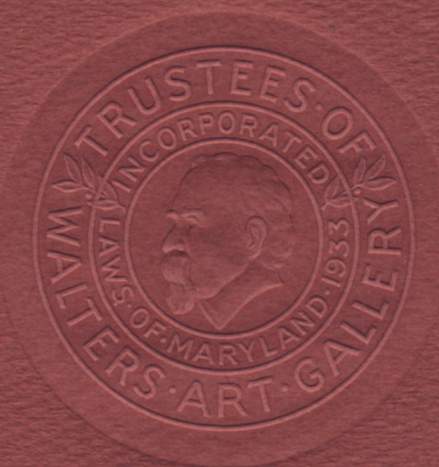


THE JOURNAL OF THE WALTERS ART GALLERY



1941

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PUBLISHED BY THE TRUSTEES

THE JOURNAL OF THE WALTERS ART GALLERY

VOLUME IV
1941

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THE WALTERS ART GALLERY

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FIGURE 1

MASTER OF ORLÉANS TRIPTYCH
Prophet (Enlarged detail of fig. 2)

WALTERS ART GALLERY

THE MASTER OF THE ORLÉANS TRIPTYCH

ENAMELLER AND PAINTER

BY MARVIN CHAUNCEY ROSS

The Walters Art Gallery



URING the twelfth and thirteenth centuries Limoges was a world-famed center for the production of enamelled objects. The enamels made in those days were of the type described as *champlevé*. They are still found in churches and cathedrals throughout Europe where they were imported from Limoges or carried back by devout pilgrims who passed through that city on their way home from Santiago de Compostella. The troublous days of the fourteenth century with its many wars and changing fashions put an end to the popularity of these *champlevé* enamels, and they ceased to be made in the Limousin.

Sometime during the first half of the fifteenth century a new method of enamelling was discovered—it is not known exactly where or when or by whom. In this method, a piece of copper is covered on the front and back with enamel so that in the firing both sides expand and contract to the same degree. Then on this surface a picture can be painted in enamel without the use of wires or cavities to hold the fluid substance, such as was necessary in the earlier methods of

cloisonné and *champlevé* enamelling. Although the first discoverer of this technique is unknown, several pieces in European museums are datable, on various grounds, in the middle of the fifteenth century. The greatest fifteenth-century French painter, Jean Fouquet, is believed to have experimented with the technique, and two painted enamels in the Louvre and Berlin Museums are ascribed to him.¹

The principle of painting in enamel is a simple one and when understood can be practiced by anyone familiar with enamelling. Apparently the Limousin craftsmen, remembering the renown their fellow-countrymen once gained by their *champlevé* enamels, took up readily the practice of this newly discovered painting method and once more spread the fame of Limoges abroad over Europe.

The earliest painted enamels from Limoges were formerly said to be by “Monvaerni,” a name that is inscribed on several pieces, all obviously from the same hand or workshop. The name is no longer thought to be that of a craftsman and the enamels are now grouped under the name of the “pseudo-Monvaerni.” These enamels have been described as being characterized by an “intransigent realism.” The sense of beauty usually found in French art of the period seems to be completely lacking. The colors are harsh

¹ For a general discussion of Limoges enamels see W. Burger, *Abendländische Schmelzarbeiten* (Berlin, 1930).



FIGURE 2

WALTERS ART GALLERY

MASTER OF ORLÉANS TRIPTYCH
Enamel Triptych with Annunciation

and the design is generally rude. But the enamels have great vigor, a trait that has made them favorites with collectors. The pseudo-Monvaerni's workshop flourished in the second half of the fifteenth century.²

Contemporary with the later development of the pseudo-Monvaerni was another enameller (or possibly workshop) that has long been known as the "Master of the Orléans Triptych" because the first enamel by him that was published is a triptych in the Museum at Orléans. He frequently repeated his compositions; the Walters Art

Gallery possesses a similar triptych that is as fine as the one at Orléans and that will serve admirably to illustrate the qualities of this craftsman (fig. 2).

Monsieur Marquet de Vasselot in his important book on the early painted enamels from Limoges has summarized beautifully the characteristics of this master, in writing about the triptych at Orléans.³ "First, the most important thing to perceive in this fine piece is its very original style. The least expert observer will recognize there, at first glance, a very individual manner; the people move freely and make expressive gestures; their feelings can be read easily in their faces, which are differentiated by certain peculiarities of drawing, notably in the eyes, the pupils

² J. J. Marquet de Vasselot, *Les émaux limousins de la fin du XV^e siècle et de la première partie du XVI^e* (Paris, 1921), pp. 11 ff.

³ Marquet de Vasselot, *op. cit.*, pp. 80 ff.



FIGURE 3

MASTER OF ORLÉANS TRIPTYCH
Angel Gabriel (Enlarged detail of fig. 2)

WALTERS ART GALLERY



FIGURE 4
WALTERS ART GALLERY
MASTER OF ORLÉANS TRIPTYCH
St. James Major

of which are indicated by black marks. But the thing that is most striking is a realistic tendency which at times reminds one very much of that of the pseudo-Monvaerni. To make the figures more lively, the craftsman was not afraid of accentuating their features; and far from seeking his models in an ideal of noble and serene beauty, as Nardon Penicaud was to do later on, he deliberately reproduced types which are far from seductive. Realist above all, he seems to delight even in ugliness; the angel of the Orléans triptych, with his bulbous forehead, his retroussé nose rounded at the end, is completely vulgar, and even if the accentuated profiles of David and of Isaiah seem admissible for the purpose of characterizing the Semitic type of the prophets (fig. 1), one is surprised that a Christian artist should have represented the Archangel Gabriel with features so little worthy of the divine messenger."⁴ This analysis could be applied equally to the entirely comparable triptych by the same master in the Walters collection⁵ (figs. 1, 2, 3, 10, 17).

In addition to the superb triptych with the "Annunciation," the Walters Gallery possesses a number of other enamels by the Master of the Orléans triptych that hitherto have not been published, but that are worthy of being recorded here. The largest of these is a panel also with an "Annunciation" similar to those on the two triptychs just mentioned⁶ (fig. 6). It doubtless formed at one time the central portion of a third triptych, the rest of which has been lost or separated from it. There is another similar isolated panel with the "Annunciation" in the Victoria and Albert Museum in London,⁷ attesting to the

⁴ Marquet de Vasselot, *op. cit.*, p. 81.

⁵ No. 44.316. Height: $10\frac{1}{8}$ (.258); width: $14\frac{3}{8}$ (.36). See Marquet de Vasselot, *op. cit.*, p. 243.

⁶ No. 44.172. Width: $6\frac{1}{8}$ (.163); height: 8 (.203).

⁷ Marquet de Vasselot, *op. cit.*, p. 250.



FIGURE 5

WALTERS ART GALLERY

MASTER OF ORLÉANS TRIPTYCH
Madonna and Child



FIGURE 6 WALTERS ART GALLERY
MASTER OF ORLÉANS TRIPTYCH
Annunciation

popularity of this particular cartoon. In each case there are slight variations. On the Walters panel the dado in the background is undecorated and the general tonality of the color scheme is much lighter than in the other examples. The drawing and the figures, on the other hand, have the same vigor, the same coarse features (fig. 19) that characterize the enamels of the Master.

The second unpublished panel is much more pleasing as a whole⁸ (fig. 5). On it the Madonna is seen under an arch holding a black bird in her hand with which the Christ Child, standing in front of her on a parapet, is playing. This composition also was popular and at least two other variants are known, one in the Salting Bequest at the Victoria and Albert Museum,⁹ and the other in the Musée des Arts Décoratifs in Paris.¹⁰ The latter resembles the Walters panel more closely in its comparative simplicity, while

the example in the London museum is more elaborate, having a highly decorated curtain and ceiling in the background.

The third and last piece to be added to the *oeuvre* of this master is the left wing from another triptych (fig. 4) on which is represented St. James Major standing under the usual Gothic arch.¹¹ Since St. James Major does not appear upon any of the other enamels by this master published by Marquet de Vasselot, this isolated panel adds to our knowledge of his subject-matter.

Two other panels in the manner of the Master of the Orléans Triptych, forming the side wings of a triptych that once was in the Spitzer collection,¹² are now in the Walters Gallery. Marquet de Vasselot considered these to be of doubtful authenticity.¹³ A careful study of these wings by means of photographs many times enlarged proves them to be by another hand, although they repeat compositions of the Orléans Master. This would indicate that they are doubtless forgeries.

By means of the four genuine pieces in Baltimore one can study this master here fully as well as anywhere outside of the Paris museums. All four enamels are typical of his work iconographically, as well as in exemplifying its vigor, its rudeness, and its tendency toward repetition. The Master of the Orléans Triptych began working shortly after the pseudo-Monvaerni and, like him, continued on into the early sixteenth century. These enamels represent very well the phase between the early beginnings at Limoges and the *apogée* of the art there in the work of Nardon Penicaud.

⁸ No. 44.126. Height: 6½ (.165); width: 4¾ (.125). Ex-coll. Mrs. Locker Lampson, sold at Christie's, London, Feb. 26, 1909.

⁹ Postal card no. c. 748-1925. Cowell Bequest.

¹⁰ Marquet de Vasselot, *op. cit.*, p. 252.

¹¹ No. 44.128. Height: 9 (.228); width: 3½ (.09).

¹² Illus. in *La collection Spitzer*, II (Paris, 1891), no. 2.

¹³ Marquet de Vasselot, *op. cit.*, p. 311.

A number of points about the early origins of Limoges painted enamels have never been elucidated. Among these, there has never been given any adequate explanation as to why these fifteenth-century enamellers made elaborate pictures with perspective, rather than flat designs as did the earlier craftsmen. I think the answer to this is that the first essays in painted enamel were done either by actual painters or by miniaturists.

We already know that later on, in the sixteenth century, several enamellers also practiced painting. Pierre Reymond, for example, was hired to paint the "pictures" of certain newly acquired ecclesiastical objects for the Confrérie du Saint-Sacrement de St. Pierre.¹⁴ In the museum at Limoges is an oil painting, the "Incredulity of St. Thomas," by the enameller Leonard Limousin,¹⁵ who also did a series of engravings based on drawings that he made for enamels.¹⁶ A miniature of the "Last Supper" exhibited at Limoges in 1870 has been compared to an enamel in the collection of Monsieur H. Demartial.¹⁷ Jean Fouquet, the painter, has already been mentioned as having painted enamels. I would now like to demonstrate that the Master of the Orléans Triptych also illuminated manuscripts.

Among the illuminated manuscripts in the Art Institute of Chicago is a French fifteenth-century Book of Hours¹⁸ in which a very interesting inscription appears three times. On the inside of the front fly-leaf the inscription reads as follows: "Aquestas mandinas sont. de Katherine Gentille. Molh(er) de Marsau deubost demorant en la rue de las Taulas oupres de St. Marsau". Omitting the "oupres de St. Marsau" the same sentence recurs on the inside of the front and back covers (fig. 7). This "oupres de St. Marsau" refers without doubt to the Abbey of St. Martial at Limoges, "Marsau" being the saint's name in the Limousin dialect. The phrase "Aquestas mandinas" also is in the Limousin dialect and is to be found in another manuscript illuminated by a Limoges artist.¹⁹ The name Dubost in various forms occurs often in the Limousin and is cited, for instance, in *Gallia Cristiana* under the dates 1076 and 1402. In figure 7 the Dubost arms are those to the left, charged with the tree. The manuscript was examined by Miss Meta Harrsen of The Pierpont Morgan Library, who writes me that

¹⁴ L. Guibert and J. Tixier, *L'exposition de Limoges: l'art rétrospectif* (Limoges, 1886), p. 44, pl. XIX.

¹⁵ L. Guibert, *Catalogue des artistes limousins* (Ext. Bul. soc. archéol. Limousin) (1909), p. 20.

¹⁶ M. C. Ross, *Enameller and Engraver*, in *The Print Collector's Quarterly* (1938), p. 361.

¹⁷ Guibert and Tixier, *op. cit.*, 78, p. 43, pl. LXIII.

¹⁸ Described by De Ricci as follows: "15.540. Horae. Vel. (ca. 1450), 182 ff. (22 x 44 cm.). Written at Limoges. 28 miniat. Orig. wood boards and stamped calf. Written for Katherine Gentille, wife of Marsau Deubost 'demorant en la rue de las Taulas oupres de St. Marsau' at Limoges, with their arms. Obtained from W. M. Voynich (1915)," Seymour de Ricci and W. J. Wilson, *Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States* (New York, 1935), I, p. 515. *Bulletin of the Chicago Art Institute*, IX (1915), 96-100.

¹⁹ Abbé V. Leroquais, *Les livres d'heures manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris, 1927), I, 268.



FIGURE 7 COURTESY ART INSTITUTE OF CHICAGO
BOOK OF HOURS FOR LIMOGES USE
Arms of Owners



FIGURE 8 COURTESY ART INSTITUTE OF CHICAGO
HOURS FOR LIMOGES USE
David Praying

the Book of Hours is for Limoges use throughout, and was written for a woman.²⁰

The illuminations in the Chicago manuscript are of a type not unusual in France in the late fifteenth century.²¹ They follow the style current particularly in the region of Paris at that time; the borders are especially typical. It was not too difficult for an illuminator from Limoges to study or work in Paris. In fact there is documentary evidence that a certain Jehan from Limoges while in Paris actually wrote and illuminated a Book of Hours that was to be sent to a priest in the Limousin.²²

The Chicago Book of Hours is interesting as being one further addition to the very small group of fifteenth-century illuminated manu-

scripts known definitely to be connected with Limoges. Specialists in manuscripts have yet to study this field, which may be productive of much data useful both for the history of illumination and the history of decorative arts. In connection with our immediate problem, however, the manuscript is important because it can be directly related to painted enamels.

The possibility of such a relation first occurred to me in studying an enamel triptych in the Louvre²³ that has an old frame covered with parchment painted with vine-scrolls such as are

²⁰ Because of the rarity of published descriptions of Limoges calendars, the following details may be of interest.

