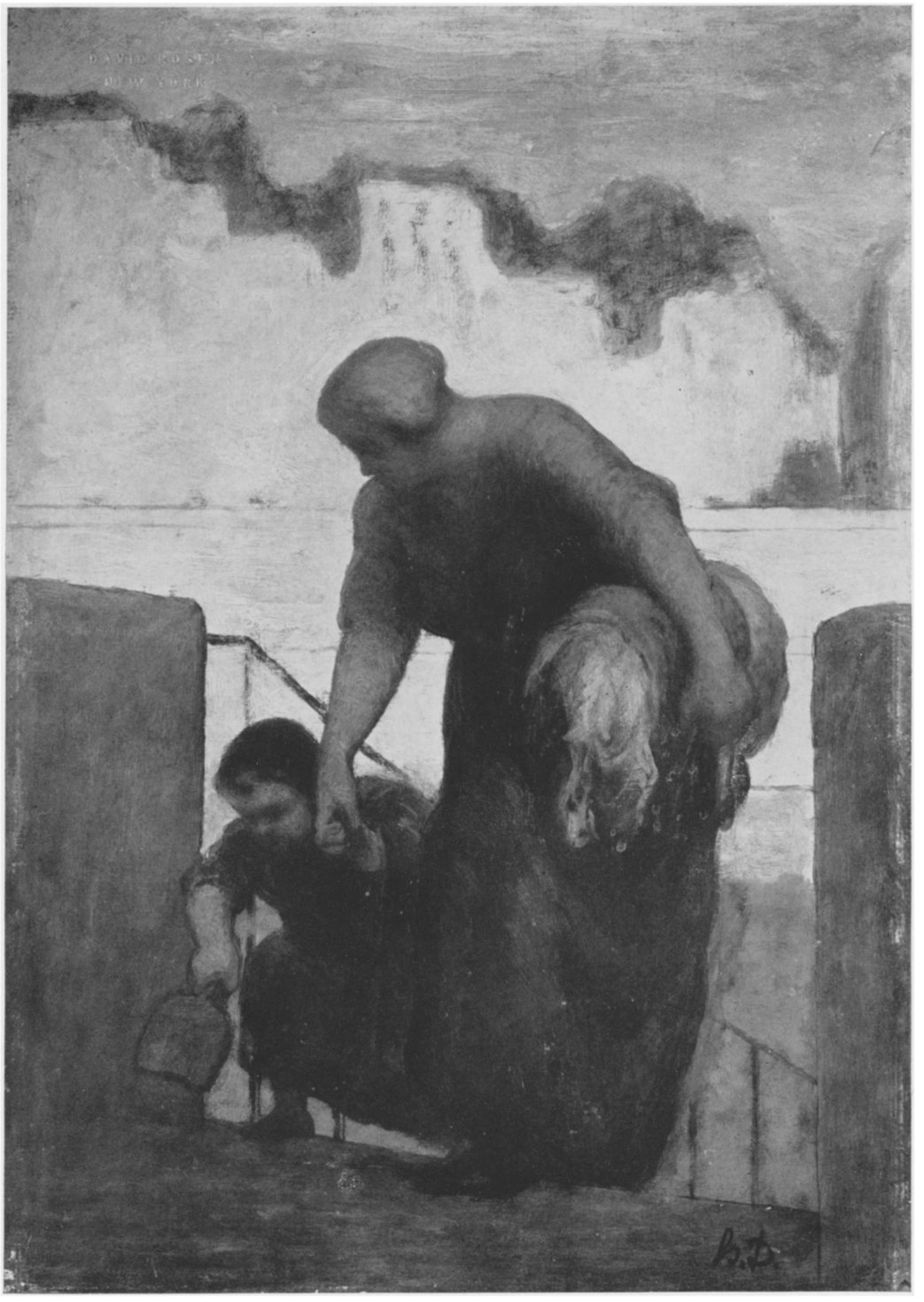


FIGURE 5 LOUVRE

DAUMIER

La Blanchisseuse
Panchromatic photograph



FIGURE 6 LOUVRE

DAUMIER

La Blanchisseuse
Infra-red photograph

facture is so personal, so unorthodox for his epoch, that his labored method has been mistaken for the symbol of his genius. The impression seems to have gained that the heavy outlines so frequently to be observed in his paintings were, in themselves, Daumier's final expression of form. This faulty reasoning has obscured the fact that such outlines were only tentative steps in search of forms which the artist really saw sculpturally in terms of light and shade. Daumier the busy cartoonist, had little opportunity to paint.

The year following the exhibition of the sketch for "*La Republique*" (1848), he exhibited "*L'Ane et les Voleurs*"[2] (Louvre). This same year he may also have exhibited one of the pictures in the Sancho Panza series.[3] The next painting publicly shown was "*La Blanchisseuse*" (Louvre), no. 800 in the *Salon* of 1861. Following these, Daumier sent nothing to the *Salon*, unless we except his exhibit in the *Salon* of 1869 consisting of three water colors: "*Amateurs dans un Atelier*," "*Juges de Cour d'Assisses*," and "*Les Medicins.*" It was not much earlier than 1864[4] that Daumier, through desire and force of circumstances, was able to devote himself more completely to painting. The bulk of his production in oil, therefore, dates from these last fifteen years of his life—years during which his declining popularity as a lithographer slowly led the artist to the edge of poverty. During these years Daumier developed closer associations with such painters as Delacroix, Corot, Barye, Millet, Daubigny, Bonvin, and Courbet, to mention a few.

Corot, through his touching admiration and friendship was not only the material benefactor of Daumier, but also must have acted in some measure as his guide into the mysteries of a new and difficult medium. There is no clear reference to the existence of such a relationship on a formal basis, but it is apparent that Daumier's more finished method approaches that of Corot more closely than it does the style of any other contemporary. This similarity certainly does not deal with subject matter, nor can it be said to concern finish of execution. Corot's figures were built directly in terms of *une pâte grasse*, whereas Daumier's emerged from drawn outlines and gradually assumed reality by means of thin glazes applied in the manner of the water-colorist. The affinity between the two methods lies in the use of small strokes by means of which modelling was achieved, the dark or shaded portions passing imperceptibly into the high-lighted areas. As Daumier became more familiar with the medium, the density of his pigment increased, more white being loaded into his paint. This is especially to be noted in the treatment of the heads and hands, but does not apply in equal degree elsewhere in the enveloping tones of the background. These points are quite obvious from a direct examination of such canvases as: "*La Partie de Dames*," "*L'Amateur d'Estampes*," and "*Le Malade Imaginaire.*"[5] The building up of pigment in the last of these pictures is considerable, a fact which is verified by the presence of *pentimenti* caused by the artist's search for plastic form through drawing. In these works, which the writers would tend to consider as late, Corot's influence is felt. The techniques of the two artists, while varying in tone intensity and surface texture, nevertheless arrive at a similar visual result. The import of this statement is illustrated by the comparisons furnished by figures 1 and 2, and by the radiographs, figures 3 and 4.

Because of Daumier's difficulty with the oil medium, he, like Cézanne, abandoned or left un-

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[2] A variant of this in lithograph form was published in 1862. Delteil, *Le peintre-graveur illustré, Honoré Daumier* (Paris, 1925-26), no. 3253.

[3] *Cf.* Duranty, *Daumier* in *Gazette des Beaux Arts,* XVII (1878), 544.

[4] *Ibid.,* p. 536.

[5] All in the Esnault-Pelterie collection, Paris.

finished numerous studies and even works of ambitious size. These range from the preliminary outline drawings in thin oil washes seen in the "*Tête de Femme*" of the Dumbarton Oaks collection, to such paintings as "*La Blanchisseuse*" and "*Crispin et Scapin*" of the Louvre, and the "*Chanteurs des Rues*" in the Esnault-Pelterie collection. It has already been shown that these pictures were either left unfinished or were subsequently completed by another hand.[6] Infra-red photographs of "*La Blanchisseuse*" also reveal important changes (figs. 5 and 6). These are to be noted in the sky where the original outlines of distant buildings appear drawn distinctly and with intention in the original (fig. 6), whereas they lack definition and character in the retouched version (fig. 5). Free additions also exist in the drawing of the heads, notably that of the child and in other details of both figures. These meaningless modifications, executed by means of superimposed glazes in dull red tones resemble the "wooley" effects produced in photography by a soft focus lens. They do not conform to the Daumier pattern.

It is doubtless true that numerous puzzling pictures attributed to Daumier are only in part from his hand. Where later additions are of considerable extent it is obviously impossible to accept these works as authentic. The Daumier problem becomes further complicated when one deals with a "completed" picture which at the same time enjoys a clear and legitimate provenance. It is little wonder that as yet no list of Daumier's *oeuvre* is completely unassailable and that so little has been accomplished in providing a chronology of his paintings. One would gladly jump to the conclusion that the vast lithographic production, practically dated in each instance, furnishes a frame upon which to hang this chronology.[7] The task, however, is not so simple. As noted earlier, "*L'Ane et les Voleurs*" was exhibited at the *Salon* of 1849, yet the lithographic variant was not published until 1862. In modern practice it is equally common for a painter-lithographer to develop the subject matter of a successful lithograph into an oil painting several years after the print has appeared. The point of this argument is too apparent to require amplification.

The present discussion will be chiefly limited to an analysis of two pictures: the unfinished "*Wagon de Troisième Classe*" of the Metropolitan Museum of Art and the small water-color study of this subject now in the Walters Art Gallery. The relationship of these pictures to each other and to the finished version in the Gordon Edwards collection, Toronto, has been noted correctly by Agnes Mongan.[8] The Walters sketch is quite clearly the first germ of the composition which in its main elements was developed with minor variations in the larger canvas. Comparison of figures 7, 8, 9, and 13 will further support Miss Mongan's suggestion that the water-color drawing was produced first. It is likely that the Metropolitan Museum's version was enlarged from this sketch by means of the squaring method. This system of lines is still visible over a large area of the painting, but it is more clearly brought out in figure 9, which is a light printing of an infra-red plate. In this reproduction, the artist's earlier intention of placing a bundle[9] in the lower right-hand corner is clearly shown. It will be noted that Daumier decided to change the height of the foreground bench, first drawing a line just above the boy's head (fig. 9) corresponding with its location in the sketch (fig. 7), and subsequently lowering it as he proceeded with the painting. He raised it

[6] *Cf. Technical Notes on Daumier* in *Catalogue of the Daumier Exhibition,* Philadelphia Museum of Art (Philadelphia, 1937).

[7] *Cf.* Jean Adhémar, *Peut-on dater les peintures de Daumier?* in *Beaux Arts* (April 20, 1934).

[8] *Gazette des Beaux Arts,* 6e pér., XVII (1937), pp. 251-253.

[9] This point was also noted by Miss Mongan from her examination of the picture.



FIGURE 7

DAUMIER

Wagon de Troisième Classe
Water-color sketch

WALTERS ART GALLERY



FIGURE 8

DAUMIER

Wagon de Troisième Classe
Panchromatic photograph

METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART



FIGURE 9

DAUMIER

Wagon de Troisième Classe
Infra-red photograph

METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

again to its first position in the final Edwards version (fig. 13). From these observations and from the fact that the enlarging squares are drawn directly on the canvas and then glazed over, we must conclude that the squaring device was used to enlarge from the sketch stage.[10] There is no evidence of similar squares in the photograph of the Toronto canvas[11] which is slightly larger than the unfinished picture.[12]

It is curious, judging from the intimate and progressive relationship of the works under discussion, to note greater similarity between the Walters and Metropolitan versions than each bears to the finished Edwards painting. If one inspects the drawn outlines in these earlier works they remind one of two signatures by the same person. Both are alike and yet each is different from the other. Daumier's drawing was an extemporaneous notation proceeding from the mental to the functional. In other words, his knowledge, gained through constant observation, was not checked or dulled through the mechanical process of utterance. Just as one may express similar facts in an infinite variety of words and inflections, so, too, Daumier never repeats himself but always finds new outlines which fully describe the forms they are intended to represent.[13] The sense of volume in the Walters sketch is transferred in its fullest amplitude to the larger unfinished version. In the finished work where the *métier* of the painter does seem to impede expression, we feel a loss of volume in the principal figures and the introduction of a static, if monumental, dignity. It is precisely at this point in the building of his canvases that Daumier is seen to emerge a greater draftsman than painter.

To proceed further with this thought, let us examine the details reproduced as figures 10, 11, and 12. The first of these, a detail from the sketch, gives testimony to the artist's full intention in terms of linear structure. Contours, economically selected, are placed to define the basic modelling of body and features. Note that these outlines are not restricted to the outer edges, silhouette fashion, but proceed inwardly to render clearly elements of drapery and accessories such as the bundle to the right and the basket held by the old woman. The transparent washes applied over this skeleton intensify the definition of forms but these *have already* been established. In the water-color medium, because of its transparent nature, we are accustomed to this brief convention, and it fully describes the action in the picture. It should also be pointed out that in figure 10 the artist relies to a greater degree upon washes with linear character than he does in the detail shown in figure 11. Washes and lines, however, have the same character and serve the same purpose, namely to create form (see arrows in figures 10 and 11).

The early stages of the Metropolitan Museum's picture must have resembled the effect visible in the infra-red detail (fig. 12). Here the outlines appear boldly although in some places (see arrows) they have begun to disappear beneath thin modelling glazes. The glazes themselves have little linear character, but rather are they employed as underpainting to be further worked over. The panchromatic detail (fig. 11)

---

[10] In order to preserve the water color intact, the squaring in this case was doubtless done on tracing paper placed over the sketch.

[11] The authors have not been able to secure comparative photographic material of this picture. For this reason, discussion must be limited to generalities. The picture is said to have been included in the Daumier Exhibition of 1878 as no. 62. Its authenticity would, therefore, be assured, although it may have suffered some slight alterations in subsequent restorations.

[12] The measurements of the pictures under discussion are: Sketch: Height: 0.203; Width: 0.295. The Metropolitan version: Height: 0.655; Width: 0.900. The Gordon Edwards version: Height: 0.670; Width: 0.920.

[13] The comparison of the drawing in the principal figures of the first two versions can best be made using figures 7 and 9. Note how completely elements of portraiture are carried from one version to the other by similar though entirely different lines. This is also noticeable with respect to angle of pose and sense of volume in the two figures. The variations are of an extemporaneous nature, just as the modifications in the background figures indicate the passing impressions of an active reporter.

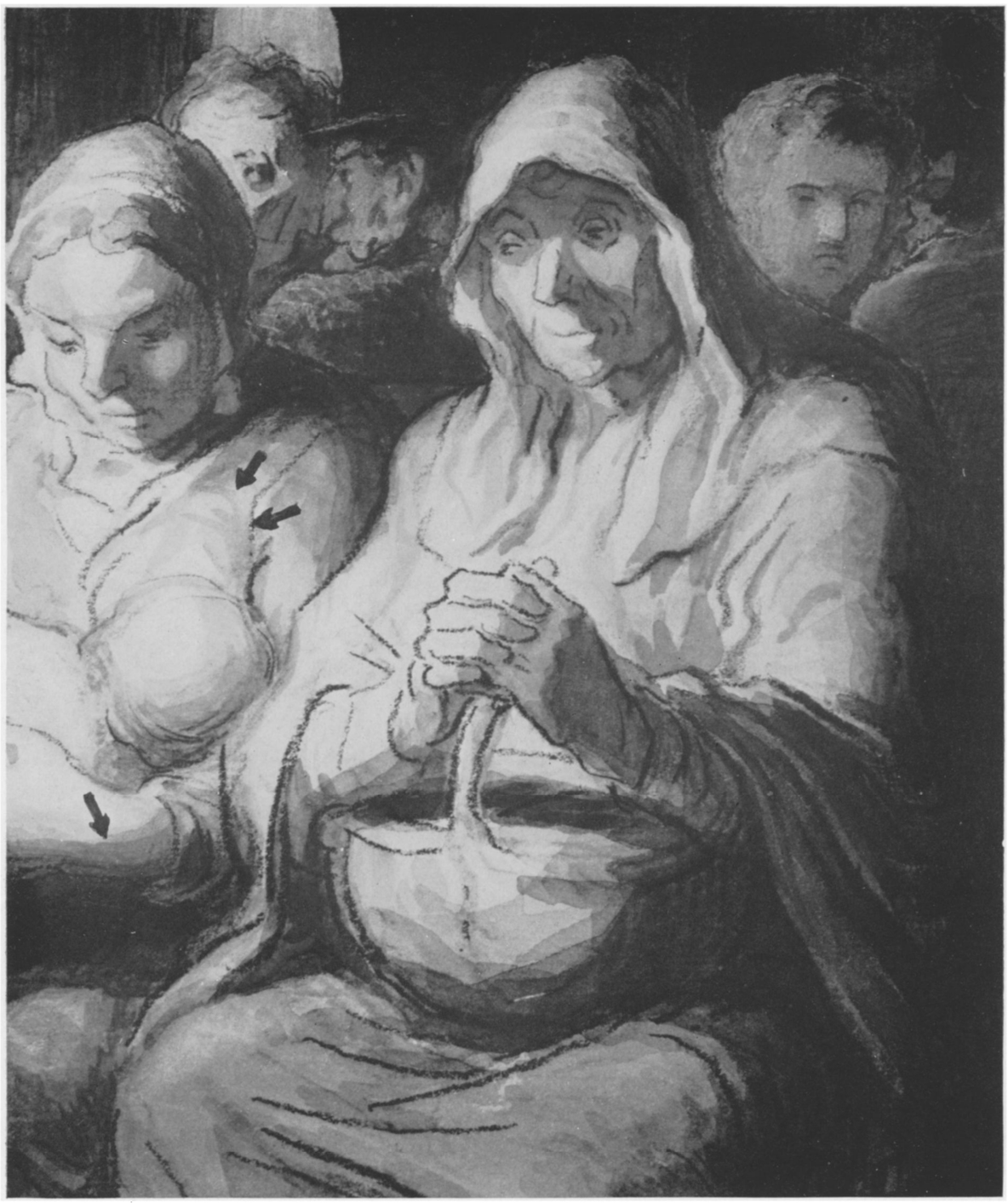


FIGURE 10 WALTERS ART GALLERY

DAUMIER

Wagon de Troisième Classe
Detail (1½ x)



FIGURE 11 METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

DAUMIER

Wagon de Troisième Classe
Panchromatic detail

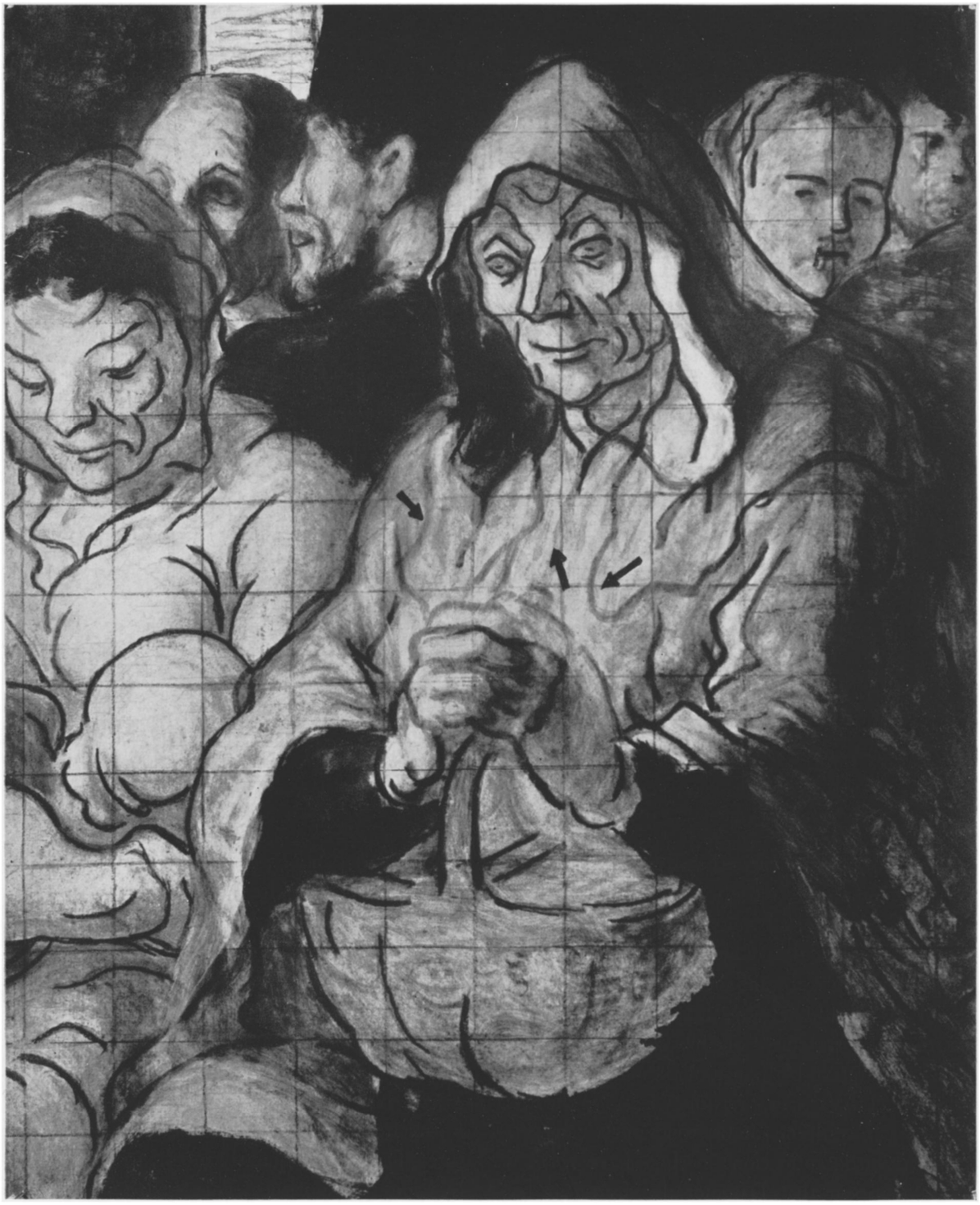


FIGURE 12 METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

DAUMIER

Wagon de Troisième Classe
Infra-red detail



FIGURE 13 TORONTO, GORDON EDWARDS COLLECTION

DAUMIER

Wagon de Troisième Classe

shows this process carried still further until the lines become more closely merged with modelling and serve as its boundary. To carry this process to its logical conclusion would be to produce a sculpture of light and shade in which color exists as an adjunct in a low key. To test the truth of this statement one has only to remember the comparative brilliance of the unfinished version of "*Le Wagon de Troisième Classe*" of the Metropolitan, with the sombre tones of the canvas in the Edwards collection. In this latter work it would appear that Daumier the draftsman has not been aided by the colorist, but rather by the sculptor.

Figures 14 and 15 are offered in further illustration of points already raised. These extraordinary details proclaim Daumier the draftsman where words might fail. A mouth consists of two lines (fig. 15). This is not greatly increased in realism by the addition of overglazes. The other features—the nose, the eyes, the high cheek bones—all of these have been briefly but forcefully stated. Having lost this initial freshness while painting many of his pictures, Daumier frequently sought to recapture it by using fresh outlines. This is the redrawing so characteristically found in many of his paintings, from the unfinished to the most finished ones. It



FIGURE 14 METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

DAUMIER

Wagon de Troisième Classe
Panchromatic detail (1½ x)

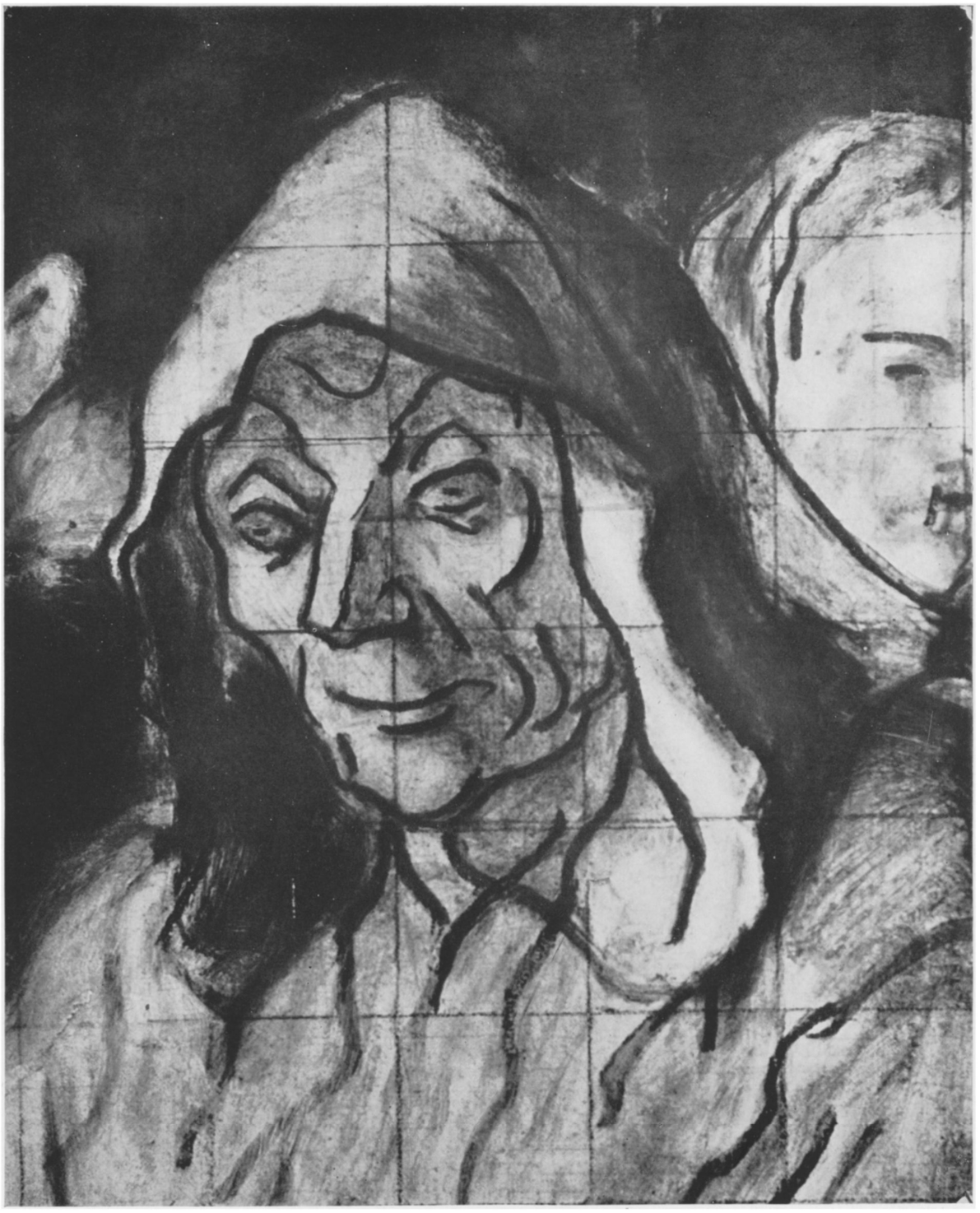


FIGURE 15 METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

DAUMIER

Wagon de Troisième Classe
Infra-red detail (1½ x)



FIGURE 16 METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

DAUMIER

Wagon de Troisième Classe
Panchromatic detail (1½ x)



FIGURE 17 METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

DAUMIER

Wagon de Troisième Classe
Infra-red detail

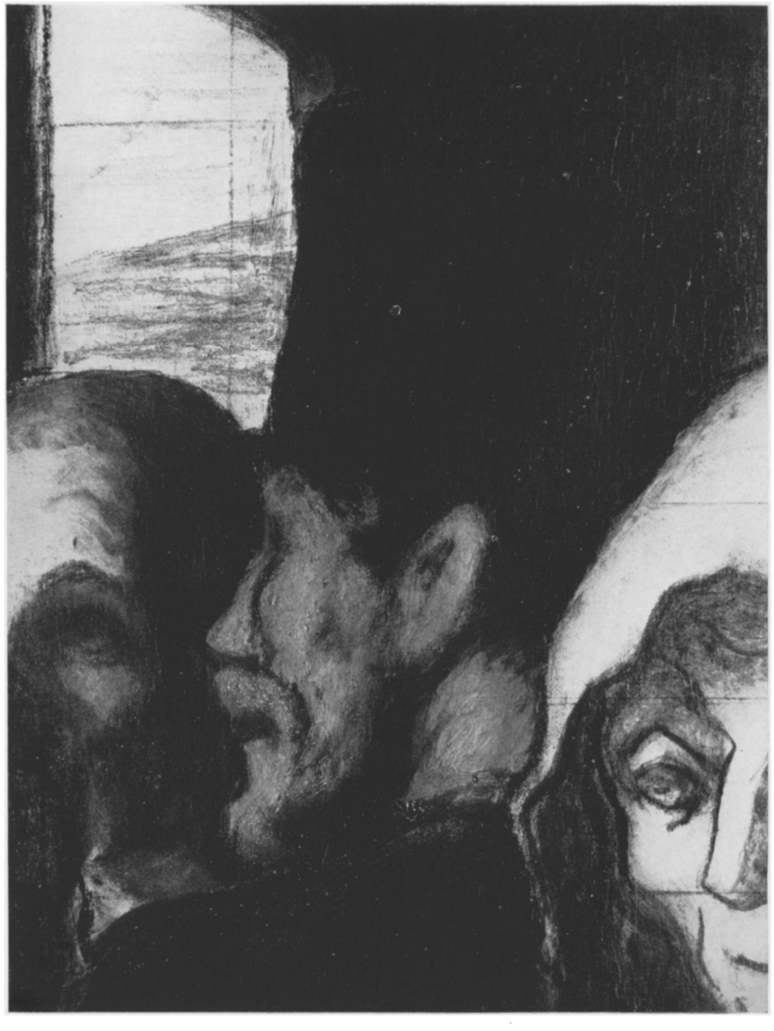


FIGURE 18 METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

DAUMIER

Wagon de Troisième Classe
Panchromatic detail (1½ x)



FIGURE 19 METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

DAUMIER

Wagon de Troisième Classe
Infra-red detail



FIGURE 20 DAUMIER LUCAS COLLECTION, MARYLAND INSTITUTE

La Loge
Panchromatic photograph



FIGURE 21

DAUMIER

La Loge
Infra-red photograph

LUCAS COLLECTION, MARYLAND INSTITUTE

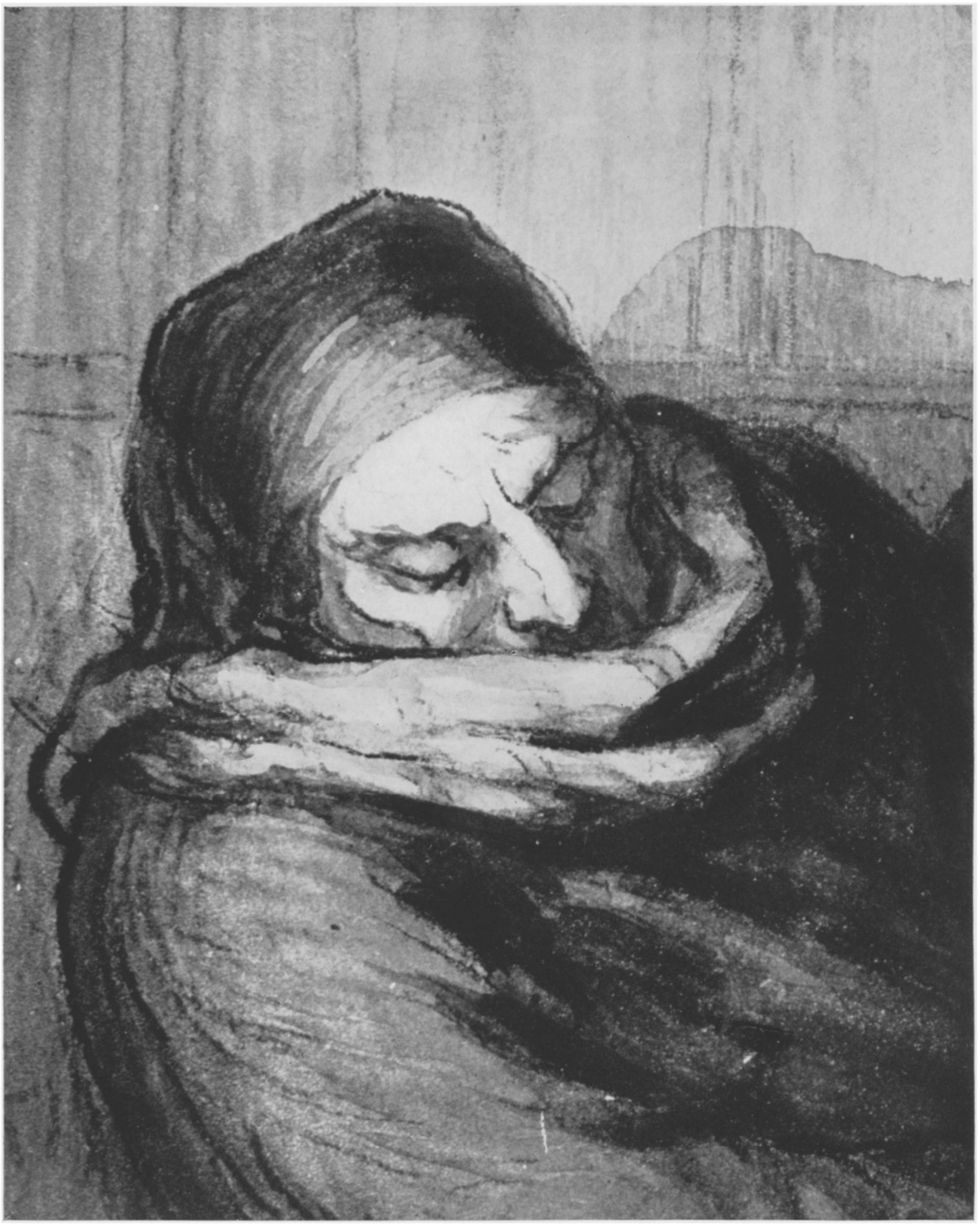


FIGURE 22 WALTERS ART GALLERY

DAUMIER

Wagon de Deuxième Classe
Detail

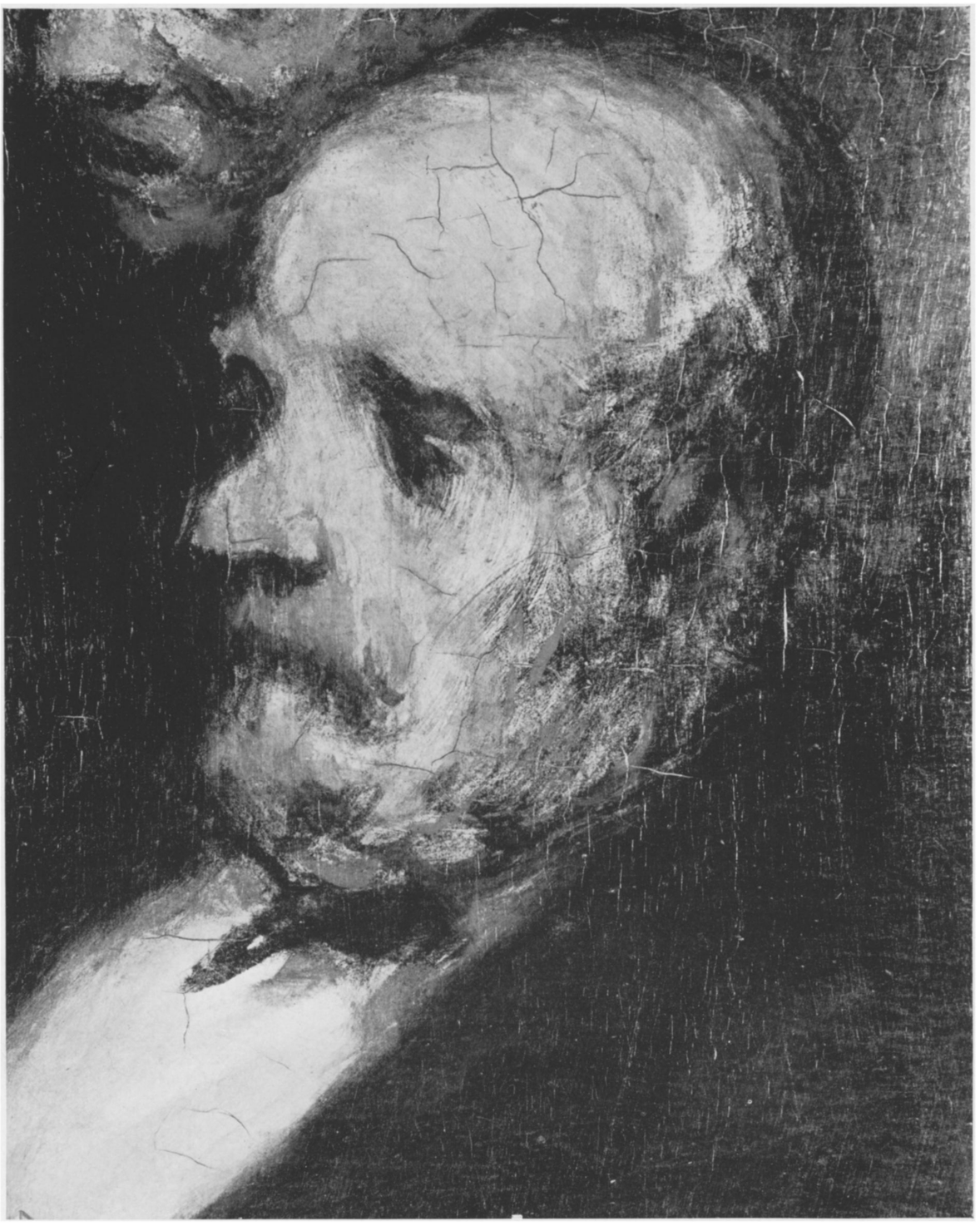


FIGURE 23 LUCAS COLLECTION, MARYLAND INSTITUTE

DAUMIER

La Loge

Panchromatic detail (3 x)

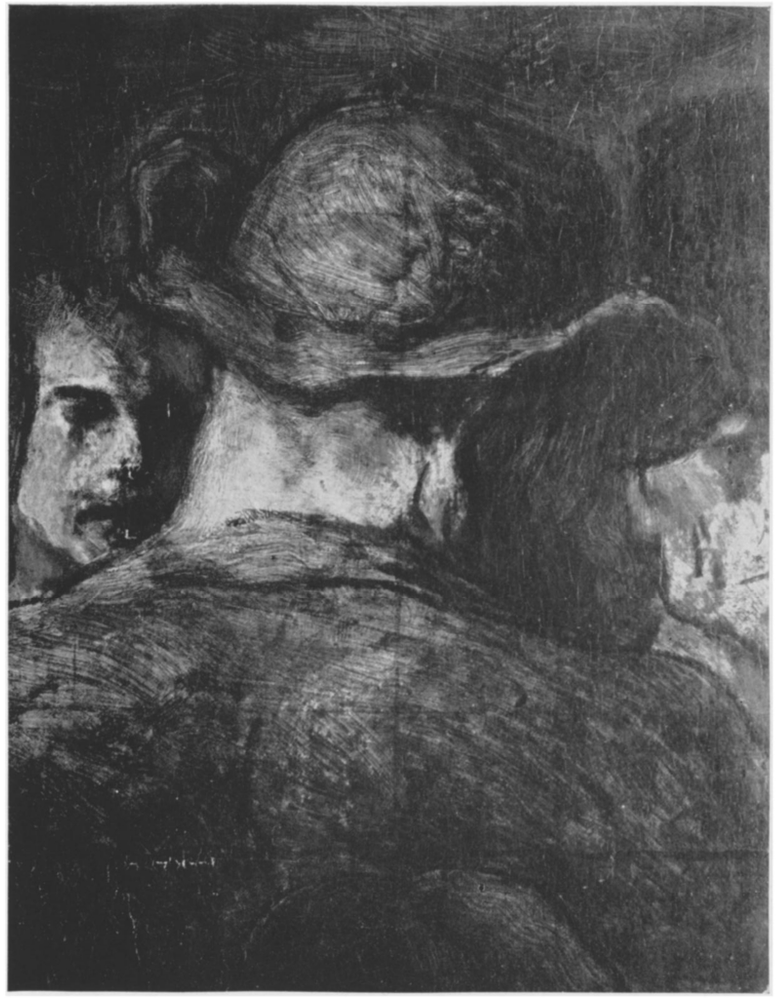


FIGURE 24 METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

DAUMIER

Wagon de Troisième Classe
Panchromatic detail (1½ x)

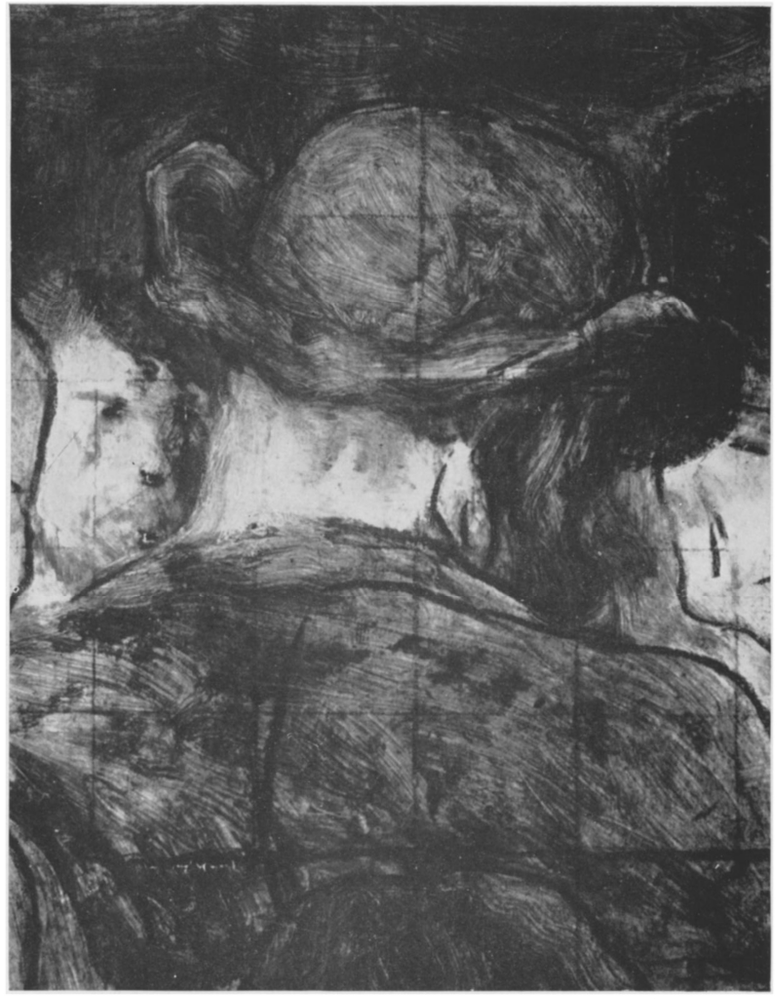


FIGURE 25 METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

DAUMIER

Wagon de Troisième Classe
Infra-red detail (1½ x)

may also be noted from the details under study (figs. 14 and 15) that the spaces created by the outlines are filled or washed in with transparent glazes. These, in themselves, lack the character familiar to the oil technique of the epoch, but instead they possess the dry crispness of tones applied with charcoal. Contrast this method with that of Delacroix who, with Rubens and the Dutch painters of genre, must have influenced Daumier. Delacroix's unfinished "Dahlias" (fig. 26) in the Johnson collection, indicates his procedure in building forms. The vase and flowers emerge from the brownish-red underpainting and exist by virtue of skillful and direct manipulation of brush and paint. Even at this early stage the strokes of the brush are shaded and accented so as to indicate volume. There is no evidence of linear construction; this was foreign to Delacroix's method. In his massing of pigment in areas, outlines of forms were created through contrasting colors or values. In the case of Daumier these areas of pigment were confined within a functional and linear framework.

