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The Romanesque Portal of the Church of Saint-Andoche at Saulieu (Côte-d'Or)*

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Abstract

The original, Romanesque appearance of the restored façade portal at Saint-Andoche, Saulieu (Côte-d'Or), can be visualized with the help of the varied forms of evidence examined here. These include: drawings, reports, and verbal descriptions by Eugène Viollet-le-Duc, Joseph Carlet, Jean-Baptiste Lallemand, and Jacques Nicolas Caristie; documentation from French archives; archaeological data and art historical argument. Study of these sources indicates a mid-twelfth-century recessed portal with an uncarved tympanum, chastely decorated archivolts, and double-storied, colonnaded embrasures. These architectural sculptures were ornamented in a restrained manner making use of some historiated motifs, but there were no conventional column statues. Striking figural interest was provided by three monumental statues of saints included in the portal scheme: one figure stood atop each of the pier-buttresses flanking the portal; and a third, Saulieu's patron saint, Andoche, was addorsed to the portal trumeau. The resultant ensemble would have had a balance and a sobriety almost "classical" in tone, when considered in relation to the exuberant richness often associated with Burgundian Romanesque style.

On March 9, 1840, Prosper Merimée wrote to Eugène Viollet-le-Duc, who was working at Vézelay, asking him to stop briefly in Saulieu on his return to Paris for a look at its Romanesque church, with a view to its repair. "Saulieu est sur votre route et c'est d'ailleurs une belle église qui vous intéressera," he wrote.[1] Viollet visited Saulieu shortly thereafter and reported on March 18, 1840, his opinion regarding the proposal.[2] A few years later he formalized his appraisal in a detailed recommendation of repairs for the church, supplemented by a formal estimate of costs. He also prepared personally a beautiful sheet of drawings with plans, elevation, sections, and details (Fig. 1). All three of these documents, apparently unpublished, are signed and dated February 1, 1845.[3]

In them Viollet commented on the church's Romanesque portal. He agreed with the townspeople and the officials of the ministry that funds allocated for the portal's restoration should be used instead for consolidation of the façade, particularly for the urgent repair of the base of the towers. He recommended that the portal, which he called *la belle porte romane*, be left untouched.[4]

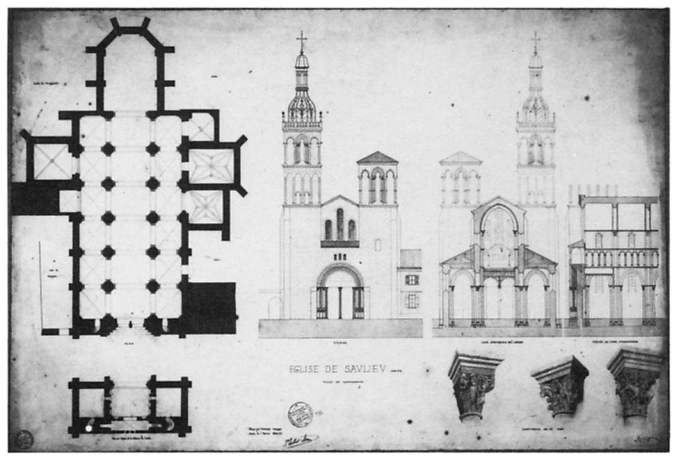

FIGURE 1. *Saulieu (Côte-d'Or), Saint-Andoche, drawings by Eugène Viollet-le-Duc (photo: Archives Photographiques).*

If modern observers express reservation about the character of the present portal (Fig. 4), their criticism applies to a sweeping restoration carried out a quarter century later in 1869. Viollet is innocent of even having inspired a change.

Appreciation of Viollet-le-Duc's role in the preservation of the fine Romanesque sculpture of France has been mixed during the last century; but the centenary of his death (September 17, 1979) has drawn renewed scholarly attention to his work, and the greatness of his career is being ever more fully realized. This paper intends to present what is now known of the original Romanesque portal at Saulieu. I also hope to contribute to a fuller understanding of the refined sensibility and artistic genius of Viollet-le-Duc, a man who knew intimately the handsome church of Saulieu.

Viollet's detailed "report" of 1845 noted that a fire had burned the wood porch which had been built against the façade of the church. It had completely calcined the portal.[5] It had also caused serious calcination of the surrounding walls and buttresses. The deterioration was so advanced that fragments of stone were continually falling from the façade. The substructures of both towers were affected to a height of about eight meters. While well preserved above, the taller, north tower was particularly endangered; for its corner buttresses had been

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weakened with imprudent cutting for a passage to the adjacent presbytery. In indicating desirable repairs to the façade, Viollet also recommended restoring the chapel of the transverse tribune which allows passage between the façade towers. He admired the fine effect it would give to the façade composition if returned to its original appearance (Fig. 1).[6]

In his 1845 "estimate," Viollet indicated that he would erect scaffolding, and remove and replace the damaged stone of the tower substruction. He specified exactly the extent of such repairs, along with accessory work to be done. He planned to uncover the three small windows which illumine the tribune chapel just below the setback of the façade gable. As to the great portal, he mentioned again the fact that the stone doorway had been seriously calcined by fire. The sculptures and the moldings were almost totally lost, he said; but since he considered what remained to be of great ornamental interest and as he did not fear further deterioration, he did not recommend replacement. He considered it preferable to leave the portal in its present state, permitting each observer to interpret the remaining fragments as he saw fit.[7]

In these documents Viollet makes no reference to specific figure carvings of any nind at the portal; and there is no reason for us to suppose that his words about the "sculptures and moldings" of the portal refer to anything more than the decorative archivolts, the trumeau, and the two-storied columnar embrasures flanking the doorway. As we shall demonstrate below, the latter were ornamented with historiated capitals, spiral colonnettes—some with grotesque and human figures—fluted pilasters, and the like. That Viollet does not mention the tympanum seems odd. He indicates a perfectly plain one in his drawing of the façade (Fig. 1). How we are to interpret this, without further evidence, is debatable. While his drawings on the Saulieu sheet are impressively accurate, a few details have been omitted or treated summarily. For example, the elaborate jamb ornamentation we know to have existed is only partially rendered.