Calendar: (Jan. 7) *Tillonis*—(Feb. 15) *Revelacio Sci Aureliani*—(Apr. 9) *Gautheri*—(Apr. 27) *Alpiniani*—(June 13) *Psalmodi & Antonii*—(June 30) *Marcialis*—(July 4) *Ordnatio Sci Martini*—(July 7) *Octavo Scti Marcialis*—(Aug. 25) *Aredi abbas*—(Sept. 7) *Clodoald*—(Oct. 10) *Transl Sci Marcialis*—(Oct. 15) *Austrichinani* (*Austrilinan* ?)—(Nov. 12) *Translacio Sci Marcialis*—(Nov. 15) *Cessatoris*—(Dec. 29) *Dedicatio ecclesii Lemorrienses*.

Fol. 51, *De scto Marciali antiphona*. Hours of the Virgin: fol. 53, Prime: Antiphon, "*Quando natus . . .*" Capitulum, "*Ab inicio et antesela . . .*" fol. 66 v., Nones: Antiphon, "*Ecce maria . . .*" Capitulum, "*Felix namque . . .*". Litany, fol. 108, *Sci. Marcialis* as an apostle, *Aureliani*, *Fronto*, *Austrichinane*, *Alpiniani*. Fol. 120, Responses to Offices of the Dead: 1. "*Credo quod . . .*"; 2. "*Qui Lazarum . . .*"; 3. "*Domine dum veneris . . .*"; 4. "*Subvenite scti dei . . .*"; 5. "*Heu michi . . .*"; 6. "*Ne recorderis . . .*"; 7. "*Peccantem . . .*"; 8. "*Libera me . . .*"; 9. "*Libera me . . .*". The manuscript was executed for a woman according to the guides of the prayers.

This may be compared with another manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale described by the Abbé Leroquais, *Les livres d'heures manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris, 1927), I, 268: "I à 12. Calendrier de Limoges. (7 janv.) *Tillonis conf.*—(10 janv.) *Valerici conf.*—(15 févr.) *Revelacio s. Aureliani*—(9 avr.) *Gaucherii conf.*—(27 avr.) *Alpiniani conf.*—(10 mai) *Aureliani ep.*—(22 mai) *Lupi ep.*—*Quitherie*—(16 juin) En lettres rouges: *Apparicio b. Marcialis*—(30 juin) En lettres rouges: *Marcialis apostoli*—(7 juill.) En lettres rouges: *Oct. s. Marcialis*—(16 juill.) *Iustiniani conf.*—(27 juill.) *Translacio s. Iusti*—(25 août) *Aredii abb.*—(6 sept.) *Translacio s. Lupi*—(18 sept.) *Ferreoli ep. Lemov.*—(10 oct.) En lettres rouges: *Translacio s. Marcialis*—(15 oct.) *Austricliani conf.*—(12 nov.) En lettres rouges: *Translacio s. Marcialis*—(15 nov.) *Cessatoris ep.*—(18 nov.) En lettres rouges: *Translacio s. Stephani*—(10 déc.) En lettres rouges: "*Valerie virg. et mart.*" Another book of Hours of Limoges used at Brive is described by Leroquais in *Les bréviaires manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France* (Paris, 1934), IV, 345.

²¹ See A. Blum and P. Lauer, *La miniature française aux XVe et XVIe siècles* (Paris, 1930), *passim*.

²² Leroquais, *Les livres d'heures manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, I, 270.

²³ Marquet de Vasselot, *op. cit.*, pl. XL.



FIGURE 9 COURTESY ART INSTITUTE OF CHICAGO
HOURS FOR LIMOGES USE
St. Matthew

found in fifteenth-century manuscripts; in fact, such as are found in the Chicago manuscript. The close combination of enamel and illumination suggested some sort of connection between the two methods of painting at this period.

A general perusal of the Chicago Book of Hours suggested many comparisons with enamels painted by the Master of the Orléans Triptych. All the characteristics cited by Marquet de Vasselot as typical of the enamels apply equally to the miniatures in the manuscript. The illuminator was ever an individualist, endowing his people with expressive gestures and faces (figs. 8 and 10.) He even indulges in the over-realistic types that are so characteristic of the work of the Master of the Orléans Triptych. The use of coarse features, in particular, relates the miniatures to the enamels. Other comparable details occur, such as the use of a curtain in the background like a sort of dado, and above it a sky

studded with stars or clouds, as in the miniatures with the evangelists and their symbols (fig. 9). The illuminator even employs the device of an inscription running across the upper border of this curtain, such as likewise appears in the triptych at Orléans or the plaque in the Museum at Troyes.²⁴ Then, too, many details of the costumes are repeated in both media.

These comparisons are very general, but it is necessary merely to confront miniatures with enamels to make the case, it seems to me, more convincing. The "Crucifixion" scene in the manuscript (fig. 11) if compared with an enamel of the same subject in the Blumenthal collection²⁵ (fig. 12) leaves little doubt. There are consider-



FIGURE 10 WALTERS ART GALLERY
MASTER OF ORLÉANS TRIPTYCH
Prophet (Enlarged detail of fig. 2)

²⁴ Marquet de Vasselot, *op. cit.*, pl. XXII.

²⁵ S. Rubinstein, *Catalogue of the Collection of George and Florence Blumenthal* (Paris, 1926), III, pl. XVIII.



FIGURE 11

COURTESY ART INSTITUTE OF CHICAGO

HOURS FOR LIMOGES USE

Crucifixion



FIGURE 12

NEW YORK, BLUMENTHAL COLLECTION

MASTER OF ORLÉANS TRIPTYCH

Crucifixion in Enamel

able differences; neither is a copy of the other, but details and figures are repeated. In the Blumenthal enamel the artist has shown only the crucified Christ, for example, without the two thieves. The latter in the miniature, however, are not fastened by ropes, an omission found also in other enamels of the master, as in a triptych in the Frick Collection. The two Marys, the two Magdalens, the Saint Johns and Saint Stephens are repeated almost line for line. The robe of Mary falls in each instance in almost

identical folds. The Saint Johns have slightly different faces, but each holds his robe in his left hand, in the same way, and reaches out with the same gesture to support Christ's mother. In each case the Magdalen holds a book in precisely the same position, and wears a type of turban that recurs often in both the miniatures and the enamels. The two Saint Stephens, while varying slightly, have similar poses, costumes and hats. Lastly, the angel supporting the Veronica veil at the top of the enamel may be compared



FIGURE 13

COURTESY ART INSTITUTE OF CHICAGO

HOURS FOR LIMOGES USE

Way to Calvary

with the similar one supporting the shields on the fly-leaf of the manuscript (fig. 7). These similarities without any doubt indicate a close connection between the illuminator of the manuscript and the enameller, the Master of the Orléans Triptych.

The miniature of "Christ Carrying the Cross" (fig. 13) may be compared with the wing of a triptych (fig. 14) formerly in the Basilewsky collection and now in the Hermitage in Leningrad.²⁶ The composition of the enamel is much narrower and the figures are more closely spaced. However, the resemblances between the two are immediately apparent, in spite of one not being an exact copy of the other. The two Christs have the same position, their robes fall in the same folds, and the left foot in each case projects from underneath the robe in the same manner. More convincing still are the gestures of the two soldiers who, although entirely different in costume and pose, both grasp Christ's collar in the same back-handed manner.

The "Nativity" occurs twice in the manuscript: as a full-sized miniature (fig. 15) and as an initial (heading this study). The former should be compared with an enamel by the Master of the Orléans Triptych in the British Museum in London²⁷ (fig. 16). Again the setting and certain details vary; again there are striking relationships, especially in the posture and robe of the Virgin, many folds of the two dresses being identical. Another enamel based on the same cartoon, and very similar in many details both to the miniature and to the London Nativity is in the Museum at Lyons.²⁸

²⁶ N. Koubée, *The Hermitage of the State: The Decorative French Enamels of the XV-XVI centuries* (in Russian) (Leningrad, 1937), figs. 2 and 3.

A. Darcel & A. Basilewsky, *La Collection Basilewsky* (Paris, 1874), pl. opp. p. 122.

²⁷ O. M. Dalton and A. B. Tannochoy, *British Museum: A Guide to the Mediaeval Antiquities* (London, 1924), fig. 54.

²⁸ Marquet de Vasselot, *op. cit.*, pl. XXV.



FIGURE 14
LENINGRAD, HERMITAGE
MASTER OF ORLÉANS TRIPTYCH
Way to Calvary



FIGURE 15

COURTESY ART INSTITUTE OF CHICAGO

HOURS FOR LIMOGES USE

Nativity

All these comparisons of composition and detail are sufficient to indicate a close connection between the miniatures in the manuscript and the enamels by the Master of the Orléans Triptych. In themselves they do not prove that these works are all by the hand of the same artist. However, enlarged photographs of details in the enamels and the miniatures show such similar methods of workmanship that the two, in spite of being in entirely different media, seem almost identical. The point is particularly clear in the case of the head of the Virgin from the "Nativity" in the Chicago Book of Hours (fig. 18) and of the Virgin from the "Annunciation" in the Walters triptych (fig. 17). The faces are the same in shape, with round foreheads, snub-noses, thin necks, arched eyebrows, etc. The modeling is very much the same in both instances, although, of course, the working of the enamel involved much repainting and many refrings, while the miniature was built up more directly without those technical difficulties. Lastly, and perhaps most convincing of all, the gold that represents the hair in each instance is put on in the same manner. Here in both cases the artist was working freely and has left the touch of his handwriting beyond any doubt. A second comparison may be made with enlarged photographs of the angels of the "Annunciation" in the two media, both of which show the same ugly features, particularly the noses and mouths and the same coarse hands and similar poses (figs. 3, 19, 20). In short, I believe the manuscript without any question was illuminated by the enameller known as the Master of the Orléans Triptych.

Once the illuminations are accepted as being by the enameller, as they must be, the importance of the relationship becomes at once apparent. The explanation of why the fifteenth-century enamellers painted *pictures* in enamel rather than flat designs, as earlier generations had done, is obvious. They were, in other words, mini-



FIGURE 16 LONDON, BRITISH MUSEUM
MASTER OF ORLÉANS TRIPTYCH
Nativity

aturists who turned to doing pictures in enamel. It was only natural for them to work thus with the new and facile method of enamelling, because that had been their training. They were merely repeating miniatures from their Books of Hours in an entirely new medium. Evidence that painters actually practiced enamelling and vice-versa has already been noted from documents. Here we have evidence concerning the previous training of the early Limoges makers of painted enamels, and why, when suddenly taking up a new art, they had the technical knowledge to paint pictures. They did not need to learn perspective, but merely the tricks of the new method. That could have been no more difficult than for their contemporaries in Italy to learn to paint both in tempera and in fresco.

Other Limoges miniaturists and illuminated manuscripts of the second half of the fifteenth century are recorded. Jehan from the Chateau de



FIGURE 17 WALTERS ART GALLERY
MASTER OF ORLÉANS TRIPTYCH
Virgin (Enlarged detail of fig. 2)

Limoges (the upper part of the town) illuminated a Book of Hours at Paris for Symon de la Chieza, priest, Chapel of Girnhal (?), near

²⁹ See above, note 22.

³⁰ L. Guibert, *Catalogue des artistes limousins* (Ext. Bul. soc. archéol. du Limousin) (Limoges, 1908), p. 18, no. 139.

³¹ *The Library of Robert Hoe*, Part II (New York, January 15, 1912), p. 381.

³² P.-L. Courtot, *Une miniature et lettres ornées du moyen âge* (Ext. Bul. soc. archéol. du Limousin) (Limoges, 1907), p. 12.

L. Guibert, *Les manuscrits du Séminaire de Limoges* (Limoges, 1892), pp. 48 ff.

P. Ducourtieux, *La bibliothèque de M. Tandeau de Marsac* (Ext. Bul. soc. archéol. du Limousin) (Limoges, 1897).

See also, X. Barbier de Montault, *Un Livre d'heures de l'ordre de Grandmont à la Bibliothèque d'Angers* (Ext. Bul. soc. archéol. du Limousin).

Limoges in the year 1449.²⁹ L. Guibert in his catalogue lists a number of miniaturists and scribes. For instance, Jean Faure called l'Escrivan sold a missal in 1459³⁰ (this may have been the same Jean who did the Book of Hours in Paris). As Johannes Fabri he was described in a document of 1484 as "pictor castri Lemovicensis, aliter l'Escrivan." A Book of Hours formerly in the Robert Hoe library was described in his catalogue as possibly having been done at Limoges.³¹ A number of manuscripts still in the libraries at Limoges may perhaps have been illuminated there late in the fifteenth century.³²

The reason why the miniaturists took up the new art of enamelling is not difficult to explain. Jean Fouquet had probably made enamels only as an experiment, but was too busy to do more—he had bigger commissions as a panel-



FIGURE 18 COURTESY ART INSTITUTE OF CHICAGO
HOURS FOR LIMOGES USE
Virgin (Enlarged detail of fig. 15)

painter. But the Limoges miniaturists like others, as the century drew to a close, were gradually losing work. Because of the new invention of printing there was increasingly less demand for manuscripts carefully illuminated by hand. Some miniaturists are known to have turned to coloring prints or illustrations in books. In the Limousin it is obvious that some shifted to painting in enamel various devotional objects, which provided them with a new and lucrative livelihood.

This brings up the question of whether these painted enamels should be treated as paintings in their relation to art history. It has always seemed to me that they should be so considered and that the earliest ones ought to be discussed along with French primitives. This demonstration that the enamellers were trained as mini-

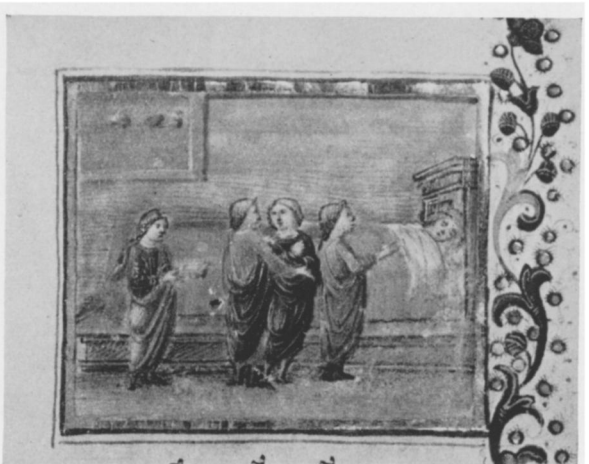


FIGURE 19 WALTERS ART GALLERY
MASTER OF ORLÉANS TRIPTYCH
Angel (Enlarged detail of fig. 6)



FIGURE 20 COURTESY ART INSTITUTE OF CHICAGO
HOURS OF LIMOGES USE
Angel (Enlarged detail of fig. 9)

aturists first, definitely puts the enamels in the class of paintings, and the enlargements in this article make even more logical this idea. Studied as such, they will doubtless give us further light on the tangled question of the development of French fifteenth-century painting.