Further details from the Metropolitan Museum's "*Wagon de Troisième Classe*" (figs. 16 through 19) amplify the theory of Daumier's graphic approach to painting. The panchromatic photographs (figs. 16 and 18) reproduce the effect of the picture. Consider the principal head in each of these reproductions and note the difference in degree of completion. The profile head facing to our left, is not only carried further, but it is quite the most finished portion of the entire canvas.[14] The infra-red photographs indicate the struggle required to arrive thus far. Note the numerous modifications in the drawing of the hats. These modifications have been realized by lines, not by areas of paint. Noteworthy also is the water-color character of the filling-in washes. These should be remembered because they are again encountered in figures 24 and 25, and later in the infra-red photograph of "*La Loge*" (fig. 21). All of these technical peculiarities are undeniably those of Daumier, and plainly indicate his preoccupation with the problems of a new and stubborn medium. It seems impossible to escape this conclusion if we are to explain the artist's method, of which there is no other parallel in the painting of his epoch.

The remaining three illustrations that show details of the "*Wagon de Deuxième Classe*" (figs. 22 and 27) and of "*La Loge*" (fig. 23), are included not because they furnish new information to support the thesis advanced, but because they illustrate it with further examples. The authors have been able to make comparative photographs of some thirty works by Daumier and a lesser number of paintings falsely ascribed to him. In this body of material one pattern is discernible. It is a pattern of conflict in which technical shortcomings are triumphantly overcome by profound knowledge. There is nothing superficially clever in the oil paintings of Daumier. The versatility of Delacroix or Courbet is absent. Even the sculptor Barye, in his few excursions into the world of the painter, is more at home. One must, therefore, beware of pictures in which the *facture* is boldly proclaimed with sweeping strokes of the brush. These for the most part may be either tracings, copies or partial copies from lithographs, drawings or water colors, or they may even be pure inventions in the manner mistaken to be that of Daumier.[15]

One such imitation may be studied in the picture reproduced as figure 29.[16] This is a copy of

[14] See figure 4 for the radiograph of this detail. Other sections of the canvas are so thinly painted that with exposures of equal duration little or no interception was recorded.

[15] In a future study we shall analyze and classify the forgeries according to their anonymous authors.

[16] This painting is now in the custody of the Parisian law-courts. When sold to an American collector some years ago, it was accompanied by the following certificate from a well-known art critic: "Cette peinture, executée sur toile (et mesurant 0.236 sur 0.188) par Daumier, c'est à dire sur une superficie que son génie peut remplir de toute une scène émouvante, est, comme sentiment une de celles où son affection envers les faibles et sa faculté de faire parler en la couleur en même temps que le dessin, une forte et délicate page tout à fait digne d'être classée. Ici



FIGURE 26 JOHN G. JOHNSON COLLECTION

EUGÈNE DELACROIX

Dahlias

Panchromatic photograph



FIGURE 27 WALTERS ART GALLERY

DAUMIER
Wagon de Deuxième Classe
Detail

a section of the genuine water color, "*L'Attente*,"[17] now in the Alexander Ionides collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum (see fig. 28).[18] Comparison of these pictures will confirm the point already raised with respect to Daumier's use of linear construction in building forms. If we disregard the difference in medium in these two works, we see that figure 28 is directly related to all of the authentic works heretofore discussed, whereas in figure 29 the entire effect of the picture is achieved by superficially clever brush-strokes which, analyzed, show a total lack

c'est le *drame* de *l'attente*. Non pas celle des voyageurs plus ou moins morne dans une gare, ou des plaideurs inquiets et las au Palais de Justice. C'est celle des gens, qui de minutes en heures attendent d'être reçus. Consultation? Secours? Place esperée? Offres de service? . . . Le père, habitué à ce genre d'epreuve, est placide et somnolent. L'enfant a cédé au sommeil. Seule la jeune femme persevère, et elle demeure éveillée, prête à défendre sa cause ou à soutenir sa requête. Cette belle scène prend une valeur indicible de l'harmonie très simple et très franche des tons, donnant un effet des plus délicats deux grandes notes noires encadrant une note blanche et rose, de tout se détachant sur un fond gris très clair. (signed) Arsène Alexandre.

17 Exposition Daumier, Paris, 1878, no. 204.

18 The outlined section in this picture, indicates the portion of the composition used to produce the canvas shown as figure 29.



FIGURE 28

VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM

DAUMIER

L'Attente



FIGURE 29

AN ALLEGED DAUMIER

L'Attente

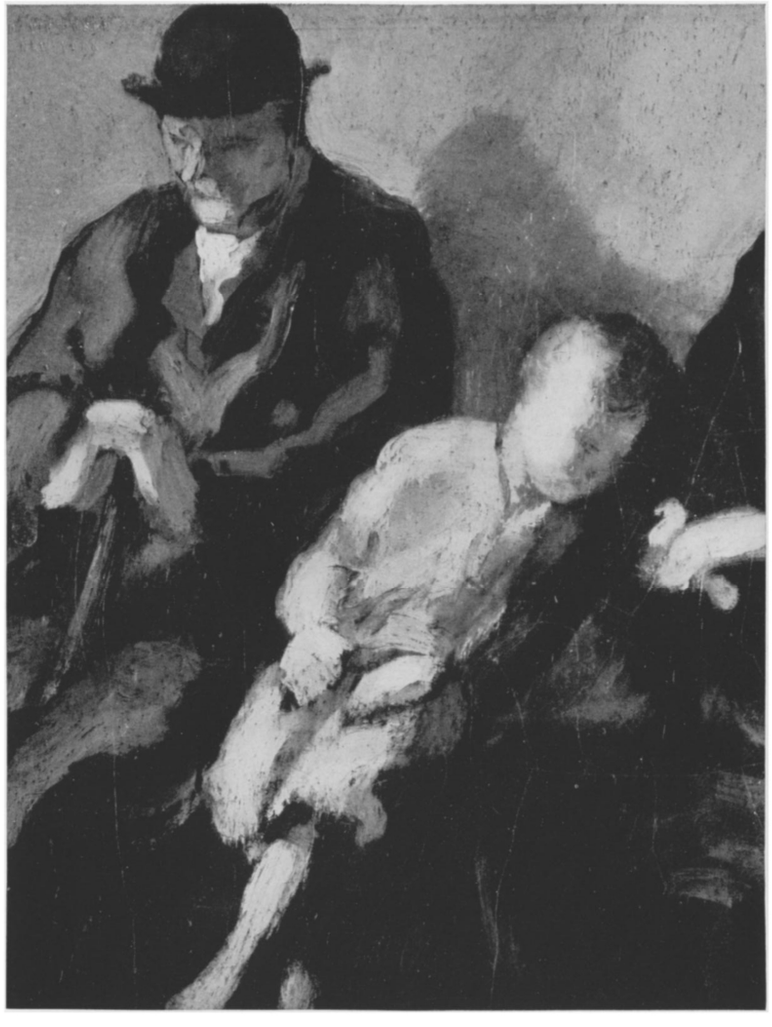


FIGURE 30

AN ALLEGED DAUMIER

L'Attente
Detail



FIGURE 31 VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM

DAUMIER

L'Attente
Detail



FIGURE 32

a. DAUMIER, *L'Attente* (*detail*, 2 x) VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM

b. ALLEGED DAUMIER, *L'Attente* (*detail*, 2 x)

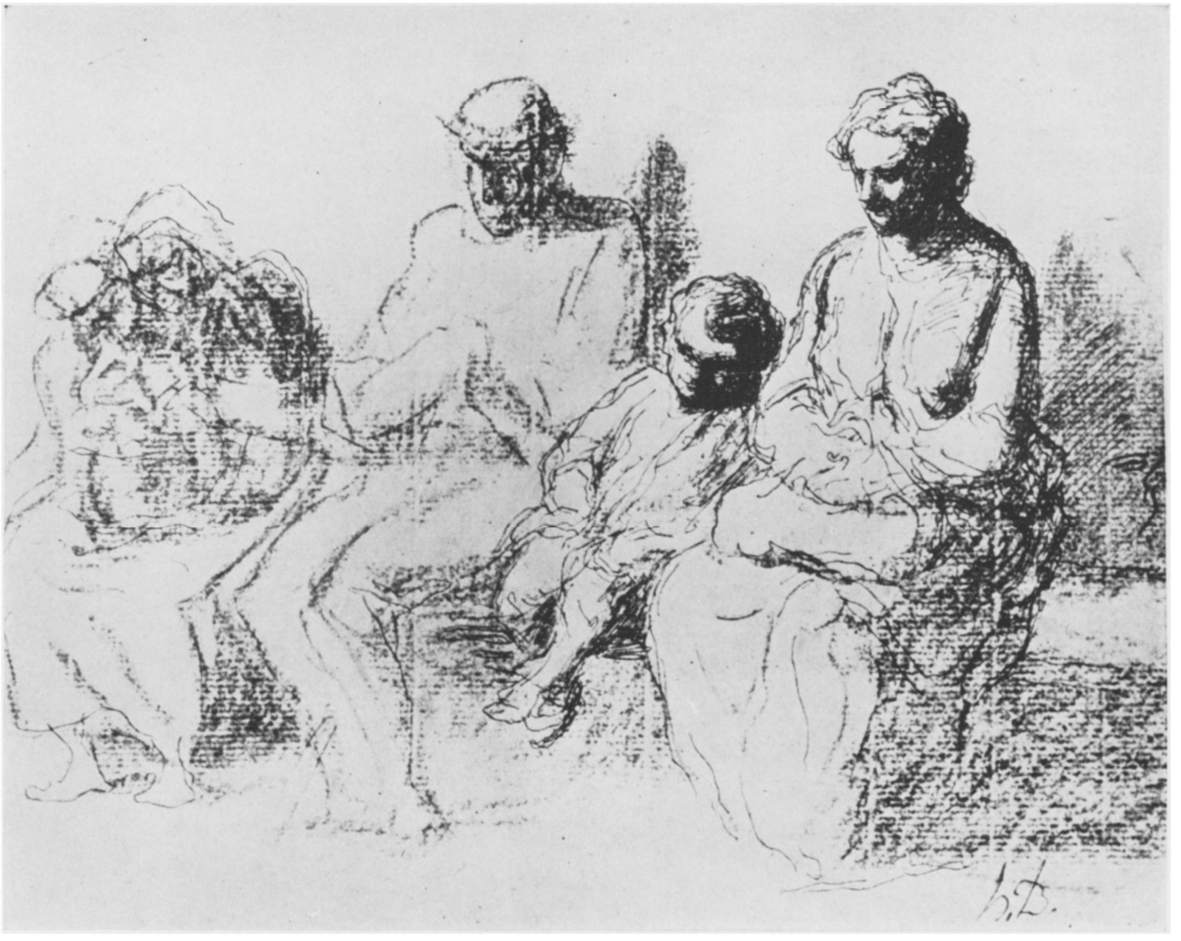


FIGURE 33 EDMUND DAVIS COLLECTION

DAUMIER
L'Attente
Pen and Pencil Drawing

of understanding of form, construction, and feeling. The hands, for instance, are like fins compared with the solid drawing of the original. The man's hat is a poorly drawn derby of our day. In the original it is of the epoch. In the woman's profile, the nose, mouth, and eye are drawn with sensitive precision; the copy has no mouth, a formless nose, and a dab that might be a misplaced eye. Figures 30 and 31, 32 and 34 convincingly reveal that there is no common authorship. If the same hand is claimed for these two works, however, other contradictory factors must be explained: to wit, the drawing reproduced as figure 33.[19] This, quite obviously, is the first study for the composition of the Ionides water color. In this early study Daumier has already established the principal elements of the final composition. These have been developed in the water color by the addition of the dog, the tracks, and the approaching train. While the composition still remains horizontal in sense, and

[19] This was owned in 1915 by Edmund Davis, London. *Cf. Studio,* LXV (1915), p. 7.

the pose of the figures generally has been retained, Daumier, in the finished work, has chosen entirely different facial types. Modifications such as these are the steps by which a creative artist achieves his final composition—in this instance a horizontal one. To accept the vertical fragment (fig. 29) as authentic is to revise one's notion of the creative impulse in Daumier's art.

It is now sixty-two years since a few of the painter's friends persuaded him to hold his exhibition in the rue le Peletier. The event was far from being a spectacular success, for the pictures lacked the brilliant performance so much admired by the academicians of that day. Although fully acclaiming him as a great spirit in French graphic art, contemporary appreciation was unwilling to accord full honors to Daumier the painter. Among the comments voiced by contemporary critics, that of Duranty[20] may be accepted as typical. He writes: "*Certes, si Daumier avait pu échapper à l'engrenage de l'illustration caricaturale, il nous aurait donné un très excellent peintre de plus. . . . En peinture il a beaucoup cherché et un peu tâtonné. . . .*"[21]

Modern criticism has corrected the first of these statements and has accorded Daumier a position of leadership in painting as in the other branches of his art. The second statement has been the chief burden of this paper in the belief that it holds the key to an understanding of Daumier the painter.

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[20] *Gazette des Beaux Arts,* XVII (1878), 536-538.

[21] "Surely if Daumier had been able to escape the mechanism of caricature-illustration we would have had a very excellent painter besides . . . In painting he has searched a great deal and fumbled a little. . . . "



FIGURE 34 a. b. c.

a. DAUMIER, *L'Attente.* VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM
b. ALLEGED DAUMIER, *L'Attente (detail)*
c. DAUMIER, *Wagon de Première Classe (detail)* WALTERS ART GALLERY

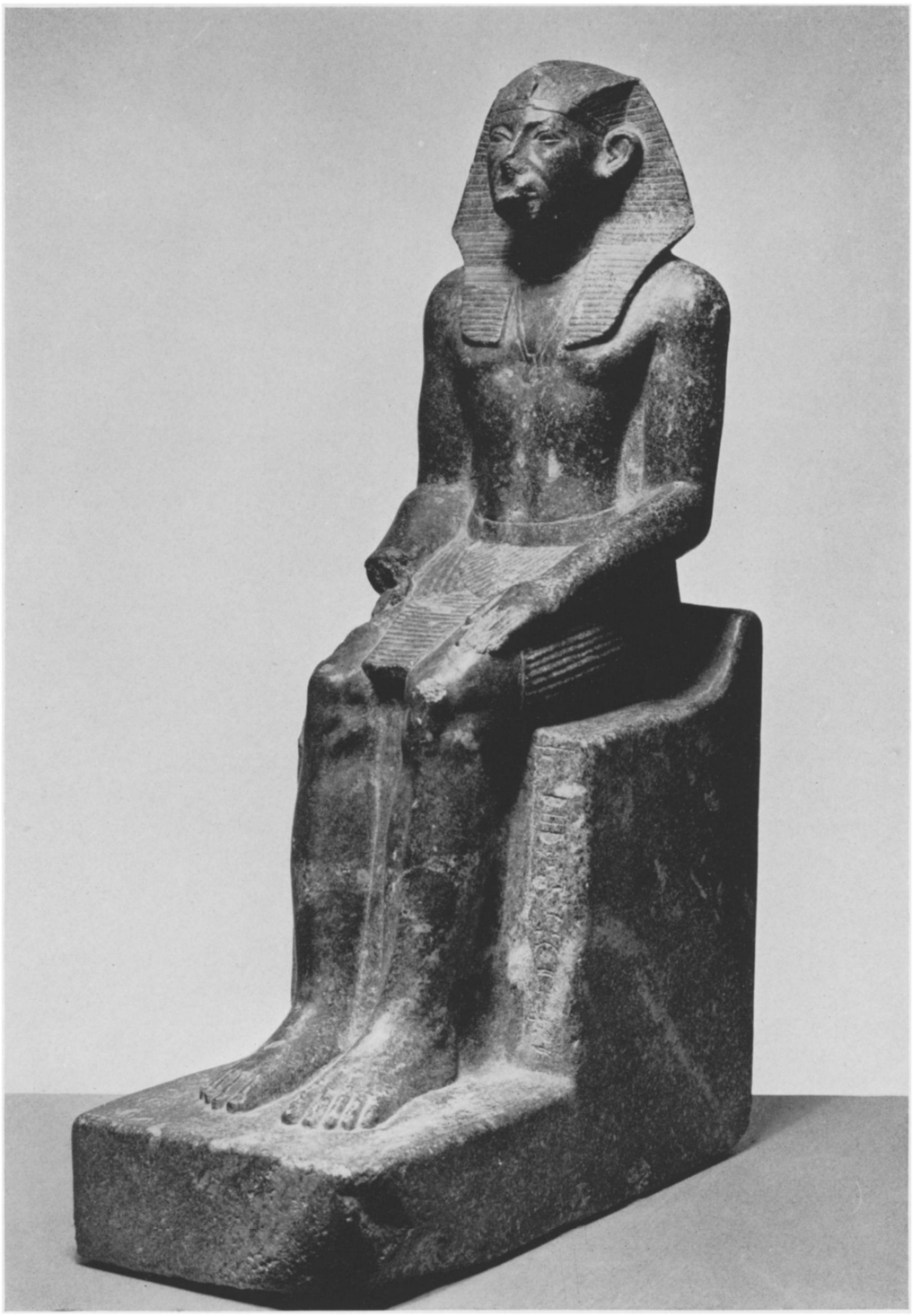


FIGURE 1 WALTERS ART GALLERY

Granite Statue of Sesostris III

A PORTRAIT-STATUE OF SESOSTRIS III

BY GEORGE STEINDORFF

Professor Emeritus of Egyptology, University of Leipzig

THE STATUE of Sesostris III,[1] belonging to the Walters Art Gallery and reproduced here (figs. 1, 3, 5, 6), takes us to the midst of one of Egypt's chief historical periods, the Middle Kingdom, and represents one of the most powerful dynastic figures in the long line of pharaohs. A brief review of the historical situation will elucidate this statement.

About the year 2270 B. C. a tremendous political and social revolution had laid in ruins the firmly built edifice of the Egyptian state of the Pyramid era. Without offering any resistance, the haughty officials had been driven out by the mob and not even the royal house itself was spared the onslaught of the rebels. The sixth and last dynasty of the Old Kingdom met with an ignominious end. How that all happened is shrouded in a darkness that may never be penetrated. We know no more than the fact of the collapse, and that the black clouds were finally dispersed and chaos conquered by the unrelenting sense of order, the most outstanding characteristic of Egyptian man. New states emerged from the old and were rebuilt on the ruins. After approximately two centuries of general political disruption, a princely family ruling in the Upper-Egyptian county of Thebes succeeded in reuniting the land as one great state. With the kings of the eleventh dynasty, who bore the names of Intef and Mentuhotep, began a new era for the country of the Nile, the so-called Middle Kingdom. It possessed features very different from the world of the Pyramid builders which shows itself to us with such liveliness on the walls of the sepulchres in Memphis, especially in the mastabas of Ti and Ptaḥḥotep. The merry old Egypt was buried and the new one that emerged from the debris of the revolution was filled with memories of the dire past and burdened with the worries of the day. There were still rebellions throughout the country and the cities went on fighting each other.

Complete calm settled over the land only when a new dynasty, the twelfth, began its reign about the year 2000 B. C. The new king, Amenemmēs I,[2] "went about the country in order to extirpate wrongs and to rehabilitate what he found destroyed." During his years "nobody suffered hunger or thirst; owing to his achievements men dwelt in peace and praised him."[3]

Egypt once more enjoyed an economic and cultural flowering, which reached its richest ex-

[1] No. 22.115. Acquired 1925. Sesostris is the form of the Egyptian royal name, Zen-Wosret, that is "Man (servant) of the (goddess) *Wosret* (the mighty)" which is usually used by the classical Greek authors. The Egyptian name was formerly read *Usertesen* and the like, and therefore his identification with the Greek Sesostris was obstructed; Kurt Sethe, *Sesostris* (*Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Altertumskunde Ägyptens*), II (Leipzig, 1902).

[2] Egyptian, *Amen-em-hēt,* that is, "(the god) Amun is at the peak." Four kings of this name are known: Gauthier, *Livre des rois d'Égypte* I (*Mémoires de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale,* XVII), 253 ff. They all belong to the twelfth dynasty.

[3] Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt,* I (Chicago, 1906), par. 625 and 483.

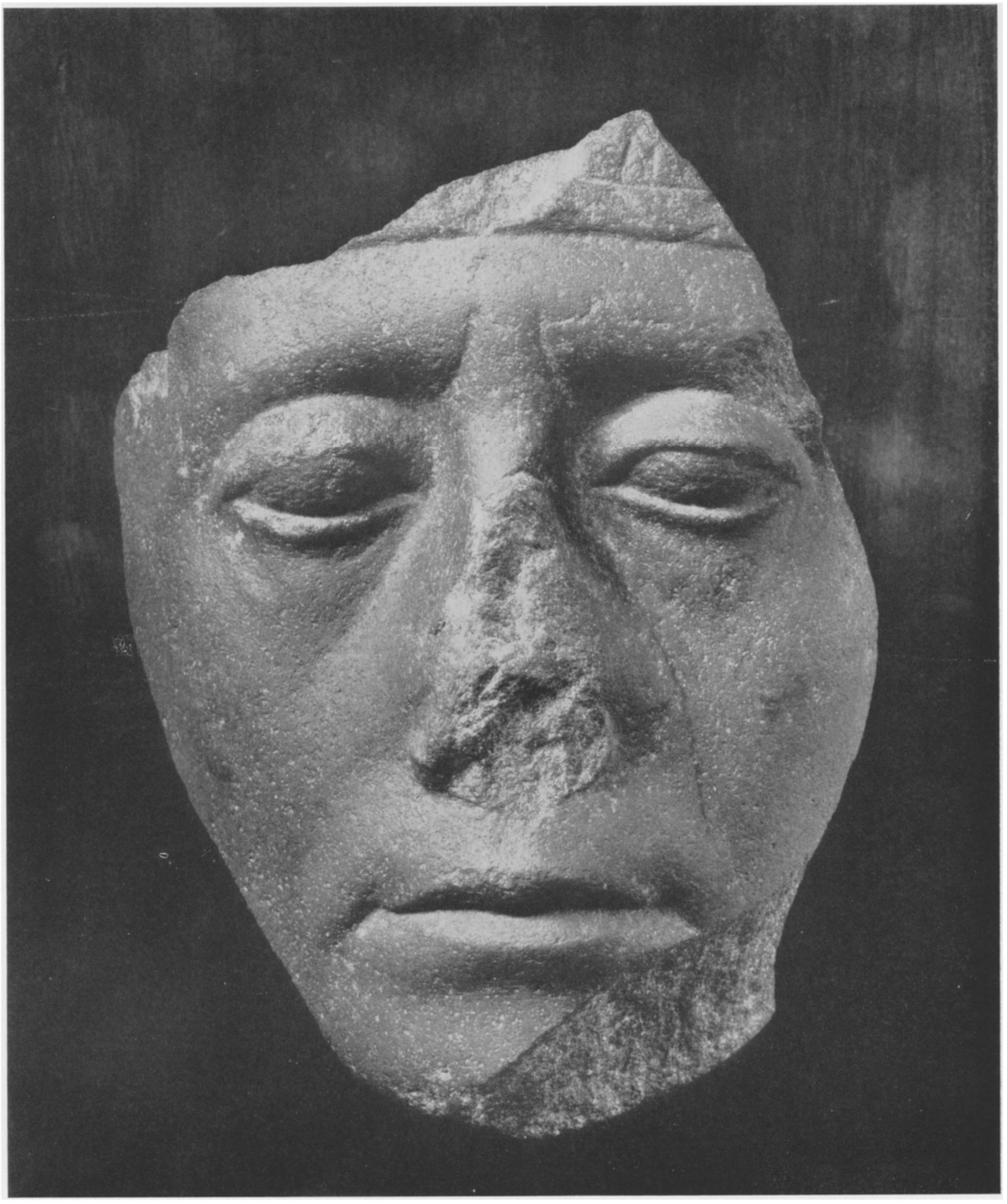


FIGURE 2 METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

Royal Portrait of Middle Kingdom

pansion during the reigns of Sesostris III and of his son and successor, Amenemmēs III. The founders of this dynasty took over a state of strongly feudalistic construction, but after the period of political confusion they were forced to sacrifice quite substantially the autocratic methods of the pharaohs of the Old Kingdom. Although Amenemmēs I succeeded in reducing somewhat the power of the great lords ruling in the counties (*nomes*), and in subjecting their succession to his approval, their independence continued until Sesostris III ascended the throne. He restored the absolute monarchy so that all powers of the state again rested unchallenged in the firm hands of the pharaoh. Sesostris III also was the king who brought to a victorious end the conquest of Nubia, the "land of Kusch," that had been started by his predecessors, and he secured the newly won territory through a number of fortresses. In Semma, at the southern end of the second Nile cataract, which was the most important place from a military and commercial point of view, Thutmosis III three hundred and fifty years later erected a temple in which Sesostris III was worshipped as the patron god of Nubia, together with the old regional deities.

If Sesostris III enlarged the realm by force of arms, his son Amenemmēs III increased it by a work of peace, the cultivation of the "sea land" of the Fayum. Into this wide oasis of the Libyan desert west of the Nile Valley ran from times immemorial an arm of the Nile that ended in a lake. Every year during the season of inundation the entire countryside was flooded and turned into an unproductive swamp land, since the waters could neither disperse nor run off. It was up to a wise government to remedy this situation. Flood gates, canals, and levees had to be built before the boggy "sea land" could be transformed into one of the richest and most fertile provinces of Egypt. This cultural project, begun by his predecessors, was completed by Amenemmēs III. In the Greek era under the name of Pramarrēs (*i. e.*, Pharaoh Marrēs) he was placed among the gods as benefactor of the Fayum and worshipped in the temples as crocodile god.[4]

For thousands of years the memory of the resplendent pharaohs of the twelfth dynasty lived on in the minds of the people and found expression in many tales woven about the mythical figure of King Sesostris, whom the Greeks in later days fancied not unlike the great Alexander as world conqueror and superhuman hero. Whatever the Egyptians accomplished in war or peace was attributed to his greatness and rendered into fable. Thus, for instance, Diodorus relates that Sesostris had gone as far as Europe and passed over the river Ganges in the Far East.

The heroic aspects of the Middle Kingdom disclose themselves to us most strongly in the portraits of its great rulers. I do not refer to the rather impersonal twelve-to-a-dozen type of seated statues of Sesostris I made by artisans, which once graced the halls of his mortuary temple in Lisht,[5] but to the numerous portrait-sculptures, large and small, from the hands of first-class artists which were placed in the temples all over the country, representing the entire line of rulers from Amenemmēs I to Amenemmēs III.[6]

As early as the beginning of the Middle Kingdom there is evidence of the development of a

[4] A. Erman, *Die Religion der Ägypter* (Berlin and Leipzig, 1934), p. 394.

[5] Now in the Museum at Cairo; G. Maspero, *Guide du visiteur du Musée du Caire* (4th ed.) (Cairo, 1915), p. 109, fig. 41; F. W. von Bissing, *Denkmäler ägyptischer Skulptur* (Munich, 1914), pl. 20; H. G. Evers, *Staat aus dem Stein. Denkmäler, Geschichte und Bedeutung der ägyptischen Plastik während des Mittleren Reichs* (Munich, 1929), I, pls. 26-29.

[6] The artistic importance of the sculpture of the Middle Kingdom has been stressed and its monuments explained by Ludwig Curtius, *Die antike Kunst, Ägypten und Vorderasien* (*Handbuch der Kunstwissenschaft*), p. 130. It has received special treatment in a two-volume work by H. G. Evers, *loc. cit.*; a work distinguished by an excellent supply of illustrations and careful studies of details, which has received sharp but not unjust criticism by F. W. von Bissing, *Philologische Wochenschrift* (1932), no. 11-12, pp. 334-340. A good, careful presentation of sculpture in the round is offered by A. Scharff, *Ägypten* (*Handbuch der Archäologie*) (Munich), pp. 538-548, with many references and figures.

new style in statuary sculpture, particularly in the art of making royal portraits. Detached from tradition, the sculptor aims to lift his work above the conventional and to give the portrait a more personal character as the great masters of the fourth and fifth dynasties had done. He attempts not only to express the outward appearance, but also the inner traits of the individual. The new form of the kingdom calls for a new conception of the ruler's personality. A Sesostris is no longer a Chephren or Mykerinos enthroned in majestic aloofness above earthly life like a demi-god, he is no longer the child of a happy generation that knows of no worries. The king now is a human being to whom nothing human remains foreign, a man of despotic will and unrelenting strength who has learned to know the world and to despise it, who may not look at those closest to him, neither son nor brother, without suspicion and fear. That is the spirit which governs the best of the contemporary royal portraits. Gone is the carefree expression. The faces are deeply lined, overcast with shadows of melancholy and fatigue.[7]

Besides this new depth of psychological interpretation, there is a noticeable difference in the mere physical characteristics of the faces. The surmise is that the royal family of the twelfth dynasty was of an Egyptian stock different from that of the pharaohs in the Old Kingdom. The rotund and perhaps plebeian features of Chephren and Mykerinos have disappeared. The new faces are sharp-edged, the cheek bones protruding, the cheeks themselves rather hollow, and the corners of the mouth deeply lined.

This new realistic type appears definitely for the first time under Sesostris I, *e. g.*, in a granite statue of Sesostris I in the British Museum. This figure was formerly, but erroneously, thought to be a portrait of a much later pharaoh, King Nektanebos,[8] because of the first name, "Menkheper-ka," which both kings had in common.

The new portrait type is most pronounced in the famous and frequently reproduced king-sphinxes of Tanis (now in the Museum of Cairo), whose faces are fitted like masks into the lions' manes.[9] The unusual and novel facial features gave rise to the mistaken opinion that the sphinxes represented princes belonging to a foreign race. They were considered to be portraits of Hyksos, an Asiatic people that conquered Egypt at the end of the Middle Kingdom and for a while made the center of their government at a fortress called Auaris, the site later of the city of Tanis, on the eastern rim of the Delta. It was the Russian Egyptologist, Golenischeff,[10] who delivered conclusive proof that the "Hyksos sphinxes," and with them other statues bearing similar features, were indeed truly Egyptian and represented in all likelihood Amenemmēs III. As a matter of fact, the Egyptians of a later period were themselves aware of a certain strangeness in the sharp features of Amenemmēs III. Thus, King Merenptah, when he decided to adopt one of the statues of his ancestor in Memphis for himself, was not satisfied with having

[7] Besides these "realistic" portraits of kings, we have others which are bound to the old tradition and continue the god-like types of the Old Kingdom. Among them are the aforementioned statues of Sesostris I from Lisht. Also from a grave at Lisht are two figures of a king, distinguished by delicacy and subtlety of modeling; they are uninscribed, but surely represent Sesostris I, and the round, friendly faces recall in style the Mykerinos portraits. *Cf. Supplement to the Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York, February, 1915), p. 16. Finally the wood statue of the protecting spirit (*Ka*) of the king Horus the predecessor or co-regent of Amenemmēs III from Dahshur (Cairo Museum) in which the personal is completely subordinated to the typical and we see before us the ideal image of a handsome youth of that period; Steindorff, *Kunst der Ägypter* (Leipzig, 1928), pp. 65, 204.

[8] So, too, in the *Guide to the Egyptian Galleries (Sculpture) in the British Museum* (London, 1909), p. 249, no. 224: "Upper portion of a dark granite statue of *Nekht-neb-f*, the Nektanebos of the Greeks, the last native king of Egypt, who reigned about B. C. 358." Evers, *op. cit.*, I, pl. 44.

[9] Evers, *op. cit.*, I, pls. 120-125.

[10] *Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes* (Institut d'Égypte, Cairo), XV (1893), 131-136.

just his name chiseled in, but had the face changed and essentially retouched so that the strange features of the original were completely removed.[11]

The problem of the origin of the new "realism" in the art of the Middle Kingdom concerns Egyptologists to this day. Since great numbers of sculptures featuring the novel royal portrait were brought to light in the ruins of Tanis, the first conclusion was that Tanis must have been the birthplace of the new art, and that there existed during the twelfth dynasty an extensive school of sculptors whose "Tanis style" dominated the sculpture of the Middle Kingdom.[12] Today this hypothesis has been abandoned by all but a very few scientists.[13] We are now quite safe in saying that Tanis was not yet in existence in the era of the Middle Kingdom. Its name does not appear before the twenty-first dynasty. However, the fortress Auaris, erected in this place by the Hyksos after the overthrow of the Middle Kingdom, contained a sanctuary devoted to their national god, Baal, whom the Egyptians later identified with their god Seth. The shrine was equipped with obelisks, statues, and sphinxes dragged there from the Egyptian temples of the Middle Kingdom, from Bubastis, Mendes, Heliopolis, Memphis, and from the Fayum, all of which the Hyksos had destroyed. After the Hyksos were driven from the country, Auaris fell into decay. However, it again acquired great prominence about four hundred years later when the pharaohs of the nineteenth dynasty (Sethos I, Rameses II, Merenptah) transferred their residence to the eastern Delta. They rebuilt the old temple, placed in it also the monuments brought there by the Hyksos, and put upon them the names of the new royal builders.

None of these monuments originated in fact at Tanis proper.[14] Like the art of the Pyramid era, the art of the Middle Kingdom probably came into flower at the royal court and was cultivat-



FIGURE 3 WALTERS ART GALLERY
Sesostris III

[11] Berliner Museen, *Ausführliches Verzeichnis der ägyptischen Altertümer* (Berlin, 1899), p. 80, no. 1121; H. Fechheimer, *Plastik der Ägypter* (Berlin, 1914), pls. 52, 53.

[12] G. Maspero, *Égypte* (*Ars Una*), pp. ix, 201; *idem, Guide du Musée du Caire,* pp. 89, 151; *idem, Essais sur l'art égyptien* (Paris, 1912), p. 14.

[13] P. Montet, *Les nouvelles fouilles de Tanis* (Paris, 1933), pp. 18 ff.; Evers, *op. cit.,* II, paragraphs 727-752.

[14] G. Daressy, *L'art Tanite* (*Annales du service des antiquités,* XVII) (Cairo, 1917), pp. 164-176; F. W. von Bissing, *Philologische Wochenschrift* (1932), pp. 334-340; H. Kees, *Orientalische Literaturzeitung,* XXXVII, 201 ff. These authors, however, are of the opinion that the sculptures of the Middle Kingdom had been brought to Auaris-Tanis during the nineteenth dynasty and not by the Hyksos.

ed under the very eyes of the rulers in the studios at their residences at Memphis (Dahshur, Lisht, Fayum). Also in Thebes, the new capital of Upper-Egypt, must have worked artists who were devotees of the new style and from whose studios emanated the sculptures destined to adorn the newly found Amun Temple in Karnak and the Montu Temple in Medamud.

The great masterpieces of the new realistic art, however, originated during the second half of the twelfth dynasty. Some of the portraits of Sesostris III and Amenemmēs III are indeed sculptures of an imposing grandeur. Among them, definitely identified by their inscriptions, are six nearly life-size granite statues of Sesostris III, which were found in the mortuary temple of Mentuhotep III in Deir el-Bahari (West Thebes), and show the king standing in prayer, his flat hands placed on the loincloth.[15] Also there are two colossal statues of Sesostris III, likewise identified by inscriptions, which stood in the Temple of Amun in Karnak (East Thebes).[16] Of Amenemmēs III there exist two statues in the prayer position described; one of them, now in Berlin, comes from a temple in Memphis (as mentioned above), and the other (in Cairo) from Karnak.[17] Further one may list the incomparably beautiful seated statue from Hawara (Fayum), now also in Cairo,[18] and finally two statues of unknown origin which presumably are now in the Museum of Moscow.[19]

One of the best portraits of Sesostris III is the superb diorite sphinx that the Metropolitan Museum in New York acquired in 1917 and which, although previously reproduced,[20] deserves to be shown once more (fig. 4). Its origin is unknown. Upon a rectangular plinth rests, as the symbol of majesty, the king of animals. Upon the lion's body is set the portrait head of Sesostris III. The transition from the human head to the animal body is, as in almost all Egyptian sphinxes, adroitly managed through the royal head-dress, the "*nemes*," as the Egyptian called it. The "shawl" has a decoration of three stripes, an alternating broad one flanked by two narrow ones, while the tapered triangular ends hanging down the chest are evenly striped. From the forehead spirals the Uraeus serpent,[21] the emblem of royal dignity. The impressiveness of the broad, bony face with deep wrinkles under the eyes and drawn mouth is but little impaired by the lack of the heavy nose. Nor should we be disturbed by the disproportionately large ears, typical of all statues of the period, or by the extra large royal beard. On the chest is inscribed the Horus-name of the King "*Hor-neter-khepru*" *i. e.*, "Horus of divine being," which holds first place among the five names of the royal titulary and

15 Three of these statues are now in the British Museum, and with them the best preserved portrait, Evers, *op. cit.*, I, pl. 85; Budge, *Egyptian Sculpture in the British Museum* (London), pl. 11; E. Naville, *The XIth Dynasty Temple at Deir el-Bahari*, III (*The Egypt Exploration Fund, Memoir 32*) (London, 1913), p. 10 (Hall): "These portrait statues are monuments of the first class, splendid examples of the art of the XIIth dynasty and among the finest Egyptian royal portraits that exist." *Ibid.* (*Egypt Exploration Fund, Memoir 28*), I (1907), 37: "The heads of four are well preserved, with the exception of the nose. There is a considerable difference between the portraits, which shows that they represent the king at different periods of his life." The difference in age conjectured here seems to me very improbable and is due to a delusion of the modern spectator. Actually statues were executed collectively on a commission of the king, whereby it certainly is not indicated that one shall represent the king as young, the other as older. One must beware of the mistake of thinking that Egyptian portraits are more than bearers of a type or that they represent the subject with photographic truth.

16 G. Legrain, *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire; statues et statuettes de rois et de particuliers* (Cairo, 1906), I, no. 42011, 42012, pl. VI; Boreux, *L'art égyptien* (Paris and Brussels, 1926), pl. XXIX (head only).

17 Legrain, *op. cit.*, I, no. 42014, pl. VIII; Curtius, *op. cit.*, p. 131; Boreux, *op. cit.*, pl. XXX.

18 Maspero, *Guide*, p. 103; Borchardt, *Kunstwerke aus dem ägyptischen Museum zu Kairo* (Cairo, n.d.), pl. 6; Boreux, *op. cit.*, pl. XXXII.

19 *Recueil de travaux*, XV, pl. IV.

20 No. 17.9.2. *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, XV (1920), 129, fig. 2 (from the left); Evers, *op. cit.*, I, pls. 78, 79.

21 The Uraeus is not the type common in the reign of Sesostris III, but the undulating type of the Old Empire; see Engelbach, *Annales du service des antiquités de l'Égypte*, XXVIII (1928), 26 and pl. IV, type A4. (From information kindly sent by Mr. Ambrose Lansing.)

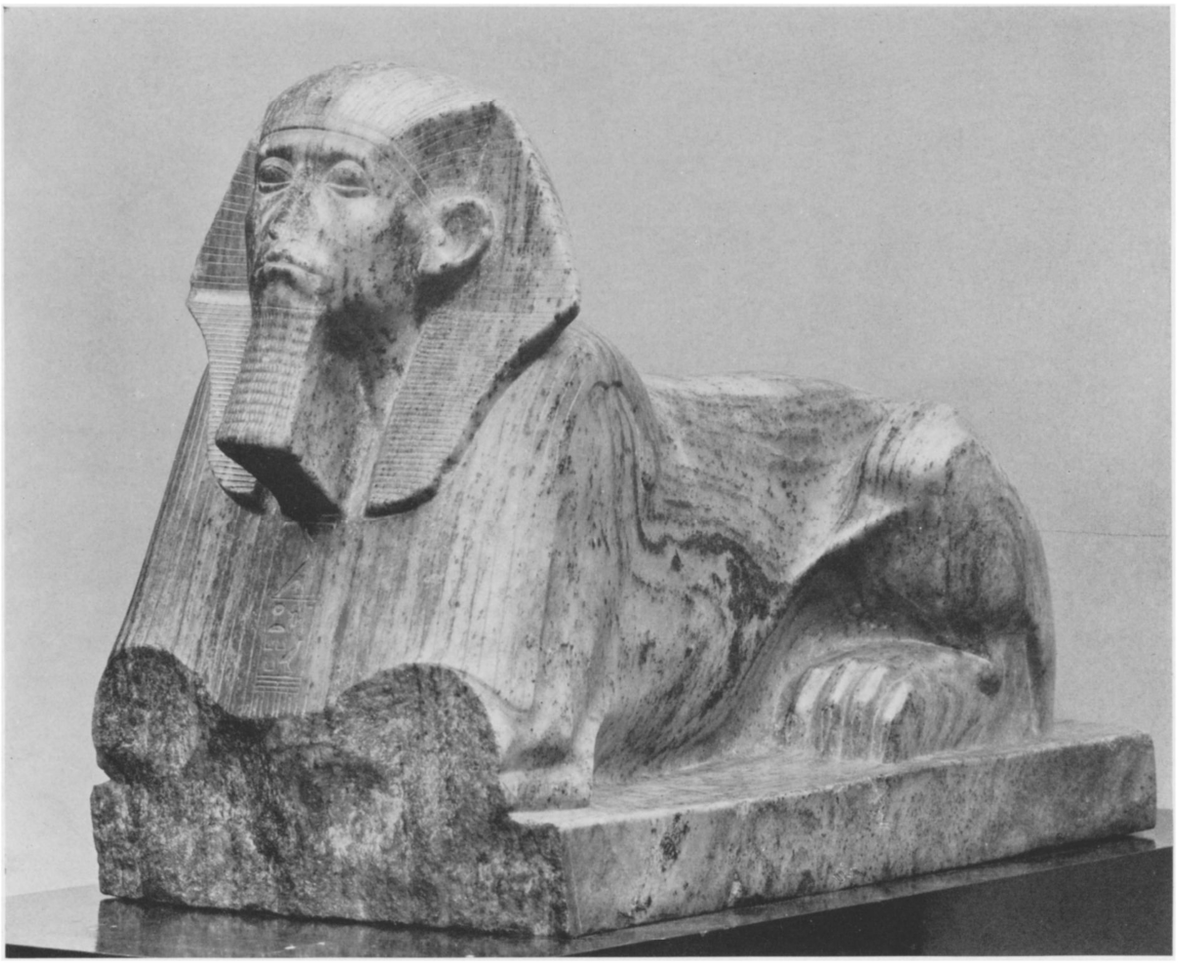


FIGURE 4 METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

Diorite Sphinx of Sesostris III

designates the king as the human embodiment of the King-god, the falcon-shaped Horus. The writing is within a rectangular frame or "*serekh*" the top of which consists of the sign for "heaven," while the lower end shows the design of a panelling symbolizing the king's palace or tomb. To the left of the Horus name is the praenomen of the king, "*Kha-kaw-rē*,"[22] an exceptional addition.

I will not discuss here the rather daring and ingenious hypothesis proposed by Jean Capart[23] that the diorite sphinx in New York[24] (as well as the famous "Hyksos sphinxes" of Tanis and other "Hyksos monuments") was created during a period much prior to the twelfth dynasty, and perhaps was an Old Kingdom work usurped by Sesostris III, remodelled and inscribed with his name. This hypothesis was last, and thoroughly, refuted by R. Engelbach[25] and probably has no more adherents.