Additional documentation comes from another source. In the year 1858, the architect Joseph Carlet, who directed some work on the church during the middle years of the 1850s, wrote a long and objective article on the church with numerous illustrations, including a plan, sections, and an elevation of the façade (Figs. 2-3).[8] The verbal description of the portal, as he saw it, is very detailed and shows some features not indicated on his drawings. He notes the three archivolts and their decorative treatment, the trumeau and its historiated capital, the fluted pilasters flanking the portal, the foliate and historiated capitals on the two levels of the embrasures, the upper and lower columns, their ornament and their decorative bases. He gives particular attention to the small columns on the lower right, which were historiated with various forms of animal and human fantasy (not shown in his drawing). Although he says that these bas-reliefs are all very mutilated, particularly those on the lower right, he notes that one can still admire the deep cutting of the carving and the perfectly formed profiles of the moldings. He mentions three further sculptures that had disappeared long before his own time. These are the lost statues of Andoche, Thyrse, and Félix, which we shall discuss below. As to the tympanum, Carlet says that it is plain except for a single horizontal molding (clearly indicated on his drawing). Most importantly, he also says that there is no indication that it ever was adorned with bas-reliefs.[9] His elevation of the façade, like Viollet's, indicates the ornament of the portal in rather summary

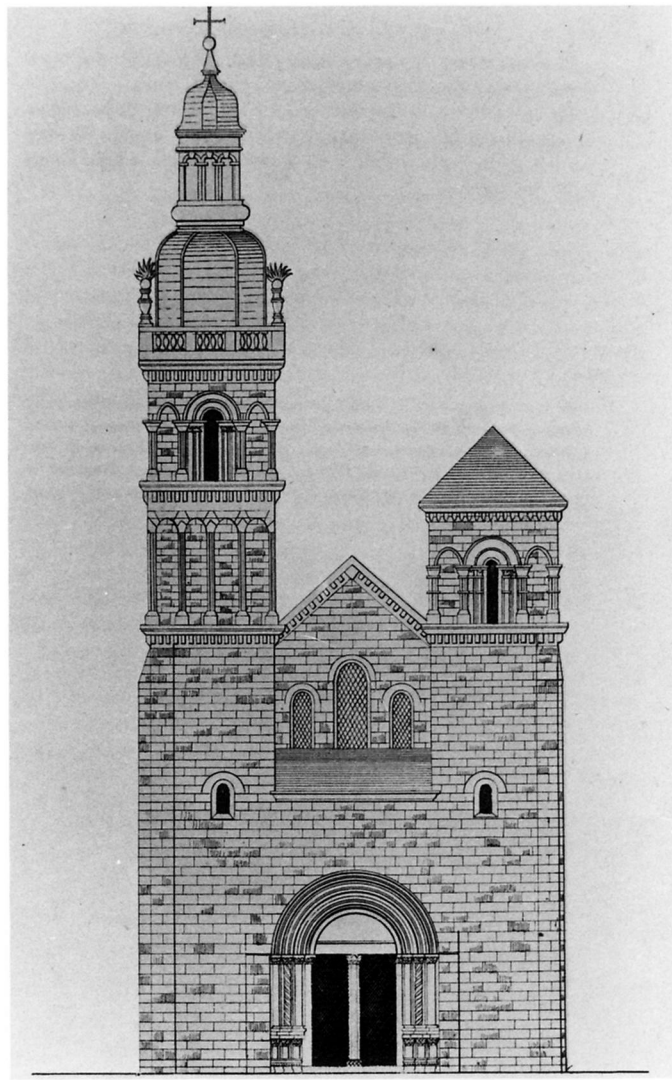

FIGURE 2. *Saulieu, Saint-Andoche, elevation of the façade by Joseph Carlet (photo: after Carlet).*

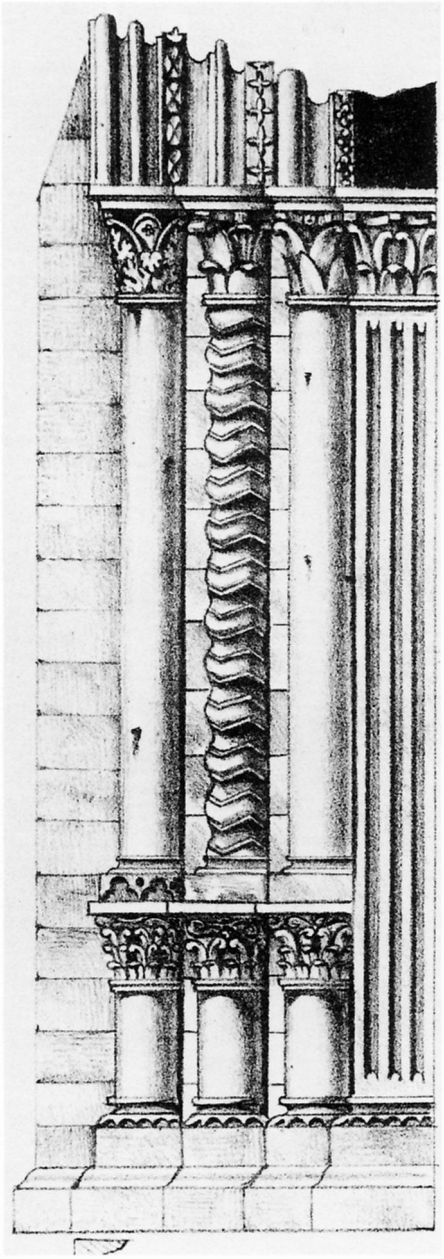

FIGURE 3. *Saulieu, Saint-Andoche, west portal, detail of the left embrasure by Joseph Carlet (photo: after Carlet).*

fashion. The rendering of the tympanum as a blank surface accords with his verbal description, as does his detailed drawing of the left jamb (Figs. 2-3).[10]

Carlet must have seen the portal when it was in essentially the same state as observed by Viollet. Archival documentation confirms that nothing significant had been done to it during the 1845-1858 interval. Indeed, Viollet was invited to Saulieu again in 1852, to recommend further needs for the façade, the repairs proposed in 1845 being still in an unfinished state.[11] There are also complaints about the scaffolding being still in place in 1852, and about the matter being still pending in 1862, 1864, and 1867.[12]

During all these years, the town remained concerned about the state of the portal, which Viollet had excluded from his project for repair of the façade. According to Monsieur Testart's researches, a letter to the mayor, dated June 23, 1867, records that the town had finally charged Monsieur Grosley, a Semur architect, to replace fully the "affreuse porte." [13] Grosley engaged Monsieur Frédéric Creusot, a Dijon sculptor, to execute a restoration project which would include replacement of all the columns, capitals, and pilasters of the jambs along with the trumeau, tympanum, and lintel. Even the columns of the lower left range, which were originally plain (Fig. 3), were to be ornamented in this ambitious project. The two half-columns applied to the pier buttresses which flank the portal, and the statues atop each of the half-columns, along with the statue at the trumeau, were also to be restored (these features will be discussed later). The tympanum was to have a Christ in Majesty, similar to the great façade tympanum at Vézelay, and the lintel was to illustrate the life of Saint Andoche in several episodes: his arrival in Saulieu; his martyrdom; and the visit to his tomb by Queen Clotilde and her entourage. By November 19, 1869, a more limited charge for Creusot indicates that this elaborate project had to be abbreviated: only the colonnaded embrasures, the trumeau, and the tympanum (omitting the lintel) were to be replaced. This restrained version of the project is what is visible today (Fig. 4). Monsieur Picot Denis, a Saulieu mason, assisted Creusot in the execution of the task from September to October, 1870.[14]

Graphic illustration of the original Grosley project can be seen in the storage rooms of the Municipal Museum in Saulieu. An unpublished drawing preserved there bears the caption: "Projet de restauration du portail de l'église Saint-Andoche de Saulieu, Côte-d'Or, 1869, sous la direction de Mr Grosley, architecte—echelle de 0 - 1 - cent. pour metre—copié le l^er^ Avril 1933 par Edouard Ponel." This is undeniably a copy of Grosley's first project (1869) for the portal. It corresponds exactly to the description given above, and, *mutatis mutandis,* to the limited program we see today at the doorway to the church.