MS. 26

BALTIMORE, MR. ROBERT GARRETT

Hebrew Ritual

FIGURES 1, 2 f. 8 r: Redemption of First-born; f. 17 r: Betrothal
 FIGURES 3, 4 f. 148 r: Acceptance of Fasting; f. 29 v: Repentance
 FIGURES 5, 6 f. 37 v: Communal Prayer; f. 50 v: Confession of the Dying

GIOTTO AND MAIMONIDES IN AVIGNON

THE STORY OF AN ILLUSTRATED HEBREW MANUSCRIPT

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THE RICH collection of manuscripts assembled by Mr. Robert Garrett¹ in Baltimore includes a tiny book in Hebrew which is described in the *Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts* as a *Guide of the People of Israel* by Ramban (Nahmanides), in Hebrew, with a dedication and preface in Italian, written in Avignon in 1338 for Cardinal Gotio Battaglia, who presented it to Galeotto Malatesta.²

A fairly brief examination of the manuscript suffices to show that most of these statements are not tenable. Nevertheless—or rather for this very reason—the little book deserves a somewhat careful study. Not being a Hebraist, the writer was unable to cope with the problems of the text and had to content himself with briefly describing the structure of the manuscript and the subjects of the miniatures. In identifying these he was generously assisted by Dr. Cyrus Gordon who also provided the transliteration of the Hebrew phrases.

I. THE MANUSCRIPT AND ITS ILLUSTRATIONS.

Contrary to what might be expected from the description in the *Census*, the volume is not a philosophical or theological treatise, but a book for practical ritual use, the traces of which are all too evident in many of the miniatures. It is

divided into two sections. The first of these, richly decorated with marginal ornaments and illustrations, transmits and discusses the prayers, benedictions, and customs pertaining to the fundamental and, so to speak, inevitable events and situations in life, *viz.*, Birth and Circumcision; Marriage; Dreams; the triad of Repentance, Prayer, and Charity; Sickness and Death; Thanksgiving for Food. The second part, entirely without decoration and illustration, contains prayers, benedictions, etc., for special occasions (at the beginning, for instance, the “Prayers for him who goes on the road”), some Psalms, and divers religious and semi-religious texts, including even a recipe for the making of a cabbalistic talisman.³

Collation of the manuscript reveals that certain of its 150 leaves have been rearranged. A gathering of ten folios, or “quinion,” which was originally the third gathering in the manuscript, has been placed at the end of the volume—a location that in western usage would be the *beginning* of the book. Moreover, the order of the leaves within this gathering has been disturbed, bringing one of the two full-page miniatures into a position corresponding to a frontispiece in western manuscripts. The collation and proper reconstruction of the book is described in detail in the notes.⁴

¹ Notes will be found at the end of this article.



FIGURE 7 BALTIMORE, MR. ROBERT GARRETT
f. 2 r: Circumcision

The manuscript is illustrated with two full-page miniatures and twenty-six smaller ones. One miniature remained unexecuted, although the space reserved for it had already been surrounded with a narrow strip of gold which frames the pictures throughout. The more important pictures are naturally more elaborate than some of the others, but there is no reason to ascribe them to a different hand.

Setting aside the two full-page miniatures (on fols. 150 v. and 141 r.), the subjects are of purely ritual character. The miniatures depict, with rare completeness, the religious life of the righteous from the cradle to the grave, and should

thus be of considerable interest to students of Jewish history and customs. From the point of view of style and composition, however, the pictures have nothing specifically Jewish about them. Their style, straightforward and at times amusingly naïve, is definitely north Italian with some admixture of the Umbro-Florentine, and is reminiscent of the school of Ferrara. As for the date, the miniatures cannot have been executed before the last two decades of the fifteenth century. This is evident, not only from the costumes, but also from the pure renaissance style of the furniture and architecture, from the full command of perspective in landscapes as well as interiors, and from the appearance of classical garlands, candelabra, putti, and sea-monsters in the borders.

As is the case with the well-known *Haggadah* in the Rothschild collection, which is somewhat akin to our manuscript in date and style,⁵ the artist not only appropriated the general principles and decorative features of the Italian Quattrocento, but also adopted specific types and motifs for such scenes as the "Dream of Jacob" (fol. 141 r.), the "Birth of the Child" (fol. 1 v.), or the "Death of the Righteous" (fol. 56 r.); and the winged angels, unknown to Jewish art before the Renaissance, are indistinguishable from those appearing in contemporary Christian monuments.



FIGURE 8 BALTIMORE, MR. ROBERT GARRETT
f. 3 r: Conclusion of Circumcision Ceremony



FIGURE 9 BALTIMORE, MR. ROBERT GARRETT
f. 14 r: Bridesmaids and Candle-bearers



FIGURE 10 BALTIMORE, MR. ROBERT GARRETT
f. 14 v: Candle-bearers Escort Bridegroom

The original sequence reestablished, the illustrative cycle consists of the following representations:

- 1, 2, and 3) fols. 1 v. and 2 r. (facing each other):
"Birth and Inspection of the Child," and
"Circumcision" (fig. 7), badly damaged.

Fol. 1 v. shows two miniatures which fill the whole page and are surrounded by a richly decorated border. The "Birth of the Child," with the mother reclining in bed, is represented in the lower picture. The "Inspection of the Child" by an old man is shown in the upper picture.

Fol. 2 r. is equally divided between text and a miniature showing the "Circumcision" (inscribed: *'inyān berit milāh*, "The Matter of the Covenant of Circumcision"), all within a richly decorated border.

In the borders are seen:

- a) on fol. 1 v., in each of the lateral strips, a bust in a roundel, and in the bottom strip, a rather indistinct coat-of-arms (probably *azure a lion rampant or*) within a wreath supported by two putti;
- b) on fol. 2 r., in the left-hand lateral strip, three reposing animals within roundels, and in the bottom strip, the bust of a crowned, bearded man within a wreath supported by sea-monsters.

In view of the ritualistic character of the whole cycle, the two busts on fol. 1 v. may be identified with Moses and Aaron, while the bust at the bottom of fol. 2 r. indubitably represents David. The animals in the lateral border-strip of this page may allude to the zoological imagery of the Psalms. Whether the coat-of-arms at the bottom of fol. 1 v. refers to the original owner of the manuscript is somewhat doubtful. The lion rampant was a ubiquitous motif both in Italian heraldry and in Jewish religious and semi-religious art,⁶ and if the coat has any personal significance it may as well refer to David, whose bust appears directly opposite, as to an actual person.

- 4) Fol. 3 r.: "Conclusion of the Circumcision Ceremony" (fig. 8).

The Child is held on the lap of the godfather (*sandek*) while the operator (*môhēl*) approaches the group with a goblet of wine. After a benediction the godfather will drink of the wine, give a few drops to the infant, and send the goblet with the remainder to the mother.⁷

- 5) Fol. 8 r.: "Redemption of the First-born Son" (inscribed: *'inyān pidyōn hab-bēn*) (fig. 1).

The first-born boy, belonging as he did to God (*Exodus*, XIII, 2 and XXII, 29; *Numbers*,

III, 13), had to be redeemed thirty days after his birth by an offering which normally consisted of the sum of five shekels or its equivalent in valuables. In St. Luke's account of the Presentation of Christ (*Luke*, II, 22-24) this ceremony is mixed up with the sacrifice of pigeons offered by the mother for purification (*Leviticus*, XII), and this explains the fact that some deliberately "realistic" renderings of this scene in Christian iconography, especially Stephan Lochner's Darmstadt panel of 1447 and its derivatives—the "Presentations" by the Master of the Holy Kinship in the Louvre, by the Master of the Life of the Virgin in the National Gallery at London, and by Memlinc in Bruges—show St. Joseph taking money from his purse.⁸ It would seem that the introduction of this motif presupposes a first-hand familiarity with Jewish customs.

- 6) Fol. 13 r.: "Engagement" (inscribed: *šēder ḥatānīm*, "The Tract of Bridegrooms").

The scene represents the "friendly *pour-parlers*" (this is the literal translation of the Hebrew term *šiddûḳīm* which corresponds to our "engagement"). During the Middle Ages, these had gradually assumed the character of an actual agreement binding the parties to marry at a fixed or unfixed date and providing a penalty for a breach of this promise.⁹

- 7) Fol. 14 r.: "Two Boys and Five Girls Setting Out to Meet the Bridegroom" (fig. 9).

For this custom compare *Matthew*, XXV, 1; the text belonging to the miniature alludes to the Song of Deborah (*Judges*, V, 12 ff.).

- 8) Fol. 15 v.: "Five Boys Officiating as Candle-Bearers and the Bridegroom" (fig. 10).

The scene is staged in the bedroom of the bridegroom whence he is called to meet the bride. Since the bride is brought to the house of the groom after the wedding ceremony, the



FIGURE 11 BALTIMORE, MR. ROBERT GARRETT
f. 150 v: *Job and His Friends*

latter's bedroom can be considered as the future nuptial chamber.¹⁰

- 9) Fol. 17 r.: "Betrothal" (inscribed: *birkat 'ērûsîn*, "Betrothal") (fig. 2).

While the "Engagement" represented on fol. 13 r. corresponds to what is known in canonical law as *Sponsalia de futuro*, the Betrothal corresponds to the *Sponsalia de praesente*. Like these, it tended to merge with and ultimately superseded the nuptial ceremony proper (*nissû 'in*), so as to become its full equivalent. The couple are covered and united by the ritual cloak (*tallit*) which, like the nuptial canopy now more customary, symbolizes their future home.¹¹

- 10) Fol. 20 v.: "The Five Candle-Bearers (see



FIGURE 12 BALTIMORE, MR. ROBERT GARRETT
f. 141 r: *Angel of the Pillar Appears to Jacob*

fol. 15 v.) Holding Scrolls Inscribed with Benedictions" (fig. 14).

11 and 12) Fols. 150 v. and 141 r.: "Job Comforted by his Friends," and "The Angel of the Pillar of Beth-el Appearing to Jacob in a Dream" (figs. 11, 12). These two miniatures originally faced one another as fols. 27 v. and 28 r., respectively.

Fol. 150 v. (full-page miniature; on the recto, the end of the *Tract of Marriage*) shows "Job Comforted by his Four Friends, Eliphaz, Bildad, Zophar, and Elihu" (most Christian representations show only three, Elihu appearing later than the others). In the borders are seen: a) in each of the lateral strips, three busts in lozenges; b) in the top strip, one bust in a medallion supported by two putti; c) in

the bottom strip, an ape embracing a boy.

Fol. 141 r. (full-page miniature; on the verso the beginning of the *Tract of Him who Dreams a Dream*) shows "The Angel of the Pillar at Beth-el Appearing to Jacob in a Dream," the angel looking very much like the angels in Piero della Francesca's "Annunciation" in Arezzo and Perugia. The pillar itself, with an angel hovering above it, appears as a vision in an opening of the rear wall. The borders show: a) in each of the lateral strips, three busts in roundels; b) in the bottom strip, a roundel now containing what purports to be the arms of Cardinal Gotio Battaglia (*gules on a chief argent a sword azure, hilt and pommel of the field, lying point to left, all surmounted by a Cardinal's hat*).

That the miniature of "Jacob's Second Dream"—a scene never represented in Christian art so far as we know—is not intended to serve as a mere title page for the chapter on Dreams is evident, not only from its size and exceptionally rich decoration, but also from the fact that it originally was juxtaposed with the picture of Job so as to form a kind of diptych. This diptych, which consists of the only full-page miniatures in the whole book and occupied the center of its first section like the canon page in a missal, is very elaborate iconographically. The "calamities" of Job stand for the sufferings of the Jews in exile. The Jacob incident, on the other hand, holds out the hope of repatriation. It will be remembered that Jacob had erected and anointed "for a pillar" the stone on which his head had rested during his dream of the ladder (*Genesis, XXVIII, 11-20*). Then he had gone to Haran, had married Leah and Rachel, and, after twenty years of service, had incurred the displeasure of Laban, his father-in-law. It was at this critical moment that an "angel of God" appeared to him in a dream and



FIGURE 13 BALTIMORE, MR. ROBERT GARRETT
f. 28 r: *Interpretation of Dreams*

said: "I am the God of Beth-el, where thou anointedst a pillar, where thou vowedst a vow unto me: now arise, get thee out from this land and return unto the land of thy nativity." (Genesis, XXXI, 11-13). In a still wider sense, however, the afflictions of Job symbolize the state of unredeemed mankind in general, while Jacob's "glorious" stone was associated with Messianic hopes. In later times, Menasseh ben Israel (who persuaded Cromwell to readmit the Jews to England) was to become a champion of this mystical doctrine, and Rembrandt was to illustrate it in several etchings. When a stone shatters a statue of Nebuchadnezzar with feet of clay and then "becomes a great mountain and fills the whole world," what else could this stone signify but the Messianic realm which would supersede the four worldly kingdoms of Babel, Persia, Greece, Rome? When David picks five stones to kill Goliath, but uses only one of them, whom else could this one stone announce but the Messiah? And when Jacob takes a stone "for his pillow" and then sees the angels of God ascending and descending a ladder, what else could this mean but that the Holy Land was the center of the universe and that the worldly powers would go down the ladder into darkness, while the reign of the Messiah would rise into the light?¹²

The busts in the lateral strips, twelve in number, may be identified with the twelve sons of Jacob, that is to say, with the twelve scattered tribes of Israel whose final reunion was held to herald the coming of the Messiah; the bust in the top strip on fol. 150 v. would accordingly represent Jacob himself. The coat-of-arms at the bottom of fol. 141 r. was painted in at a considerably later date, as will be shown below (see p. 38), apparently after the original pattern (arms of the original owner?) had been erased. The meaning of the ape-and-boy group at the bottom of the opposite page is difficult to determine. That it is a mere ornament is improbable in

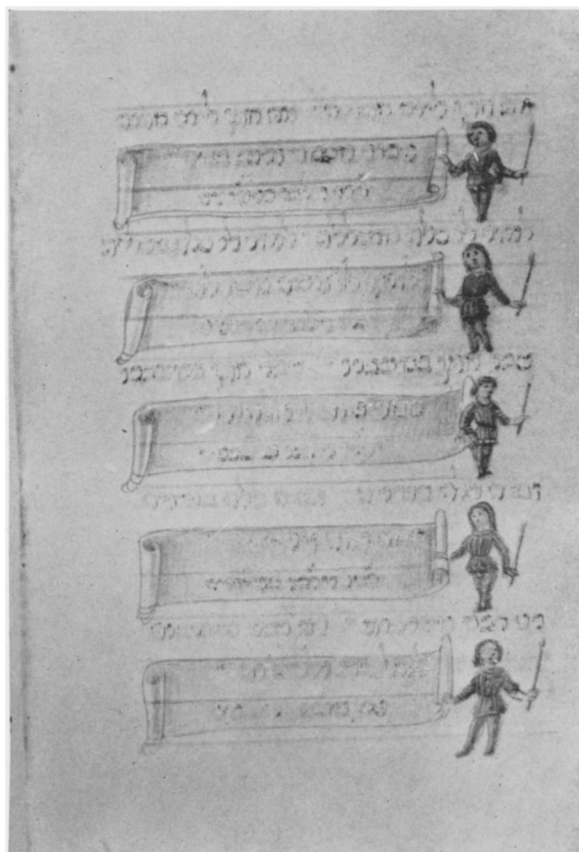


FIGURE 14 BALTIMORE, MR. ROBERT GARRETT
f. 20 v: *Candle-bearers Holding Scrolls*

view of its relative prominence within a well considered program. It may allude, for contrast, to the heathens not belonging to the people of Israel and the sinners excluded from among them, because of their intercourse with animals (cf. *Leviticus*, XIX, 23-30).