[22] On the titulary of the Egyptian kings see Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar* (Oxford, 1927), pp. 71 f.; the complete titles of Sesostris III, Gauthier, *Livre des rois*, I, pp. 302 f., nc. XLVII; p. 312.

[23] J. Capart, *Les monuments dits Hycsos* (Brussels, 1914).

[24] J. Capart, *Documents pour servir à l'étude de l'art égyptien*, I (Paris, 1927), pl. 25, p. 19, "One may well suspect that this fine diorite sphinx may be a piece of sculpture of the Old Empire comparable to the statue of Djeser . . .".

[25] Engelbach, *op. cit.*, pp. 25 f.

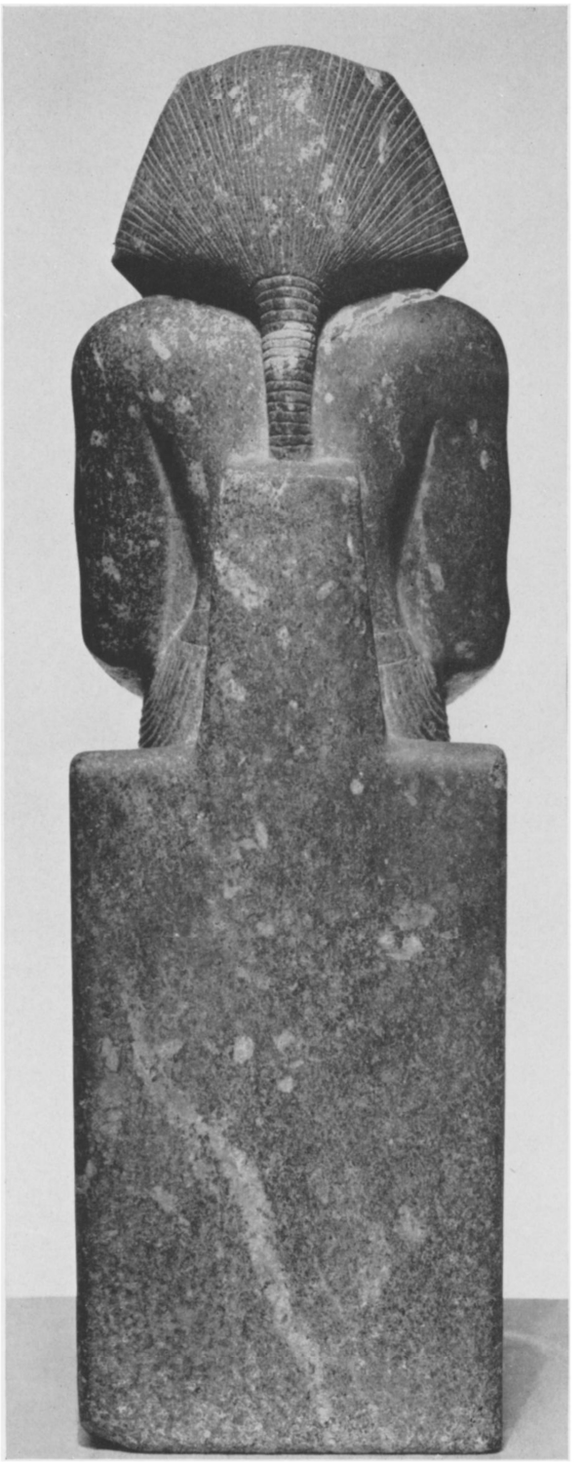


FIGURE 5 WALTERS ART GALLERY

Sesostris III

To the portrait-statues of Sesostris III whose authenticity is attested by inscriptions[26] belongs also the granite statue in the Walters Art Gallery (figs. 1, 3, 5, 6). It ranks among the most prominent royal sculptures of the Middle Kingdom, being one of the rare definitely identified Sesostris statues, although artistically it is not fully the equal of the diorite sphinx. The statue, including the rectangular plinth, has a height of twenty-four inches (sixty-one cm.). It is well preserved, only the nose being damaged and the right hand missing. The head, too, was broken off, but has been reset. No traces of paint having been found, it must be surmised that the statue never was colored. The material is grey granite. The king, in stiff posture, eyes staring straight ahead, is enthroned on a cube-shaped seat with a low back and a back-pillar which tapers toward the top.[27] The beardless face with its protruding cheek bones, hollow cheeks, and lines about the mouth, conforms fully to the typical royal portrait of the Middle Kingdom, without showing any particular individual characteristics. The limbs are not well proportioned. The knees and lower legs run parallel to each other. Both hands rest on the knees: the left one with the palm downward, the right one (now broken off) showed a clenched fist. The royal head-dress, the "*nemes*," adorned with the undulating Uraeus serpent,[28] is striped like that of the diorite sphinx, the upper part patterned with triple stripes, the lower tabs with narrower ones of even width. In the back it is twisted into a braid which rests on the pillar. The large ears are uncovered. The king wears a smooth undecorated belt and the old-fashioned royal loin-

[26] An incomplete list of these statues is given by Bisson de la Roque, see R. Cottevielle-Giraudet, *Fouilles de Médamoud 1931: Les monuments du Moyen Empire* (*Fouilles de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire*, IX, I) (1933), p. 97, no. 1.

[27] Evers, *op. cit.*, II, paragraphs 354, 355.

[28] The Uraeus is of the type of the Old Empire (Engelbach, *op. cit.*, pl. IV, A2), similar to the Uraeus of the diorite sphinx.

cloth, the "*shendoyet*," consisting of a short, vertically striped piece of cloth, rounded on either end, below which hangs a tapering central part with horizontal stripes. A necklace of tubular beads serves as an ornament, from the front of which dangles a peculiar amulet worn also by the other kings of the Middle Kingdom and characteristic of that period. What this amulet represents and what it means is as yet unknown.[29]

On the front of the throne runs both at the left and right a vertical line of incised hieroglyphic inscription continuing onto the plinth. Both lines contain the same text, consisting of the royal titulary and the name of the god under whose protection the king in this statue placed himself. It reads: "The good God, the Lord of the Two Countries, the Lord of offering,[30] the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Kha-kaw-rē,[31] the son of Rē of his body, Zen-Wosret,[32] loved by (the god) Was-ty, the Lord of the Oasis, who is endowed with life." Was-ty, "(the god) belonging to Waset," is a surname of Montu, the patron deity of the Upper-Egyptian county of Thebes. His name is written in abbreviation with the hieroglyphic sign "*was*" placed upon a kind of standard, representing either a "sceptre" adorned with a feather and ribbons, or probably more correctly, a shepherd's staff.[33] Feathers like these are found fre-



FIGURE 6 WALTERS ART GALLERY
Sesostris III

[29] See Cottevieille-Giraudet, *op. cit.*, pl. 16, 2; Evers, *op. cit.*, II, paragraph 221.

[30] Egyptian, *nb ir-t i'ḳh-t*, a title of the king in use under the Middle Kingdom and later.

[31] The praenomen is the name which the Egyptian king bears as "King of Upper and Lower Egypt," (βασιλεὺς τῶν τε ἄνω καὶ τῶν κάτω χωρῶν); the praenomen and the following nomen are invariably written within "cartouches" or "royal rings," Gardiner, *loc. cit.*

[32] The nomen of the king, that borne by the king before his accession to the throne, is almost the equivalent of our family name; it is introduced by the epithet, "Son of (the sun-god) Rē," which the king considered himself to be. It stands in the last place in the list of titles, Gardiner, *loc. cit.*

[33] C. G. Seligman, *The Was-Sceptre as a Beduin Camel Stick* in *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, III (1916), 127.



FIGURE 7 METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART
Royal Portrait of Middle Kingdom

quently on the back of divine emblems. Their meaning is unknown, but they are perhaps a misunderstood pendant. The *was*-sceptre presumably was the fetish of the original Egyptian tribe that lived in the region that became the fourth Egyptian county. After it were named the county, "Waset" (county of the *was*-sceptre) and also its capital, "Waset" (Thebes) which in historic days replaced as religious and political center the ancient capital, Yuni, the Hermonthis of the Greeks, the modern Armant. The oasis (Egyptian: *wahet*, Coptic: *wahe*) of which he has the title of lord in the inscription, probably is one of the cultivated enclaves of the Libyan Desert west of the county of Thebes, perhaps the Oasis Kharga or Dakhla.

Where our statue was found is not recorded. I suppose that it comes from the famous "*cachette de Karnak*," a so-called *favissa*, from which numerous pieces reached the market. Many sculptures now in the Walters Art Gallery have come from the same source.[34]

To the royal portraits identified by inscriptions and definitely placable, must be added a considerable number of masterpieces of a realistic style that we attribute to the Middle Kingdom without being able to tell safely the king whom they represent.[35] Most of them are baptized either Sesostris III or Amenemmēs III. In the case of the portrait heads found in Medamud together with reliefs of a Sesostris temple, the designation is likely to be correct.[36] A. Scharff[37] has attempted to separate the portrait heads into two groups, an "energetic, severe, even hard type" as Sesostris III, and the "deeply serious, majestically aloof, sometimes melancholy type" as Amenemmēs III. However, any such distinction is highly subjective and depends more or less upon the interpretation of the modern critic. I prefer to be extremely cautious in this respect and believe it best to refrain from naming them at all, but to be satisfied with the general label "King of the Middle Kingdom." The rest ought to be left to the future and a generation of Egyptologists that may know more about Egyptian portrait-sculpture than we. This applies, for instance, to the beautiful character-head of quartzite acquired for the Carnarvon collection which is now in the possession

[34] It was a practice common to all civilized nations of antiquity to keep damaged or useless gifts or cult objects in pits. This custom was also followed in Egypt. When in the Ptolemaic era, about the time of the fourth or fifth Ptolemy (222-180 B. C.) the architects in charge of the Amun Temple of Karnak wished to get rid of the countless ex-votos which blocked several parts of it, they dug a trench, a *favissa*, to receive them. This was discovered in December 1903 and cleared during the winter seasons of 1904-1907 with the most commendable energy by Georges Legrain, Inspector of the *Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte*. From it there have come nearly eight hundred statues and statuettes, most of which are now in the Museum of Cairo, and several thousand bronze statuettes and small objects, which were sold for the most part, so little interest did they present to the museum. See G. Maspero, *Guide*, p. 100.

[35] See Evers, *op. cit.*, I, *passim*, and Scharff, *op. cit.*, pp. 550 ff.

[36] F. Bisson de la Roque, *Fouilles de Médamoud* (*Fouilles de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire*, III) (1925), p. 32, pls. 4, 5; Evers, *op. cit.*, I, pls. 86, 87, 92; R. Cottevieille-Giraudet, *op. cit.*, pl. 47.

[37] A. Scharff, *op. cit.*, p. 541.

of the Metropolitan Museum in New York (fig. 2).[38] Likewise, we are in no better position to identify definitely the other quartzite head in the Metropolitan Museum[39] formerly thought to be Amenemmēs III (fig. 7), or the superb obsidian head from the MacGregor collection, now in the Gulbenkian collection, which is by some considered an Amenemmēs III and by others a Sesostris III.[40] In view of such discrepancies[41] in the identification of portraits of the highest quality, the statue of the Walters Art Gallery, secured by the inscription it bears, becomes one of outstanding importance.

[38] No. 26.7.1394. Height: 16.5 cm. *Burlington Fine Arts Club. Catalogue of an Exhibition of Ancient Egyptian Art* (London, 1922). Usually it is called "Sesostris III" because of the resemblance of the portrait to those of that pharaoh found at Deir el-Bahari.

[39] No. 12.183.6. Height: 18.3 cm.; width: 16 cm. Presented by Mr. J. P. Morgan. The provenance is unknown. I am very grateful to Mr. Ambrose Lansing, Curator of the Department of Egyptology at the Metropolitan Museum, for permission to publish these photographs.

[40] Charles Ricketts, *Head of Amenemmēs III in Obsidian from the Collection of Rev. W. MacGregor, Tamworth* in *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology,* IV, 71; A. Scharff, *op. cit.,* p. 541, n. 4. The small serpentine head (12.5 cm. high) in the collection of Oscar Raphael, published by Ricketts in *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology,* IV, 211, I might also designate as a portrait of Amenemmēs III because of its undeniable relationship to the sandstone statue of this king in Cairo.

[41] There are many examples of how untrustworthy stylistic analysis is and how easy it is even for the skilled art-historian to make mistakes in the attribution of uninscribed images. The Copenhagen bust of a king of the twelfth dynasty (Ny-Carlsberg Glyptothek, no. A1) is ascribed by the compiler of the catalogue, Dr. Mogensen, on the basis of arguments by Jean Capart, to the early period of the Old Kingdom, while Curtius designates it as "portrait of the youthful Amenemhet III (?)". See Maria Mogensen, *La Glyptothèque Ny-Carlsberg. La collection égyptienne* (Copenhagen, 1930), pp. 10-14, and *Album,* pl. I; Curtius, *op. cit.,* p. 133, fig. 107; Evers, *op. cit.,* I, p. 100, pl. 111-112. Likewise Hedwig Fechheimer, *op. cit.,* p. 46 has fallen into error, as she explains the obsidian head in the MacGregor collection as a work of the twenty-fifth dynasty.

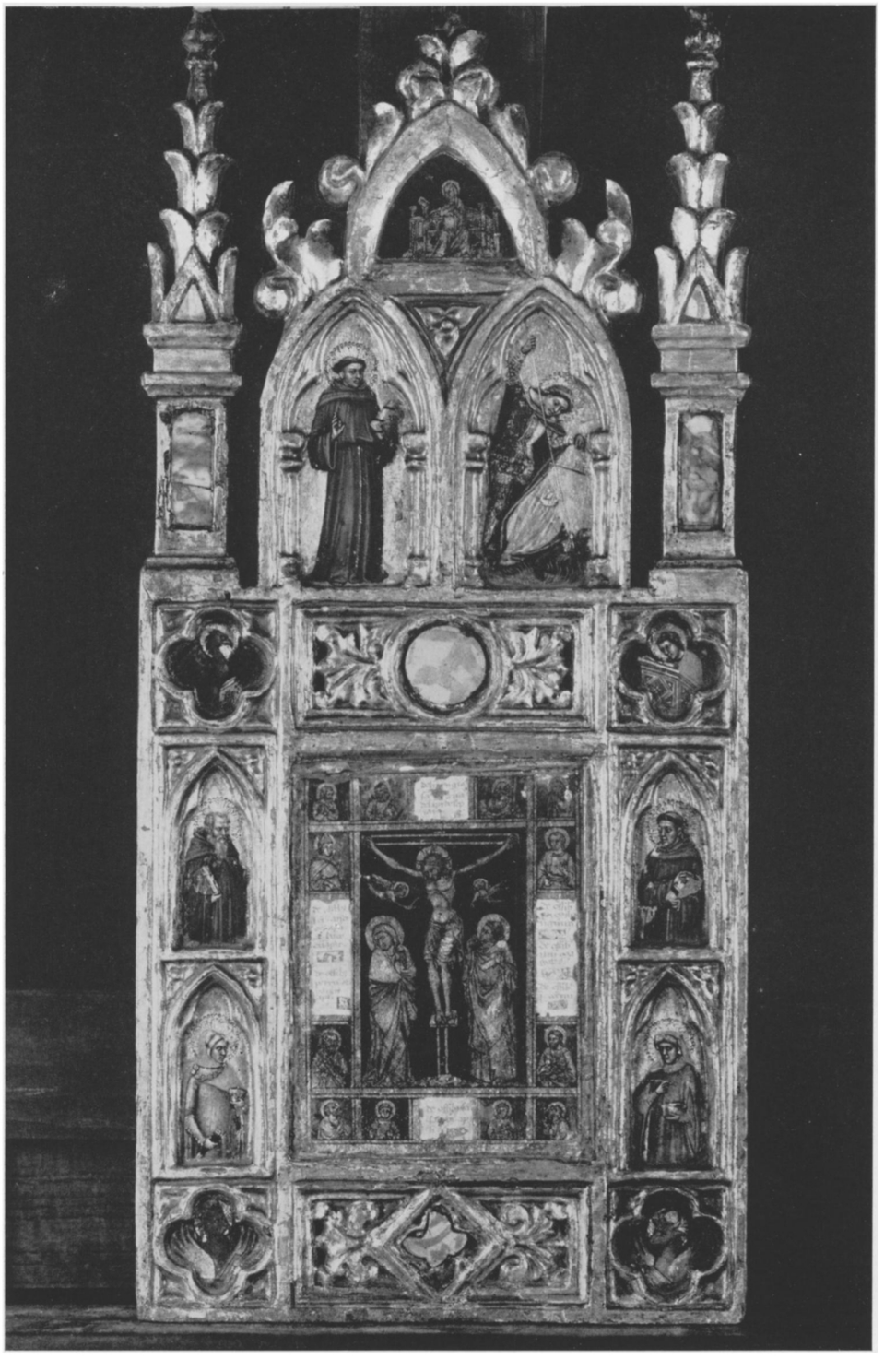


FIGURE 1 WALTERS ART GALLERY

NORTH ITALIAN ATELIER

Reliquary Tabernacle

THE LOCALIZATION OF MEDIEVAL VERRE EGLOMISÉ

IN THE WALTERS COLLECTION

BY GEORG SWARZENSKI

Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

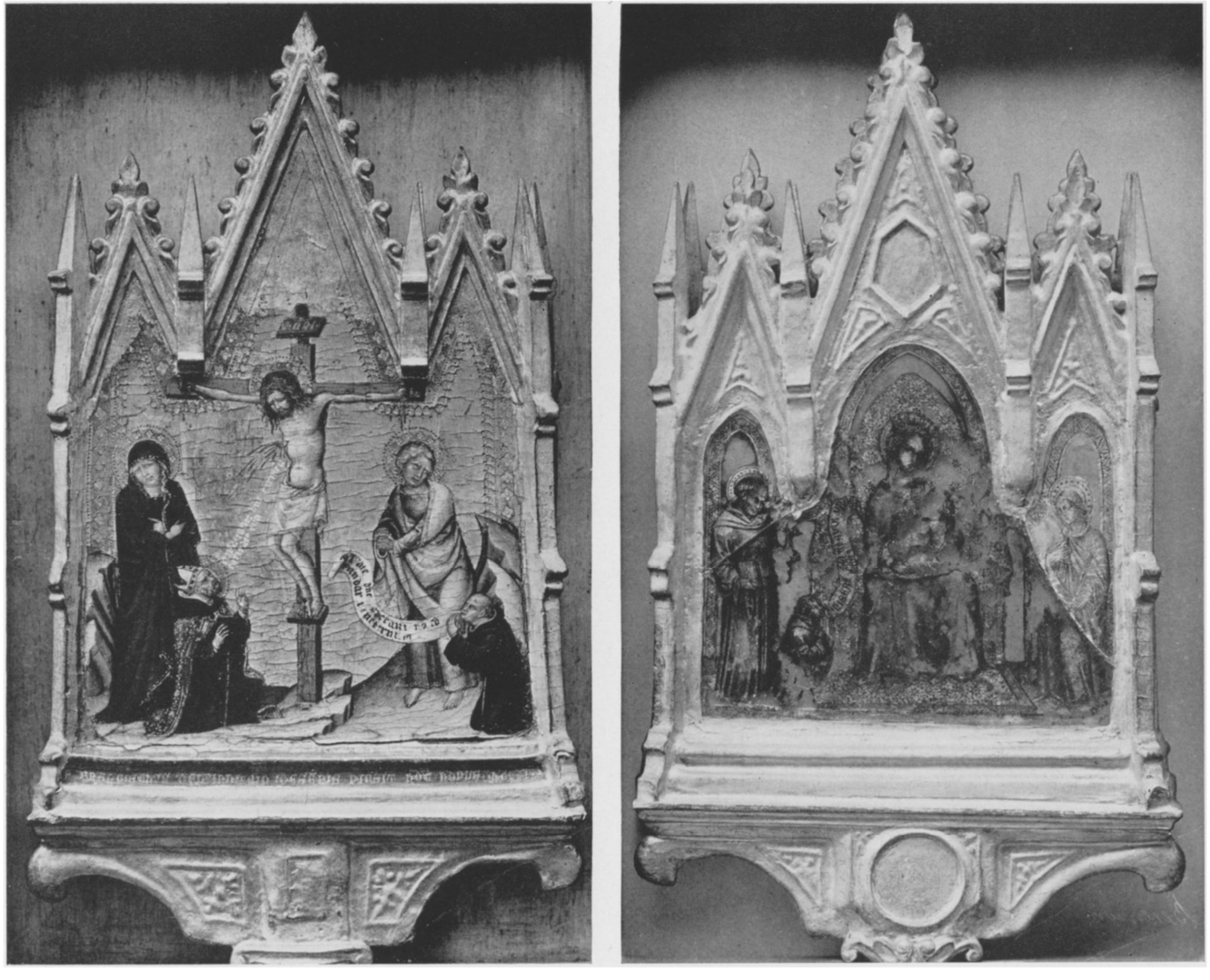
WHOEVER FEELS attracted by the early eglomisé panels will be puzzled by two facts easily perceived but hard to explain: the sudden spontaneous appearance of that art in the last third of the Ducento and the increase of the production in quality and quantity during the fourteenth century in Italy. Its abrupt appearance at this time is particularly surprising since the technique reminds one so strongly of late Roman and Early Christian gold-glass that one must suppose the tradition to have continued somewhere. The tenth-century writer, Theophilus Presbyter, speaks of it in his *Schedula Diversarum Artium* (an entirely literary book) and the technique was known in Islamic art; but in the west from the whole period extending from 400 A. D. to the thirteenth century (1267) nothing of this kind remains—not a single object or fragment, or at least none has been found thus far.

It will not be out of place to include here a brief description of the technique of Trecento *verre eglomisé*. Behind a transparent glass plaque is pasted a very thin gold leaf. On this the drawing is incised with a fine needle which produces lines of clear glass. Finally, the back is painted. A single color, generally black or dark blue, prevails so that the scratched-out drawing appears in contrast to the glimmering gold or vice versa. The modelling is rendered, as in the early drawings or paintings, by hatchings only. This splendid effect is sometimes delicately enriched by a few colors—red and green.*

Still more remarkable than the suddenness of its first appearance is the development and diffusion of eglomisé technique in Italy during the Trecento as an extensive production of exceedingly high quality and popularity. There are only a few isolated pieces of earlier date,[1] but in the Giottesque period and later a large production in Italy is evident. It is true that the objects preserved total only about sixty pieces, including those made during the following century in the same technique and in an unbroken tradition. This number represents but a small part of the original production. Considering the fragility and—in comparison with fine metalwork and

* The word "eglomisé" as a historical or technical expression is rather arbitrary. It is merely art *argot* originating in amateur circles in France, and French scholars like Darcel and Bonnafé argued against its use even in the '80's. The correct expression—gold-leaf drawing or engraving behind glass—is too cumbersome, and such terms as "gold glass" or "painting behind glass" are misleading. The term "eglomisé" has been used for at least a period of one hundred years and is derived from the name of a craftsman called Glomy, who lived in Paris in the second half of the eighteenth century. One of his many activities was concerned with the revival of an analogous or even identical technique, which became the fashion in almost every country.

[1] *I. e.:* Brussels (Mus. Cinquant.), Eltville and Viterbo. *Cf. Staedel Jahrbuch,* V (1926), 13 f.—P. Toesca, *Storia dell'arte italiana,* I (Milan, 1915), 1121—The localization of these earliest examples in Venice may possibly be confirmed by the inventory of Pope Boniface VIII. It mentions (1295) an icon *"de opere Veneticorum"* with figures *"in vitro ad aurum"*; E. Molinier, *Inventaire du trésor du St. Siège sous Boniface VIII. Extrait de la Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* (Paris, 1888), p. 77, no. 722.



FIGURES 2, 3

BERLIN, KAISER FRIEDRICH MUSEUM

FRANCESCO DI VANUCCI

Processional Picture in Tempera and Verre Eglomisé

enamel—the modest value of the material, the fact that this number of objects has survived shows how extensive the production must have become in Italy within a relatively short time. While northern Europe has given us a very few rare examples, the art of eglomisé undoubtedly became a specifically Italian craft in the Trecento.

Although the basic technique and even the general character of the objects is very nearly the same in all Italian eglomisé plaques of that period, they must have originated in several centers. The character of the drawing reveals a considerable variety of style and indicates that the making of *verre eglomisé* became naturalized in different schools, places, and regions of northern and central Italy. There are single works and groups of works pointing to the leading centers and also to provincial ateliers. Furthermore, not only does the style vary, but the quality of the drawing is very unequal. Some eglomisé plaques, rivalling in quality the best of the rare Trecento drawings, even deserve attribution to well-known painters, others are obviously mediocre wholesale productions made in workshops for commercial purposes.

Among the treasures in the Walters Art Gallery are two fine examples of Trecento eglomisé. One of them, a reliquary tabernacle,[2] has in addition to its artistic merit an almost unique importance (figs. 1, 4). Its origin is not recorded, but it is one of the very few objects of this kind whose connection with a certain school and known artistic personalities can be established. Strangely enough, there are no documents whatever relating to the manufacture of eglomisé objects at any place or region in Italy, and among all extant Trecento examples, not a single one bears a statement concerning its origin. The first dated eglomisé work is as late as 1408; the first ones with an artist's signature belong to the advanced Quattrocento (1460). Thus only by stylistic comparison with other arts is it possible to localize and date Trecento eglomisé plaques, although everyone knows how misleading is the rapid spread of the so-called Giottesque style through all Italy. The reliquary in the Walters Gallery goes far toward compensating for the lack of documents and inscriptions, since it is one of the two known objects showing eglomisé plaques combined with tempera panel-painting attributable to known artists.

Fortunately, each object happens to point to a different locality, both of which ought to be recognized as centers of eglomisé production. The reliquary tabernacle in the Walters Art Gallery is a starting point for the localization of the craft in northern Italy. The other in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum in Berlin is signed by the Sienese painter, Francesco di Vanucci, and dated 137– (the last figure is destroyed).

As Francesco di Vanucci's painting in Berlin[3] (figs. 2-3) has been well known for many years, only certain general considerations need be noted here. It is a two-sided processional picture; on one side the "Crucifixion" is painted as usual in tempera, on the other side, in eglomisé is the "Madonna," both with assistant figures. The signature is to be found on one side only—on the tempera picture, but in spite of the difference of material and technique, both paintings were made or, at least, designed by the same hand. We are thus enabled to conclude that eglomisé pictures were at times executed by panel painters. This conclusion is supported by Cennino Cennini, whose *Treatise* is the best contemporary source not only for the making of eglomisé objects, but also for the many diverse

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[2] No. 37.1686; acquired 1902; 17 13/16 in. (45.4 cm.) x 8 3/16 in. (21cm.).
Borghese collection Sale Cat.: *Padiglione dell'Orologio a Villa Borghese* (Rome, 1893), no. 385; pl. XIII; Massarenti collection: *Supplément au Catalogue du Musée au Palais Accoramboni* (Rome, 1900), no. 51, (where it is attributed to Taddeo Gaddi). Filippo Rossi in *Dedalo,* IX (1928-1929), 713 ff.

[3] R. van Marle, *The Development of the Italian Schools of Painting,* II (The Hague, 1924), 522 ff. R. Offner in *Art in America,* XX (1932), 89 ff.

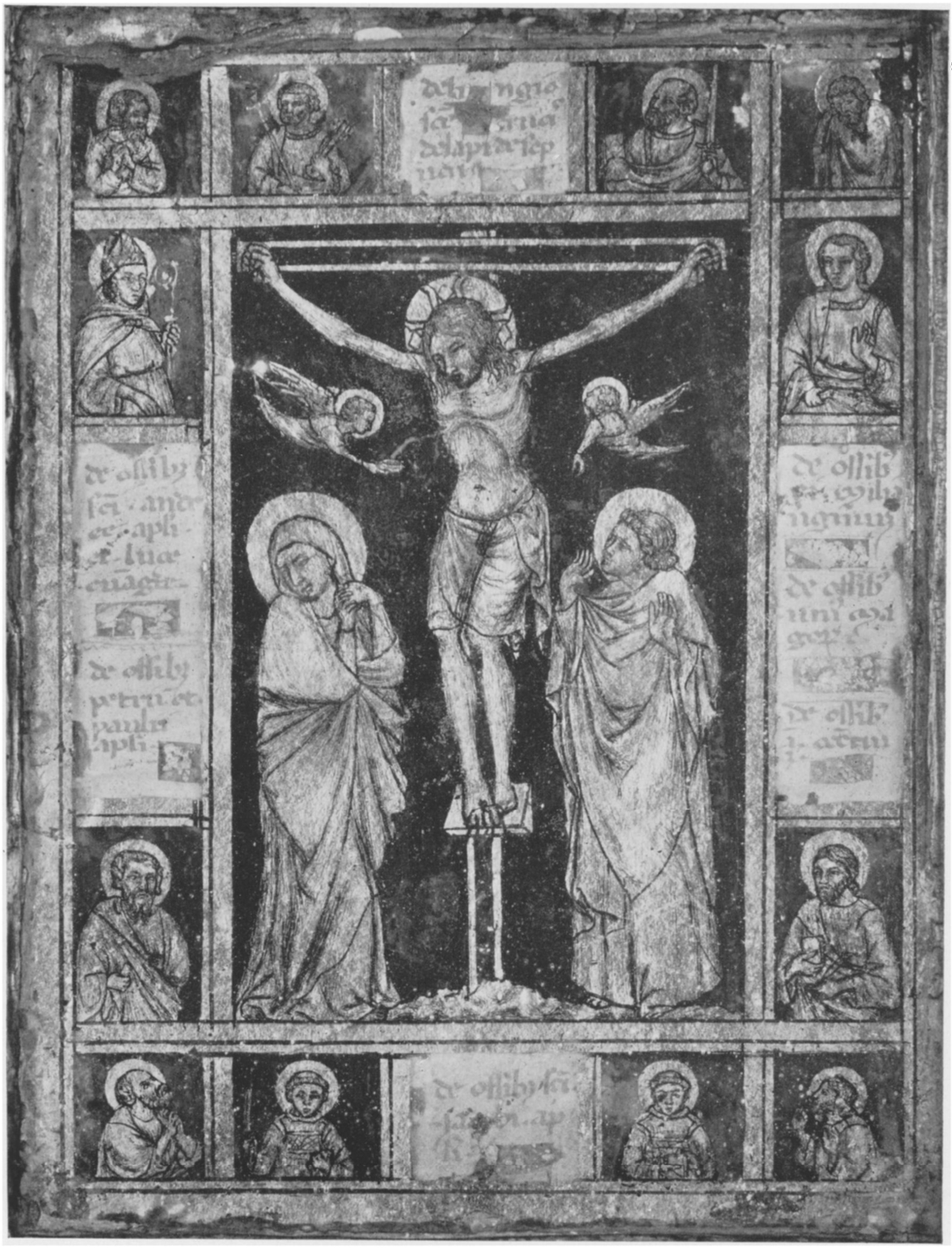


FIGURE 4 WALTERS ART GALLERY

Verre Eglomisé Panel (enlarged detail of fig. 1)
The Crucifixion

activities in a medieval painter's studio.[4] Furthermore, Francesco di Vanucci's processional picture proves that the art of eglomisé work was practised in Siena. No one knows, however, why in old collections—long before the discovery of this picture—eglomisé objects were labelled with an obstinate predilection as "Sienese." In reality this is the only documented Sienese piece, and it does not seem possible to localize a considerable group of eglomisé panels definitely in Siena.

The Walters tabernacle also gives substantial enlightenment, although, as a whole, it poses some puzzling questions. It is a reliquary in the shape of a small Gothic altar-piece carved in gilt wood. Here the tempera paintings (*cf.* Mme. Sandberg-Vavalà's article which follows on page 69) are found in the quatrefoils and in the arches of the framework and the top, while the central feature is a large eglomisé plaque[5] forming the cover and adornment of the enclosed relics (fig. 4). A second smaller eglomisé panel[6] in the uppermost arch at the top represents the single figure of the Virgin Mary in the attitude of the "Annunciation"—without the angel. Thus it appears that the present object once had a pendant. There is, indeed, a rather numerous group of eglomisé reliquary diptychs showing on one wing the "Crucifixion" and on the other the "Nativity," both surrounded by busts of saints, and at the top of the wings, Mary and the angel of the "Annunciation." The Walters Gallery also possesses another eglomisé reliquary that is a typical example of this kind, which we shall discuss later (fig. 8).

Unlike Francesco di Vanucci's processional picture, the Walters tabernacle is not signed and its original provenance is unknown, but the character of the whole object is north Italian. The carved frame alone, with its rather heavy details, suffices to show an origin north of the Apennines, and the paintings are attributed in an accompanying article by Mme. Sandberg-Vavalà to Tomaso da Modena, one of the best artists in this region. The eglomisé panels are not by the same hand as the paintings. This statement cannot be supported by any precise facts of technique or quality. Even though the small busts of the saints which alternate with the written labels of the relics, are subordinated and rather carelessly done, the "Crucifixion" in the center is excellent. Its draftsmanship is masterly, the expressive movements of the Virgin[7] and of St. John[8] are very unusual. Nevertheless, the style and manner of the eglomisé sections are rather different from that of the tempera paintings and indicate the individuality of another master.

Therefore, caution is necessary in interpreting the relationship between the eglomisé and painted sections. It is possible that the former were made by an artist associated with the painter, working in the same place or even in the same atelier. But, theoretically and technically, it is not impossible that the eglomisé elements came from another locality to be incorporated into this tabernacle. Without doubt, eglomisé objects were made in many places and exported; on the other hand, the local styles in northern Italy are not so individualized as the Florentine or Sienese—Tomaso da Modena himself was active in places as remote from each other as Modena and Treviso, and even Prague. Without reference to attribution, the general style of the painting would be not at all out of place in

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[4] Cennino d'Andrea Cennini, *Il libro dell'arte*, ed. Daniel V. Thompson, Jr. (New Haven, 1933); text, pp. 107-108; translation, pp. 112-114.

[5] 5¼ in. (13.3 cm.) x 4 1/16 in. (10.3 cm.).

[6] 1½ in. (3.8 cm.) x 1¾ in. (4.5 cm.). The position of Maria and the traces of hinges on the frame of the tabernacle show that the present object was originally the *right* wing of a reliquary diptych.

[7] The averted head is a favorite motive in groups of the three mourning women.

[8] The gesture of the lifted hands probably derives from St. Francis in the "Stigmatization".

Bologna. However, in this case the eglomisé sections were, *ab origine*, part of the object and there is no reason to doubt their north Italian origin. Wherever the plaques may have been made, both artists were contemporary and belonged to this region, where the various schools were intimately connected.

There are indeed some other eglomisé examples attributed or attributable to northern Italy. They are not as frequent as those from other regions (see below) and cannot be placed in a definite group or be localized in one place. I do not know any two which can or should be ascribed to the same hand, but they are all connected with each other and with the Walters reliquary by certain links in style and by iconographical formulae.

The north Italian origin of some eglomisé objects has already been claimed by Pietro Toesca, who first drew critical attention to these things.[9] One of the most significant examples is a "Crucifixion" in the Victoria and Albert Museum (fig. 5).[10] The whole arrangement of this masterpiece corresponds closely to the Walters reliquary; if one reconstructs the missing lower border on the eglomisé panel in London and cuts off the carved crest of the tabernacle in Baltimore, the analogy between the objects is striking. The style of the drawing in the two also reveals relationships; the unusual movement of the Virgin in the Walters Gallery and of the St. John in London, and the faces of both figures show a more than casual likeness. The eglomisé plaque in London is attributed to a Bolognese artist, and was thought by Toesca to be of the school of Nicolo.[11] However, the rare attitude of St. John—the arms and open hands expressively stretched downward—and the less significant flying angels are almost exactly the same in a Romagnole fresco of the Rimini school,[12] a resemblance that illustrates the difficulties of localization, rather than necessarily refuting Toesca's attribution. The Walters plaque also is related to another example of typically north Italian character: an eglomisé diptych in Turin.[13] Again the artist is certainly connected with the school of Bologna, although his relation to the Bolognese painter, Jacopo Avanzi, should not be exaggerated.[14] In the Walters eglomisé plaque the busts of the saints in the border especially recall the style of the Turin diptych, but the drawing of the "Crucifixion," distinguished by its fluent, expressive character, is comparable to the only signed panel-painting by Avanzi in the Galleria Colonna.[15] Finally, a third and hitherto unknown eglomisé panel in the Thyssen collection in Lugano shows a relation to the "Crucifixion" in the Walters Gallery (fig. 6). Its original provenance is unknown, but its membership in this apparently widespread family is unquestionable. In spite of the individual features of the drawing, not only is the obvious similarity of the attitude of St. John remarkable, but also the drapery of the Virgin reveals characteristic elements of the same school or tradition.

The loose but recognizable connection between these three *verres eglomisés* and that in the Walters collection might be supported by a glance at the few other eglomisé plaques attributable to northern Italy. A "Crucifixion with the Virgin and St. John," having the angel

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9 P. Toesca, *Vetri italiani a oro con graffiti* in *L'Arte*, XI (1908), 247-261.

10 No. 4486.58.

11 Toesca, *op. cit.*, p. 250.

12 Recently acquired by the Boston Museum of Fine Arts. It will be published by W. G. Constable in a forthcoming issue of the Museum Bulletin.

13 *Cf. Museo Civico de Torino* (Turin, 1904), pl. XLVI.

14 Toesca, *Vetri italiani*, p. 254 and fig. 6. *Cf.* A. Venturi, *Storia dell'arte italiana*, V (Milan, 1907), 1087. A certain confusion exists in references to this object. The inventory number given by Toesca (*loc. cit.*, page 254, n. 2) is 3030, but that given by Venturi is 3031. Toesca (*op. cit.*, p. 252, n. 2) mentions another diptych in Turin as No. 3031 which is indicated by Venturi as No. 3030. This latter is illustrated by Venturi (*loc. cit.*, fig. 817/818), but by a mistake he locates it in the Musée Cluny, Paris.

15 Illustrated in van Marle, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 417.

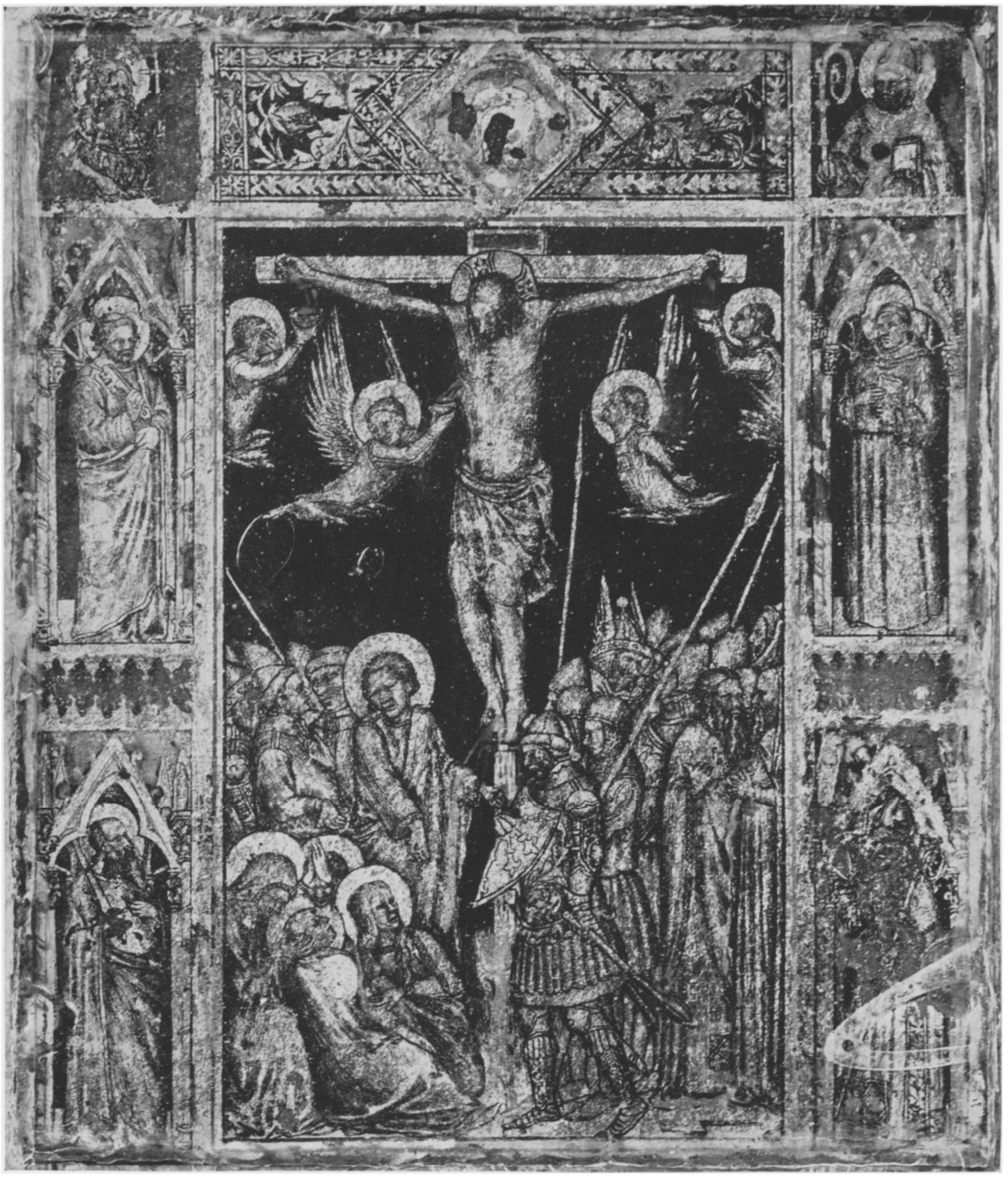


FIGURE 5 LONDON, VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM

Verre Eglomisé Panel
The Crucifixion



FIGURE 6 LUGANO, THYSSEN COLLECTION

Verre Eglomisé Reliquary
The Crucifixion

of the "Annunciation" on the gabled top, was until a few years ago in a private collection in Bologna. The whole object, being part of a diptych[16] in a carved frame with relics, represents a liturgical type similar to the Walters reliquary. Although it was executed by a very different hand, its advanced and agitated style is to be traced to Nicolo da Bologna and his school, while the rare anthropomorphic representation of the apocalyptic beasts on the upper edges recalls a picture of Barnaba da Modena in London.[17] Another hand again appears in a little tabernacle altarpiece in the Victoria and Albert Museum (no. 102.82) and again its northern, or more precisely, northeastern character is obvious as much in the framework as in the main representation, the "Crucifixion" with many people.[18] The subject is a favorite one in this region. As distinct from the Bologna plaque mentioned before, the composition and single iconographic motives correspond particularly to fresco paintings in Verona.

Finally, an interesting later piece in Lyons should not be omitted in this brief review of north Italian Trecento eglomisé production. It is one of the few existing examples showing the use of eglomisé glass in a large carved architectonic reliquary tabernacle, and it is the only one which employs a standing single figure of a saint. Its style has little to do with that of any of the other pieces gathered here, but it also illustrates the complex inter-action of influences which characterized much production of this region: the Giottesque tradition has been modified, the general style is the result of the interrelations of artists of Bologna and Modena, with those further to the north in centers such as Verona, Padua, and Venice. And from both these regions a strong current streams to the Adriatic —through the Romagna southward into the Marches.