As to archaeological evidence, a few fragments of the original Romanesque sculpture of the portal were set aside and have survived. They are preserved in the Saulieu Municipal Museum (nos. 309/16, 310/17, 311/18, 379/19, 380/20; nos. 22, 23; cf. Fig. 5).[15] Despite the seriously mutilated condition of these architectural ornaments, they are clearly the handiwork of able twelfth-century sculptors. Basic compositions and many of the motifs can be identified. Careful comparisons with

FIGURE 4. *Saulieu, Saint-Andoche, west portal (photo: CIM).*

the 1869 restorations at the present doorway show that Creusot and Denis replicated faithfully these twelfth-century originals, even to the extent of copying complex and fussy miniature motifs, such as a tiny human figure intertwined with foliage (311/18, Fig. 5, E), and the bust of a bishop within a diamond pattern (379/19, Fig. 5, D). Although the mechanical character of the copies (Figs. 6-7) betrays the relatively modern date of their creation, their fidelity to their models makes them valuable records of the original design for the portal. Why so few pieces of the portal's original stones are preserved is unknown. Viollet's description suggests that much was visible in 1845. Perhaps they may yet come to light somewhere.

By combining the evidence presented so far, we can conclude that the 1869-1870 restorers faithfully copied the ornamented portions of the old Romanesque portal which were still visible to them, but did not hestitate to invent such embellishments as they thought were lacking in the Romanesque design. Thus, Grosley's project directed that the plain columns of the original portal (A, C, D, F, above, A, B, C, below, Fig. 5; cf. Figs. 1-3) were to be richly carved with floral and other motifs.[16] He is thought to have been inspired by the lush treatment of the façade design at Avallon, or perhaps by Autun. The most critical ornamental change came with Grosley's design for the tympanum. Its figure sculpture, representing a Christ in Majesty, contrasts sharply with the plainness of its predecessor, a tympanum which had revealed no trace of a relief either to Carlet or, apparently, to Viollet-le-Duc. As to the episodes of the life of Saint Andoche, intended by Grosley for the lintel but never carried out, there is no evidence that they had any visible counterparts in the mid-nineteenth century. We can only conclude that as far as these parts of the design are concerned, their character is attributable to the taste of 1869.

Our intention, however, is to determine the original, Romanesque appearance of the portal. Could the tympanum have been a blank surface, without carving, in the twelfth century as it was in the mid-nineteenth? If figure sculpture had once been there but had been chiseled away in revolutionary fervor, as was done in so many other tragic cases (e.g., Notre-Dame, Beaune; Notre-Dame-en-Vaux, Châlons-sur-Marne), outlines of the figures would nevertheless have been visible. In view of

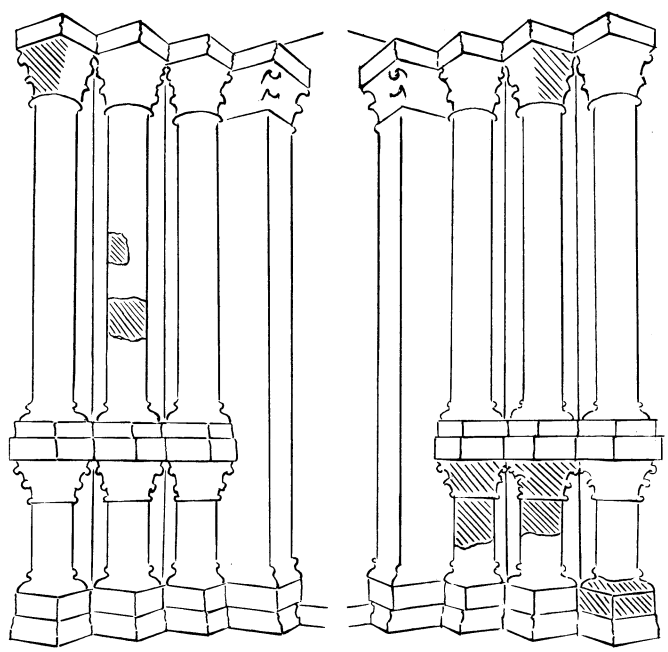

FIGURE 5. *Saulieu, Saint-Andoche, west portal indicating original location of sculptural fragments preserved in the Municipal Museum (photo: author).*

FIGURE 6. *Saulieu, Saint-Andoche, west portal, left embrasure (photo: author).*

FIGURE 7. *Saulieu, Saint-Andoche, west portal, right embrasure (photo: author).*

Carlet's definite statement, "There is no trace indicating that (the tympanum) was ever adorned with bas-reliefs," this hardly seems possible.

Further data might be provided by a watercolor and an engraving made after it by Jean-Baptiste Lallemand, ca. 1784, if we could rely on their accuracy.[17] However, comparison of the Lallemand views and modern photographs (Figs. 8-9), reveals the artistic freedom assumed by the Dijon landscapist. This freedom affects the proportions and the detailing of the church façade, such as the type of arcading and the number of window openings in the towers, their height, and so on. Although the portal is clearly recognizable and the major elements of its design seem reliably recorded, ornamental details appear to be somewhat more fantasy than fact in both Lallemand's versions. In his engraving, the tympanum and lintel are indistinct except for a scroll on the left side which is weakly suggested by means of a cavalier flourish (Fig. 9). Cross hatchings and heavier vertical strokes in the area of the lintel are also non-committal. The watercolor is equally vague.[18] A light scallop motif, which is freely sketched about the edge of the outermost archivolt (heightened in the engraving), seems either a free interpretation by the artist of the ornament of this molding, or even a deft addition by him.

As he was a romantic landscapist, concerned to capture the charm of the late afternoon scene of activity in the square before the old church, Lallemand's primary aim was not the accurate recording of its minor architectural motifs, whereas that was the intention of Viollet-le-Duc and Carlet. Considering these different objectives, Lallemand's portrayal of the tympanum, although slightly inconsistent with theirs, may still be valuable. The scroll and flourishes in his representation of it may not be total fantasy; they may be a faint reflection of something he actually saw there, such as a painting. If it did exist then, such a painting in the tympanum could be of any anterior date.

It is difficult to know whether Romanesque tympana were commonly decorated with painted rather than sculpted figures. Many examples of flat, uncarved tympana, used in conjunction with richly carved archivolts and embrasures in twelfth-century portal designs, have come down to us at nearby sites in this region of Bur-

gundy. A partial list would include: Arceau (Côte-d'Or); Bar-le-Regulier (Côte-d'Or), St. John the Evangelist (Fig. 12); Beaune (Côte-d'Or), Notre-Dame (south portal); Dijon (Côte-d'Or), Saint-Philibert (south portal); Gemeau (Côte-d'Or); Druyes-les-Belles-Fontaines (Yonne); La Rochepot (Côte-d'Or), Saint-George (Fig. 11). These churches have a number of other stylistic affinities to Saulieu as well as the uncarved tympanum.[19] Whether the Saulieu tympanum ever received a painted figure design, either originally or at some later moment in its history, can hardly be known in view of the fragility of painting when exposed to weather. Since the uncarved tympanum of the south portal of Saint-Philibert, Dijon, now shows a late-medieval (?) figurative mural, Lallemand's hint of a scroll design at Saulieu makes a painting renovation of a later time seem likely for Saint-Andoche, if it ever was painted at all.