- 13) Fol. 148 r. (originally fol. 31 r.): "Acceptance of Fasting" (inscribed: *sēder grabbālat ta'anit*, "The Tract of Receiving Fasting") (fig. 3).

A young man, accompanied by three friends, appears before a seated Rabbi to receive instructions as to fasting. Fasting was, and still is, considered as "the most efficient preventive of evil dreams."¹³



FIGURE 15 BALTIMORE, MR. ROBERT GARRETT
f. 33 r: *The Gates of Prayer*



FIGURE 16 BALTIMORE, MR. ROBERT GARRETT
f. 30 r: *Abraham*

- 14) Fol. 28 r.: "Request for Favorable Interpretation of a Dream" (inscribed: *haṭābat ḥalôm*, "Making Good a Dream") (fig. 13).

Two young men and a woman standing before a seated Rabbi to ask for a favorable interpretation of their dreams. It was believed, significantly enough, that dreams came true, not according to their actual content, but according to their interpretation by the expert whose good will had, therefore, to be sought by courtesies and presents.¹⁴

- 15) Fol. 29 v.: "The Virtue of Repentance" (inscribed: *ma'alaṭ haṭ- tešūbāh*) (fig. 4).

A young man standing devoutly before a Tora shrine. This miniature opens a series of eight representations illustrating what may be called the approach to God. Repentance was considered the first step in this process and was likened to "a door which, if man opens only as much as the eye of a needle, God opens as wide as a gateway"¹⁵ (cf. the miniatures on fols. 33 r., 37 v., and 38 v.).

- 16) Fol. 30 r.: "Abraham Seated" (fig. 16).

The identification with Abraham is suggested by the text, which begins with a quotation of *Genesis*, XXIV, 1. His presence in this chapter can be accounted for by the fact that he, and not Moses, was considered as the founder of the Jewish religion, and that he

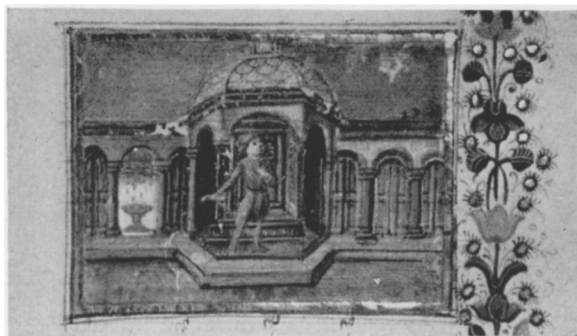


FIGURE 17 BALTIMORE, MR. ROBERT GARRETT
f. 38 v: *Individual Prayer*

was the first mortal to pray to God (*Genesis*, XVIII, 23-33, for the salvation of Sodom, and, more specifically, *Genesis*, XX, 17, for the healing of Abimelech) instead of offering sacrifices.¹⁶

- 17) Fol. 33 r.: "The Virtue of Prayer" (inscribed: *ma'alaṭ haṭ-tefillāh*) (fig. 15).

A young man praying before the Tora shrine. In the left-hand margin are seen the four "Gates of Prayer," set out against a background of burnished gold; each door is guarded by an angel.

- 18) Fol. 37 v.: "Communal Prayer" (inscribed: *ma'alaṭ tefillaṭ šibbūr*, "The Virtue of Prayers of the Community") (fig. 5).



FIGURE 18 BALTIMORE, MR. ROBERT GARRETT
f. 44 r: *Hannah in Silent Prayer*

A young man, accompanied by three friends, prays in an open hexagonal *tempietto* which is flanked by colonnades. The rear wall of either colonnade is pierced by three gateways with doors opened, but curtains drawn.

- 19) Fol. 38 v.: "Individual Prayer" (inscribed *sēder tefillaṭ yāhīd*, "The Tract of Prayers of Individuals") (fig. 17).

A young man alone, praying in the same setting as seen in the preceding miniature. However, while five of the six doors are closed, one is wide open and reveals a fountain suggestive of the Garden of Paradise.

- 20) Fol. 43 r.: "Silent Prayer" (inscribed: *sēder tefillaṭ lāḥaš*, "The Tract of Silent Prayers").

A young man praying before the Tora shrine.

- 21) Fol. 44 r.: "Hannah in Silent Prayer" (fig. 18).

A woman praying before the Tora shrine. Her identification with Hannah is suggested by I *Samuel*, I, 13: "Now Hannah, she spake in her heart. Only her lips moved, but her voice was not heard."

- 22) Fol. 47 v.: "The Virtue of Charity" (inscribed: *ma'alaṭ haš-šedāqāh*) (fig. 20).

A young man giving alms to three beggars.

- 23) Fol. 49 r.: "The Matter of Mourning" (inscribed: *'inyan 'aḥēlūt*) (fig. 19).

The miniature shows a young man receiving instructions from a Rabbi. That these instructions concern the customs of mourning is evident from the cypress trees seen through the window, and from the inscription. The miniature is, in fact, the first of six representations centering around the theme of death.

- 24) Fol. 50 v.: "The Confession of the Sick" (inscribed: *widdūy šekīḥ mēra'*) (fig. 6).

A sick man in bed, confessing his sins to four relatives or friends. While the confession

does not belong to the prescribed religious duties of the faithful Jew, it was recommended and customary in the event of serious illness and imminent death. Characteristically, the presence of a Rabbi was not required and was even deemed undesirable.¹⁷

- 25) Fol. 55 r.: "The Dying Man Admonishing his Sons" (fig. 21).

A man in bed vigorously addressing three youths. The text refers to I Kings, II, 1 ff.: "Now the days of David drew nigh that he should die; and he charged Solomon his son, saying"

- 26) Fol. 56 r.: "The Death of the Righteous" (fig. 23).

The dying man in bed, surrounded by his family, consisting of three young men and a group of women in black. Death, appearing behind the bed, hands the soul to an angel; the soul is represented as a nude child. The composition obviously indicates the artist's familiarity with such Christian representations as the "Death of the Virgin" or the death scenes in Savonarola's *Arte del ben morire*.¹⁸

- 27) Fol. 57 r.: "Funeral Procession" (fig. 22).

The bier, covered with a red cloth, is carried to the cemetery, which is characterized by the age-old motif of cypress trees.

- 28) Fol. 60 r.: "Burial Service" (inscribed: *šiddûq had-din*, "Justification of [God's] Judgment") (fig. 24).

The service is held by the open grave, with the bier (represented as in the preceding miniature) standing in the background.

- 29) Fol. 65 r.: "The Blessing of Food" (inscribed: *birkat mǎzôn*).

Blank space surrounded by a narrow frame of gold.



FIGURE 19 BALTIMORE, MR. ROBERT GARRETT
f. 49 r: Instruction Concerning Death

II. THE STORY OF THE MANUSCRIPT.

That this harmless manuscript of the late fifteenth century should have been dated in 1338, that it should have been attributed to Avignon, and that it should have been connected with Nahmanides, Cardinal Gotio Battaglia, and Galeotto de' Malatesti is due to one of the most curious mystifications in history.

As is the case with many manuscripts, the last quire of our volume (fols. 133-140) was not entirely used up by the Hebrew scribe, his text ending on fol. 135 v. The remaining blank pages (fols. 136-140) were employed for what the *Census* calls the "dedication and preface" which were written from left to right in the western way, starting on fol. 140 v.



FIGURE 20 BALTIMORE, MR. ROBERT GARRETT
f. 47 v: Charity



FIGURE 21 BALTIMORE, MR. ROBERT GARRETT
f. 55 r: Last Admonition to the Sons

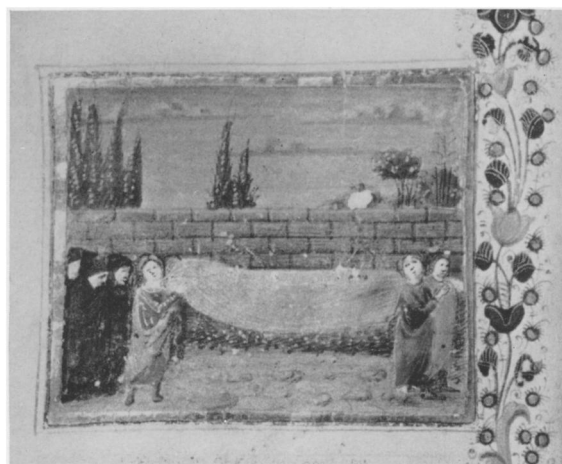


FIGURE 22 BALTIMORE, MR. ROBERT GARRETT
f. 57 r: Funeral Procession

On fols. 140 v.-138 r., we read the following "letter" in Italian:

My Patron and Lord, Lord Galeotto de' Malatesti, Patron of Rimini, permanent Vicar of the Most Holy Catholic Church in the City of Cesena:

Among the other souvenirs, I wished to send, in addition, this little book to my native town of Rimini.

As it happens, there are here in Avignon those two great men, one (great) by reason of his learning and an outstanding writer, and the other most excellent in painting. Therefore, I have caused to be written, in the Rabbinical language, the book called "The Guide of the People of Israel." And it was written, with all possible care, by that great man and writer whose real name is Aramban the Hebrew, born in our native town of Rimini, and subsequently having gone to the School in Jerusalem and henceforth always called the Learned of the Learned, who is now in the capacity of First Rabbi in the city of Florence and enjoys the greatest reputation.

Moreover, I have caused this little book to be illustrated by that so famous man of outstanding merit and unique painter, Giotto of Florence, together with his most proficient pupil. As your Excellency perceives, he has illustrated it in conformity with the text.

I send you said book so that it, too, may belong to your Lordship. May your [scil. Lordship] preserve it in your Library at Rimini.

You will forgive me for giving you so much trouble with this little souvenir, though it has been revised with permission of the Pope and signed by him.

May God protect you and preserve you in holy peace, and as for me, I sign myself to what I have written:

Cardinal F. Gotio Battaglia¹⁹ (fig. 26).

The signature of the Pope alluded to in this amazing document follows on fol. 136 v. (fig. 27):

"Nos P. P.

Benedictus .XII.

concedimus licentia [sic] legendi et retinendi hunc librum.

Datum Avenione

anno iiii

B. P."

(We, Pope Benedict XII, give permission to read and keep this book. Given at Avignon, in the fourth year [scil. of our reign]. B[enedictus] P[apa]).

Benedict XII, Gotio Battaglia, and Galeotto de' Malatesti were contemporaries and had, indeed some contact with each other. Benedict reigned at Avignon from 1334 to 1342. Galeotto de' Malatesti ruled over Rimini from 1334 to 1385 (first jointly with his brother Malatesta II and then alone from 1364). Gotio Battaglia, a scion of an old Riminese family, was the first native of Rimini to be raised to the purple. A distinguished jurisconsult, he taught law at the University of Coimbra in Portugal for about five years, then went to Avignon and advanced rapidly in an ecclesiastical career under Benedict XII.