Difficult or even impossible as the exact localization of these eglomisé panels might be, there is abundant evidence that the craft was practiced in northern Italy. Apart from stylistic considerations, which have their pitfalls, there are many general indications which permit the localization of even outstanding works of this kind in this region. The part played by the glass-making centers of Venice and Murano should be rated highly, even though it is impossible to reconstruct it. And for all we know, the special knowledge and appreciation of *verre eglomisé* recorded by Cennino Cennini might well be the result of his activity in nearby Padua.

However, by far the greater part of all the eglomisé panels preserved originated in the district *south* of the Apennines. Contrary to what might be expected, the great center here was not somewhere in Tuscany, such as Florence or Siena, but in Umbria. We are dependent on the objects remaining today since literary documents are wanting, but it cannot be entirely by chance that the very few eglomisé panels of more or less pure Tuscan style are single, isolated pieces, while among the many eglomisé plaques whose style is Umbrian or connected with Umbria, a considerable number can be assembled into coherent groups. Some of these obviously were produced by very active ateliers and one may even distinguish particular hands. It is a fact that—with one exception, a diptych in Volterra, in the southernmost portion of Tuscany—all the early eglomisé objects which are still in their places of original ownership are to be found in this general region—Umbria and the adjoining area of Abruzzi: Assisi, Gubbio, Todi, Recanati—a further one was probably in Arcevia, and one is in Sulmona (Abruzzi). No

[16] The movement of the angel indicates that the object had a *right* wing.

[17] National Gallery, no. 2927.

[18] Toesca, *Vetri italiani,* p. 254, and fig. 5.

doubt, in Umbria, in the "country of Saint Francis," and nearby in the confined mountainous part of the Marches the making and use of eglomisé objects became a specialty. The extent of the production may have been greater here than anywhere else. An examination of this hitherto little-known material would probably show that the share of the Marches in quantity at least was larger even than that of Umbria. However, it is difficult to be certain about many such localizations. Objects produced in Umbria show much influence from her northern neighbor, Tuscany. On the other hand, the contribution which Umbria made to the region of the Marches, on her east, mingled there with stylistic currents coming along the Adriatic coast from the Veneto. Nevertheless, despite such confusing interrelations, there are many eglomisé pictures so very definite in style that they can be assigned without hesitation to Umbria or central Italy. They are quite distinct from the north Italian products which have been discussed previously.



FIGURE 7 VIENNA, KUNSTHISTORISCHES MUSEUM
Half of Diptych
Nativity

Despite distinctions between the style of northern and central Italy, Filippo Rossi in the first attempt to reconstruct the importance of *verre eglomisé* in Umbria, attributed the Walters reliquary tabernacle to this region.[19] As a matter of fact, the Umbrian objects which he assembled are only a portion of those still extant, and, moreover, he has included among them some more properly attributable to the Marches.[20] But in any case, none of these groups can be connected convincingly with the Walters piece so as to indicate its localization in this region.

The stylistic similarities which misled Rossi in placing the Walters reliquary are features which are due not only to the interplay of artistic influences which we discussed above, but to the peculiar traits imposed by the craft itself, without relation to locality. Not only technical qualities, but the limitation of eglomisé decoration to liturgical objects, entailing a preference for certain subjects and iconographical formulae[21] resulted in characteristics common to ateliers both north and south of the Apennines.

Apparently it was the combination of eglo-

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[19] *Un reliquiario con vetri dorati del Museo Nazionale in Firenze* in *Dedalo,* IX (1928), 707.

[20] The fine diptych in the Metropolitan Museum collection, no. 17.90.922, connected by Rossi, *op. cit.,* p. 714, with the Walters tabernacle and included in his Umbrian group, represents a style very different from both. It belongs to a Marchigian atelier together with another example in the collection of Baron Goldschmidt-Rothschild in Frankfort.

[21] The rare motive of St. Peter carrying a cross-staff (besides the keys) is to be found among the busts of saints on the Walters tabernacle as well as that of a leaf of a diptych in Vienna, referred to later.

misé elements with a reliquary that caused Rossi to attribute the Walters tabernacle to Umbria. But Cennino Cennini, describing the making of *verre eglomisé*, says directly it is "*un membro di gran devozione per adornamento d'orliquie sante*," and the extant objects confirm the fact that this use of the material was not a specialty of one school or region alone. It is true that the particular arrangement of the eglomisé panels and relics in the Walters reliquary may be found in many productions of the southern region, but at the same time, I see no reason why it should not have been known in northern Italy. Hence, Rossi's attribution of the Walters tabernacle to Umbria cannot be sustained.

The most striking analogies of arrangement are not in the Umbrian, but in the Marchigian productions. Of particular interest in this respect is a group of reliquary diptychs whose origin is not established, but which has to be sought in a district further removed from the centers and borders of Umbria, somewhere in the Marches.

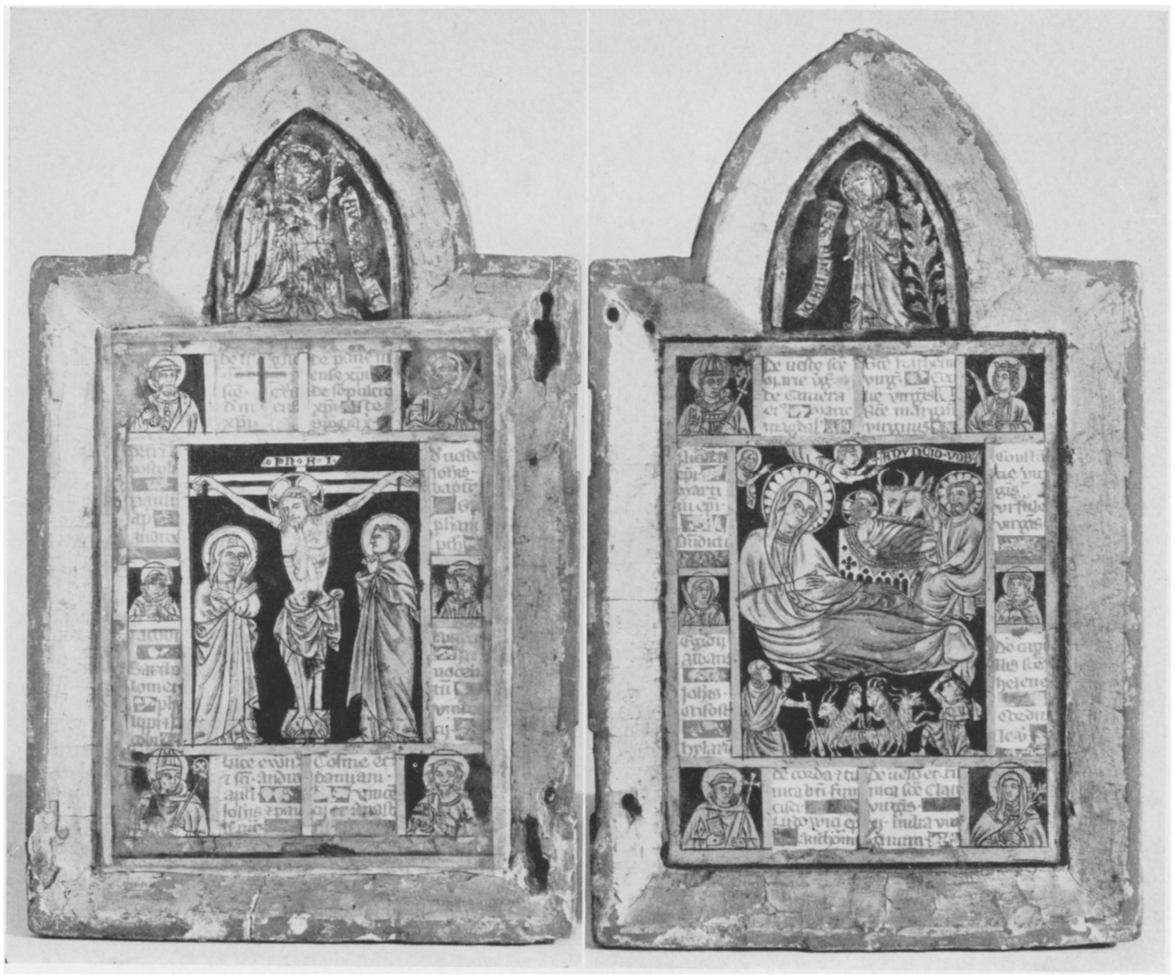


FIGURE 8

WALTERS ART GALLERY

Reliquary Diptych
Crucifixion, Nativity



FIGURE 9 METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

Reliquary Diptych

This group is represented by five almost identical examples:

(1) Baltimore, Walters Gallery.[22] No. 46.2 (fig. 8).

(2) London, Formerly Henry Oppenheimer collection;[23] sold at Christie's, 1936. Sale Cat. No. 94 (fig. 10).

(3) New York, Metropolitan Museum. No. 17. 90.982 (fig. 9).

(4) Volterra, Duomo.[24] Preserved in a later triptych with paintings of the Umbro-Tuscan School, ca. 1500.

(5) Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum. Only one wing representing the "Nativity" (fig. 7).

The relation of this group to Umbrian productions is obvious, especially in the characteristic details of the "Nativity"—as, for instance, the position of the Virgin, the attitudes of the shepherds, and the shape of the crib. But the composition is stiffer and the style of the drawing

[22] 8¼ in. (18.4 cm.) x 4⅜ in. (11.1 cm.)—The "Crucifixion" on the left wing is an exception. Another example is presented in one of the eglomisé panels in Recanati.

[23] The suggested identification of the heraldry with that of the Scaliger is impossible; the charge with the ladder is fairly common among Italian families.

[24] A small reproduction is in Corrado Ricci, *Volterra* (*Italia artistica*) (Bergamo, 1914), p. 131. For the paintings of the triptych, *cf.* van Marle, *op. cit.*, XVI, p. 518.



FIGURE 10 LONDON, FORMERLY OPPENHEIMER COLLECTION

Reliquary Diptych

has little to do with the specific Umbrian tradition. Although hitherto it has not been possible to discover a striking connection with any particular school or master, the general character localizes the group in the region between Umbria and the Adriatic coast, in the southern Marches or the Abruzzi. The definite, and certainly provincial, dialect of these works shows some retarded archaistic features. These should not induce us to place the production too early; probably the actual date is about 1400.

Such a number of extant objects of stereotyped character permit us to consider them as remnants of a very industrious and successful workshop.[25] Primarily they are containers of relics, and the amazing quantity of relics contained in these diptychs shows that they were intended to satisfy a vigorous demand for such

[25] A degenerate product of this atelier is the centerpiece of a reliquary triptych in Turin (Mus. Civ., no. 3027). The figures of the "Annunciation" in larger size, on the wings, illustrate the decay of this production in the first half of the fifteenth century. The triptych contains not less than eighty-nine carefully labelled relics.

pious objects. They were not made for the poor —on the frame of one are two coats of arms. But the demand was popular. In central Italy there are many holy shrines, and apparently one or more of these sanctuaries offered relics for sale to pilgrims in these attractive "packages." Wherever these diptychs were made, the productions must be connected with the Order of St. Francis, since St. Francis and other Franciscan saints occur in almost all existing eglomisé diptychs that include representations of saints.

As works of art, the productions in this particular group are rather modest. The very distinctive style and the attractive iconographic motives derive from Umbrian sources, and only the Volterra diptych presents in the Madonna a subject not repeated in the other examples. Apparently the activity of this atelier was entirely imitative and had no pretentions to originality. The sacred contents were more important than artistic merit. But this is no reason for disdain. The diffusion may have contributed to the increasing popularity of eglomisé objects in Italy and it may explain certain typical features which occur even in the finest examples of other schools. After all, most painting and sculpture of the early days is no more creative than these, but is to be considered also as the product of pious industry frankly imitating and modifying the recognized older models.



FIGURE 11 KARL STEIN

TOMASO DA MODENA
Triptych

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FIGURE 11 KARL STEIN

TOMASO DA MODENA
Triptych

PANELS BY TOMASO DA MODENA

BY EVELYN SANDBERG-VAVALÀ
Florence, Italy



FIGURE 12 WALTERS ART GALLERY

TOMASO DA MODENA
St. Michael
(Enlarged detail)

THE WALTERS reliquary tabernacle, discussed by Dr. Swarzenski in the earlier part of the foregoing article, is of particular importance because the *verre eglomisé* is accompanied by painted decoration attributable to a definite individuality. The pictorial part of the reliquary consists of ten small paintings in tempera, insignificant in size, but of superlative quality. They belong perhaps to the greatest of Italian Trecentists outside the privileged boundaries of Tuscany, that is to say to Tomaso da Modena, who vies with Altichiero for the leadership of north Italian painting in this century.

There are at this moment five panel paintings and only five which can be assigned to him with any show of plausibility.[1] This minute example from Baltimore provides us with a sixth. There is no novelty in finding him, in the intervals between his monumental undertakings of fresco-decoration, intent on circumscribing his art in the narrow limits of panels of minute dimension. Other examples of this kind exist at Bologna and at Modena and at Verona, though all these three are considerably larger than the one at Baltimore.[2] The work he does, however, is never

[1] Four out of five are illustrated in these pages. The fifth is the Karlstein diptych; see L. Coletti, *L'Arte di Tomaso da Modena* (Bologna, 1933), Plates LXVIII-LXXIII.

[2] The dimensions of these panels are: Bologna, 103 x 40 cm.; Modena, 39 x 41 cm.; Verona, 46 x 24.5 cm.; the Karlstein triptych mentioned later, 79 x 142 cm.

of miniature-like character. It is monumental conception reduced to scant size. The consistency, the plasticity, even, I would say, the concentrated vitality, is always far beyond what is needed for the few square centimeters which the painting occupies, an impression enhanced by the intensity of coloring.

The work in the example before us is clearly intended to take a secondary place, as it leaves



FIGURE 13 WALTERS ART GALLERY

TOMASO DA MODENA
St. Francis
(Enlarged detail)

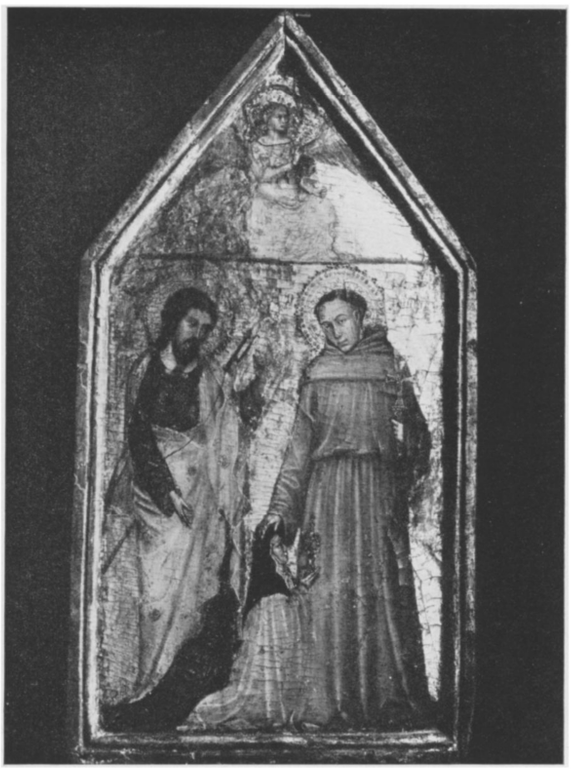


FIGURE 14 VERONA, MUSEO CIVICO

TOMASO DA MODENA OR ATELIER
Wing of Altarpiece

the central and largest field to the glass-maker (fig. 1). Tomaso has had to be content with giving us a set of four apocalyptic symbols of the evangelists in small Gothic quatrefoils, four half-length saints in arched trilobate spaces in the framework, and two larger whole-length representations of St. Francis and St. Michael in the top part.

Let us look first at St. Francis (fig. 13), in himself sufficient for the attribution of the whole, a plastic, buoyant, forceful little figure, with Tomaso's characteristic oval countenance, to be compared with his St. Anthony in the small panel at Verona (fig. 14). I think it may be claimed, however, that St. Francis is the more characteristic of the master, while the somewhat

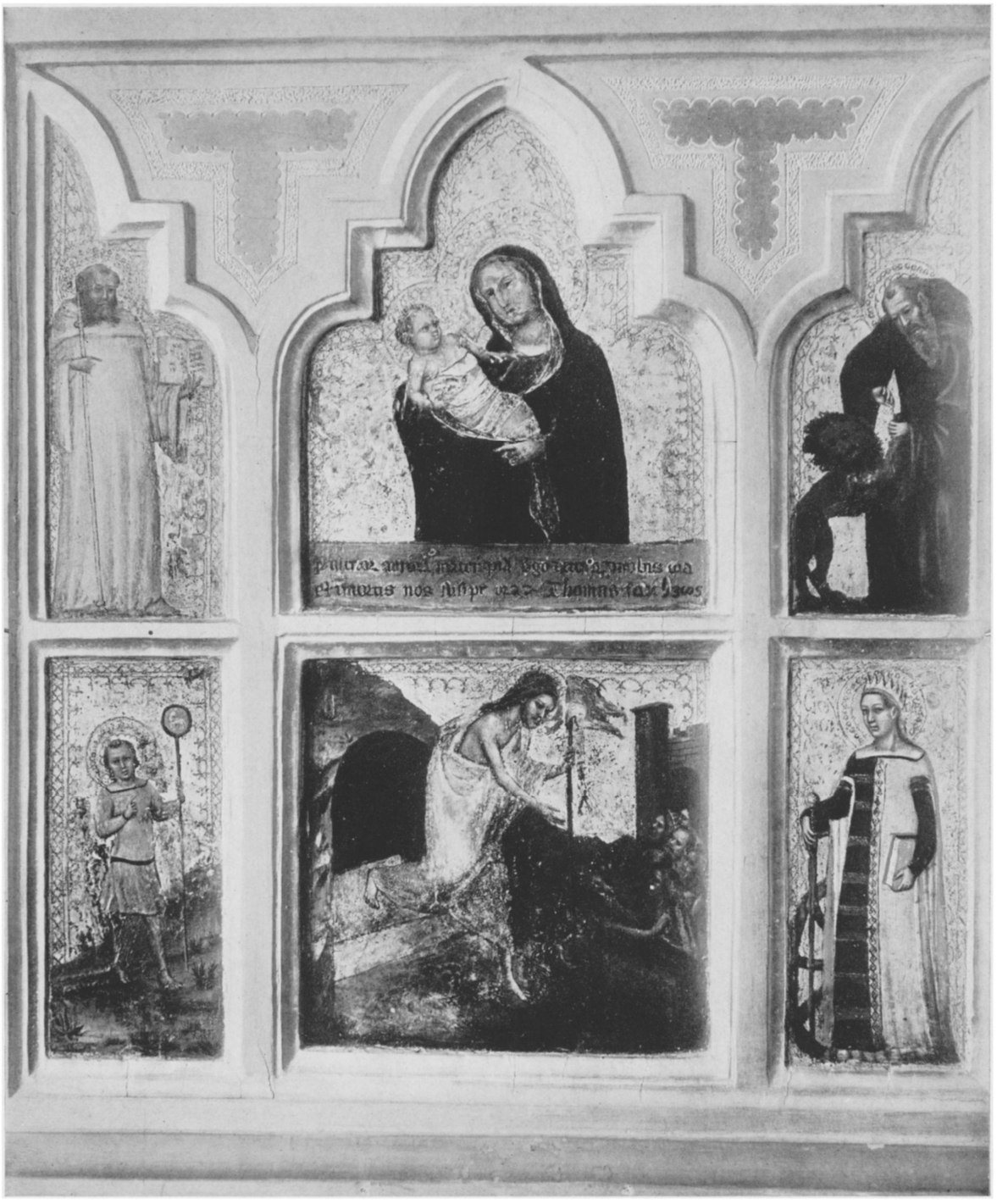


FIGURE 15

MODENA, GALLERIA ESTENSE

TOMASO DA MODENA

Alterpiece



FIGURE 16 WALTERS ART GALLERY

TOMASO DA MODENA
St. Anthony Abbot
(Enlarged detail)

softer, sweeter, and flatter character of the work at Verona accounts for Dr. Coletti's slight modification of opinion in the case of that piece.[3] The pronounced Gothic swing of the Baltimore St. Francis compares well with that of the female figures which occupy the lowest tier of the Bologna altarpiece (fig. 20), and is entirely characteristic.

Among the half-lengths, St. Anthony Abbot (fig. 16) can be matched in the St. Jerome of Modena (fig. 15) and to some extent paralleled in the St. Bruno of the same piece. The saint next below (fig. 17) is the most characteristic of all and recalls, for modelling rather than type, the well-known triptych of Karlstein (fig. 11), where the figures



FIGURE 17 WALTERS ART GALLERY

TOMASO DA MODENA
Saint
(Enlarged detail)

[3] This little altar-wing was attributed by me with much hesitation and in a very general way to Altichiero's *entourage;* see *La Pittura Veronese* (Verona, 1926), p. 207. It was published by Dr. Coletti, *Burlington Magazine,* LX (1932), 105-106, as by Tomaso himself. In his subsequent monograph, cited above, he has qualified this verdict to "*Bottega* of Tomaso," (see p. 77).

on a far larger scale are finished with a unique power and mastery. Note in this Karlstein panel the curious inequality in the type of hand, here short and squat, there long, tapering, and archaistic. Both types occur in our set of small figures. Of the saints opposite, St. Anthony of Padua (fig. 19) can be compared with the same saint at Verona, and the saint next below (fig. 18), with pen and book, may be paralleled, for instance, in type and feature with the St. Cath-



FIGURE 18 WALTERS ART GALLERY

TOMASO DA MODENA
Saint
(Enlarged detail)



FIGURE 19 WALTERS ART GALLERY

TOMASO DA MODENA
St. Anthony of Padua
(Enlarged detail)

erine at Modena, or again with the angels in the less-known but not less beautiful *diptych* at Karlstein.[4]

Perhaps the most interesting of all the minute figures, and certainly the most spirited, is the St. Michael (fig. 12) with spear and scales, in the act of trampling down the vanquished Lucifer. His costume should be compared with that of the

[4] See note 1.

two male saints in the Karlstein *triptych*, and, allowing for the considerable difference in size (the Baltimore panels being indeed too small for a painter of Tomaso's calibre, *frescante* rather than miniaturist, to reach his highest perfection), his features recall those of the Karlstein Virgin.

These various comparisons serve to establish the thesis before us, that these minute paintings belong to Tomaso's typical activity. We feel that their chief analogies lie with what are believed to be his earliest works, carried out in all probability in the sixth decade of the Trecento, before his sojourn at Treviso.

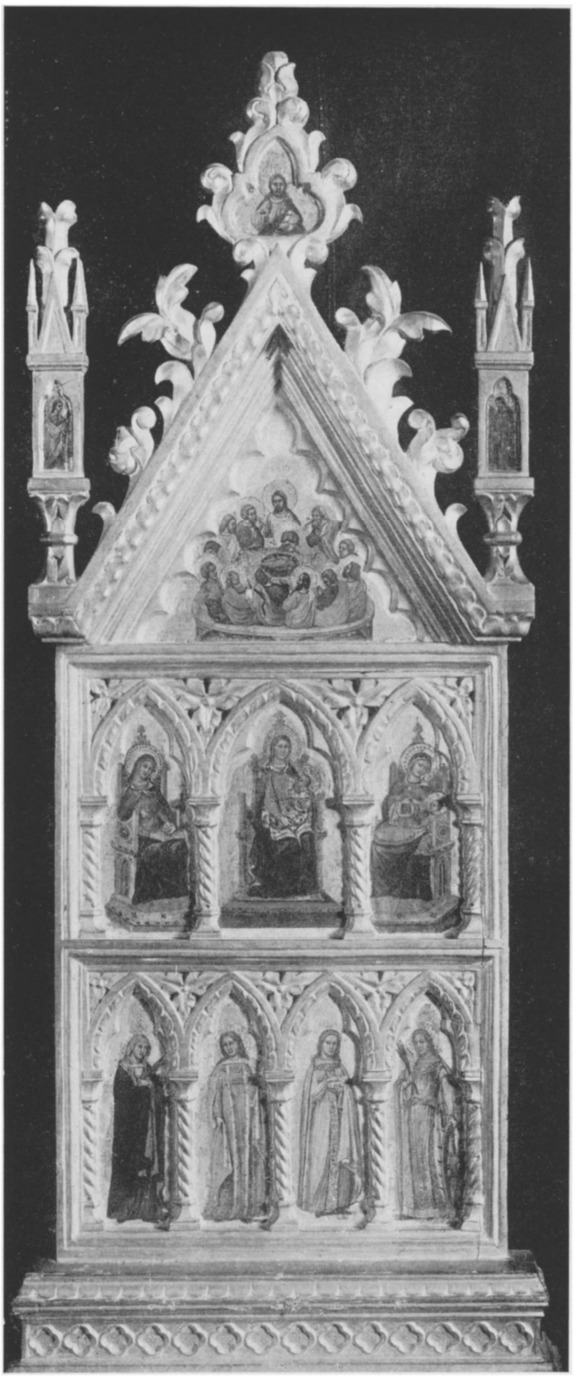


FIGURE 20 BOLOGNA, PINACOTECA

TOMASO DA MODENA

Altarpiece



FIGURE 1 WALTERS ART GALLERY

PONTORMO
Detail of Figure 5, partially cleaned

AN ADDITION TO MEDICI ICONOGRAPHY

BY EDWARD S. KING
The Walters Art Gallery

THE ALREADY attractive stylistic qualities of the portrait of a lady attributed to Pontormo in the Walters Art Gallery (fig. 5)[1] suggested that the work should appear to still better advantage once its darkened varnish and repaint were removed. First, however, an x-ray was taken, in order that damages invisible to the eye and perhaps other "facts concealed within the fabric of the work" might be revealed.[2] The shadowgraph provided, indeed, a revelation of note, namely, that the lady is accompanied by a little boy (*cf.* fig. 2). The extent and type of damage suffered by the picture is clearly indicated in the half-cleaned portion reproduced (fig. 1): a mul-

[1] Notes will be found at end of this article.



FIGURE 2 WALTERS ART GALLERY

PONTORMO

Portrait of Maria Salviati and Cosimo de'Medici
(*Cleaned and restored*)

titude of small losses, as well as some larger *lacunae*, and a crackle in the paint-film that is sufficiently wide in certain areas to show the underlying gesso ground.[3] Furthermore, the picture had been previously cleaned, and over-zealously so, if the scoured effect may be relied upon. The result of damage and cleaning is that the surface presents a parched appearance and the modeling has lost some of its decision and relief, a condition particularly noticeable in the drapery. Nevertheless, as the same figure makes quite apparent, the thin, even, and adroitly applied nature of the paint and the essential character of the skilful construction and draughtsmanship remain.

The tonality of the picture as it now stands (fig. 2) is very subdued: the veil is gray, the dress nearly black against an olive-brown background, while the hands are pale, devoid of flesh-tone, as is likewise to a marked degree the face of the young boy. The only notes of positive color are the brown of the boy's hair, the dull lavender of his dress and a curious, pink flush on the woman's face—curious because of the decided contrast with the face of the child and the hands.[4] This cool and rather mournful tonality contributes to the sad-hearted air about these two figures.



FIGURE 3 FLORENCE, PALAZZO VECCHIO

GIORGIO VASARI

Cosimo de'Medici at the Age of Twelve



FIGURE 4 FLORENCE, PALAZZO VECCHIO

GIORGIO VASARI

Maria Salviati de'Medici

Why the child was painted out of the composition remains rather a mystery. The lady used to be called Vittoria Colonna, possibly by way of catering to Roman taste, but as Vittoria had no children it follows that she would not likely be represented with one.[5] As a matter of fact, the lady seen here, although not accomplished like the celebrated Marchesa di Pescara, had in common with her an upright and gentle nature —which is customarily pointed out as something particularly bright and shining in the naughty Renaissance world.

There can be no doubt of the identity of the two personages represented in the Walters picture. The lady in the widow's veil is that



FIGURE 5 WALTERS ART GALLERY

PONTORMO
Portrait of Maria Salviata de'Medici
(Before cleaning)

singularly sweet and steadfast character of Renaissance Florence, Maria Salviati de'Medici, granddaughter of the Magnifico and wife of another Medici, the famous captain Giovanni delle Bande Nere.[6] The little boy must then be Cosimo, the only child of Giovanni and Maria, who became in 1569 the first Grandduke of Tuscany. Vasari, who knew Maria well, has portrayed her in practically facsimile fashion in the apartment in the Palazzo Vecchio, Florence, that he decorated for Cosimo in 1556, and that was named in honor of the leader of the "Black Bands" (fig. 4). In the same year perhaps, or in 1557, this medallion portrait is pointed out by Maria's grandson, Francesco I de'Medici (1541-87), as "*la signora Maria, figliuola di Iacopo Salvi-*



FIGURE 6 FLORENCE, UFFIZI GALLERY

PONTORMO
Portrait of Maria Salviati de'Medici
(photo Alinari)

ati," during his tour of inspection with Vasari through this recently decorated chamber. In their dialogue, *principe* and painter also observe the medallion portraits of Giovanni delle Bande Nere (1498-1526), the greatest soldier of his age, as most writers have it (fig. 9), and that of the young Cosimo, "*ritratto a punto sei anni avanti che fusse fatta duca.*" Cosimo is shown, that is, as twelve years old, since he was born in 1519 and elected chief of the Florentine state in 1537 (fig. 3).[7]

In each of these portraits of father, mother, and son, Vasari has but made a replica of an already existing portrayal. In the case of the twelve-year-old Cosimo the original was done in 1531 by Ridolfo Ghirlandajo and is now in



FIGURE 7 FLORENCE, UFFIZI GALLERY

PONTORMO

Red Chalk Drawing for Portrait of Maria Salviati de'Medici
(photo Alinari)

the Museo Mediceo at Florence, having been formerly in the royal Medici villa at Castello.[8] One would never recognize Cosimo in this version, for it bears no resemblance to the features of his other and older likenesses.[9] The portrait of Giovanni is based on the painting in the Uffizi that was formerly believed to have been done by Titian after a death mask made by Giulio Romano at the request of Pietro Aretino, Giovanni's secretary and friend. Latterly, however, this portrait has been ascribed to Giovan Paolo Olmo and dated 1545.[10] Vasari likewise had another portrait to follow in the case of Maria Salviati, and the obvious indications are that the Walters version was this original.

The date implied by the Walters double-portrait is 1526. It was in this year that Maria put on her widow's veil[11] following the death of Giovanni delle Bande Nere from a leg wound received at the Battle of Borgoforte on the Po. A later date, even by a year or so, seems to be ruled out by Cosimo's apparent age, which can not well be more than seven, corresponding to the year 1526. This, so far as the writer knows, is the only existing portrait of Cosimo I as a young child.

There are several other portraits of Maria Salviati,[12] and, artistically and as regards resemblance, one of them is closely connected with the Walters portrayal, namely, the drawing by Pontormo in the Uffizi (no. 6680; fig. 8).[13] This direct and dignified yet sensitive drawing, which recalls the contemporary description of Maria: "*alta di statura, bianca di volto, occhi grossetti,*"[14] has not heretofore been associated with the Walters painting. Indeed, it is only recently that it has been considered as a likeness of Maria, and that because of the general resemblance with the Uffizi portrait attributed to Pontormo (no. 3565; fig. 6).[15] This latter version is, as it stands, both a very poor likeness and a very poor Pontormo. The work has, however, been repainted to a degree, as is evident in the reproduction.[16] It is probable that Pontormo did execute this painting originally, for he has made a preliminary drawing for the composition, except that the head and body are separately sketched (Uffizi, no. 6503; fig. 7).[17] Maria died after a long illness in 1543 when she was forty-four, and the head of a rather aged woman seen here would appear to be a sketch of her toward the end of her life. For it may well be that Maria's illness, three years of "progressive secondary anaemia,"



FIGURE 8 FLORENCE, UFFIZI GALLERY

PONTORMO

Black Chalk Drawing of Maria Salviati de'Medici

was sufficiently exhausting to cause such a wasted effect as the head of the drawing shows; otherwise this face seems too old for a woman of forty-four.[18] Possibly the Uffizi portrait once depicted a similarly old face, now smoothed over with repaint. Berenson, however, places the date of the sitting for this painting as 1537 (although he terms the drawing for it "latish"),[19] which means that the composition, if not the portrait itself, is identified with Pontormo's lost portrait of Maria mentioned by Vasari.[20] This lost portrait and one of Cosimo, "*cosi giovinctta come era*," now taken to be the profile "sketch in oils"[21] in the Museo Mediceo, were done "at the beginning of that work" that Pontormo undertook by Cosimo's order at the Medici villa at Castello. From Vasari's context it follows that this undertaking got under way not long after August 1, 1537, when Cosimo's opponents were effectively silenced at the Battle of Montemurlo. Clapp believes the work at Castello was commenced in the spring of 1538.[22] The same author also believes that Vasari's Palazzo Vecchio portrait (fig. 4) is the one most likely to resemble Vasari's lost work,[23] an opinion which no doubt rests on the fact that Vasari knew both Maria and Pontormo well.[24] But Vasari's bust-portrait can not be explained without reference to the Walters version, whose design it repeats literally, and this painting indicates a date, as was seen above, eleven or twelve years before the Castello portrait. Nor does the latter receive any light from the Uffizi example, which is a vexed question in its present state. The lost portrait of Maria that Pontormo did at Castello in 1537-38 remains, then, as lost as ever.[25]

If there was any doubt of Pontormo's authorship of the Walters portrait of Maria Salviati, the uncovering of that of her young son serves quite fully to remove it. For who else but Pontormo could have drawn, in just this way, these peculiarly rounded forms or given the head just



FIGURE 9 FLORENCE, PALAZZO VECCHIO
GIORGIO VASARI
Giovanni de'Medici delle Bande Nere

this turn and expression of gravity? Comparison with such heads as that of the boy's portrait in the Trivulzio collection at Milan[26] and the drawing illustrated in Berenson as figure 982[27] appears to make only one answer possible. One would be less certain of the portrait of Maria alone, for it lacks the degree of objectivity and characterization that most of Pontormo's portraits show. Here, indeed, Pontormo has carried "stylization" unusually far for a portrait, and in consequence one feels particularly the absence of that "exact accent of life" which the style of his master, Andrea del Sarto, makes so palpable.[28] Maria is portrayed with a more sensitive, intimate, and immediate effect in the fine Uffizi drawing (fig. 8). But in spite of these differences, and those of the high-necked dress and the less voluminous veil, the drawing appears so close in form and feeling to the Walters portrait as to stand plausibly as a preliminary study for it. And this painting, though it lacks the sym-

pathetic charm of the drawing, has gained in stateliness and monumentality and a deeper mood of sorrow.[29]

[1] No. 37.596 in the Walters collection. Panel, Height: 34½ in.; Width: 28 in. (.876 x .710). The picture comes from the Massarenti collection, Rome, where it was labeled Vittoria Colonna and attributed to Sebastiano del Piombo [E. van Esbroeck and U. and M. P., *Catalogue du musée de peinture, sculpture, et archéologie au Palais Accoramboni* (Rome, 1897), no. 381]. The previous history of the picture remains unknown, but its Roman residence, possibly for some time previous to 1897, suggests a reason for naming the lady Vittoria Colonna, *"illustris domicella Romana,"* as noted in the text above.

Catalogue of Paintings, Walters Gallery, Baltimore [1909], follows the Massarenti labeling; *idem* [1929], as Pontormo, "Portrait of a Lady." F. M. Clapp, *Jacopo Carucci da Pontormo,* etc. (New Haven, 1916), p. 194, as "attributed to Pontormo." B. Berenson, *Italian Pictures of the Renaissance* (Oxford, 1932), p. 466, as Pontormo, "Portrait of a Lady with Gloves in right Hand."

[2] A general statement of the technical treatment of paintings that is in conformity with the practices followed at the Walters Art Gallery will be found in the article by Henri Marceau which comprises no. 184, vol. XXXV of *The Philadelphia Museum Bulletin* (January, 1940). In the present instance, infra-red photography also aided in the discovery of damages in the paint-film not visible to the eye and in showing more clearly the handling of the *matière.*

[3] The panel had been planed down and cradled. The unfortunate results of this practice are considered in the reference given in the preceding note. In this case, the panel had warped slightly and cracked vertically in several places. The cradle was removed, the panel straightened and permeated to prevent further movement. A number of worm holes that had come through the paint surface were found to have been filled up and painted over. It is quite possible that the picture was cleaned and cradled and the child's portrait painted over at the same time, presumably in the nineteenth century.

[4] The half-tones of the child's lavender dress are used for the shadows in the modeling of his face; even so, his complexion is notably pale.

Pontormo no doubt derived this sort of composition with cool colors and a delicate chiaroscuro from his master, Andrea del Sarto. *Vide* Fritz Knapp, *Andrea del Sarto, Künstler Monographien* (Bielefeld u. Leipzig, 1907), p. 192 and Abb. 62.

[5] *Cf.* note 1. A portrait of a woman labeled Vittoria della Colonna, with a young child, was formerly in the Charles Sedelmeyer collection, Paris; see *Catalogue des tableaux,* etc., *troisième vente,* 3-5 June, 1907, no. 147.

[6] Maria was the daughter of Lucrezia de'Medici, daughter of Lorenzo the Magnificent. She married Giovanni in 1516. For an estimate of Maria's character, see Gaetano Pieraccini, *La stirpe de'Medici di Caffagiolo* (Florence, 1924), I, 465 ff. . . . *"Tenerissima madre ed eccellente educatrice tenne sempre una condotta modesta di abitudine e costumi . . . energica operosa, saggia, prudente e pia, fu nondimeno un'incolta ed ebbe un temperamento ad abituale triste tonalità."* According to Benedetto Varchi, the sixteenth-century historian of Florence, she led an exemplary life; [see his *Istoria delle guerra della republica fiorentina,* etc., in Petrus Vander (ed.), *Thesaurus Antiquitatum et Historiarum Italicae,* etc. (Leyden, 1723), VIII, 651-C]. *Cf.* the account in Col. G. F. Young, *The Medici,* various editions.

[7] It appears from a letter of Vasari to Cosimo of December 26, 1556, that the work on the Camera di Giovanni delle Bande Nere was then nearly finished, and that of the six portraits eventually placed there all were completed save those of Pier Francesco de'Medici (1415-76), Cosimo's paternal great-grandfather, and Caterina Sforza (1462-1509), Duchess of Imola and Forli, Cosimo's paternal grandmother. The remaining portrait is of Giovanni Popolano de'Medici (1467-98), Caterina's second husband and Cosimo's grandfather. See Alfredo Lansi, *Palazzo Vecchio* (Milan and Rome, 1929), p. 166.

The dialogue between Francesco I and Vasari will be found in volume VIII of Milanesi's edition of Vasari (Florence, 1882), p. 186. According to the editor (p. 7), these dialogues were already written in 1557.

Giovanni da Bologna's relief of the "Council offering Cosimo the rule of Florence in 1537" is reproduced in Col. G. F. Young's *The Medici* (New York, 1928), II, pl. XLIX.

[8] Berenson, *op. cit.,* p. 227; Mostra Medicea (Florence, 1939), 2nd ed., p. 143, no. 8, tav. 58. The picture measures .865 m. x .665 m. *Cf.* G. Poggi in *Rivista d'arte,* IX (1916), 250-52, and Vasari, Milanesi ed., VIII, 187.

[9] In regard to the various portraits of Cosimo I, see F. M. Clapp, *Les dessins de Pontormo* (Paris, 1914), pp. 133-4; *idem, Jacopo Carucci da Pontormo* (New Haven, 1916), pp. 205-6, 220; A. McComb, *Agnolo Bronzino* (Cambridge, Mass., 1928), pp. 12-14, 68, 140-41, 146-47, 205-6, 220; *Mostra Medicea,* pp. 50, 142-47. As is the case with portraits of Francis I of France, there are many replicas scattered about the world of the well-known likenesses of Cosimo I.

[10] *Mostra Medicea,* p. 144, no. 11, gives a résumé of the matter which is discussed by G. Battelli in *Vita d'arte,* XII (1913), 97-100. Although Pietro Aretino had ordered the portrait from Titian, it is seen from a letter of the former dated October, 1545, that Titian did not paint it, but that its author was a certain Gian Paolo, taken to be the Bergamask G. P. Olmo (1550?-93), according to a letter from Aretino to him in November, 1545. *Cf.* O. Fischel, *Tizian, Klassiker der Kunst* (Stuttgart u. Leipzig, 1904), pp. 91 and 193; A. Venturi, *Storia dell'arte Italiana,* IX[3] (Milan, 1928), 149; Thieme u. Becker, *Künstlerlexikon,* XXVI (Leipzig, 1932), 11.

For other portraits of Giovanni delle Bande Nere, see note 15 and Vasari, Milanesi ed., VII (1881), 27 (portrait by Francesco Salviati); A. McComb, *op. cit.,* p. 98 (miniature); *ibid.,* pp. 124-5 (Turin, Pinacoteca, no. 120); *Mostra Medicea,* p. 48, no. 20 (by Bronzino, after the portrait formerly given to Titian, discussed above); *idem,* p. 143, no. 9 (bust in marble by Francesco da Sangallo); *idem,* p. 149, no. 36-E (medal by the same Sangallo).

[11] A similar veil with the roll of hair or a bandeau beneath is seen, *inter alia,* on the bronze bust by Leone Leoni of Queen Mary of Hungary who was widowed also in the year 1526 [L. Planiscig, *Die Bronzeplastiken,* Katalog, Kunsthistorisches Museum in Wien (Vienna, 1924), no. 225].

[12] Besides the examples mentioned in the text, there is the portrait by Pontormo's adopted son, Battista Naldini (1537-91), in the corridor between the Uffizi and the Pitti. This likeness is based on Vasari's medallion and was made for the aulic series of thirty-eight portraits ordered by the Grandduke Francesco I, in the years 1584-86 (*Mostra Medicea,* p. 39). Giovanni Poggi, in *Rivista d'arte,* VI (1909), 321 ff., says there were twenty-two pieces in this series and that they all have the same dimensions (.143 m. x .117 m.). Naldini also did portraits of Maria's husband and son for this series. According to the *Mostra Medicea,* pp. 49-50, the original for the husband is unknown; that for Cosimo was probably by Bronzino and is now lost.

Vasari repeated his medallion likeness (fig. 4, above) in his "Marriage of Catherine de'Medici" in the Sala di Clemente VII in the Palazzo Vecchio. Here Maria stands behind the bride. This composition was copied by Jacopo Chimenti (1554-1640); *vide: Mostra Medicea,* p. 47, no. 16.

The Vasari version of Maria figures again as a St. Anne, in a group-portrait of Cosimo and his relatives represented in the guise of the Holy Family and Saints, and in a portrait of Maria and her husband. Both are in the Uffizi-Pitti passageway. (Pieraccini, *op. cit.,* I, 473 and II, pl. LXII).

A bust portrait facing in a three-quarters pose toward the right, showing Maria with the widow's veil and too conventionalized to be recognizable, but inscribed MARIA SALLVIATTI, was formerly in the great portrait collection of the Archduke Ferdinand of Tirol. The learned author of the extensive article on the collection believes that Bronzino did the original from which this example was taken. *Vide* F. Kenner in *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen der allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses* [Vienna], XVIII (1897), 160, no. 22, pl. XXVII. The portraits of Giovanni (no. 21) and Cosimo (no. 23) derive from Vasari. *Cf.* Clapp, *Pontormo,* p. 261.

The author has not been able to secure a copy of the *Regiae Familiae Mediceorum* edited by Giuseppe Allegrini in 1761 for the portrait reproduced therein.