Such a conjecture should be considered in relation to our knowledge of eighteenth-century repairs to the church. The façade had received some attention to its fabric in 1734, as attested by an agreement made by the canons on September 21 of that year.[20] The façade was still in dire need toward the end of the century. An extensive, unpublished document records a program of repairs, dated April 15, 1785; it was drawn up for the canons by Jacques Nicolas Caristie, architect from Avallon.[21] It includes a precise estimate of costs along with measured drawings and a careful verbal description of endangered parts of the façade. Of particular interest is Caristie's proposal regarding the pilaster-like pier buttresses flanking the doorway.[22] We have delayed discussion of them to this point.

In Viollet's and Carlet's elevations, just as at present (Figs. 1-2, 8), these flanking piers rise to the height of the embrasure capitals and lack further embellishment. However, a visitor standing before the church today can easily discern the stumps of projecting bases at either side of the embrasure's column series at ground level (Figs. 6, 8). These projections are the remains of a scheme for the display of decorative statuary. Carlet mentions this statuary. He says that prior to a 1793 mutilation of the portal, the façade was adorned with three statues placed on consoles; two were at the sides of the portal against these pilaster-like piers, and one was applied to the trumeau. They would have represented the three Saulieu martyr saints: Andoche, Thyrse, and Félix. They had disappeared by Carlet's time, and he gives no source for his information.[23]

Lallemand's views of ca. 1784 show these statues very distinctly (Fig. 9). They are set atop half-columns applied to the flanking pier buttresses and trumeau of the portal. There are consoles beneath them and canopies over their heads. In this case, Carlet and Lallemand concur about the presence and location of the statues. This fact, along with the clarity and prominence of the statues in Lallemand's renderings, encourages us to rely more heavily on Lallemand's record of these sculptures than we could on his sketchier depiction of the tympanum. Definitive confirmation of the existence of such statuary is provided by the 1785 report of Caristie. Indeed it was Caristie who undertook their removal. Noting the pier buttress at each side of the portal and the half-columns and statues addorsed to them, he says that it is necessary to cut away the columns and the statues as they are worthless and not repairable. He describes the procedure to be followed in removing them with chisel and bush-hammer. There can be no doubt of their location, for he includes a precise plan which indicates in dotted lines the portions to be removed (Fig. 10).[24] The piers were to be repaired with new stone, and finally to be dressed back and finished with a "glassis" at the top, as is visible today. He goes on to propose the demolition of the trumeau carrying the statue of Saint Andoche, and its

FIGURE 8. *Saulieu, Saint-Andoche, west façade (photo: Archives Photographiques).*

FIGURE 9. *Saulieu, view of the main square before Saint-Andoche, by Jean-Baptiste Lallemand (photo: Bibliothèque Nationale).*

replacement in new, simplified form. His plan shows this change as well.[25]

To sum up, all of the evidence we have been able to gather reveals an original Romanesque portal at Saulieu which was simpler in some ways and in other ways more elaborate than what we view today. A plain tympanum surrounded by modestly decorated archivolts and a monumental but sober embrasure scheme (Fig. 3) would have framed handsomely the trumeau figure of Saulieu's patron saint. The parenthetic arrangement of the console figures of Thyrse and Félix, above and to the sides of the doorway, would have amplified the program in a dignified manner.[26] The resultant ensemble would have had a balance and a restraint almost "classical" in tone when considered in relation to the exuberant richness often associated with Burgundian Romanesque style. The Saulieu portal, together with the small windows of the tribune immediately above it, and the subtly set back gable, with its simple tripartite fenestration, and the two soaring towers, with their elegant corner buttresses and chaste window openings, would have been the main decorative components of the façade composition. The only further articulation of the otherwise unbroken wall surface below the towers would have been the modillions of the cornice. An important further fact is that the original ground level of the composition was a meter, or more, below its present level because the ground has risen around the church by that amount. With its vertical proportions thus enhanced, it would have appeared even more lofty and would, indeed, have had a "bon effet," as Viollet put it.[27] The staggered outline of the towers, one of them lacking a transitional story with blind arcade, may signify that the original project ran out of funds.

During the series of repairs we have reported, many damaged, calcined stones of the façade wall were replaced; the entire surface was cut back; and the bush-hammer was used to redress it to remove the disfigurement of calcination.[28] The depth of this "flaying" of the façade can be seen most clearly in old photographs, or by studying the irregular juncture of the stone courses in the upper section of the south tower under a raking light (Fig. 8). When in its pristine state, the beautifully squared, precisely cut and fitted blocks of Morvan limestone must have yielded a lovely lithic surface;[29] and the blend of broad smooth stretches of ashlar nicely accented by the carved figures and ornament of the portal area must have been felicitous. Some hint of the finesse of the masons who originally cut these fine stones can be gleaned from study of the relatively untouched stretches of wall on the south flank. We know that Viollet-le-Duc appreciated the façade; for in 1845, when he urged its rescue, he argued that the churches at Beaune and Autun, which he related to Saulieu, had come down to us in altered form, whereas the façade at Saulieu had survived without serious alteration, its towers and gable still intact. Although it had to suffer later deterioration, its preservation may still be credited in large part to him.

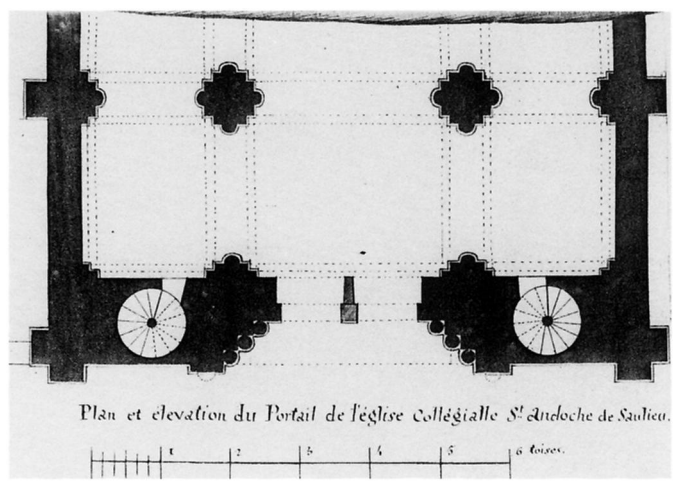

FIGURE 10. *Saulieu, Saint-Andoche, plan by Jacques Nicolas Caristie (photo: Archives Départementales).*

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Now that we can reconstruct, with reasonable certainty, the original scheme for the Saulieu portal, the question of its art historical context requires discussion. Although each of its components is well known in contemporary twelfth-century art, the particular combination of parts has no exact parallel. A stepped or recessed portal system in which an uncarved tympanum is surrounded by simply ornamented archivolts and colonnaded embrasures (without column statues) is seen in numerous contemporary Burgundian churches, several of which have beeen cited above.[30] Of these, Bar-le-Regulier (Côte-