He became Patriarch of Constantinople in 1335, was created Cardinal on December 18, 1338, and died in 1348. Yet he remained a faithful son of his city, several churches of which he liberally endowed, and where he was ultimately buried in a chapel erected by himself "*in loco Minorum*" (that is, in the Church of S. Agnese).²⁰

However, aside from the impossible signature "Cardinale F. Gotio Battaglia," the palaeographical character of the script, and the style of the miniatures, the venerable Cardinal would not have written a letter in Italian; he would not have asked the Pope for a *nihil obstat*; he would not have addressed a prince as "*Eccellenza Illustrissima*" or "*Vostra Signoria*"; and Giotto, even supposing that he ever was in Avignon (which in itself is extremely doubtful), had died almost two years before Battaglia was created Cardinal. Nor was it possible for the latter to make the acquaintance of the world-famous Rabbi "Aramban." Assuming that the spelling is approximately correct, the *Census* would be right in referring this name to Rabbi Moses ben Nahman Girondi, commonly quoted as Nahmanides by the Christians and as RaMBaN by the Jews, the form "Aramban" being to "Ramban" as "Ariminum" is to "Rimini." But Nahmanides lived from 1194 to 1270, he spent his life in Spain and Palestine, and he wrote no book with a title



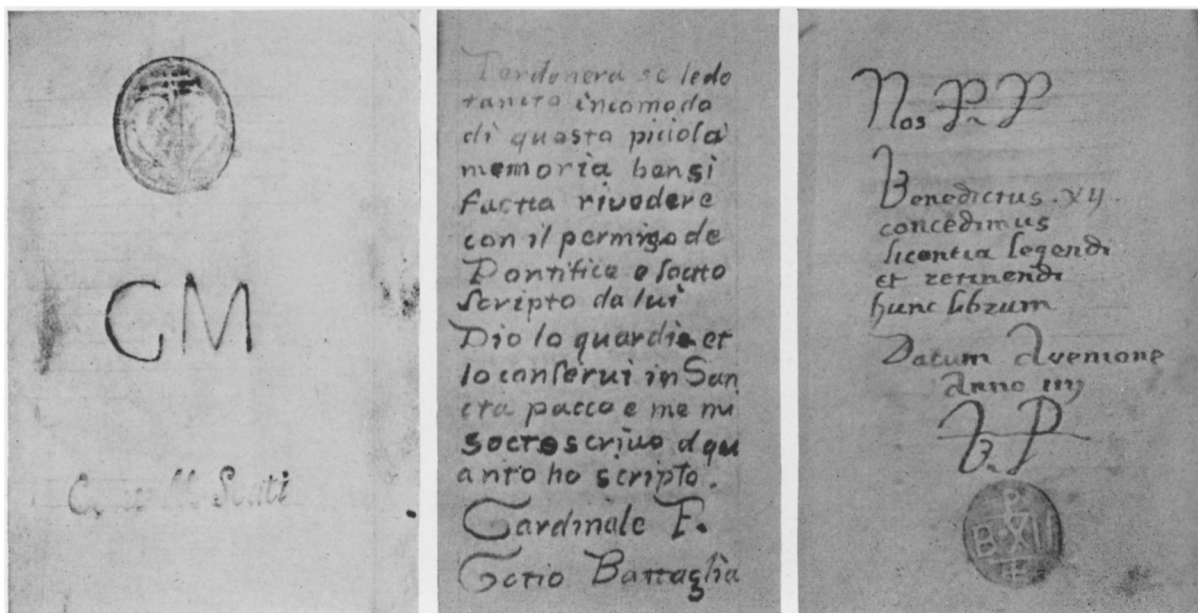
FIGURE 23 BALTIMORE, MR. ROBERT GARRETT
f. 56 r: *Death of the Righteous*



FIGURE 24 BALTIMORE, MR. ROBERT GARRETT
f. 60 r: *Burial Service*

even remotely resembling the phrase *La guida del popolo Israel*.²¹ Assuming, however, that the name should read "Arambam," it would denote Rabbi Moses ben Maimon, that is to say, RaMBaM, or Maimonides. His fame was infinitely greater than that of Nahmanides; he did write a book entitled *The Guide of the Perplexed* and which used to be quoted for short as *The Guide*, or *La guida*, and it is most probably to him, rather than to Nahmanides that our "letter" refers.²² Only, Maimonides had died in a suburb of Cairo on December 13, 1204, and neither he nor Nahmanides was a native of Rimini and Grand Rabbi of Florence.

Thus both the "letter" of Cardinal Gotio Battaglia and the *nihil obstat* of Pope Benedict XII, however archaic their script and spelling has been made to appear, are obvious forgeries. But their author was an industrious and imaginative man who did not content himself with merely inventing letters and licenses. He transposed the quinion originally following fol. 22 to the back of the volume and rearranged it so as to make the book conform to western taste and custom. He devised a pretty oval stamp, about three-quarters of an inch in height and inscribed



FIGURES 25, 26, 27

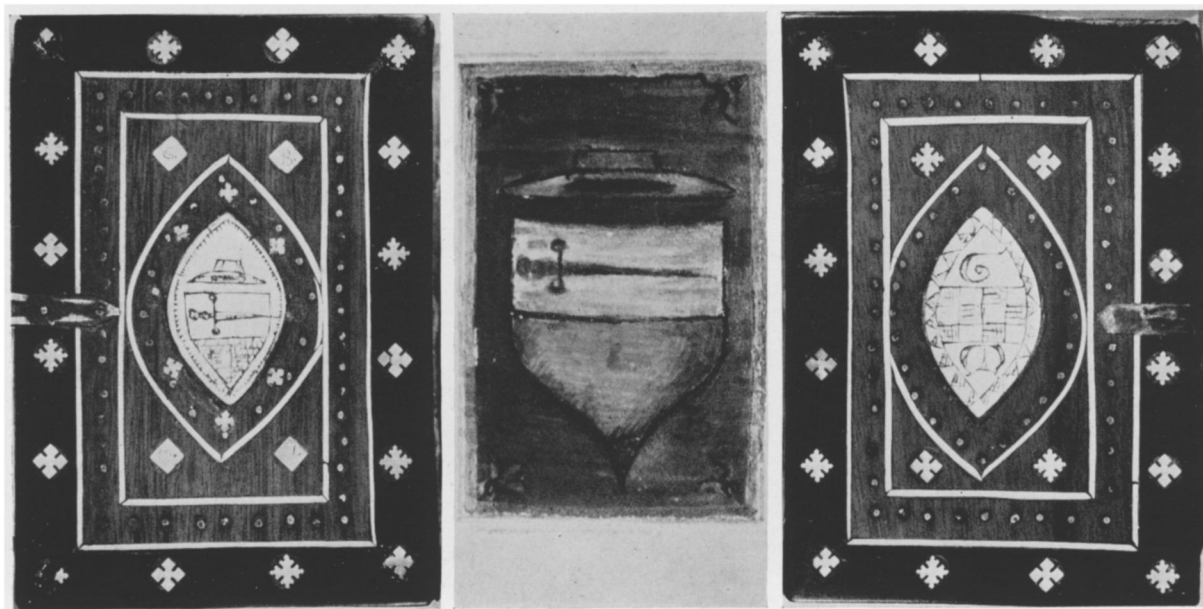
BALTIMORE, MR. ROBERT GARRETT

Back Fly-leaf; f. 138 r: Letter of Cardinal (Last Page); f. 136 v: Forged "Nihil Obstat"

"P.B.XII," which he printed beneath the Papal *nihil obstat* (fig. 27). He painted the "coat-of-arms of Cardinal Gotio Battaglia" all over fol. 137 v., the last of the available blank pages (fig. 29), and inserted it into the border of fol. 141 r. (fig. 12). He added the initials G. B., not only to these two coats-of-arms, but also to the bust of Jacob in the top strip of the border of fol. 150 v. (fig. 11). He printed the initials G. M., standing for Galeotto Malatesta, on both fly-leaves (fig. 25). And, most amazing of all, he manufactured the whole "original intarsia binding, of wood inlaid with mother-of-pearl and ivory" as the *Census* describes it. One of its covers shows, again, the "arms of Gotio Battaglia" and, scratched in on four lozenges of mother-of-pearl, the letters G.B.D.A. which obviously stand for "Gotius Battaglia de Arimino." The other cover proudly displays the "Malatesta arms" between the initials G. and M. (figs. 28, 30).

However, just as the forger gave himself away in his texts by his ignorance of historical data

and by the naïve fashion in which he transferred the titles and customs of his period to the fourteenth century, likewise he blundered in matters of book-lore and heraldry. Inked stamps were not employed before the sixteenth century and did not become frequent until the eighteenth, and never would they have been used to authenticate a Papal decree. Intarsia, or rather "Certosina work," bindings can hardly be shown to have existed until fairly recent times and were certainly unknown to the fourteenth century. The Battaglia family bore *argent on a chief gules a sword of the field in bend point downward* (or, with a slight change in proportion, *per fess gules and argent in chief a sword of the second in bend point downward*);²³ but our forger, apart from the impossible form of the shield, the altered position of the sword, and the omission of the tassels in the Cardinal's hat, reversed the tinctures of the field and chief, and thereby created the oddity of a *sword azure*, for even he could not very well charge *argent upon argent*. And the Malatesta coat



FIGURES 28, 29, 30

BALTIMORE, MR. ROBERT GARRETT

Front Cover; Forged Arms of Cardinal Battaglia; Back Cover

which adorns the other cover of the manuscript should show *three bends chequy*, and not a *fess*.²⁴

Where, when, and why was this fantastic mystification perpetrated?

As to the scene of the crime, all indications seem to point to Rimini and its vicinity. Hazy though our forger's general ideas are, he shows a thorough familiarity with local history, and even where his facts are wrong in this respect there is some reason for his errors. He must have known that Gotio Battaglia, the pride of the city, had received the purple from Benedict XII, and that this event had taken place in 1338, the fourth year of the latter's reign. He must have realized that Galeotto de' Malatesti was the only prince of Rimini to whom the Cardinal Battaglia might have sent a book if he had wished to make such a gift. He was apparently informed of the tradition according to which Giotto (who actually had worked in Rimini) had also been active in Avignon, and he seems to have adhered to the erroneous opinion that the great painter

had died there as late as 1342.²⁵ And though Maimonides was certainly not of Riminese birth, it so happens that the first Italian translation of his *Guida* (1581-1583) was made by one Jedidiah ben Moses of Recanati, known as Amadeo da Rimini.²⁶

It is, in point of fact, not quite impossible that our manuscript was actually written and illuminated in Rimini. The style of the miniatures with its mixture of north Italian and Umbro-Tuscan characteristics would be compatible with Rimini as well as with Ferrara, and the Jewish element played a considerable role in the intellectual life of the Riminese community. We know of Hebrew scribes at a comparatively early date;²⁷ it was in Rimini that Gianozzo Manetti held a six hours' debate with learned Jews and won through his superior scholarship;²⁸ and the Soncini operated their press there from 1521 to 1526.²⁹

Be that as it may, one thing is certain: that at the beginning of the eighteenth century our manu-

script was in the vicinity of Rimini, and that it belonged, at least for a time, to a member of the same family which gloried in the memory of Cardinal Gotio Battaglia. This was Marco Battaglini,³⁰ a descendant of those Battagli who had left Rimini together with a refractory branch of the Malatesti and had settled in San Mauro, about eight miles northwest of the city. He was born on the family's estate on March 25, 1643, and also returned there to die on September 19, 1717, after having risen high in the Church; he was Bishop of Nocera from 1690 to 1716, and Bishop of Cesena in the last two years of his life. That he owned our manuscript during this period is proved by his stamp (already correctly identified in the *Census*) which is found on the *recto* of the front fly-leaf ("front" according to the Hebrew custom). It shows the Battaglia-Battaglini coat-of-arms in its correct form: *argent on a chief gules a sword of the field in bend point downward*, within the inscription "*Marcus Battaglinus Episcopus Cesenatensis.*"

In 1716-17, then, our manuscript was either in Cesena or in San Mauro. But shortly before or shortly after, it was in another place near Rimini, namely in the Conventuals' monastery at Montescudo, or Montescudolo, a little place about twelve miles south of the city.³¹ For, on the *verso* of both fly-leaves, together with the forged initials G.M. which have already been mentioned, and with a hitherto unidentified stamp which may or may not refer to the same religious community,³² we find another stamp which reads, not "*Conv. M. Sonti*" as the *Census* has it, but "*Conv. M. Scuti*," that is "*Conventus Montis Scuti*" (fig. 25). It was perhaps, or even probably, in this secluded place that the mystification was perpetrated. A small monastic community in what may be called the "township" of Rimini would be the very place where we might expect the peculiar mixture of erudition, ignorance, and patience that is characteristic of

our forger. The palaeographical character of the script of the Italian text agrees with the early eighteenth century. And the pale grey ink of the "*Conv. M. Scuti*" stamp, quite different from that of Marco Battaglini's genuine owner's mark, is apparently identical with that which was used for the spurious initials G.M. and for the alleged stamp of Pope Benedict XII on fol. 136 v.

There remains the question of whether the forgery was committed before or after the manuscript was in Marco Battaglini's possession. This question cannot be answered with certainty, but the writer is strongly inclined to accept the second alternative.

In the first place the Bishop's mark of ownership seems to have been where it is before the other stamps appeared on the fly-leaves. It is found, we remember, on the *recto* of the front fly-leaf, placed in the center of the page and facing the cover, whereas the other three items, viz. the initials G.M., the unidentified stamp and the stamp of Montescudo, are on the inner side of the fly-leaf. At the other end of the book, however, where both sides of the fly-leaf were available, the initials G.M., the unidentified stamp, and the stamp of Montescudo are placed so as to face the cover; it may be assumed that only the presence of the Battaglini stamp prevented a similar arrangement at the front end of the volume.

In the second place it does not seem probable that anybody would have attempted to deceive the Bishop of Cesena with so transparent a forgery. Marco Battaglini, a man of vast bulk, thunderous voice, and violent temper (though "kindhearted at bottom") was one of the great historians of his age; he rejected an appointment as "*Historiographe Royal de France*" only because he did not wish to leave his native country. He was the author of enormous tomes on the Councils of the Church and on the ecclesiastical and secular history of the seventeenth century, and must have

seen hundreds of authentic medieval documents.³³ It would have been hazardous to approach this learned giant with a fabrication where even his own coat-of-arms was rendered in a garbled form.

It seems, therefore, more reasonable to assume that the manuscript was owned by Marco Battaglini in its unadulterated form, and fell into the hands of the Conventuals after his death in 1717. If so, the psychology of the forger would appear in a more favorable light than might be suspected. The falsification of the manuscript is, like Falstaff's lies, "gross like a mountain, open, palpable." It has a likably naïve, imaginative, and definitely non-professional touch; one finds it hard to think evil of a man who makes a Pope of the fourteenth century solemnly authorize one of his Cardinals to "read and keep" a Hebrew book; who makes this Cardinal address the prince of Rimini as "*Vostra Eccellenza Illustrissima*," and finally proclaims Maimonides as a native of Rimini and Grand Rabbi of Florence.

Supposing that the manuscript had been given or bequeathed to the Conventuals by Marco Battaglini instead of being palmed off on Marco Battaglini by the Conventuals, the forger may have acted with perfect *bona fides* and sincere enthusiasm. The provenance of the ancient-looking book would automatically bring to mind the most famous member of the Battaglia family, that is to say the Cardinal Gotio—so great a figure in Avignon, yet so loyal to his native Rimini—the favorite of Pope Benedict XII, and, presumably, a friend of Galeotto de' Malatesti who had been the "Permanent Vicar of the Most Holy Church of Cesena," the see of Bishop Marco Battaglini. If the volume had been in the possession of the family for some generations, the learned Marco himself, being neither a Hebraist nor an art-critic, may have believed in its noble history. One knows how easily heirlooms and ancestors

become "invested by family tradition with a dim and dusky grandeur," as Nathaniel Hawthorne has said.