[13] Clapp, *Les dessins de Pontormo,* p. 230; black chalk, dimensions: 20 x 12.5 cm.; *"pour un portrait égaré; 1540 environ." Cf. ibid.,* pp. 37, 74. The signature at the right is in a handwriting of the eighteenth century. Berenson, *The Drawings of the Florentine Painters* (Chicago, 1938), I, 317, II, no. 2165 ("from later middle period"), III, fig. 979. *Cf.* K. Steinbart in *Pantheon,* XXIII (January, 1939), 3 ff.

[14] Pieraccini, *op. cit.,* I, 473.

[15] Uffizi no. 3565 is listed in Berenson, *Italian Pictures of the Renaissance,* p. 467, under Pontormo as "Portrait of a Lady." It measures .87 m. x .71 m., practically the same dimensions as the Walters panel, but Jenö Lányi in *Mitteilungen des kunsthistorischen Instituts in Florenz,* IV (1933), 101-2, believes the panel has been somewhat cut down. If the Walters panel has also been cut down there is no evidence to show it. No. 3565 was acquired by the Uffizi in 1911 as *"ritratto muliebre"* and attributed to Beccafumi. (See Uffizi catalogue of 1926.)

[16] Jenö Lányi, *loc. cit.,* gives considerable evidence to show that the painting has been much changed since its creation.

[17] Lányi, *op. cit.,* pp. 88 ff., was the first to associate the drawing with the Uffizi portrait (no. 3565). *Cf.* Berenson, *Drawings* (1938), II, no. 2011; Clapp, *Les dessins,* p. 115, "about 1545."

[18] The medical data is given in Pieraccini, *op. cit.,* I, 480 ff.

[19] Berenson, *Drawings* (1938), II, no. 2011.

[20] Vasari, Milanesi ed., VI (1881), pp. 281-82.

[21] Clapp, *Pontormo,* pp. 68, 146. There is a drawing for this version in the Uffizi (no. 6528); *vide* Berenson, *Drawings* (1938), II, no. 2031.

[22] Clapp, *op. cit.,* p. 67. In the Pitti there is a painting by G. B. Franco of 1537 representing the Battle of Montemurlo [Berenson, *Drawings* (1938), II, 196, n. 1].

[23] Clapp, *op. cit.,* p. 261.

[24] Clapp, *Les dessins,* p. 34.

[25] If the Castello portraits of Maria and Cosimo were in fresco they would, of course, have perished with the rest (Clapp, *Pontormo,* p. 67). The *Catalogue of the Paintings, The Uffizi Gallery* (Florence, 1927), p. 70, no. 5052, assumes just this; whereas Clapp (*op. cit.,* p. 68) implies that the portraits were in oil. Vasari (*loc. cit.*), makes no reference to their technique.

[26] Clapp, *op. cit.,* fig. 48. This youth bears, indeed, not a little resemblance to the young Cosimo.

[27] Berenson, *Drawings* (1938), III.

[28] Berenson, *Drawings* (1938), I, 308. For the differences between Andrea and Pontormo, see Berenson's brilliant chapter on the latter (*op. cit.,* pp. 300 ff.).

[29] The qualities of dignity and stateliness witnessed here are found similarly and notably in two drawings by Pontormo, reproduced in Berenson, *Drawings* (1938), III, figs. 977 and 978. The position of the hands of the latter and of the portraits of Maria in the Walters Art Gallery and the Uffizi (no. 3565), recall Leonardo's "Mona Lisa." In his essay on Pontormo, Berenson suggests the example of Michelangelo to account for this dignified effect (*op. cit.,* p. 317 and fig. 609).

PETRUS PICTOR AND ALBERTO SOTIO

BY GEORGE M. RICHTER
New York City



THE FRAGMENT of a Crucifix representing the Virgin Mary well deserved the elaborate study which Mrs. Vavalà devoted to it in the second volume of *The Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*. The work is one of great distinction and beauty, and I think we must rank it among the finest examples of Italian Dugento painting in America.

Mrs. Vavalà in her article proposed to identify the master of the fragment with Alberto Sotio, whose signed Crucifix is dated 1187. I fully agree with Mrs. Vavalà that the fragment must be assigned to the Spoletan group, but feel grave doubts regarding the proposed attribution to Sotio. Mrs. Vavalà herself obviously had some qualms. She raised one objection: the unusual coloring with clear blues in predominance. But there is another perhaps still more serious objection: the style of the drapery. Alberto Sotio's style of drapery is still of an extraordinary archaic rigidity. Compare the geometrical angularity of the folds in the loin cloth of Christ and the garments of St. John (fig. 1) with the softly flowing curves of the cloak of the "Virgin Mary" (fig. 3). We note the same angularity of style in the frescoes attributed to Alberto Sotio in San Gio-

FIGURE 1 SPOLETO CATHEDRAL
ALBERTO SOTIO
Crucifix of 1187 (detail)
(Photograph Kunsthistorisches Institut, Florence)

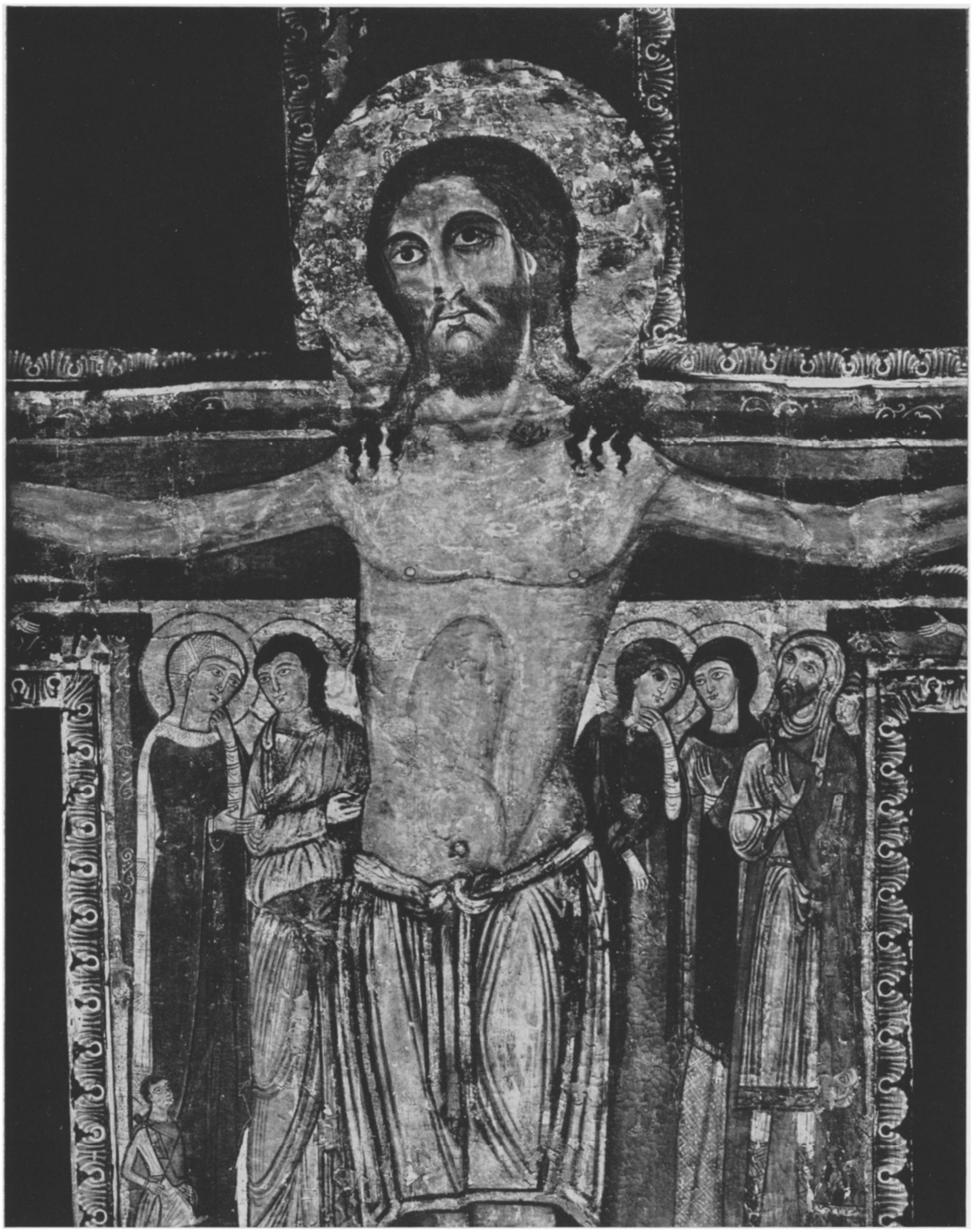


FIGURE 2 ASSISI, STA. CHIARA

Crucifix (detail)



FIGURE 3 WALTERS ART GALLERY
SPOLETAN MASTER
(PROBABLY PIETRA DA SPOLETO)
Virgin Mary



FIGURE 4 CAMPI, NEAR SPOLETO
PIETRO DA SPOLETO
Crucifix of 1242 (detail)

vanni e Paolo at Spoleto and there is no reason to believe that Sotio at a later period ever developed such a free style as we note in the "Virgin Mary."

The style of the drapery in the "Virgin Mary" points, in my opinion, to the period between Alberto Sotio and the Master of St. Francis. The Crucifix in Santa Chiara at Assisi (fig. 2) which I am inclined to date about 1210-20 reveals a greater freedom in the movement of the figures and a less angular style in the drapery, but the master of this Crucifix still seems to be more archaic than the master of the "Virgin Mary."

Then would follow a group of three crosses, one of which is dated and bears the signature Petrus Pictor: the Crucifix of 1242 at Campi near Spoleto,[1] the Crucifix of Porziano now in the sacristy of San Francesco at Assisi (fig. 5),

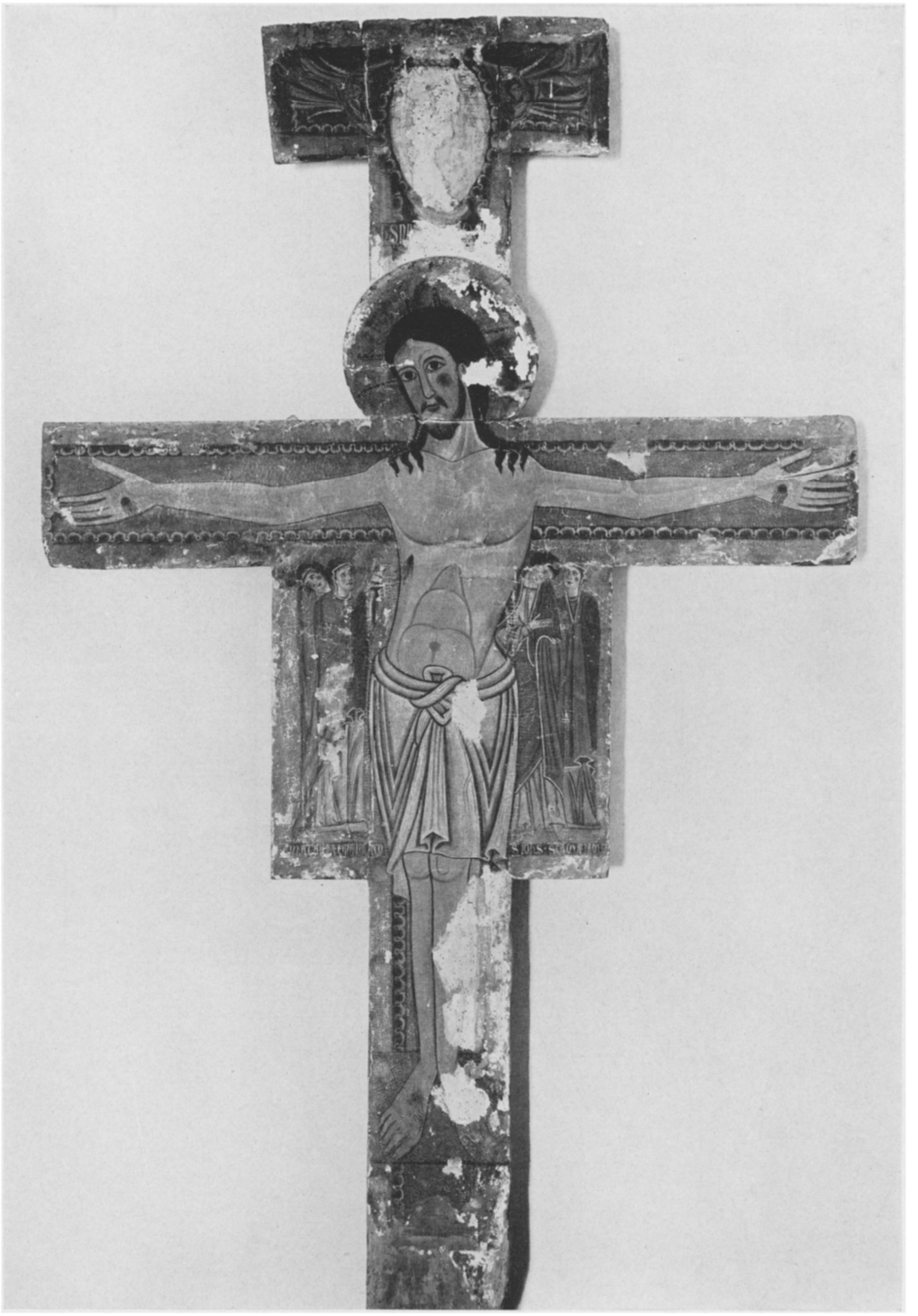


FIGURE 5 ASSISI, S. FRANCESCO

Crucifix from Porziano

and the much damaged Crucifix at Vallo di Nera near Spoleto.[2] The chronology of these Crucifixes may be determined as follows: first, Vallo di Nera; second, Porziano; third, Campi. All three Crucifixes show a certain linear elegance in their style, and it is perhaps not too daring to attribute the two earlier Crucifixes also to the otherwise unknown Pietro da Spoleto. The "Virgin Mary" shows doubtless great affinities in style to the Crucifix of Porziano (fig. 5) and also to that of the Crucifix of 1242 (fig. 4). I, therefore, would propose to include the Walters fragment in this group and assign it to Pietro da Spoleto, dating it about 1230-1240.

To the same group obviously belongs another fragment of the "Virgin Mary" in the Art Gallery of Perugia which Mrs. Vavalà also wished to connect with the Sotio group, but here again I feel confident that the fragment at Perugia must be of a later date.[3] Still later is, in my opinion, the Madonna in the Stoclet collection at Brussels which Mrs. Vavalà published in her article.[4] The soft undulating drapery of the Child's garments and the greater freedom of movement make it practically impossible to date this panel earlier than the third quarter of the thirteenth century.

The color scheme of the "Virgin Mary" reminds me of the very similar color scheme which we observe in the paintings of the Master of St. Francis, and I think the question should be studied whether and to what extent the Master of St. Francis may have been influenced by Pietro da Spoleto.

The graphic and linear beauty of the Crucifix at Campi makes it probable that Pietro received his training in the workshop of a painter of miniatures and that he himself may also have been a miniaturist.

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[1] A careful examination of the remnants of the date clearly reveals the fact that the letter following the numeral "X" is higher than the next two numerals, and I think there can actually be no doubt that the date can only be interpreted as 1242. *Cf.* E. Sandberg-Vavalà, *La croce dipinta italiana* (Verona, 1929), pp. 732-733, figs. 49 and 468.

[2] Vavalà, *op. cit.*, fig. 405.

[3] Fig. 7 of Mrs. Vavalà's article.

[4] Fig. 6. The late Dr. van Marle assigned the Stoclet Madonna also to the middle of the thirteenth century. *Pantheon* IV, (1929), 318.

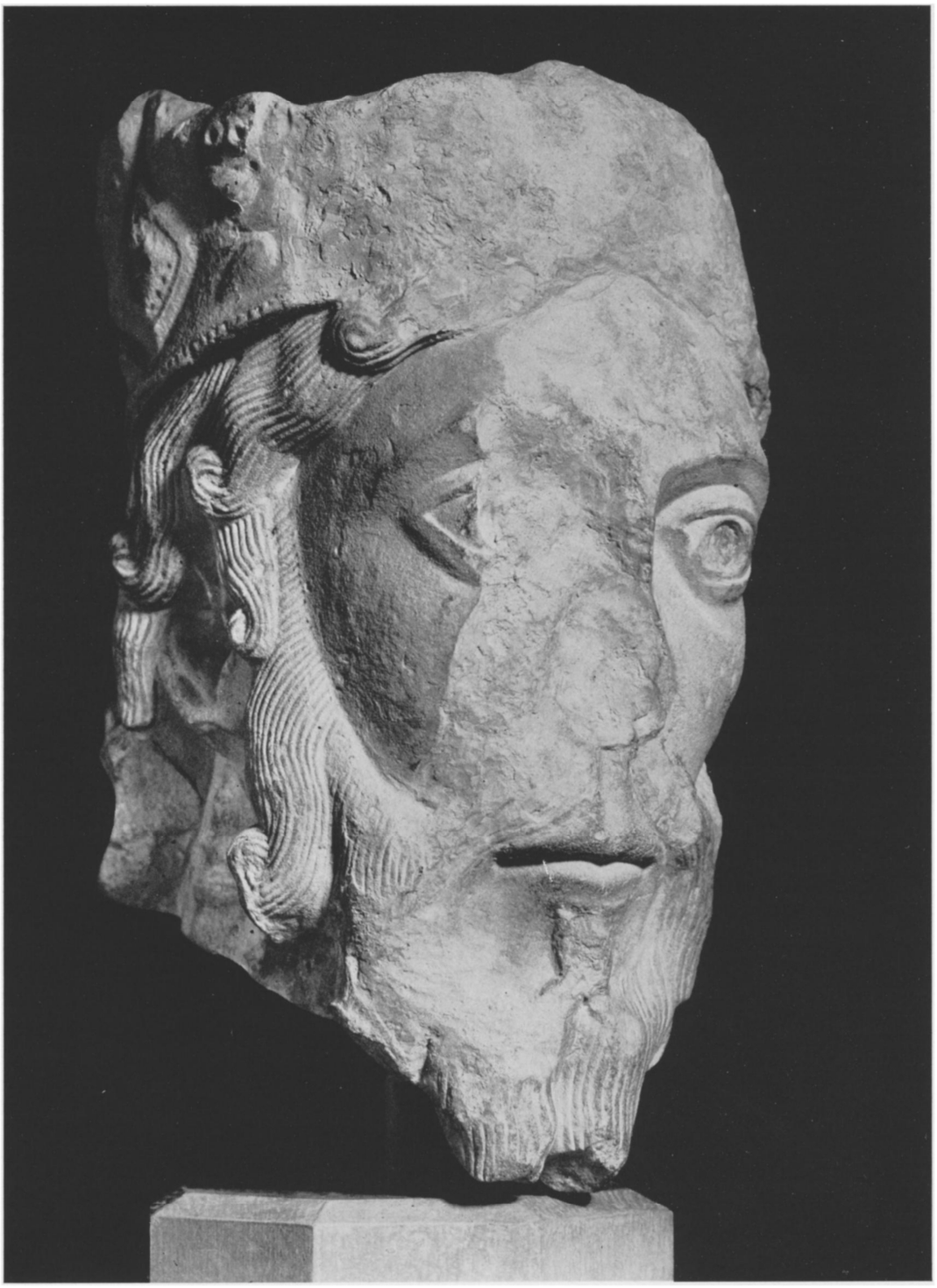


FIGURE 1 WALTERS ART GALLERY

Head of a King from St.-Denis: So-called "Clothair"
(Present condition)

MONUMENTAL SCULPTURES FROM ST.-DENIS

AN IDENTIFICATION OF FRAGMENTS FROM THE PORTAL

BY MARVIN CHAUNCEY ROSS

The Walters Art Gallery

I

Removing the Restorations

In 1911 Mr. Henry Walters bought in Paris two limestone heads (figs. 2 and 5) described as kings of the thirteenth century and said to be from the "Royal Cathedral of St.-Denis."[1] In the course of rearranging the Gallery as a public museum in 1934, the heads were washed and it was discovered that there were considerable plaster restorations. They were put on exhibition for a time with labels stating this condition. Doubt arose in the minds of several scholars as to the authenticity of the sculptures, so obscured were they by repairs, and they were taken off exhibition until it was possible to study them further.

Recently the pieces of sculpture were again under consideration. This time they were examined under ultra-violet rays which showed more definitely the areas of restoration, as well as revealing that the sides and backs were genuine. But it was still impossible to determine whether the spurious appearance of the faces was due entirely to the new parts replacing what was missing or damaged, or whether to some extent it was due to a surface coating intended to conceal these additions. This naturally raised the question of what would remain worthy of exhibition if the removal of the restorations should be undertaken. It was agreed that in their existing condition the pieces were unfit for exhibition as examples of Gothic sculpture, whereas there was at least hope of finding something of real value if the modern work could be removed. Considering this hope reasonable, the Administrator, Mr. Morgan Marshall, with the approval of the Committee on the Gallery, consented to the dismantling of the heads.

The work of removing the restorations and putting the heads into condition for exhibition purposes was done in the laboratory of the Walters Art Gallery, under the direction of Mr. David Rosen, Technical Adviser.

The heads were taken to the laboratory in the condition illustrated in figures 2 and 5, photographs made when the sculptures were first acquired. They were then placed under ultra-violet rays. The new parts were clearly visible, contrasting in color with the original portions. These new portions were then outlined and whitened with water color for photographic purposes. The reason that this procedure was followed is that it is easier to get a clearer and

[1] No. 27.21. Height: 14⅛″ (.36); Width at crown: 8½″ (.215). No. 27.22. Height: 13¾″ (.35); Width at crown: 8″ (.20).

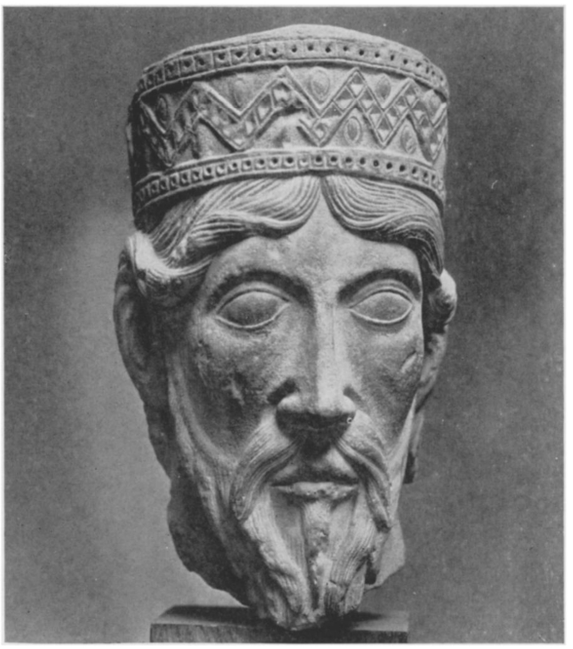


FIGURE 2 WALTERS ART GALLERY

Head of King: so-called "Childebert"
(As purchased)

sharper photograph by this method than directly with the ultra-violet lamp, and for study purposes the result is better[2] (figs. 3, 4).

The next step was to submerge one head in water overnight. In the morning much of the surface that had shown restorations under the ultra-violet light had softened. A good scrubbing with a brush quickly removed all this surface-covering used to conceal the joints of the plaster restorations. This coating appeared to be made from or mixed with ground-up stone very like the stone from which the head was carved, having the same color in ordinary light and a similar texture. This scrubbing left the head as shown in figure 6, with the actual plaster additions clearly revealed. Then the same process was followed with the second sculpture.

The removal of this thin surface camouflage had an astonishing effect. The two heads that had seemed to be of dubious antiquity now appeared perfectly genuine. It was obvious that the plaster restorations should be taken off too. The first sections of plaster that were removed revealed more of the fine quality of the head, but showed a most cruel condition. The Parisian restorers had taken two early Gothic sculptured heads whose faces had been broken like many others on European churches, and had chipped away all the damaged surface to a depth of a quarter-inch or more, leaving a sharply cut outline. These cavities they then drilled full of holes with which to anchor their plaster additions, both processes totally unnecessary (figs. 7, 8, 13, and 14). For instance in one eye were



FIGURE 3 WALTERS ART GALLERY

Restorations to Figure 2
(Revealed by ultra-violet ray)

[2] *Cf.* James J. Rorimer, *Ultra-Violet Rays and Their Use in the Examination of Works of Art* (New York, 1931), fig. 17.

drilled five holes to fasten only a small plaster addition (fig. 7). The heads when completely dismantled showed the result of one of the greatest acts of vandalism on the part of any restorer in modern times.

As is apparent in the photographs, the two sculptures with the plaster removed were not suitable for exhibition as they stood. On the other hand, I knew from experience that any attempt to replace old parts with new ones on a medieval sculpture could only meet with failure. Museums the world over are filled with pitiful examples of such attempts. Mr. Rosen solved the problem perfectly, it seems to me, by filling the cavities roughly with plaster tinted nearly the color of the stone to a height

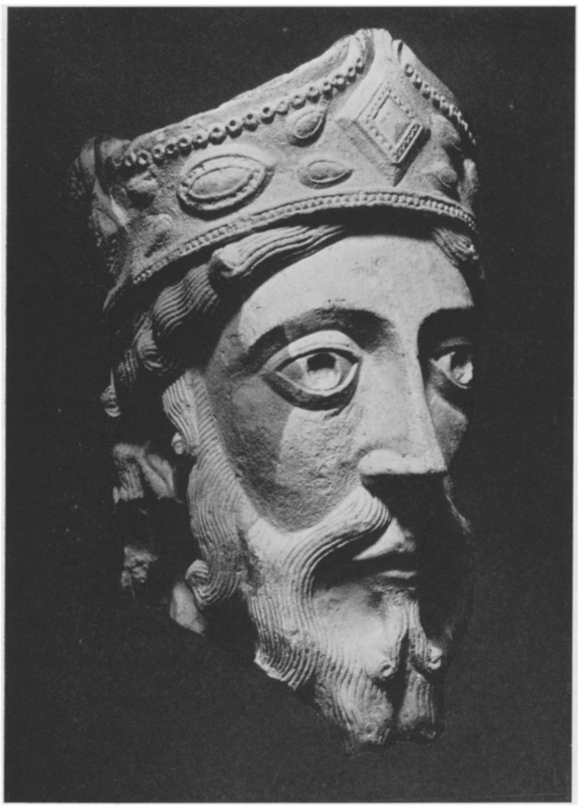


FIGURE 4 WALTERS ART GALLERY
Restorations to Figure 5
(Revealed by ultra-violet ray)



FIGURE 5 WALTERS ART GALLERY
Head of King: so-called "Clothair"
(As purchased)

sufficient to conceal the sharp lines cut by the Parisian restorer, but without attempting to define forms (figs. 1, 10, 11, 12 and 15). Somewhat the same method has been followed in the restoration of Italian primitives by painting in missing areas with neutral colors.[3]

The result in the case of the limestone heads seems to me to be a happy one. The sculptures stand on their own merit, damaged, but with the monumental beauty which is characteristic

[3] *Cf.* E. S. King, *Notes on the Paintings by Giovanni di Paolo in the Walters Collection* in *Art Bulletin*, XVIII (1936), 225, note 12.



FIGURE 6 WALTERS ART GALLERY
So-called "Childebert"
(Surface restorations removed)

of the finest pieces of early Gothic sculpture. The harsh effects of the old restoration have been successfully obliterated and there are no modern replacements to offend the eye. Looked at from certain angles, the heads still present the impression they gave before they were damaged.

II

Identification of the Heads

The task of tracing medieval sculptures now in museums back to the buildings they once adorned is often very difficult. There are various reasons for this. Their earlier history may be lost or forgotten. The vendor may want to conceal the origin of the goods he has to sell for reasons of his own. The difficulty is sometimes complicated by misinformation given for the same reason. The data supplied by the dealer when these heads were bought was that they had come from the "Cathedral of Saint-Denis in Paris." This could only refer to the Royal Abbey of St.-Denis to the north of Paris, the former burial-place of the kings of France, since this is the only important church in Paris dedicated to the French national saint. The dismantled heads now bore resemblance to sculpture of the period of St.-Denis, so it was decided to investigate carefully the dealer's information.

The Abbey of St.-Denis from its foundation in the seventh century was one of the most powerful monastic establishments in France. The Abbey-church, rebuilt on a magnificent scale and dedicated in 1140, was famous through-

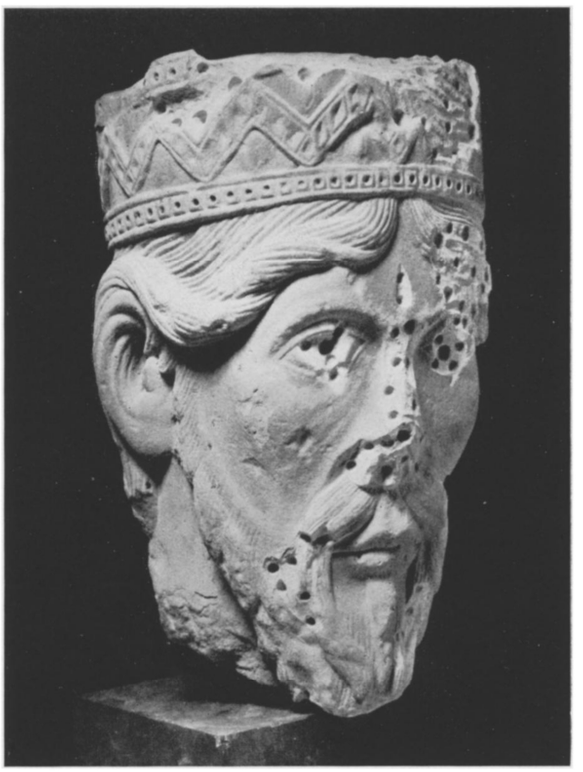


FIGURE 7 WALTERS ART GALLERY
So-called "Childebert" (right side)
(All restorations removed)

out Europe.[4] During a period beginning in 1771 and lasting through the French Revolution, there was considerable damage done to the sculptural monuments at the Abbey.[5] Almost immediately after the Revolution, Alexandre Lenoir[6] in charge of the Museum of French Antiquities, rescued as much as he could of the stained glass and sculpture fragments. Then from 1813 the minister Debret was in charge of the fabric of the building,[7] which he undertook to restore between 1835 and 1845. Debret's restoration was so disastrous that for a long time the sculpture remaining on the building was completely discredited by scholars. After Debret, the famous medievalist, Viollet-le-Duc[8] was put in charge of the fabric and various changes were made from time to time until today the building stands, a monument to the folly of injudicious restorations. Hence there is very little



FIGURE 8 WALTERS ART GALLERY
So-called "Childebert" (left side)
(All restorations removed)



FIGURE 9 WALTERS ART GALLERY
So-called "Childebert" (back of head)

[4] M. Aubert. *Notre-Dame de Paris* (Paris, 1920). Paul Vitry and Gaston Brière, *L'église abbatiale de St.-Denis et ses tombeaux* (Paris, 1925). M. Aubert, *Notre-Dame de Paris: architecture et sculpture* (Paris, 1928), pp. 5 ff. M. Aubert, *French Sculpture at the Beginning of the Gothic Period* (New York and Florence, n.d.), see index. Paul Deschamps. *French Sculpture of the Romanesque Period* (New York and Florence, n.d.), see index.

[5] Vitry and Brière, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

[6] A. Lenoir, *Description historique et chronologique des monuments de sculpture réunis au Musée des Monuments Français* (Paris, 1806). 8th ed., pp 71, 72, 85, 89, 91, etc. A. Lenoir, *Musée Impérial des Monuments Français: recueil de gravures* (Paris, 1811), pl. XXVII (mosaic). L. Courajod, *A. Lenoir: son journal et le Musée des Monuments Français* (Paris, 1878), I, 172 ff.

[7] *Saint-Denys: restauration de l'église royale* in *Annales archéologiques*, I (1843), 230. Didron, *Achèvement des restaurations de St.-Denis* in *Ann. archéol.*, V (1846). Baron de Guilhermy, *Restauration de l'église royale de St.-Denis* in *Ann. archéol.*, V (1846), 200.

[8] Viollet-le-Duc, *L'église impériale de St.-Denis* in *Ann. archéol.*, V (1846), 303.

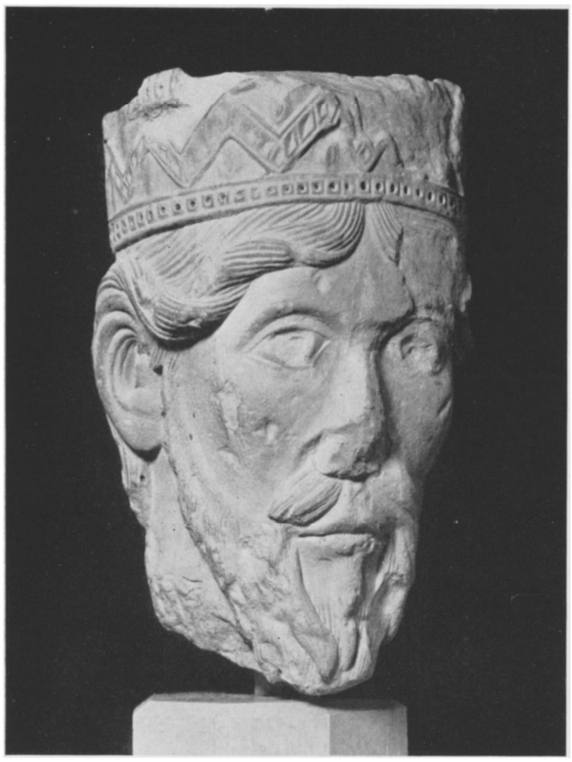


FIGURE 10 WALTERS ART GALLERY

So-called "Childebert"
(Present condition)

at the Abbey itself with which one may compare the Walters sculptures in the hope of reaching some conclusion.

The two heads in the Walters Art Gallery are very large, so large that it is obvious that they came from monumental statues. On the *Portail Royal* of Chartres, which was influenced by St.-Denis, statues of comparable size decorate the columns on either side of the doors, figures close in date to the Walters Gallery sculptures. Now it is known from Montfaucon's *Les Monumens de la monarchie françoise,*[9] published in Paris in 1729, that the west portal of St.-Denis had similar statues, although all trace of them has long since vanished during the many changes the building has undergone. Montfaucon even published engravings of these sculptures after drawings that he had made of the originals. These drawings are now in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris[10] and are rather better for study than the indifferent engravings in the book.

Montfaucon also gave a brief description of these portal-figures, which he identified as kings and queens of France, although now it is generally believed that they were intended to represent Old Testament kings and queens. The words of Montfaucon are as follows:

"We come to the three portals of St.-Denis which are the frontispiece of the church. On the first portal to the left, as one enters, are six statues, five kings and one queen of which the head is lost. The second portal, which is the central one, has eight statues, five kings and three queens, one of which has no head. The third portal has six kings, of which the extreme left one has fallen through the damage of time. Altogether there are sixteen kings and four queens. Nine of these kings have crowns shaped like caps, quite different from each other. There are some which have at the base bands which resemble diadems; the others differ considerably among themselves. Only three of these crowns have the trefoil; which brings us again to what we have often said, that the trefoil was merely an arbitrary ornament. Here the nimbus is no longer used, and it is not found at all from this time on, as I pointed out at length in my preliminary dissertation.

"It should be remarked that this number of sixteen kings comprises all those who reigned from Clovis to the end of his dynasty, counting only those who ruled in Paris, in accordance with the old method of counting; as follows: 1. Clovis. 2. Childebert. 3. Clotaire. 4. Cherebert. 5. Clotaire II. 6. Dagobert. 7. Clovis II.

[9] Pp. 193-4, pls. XVI, XVII, XVIII.

[10] *Cf.* M. Aubert, *French Sculpture,* pl. 2. A. Kingsley Porter, *Romanesque Sculpture of the Pilgrimage Roads* (Boston, 1923), see index and figs. 1445-57.

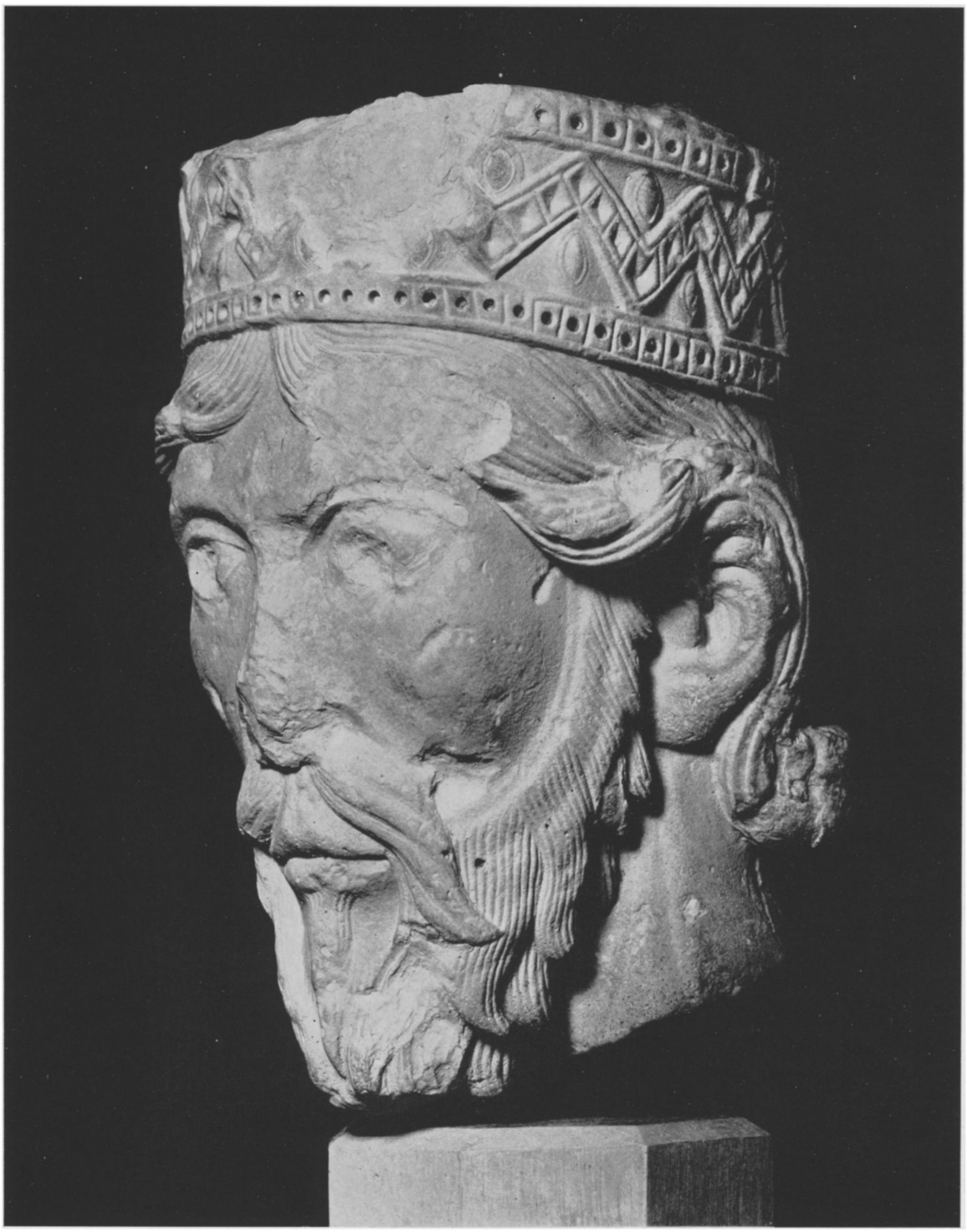


FIGURE 11 WALTERS ART GALLERY

Head of a King from St.-Denis: so-called "Childebert"
(Present condition)



FIGURE 12 WALTERS ART GALLERY

So-called "Clothair"
(Back of head)

8. Clotaire III. 9. Childeric II. 10. Thierri I. 11. Clovis III. 12. Childebert II. 13. Dagobert II. 14. Chilperic. 15. Thierri II. 16. Childeric III."[11]

A comparison of the fragmentary heads in the Walters Art Gallery with the drawings in Paris and the engravings in Montfaucon's book convinces me that our sculptures actually did come from St.-Denis. Making due allowance for the interpolation of the eighteenth-century draftsman's style, one may see that both our fragments correspond exactly with the drawings made directly from the original statues before their destruction.

The first head seems to me to correspond with the one that Montfaucon identified as King Childebert (figs. 10, 11, 16). The beard and mus-



FIGURE 13 WALTERS ART GALLERY

So-called "Clothair" (right side)
(All restorations removed)

11 "Venons aux trois portails de S. Denis qui sont au frontispice de l'Eglise, dont le premier à gauche en entrant a six statuës, cinq Rois & une Reine dont la tête a sauté. Le second qui est celui du milieu en a huit, cinq Rois & trois Reines, dont une n'a plus de tête. Le troisiéme a six Rois, dont l'un qui est à l'extrêmité à gauche est tombé par l'injure du tems. Voilà seize Rois & quatre Reines. De ces Rois il y en a neuf dont les couronnes ont la forme de bonnets, tous differens les uns des autres. Il y en a qui ont au bas des bandes qui approchent des diadêmes; les autres different considerablement entre eux. De toutes ces couronnes il n'y en a que trois qui aient le trefle; ce qui revient à ce que nous avons souvent dit, que ce trefle n'étoit qu'un ornement arbitraire. On ne voit plus ici de nimbe, & l'on ne le trouve point depuis ce tems-là, comme j'ai fait voir au long dans ma dissertation préliminaire.

"Il est à remarquer que ce nombre de seize Rois, comprend tous ceux qui avoient regné depuis Clovis, jusqu'à la fin de sa race, en ne comptant que ceux qui avoient regné dans Paris, selon l'ancienne maniere de compter: les voici. 1. Clovis. 2. Childebert. 3. Clotaire. 4. Cherebert 5. Clotaire II. 6. Dagobert. 7. Clovis II. 8. Clotaire III. 9. Childeric II. 10. Thierri I. 11. Clovis III. 12. Childebert II. 13. Dagobert II. 14. Chilperic. 15. Thierri II. 16. Childeric III." Bernard de Montfaucon, *Les monumens de la monarchie françoise* (Paris, 1729), p. 193.

tache fall in the same way in the sculpture and in the drawing. The hair is carefully combed back above the ears in both. Furthermore, the flat crowns in each instance have precisely the same ornamentation. In short, I believe that the head in Baltimore is from the figure at St.-Denis from which the sketch for Montfaucon's book was made.

The second head in Baltimore resembles two that were sketched for Montfaucon, the Clovis II and the Clothair III, as the old French writer named them. The closest comparisons are, however, with the Clothair III (figs. 1, 15, 17). The drawing was made from the left side of the face, but since this section is now missing, the right-hand side in the sculpture must be compared with the left-hand side sketched by the artist. In each case, even so, the hair and beard have a very similar arrangement. Closer still are the crowns in the sculpture and in the drawing, even to the tripartite decorations that spring up near the top. Again I feel that we have the head from which Montfaucon's sketch was made.