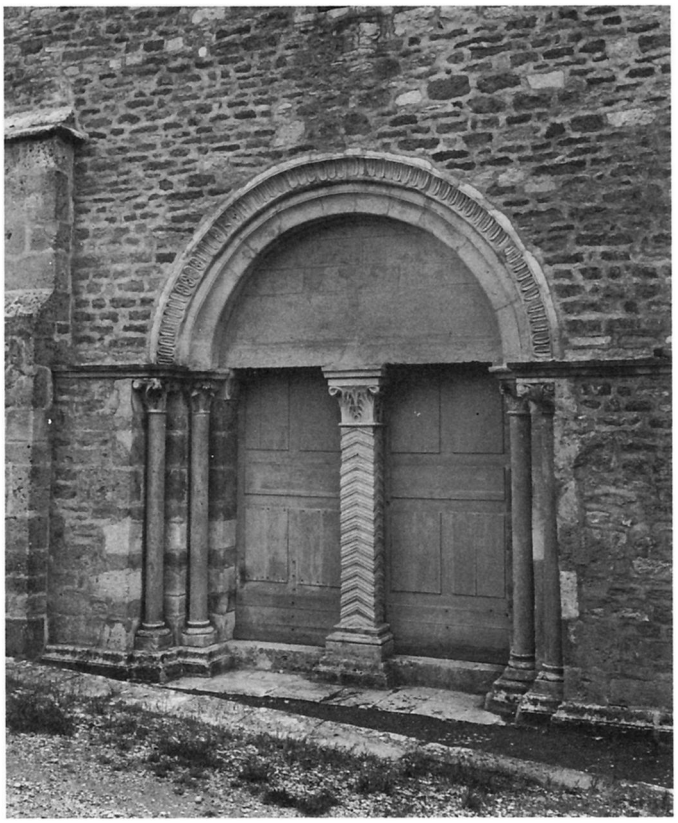

FIGURE 11. *La Rochepot (Côte-d'Or), Saint-George, west portal (photo: author).*

d'Or) and La Rochepot (Côte-d'Or) are particularly close to the Saulieu portal in that they also include pier buttresses, although there is no reason in either case to suppose that these piers once carried figure sculpture in the Saulieu manner. Further resemblances include the following. Bar-le-Regulier (Fig. 12) has at its left jamb a column decorated with a chevron motif identical to that of the middle shaft of its Saulieu counterpart (310/17, 380/20, Figs. 5-6, B). La Rochepot shows the same motif at its trumeau (Fig. 11). These are minor features, however, and both of these portals are small, presenting only limited analogy to Saulieu. Both lack the more ambitious, two-storied embrasure system, with its column and pilaster series on two levels; and both lack a trumeau figure comparable to the statue of Saint Andoche at Saulieu.

A figured trumeau was used in the north portal at Saint-Lazare, Autun, along with columns in the embrasures and fluted pilasters at the jambs. There are also affinities with the large west portal at Autun (a triple-column embrasure, fluted jambs, and a figured trumeau—albeit in the more elaborate form of three figures); but these analogies are not close. The Autun portals lack the lower story of decorative colonnettes, and unlike Saulieu, the tympana, archivolts, and surrounding capitals were lavishly carved with figures.[31]

A socle course of ornamental small columns can be found in many twelfth-century portals, spread widely through France, the nearest being at: Avallon (Yonne), Saint-Lazare; Bourges (Cher), Cathedral (south portal); Vermenton (Yonne), Notre-Dame; and, most importantly, Dijon (Côte-d'Or), Saint-Bénigne. In all four of these examples, there are decorative motifs similar to those carved in the lower right shafts at Saulieu (spirals with inhabited scrolls, diamond and fleuron patterns, Fig. 7); however, all four of them also make use of column statues in their embrasures, unlike Saulieu. Generally they present richer ensembles than Saulieu, particularly with regard to figured tympana and archivolts.[32]

As to the Saulieu figures of Thyrse and Félix set atop flanking half-columns and piers, these are faintly reminiscent of an earlier tradition which featured figured reliefs set in the spandrels of arched doorways, as at Toulouse, Saint-Sernin, Santiago da Compostela, and Léon, San Isidoro.[33] Closer analogues for the Saulieu sculptures, which appear to have been more fully formed figures, may be found in systems where figures were used as ornaments for flanking piers: at Châteaudun (Eure-et-Loir), La Madeleine (north façade); Reims (Marne), Saint-Rémi; Berteaucourt (Somme); Etampes (Seine-et-Oise), Notre-Dame (south portal); Samsois (Marne); Vailly (Aisne);[34] or at the earlier churches of Saint-Jouin-de-Marne (Deux-Sèvres) and Moissac (Tarn-et-Garonne), Saint-Pierre.[35] Surprisingly, the closest related use of this position for salient figure sculpture is the scheme at Moissac, where the south portal is bracketed by Benedict and Roger atop engaged columns.[36] It seems most unlikely that the carving of the Saulieu martyrs would have resembled the much earlier Moissac sculptures of Benedict and Roger. Since the Saulieu statues are lost, comparative analysis cannot be used to establish a stylistic context of near-relatives for Thyrse, Félix, and Andoche. At best we can say that a tradition of similar schemes for the support of flanking figures was widely known in the twelfth century.

In attempting to draw conclusions from the affiliations we have found, we are reminded of the apt statement of André Lapeyre in writing of Saint-Bénigne, Dijon: "On saisit par cet exemple la complexité des rapports qui existaient alors entre les ateliers de sculpture de l'Ile-de-France et ceux de la Bourgogne."[37] Saulieu's designers obviously made use of features in the current sculptural vocabulary of their own and neighboring regions. They also felt free to mix them in an original composition. Thus we find that the simple recessed portal—having an uncarved tympanum and embrasures with columns but no column statues, which is a common type in small churches

of the region, particularly in the Côte-d'Or and Yonne areas of Burgundy—was the austere base for more ambitious designs. To it was added the enrichment of forms from more distant sources, such as: the double-story system for colonnaded embrasures, which was known in grander Burgundian ensembles and was surely Burgundian in origin, even though increasingly employed further north in the third quarter of the twelfth century, in the wake of the *Portail Royal* at Chartres; and the column statue for the trumeau and flanking piers, which was known early in Burgundy, but later on was more frequently encountered northward in the Ile-de-France and in the lands of its eastern and western neighbors. Along with these features, there were admixed the historiated portions of the portal: an historiated capital over the trumeau, of which we have no trace; the two historiated capitals in the lower range of columns at the right; the inhabited scrolls of the lower middle column; and the figured diamonds of the lower left column (Figs. 5, 7).[38] These are insufficiently preserved to warrant precise comparative analysis, but can be seen as elements in the composition which are conservative in form and firmly grounded in Burgundian tradition.

Even with this particular blend of artistic elements in mind, it is difficult to date the portal. If the design is thought of as a reflection of the artistic wave which diffused the "portail à statue-colonne" following the *Portail Royal* at Chartres, it would fit comfortably within the third quarter of the twelfth century when the portal type became so popular in northern France. Such a date would not, however, be consistent with other aspects of the church. Everything in the design is known earlier than Chartres and was familiar in Burgundy from at least 1135. Nor is there any evidence that the portal was planned late in the Saulieu building program. The church was clearly constructed in a continuous campaign. There are no reprises to indicate significant halts to progress. Its interior architecture, so close to Beaune and Autun and so clearly derived from the model of Cluny III, argues for a date in the 1140s, as does its capital sculpture.[39] At present it is not possible to know the precise date of the small regional churches which show a close rapport with Saulieu. In the current state of our knowledge about mature Romanesque chronology, it is reasonable to attribute the portal to the middle of the twelfth century.