Thus, there is hardly any reason to cast aspersions on the moral character of the good friar of Montescudo. At a time when the interest in local antiquities and parochial patriotism had grown to enormous proportions in the "underprivileged" artistic centers of Italy,³⁴ he merely furnished evidence for what he honestly believed to be the truth. Firmly convinced of his little volume's connection with Gotio Battaglia, Galeotto de' Malatesti, Pope Benedict XII, Maimonides, and Giotto, he labored only for the glory of God and of the *Patria Ariminense*. His beatified spirit must have rejoiced when the result befuddled the Librarian to the Earl of Ashburnham and, perhaps, the mighty Bernard Quaritch; may he forgive the present writer for a belated exposure!

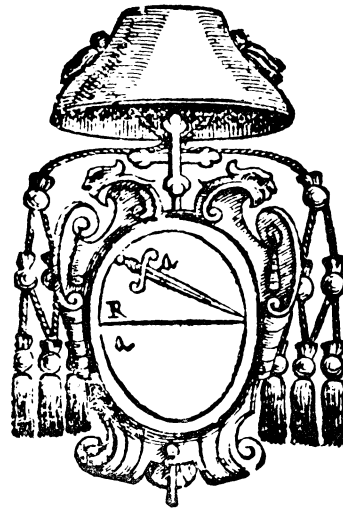


FIGURE 31

Arms of Cardinal Gotio Battaglia
(after Ciaconius)

NOTES AND REFERENCES

¹ The author wishes to thank Mr. Robert Garrett for his great kindness in permitting the manuscript to be studied in Princeton and to be photographed for the purpose of this essay.

² Seymour de Ricci and W. J. Wilson, *Census of Mediaeval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada* (New York, 1935), I, p. 869, no. 26. The complete description given there is as follows: "RAMBAN (Nahmanides), Guide of the people of Israel, in Hebrew, with dedication and preface in Italian. Vel. (1338), 150 ff. (11 x 8 cm.). 27 small miniat. Orig. intarsia binding, of wood inlaid with mother-of-pearl and ivory, showing the Malatesta arms. Written at Avignon, the 4th year of Pope Benedict XII, for Cardinal P. Gotio Battaglia (his arms: gules on a chief argent a sword azure lying point to right [should read: left]) who presented it to Galeotto Malatesta (cf. arms on binding).—Stamp of the CONV. M. SONTI and XVIIIth c. stamp of Marco Battaglini, Bishop of Cesena (1716-1717); bought in 1867 by the Earl of Ashburnham (Appendix, n. 231); his sale (London, 1 May 1899, n. 26) to Quaritch; Morgand, *Livres et manuscrits*, 1900, n. 7 (= Inv., n. 23772).—Obtained from Morgand (1900)."

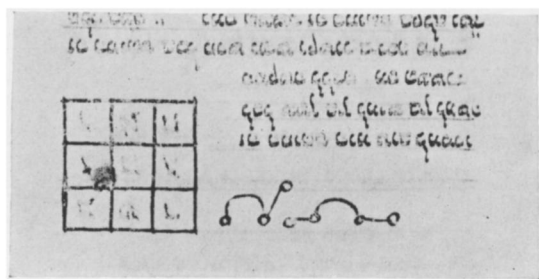


FIGURE 32 BALTIMORE, MR. ROBERT GARRETT
Seal of Saturn

³ On fol. 82 v. is found the magic square of the Planet Saturn (fig. 32), together with the signs of his "intelligences" and "demons." It has nine numbered cells, three of which add up to 15 when added horizontally, vertically, or diagonally, their sum total thus being 45. According to the text this "seal is good for everything, be it for a man or for a woman having difficulty in childbed." "If you write it on a slip and pray to God upon going to sleep, and ask a question, He will give you the answer. It enables you to prosper and be sustained." This square is the first of the seven *Sigilla* or *Tabulae Planetarum* which had been developed by the Arabs and were adopted and transmitted by the cabbalists. That of Jupiter has 16 cells with the sum total of 136, that of Mars 25 cells with the sum total of 325, etc. It is, therefore, not surprising that our "seal of Saturn" occurs in absolutely identical form in many treatises on magic and astrology, for instance in Cornelius Agrippa von Nettesheim's *Occulta Philosophia* (first printed 1531), II, 22, where all the seven magic squares, implemented by the signs of the planetary "intelligences" and "demons", are reproduced in Hebrew as well as in western characters (fig. 33). It is, however, significant that our manuscript, being destined for orthodox Jews and mainly concerned with strictly religious matters, includes only the square of Saturn, which was the planet of the Sabbath and therefore

more acceptable than the other six, and refrains from any reference to astrology and demonology, not even mentioning Saturn himself. It is interesting to compare the above text with that of Agrippa von Nettesheim: "*Dicunt hanc Tabulam fortunato Saturno in lamina plumbea sculptam* [lead being the metal congenial to Saturn; the seal of Jupiter must be engraved on tin, that of the Moon on silver, etc.] *adiuvare partum, reddere hominem tutum et potentem atque praestare successiones petitionum apud principes et potentates. Si vero infortunato Saturno fiat, impedire aedificia et plantationes ac consimilia* [this because Saturn had been the god of agriculture and building], *hominem deicere ab honoribus et dignitatibus, gignere rixas et discordias et dispergere exercitus.*"

Tabula Saturni in abaco.

4	9	2
2	5	7
8	1	6

In notis Hebraicis.

7	ט	ב
1	ה	ז
ח	א	ו

Signacula five characteres,

Saturni.

Intelligentæ Saturni.

Dæmonii Saturni.

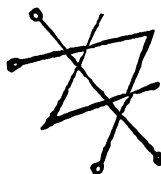


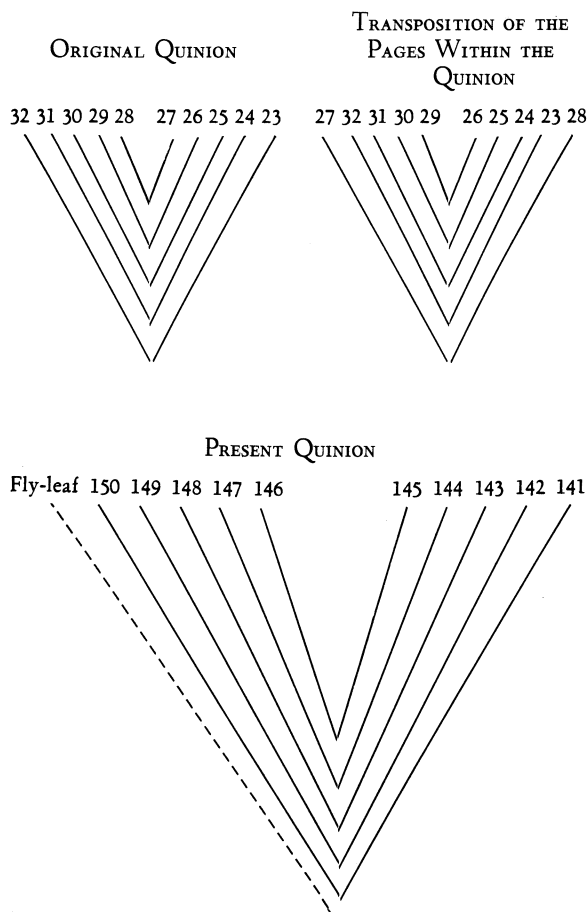
FIGURE 33

Seal of Saturn

From Agrippa von Nettesheim

⁴ The manuscript consists of 150 folios, not counting the fly-leaves. The gatherings are, as a rule, quinions. The pages have to be counted, of course, from what would be the back in the western manuscript, and the terms *recto* and *verso* have to be understood accordingly.

The first section comprises fols. 1-72, the second, fols. 73-140. The ten folios, 141-150, originally formed fols. 23-32 of the first section, but have been detached from it and have been appended at the end of the volume. Moreover, the internal arrangement of this quinion has been disturbed. Fol. 142 originally followed fol. 22 (witness the catch-word on fol. 22 v.), and fol. 149 originally preceded what is now fol. 23 (witness the catch-word on fol. 149 v.). Fols. 141 and 150 originally formed a double page belonging between fols. 145 and 146 — fol. 150 r. (text ends with: "Here is completed the *Tract of Mariage*") facing fol. 145 v., and 141 v. (Entitled: *Tract of the Dreamer of a Dream*) facing fol. 146 r. In other words: what had been the innermost double page of the quinion was removed, folded over the wrong way, and made to serve as the outermost double page. Thus the two miniatures originally facing one another as fols. 27 v. and 28 r. respectively (incidentally, the only full-page miniatures in the volume and absolutely identical in size) came to be transformed into fol. 150 v. (facing the fly-leaf) and fol. 141 r. (facing fol. 140 v.). A diagram may serve to explain the situation.



fol. 141 was originally fol. 28,
fol. 150 was originally fol. 27.

The rearrangement was obviously made in deference to the western taste which demanded a conspicuous title page (fol. 150 v.) and a richly decorated first quire at what would normally be the "beginning" of a manuscript.

Thus the whole book may be reconstructed as follows:

I) First Section.

- 1) Fols. 1-12 (irregular gathering of six leaves; fol. 1 r. blank; fol. 12 blank on both sides, but catch-word on fol. 11 v. leading to fol. 13 r.
- 2) Fols. 13-22 (regular quinion).
- 3) Fols. 141-150 (regular quinion rearranged; the sequence of the pages should be:
 - a) fols. 142-145,
 - b) fol. 150,
 - c) fol. 141,
 - d) fols. 146-149).
- 4) Fols. 23-32 (regular quinion).
- 5) Fols. 33-42 (regular quinion).
- 6) Fols. 43-52 (regular quinion).
- 7) Fols. 53-62 (regular quinion).
- 8) Fols. 63-72 (regular quinion; fol. 72 v. blank).

End of First Section.

II) Second Section.

- 1) Fols. 73-82 (regular quinion).
- 2) Fols. 83-92 (regular quinion).
- 3) Fols. 93-102 (regular quinion).
- 4) Fols. 103-112 (regular quinion).
- 5) Fols. 113-122 (regular quinion).
- 6) Fols. 123-132 (regular quinion).
- 7) 133-140 (quaternion: Hebrew text ends on fol. 135 v.; fols. 136-140 originally blank).

End of Second Section.

⁵ See D. H. Müller and J. von Schlosser, *Die Haggadah von Sarajewo* (with an instructive survey of Jewish book-illumination), (Vienna, 1898), pp. 199 ff. and pl. XXXVII-XXXVIII.

⁶ See I. Abrahams, *Jewish Life in the Middle Ages* (Philadelphia, 1919), p. 28. Cf. also *The Jewish Encyclopedia* (henceforth to be referred to as *J. E.*), (New York and London, 1901 ff.), s.v. "Heraldry" and "Seal."

⁷ See W. Rosenau, *Jewish Institutions and Customs* (Baltimore, 1903), pp. 138 ff.

⁸ See *ibid.*, pp. 143 ff. Cf. also *J. E.*, s.v. "Redemption." The pictures in London and Bruges were called to the attention of the writer by Mrs. Dorothy Shorr.

⁹ See Rosenau, *loc. cit.*, pp. 155 ff.; Abrahams, *loc. cit.*, pp. 176 ff.; *J. E.*, s.v. "Marriage." For the *Sponsalia de futuro* and *de praesente* see F. Cabrol and H. Leclercq, *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie* (Paris, 1907 ff.), s.v. "Marriage," and *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*, s.v. "Marriage."

¹⁰ See literature referred to in note 9.

¹¹ See literature referred to in note 9.

¹² See Rembrandt's etchings: Bartsch 36 a, c, and d, illustrating Manasseh ben Israel, *La piedra gloriosa o de la estatua de Nebuchadnesar* (Amsterdam, 1655). Only with Manasseh's Messianistic text in mind is it possible to understand the presence of a terrestrial globe in Bartsch 36 a ("The Statue of Nebuchadnezzar"), and to appreciate the fact that Jacob seems to lie on the middle rung of the ladder itself instead of on the ground; for, according to Manasseh, this rung symbolized Jerusalem, the center of the world.

¹³ See *J. E.*, s.v. "Dream."

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ *J. E.*, s.v. "Confession of Sins." Cf. also *ibid.*, s.v. "Gates" and "Repentance." Rabbi Jonah ben Abraham Gironi (that is: of Gerona) wrote a treatise *Gates of Penitence*.

¹⁶ See *J. E.*, s.v. "Prayer," and J. Hastings, *Dictionary of the Bible* (Edinburgh, 1889), s.v. "Abraham" and "Prayer."

¹⁷ See *J. E.*, s.v. "Confession of Sins," and Rosenau, *loc. cit.*, p. 177.

¹⁸ For the "Christianization" of Jewish art wherever Jews lived in a state of comparative equality, especially in Italy and Holland, see, e.g., E. Cohn-Wiener, *Die jüdische Kunst* (Berlin, 1929). A tombstone in Amsterdam of 1716 (illustrated p. 218) not only has a Portuguese inscription, but also a relief manifestly influenced by representations of the "Death of the Virgin," and three specifically humanistic emblems of death: the putto with the inverted torch, the winged hourglass, and the putto with the death's head; for the two last of these motifs cf. H. W. Janson, *The Putto with the Death's Head in Art Bulletin*, XIX (1937), 425 ff.

¹⁹ The Italian text with punctuation slightly modernized follows:

"Mio Patrono et Signore, Signore Galeoto de Malatesti de Arimino Patrono, Vichario pēpetuo dilla Sanctissima Chiesa Catolica inilla Città de Cesena.

Ho voluto fra'le altre memorie mandare alla mia Patria Ariminese ancora questo Liberciolo.

In e lōcacione qui se troua in Auignione questi doi Vomini Grandi uno per Doctrina et Grandisimo scriptore et laltro per dipinctura Ehcelentissimo. Per ziò ho facto scribere inella Lin-

gua Rabinica lo libro chiamato la guida dello popollo de Jsraele. Et contutta atentione piu che sia possibile e statta scripta da questo grande Vomo scriptore che el uero suo proprio nome e se chiama Aramban Ebreo, natiuo dilla nostra Patria Ariminese, et poi andò alli studio in Gerusalem e fu sempre da impoi chiamato il Docto dagli Doctti che presentemente e inala qualita Rabino di primo Hrdine nilla Città de Fierenza che gode grandissimo nome.

De piu questo Liberciolo lo ho facto Dipinturare dello tanto acreditato Vomo de grandissimo merito et unico Dipintore Zioto da Fiorenza assieme con el suo bravissimo discepolo.

Come la Ehcelenza Vostra Ilustrissima ben ve(i)de che lo ha figurato atenore dello scripto.