FIGURE 14 WALTERS ART GALLERY
So-called "Clothair" (left side)
(All restorations removed)

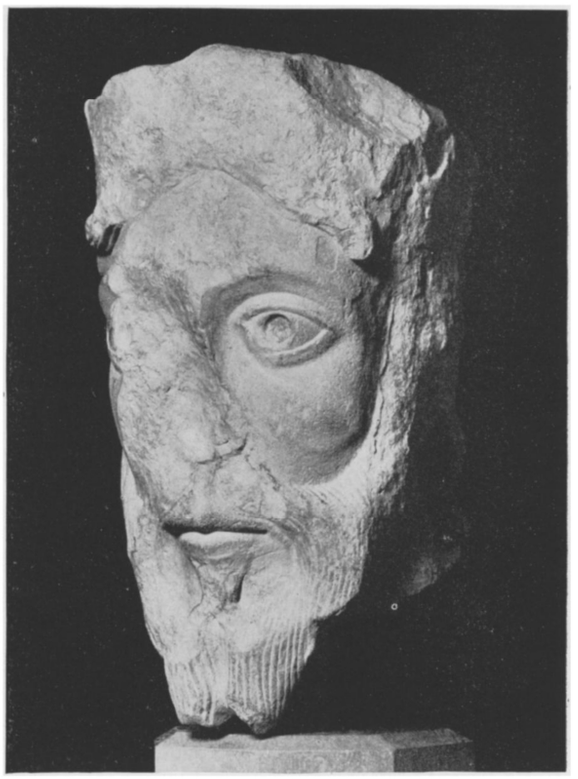


FIGURE 15 WALTERS ART GALLERY
So-called "Clothair"
(Present Condition)

It seems impossible that two such heads, so obviously genuine and so close in detail to the careful drawings made for Montfaucon could have come from any other building. A sculptor who had worked at St.-Denis might have repeated himself again on some other structure, carving a head sufficiently like *one* he had done at St.-Denis to correspond with the drawing, but to have done that twice seems unlikely. When the St.-Denis sculptors went to Étampes



FIGURE 16 BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE
MONTFAUCON
Drawing of "Childebert" (photo A. Kingsley Porter coll.)

and Chartres, immediately after finishing work at St.-Denis, they did not repeat themselves exactly.[12] Therefore, from the comparison with the drawings and from our knowledge of early Gothic sculpture, we can assume that we now have two heads from the great figures on the west portal of St.-Denis, sculptures of the utmost importance that have been lost sight of since the time of the French Revolution. The significance of this fact is discussed more fully in section three of this article.

A New York dealer, Mr. Joseph Brummer, who became much interested in this problem, presented to the Walters Art Gallery a fragment (fig. 20) that he had obtained in St.-Denis from an antiquarian who stated it had been picked up near the Abbey.[13] The fragment, carved from limestone of the same color and texture as that of our two sculptures, shows the forehead of a person and a foliate decoration. The workmanship is very close stylistically to that of the two heads of kings. One may note, for example, the delicate cutting of the upper eyelid which is like the eye on the second Walters' head. When the three pieces are together one sees that all have so much in common that they probably had the same origin. And so the fragment gives us an additional confirmation of the evidence already offered as proof that the two Walters sculptures came from St.-Denis.

An early Gothic head (fig. 19) now in the Fogg Art Museum was stated by the vendor to have come from Parthenay.[14] This third head has considerable resemblance to yet another drawing made for Montfaucon, the so-called Clothair I (fig. 18). The crown, the hair (even to the missing curl on the upper right forehead) and the beard are definitely similar to those in the

[12] M. Aubert, *French Sculpture*, pls. 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11, and 23.
[13] No. 27.498. Height: 4 3/16" (.106); Width: 5 1/16" (.216).
[14] E. M. Benson, *Problems of Portraiture* in *Magazine of Art*, XXX (November, 1937), Special Supplement, p. 4.

drawing. The eyes, contrary to the drawing, do not have holes for the irises. From the side view the head bears considerable resemblance to those in the Walters Art Gallery. The authenticity of the Fogg Museum head has been questioned. The face has a modernized look. The eyeballs which protrude from their sockets, in particular, show signs of reworking. The stone of the Fogg Museum head, the second Baltimore head and the fragment were examined by Mr. Gettens of the Fogg Museum who concluded that the first two and possibly the third could all be from the same source. The matter of identifying limestone accurately is problematical. A further study of the stone by Dr. Fred B. Phleger of Amherst and Miss Frances Parker, both experts in *Foraminifera*, indicates that the material in all three comes from the same kind of limestone formation.[15] This seems to support the identification of the Fogg head as being from St.-Denis.

A side-by-side comparison of the three heads, made when the authorities of the Fogg Museum kindly loaned their sculpture for this purpose, further confirmed this opinion. The surface of the Fogg sculpture presents a grey appearance and is covered with lichen, but underneath the stone has the same color. It is approximately the same size as the others. Despite the obvious fact that it is by a hand different from the sculptor of either of the Walters' heads, many details are similar, such as the ridge along the beard, also to be seen on the "Childebert" head. But the most striking comparison between the "Childebert" and the Fogg head is the peculiar pattern of the coarse ears with large flat lobes (fig. 21). One might hypothesize that the crown and hair of the Fogg sculpture were forged from the Montfaucon drawing, but since the ear does not show in the sketch, it would



FIGURE 17 BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE

MONTFAUCON

Drawing of "Clothaire III" (photo A. Kingsley Porter coll.)

[15] This report is quoted in full at the end of the article.



FIGURE 18 BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE

MONTFAUCON

Drawing of "Clothaire I" (photo A. Kingsley Porter coll.)

have been impossible for a forger to have conceived it so accurately. This adds a third head to the two in the Walters Art Gallery from the west portal at St.-Denis.

The face of the Fogg head, however, has been almost completely reworked and the damaged portions of the beard and hair have been rubbed smooth. So, except from the side, it gives little feeling of the style of sculpture at St.-Denis. Nevertheless, even in its present condition, it is an important document.

Yet another check on the origin of the Baltimore sculptures exists. In the Louvre are a number of small limestone heads about seven and one-half to eight and one-quarter inches high, that are said to have come from the stone-yards of the Abbey of St.-Denis. These heads may have been among the fragments rescued by Lenoir along with the stained glass, taken to Paris for a time, and returned to St.-Denis in 1816. Later in the nineteenth century Courajod,[16] curator at the Louvre, was authorized to make a selection for his museum from the St.-Denis material gathered at the Musée des Petits-Augustins at St.-Denis. He describes in his chapter on the *Fonds de St.-Denis* five small heads, elders of the Apocalypse, that he brought to the Louvre. There are now listed in the catalogue of the Louvre ten heads from the stone-yards at St.-Denis, so possibly others were added to the collection at a later date.[17] However, the records of all these Louvre fragments are very vague, and the peregrinations of the supposed St.-Denis remains have not lessened the confusion. It is thought that the small heads are the remains of sculptures in the tympanum

[16] Courajod, *op. cit.*, III, pp. 377 ff. Porter, *Pilgrimage Sculpture*, figs. 1458-9.

[17] P. Vitry, *Catalogue des sculpteurs du moyen-âge et de la renaissance et des temps modernes. Musée National du Louvre* (Paris, 1939), nos. 30-40. Also note nos. 17-22, 27, 41-46. *Cf.* E. Haraucourt and F. de Montrémy, *Catalogue général: la pierre, le marbre et l'albâtre: Musée des Thermes et l'Hotel de Cluny*, I (Paris, 1922), nos. 606-613, no. 61, no. 94.

and voussoirs of the façade, but no documentary means of identification exists, since Montfaucon published pictures only of the jamb figures. A number of these small heads are in very much the same style as those in the Walters Gallery. The crowns in several instances are the same. Thus we have a further check on our belief that the Baltimore sculptures are from St.-Denis. But even more surely, it seems to me, a check on the origin of the Louvre sculptures, since the Baltimore heads correspond to old drawings made on the spot, while the Louvre heads came from store-rooms that might have been filled with debris from many buildings.

The minister Quinette made a report of what remained at St.-Denis. I have been unable to obtain a copy of this report and I cannot even find mention of its date. Courajod, however, quotes one sentence saying that there were twenty-four heads in the church, debris from the portal of the Abbey.[18] Since only ten heads in the Louvre are described as being from the stone-yards of St.-Denis, it is not impossible that the two in Baltimore were among the other fourteen not rescued. The statements in the report are so vague that there is no proof that Quinette could have included these two, but this information indicates that other heads existed at that time that did not go to the Louvre. The others not yet accounted for, when found, may increase further our knowledge of this monument, so important in the history of early Gothic sculpture.

With the identification of the three heads under discussion, we are at least able to judge better the style of the sculpture at St.-Denis and check the theories that have been built up about the west portal in relation to the other early Gothic cathedrals in France. It would be still more helpful if one of the complete figures could be found to give us an idea of the carving of the drapery.

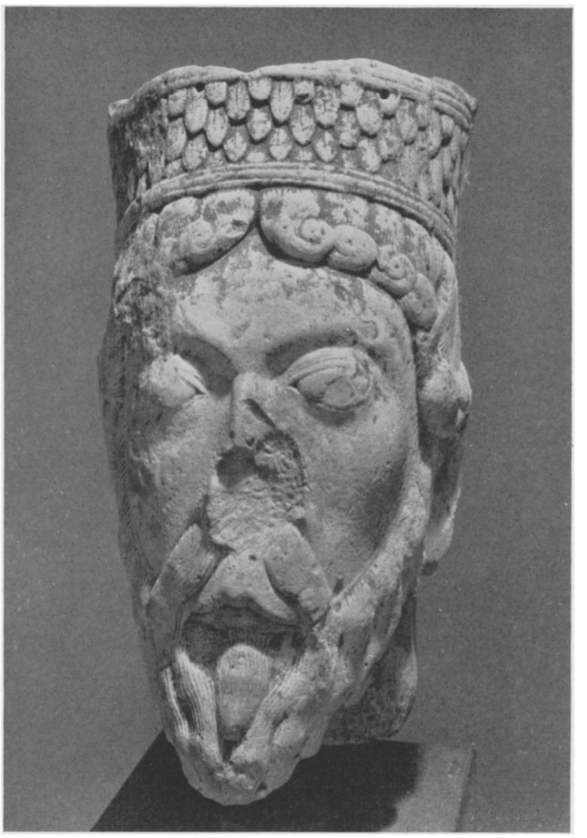


FIGURE 19 FOGG ART MUSEUM

Head of a King

III

Importance of the Sculptures in Baltimore

The new Gothic spirit in sculpture that is seen at Chartres, the Cathedral of Paris, and the other great Gothic monuments of France received its first expression, as is well known, at St.-Denis. Suger, adviser to Louis VI and Louis VII successively, and Regent of France, was elected Abbot in 1126. He had travelled much, having been at least twice to Italy, and

[18] Courajod, *op. cit.*, III, 401, note. Quinette, *"Note des objets qui restent à recueillir dans la ci-devant abbaye de Saint-Denis, d'après l'autorisation du ministre de l'intérieur . . . 3° Dans l'église, vingt-quatre têtes environ, débris de monumens du moyen-âge, provenant de la démolition du portail," etc.*

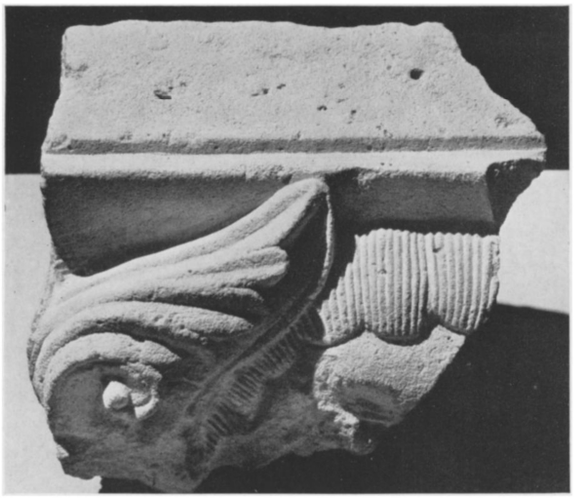


FIGURE 20 WALTERS ART GALLERY

Carved Fragment from St.-Denis

was greatly interested in art, judging from his letters. He conceived the idea of rebuilding the ancient Abbey-church of St.-Denis.

In carrying out his plans for St.-Denis, Suger borrowed ideas from many places, and called artists not only from different parts of France, but also from abroad. Enamellers came from Lotharingia, mosaic-workers from Italy. Sculptors came from Burgundy and Aquitaine.[19] These artists of many crafts and many traditions were united under the direction of Suger to produce a magnificent building, rich in sculptural and other decoration, that has been called the first expression of Gothic art in France, and that in fact was the first great building embodying the style that was to develop in France during the succeeding centuries.

St.-Denis, built in a region where there had been no great Romanesque building, stands as the transitional monument from the Romanesque to the Gothic. Signal personages often shape and bring about such events. Suger was, no doubt, one of these. He was an organizer. The technical skill belonged to the artists, many of the ideas were doubtless brought to St.-Denis by them, but Suger was the master who gathered together metalworkers, sculptors, stained-glass makers and architects, and fused all their productiveness into a whole, the greatest church conceived in the Ile-de-France up to that time, and one that altered the subsequent history of French architecture and sculpture.

Suger probably began planning the rebuilding of his Abbey-church as soon as he was elected Abbot. The work began about 1132. The west portal itself is thought to have been begun about 1135 and finished by June 9, 1140, when there was a dedication. Although Suger does not describe in detail the sculpture of the west portal as he does the bronze doors[20] and the interior fittings, we know from an inscription that he caused to be carved on the doorway that the "Last Judgment" was already in place at the time of the dedication.[21] We know also that the mosaic above the left doorway, put there by Suger, was still in place in 1771,[22] therefore we may assume that there had been no essential alterations after Suger's time. And so the statues from which Montfaucon ordered his sketches made about 1725 were without question those put up under Suger's direction before June 9, 1140. That the portal was done in Suger's time was also assumed by the monk Jacques Doublet,[23] writing early in the seventeenth century.

This west portal in particular is considered to have been one of the most significant sculptured monuments in France. It was here in the central tympanum that the "Last Judgment" scene, already sculptured at Beaulieu and else-

[19] A. K. Porter, *The Rise of Romanesque Sculpture* in *American Journal of Archaeology*, XXII (1918), 399 ff.

[20] R. Berger, *Die Darstellung des thronenden Christus* (Reutlingen, 1926), p. 109, note 1.

[21] E. Mâle, *L'art religieux du XII ième siècle en France* (Paris, 1928), p. 177.

[22] R. de Lasteyrie, *Études sur la sculpture française* in *Monuments Piot*, VIII (1902), 35, note 1.

[23] J. Doublet, *L'histoire de l'abbaye de St.-Denys* (Paris, 1625), p. 239.

where, received its definitive Gothic form. The great column-figures, twenty in all, on either side of the three doorways were an innovation, although there were forerunners in Aquitaine and northern Italy.[24] But it was at St.-Denis that for the first time they were used in the way that became characteristic. The subsequent versions of these figures at Chartres and elsewhere are among our most familiar Gothic sculptures. Important as these sculptures were and as much as has been written about them, until now we have been unable to judge them except from the beautiful drawings in the Bibliothèque Nationale and the rather poor engravings in Montfaucon's book. When this was published in 1729 there were already injuries to the great column figures, and they were further damaged in 1771 and still more so during the French Revolution.

Archaeologists are agreed that, devastating as was the damage to the great Abbey-church during the violence of the Revolution, almost equal injury was done to the sculpture by the series of well-meaning architects who undertook the restoration of the edifice. After most of the sculptured fragments had been carted away to Paris and back, and doubtless confused with debris from other buildings in the process, the carvings still remaining on the church were almost entirely done over by Brun, the sculptor, and his assistants during Debret's regime.[25] They omitted completely the column figures on the west front.[26] For long afterward the sculpture of the west portal was so discredited by scholars that many were inclined to dismiss it from discussions of twelfth-century portals.[27] Some were even skeptical about the west portal's being executed for Suger at all, so little was left from which one could judge. The impression that the existing portal of St.-Denis made upon me on two visits, the last one five years ago, was one of dullness and lifelessness.

After a while scholars commenced to study the drawings made for Montfaucon and the notes on Debret's restorations made at the time by the Baron de Guilhermy. Emile Mâle[28] pointed out that the *iconography* was essentially as it had been except for the removal of the column figures and various other changes noted by De Guilhermy. Accepting the main outlines of the composition of the west portal, Mâle was the first to come to the conclusion that here the Gothic portal was first developed, and that it was from St.-Denis that the sculptors went bearing to Chartres, Étampes, Le Mans, Bourges, and elsewhere the new spirit.

The small heads in the Louvre which are said to have come from St.-Denis, and which would have been from the tympanum and voussoirs of the portal, are insufficient to give us a full realization of the character of the monumental sculptures made for Suger. The identification of the Walters heads and that at the Fogg Museum as coming from the great jamb figures enables us for the first time to judge the style and quality of the masters who inaugurated Gothic sculpture in France.

Romanesque sculpture was chiefly architectonic and severe. It had been unrealistic and decorative. Gothic sculpture on the other hand gradually freed itself from architecture, became more human and tended increasingly to stand alone as sculpture, *per se*. The first steps in this new tendency may be noticed in the column-figures at St.-Denis, as the drawings show them to us. The figures are still severe and architectural, carved from the same block of stone as

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[24] A. K. Porter, *Two Romanesque Sculptures in France by Italian Masters* in *American Journal of Archaeology*, XXIV (1920), 121.

[25] Aubert, *French Sculpture*, p. 4.

[26] *Ibid.*, pl. I.

[27] G. Fleury, *Études sur les portails imagés du XII^e siècle, leur iconographie et leur symbolisme* (Mamers, 1904), p. 251.

[28] E. Mâle, *op. cit.*, pp. 151 ff.

the column, seen best in the partially broken one sketched for Montfaucon.[29] Yet the columns are more slender, the figures inclined to separate from them. The tendency becomes more marked in succeeding buildings, as at Chartres and Bourges, and ends with the figures almost completely separate from the columns, as in the Moutier-St.-Jean portal at the Cloisters, New York.[30]

The two heads of kings in Baltimore mingle qualities proper to both Romanesque and Gothic sculpture and illustrate the transitional character attributed to St.-Denis style by the French scholars on the basis of documents, old drawings and the restored portal at St.-Denis. The heads are monumental and severe, traits characteristic of Romanesque art. They lack the quality of pleasing grace associated with developed Gothic sculpture. The central portions of the eyes, the pupils and irises, are represented by round holes, probably once filled with lead, a feature found often in Romanesque sculpture and seldom in Gothic. The smaller heads in the Louvre said to be from St.-Denis show some eyes with holes, others without. At Chartres the procedure is reversed, the large figures have no holes in the eyes, while the smaller ones sometimes have, and sometimes do not, thus suggesting that Chartres was the next step in the Gothic development. However, the head from a large figure formerly on the St. Anne portal at Notre-Dame of Paris, recently published by Mr. Rorimer,[31] has the holes in the eyes as at St.-Denis, so I wonder if the date of the Notre-Dame figures might not need reexamination in the light of the more recent discovery in Baltimore.

On the other hand, the first head, the so-called "Childebert," points to the new Gothic style. As Gothic sculpture became more human, it became steadily freer from its setting. The Walters head was partially detached from the column (fig. 9), thus showing us the initial step in this direction. The arrangement of the hair on this first head, falling symmetrically over the ears, was to lead the way to such sculptures as the *Beau-Dieu* type and the Apostles that became a regular feature of Gothic cathedrals.

That the importance of the St.-Denis column-figures has long been correctly established in the history of art, can now be attested by the actual sculptures at the Walters. But their beauty could never before have been realized by any modern scholar. The sensitive modelling of the lips, although the area around about them is damaged, seems like a miracle. The delicate outlining of the eyelids is most moving. The sharply marked planes of the face, illustrated in figure 14, indicate that facial traits which seem characteristic of the French today were already established in the early twelfth century. The sculptor caught them most faithfully. Sensitive and delicate as are the individual parts of these faces, there is no loss of strength. This combination seems to me to make these sculptures superior even to those on the *Portail Royal* of Chartres.

The question of where the sculptors went next after finishing their work at St.-Denis is one that I cannot take up until it is possible to visit France once again. Mâle's theory that the stained-glass workers went from St.-Denis to Chartres has recently been confirmed by the discovery of some sketches by Percier.[32] These were made at the end of the eighteenth century before the partial destruction of the St.-Denis

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[29] Montfaucon, *op. cit.*, pl. XVII.

[30] Alfred M. Frankfurter, *Reuniting a Gothic Monument* in *Art News*, XXXVIII (June 1, 1940), 7.

[31] *A Twelfth-century Head of King David from Notre-Dame* in *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (Jan., 1940), pp. 17 ff.

[32] Georges Huard, *Percier et l'abbaye de St.-Denis* in *Les monuments historiques de la France* (1936), pp. 134 ff.

glass, and link directly the glass at the two places. In the same way the second head in Baltimore, "Clothair," confirms the theory of the close relation of the sculptures at St.-Denis and Chartres, since such features as the stylization of the curly beard recur again at Chartres. The two heads in Baltimore are obviously by different sculptors, and it would be interesting to have the history of the peregrinations of these artists among the French cathedrals.[33] But any further work on this subject must be suspended for the time being.

This paper is offered now to call attention to these truly beautiful and important sculptures. Perhaps it will enable other scholars to find still other fragments from St.-Denis.[34] I know of the possibility of the existence of two other small heads not previously discussed and have seen another small piece acquired in Paris that seems to be by a sculptor who worked at St.-Denis. There is also the question yet of the twelve or fourteen mentioned by Quinette that did not go to the Louvre. Further, since it is now proven that two of the large heads have survived, I wonder if the actual figures may be found. These are tantalizing possibilities to stimulate the researches of students of early Gothic sculpture.

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[33] For instance, Dr. Hanns Swarzenski has called my attention to the existence in the church at Mantes of a head from a statue which resembles in many ways a St.-Denis figure sketched for Montfaucon (Porter, *Pilgrimage Sculpture,* fig. 1447). The head is not from St.-Denis (see *Magazine of Art,* Dec. 1940) but is definitely by a sculptor of the St.-Denis workshop.

[34] J. B(reck), *Twelfth Century Sculpture* in *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art,* VIII (1913), 249-50. The Metropolitan Museum of Art possesses a capital said to be from St.-Denis.

APPENDIX

NOTE ON THE MICROSCOPIC AND CHEMICAL EXAMINATION OF SPECIMENS OF STONE FROM SCULPTURED STONE HEADS

BY RUTHERFORD J. GETTENS

Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University

Three specimens were taken for examination:

1. "Head of a King," French, XII century; Fogg Art Museum, 1920-30. The specimen was chipped from the base. It was identified as limestone. It was light, warm gray in tone, fairly coarsely crystalline, but soft and easily crushed. Scattered in the matrix were a few tiny fossil remains with the general appearance of *Foraminifera*. When a small portion of the specimen was treated with dilute hydrochloric acid, it was almost completely dissolved with strong effervescence, but there was left a small undissolved residue which was chiefly of quartz. The quartz particles were sharp and irregular in form and size and some were fairly coarse. Undissolved also were a few scattered yellow and red particles of iron oxide. The warm tone of the limestone is no doubt caused by its small iron content.

2. "Head of a King," French, Walters Art Gallery, no. 27.22. The specimen was taken from the base. It was also limestone and, so far as could be observed, was closely similar to, if not identical with, the limestone of the Fogg Museum head of a king (specimen 1). The specimen also contained tiny fossil remains and some were apparently *Foraminifera*. The stone was also almost completely soluble in dilute hydrochloric acid, leaving a small residue of irregular quartz grains. This residue was entirely similar in quantity and character to the residue from specimen 1 and contained scattered yellow and red particles of iron oxide.

On one side of the specimen chip was a thin layer of gesso or plaster of Paris. The texture of this material was much finer than the limestone and its artificial origin was indicated by the presence of numerous bubbles or rounded air pockets throughout the entire depth of the thin layer. Chemical tests showed it to be calcium sulphate. It is perhaps part of an old repair made with plaster of Paris.

3. Chip of stone said to have been picked up at St.-Denis by Mr. Joseph Brummer; Walters Art Gallery, no. 27.498. This specimen was also limestone and resembled very closely in appearance and in physical structure the limestone from the two stone heads (specimens 1 and 2). It contained similar fossil forms and gave a like residue when treated with dilute hydrochloric acid. The only difference observed was that the specimen appeared to contain slightly more iron than specimens from the two stone heads, but the difference, if any, was very slight.

Chemical and microscopic study carried to this point showed great similarity between the stone specimens and provided no evidence that they were of different geographic origin. Quantitative analysis would have provided additional data for comparison, but samples, of sufficient size for the purpose were not available. Since it was observed, however, that the specimens were fossil-bearing, it was thought that perhaps paleontological study would provide a more satisfactory basis for comparison than quantitative data. Such evidence is of greater value where questions of geographic origin are concerned. The specimens were taken to the Department of Paleontology, Harvard University, where, through the courtesy of Mr. H. C. Stetson, thin sections were prepared. These, in turn, were referred to Dr. Fred B. Phleger of Amherst College and Miss Frances Parker of the United States Geological Survey, who are both specialists in *Foramini-*

fera. Mr. Stetson reported: "Dr. Phleger and Miss Parker agree that the limestone in the three sections comes from the same geological formation. The family *Miliolidae*, especially the genus *Quinqueloculina*, is abundant and common to each. The textures of the samples are similar and the material is derived very largely from shells of marine organisms. The Bedford limestone so widely used for building in this country had a similar mode of formation. It is impossible for us to say whether the material came from the same quarry or from nearby quarries in the same formation. The specimen from the head in the Walters Gallery (specimen 2) shows certain forms which do not occur in the other two, but, when the small size of the sample is considered, this difference might easily be accounted for by accidents of sampling even in the same locality."

The evidence from the observations made above does not prove that the specimens necessarily came from the same locality. Limestone occurs extensively on the earth's surface and many widely separated deposits may be very similar in composition and in their fossil assemblages, although others differ greatly. On the basis of the observations, it can be said that there is no evidence to indicate that the stone specimens did not come from different sources. If it is concluded on stylistic grounds that the heads are similar or identical in origin, these technical observations do not stand in the way.



FIGURE 21 FOGG ART MUSEUM

Head of a King

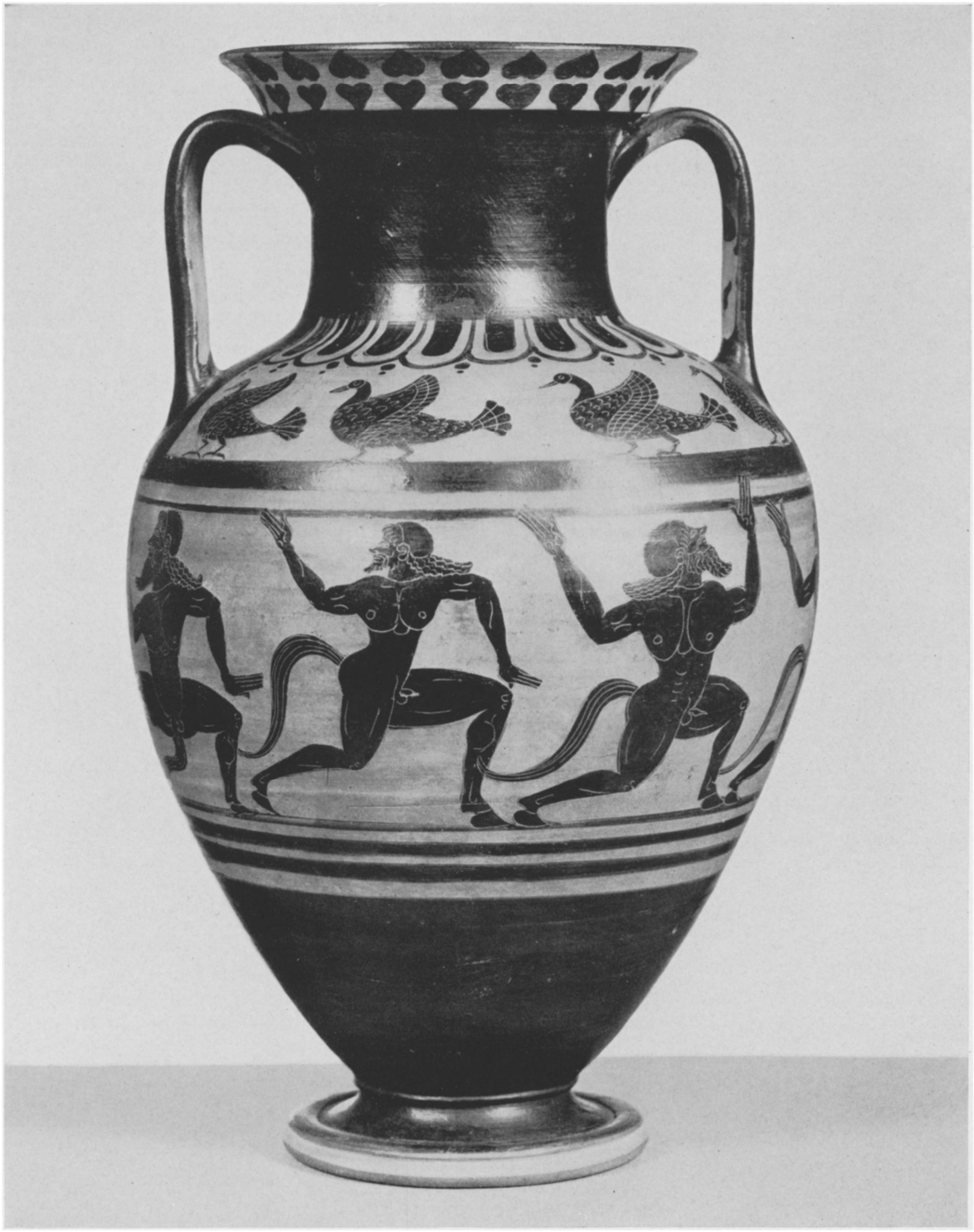


FIGURE 1 WALTERS ART GALLERY

Etruscan Amphora



FIGURE 2 WALTERS ART GALLERY

Attic "Little Master" Cup

CASTEL CAMPANILE AND ITS POTTERY*

BY DOROTHY KENT HILL

The Walters Art Gallery

IN THE WALTERS collection of Greek and Etruscan vases are thirteen marked with neatly printed labels, "Castel Campanile, 1837," In order to catalogue the collection it seemed to be a necessary and presumably easy step to ascertain the complete history of this group of vases, so definitely marked. But the solution was long delayed. Although it was known that the immediate source from which Mr. Walters obtained the vases was the collection assembled by Don Marcello Massarenti in the Accoramboni Palace in Rome, beyond that it was impossible to trace them.[1] Still more strange, the name Castel Campanile did not appear on any of the archaeological maps or in any of the good current bibliographies on the archaeology of Italy.

Two years later Professor Van Buren of the American Academy in Rome helped me locate the district within the old Etruscan territory only a few miles from Rome, by referring to the literature of about the date given on the labels: 1837. Strangely enough, the topographers of that period, those explorers who went on foot

* Study aided by a grant from American Philosophical Society.

[1] E. van Esbroeck, etc., *Catalogue du musée de peinture, sculpture et archéologie au Palais Accoramboni* (Rome, 1897).



FIGURE 3 BRYN MAWR COLLEGE

Lakonian Kylix

over the whole classical world, had a vastly more scientific attitude than their successors. They realized instinctively that all spots and all excavations are worth recording even if they seem poor and mean; while the rest of us, subscribing to this in theory, have often failed in practice.

Finally, two more vases with the same labels were found, one in Oxford, the other at Bryn Mawr College. The latter supplies the missing link connecting all the vases with the Borghese collections.

Lured by the labels on the vases, I have attempted to reconstruct as much as possible of the history of Castel Campanile and to restore this district to the position of archaeological importance which it should have held ever since the 1830's. To do this I first visited the spot in 1938 and then, being convinced of its possibilities, returned in 1939 to clear out the tombs and study the terrain.[2] Although the picture is by no means complete, and although one cannot

[2] The field work was done by the archaeological department of the Italian Government under the direction of Mr. Carlo Felice, assistant in charge of the excavations at Cerveteri. I am indebted to him for great help and kindness, to Professor P. Romanelli and Dr. Moretti for permission to have the work done, and to Mr. L. Brusa who made the drawings and some of the photographs. The field work was financed by a grant from the American Philosophical Society. I am indebted to Mr. D. B. Harden of the Ashmolean Museum and to Miss Mary H. Swindler of Bryn Mawr College for permission to illustrate objects in the collections of these institutions.

yet assign the vases to particular tombs, we can recognize once more an Etruscan city with a cemetery and many scattered tombs, and we can gain a fair idea of its importance and connections in ancient times. It is now clear that this city, so long forgotten, contributed at the time of its excavation a fair share of material for the erection of that structure of history which we today take for granted, often forgetting that it was built stone by stone as were the monuments themselves.

Part I: The Pottery

"Castel Campanile, 1837"

The pottery with the Castel Campanile labels, so far as has come to light, consists of fifteen pieces (figs. 1-9, 18, 19, 21-29). Of these thirteen are now in the Walters Art Gallery, and the remaining two vases are in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, and Bryn Mawr College, respectively. A complete descriptive list with related bibliography is attached to this article as an appendix. In analyzing this list, one observes that there are three non-Attic black-figured vases. Of these one is of the "Chalcidian" ware which has been shown by Smith to have been made at Caere; and another is of the Siren Painter's ware, recently assigned to Caere by Dohrn. The third is an import from far-away Sparta, which sent many vases to Etruria.

The eight Attic black-figured vases form the largest group. These cover the whole history of the ware from 540 to 480 B. C. and several of them are of high quality. The late date of numbers 10 and 11, based on the studies of Miss Haspels, is of some importance for our purposes. It has often been remarked that Greek imports into Italy are much rarer in the fifth century B. C. than in the sixth. However, since some of the ware formerly dated in the sixth century actually belongs to the fifth, the gap is partially closed. In the case of our site, there are preserved from the entire fifth century only these two little vases and the red-figured hydria, number 12, which is much less than the number of vases from the sixth; and in this it corresponds to other Italian sites.

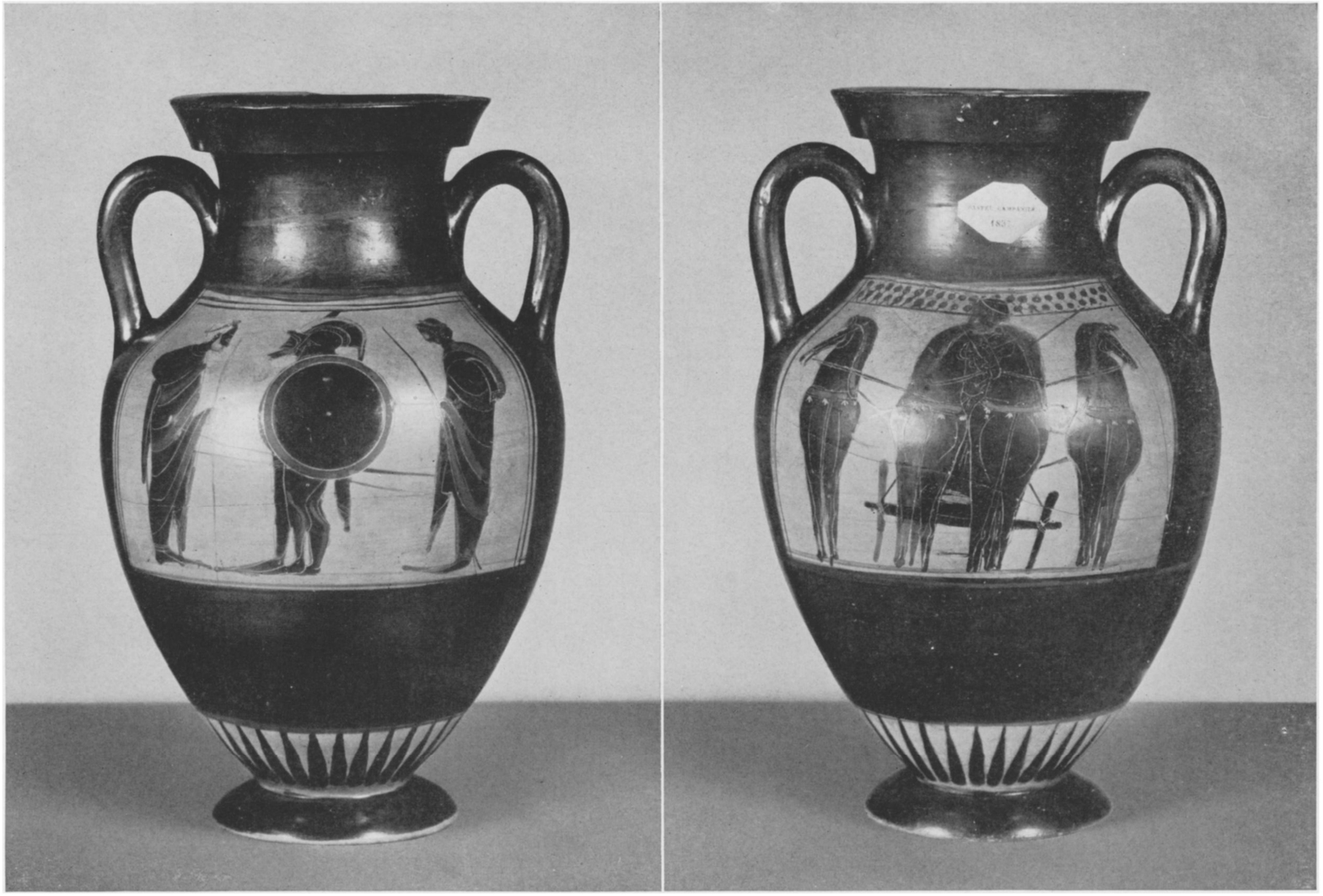
The Etruscan stamnoi cannot yet be allocated to a particular city, but it is significant that they are Etruscan, as distinct from the contemporary Faliscan ware. Faliscan pottery is to be recognized by the inscriptions which never are in Etruscan, but are in Latin and Faliscan, an Italic dialect close to Latin;[3] and by the elaborate use of ornament: palmette, lotus, acanthus and wave patterns, and of animal scenes with griffins and sea-monsters. The truly Etruscan pottery of this period is reminiscent of a contact with Greece long before, while the Faliscan seems to reflect newer Greek influence by way of Campania.



FIGURE 4 OXFORD, ASHMOLEAN MUSEUM

"Chalcidian" Hydria

[3] L. Savignoni, *Bolletino d'Arte*, Ser. I, X (Rome, 1916), 351.



FIGURES 5, 6

WALTERS ART GALLERY

Attic Black-figured Amphora

The importance of the pottery cannot be appreciated until we have examined the country in which it was found, and, therefore, this is our next task.

Part II: The District

"Regio non satis explorata"

The district, the estate or *tenuta* of Castel Campanile, is a large tract of sparsely inhabited and sparsely cultivated land between Rome and ancient Caere, modern Cerveteri. It is thirty-one kilometers from the former and eight from the latter in a direct line, a line which no one ever follows. Modern cultivation is just reaching it after centuries of almost complete abandonment, due to malaria and to the poverty of the soil. It boasts two or three farm houses. The only signs of older habitation are the rather impressive walls and gate on the Castellaccio, a hill in the middle of the district, called by a name applied to many an unattractive ancient site in Italy. Among our difficulties in interpreting the old explorers' work is that of distinguishing among references to various places of this name, as well as between references to this Castellaccio and to Castel Campanile as a whole.

The first reference to this district in modern archaeological literature was in the year 1831. In the bulletin of the newly organized archaeological institute in Rome, an editorial summary of that year's work by Gerhard called attention to the excavations made in the *tenuta* of Castel Campanile which belonged to the Borghese family.[4] These excavations, said Gerhard, provided new documents proving the dominance of Greek art over this part of Etruria. Gerhard credited his observation of the importance of the vases from Castel Campanile to Fea, who had remarked upon this fact at a meeting of the institute in Rome on December 9, 1831.[5] At the same meeting Beugnot had announced that vases identical with those from Etruria had been acquired by him on the Greek island of Aegina.[6] The observation of the Greek character of these vases was of the greatest importance. Gerhard that very year published the final report on the excavating of Vulci three years previously, the first controlled excavation of Etruscan tombs containing painted vases.[7] Gerhard classified the vases from Vulci according to technique, form, and inscriptions, and concluded that most of them had been made by Greek craftsmen in Etruria.[8] Even in those days when archaeologists could think fast, six years were required before Kramer made the final deduction and proved that the majority of the painted vases found in Etruria had been made by Greeks in Greece.[9] The excavations at Castel Campanile had not been in vain. Although the vases found there in 1831 cannot now be identified, they had helped Kramer toward this, one of the most important archaeological conclusions of the first half of the nineteenth century.[10]

The excavations were continued the next year. This time those in charge were employed by the Borghese house, and one of them was Canina, who was their private architect and also an archaeologist of note. He was accompanied by a certain Spagna, who seems to have had merely a business interest. It is possible that these two had made the excavations of the previ-

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[4] *Bulletino dell'Instituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica,* III (Rome, 1831), 209 f.

[5] Fea's *printed* remarks do not specifically mention Castel Campanile.

[6] *Ibid.,* p. 196.

[7] *Annali dell'Instituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica,* III (Rome, 1831), 5-218.

[8] *Ibid.,* p. 104 ff.

[9] G. Kramer, *Über den Styl und die Herkunst der bemalten griechischen Thongefässe* (Berlin, 1837). He summarizes the literature of the years just preceding on p. 3.

[10] The possibility of this fact had been envisaged even in the eighteenth century. See A. Michaelis, *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain* (Cambridge, 1882), p. 110. For another account of Kramer's work see Michaelis, *A Century of Archaeological Discoveries* (London, 1908), pp. 67 ff.



FIGURE 7 WALTERS ART GALLERY

Attic "Little Master" Cup

ous year.[11] Canina published what he doubtless considered a sufficiently full report of the excavations, although it does not state specifically just where he excavated nor describe a single find![12] The vases, he says, are as fine as any from the other Etruscan cities, from Magna Graecia, or from Greece itself. They are in tombs, not grand ones like those of Tarquinii and Vulci, but simple little holes cut in the native tufa, scattered through the country in groups of not more than seven or eight. He thinks that the tombs do not belong to the inhabitants of a large city, but to families living alone or in tiny villages. The Castellaccio shows, by its large tombs, that it was a more important place. After discoursing a bit on the late ruins on the Castellaccio, Canina closes with the hope that this district, which has not yet been tormented by too much excavation, may provide many beautiful antiques for the Villa Pinciana. What a pity it is that we do not know whether or to what extent his hopes were realized—that it is impossible to identify a single piece which is or has been in the Villa Pinciana (the present Villa Borghese, or Villa Umberto I) as coming from the excavations at Castel Campanile!

Excavators always receive visitors whether they like it or not, and often the visitors have more to say about the meaning of the work than those directing it. True to form, Canina received his colleagues Coppi and Nibby one day in 1832. They visited him at the Castellaccio, and are our only sources for the knowledge that he excavated there. Coppi wrote, four years later, a monograph on the district, called *Ceri, Cerveteri and Castel Campanile.* To him, Castel Campanile meant only the hill of the Castellaccio, which he had visited first in 1815 noting

[11] A. Coppi, *Dissertazione della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia,* Ser. I, VII (1836), 346. He states that they excavated both years.