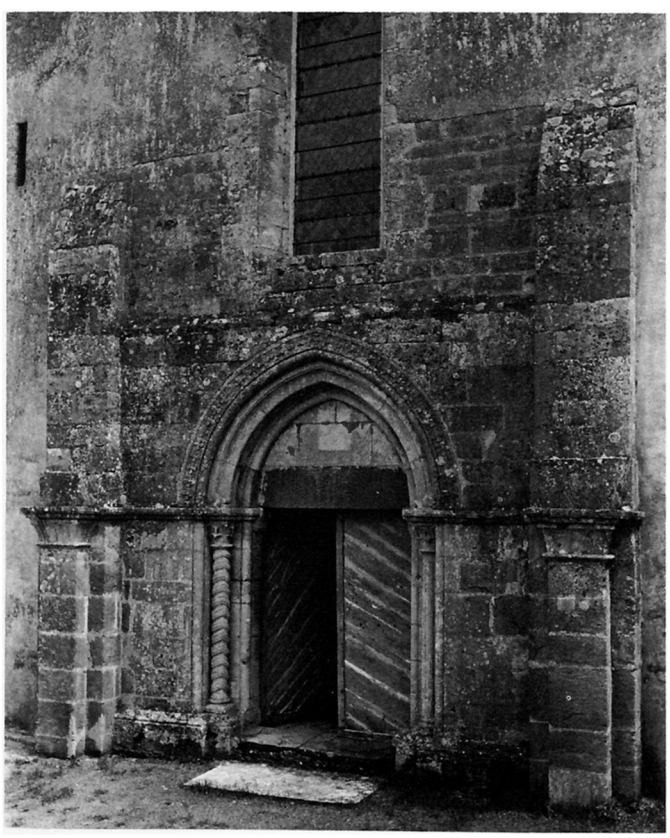

FIGURE 12. *Bar-le-Regulier (Côte-d'Or), Saint John the Evangelist, west portal (photo: author).*

NOTES

* Grateful thanks are extended to the institutions cited in the captions for their courteous permission to reproduce photographs in their collections.

1. *Prosper Merimée, Correspondence générale, II, 1836-1840*, ed. M. Parturier (Paris, 1942), no. 537. Paris, Caisse National des Monuments Historiques, Hôtel de Sully, *Eugène Viollet-le-Duc, 1814-1879*, ed. Pierre-Marie Auzas (Paris, 1965), 40. The church was classified June 21, 1845.
2. Archives de la Commission des Monuments Historiques (hereafter: ACMH), Côte-d-Or 375, 1er dossier 1839-1925: *rapport* of March 18, 1840.
3. *Ibid.*: *rapport* of February 1, 1845; *devis* of February 1, 1845. Drawings: Centre de Recherches sur les Monuments Historiques (hereafter: CRMH), no. 216 (M.H. no. 736). I find no evidence that this sheet of drawings has ever been published. Particular thanks are due to Léon Pressouyre, who kindly assisted in procuring a new photograph of this sheet.
4. This would represent a reversal of the architect Marion's *devis* of July 27 and August 31, 1842, which recommended restoration of the Romanesque portal. ACMH, Côte-d'Or 375; Archives Départementales de la Côte-d'Or (hereafter: AD), XXX T2 C23.
5. ". . . L'Incendie d'un porche en bois qui avait été plaqué à cette façade a calciné complètement la belle porte romane." ACMH, Côte-d'Or 375, *rapport* of February 1, 1845. This former wood housing would surely explain the square put-log holes now visible in the façade wall just above the present portal (Fig. 4).
6. *Ibid.* Many other repairs, beyond the scope of our present interest, are indicated in the report.
7. "Restauration de la grande porte romane . . .: cette porte

ayant été calcinée par un incendie, les sculptures et moulures en sont presque totalement perdues. Cependant le peu qui reste étant d'un grand intérêt comme ornamentation et ne donnant pas lieu de craindre une plus complète détérioration, on a pensé qu'il était préférable de laisser cette porte dans son état actuel qui permet à chacun d'interpreter comme il convient les fragments qui restent encore." *Ibid., devis* of February 1, 1845.

8. J. Carlet, "Notice sur l'église Saint-Andoche de Saulieu," *Mémoires de la Commission des Antiquités du Département de la Côte-d'Or*, V (1857-1860), 81-114.

9. "Le Tympan surmontant les baies est uni, et est traversé par un boudin, à peu près au tiers de sa hauteur; aucune trace n'indique qu'il ait été orné jadis de bas-reliefs." *Ibid.*, 99-101.

10. *Ibid.*, pls. I, VI.

11. AD, XXX T2 C23, letter of August 26, 1852. Viollet's original project was meant to be executed in about 1845-1849. Both architects Marion and Grosley assisted in implementing and supervising the project. *Ibid., passim*; ACMH, Côte-d'Or 375, *passim*.

12. AD, XXX T2 C23; N.B. the *devis* of Grosley from January 11, 1862; cf. ACMH, Côte-d'Or 375. G. Testart, "Le Portail de l'église Saint-Andoche de Saulieu: ce qu'il est; ce qu'il devait être?" *Association française pour l'avancement des sciences, compte rendu de la 40me session, Dijon, 1911* (Paris, 1912), 758-59. See also V. Terret, *Saulieu et la collégiale Saint-Andoche* (Autun, 1919), 11.

13. Testart, "Le Portail," 758.

14. *Ibid.*, 758-59. Although the present tympanum ostensibly represents a Christ in Majesty, only three Evangelist symbols are present: the angel, lion, and ox indicating Matthew, Mark, and Luke. The eagle, which would normally represent John, is replaced by another angel. In addition, there are four angels supporting the mandorla of Christ, and two angels with candles kneeling in the corners. The closest stylistic analogue is the tympanum of related subject from Saint-Bénigne now in the Archaeological Museum in Dijon (it was uncovered from later re-use only in 1833); *Catalogue du Musée de la Commission des Antiquités du Département de la Côte-d'Or* (Dijon, 1894), no. 1139; P. Quarré, "La Sculpture des anciens portails de Saint-Bénigne de Dijon," *GBA*, L (1957), 185; W. Schlink, *Zwischen Cluny und Clairvaux, Die Kathedrale von Langres und die burgundische Architektur des 12. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, 1970), Fig, 109.

15. Perhaps this is the same group of fragments which Pierre de Truchis noted in 1907, saying that Creusot intended three of the ornamental sculptures from the original Saulieu portal to be deposited in the "Musée de Dijon"; Creusot's intention may not have been carried out, see P. de Truchis, "Saulieu," *CA*, LXXIV, *Avallon, 1907* (Paris, 1908), 116, and J. Dupont, "Le Portail roman de Saint-Andoche de Saulieu," *Pays de Bourgogne,* LXV (1969), 914-16, n. 1. Although Monsieur Dupont mentions casts of these fragments, I have not been able to locate them in the Museum or elsewhere. According to J. Bonnerot, *Saulieu et Thil-en-Auxois* (Paris, 1928), 20, the casts were made in 1869 by Creusot.