Lo dicto Libro lielo mando aziò ancora questo sia dalla signoria Vostra. Vostra [scil., "Signoria" or "Eccellenza"] lo conservi inella sua Libreria in Rimino.

Perdonera se le do tanto incomodo di questa picciola memoria bensì facta rivedere con il permesso [?] de Pontifice e sottoscripto da lui. Dio lo guardia et lo conserui in Sancta pace, e me mi sottoscriuo quanto ho scripto,

Cardinale F. Gotio Battaglia."

²⁰ For the personality of Gotio Battaglia (Gotius, or Gocius, de Battaglis) see C. Tonini, *La coltura letteraria e scientifica in Rimini dal secolo XIV ai primordi del XIX* (Rimini, 1884), pp. 5 ff., and A. F. Massera, *Marcha di Marco Battagli* (*Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, L. A. Muratori, ed.), (Città di Castello, 1912-13), XVI, part 3, pp. viii ff. and *passim*.

²¹ See J. E. s.v. "Mose ben Nahman Girondi," and H. Chone, *Nahmanides* (Nuremberg, 1930).

²² Cf. J. E., s.v. "Mose ben Maimon" and the literature referred to therein. For a Hebrew translation of Avicenna fraudulently or mistakenly ascribed to Maimonides (Bologna, Bibl. Univ. 2197) see L. Modona, *Catalogo dei codici ebraici della biblioteca della R. Università di Bologna* (Florence, 1889), pp. 23 ff.

²³ See A. Ciaconius, *Historiae Pontificum Romanorum et S. R. E. Cardinalium* (A. O. Oldoinus, rec.), (Rome, 1677), II, col. 471 f.: "gentilitia Insignia Gocii Cardinalis, quae habent campum divisum, cuius inferior pars tota argentea, superior vero rubea cum ense argentea" (fig. 31). Cf. also *Enciclopedia storico-nobiliare Italiana*, V. Spreti, ed. (Milan, 1928 ff.), I, 531 ff.; and G. B. di Crollanza, *Dizionario storico-blasonico delle famiglie nobili e notabili Italiane* (Pisa, 1886 ff.), I, 103.

²⁴ For the heraldry of the Malatesti see J. B. Rietstap, *Armorial général*, 2. ed., reprint (Berlin, 1934), II, 136; P. Litta, *Famiglie celebri d'Italia* (Milan, 1819 ff.), XIII; *Enciclopedia storico-nobiliare*, loc. cit., IV, 259; di Crollanza, loc. cit., II, 53; and, above all, C. Ricci, *Il tempio Malatestiano* (Milan, 1925), pp. 311 ff. and *passim*, with many illustrations. The original coat, which our forger had in mind, could be used singly or could be quartered either with the initials of the bearer or with the punning *three heads on a field vert*, and there were even varia-

tions as to the tinctures. But the original coat itself is invariably *bendy of six, 1, 3, and 5 chequy or and gules; 2, 4, and 6 argent*. The error of our forger might be explained by the fact that on some buildings (especially fortresses in the country) the whole shield was tilted 45 degrees which makes the central *bend* look like a *fess* (see Ricci, loc. cit., p. 315, fig. 377).

²⁵ Filippo Baldinucci, *Notizie de' professori del disegno da Cimabue in qua* (Florence, 1681), here quoted from *Opere* (Milan, 1811), IV, 153 ff., goes out of his way to disprove this opinion.

²⁶ See J. E., s.v. "Jedidiah ben Moses of Recanati;" furthermore, D. Kaufmann, *Der "Führer" Maimónis in der Weltliteratur in Archiv für Geschichte der Philosophie*, XI (Neue Folge, IV), (1898), 335 ff., and M. Steinschneider, *Die italienische Literatur der Juden in Monatsschrift für die Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums*, XLIII (1899), 33 ff.

²⁷ See D. H. Müller and J. von Schlosser, loc. cit., p. 290.

²⁸ See J. Burckhardt, *Die Kultur der Renaissance*, 10 ed. (Leipzig, 1908), I, 370.

²⁹ See J. E., s.v. "Soncino" and "Rimini."

³⁰ For Marco Battaglini see C. Tonini, loc. cit., II, 114 ff.

³¹ Montescudo or Montescudolo (Latin: *Montescutulum*, *Montiscutulum*, *Mons Scutulum* or *Mons Scutum*) was one of the three *Balie* which made up the Riminese territory outside of the city proper and still has the ruins of a Malatestian castle [see L. Tonini, *Storia civile e sacra Riminese* (Rimini, 1848 ff.), III, 33, 514, 515, and *passim*; cf. also A. Amati, *Dizionario corografico dell'Italia* (Milan, s.a.), V, 359]. A *Chiesa dei Conventuali* is mentioned in connection with the interesting poet and adventurer, Belmonte Cagnoli (1565-1639), who was a native of Montescudo and whose remains were "*trasportate nella Chiesa dei Conventuali allorchè fu eretta in Parrocchiale*" (C. Tonini, loc. cit., p. 40). In all probability the Conventuals of Montescudo were suppressed, like the majority of congregations in this district, about 1797. Unfortunately, the last three volumes of L. Tonini's *Storia civile e sacra Riminese*, which may contain more information as to this monastery, were not accessible to the writer.

³² This stamp of oval shape shows a heart out of which grows a double-beamed cross. The heart is inscribed with the letters A. M. (fig. 25).

³³ Marco Battaglini's chief publications, *Storia generale di tutti i Concilii* . . ., first edition (Venice, 1685), and *Annali del sacerdozio e del impero intorno all'intero secolo XVII* (Venice, 1701-1711), are still of considerable value.

³⁴ Cf. J. von Schlosser, *Die Kunsliteratur* (Vienna, 1924), pp. 465 ff. Our forger may be considered as a legitimate, although somewhat awkward emulator of Malvasia of Bologna and de Dominis of Naples, who did not hesitate to invent documents on a much larger scale where the reputation of their respective *Patrie* was at stake.



FIGURE 1

WALTERS ART GALLERY

CATALAN, THIRD QUARTER OF FOURTEENTH CENTURY
Triptych

ITALIAN STYLE IN CATALONIA AND A FOURTEENTH CENTURY CATALAN WORKSHOP*

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I

THE PIERPONT MORGAN Library in New York possesses a small four-leaved altarpiece (fig. 2) which has for some time been the subject of rather lively discussion. The altarpiece has attracted special attention because its place of origin is a problem. Some critics have referred it to north Italy, others to Catalonia, and still others

to southern France, and particularly to Avignon—that dubious repository of problematic European paintings of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.¹

The area of disagreement in this particular problem is not very great. It is, in fact, not nearly so great as in many other instances, for diversity of opinion in the localization of a fourteenth-

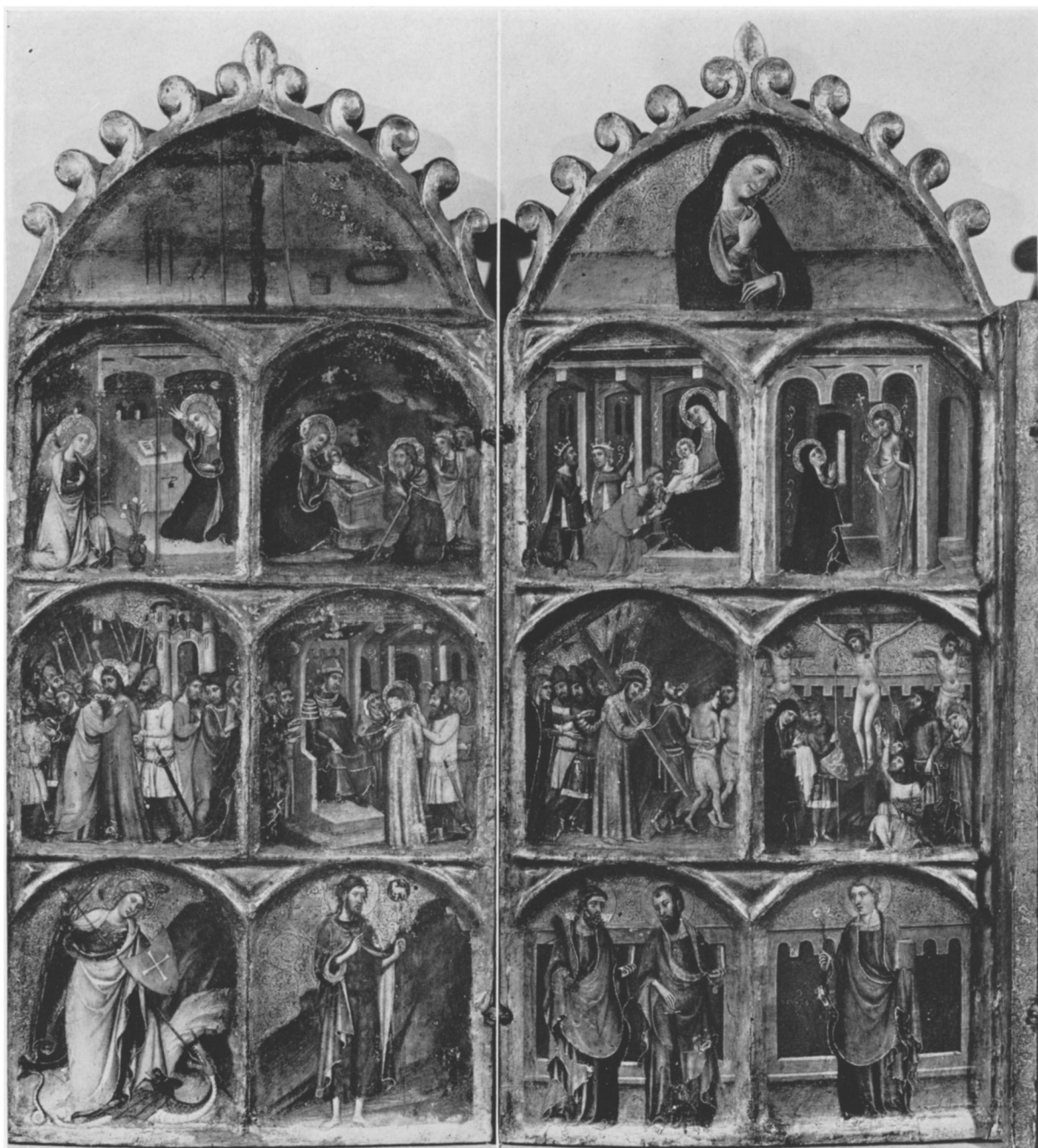


FIGURE 2A

NEW YORK, PIERPONT MORGAN LIBRARY

MASTER OF ST. MARK
Polyptych (left half)

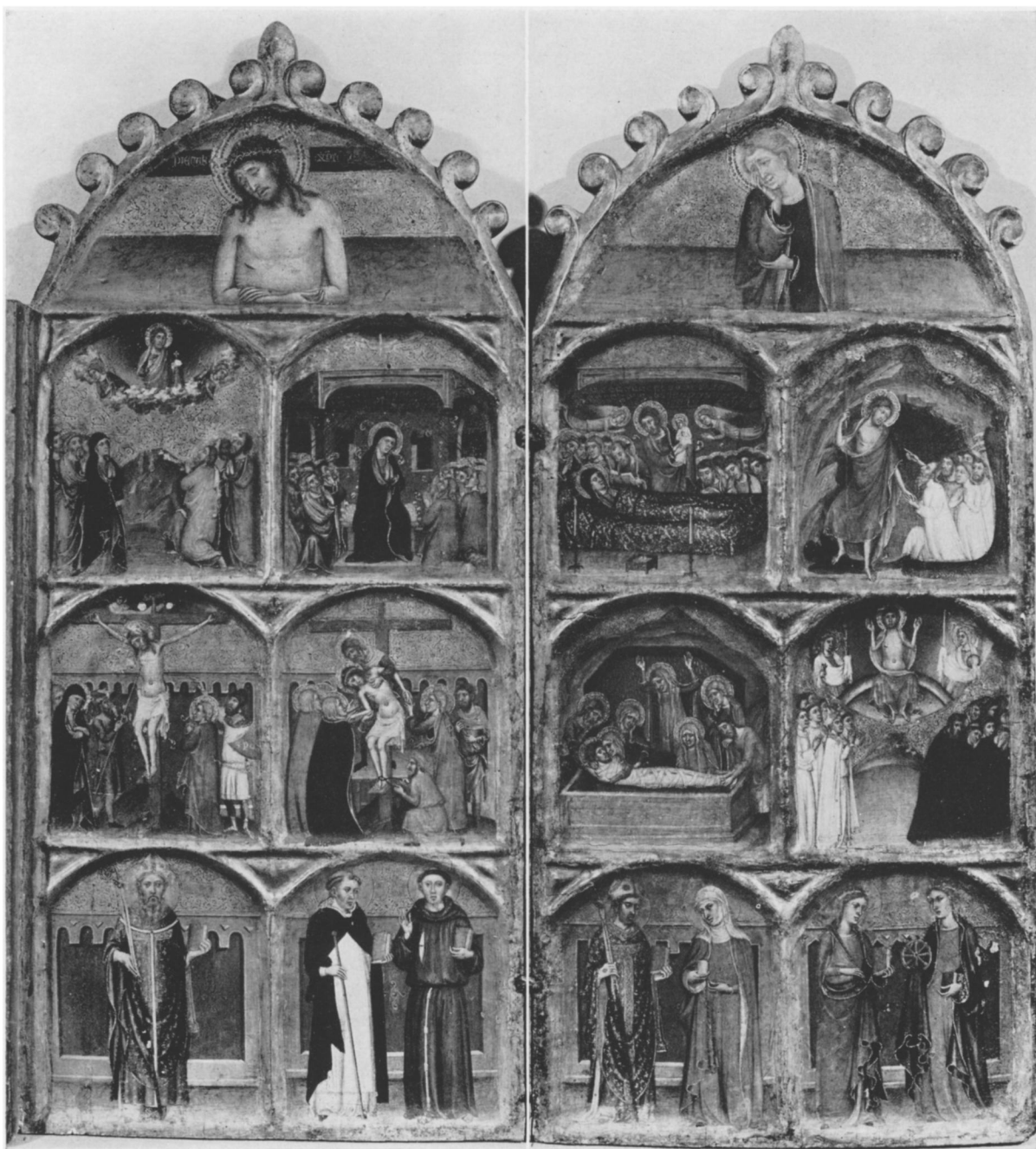


FIGURE 2B

NEW YORK, PIERPONT MORGAN LIBRARY

MASTER OF ST. MARK

Polyptych (right half)

century painting is not quite unusual. This diversity is due in considerable measure to our ignorance, only recently diminished, of European painting of this period outside Italy. But it is certainly due to some extent also to the complexities of the historical situation itself. For there were in the fourteenth century two centers, Tuscany and northern France (chiefly Paris), which influenced deeply the style of almost all the regions of Europe. Forms which were developed in these two centers pervaded, at one moment or another, the styles of the various regions, shaping them towards similar patterns, providing them with a sort of common denominator.² And even the formative centers themselves were interrelated, especially in the second half of the century, when north French painters were transcribing Italian style. Consequently the degree of homogeneity of European painting at this period approximates that of the early fifteenth century, upon which historians, beginning with Courajod, have focussed, and which has given rise to the term "international style."