[12] *Bulletino dell'Instituto,* IV (1832), 105 f.

many late ruins, and now visited once more with the excavator. He recorded that the excavators had found many columns and small marbles, as well as Etruscan tombs containing vases, throughout the district.[13]

His companion, Nibby, had other interests. He was a topographer, and saw the Castellaccio as a place to identify. Livy (IV, 61) once discussed a battle at a Volscian city called Artena, taking place at a time just before the final destruction of Rome's great rival, Veii. The siege of Artena, he says, was prolonged because a small garrison withdrew to the citadel of the town, which was strong by nature and capable of being held by a few men, and there held out with good prospect of success, because all the grain had been carried onto the citadel. Eventually they were defeated, because a traitor showed the Romans a way of scaling the citadel at an unexpected point. And, says Livy, some think that all this happened at Artena of the Veians. But they are wrong. Actually, Livy continues, there was another Artena which was between Caere and Veii, but it belonged to the Caeretans, not the Veians, and it was destroyed by the kings of Rome.

This second Caeretan Artena Nibby recognized at Castellaccio. Incidently, Nibby alone says that potsherds as well as marbles had been found on the Castellaccio. He first published his

[13] Coppi, *op. cit.*, pp. 344, 346.



FIGURE 8 WALTERS ART GALLERY

Attic Black-figured Kylix

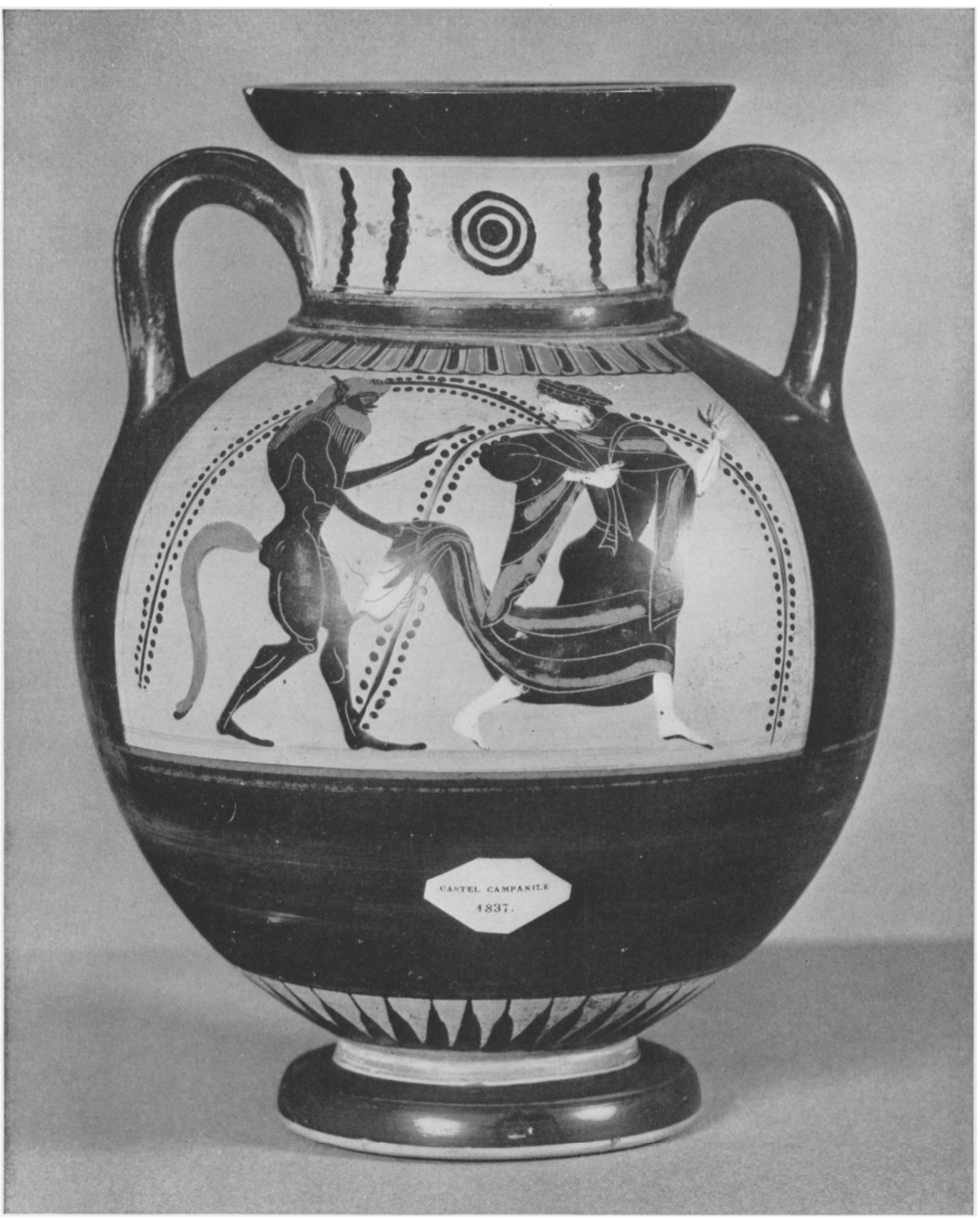


FIGURE 9 WALTERS ART GALLERY

Attic Black-figured Amphora

theory on the identification of Artena in 1837,[14] but he had confided it to his colleagues earlier. Gell, another great topographer, disagreed, apparently on general principles. In his book, *The Topography of Rome and its Vicinity*, first published in 1834, he mentions Castellaccio as a town discovered by Nibby, with its tombs plainly visible outside. The discoverer, he says, calls this Artena of the Caeretans, which town, is, however, really to be located at modern Buccea, considerably farther east.[15]

Rather more important than Gell's views on a question which he could not settle was his publishing, in 1834, the first surveyed map of the Roman area.[16] Variants of this appeared in many subsequent works, among them Nibby's book. The part of it including the area about Castel Campanile is reproduced here (fig. 10). Nibby marked the "*Castellaccio urbs antiqua*" and with even greater wisdom labelled the whole district as it so well might be labelled today, "*Regio non satis explorata.*"

Of the excavations of the year 1837 we have no evidence except that of the labels on our vases. The excavations were never mentioned in print. It is tempting to guess that they also were conducted by Canina. Certainly they were authorized by the Borghese family and the finds became part of their collections. It must have been while the vases were there that they were labelled with the place and date of excavation. The Bryn Mawr vase (appendix no. 2) was sold out of an exhibition case at the Borghese Palace at Practica di Mare, the supposed site of ancient Lavinium, near the coast south of Rome.[17] Presumably all the products of the excavation were taken to this palace, one of the several residences of the Borghese, and were sold subsequently to the Massarenti collection and the Brauer collection.

In 1846 the former excavator, Canina, touched on Castel Campanile again in his great work, *L'Antica Etruria Marittima*. He located the place on his new map, here reproduced in part (fig. 30). He rejected absolutely the suggestion that the Castellaccio could be Artena, which, he claimed, should be located at Tragliatella, to the northeast. Castellaccio, he said, is not really between Caere and Veii—and indeed it is slightly south of a straight line connecting the two. In his opinion, the Castellaccio was simply a sort of rest station for persons coming to the hot sulphur baths in the neighborhood, although he admitted that the number of tombs is witness to a huge population in ancient times.[18] Like the others, he gave no real proof of his topographical identification, for none exists.

It is strange that the most ambitious of all the topographers of Etruria, Dennis, did not think the Castellaccio of Castel Campanile worth a good look. He does not say that he ever visited the place, and merely mentions in a footnote the rival claims of Castellaccio and Buccea and Tragliatella, as put forward by Nibby and Gell and Canina, to be the ancient Artena.[19]

The fashion of neglect set by Dennis was slavishly followed, and there is no new mention of Castellaccio of Castel Campanile until sixty-four years after Canina's book. Tomassetti, in dealing once more with the Roman Campagna, pointed to the Castellaccio, accepting Nibby's identification of it as Artena and referring to the old excavations which he wrongly dated 1824.[20]

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[14] A. Nibby, *Analisi storico-topografico-antiquario della carta de' dintorni di Roma* (1837), I, 426 f.; 2nd ed. (Rome, 1848), I, 265 ff.

[15] W. Gell, *Topography of Rome and its Vicinity* (London, 1834), I, 195 f., 282; 2nd ed. (London, 1846), 110, 160.

[16] Gell, *Rome and its Environs from Trigonometrical Survey* (London, 1834). (Sometimes considered a part of the preceding.)

[17] *American Journal of Archaeology,* XX (1916), 309.

[18] C. L. Canina, *L'antica Etruria marittima* (1846), pp. 163 f., pl. XLI.

[19] G. Dennis, *Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria,* 2nd ed. (London, 1878), I, 284, n. 8.

[20] G. Tomassetti, *Campagna Romana,* II (Rome, 1910), 533 ff. The observations were made by his son.



FIGURE 10

Map of District Around Castel Campanile (after Gell)

He described the later ruins on the Castellaccio at some length and mentioned some grottoes. Still more recently Ashby mentioned the place, but declared that he could find nothing earlier than medieval except one marble block, presumably Roman.[21] The topographer's keen eye, however, was caught by the magnificence of the site. It is remarkable that Ashby did not act upon a hunch and search for the vestiges of the ancient city.[22]

The whole land, then, a century after its discovery by the modern world and its excavation is still truly, "*regio non satis explorata.*"

Part III: The City and Cemetery

"*Castellaccio urbs antiqua*"

The hilltop so succinctly described by Gell was the scene of all our study during the 1939 explorations, since it alone has indications of habitation and is central to all the scattered tomb groups. Its greatest length is from north to south (figs. 11, 13). It rises abruptly from the plain. The steepest part is at the south, as occurs frequently in this district where many long, thin fingers of highland extend toward the sea, separated one from another by narrow valleys sheltering brooks for all or part of the year. The brook to the west of the site, variously called the Fosso Cupino or the Cecio or the Fossa del Tavolato, is unfailing and is joined right beside the Castellaccio by the overflow from a spring; while opposite in the valley east of the hill is another smaller spring which is perpetual, but does not succeed in keeping the ditch alive with water during the dry season.

The hilltop is divided naturally into two parts. The southern part, a flat area five hundred feet long by one hundred and sixty-five feet wide, is higher than the rest of the hilltop, by way of which alone it is accessible, being cut off from the valleys on three sides by steep cliffs. Although it is absolutely without ancient remains we can hardly doubt that it was an Etruscan city. It differs from the rest of the hill in being without trace of a grave either above or below the cliffs. The street and graves on the rest of the hill are certainly located with reference to the southern eminence. It presents exactly the natural setting invariably chosen by the Etruscans for their cities—a hill easily defensible, not too high for ready access to the plain. Nibby's statement that vase fragments were found somewhere on the hill is too indefinite to be used as evidence for the city, whose existence is, however, undoubted.

Medieval fortifications built chiefly of small stones set in concrete once surrounded nearly the whole hilltop of the Castellaccio and also divided it by a set of cross walls[23] (fig. 31). Only small sections of the walls still stand. The wall of the higher southern part must follow approximately the boundary of the *ancient* city. The approach to the whole hilltop is a path passing in a northerly direction along the eastern side of the hill to a medieval gateway which uses the wall of the city as one bastion (fig. 31, A). The approach to the ancient city must have been by the same route, but there probably was no ancient gate on the site of the medieval, since this point would not be defensible unless the whole hilltop were permanently fortified. Probably the ancient road continued and entered the city by a gate somewhere on its north side.

The walls of the medieval gate, however, are built partly of small tufa blocks, rather than entirely of the prevalent concrete and rubble. The tufa is reddish brown, containing black bits of

[21] T. Ashby, *The Roman Campagna in Classical Times* (London, 1927), p. 228.

[22] A noncommittal reference to the place is made by Giglioli, *Studi Etruschi,* III (1929), 114.

[23] This plan was made with the help of a topographical survey map, corrected by observations on the site. Elevations above sea level are taken from that map. Distances on our plan have been measured, not surveyed.



FIGURE 11

View of the Castellaccio of Castel Campanile from the Southwest

carbonized material. The remnant of wall on the right as one climbs the hill is entirely of tufa, on the left, the tufa blocks are covered with rubble (figs. 12, 14). The blocks are set in thick mortar.[24] It is impossible that any of these are in original position and, indeed, they are too small for Etruscan construction. They must have been taken from structures of the Etruscan period and cut down for medieval use. Their presence is evidence for former Etruscan constructions, perhaps fortifications, somewhere in the vicinity.

The existing ancient remains on the other part of the hill are cut in the rock. They consist of a rock-worn street running due north, as if from the city, circular pits (*pithoi* or *bothroi*) bordering this street and scattered elsewhere, simple chamber-tombs fringing the east and west edges of the hilltop, and cave-tombs at the base of the cliffs. Among the chamber-tombs is a more elaborate example consisting of two connecting rooms, having an exit on the street as well as on the brow of the hill (fig. 31, B). We cleared for investigation a sample section of remains, consisting of this group of chamber-tombs (B), together with an adjoining pit (k) and a portion of the street adjacent (compare plan, fig. 15 with plan, fig. 31). We also cleared the street of weeds in the section where the pits occur and mowed the growth along the two edges of the hill so as to reveal entrances to the tombs. Before we finished work, the hill was burned over in preparation for cultivation, which enabled us to see more openings clearly, and to study the terrain much more thoroughly than before. Figure 13 shows the west side of the hill after the burning, with cave-tombs and chamber-tombs visible.

It should be noticed that the northern section of the hill obviously is laid out according to a plan. This is important because, in view of the bad condition of all the rock structures and the total lack of undisturbed earth or small finds, any evidence for dating is valuable. The deduction from the unity of plan and the close proximity of the rock cuttings one to another on this part of the hill is that they all are roughly contemporary.

The rock-worn street is part of a long path,



FIGURE 12

Castellaccio of Castel Campanile, Gateway from Outside Walls

[24] It is difficult to date these late walls. The tufa and mortar construction, judging both by position and technique, must be earlier than the rubble. It is possible that the tufa part of the wall is Roman, the rubble medieval; but I think it more probable that both are medieval, of different dates. The walls stood to a greater height when Tomassetti took his photograph, *op. cit.*, p. 535, fig. 120.



FIGURE 13

View of the Castellaccio of Castel Campanile from the West

the shepherds' path which starting from the valley east of the hill ascends to the medieval gate and then continues along the hill-top and descends at its northern end. For about two hundred meters north of the gate so deeply is the road sunk below the surrounding land that we should imagine it to be of great antiquity even without the evidence of the accompanying pits. Actually, where we cleared the earth away, we found that the middle of the rock-path was an additional fifty centimeters below its present level so that it is really a deep ditch between two sloping banks.[25]

All the subterranean structures were hewn out of the rock by rough strokes of the pick. The marks of the pick can usually be seen running diagonally across walls and ceiling. Unfortunately, this type of work is so common in all ages that it is very difficult to recognize a cutting which is later than the original construction of tomb or pits. In none of the pits or tombs did we discover any undisturbed fill or any small finds which would help us to date the period of construction or use.



FIGURE 14

Castellaccio of Castel Campanile, Gateway from Inside Walls

[25] The width between the tops of the banks is three to four meters, but the presence of the circular pits on either side, even though never opposite one another, has reduced the walking space to one meter. In making the clearing we uncovered the mouth of one pit which had been completely concealed by earth which had accumulated in the rock-path.

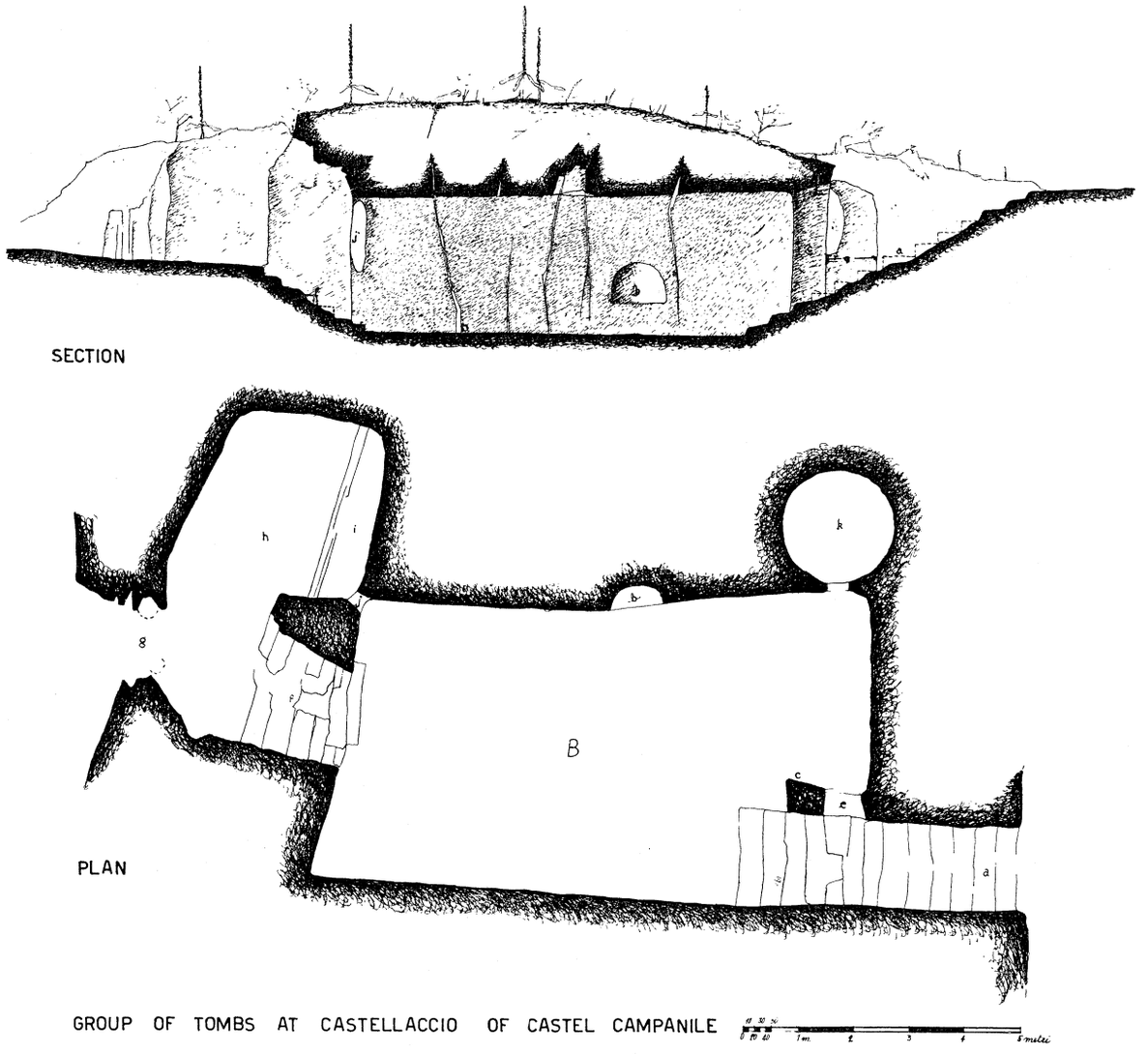


FIGURE 15

Plan and Section of Group of Tombs Cleared on the Castellaccio

The tomb group to which we particularly devoted our attention is shown in figures 15-17, 20 (B on plan, fig. 31). From the rock-path a flight of thirteen steps (fig. 15, a) descends to a chamber which we cleared except for a pile of dump in the center. The accumulated earth which had to be removed was about fifty centimeters deep, covering the two lowest steps at the east entrance. The chamber is roughly rectangular with flat ceiling and floor, and measures about nine meters from east to west and five meters from north to south. The tomb entrance is not flush with the east wall, but is seventy-five centimeters inside, part way down the flight of stairs (a) which penetrates into the room so that the four lowest steps are indoors. Probably the room was made

as large as possible toward the east; this necessitated telescoping the stairs into the room so that they would not cross the path above, and the door was placed far enough down the stairs to permit sufficient head room. There is no indication as to how the entrance was closed, but probably it was by the usual Etruscan method, walling with large blocks of stone. A short wing-wall which separated the staircase from the room is pierced by an opening (e), leaving the end of the wall free-standing as a pier, sixty centimeters square (c). Since this window opens directly out-of-doors from the interior of the chamber and so would prevent closing the tomb, I think that it is not original. It would be useful only to modern persons who lived in the tomb and needed light. Nevertheless, there is nothing about the technique of the stone cutting to distinguish it from the work as a whole.

There are no benches in this room and the niche in the north wall (b) is too small for a burial.

Another exit from this tomb is by a staircase of six steps (f) in the middle of the west wall. At the top of the steps are a corridor (g) leading to the brow of the hill and a small tomb-chamber opening out to the north (h) (figs. 15, 16). This is a chamber about 3.5 meters square. Along its east wall is a bench (i) one meter high, seventy-five centimeters wide and of the length of the room. The front of the bench has a raised edge. The bench top is at the level of the ceiling of the lower tomb. A hole (j) has been cut through the southern end of the bench to admit light to the lower tomb. This hole may be classed with the window on the east staircase as of no concern to students. The original width of the doorway leading into this small chamber from the hall at the head of the stairs cannot now be determined, for the wall is broken off roughly. The ceiling of the chamber and of this entrance hall has now fallen in; it must have been very low. A drainage groove in the floor leading to the head of the staircase is not original.

The approach to both these rooms from the brow of the hill is by a passage-way (g), a little over a meter wide and at least 1.60 meters long. Two holes cut in the floor and vertical grooves in the walls of the passageway are vestiges of a barricade of upright posts and sliding boards. I am told by those well acquainted with the habits of shepherds of the region that this is a typical modern method of closing a tomb and that the cuttings cannot be original. Probably the original closing was of masonry blocks.

It would be surprising if these two large rooms were intended for but one burial. Others may have been in sarcophagi now lost or in small urns. The two tombs may be contemporary or the lower one may be older. It is impossible that the smaller tomb was constructed first, since its entrance is by a corridor leading to the other chamber. The larger tomb could, however, have been made first with a single entrance from the path at the east and the extra room and the second entrance could have been added later.

This group of tombs serves to give us some idea of the various cuttings which border the edges of the hill of the Castellaccio. Fifty meters north of this group on the west side is a damaged tomb which may have been constructed in much the same way (fig. 31, C). A cave-like room constructed at some distance from the edge of the hill has a bed on its east side, the side toward the path. But just south of the tomb is a rock cutting at right angles to the path, apparently an entrance to the tomb. Perhaps the whole structure was much like that which we have explored. Similarly, at one place on the east side of the hill a great hole (D) seems to indicate a destroyed tomb behind another which opens from the brow of the hill. We may suppose here another double construction of tomb-chambers somewhat similar to that which we have been discussing.

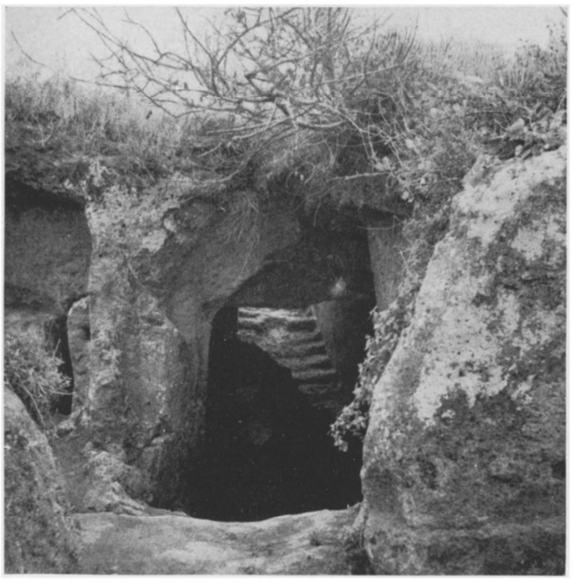


FIGURE 16
Entrance to Chamber Tomb on the Castellaccio from the West

However, the vast majority of tombs on the hill are simple rectangular rooms opening from the edge of the hill, provided with one rock-cut bench or none. We have endeavored to indicate, somewhat schematically, of course, all of these which are to be found within two hundred and fifty meters north of the medieval gate, the part of the hill which may have some connection with the ancient city. To plot all that exist scattered along the northern part of the hill and on other hillsides in the neighborhood would be a huge task.

Other tombs were cut into the hill at its base. One of these on the east cliff (E) is apparent both in the photographs and on the plan and was one of the landmarks which attracted the old explorers. Another is to be seen in the west cliff, while many exist under the shrubbery which is thick about the base of the hill. On the east side just north of the medieval gate one large tomb was cut in at the base of the cliff which is here so low that the top of the tomb has fallen through, making it accessible from the hill above (F).

Although these tombs resemble caves, there is no reason to think that they were improved from natural caves since there are none in the vicinity.

It is difficult to assign a date to the tombs on the Castellaccio. Such crude tombs are by no means rare, but scientific data is lacking, since they are easily discovered and looted, seldom found with datable contents and so ugly that they do not invite publication. Moreover, such simple construction suggested itself to people of all ages. Comparison of tombs at Magliano, which were found with contents of the seventh and sixth centuries B. C.,[26] with some at S. Gimignano which seem to date from the fourth and third centuries[27] is enough to show us that little variation occurred or indeed was possible from one age to the next. An attempt to date similar tombs near Fidenae partly in the Etruscan period and partly in the Roman, is unconvincing;[28] bad as these tombs are, we should still expect them all to belong to early inhumating peoples, rather than to the Romans of the empire, who preferred cremation. Caere, the town which we should expect to provide us with a clue for dating our structures, since it is the nearest large town and has a huge necropolis, does not have tombs of this kind; the greater wealth of its inhabitants seems to have caused them at all times to build fine tombs with which our crude ones have nothing in common. The tombs at Castel Campanile might have belonged to any of the periods from which we have vases, the sixth to the fourth centuries B. C., or even later than the vases. Perhaps the careless construction is more likely at a late period. We must emphasize once more that there is no reason for assigning any of our vases to the tombs on the Castellaccio

[26] *Studi Etruschi,* IX (1935), 1-59, pls. I-VI.
[27] *Studi Etruschi,* VIII (1934), 421-2, pls. XLVI-IL; X (1936), 443-5, pls. XLVI-XLVIII.
[28] E. Panaitescu, *Ephemeris Dacoromano,* II (Rome, 1924), 432 ff., figs. 7-12.

since other tombs are scattered throughout the district. Some of these other tombs can be definitely dated by comparison with Caere to the sixth, fifth, and fourth centuries B. C., the period of our vases.

We cleared one of the round pits of its accumulation of soft earth and broken stone. This adjoins the double tomb which we described (fig. 15, l). It is shaped like a jar, 2.60 meters deep and 1.95 meters wide at its widest part. The bottom is pointed, so that the whole reminds us of the interior of a pointed amphora. It was separated from the nearest chamber-tombs by a wall of rock, thirty centimeters thick at the narrowest part. This wall is now broken through. All the other holes indicated on the plan by circles appear to be mouths of pits of the same size and shape. Some, whose tops are well preserved, narrow down to square openings about sixty centimeters wide. Into the square opening it would be easy to fit a cover.

Before we consider the use of such pits, we should realize that they are fairly common all over the ancient world. They have generally been found empty, in the most uninteresting places, and are not generally even mentioned in printed reports except by the most meticulous. Yet all excavators know of such pits, and refer to them variously as storage-pits, cisterns, or graves. I myself once excavated a number of pits of exactly the same size and shape, cut in the stereo (undisturbed native earth) at Corinth,



FIGURE 17

Staircase Entrance to Chamber Tomb on the Castellaccio. Looking Out of Tomb to the East

Greece, on the site of the present museum, in the midst of the ancient city. Again, there was no indication of date. There, in the midst of the city, it seemed reasonable to interpret the pits as storage bins.

Dennis was well acquainted with such pits in Etruria. He mentioned some at Corchiano[29] and others at Civita Castellana, nearby.[30] Of the latter he said, "These tombs are large conical niches or pits, eight or nine feet high, by six in diameter. They are very common in the tufa district in Etruria, and are also met with in the neighborhood of the ancient cities of Latium, in the Campagna south of the Tiber, and at Syracuse and other ancient sites in Sicily. Some have supposed them depositories for grain and were they found only as close to ancient cities as in this case (a group at Civita Castellana), this would be probable enough; but around Civita there are others in very different situations; and having seen them on other Etruscan sites, far outside the ancient walls, and in the midst of undoubted tombs, I have not the smallest doubt of their sepulchral character."

If Dennis had visited the Castellaccio, as he apparently had not, he could hardly have better described the situation there. We do not, how-

[29] Dennis, *op. cit.*, I, 119.

[30] *Ibid.*, I, 92. Dennis refers to two ancient authorities on subterranean grain pits: Varro, *De re rustica*, I, 57 and Pollux, *Onomasticon*, IX, 49. It is difficult to find published references to substantiate Dennis' statement that the pits are very common. This is chiefly due to the neglect of excavators and explorers between his time and ours to report such pits properly. Recently Mengarelli discovered at Caere near one of the temples about which a sort of suburb seems to have been formed, rock-cuttings quite similar to those on the Castellaccio; *Studi Etruschi*, IX (1935), 85 ff. Here were found ex-voto pieces, and among abandoned modern (?) tufa caves, quadrangular cisterns and cuttings of cylindrical-conical shape, narrowed at the top, perhaps silos or grain pits. Within the temple itself were cisterns of various kinds and a grain pit which the excavator thinks was pre-existent to the temple.



FIGURES 18, 19

WALTERS ART GALLERY

Attic Black-figured Amphora

ever, here find niches to receive sepulchral stelae over the pits, and there is no evidence of canopic urns within. But there are even greater objections to Dennis' explanation. The pits are much too large for cremation burials. Moreover, the pointed shape would be most unsuitable for such a use, and the cupola top unusual for such a purpose.[31] And it may be of some significance that none of our pottery dates from an age when cremation burials were the rule. Although our pottery evidence is incomplete, the argument from silence is not altogether invalid.

Another interpretation of the pits, not made by Dennis, but habitual with most archaeologists, is that they are cisterns. I think that this explanation also is impossible. They are too small to serve satisfactorily, for evaporation would be rapid from many little cisterns set out on a hot, dry hill. And such cisterns would not be needed by a town which had two good springs nearby. If it were necessary to provide cisterns for time of siege they certainly would be fewer and bigger. And it is not natural to store water in the town cemetery.

At first glance the last objection might seem to hold against the use of these pits as grain-bins. Why store grain in the cemetery? Such procedure, however, is not so much out of keeping with ancient thought as we might expect. The goddess Ceres presided not only over the growing grain, but over the souls of the departed—she gave life from the earth and took it back to herself again. Associated with her was the *mundus* in Rome.[32] This was a pit covered by a stone which was raised three days of the year to allow the spirits of the dead to come back to the world above. Into it the first settlers of Rome had thrown offerings of first fruits and earth from their respective home cities.[33] The history of the *mundus* is obscure; it is generally believed to be wholly or partly Etruscan. Zanotti-Bianco suggests that it had a prehistoric connection with the offering-pits of the Greek world, which contain artifacts and are located near altars.[34] Some years ago Warde Fowler put forward the theory that the *mundus* was a storage-pit for seed-grain in early Italic towns;[35] it was opened on certain days of the year when the grain was to be sown; then the Etruscans, who had morbid interests, conceived the idea of communicating by this pit with the souls of the dead. He knew at that time no proof of this theory, but I think that we have in our pits at least an indication that he may have been right. Of a sort and size suitable for grain-pits and of a



FIGURE 20
Entrance to Chamber Tomb on the Castellaccio from the East

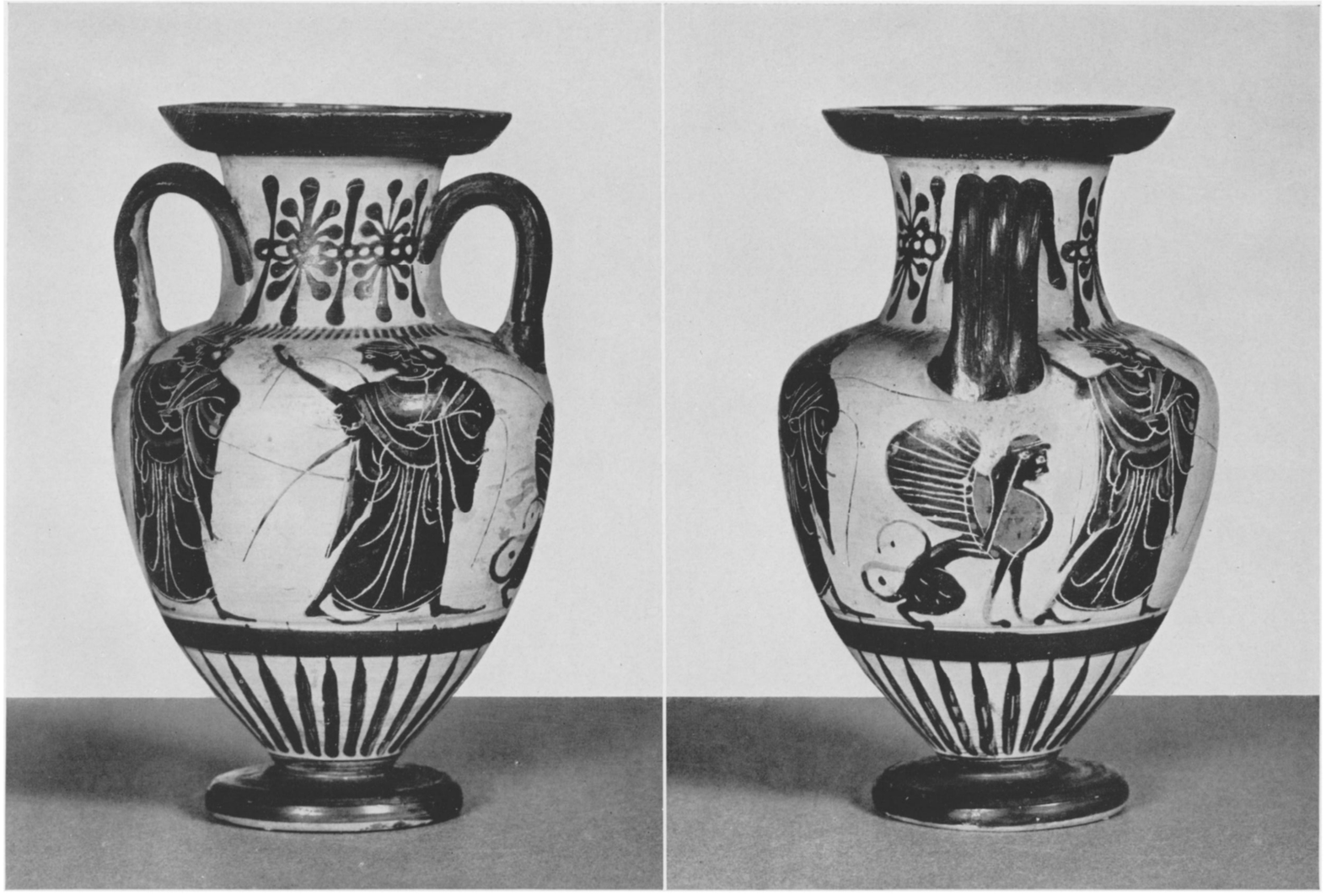
[31] Cupolae to be used as cremation graves were cut in the earth and walled with stones at Velletri and Grottaferrata in Latium, Pinza, *Monumenti antichi della Reale Accademia dei Lincei,* XV (1905), cols. 342 f., 351; F. von Duhn, *Italische Gräberkunde,* I (Heidelberg, 1924), pl. 25, fig. 90.

[32] F. Altheim, *A History of Roman Religion,* transl. Mattingly (New York, 1939), 120 f.; P. Wolters, *Die goldenen Ähren* in *Festschrift für James Loeb* (Munich, 1930), pp. 111-129.

[33] Plutarch, *Romulus,* XI, 1-4; Festus (ed. Lindsay), p. 145, lines 12 ff.; Macrobius, *Saturnalium,* I, 16, 18, quoting Varro.

[34] *Notizie degli scavi* (1937), pp. 314-8. I am indebted to Mr. Zanotti-Bianco for the first suggestion that these pits might have been used for offerings.

[35] W. Warde Fowler, *Mundus patet* in *Journal of Roman Studies,* II (London, 1912), 25-33.



FIGURES 21, 22

WALTERS ART GALLERY

Attic Black-figured Amphora with White Ground

type known in other parts of the world, we see them here so close to graves that some connection with the dead is certain, although no one of them seems to have been planned because of a particular tomb. It seems possible that the Etruscans stored their grain in such bins outside their cities, thereby automatically placing them in the neighborhood of graves, and that this coincidence was the origin of the *mundus* idea* at Rome and elsewhere.[36] Whether the location of the pits was the cause or the result of some belief about the dead it is impossible to say. But is it not reasonable to suppose that some religious importance was attached to the use of these pits, right in the cemetery?

I think that the question of the use of such pits in Etruria is not yet settled, but I believe that the plotting and drawing of them at Castellaccio may serve to bring to our attention their intimate connection with graves and their apparent suitability for storage-bins for grain and nothing else. Perhaps with this help someone eventually will be able to explain the *mundus*. The storage-bins remind us of Livy's Volscian Artena, whose storage facilities on the citadel were almost a life-saver.[37] But the presence of the pits is not evidence that our city was the scene of the battle he described.

Part IV: The Significance of the District "*Urbs inter Caere atque Veios*"

From the realm of pure speculation we gladly return to a problem which we have greater chance of solving—the determination of the importance of Castel Campanile by means of modern historical interpretation of the archaeological evidence. The modern method concerns itself entirely with the geographical position of a site and its small finds, and from these deduces the trade connections. And now we must remember that whatever we decide about the name of the city and its political connections, Livy's description still holds good—we are dealing with a city between Caere and Veii—*urbs inter Caere atque Veios*—and as far as we know, the only city there. But more than that, Castel Campanile also is in a triangle of which the corners are Caere, Veii, and Rome, and this interests us as it did Livy, because a major purpose in studying all Italic archaeology is to account for the development of Rome. Why did this poor little town become mistress of the world and mother of all modern civilizations, while her powerful neighbors either ceased to exist or sank to a position of provincial backwardness? The answer is concealed in this triangle of land, and the trade connections are threads to help us in the solution.

Etruscan Caere was the seat of a tremendous terra cotta industry. Her artisans made vases,[38] architectural revetments,[39] terra cotta sarcophagi,[40] and painted terra cotta slabs or tiles.[41]

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* K. O. Müller, *Die Etrusker* (ed. Deecke) Stuttgart, 1877) III, 4, 9-10, arrived at this conclusion without knowing of the Etruscan pits.

[36] Plutarch says that the *mundus* was in the Comitium, the others that it was on the Palatine Hill. It is perhaps more than coincidence that we find at these places structures with cupola tops, though these are much larger than ours. T. Frank, *Roman Buildings of the Republic* in *Papers and Monographs of the American Academy in Rome,* III (1924), 39 ff., 101. There is, however, no lack of holes under the Black Stone in the Comitium, and any one of these could be the *mundus,* L. A. Milani, *Locus sacer, mundus e templum di Fiesole e Roma* in *Rendiconti delle Reale Accademia dei Lincei, Classa Sc. Mor. Stor.,* Ser. V, Vol. IX (Rome, 1900), 289-303. For a pit of the same type located within the sacred precinct of Marzabotto and containing bones of animals see A. Grenier, *Bologna villanovienne et étrusque* (Paris, 1912), pp. 100 ff. For the evoking of shades of the dead from jars set in the ground as represented on Etruscan mirrors see G. W. Elderkin, in *Art in America,* XXVIII (1940), 71-74.

[37] See above, p. 117.

[38] "Caeretan" vases, Webster in *Journal of Hellenic Studies,* XLVIII (1928), 196-205, with references to earlier discussions. "Chalcidian", Smith, *op. cit.,* Attic black-figured strap-handled amphoras by Nikosthenes, and "Tyrrhenian" black-figured amphoras doubtfully attributed to Caere, *ibid.,* p. 122. Plastic vases, M. Robertson in *Journal of Hellenic Studies,* LVIII (1938), 41-50. Others, Dohrn, *op. cit.,* p. 128 ff.

[39] R. Mengarelli, *Studi Etruschi, I* (1927), 146, pl. XI; X (1936), 67 ff.; R. Vighi, *Studi Etruschi,* V (1931), 106-146.

[40] H. Sauer, *Die archaischen etruskischen Terracottasarkophage aus Caere* (Rendsburg, 1930). A. Della Seta, *Museo di Villa Giulia* (Rome, 1918), p. 119.

[41] R. P. Hinks, *Catalogue of the Greek, Etruscan and Roman Paintings and Mosaics in the British Museum* (London, 1933), pp. 3-5; J. Martha, *L'Art étrusque* (Paris, 1889), pl. VI; *Studi Etruschi,* X (1936), pls. XXVI, XXIX, 6-9.

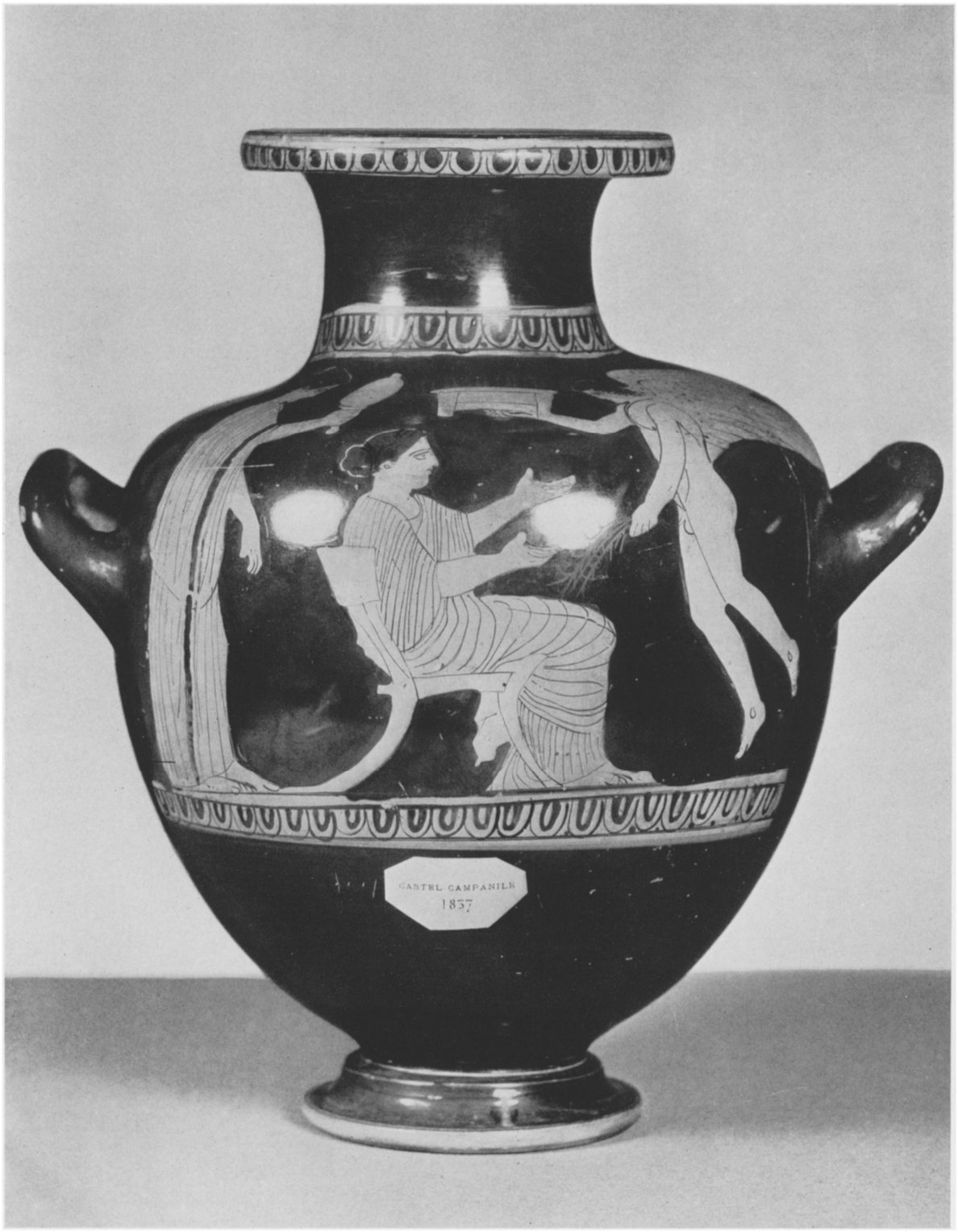


FIGURE 23

Attic Red-figured Hydria

WALTERS ART GALLERY

Perhaps the nucleus of the industry was a Greek colony, perhaps a colony of Ionian Greeks from Asia Minor; but quite as probably the natives did all the manufacturing under the impetus of imported wares from over seas. Veii, too, had a terra cotta industry, we believe; the magnificent sculptural pediments of her greatest temple are proof of it.[42]

Caere was the commercial exchange city, located at a short but safe distance from the sea, with port settlements at Pyrgi and Alsium, but Veii, like Rome was well inland. In the seventh century imported wares from over seas, Egyptian and Phoenician objects of ivory, gold, silver, bronze, and faience had been landed all along the coast of Etruria, including Caere's ports. Objects exactly like those found at Caere have also been found way inland at Praeneste in Latium, and are our first evidence of the inland trade route from Caere. The route passed through all the known towns of the period: Veii, Fidenae, Collatia, and Gabii, to Praeneste, but it missed Rome.[43] Sections of the actual roads have been identified and even though it is hard to tell whether the existing rock-cut roads are of this early date, their direction and their correspondence to each other and to others in Etruria at least suggest that they are.[44] In the sixth century the foreign trade into Etruria was no longer in Phoenician ware of precious metal, but in Greek vases. These are found in quantity in all the coast towns of Etruria, in fact, they are so common that there they were once called "Etruscan" vases. They are found inland at Veii,[45] whither they must have been shipped from Caere over the old route, but they are rare at Praeneste and elsewhere in Latium. Evidently the eastern end of this route had been cut off, the traditional, historical explanation for it being that Rome, during the reign of the Etruscan, Tarquin the second, occupied Gabii.[46] She thus stopped the flow of foreign goods into Latium, and dealt a heavy blow to the traders of Etruria, but she did not take over the vase-trade herself. Enough Greek vases and Etruscan terra cottas have been found in Rome to make untenable a theory of a complete economic isolation of Latium. The terra cottas, at least, must have come from the Etruscan cities, though it is conceivable that the Greek ware was imported by the Tiber.[47] Our literary sources tell us that Rome got a sculptor from Veii, Vulca by name, to make the pedimental statues for the great Capitoline temple of Jupiter, begun by her Etruscan kings, the Tarquins.[48] But the imported ware is sufficiently rare to justify us in styling the Latin civilization of the period as definitely provincial.