The fragments are so damaged that their original forms are barely recognizable and photographs are merely confusing. Following is a description of each fragment: —No. 379/19 (Fig. 5, D): height, ca. 0.81 m.; top, ca. 0.30 m. x ca. 0.35 m. Capital and shaft are a monolith; shaft is covered with reticulate grid of lozenges. Three lozenges contain discernible carvings: central is a bishop wearing mitre, episcopal robes, and making an orant gesture; above at right is a reclining figure (unidentified); below is a foliate motif. Capital is carved but undecipherable (restored version of 1869, now in place on portal, shows a kneeling human figure flanked by monsters, perhaps lions). —No. 311/18 (Fig. 5, E): height, ca. 0.80 m.; top, ca. 0.37 m. x 0.40 m. Capital and shaft are a monolith; shaft is covered with spiral pattern of alternating ribbon and rinceau; in triangle at top of left-hand rinceau is small reclining figure, intertwined with the vine, in attitude of prayer or submission; at middle of central rinceau, a lion (?) strides from left to right. Badly damaged capital shows carved traces of animals (shaggy mane of a lion? claws?). Restored version of 1869 shows monstrous bird flanked by rampant lions. —No. 309/16 (Fig. 5, F): height, ca. 0.287 m.; top, ca. 0.38 m. x 0.26 m. This piece is the original molded base and arcaded plinth of colonnette at lower right. Except for being cut back slightly on two sides, evidently for re-use, it corresponds exactly to its 1869 copy at the present portal. —No. 380/20 (Fig. 5, B): height, ca. 0.33 m.; top, ca. 0.16 m. x ca. 0.26 m. Fragment of upper middle column of left embrasure (torus-in-chevron pattern). Deeply cut, vigorous, highly plastic effect. At left side, several centimeters of uncarved surface and an incised "x" (setting mark?). —No. 310/17 (Fig. 5, B): height, ca. 0.35 m.; top, ca. 0.29 m. x 0.24 m. Another fragment of upper middle column of left embrasure (cf. preceding). Several centimeters of uncarved surface at left side of piece. —No. 22 (Fig. 5, A or E): height, ca. 0.46 m.; width, ca. 0.26 m. Fragment of foliate capital with two rows of curling acanthus leaves (about three-quarters of one face of capital). —No. 23 (Fig. 5, A or E): height, ca. 0.36 m.; width, ca. 0.30 m. Another fragment of foliate capital with two rows of acanthus leaves (cf. preceding). Except for some losses at bottom, about three-quarters of one face of capital remain.

16. Carlet described the shafts of these columns as plain and their capitals as having stylized water leaves, "Notice," 100; repeated by de Truchis, "Saulieu," 116. See also Dupont's careful report, "Le Portail," 916.

17. Watercolor: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, *Topographie Française, Bourgogne, Bresse, Bugey*, XI, fol. 158r, "Vue de la place St. Andoche à Saulieu." Engraving: *ibid.*, "Jean-Baptiste Lallemand, 1710-1805," no. 67, "Vue de la Place Principale de Saulieu en Bourgogne, dite de St. Andoche," (gravure, "dessiné par Lallemand, dirigé par Née"). Cf. Dijon, Musée de Dijon, Palais des Etats de Bourgogne, *J.-B. Lallemand, Paysagiste Dijonnais du XVIIIe Siècle* (Dijon, 1954), ed. P. Quarré, no. 104, 67.

18. Although there are a few more strokes in the tympanum as rendered here, the design is generally the same. The lunette seems to have a central panel of some sort (as with the engraving), but no figures can be discerned.

The watercolor clearly differs from the engraving with regard to the depiction of activities in the square which makes up the foreground of the work, e.g., the townspeople and their gestures, the quality of light and such matters.

19. Often remotely located in the Burgundian countryside, these small Romanesque churches of the Côte-d'Or region are an interesting group, consistent in character, style, and date. They deserve further study. For some of their affinities see J. Masson-Baylé, "La Sculpture romane en Côte-d'Or," *Position des thèses des élèves de l'école du Louvre, 1944-1952* (Paris,

1956), 117-21; F. Baylé-Masson, "La Sculpture romane dans quelques églises rurales de Côte-d'Or," *Mémoires de la Commission des Antiquités de la Côte-d'Or*, XXIII (1947-1953), 198-201; H. von Weltheim, *Burgundische Kleinkirchen bis zum Jahre 1200* (Munich, 1913).

20. AD, G3145, fol. 491v; this includes an estimate by Monsieur Thomas for repair of the lower wall of the façade. There is no specific reference to the portal.

21. AD, G3149. For a study of the Caristie family: L. Pia-Lachapelle, "Une Dynastie d'architectes: 'Les Caristie,'" *Mémoires de la Commission des Antiquités de la Côte-d'Or*, XXIX (1974-1975), 214-38.

22. AD, G3149, 2-3.

23. "Notice," 101. Carlet's usual sources were: C. Courtépée and E. Béguillet, *Description générale et particulière du duché de Bourgogne*, 3rd ed. (Paris, 1967-1968 [1st ed. 1775-1788; the 2nd edition had been published in Dijon, 1848, shortly prior to Carlet's work at Saulieu]); and J.-F. Baudiau, *Le Morvand, ou essai géographique, topographique et historique* (Nevers, 1854 [reprint, 1967]). Since neither mentions the statues, he must have used some other source, unknown to me. The portal is not discussed by the usually helpful P. Moreau, *Notes sur Saulieu et principalement sur l'église Saint-Andoche, d'après les manuscrits inédits, de l'abbé P. Moreau et de François-Etienne Ferrand* (after the manuscript of 1763 [Dijon, 1889]).

24. "Dans les Deux piliers De Chaque Côté Du Portail où il y a deux Colonnes D'y adossées—Sur lesquelles Sont Deux Statues, Il est nécessaire d'y Supprimer les Deux Colonnes et Statues comme inutiles, et n'étant Susceptibles D'aucunnes réparations, à cet effet les Dittes Colonnes Seront tranchées Sur le tas au Ciseau, et à la pointe du marteau de tailleur de pierre. Ensuite Dans chacun des dits piliers, il y Sera remplacé par Des pierres neuves deux Doublières d'environ trois pieds De longueur Sur un pied De hauteur, et la Derniere assise de Recouvrement Sur les deux piliers Sera aussi de même pierre neuve formant glassis." AD, G3149, 2-3, 7. Also on page 7 is Caristie's elevation of the proposed renovation of the piers. The rest of the portal is shown in schematic form. The tympanum is blank.

25. *Ibid.*, 8; the plan, 7, shows the proposed new trumeau in a pink wash.

    Although it is difficult to know how much Caristie's program was carried out in the brief period prior to 1789, when the National Assembly emerged and the devastations of the Revolution followed (certainly his plans for a new "capitulaire" were never executed), the half-columns of the façade were clearly reduced to plain pier buttresses long before 1840 when Viollet-le-Duc wrote of the serious mutilation to the portal, wrought, as he thought, by the Revolution. ACMH, Côte-d'Or 375, *rapport* of March 18, 1840.

26. These additional vertical accents would have enlarged the scale of the portal, giving it a more monumental and imposing character and relieving the effect of smallness from which it suffers at present. Although dark patches in Lallemand's engraving suggest that there might also have been a damaged column statue at the right embrasure, his watercolor, which is certainly more reliable, is very unclear at this point. In the absence of corroborative evidence from other sources, the patches more likely represent damage to the first column.

27. The pavement in the church was elevated by a meter during the 1702-1704 restoration of the choir (directed by the architect Rolet, AD, G3144, fol. 82r), to accord with the level of the ground which had risen to that extent and to eliminate the need for steps at the entrance to the church. The change of level seriously affects the interior proportions of the nave where the bases of the piers, a meter below the present floor, are not visible. Viollet, who indicates these features in his drawings (Fig. 1), had hoped to lower the level of the square before the church, restoring to the façade its full height; but this was never accomplished. Before the rise in ground level, the façade would have included a substantial base down to the level of the church floor, comparable to Til-Châtel (Côte-d'Or), where the base is such an important feature of the design of the façade.

28. The architect, Emile Bobin, who made a number of drawings of the church in the late nineteenth century (now in the Municipal Museum, Saulieu), lamented the earlier use of the "infamous" bushhammer which, as he says, had blindly marred the precise joinings of the stone, costing the venerable walls the loss of handsome, right-angled precision as well as the look of authenticity: *Salon de 1891, Relevé de l'église Saint-Andoche de Saulieu, XIIe siècle* (Paris, 1891), 9. Lallemand's watercolor seems to record some of this damaged wall surface about the portal. Cf. François Debret's restoration of the façade of the abbey church at Saint-Denis, S. M. Crosby, *The Abbey of Saint-Denis*, I (New Haven, 1942), 6-11.

29. The original stone ("lumachelle") was matched in the restorations. It came from quarries near Vic-sous-Thil, a region between Montlay and Juillenay, about thirteen kilometers northeast of Saulieu. ACMH, Côte-d'Or 375, *devis* of July 21, 1842, signed by Marion; Carlet, "Notice," 103.

30. See note 19 above. To this list might be added the following, but tympana are either absent or have been altered: Lucy-sur-Yonne (Yonne), Notre-Dame; Ligny-le-Chatel (Yonne), Saints Peter and Paul; Bazarnes (Yonne), Saint-Verain; Til-Châtel (Côte-d'Or), Saint-Florent. All of these "regional" churches are close to Saint-Andoche in date and are within easy distance of it. Although very little documentation is available, these churches merit further scholarly study than they have yet received.

31. B. Rupprecht, *Romanische Skulptur in Frankreich* (Munich, 1975), pl. 169; G. Zarnecki and D. Grivot, *Gislebertus, Sculptor of Autun* (Paris, 1961), plan IX. The figured trumeau at Saint-Bénigne, Dijon, or even Vézelay, might also be considered in this connection: Quarré, "La Sculpture"; U. Plancher, *Histoire générale et particulière de Bourgogne*, I (Dijon, 1739), opp. 503; F. Salet, *La Madeleine de Vézelay* (Melun, 1948), pl. 20. See also: C. Oursel, *L'Art roman de Bourgogne* (Dijon, 1928); R. Oursel, *Bourgogne romane*, 5th ed. (La Pierre-qui-vire, 1968).

32. Further examples are: Chartres, Portail Royal; Thiron-Gardais (Eure-et-Loir); Château-Chalon (Jura); Saint-Pourçain-sur-Sioule (Allier); Le Mans, Cathedral (south portal). A. Lapeyre discusses these: *Des Façades occidentales de Saint-Denis et de Chartres aux Portails de Laon, Etudes sur la sculpture monumentale dans l'Ile-de-France et les régions voisines au XIIe siècle* (Paris, 1960), Figs. 3, 81, 20, 79-80, 55-56.

33. Rupprecht, *Romanische Skulptur*, pl. 17; O. Naesgaard, *Saint-Jacques de Compostelle* (Aarhus, 1962), 11; A. K. Porter,

Romanesque Sculpture of the Pilgrimage Roads (Boston, 1923), pls. 700-701; see also later versions, *ibid., pls.* 1118, 1122-1125, 1065-1068 (now at Oberlin).

34. Lapeyre, *Des Façades*, Figs. 36-37, 164, 5, 24, 85, 165; 219ff. The statue at Somsois (Fig. 85) appears similarly positioned atop a half-column engaged to a pier buttress; but this may only be due to the remaking of the work at a later period (*op. cit.*, 130, n. 7; P. d'Allonville, "Somsois et son église," *CA*, XXVIII [Reims, 1861], 306).

    The character of the canopies over the heads of the figures at Saulieu is indistinct in Lallemand's watercolor and seems unreliable in the engraving. Of course the possibility that the figures were late additions to the portal design should not be overlooked.

35. Rupprecht, *Romanische Skulptur*, pls. 103, 32.

36. M. Schapiro, "The Romanesque Sculpture at Moissac, II," *AB*, XIII (1931), Figs. 135, 137; 529-531 (reprint, *Romanesque Art* [New York, 1977], 252-54).

37. Lapeyre, *Des Façades*, 107.

38. The spatial depth of the scroll motif of the lower middle column may be contrasted, for example, with the vigorous forms of the historiated columns from Coulombs (Eure-et-Loir) now in the Louvre. The human and animal figures carved parallel to the ribbons wound spirally about the column at Saulieu (Fig. 7) are deeply embedded within their frames rather than projecting forcibly from them as at Coulombs; M. Aubert and M. Beaulieu, *Musée National du Louvre, Description raisonnée des sculptures du moyen âge, de la Renaissance et des temps modernes, I Moyen Age* (Paris, 1950), nos. 71-72; R. Branner, "A Romanesque Capital from Coulombs," *The Nelson Gallery and Atkins Museum Bulletin*, II (1960), 1-6.

    See also the trumeau at Saillac (Corrèze); Anne Shaver, "The North Portal of the Cathedral of Cahors," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1974, Figs. 182-83; A. Cloulas-Brousseau, "Les Sculptures du portail de l'église de Saillac," *Bulletin de la Société Scientifique, historique et archéologique de la Corrèze*, LXXIV (1962), 142-50, N.B. 147.

    The simpler spiral motif of the upper middle column of Saulieu's right embrasure is widely represented in Burgundian Romanesque portal design, from Cluny III to small parish churches such as Semur-en-Brionnais: K. Conant, *Cluny: les églises et la maison du chef d'ordre* (Mâcon, 1968), Figs. 27-29; Porter, *Romanesque Sculpture*, Fig. 143.

39. P. Quarré, "Les Chapiteaux de Saint-Andoche de Saulieu et leurs modèles Autunois," *Actes du quatre-vingt-quatrième congrès national des Sociétés Savantes, Dijon, 1959, section d'archéologie* (Paris, 1961), 145-53; Zarnecki, *Gislebertus*, 175-76; I. Forsyth, "The Theme of Cockfighting in Burgundian Romanesque Sculpture," *Speculum*, LIII (1978), 252-82, ns. 6, 9.