Throughout the fifth century the situation was little changed. Greek pottery continued to

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[42] *Notizie degli scavi* (1919), pp. 13-37; G. Q. Giglioli. *L'Arte Etrusca* (Milan, 1935), pls. CLXXXIX ff.; E. Douglas Van Buren in *Burlington Magazine,* XXXVI (1920), 246-251.

[43] L. Adams, *A Study in the Commerce of Latium* (*Smith College Classical Studies,* II) (Northampton, Mass., 1921), 56.

[44] Ashby, *Atti del primo congresso internazionale Etrusco, 1928* (Florence, 1929), pp. 102 f.; Lehmann-Haupt, *ibid.,* p. 103; Ashby in *Studi Etruschi,* III (1929), 176 f.; A. Solari, *Vita pubblica e privata degli Etruschi* (Florence, 1931), p. 48; D. Anziani, *Mélanges d'archéologie de l'école française de Rome,* XXXII (1913). 234, pl. III. For remains between Gabii and Collatia see Ashby, *The Roman Campagna in Classical Times,* p. 145, and Gell, *Topography of Rome and its Vicinity* (1846), p. 173; for traces between Veii and Fidenae, *ibid.,* p. 452 and Panaitescu, *Ephemeris Dacoromano,* II (1924), 436-445; for traces just outside Veii in the direction of Caere, see Anziani. *op. cit.,* p. 231; for section at Tragliatella, Giglioli in *Studi Etruschi,* III (1929), 112, and Ashby, *The Roman Campagna,* p. 228. This last is not part of a route from Caere to Veii *via* Castellaccio, but parallel to such a route.

[45] *Studi Etruschi,* II (1928), 691; *Notizie degli scavi* (1919), p. 9; Canina, *L'Antica Città di Veii* (Rome, 1847), p. 77, notes that Greek painted vases are comparatively rare at Veii; but see his pls. XXXII, XXXIV, 7, XXXVI, XXXVII. There is a contrast to be noted between the inland district of Falerii which has many Attic black-figured vases and that of Capena which has almost none, I. T. Hill, *Rome of the Kings* (New York, 1925), pp. 207, 212. One does not know whether Falerii obtained these vases from Tarquinii or from Caere by way of Veii. In either case it is difficult to see why Capena does not have some.

[46] Livy. I, 53.

[47] Ryberg, *An Archaeological Record of Rome* (Studies and Documents, edited by Kirsopp Lake and Sylva Lake, XIII) (London, 1940), 5-50, especially 47 ff.

[48] Pliny, *Naturalis Historiae,* XXXV, 157, quoting Varro.



FIGURES 24, 25

WALTERS ART GALLERY

Etruscan Red-figured Stamnos

be imported to Caere and Veii;[49] but the quantity was less, and this seems due to a poverty general in Italy. Rome, now independent again, received no imported pottery, and was doubtless looking with greedy eyes at the trade of her northern rivals, which she could not stop at that time. At the end of the fifth century Rome undertook her last great war with Veii, and eventually won it. The great west-east trade route was destroyed forever. Rome, during the next two centuries created a new system of roads leading north and south. She herself controlled north and south trade along the Tiber, and became distributor to Italy of wares from abroad which were landed on the Tiber's banks. The east and west routes of the old days became branches of her great system of roads and the prosperity of Etruria was past.[50]

The pottery of Castel Campanile is easily understood against this historical background. Two of the vases are of ware which might have been made at Caere: the "Chalcidian" hydria, number 1, and the amphora, number 3. A third vase was made at Sparta along with many others which ended in Etruria. The contemporary vases are black-figured from Athens, the pottery center of the world. Some of these are very good. Why did people who built such crude tombs for their dead bury such good vases with them? I think because they had the vases, since they were in the business of shipping them inland to Veii. Their city, then, was a little fortified stronghold on one of these trade routes. Its population was always small, for the trade was not great enough to support a large number. The inhabitants of the city were buried either in the little main cemetery on the hill just outside the town or in other tombs in the valleys along which the traders passed. Vases continued to be shipped through in the fifth century, but they were not as numerous nor as good. In the fourth century after Veii had been destroyed the inland trade was gone, but Etruscan vases were still found at Castel Campanile. These had come in from the coast and went no further, since communication with the interior of Italy was cut off. The Faliscans were flooding that district with a pottery which has similarities to that of Campania. Already Rome's new system was showing results, and communication ran north and south.

Since we have no evidence that our vases were found in the main necropolis, we cannot use them to date the destruction of the city. Moreover, it is not unusual to find evidence of the occupation of territory subsequent to the official destruction of the capital city. People go on living after their capital has fallen, and go on using pottery. And, therefore, we cannot tell whether the Castellaccio was taken during the days of the Roman kings, at the time of the capture of Veii, or still later after the last of the vases we have was buried.

We should not suppose the tract of land between Rome and Caere to have been always as desolate as it is now. Rather, it was inhabited in ancient times by people doing a lively trade in pottery, and quite unaware that insignificant Rome, off the beaten track to the south, was to have a great future.

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[49] Veii, *Studi Etruschi,* V (1931), 545 ff.; *Notizie degli scavi* (1930), p. 55, fig. 6 and p. 321, fig. 45 a. Caere, *Studi Etruschi,* I (1927), pls. XXXV ff.

[50] Livy, V, 16, echoes the Roman idea of the road system of his own day. He says that Roman soldiers who were besieging Veii, *per agrum Caeretem obliquis tramitibus egressi Tarquinienses oppressere.* To Livy the natural way to go is by the Via Cassia or, still longer, by way of Rome by the Via Aurelia. The straighter, shorter route seems unnatural to him. It is worth noting, further, that the old traffic from Caere inland was resumed in medieval and modern times. Gell, *Topography of Rome and its Vicinity* (1846), pp. 162 f., tells of a road from Cerveteri through Ceri, Campanile, and Tragliata to Rome. This shows us that the route is not too difficult. At the present day as in the times of the empire, traffic follows a few great highways instead of short, cross-country roads. There is some evidence for the north-south route by the Tiber as early as the sixth century. See A. Blakeway, *Journal of Roman Studies,* XXV (1935), 130-137; Ryberg, *op. cit.,* 47.



FIGURES 26, 27

WALTERS ART GALLERY

Etruscan Red-figured Stamnos

APPENDIX

THE POTTERY WITH CASTEL CAMPANILE LABELS

1. "Chalcidian" black-figured hydria (fig. 4).

In the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. Height: 6⅝ in. (.17 m.). On the body, a bull, a sphinx, a goose, and a lion. Formerly Godfroy Brauer collection, Nice. Sales Catalogue, Christie's (London, July 4, 1929), p. 13, no. 134. Published by H. R. W. Smith, *The Origin of Chalcidian Ware* in *University of California Publications in Classical Archaeology*, I, 3 (Berkeley, 1932), 140, pl. 17.

About 520 B. C. Attributed by Smith to the Orvieto Painter. See A. Rumpf, *Chalkidische Vasen* (Berlin and Leipzig, 1927), pp. 137 f.

2. Lakonian, "Cyrenaic," kylix (fig. 3).

Bryn Mawr College, no. R1734. Diameter: 5½ in. (.14 m.). White slip. Red touches. Interior: two warriors; exergue: two lions; exterior: rays and concentric circles. Formerly Lewes House, England, and Borghese Palace, Practica di Mare, Italy. Published by M. H. Swindler, *American Journal of Archaeology*, XX (1916), 308 ff., pl. XI.

Lakonian, second half of sixth century B. C. For Lakonian vases in Etruria see E. A. Lane, *Annual of the British School in Athens*, XXXIV (1933-4), 182.

3. Etruscan black-figured amphora (fig. 1).

Walters number 48.7. Height: 16¾ in. (.426 m.). On edge of rim: ivy leaf ornament. On shoulder: tongue pattern with added dots and birds. On body: continuous frieze of running satyrs. Formerly Massarenti collection. Van Esbroeck and U. and M. P., *Catalogue du musée de peinture, sculpture, et archéologie au Palais Accoramboni* (Rome, 1897), II, pp. 51, 230.

About 520 B. C. For the drawing of the running figures compare J. Sieveking and R. Hackl, *Die kön. Vasensammlung zu München* (Munich, 1912), p. 120, no. 894, figs. 134-138. This and many other vases are attributed to a "Siren Painter" by T. Dohrn, *Die schwarzfigurigen etruskischen Vasen aus der zweiten Hälfte der sechsten Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, 1937), pp. 89-119, 151-156. Our vase must be by the same hand. Dohrn, pp. 111 f. notes resemblances of the group to the "Caeretan" hydriai and, pp. 128 ff., assigns the group to Caere. See also Dohrn in *Studi Etruschi*, XII (1938), 285 f., 289 f.

4. Attic black-figured kylix (fig. 7).

Walters number 48.36. Height: 4⅜ in. (.11 m.); diameter: 7⅞ in. (.20 m.). Repaired. Red touches. Outside: A, upper row: doe between palmette crosses; lower row: lotus and palmette ornament between dolphins; B, upper row: doe between lotus blossoms; lower row: lotus ornament; inside: bird. Formerly Massarenti collection. Van Esbroeck and others, *op. cit.*, II, p. 54, no. 239.

540-530 B. C. "Little Master" cup of the "lip cup" class. See J. D. Beazley, *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, LII (1932), 177-180.

5. Attic black-figured kylix (fig. 2).

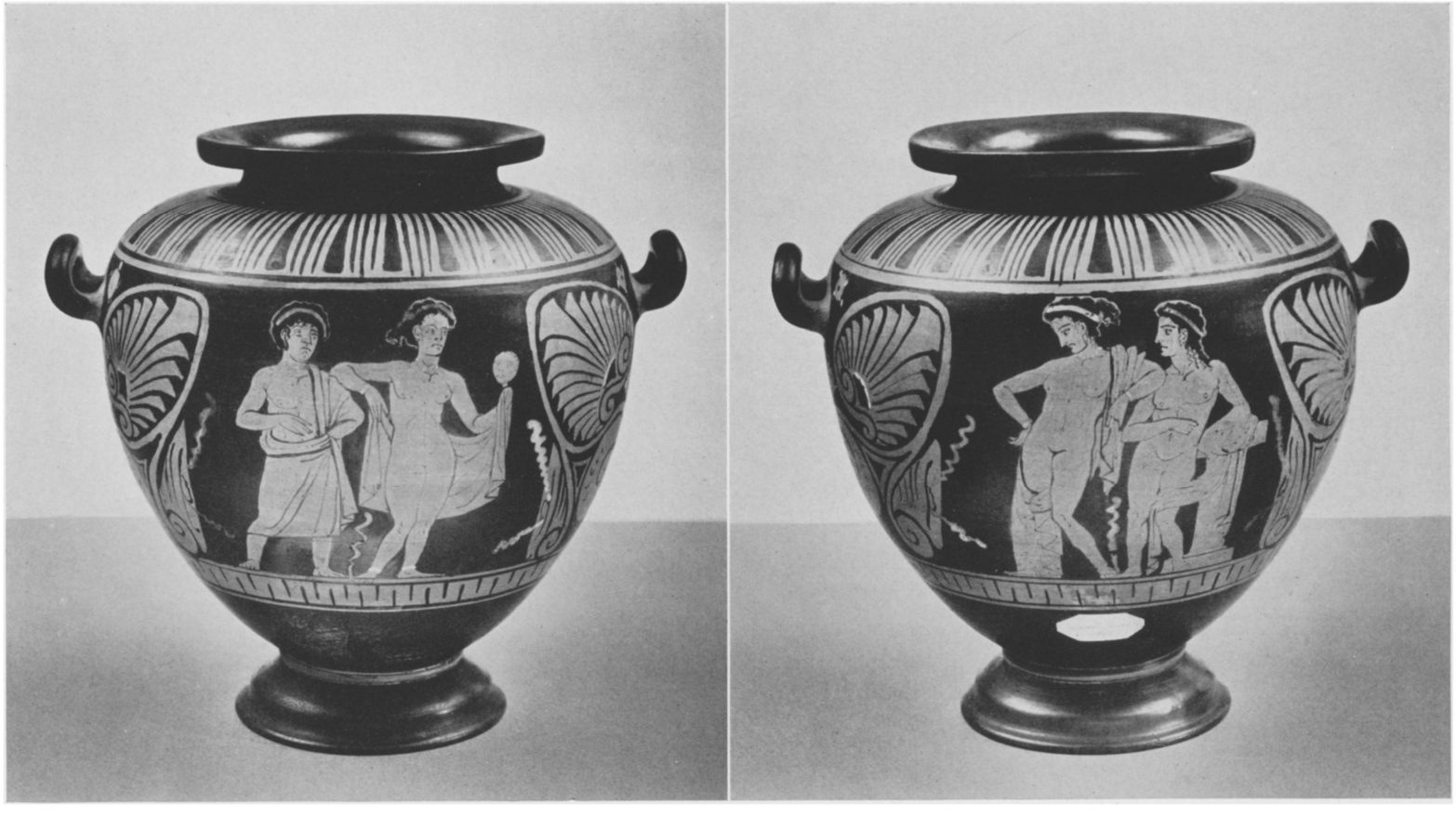
Walters number 48.39. Height: 4¾ in. (.12 m.); diameter: 8¼ in. (.21 m.). Repaired. Red centers to palmettes. Outside: A, driver in quadriga between palmettes, dots imitating inscriptions; B, youth leading horses between palmettes; inside: circle in reserved space. Formerly Massarenti collection. Van Esbroeck and others, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 53 f., no. 238.

540-530 B. C. "Little Master" cup of the "band cup" class. See Beazeley, *op. cit.*, pp. 189 f.

6. Attic black-figured amphora (figs. 5-6).

Walters number 48.13. Height: 12¾ in. (.323 m.). Scenes: A, old man facing two warriors and youth; B, quadriga in front view. Probably A represents Priam coming to Achilles to ransom Hektor's body. Formerly Massarenti collection. Van Esbroeck and others, *op. cit.*, II, p. 51, no. 231.

520-510 B. C.



FIGURES 28, 29

WALTERS ART GALLERY

Etruscan Red-figured Stamnos



FIGURE 30

Map of District Around Castel Campanile (after Canina)

7. Attic black-figured amphora (fig. 9).

Walters number 48.14. Height: 11¾ in. (.298 m.). Red and white touches. Scenes: A and B, satyr grasping dress of maenad who holds vine sprays; neck: concentric circles and wavy lines. Formerly Massarenti collection. Van Esbroeck and others, *op. cit.*, II, p. 52, no. 232.

520-510 B. C. The neck ornament is rare on Attic black-figured vases, but occurs on the amphora drawn on the François vase, and on early Attic, Corinthian, and Proto-Corinthian vases. The drawing of the figures suggests that of the Acheloos Painter, but is not by him. See Beazley, *Attic Black-Figure, a Sketch* (London, 1928), pp. 46 f. The spherical shape is unparalleled; it suggests the upper part of a *lebes gamikos*.

8. Attic black-figured amphora (fig. 18).

Walters number 48.26. Height: 10 in. (.255 m.). Scenes: A and B, seated Dionysos with kantharos, maenad; neck: palmettes. Formerly Massarenti collection. Van Esbroeck and others, *op. cit.*, II, p. 50, no. 222. End of sixth century B. C.

9. Attic black-figured kylix (fig. 8).

Walters number 48.40. Height: 3¼ in. (.081 m.); 7⅞ in. (.197 m.). Repaired. Exterior: A and B, banqueter on couch between seated woman and dancing boys; interior: Dionysos squatting, holding cornucopia. Formerly Massarenti collection. Van Esbroeck and others, *op. cit.*, II, p. 53, no. 237.
End of sixth century B. C.

10. Attic black-figured amphora (figs. 21-22).

Walters number 48.24. Height: 7¾ in. (.198 m.). White ground. Red touches. On each face: two women moving to right; under each handle: sphinx. Formerly Massarenti collection. Van Esbroeck and others, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 52 f., no. 234.

500-490 B. C. The white ground is first used on lekythoi about 500 B. C. See C. H. E. Haspels, *Attic*

Black-Figured Lekythoi (Paris, 1936), p. 87. It is not common until after the Marathon mound, *ibid.*, pp. 90 ff. Other indications of late date are the large chins, long hands and feet, and horizontal lines on the upper parts of the drapery.

11. Attic black-figured amphora (fig. 19).

Walters number 48.23. Height: 6½ in. (.167 m.). On each face: man seizing woman; under each handle: palmette and lotus ornament. Formerly Massarenti collection. Van Esbroeck and others, *op. cit.*, II, p. 53, no. 235.

490-480 B. C. Style degenerated from that of the preceding.

12. Attic red-figured hydria (fig. 23).

Walters number 48.78. Height: 11⅜ in. (.289 m.). Red touches. On body: bride seated on chair, winged Eros carrying casket and branch, maid holding mirror; in each hand of bride: an egg (?) painted in red. Painted above scene in red, ΚΑΛΗ. Formerly Massarenti collection. Van Esbroeck and others, *op. cit.*, II, p. 49, no. 220.

After 450 B. C.

13. Etruscan red-figured stamnos (figs. 24-25).

Walters number 48.62. Height: 12¾ in. (.326 m.). Repaired and somewhat repainted. Scenes: A, youth with spear, between two women carrying oinochoe and girdle, girdle and fillet; B, woman dancing with two satyrs; around handle: palmette ornaments; on shoulder: tongue pattern; below scenes: meander interrupted by checker-board.

Early fourth century B. C. For schools of Etruscan pottery related to this type, but not the same, see C. Albizzati, *Mitteilungen des Kaiserlich Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*, Römischen Abteilung, XXX (Rome, 1915), 129-160 (Clusium and Volaterrae), and *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'école française de Rome*, XXXVII (Paris and Rome, 1918-1919), 107-178 (Vulci).

14. Etruscan red-figured stamnos (figs. 26-27).

Walters number 48.63. Height: 13¼ in. (.337 m.). Glaze chipped. Slightly repainted. Scenes: A, woman and youth; B, youth holding shield as mirror to seated woman. Tongue pattern on shoulder. Palmette ornaments around handles. Formerly Massarenti collection. Van Esbroeck and others, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 50 f., no. 227.

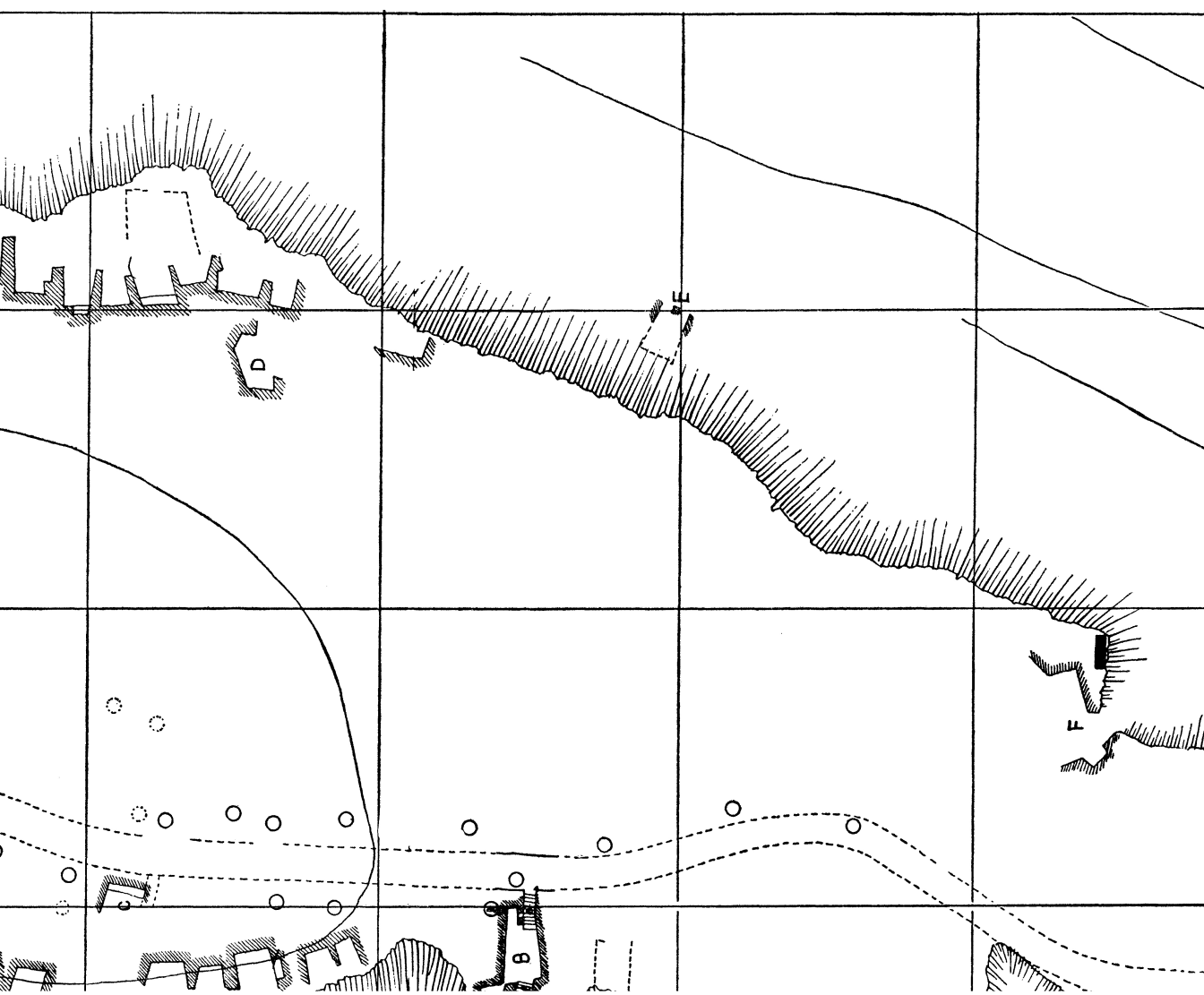
Fourth Century B. C.

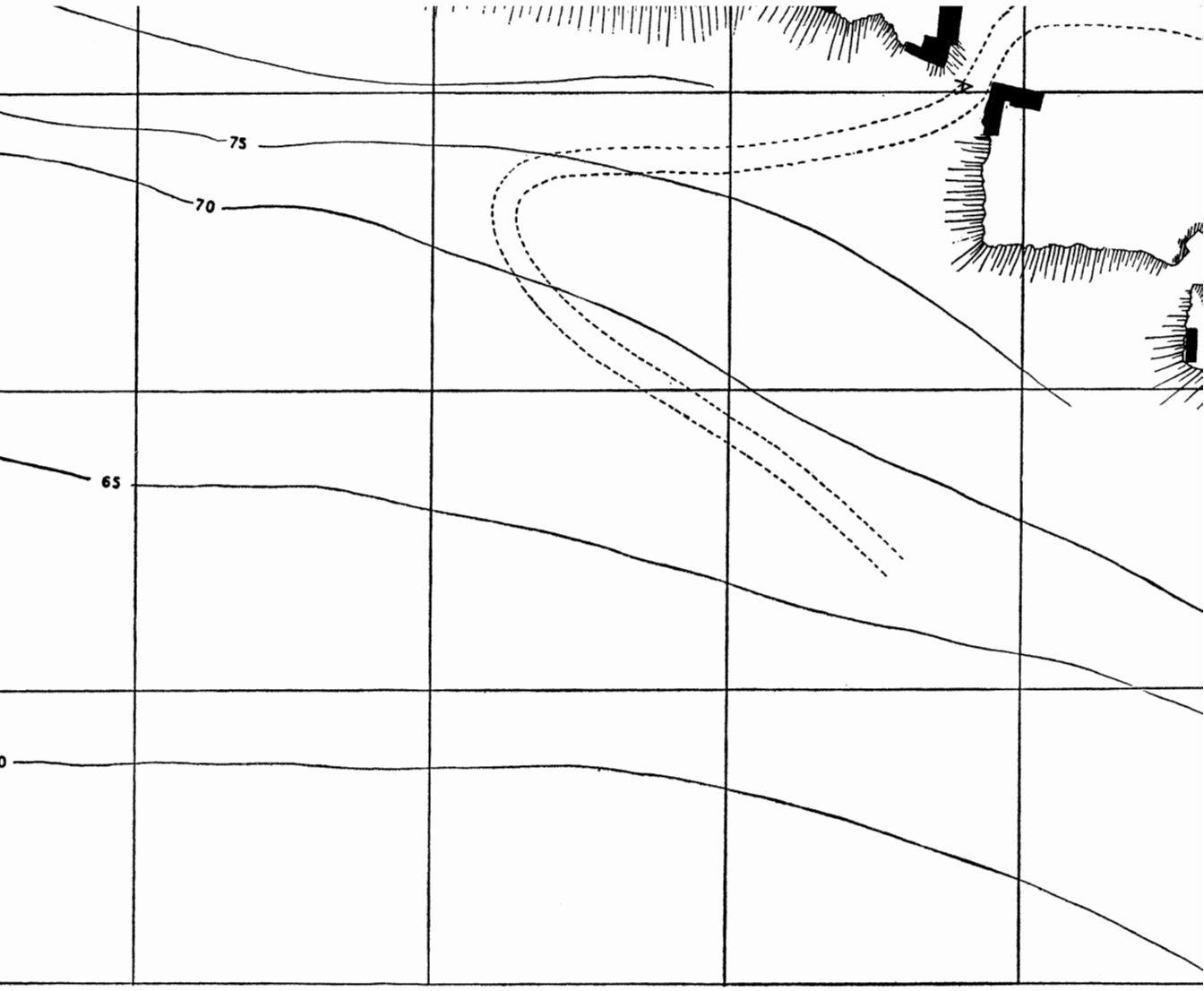
15. Etruscan red-figured stamnos (figs. 28-29).

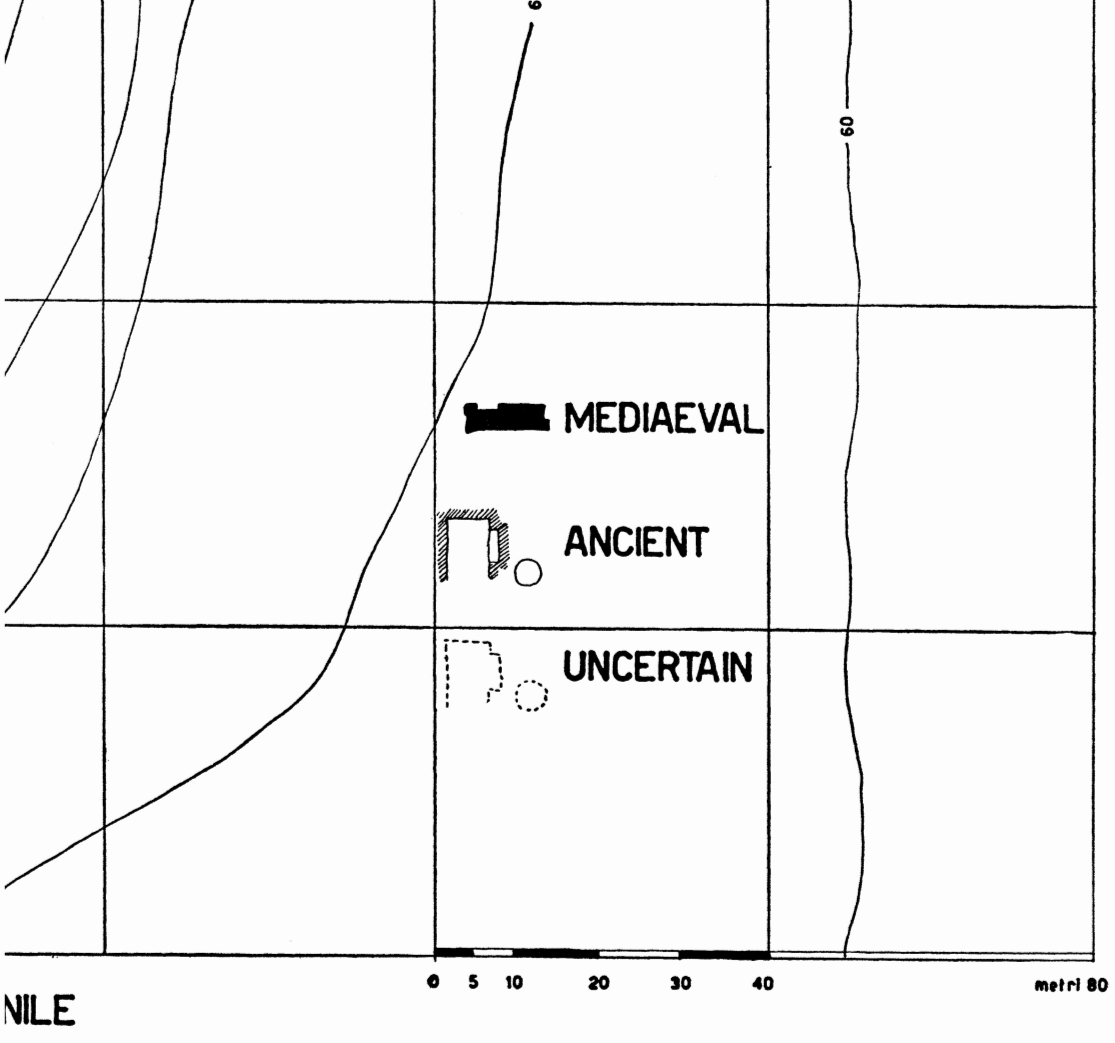
Walters number 48.61. Height: 12⅛ in. (.308 m.). Scenes: A, man and woman, heads in profile; B, man and woman, heads in front view. Very degenerate tongue pattern on shoulder. Palmette ornaments around handles. Formerly Massarenti collection. Van Esbroeck and others, *op. cit.*, II, p. 50, no. 226.

Fourth century B. C.

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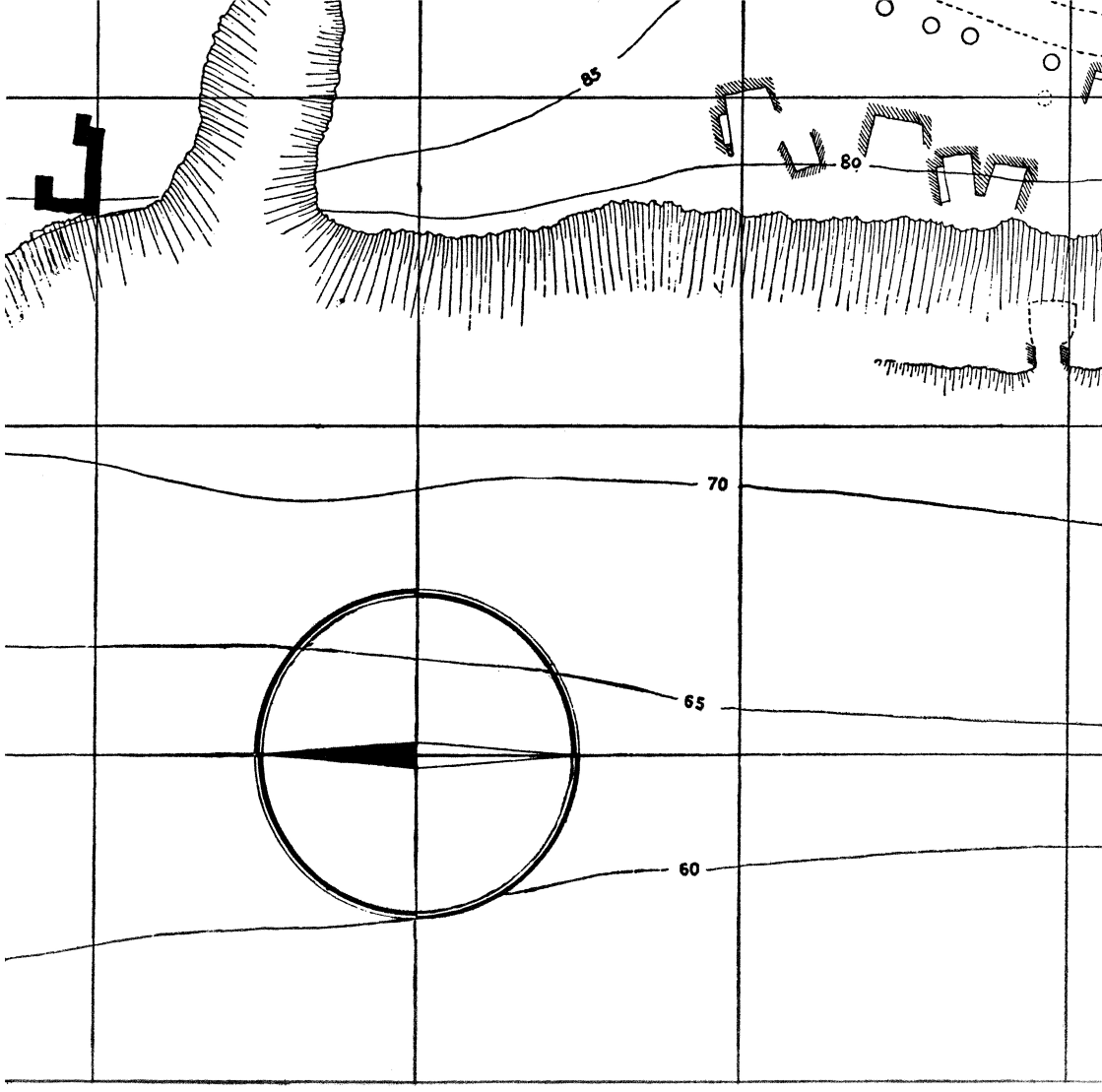

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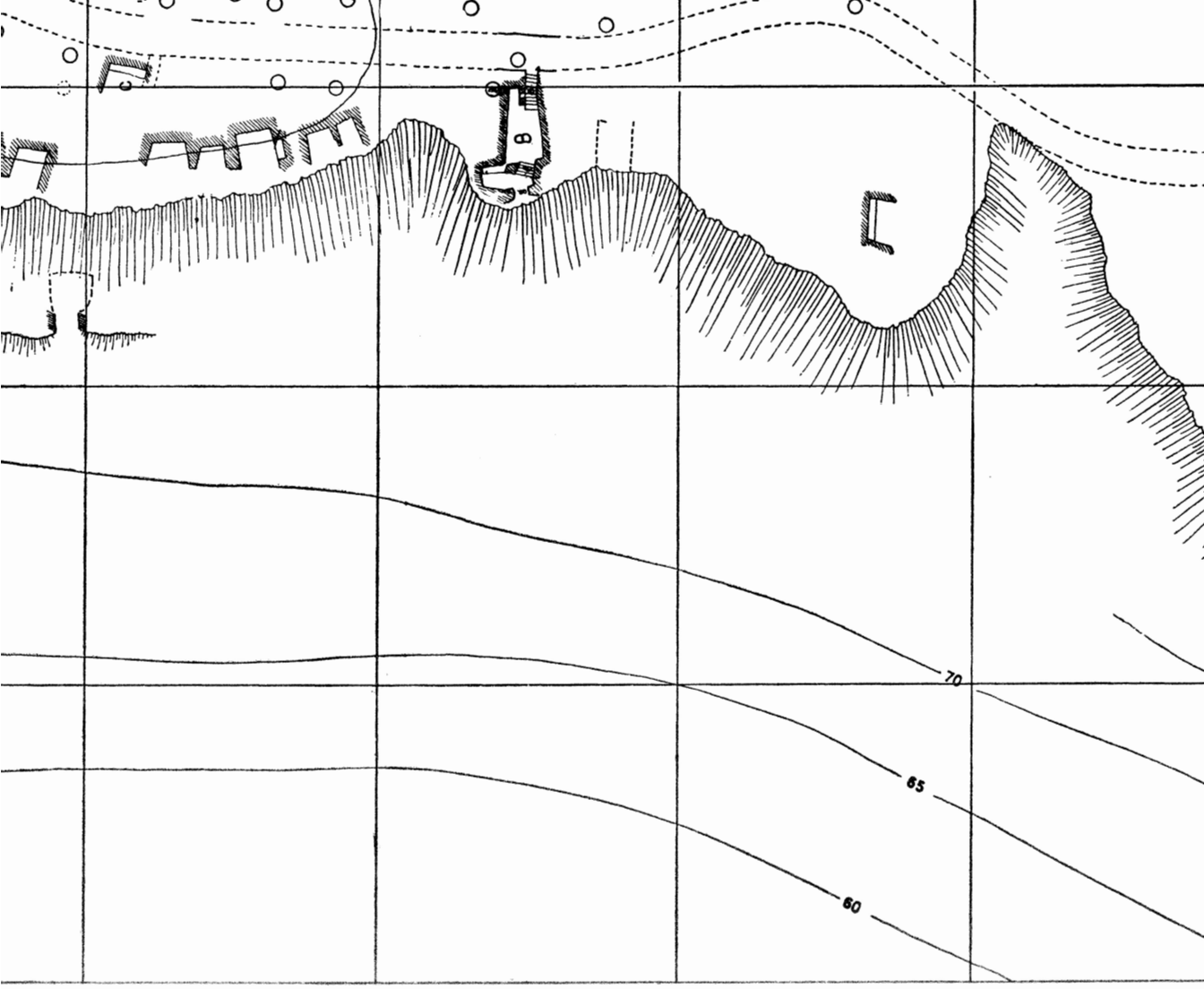

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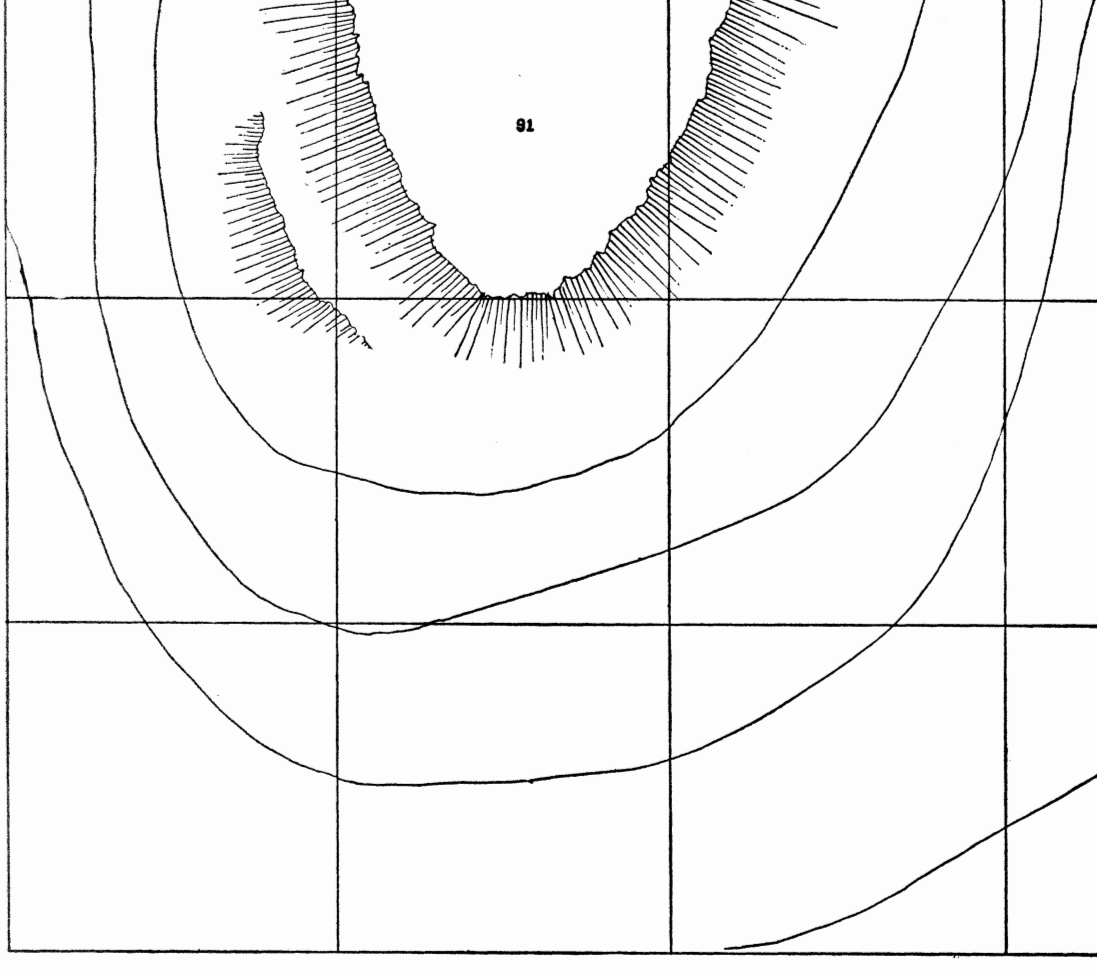


FIGURE 31 *Plan of the Castellaccio of Ca*