At certain times during the fourteenth century the resemblances between the styles of two or more regions become very great, as between Italy and Catalonia from about 1340 to 1375. To this latter region, and to the middle of this period, the Morgan polyptych seems to me to belong. A large triptych in the Walters Art Gallery (fig. 1) which is related to the Morgan altarpiece in style, and which has likewise been attributed to Italy, is, I believe, of Catalan origin also. The Italian characters in these paintings, which led some scholars to place them in Italy, are no obstacles to an attribution to Catalonia; for Catalonia borrowed extensively from Italy during this period, as is now well known from several studies, especially those of Professor Chandler Post.³ But before entering into a discussion of the altarpieces themselves, I wish to comment on the relations between these two

countries, in the attempt to amplify or to make more precise in certain respects what has already been said, and, at the same time, to trace briefly the development which made possible the creation, in Catalonia, of works so deeply Italianate as the Morgan and the Walters altarpieces.

The role of Catalonia in the general phenomenon of the Italianization of European style in the fourteenth century was a special one, chiefly because of the extent to which the process was carried. For this remarkable receptivity to Italian style in Catalonia there are several reasons, beyond geographic propinquity, close commercial relations, and the existence of rather similar social and political forms. Catalonia, like Italy, possessed a long tradition of mural and panel painting, and Catalonia approximated Italy in the quantity of panels produced during the course of the fourteenth century. The existence of a tradition of panel painting in Catalonia prepared the way for Italian influence, and the example of Italy then, in turn, increased the production of panels, particularly retables.

* Written in part as a Member at the Institute for Advanced Study, 1940.

¹ Most of the opinions about the altarpiece have been expressed verbally, and to these no specific references will be made, except in the instance of Prof. Richard Offner, who was the first, as far as I know, to attribute the painting to Spain. The altarpiece was included in the exhibition of French Primitives in Paris, 1904, and in the catalogue H. Bouchot [*L'Exposition des primitifs français* (Paris, 1904), I, pls. XVI-XVII] gave it to the "*Écoles du Midi de la France vers 1400*." Bouchot observed the Italianate character of the style, and wrote: "*comme M. Langton Douglas . . . je ne crois pas à une oeuvre italienne pure, mais à quelque travail de moine meridionale soumis à des influences diverses.*" C. R. Post [*A History of Spanish Painting* IV, part 2 (Cambridge, 1933), 510 ff.] saw in it a Catalan painting of before 1350. I shall discuss Professor Post's opinion more fully later on. The dimensions of the altarpiece, over all, are 41¼" wide and 22½" high.

² Thus one can understand how it happens that a painting such as the tiny "Madonna and Child," recently acquired by the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, is called French [*cf. Commemorative Catalogue of the Exhibition of French Art at the Royal Academy* (London, 1932), no. 2 and fig. 2; also G. H. Edgell, in *Bulletin of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts*, XXXIII (1935), 33, where it is stated that M. I. Friedlaender, F. Mercier, and P. Jamot also regard the painting as French], whereas actually it is Bohemian with Italian and possibly also French components. The panel was first published as Bohemian by E. Wiegand, *Boehmische Gnadenbilder* (Würzburg, 1936), pl. 2.

³ C. R. Post, *op. cit.*, II (1930), 175 ff.

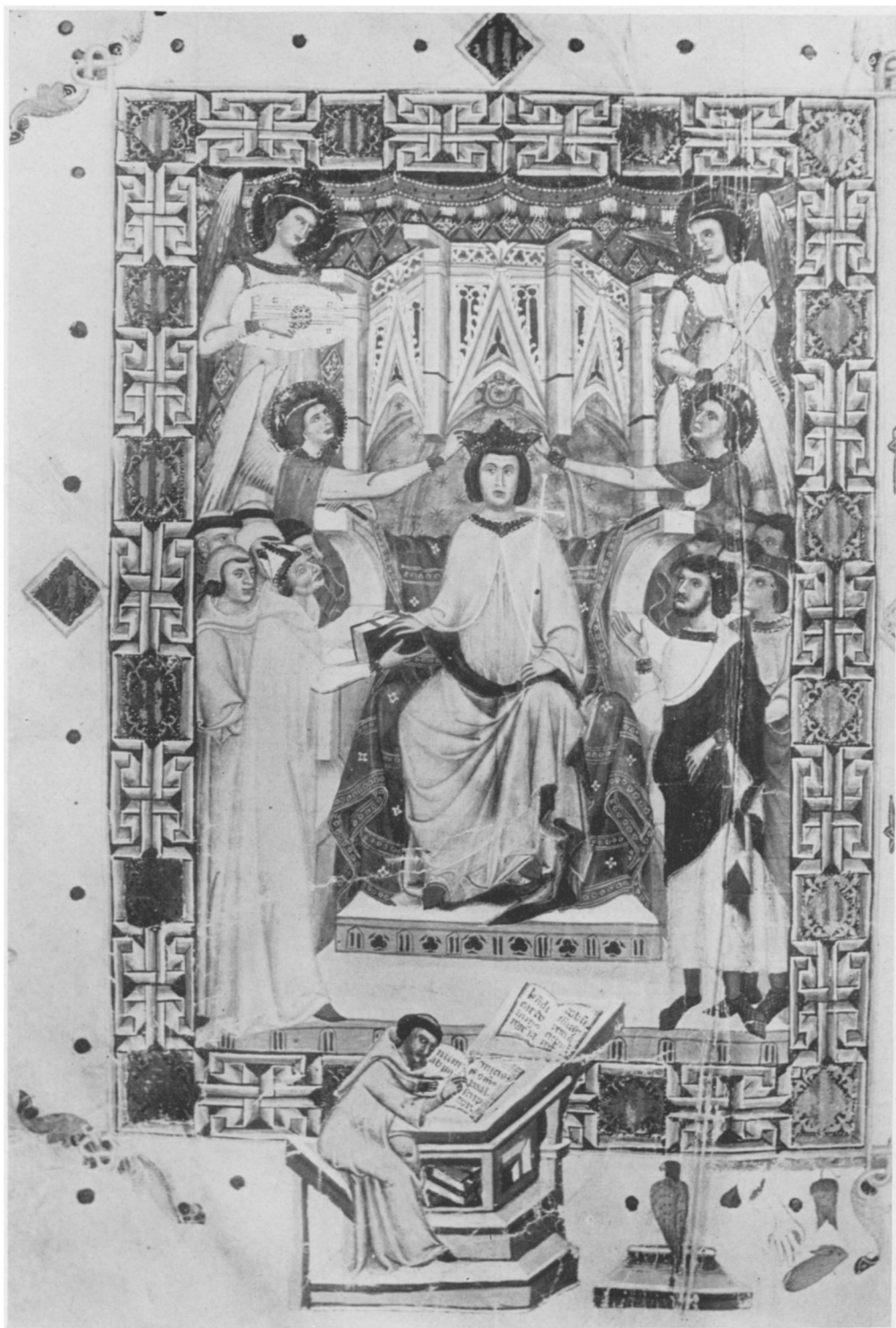


FIGURE 3

PALMA, ARCHIVO HISTÓRICO

MASTER OF THE PRIVILEGIOS
Frontispiece, *Libro de Privilegios*, 1334

Catalan style of the early fourteenth century was chiefly a version of French Gothic, which had been introduced late in the thirteenth century after a long persistence of the Romanesque, and it did not attain a very high development. Partly, then, because of a less deep-rooted Gothic tradition, Catalonia seems to have imitated Italian style much more closely than, for example, northern France, where an older Gothic tradition prevailed, not to mention a superior creative power. It is true, of course, that the examples of Catalan painting influenced by Italy are primarily panels, whereas the extant French works are mostly miniatures, which contain forms originally developed by the Italians for painting on a large scale reduced to a much smaller one, a reduction which in itself produced certain changes and departures from the Italian models. Had less been destroyed in France, our view of the development of French painting, particularly with respect to Italian influence, might perhaps have been different. But it is certainly significant that Catalan illumination of the fourteenth century became far more Italianate than did French, and we can safely infer a corresponding difference in the sphere of panel painting.

In France, in the second quarter of the fourteenth century, the paintings which approached Italian style most closely—the early works of Jean Pucelle⁴—show only a partial absorption of the Italian achievements in figure construction and the representation of space. Pucelle's later work,⁵ furthermore, contains fewer Italian elements, and transforms them to a greater extent into a distinctly French idiom, which was then developed by his followers for around fifteen years before further significant contacts with Italian art were established. In Catalonia at this period, however, Ferrer Bassa and certain anonymous painters became followers of the Italians in the narrower sense of the word. The French



FIGURE 4 PALMA, ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM
MASTER OF THE PRIVILEGIOS
Retable of St. Quiteria (detail)

relation to Italian painting may be described as selective assimilation, the Catalan, on the other hand, almost as imitation. The Catalan painters, unlike the French, did not borrow only from Duccio and Simone Martini, but from all major Tuscan sources, including the Lorenzetti and the Florentines, and even from other Italian schools. And whereas in France the more gradual assimilation culminated, in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, in the formation of a fundamentally new style, quite different from the Italian, in Spain at that time we find a continuance of eclecticism, with the addition of French prototypes to the Italian ones of the preceding period.

Reflections of Italian Trecento art are apparent here and there in Catalan painting of the

⁴ *Bible de Robert de Billyng*, Paris, Bibl. Nat. ms. lat. 11935, and *Heures de Jeanne d'Evreux*, Rothschild collection, Paris.

⁵ *Breviaire de Belleville*, Paris, Bibl. Nat. ms. lat. 10483/4.



FIGURE 5 PALMA, ARCHIVO HISTÓRICO
SHOP OF MASTER OF THE PRIVILEGIOS
Libro de Privilegios

early years of the fourteenth century,⁶ and from the 'thirties on a close approximation to Italian models is achieved. The earliest dated examples of a fundamentally Italianate style are a group of paintings in Majorca, a region closely connected by political and other ties with Catalonia. These paintings may, in fact, have been made by Catalan masters, for the scribe of an illuminated manuscript which belongs to the group (a *Libro*

de Privilegios in the Archives at Palma) was Catalan—Romeo des Poal of Manresa—and many scholars surmise that his work on the manuscript included painting as well as writing.⁷ The *Libro de Privilegios* was illuminated in, or shortly after, 1334, by two or more painters, the best of whom made the frontispiece for the Latin text (fig. 3).⁸ This master was apparently the head of a workshop in Majorca which produced panel paintings as well as illuminated manuscripts. He was, I believe, the author of the retable representing S. Quiteria and scenes from her legend in the Archaeological Museum at Palma (fig. 4).⁹ The retable of S. Eulalia in the Cathedral of Palma¹⁰ is a later and somewhat inferior work in the same style (figs. 8, 9). The

⁶ Cf. retables of St. Dominic and of the Virgin, Museum of Catalan Art, Barcelona.

⁷ Cf. Sanpere y Miquel, *Els Trescentistes*, Part I (Barcelona, n.d.), 99; Domínguez Bordona, *Exposicion de Codices miniados Españoles* (Madrid, 1929), p. 98; *idem*, *Manuscritos con Pinturas*, I (Madrid, 1933), 13; *idem*, *Spanish Illumination*, II (Florence, 1930), 47; E. Bertaux, in Michel, *Histoire de l'art*, III, part 2 (1908), 745; *idem*, in *Revue de l'art*, XXV (1909), 65; Mayer, *Geschichte der Spanischen Malerei* (Leipzig, 1922), 30.

⁸ The manuscript contains a Latin and a Catalan text of the "privileges." The miniature in figure 3 represents King James granting "privileges" to Majorca.

⁹ The miniatures in the Palma *Privilegios*, most of which were painted on designs provided by the chief master, are related to the altarpiece not only in figure types, drapery style, architectural forms but also in postures (the king in fig. 4, executed by a follower of the chief master, is almost identical with the king in fig. 5). The haloes are the same (flat field with a narrow border containing dots), thrones with the heads and paws of lions appear in both works, and the ornamental motifs in the drapery, consisting of a row of small circles bounded on each side by two lines, are similar. In all the works the hands, held open flatly parallel to the picture plane, gesture prominently. The Gothic canopy over the king in the frontispiece (fig. 3) is, however, very different from the architectural forms in the altarpiece.

Post, *op. cit.*, III (1930), 141-2, surmises that the author of the S. Quiteria altarpiece was "surely thinking of models in illumination."

¹⁰ Cf. Post, *op. cit.*, III (1930), 142-4, and fig. 304. Post dates this altarpiece around 1375 or even the last quarter of the century, but in view of its Ducciesque elements (cf. particularly the figures in the pinnacles), its similarity to the dated paintings of the 'thirties mentioned above, and its great differences from Majorcan paintings of the late fourteenth century, his opinion seems to me unacceptable. The evidence seems to me to point toward c. 1345 as the date of this work. It has exactly the same shape and frame as the altarpiece of S. Quiteria. In both of these panels there are two scenes in a row at each side of the central image, and these scenes are not separated by a frame or by a border, a design which is clearly not Italian.



FIGURE 6 PALMA, ARCHIVO HISTÓRICO
SHOP OF MASTER OF THE PRIVILEGIOS
Libro de Privilegios

manuscript of the *Laws and Ordinances of King James II of Majorca*, now in Brussels¹¹ (fig. 7), contains miniatures of c. 1337 which resemble the frontispiece to the Catalan text in the *Privilegios* in Palma (fig. 6) and other miniatures by the same hand in that manuscript.¹² The style of

¹¹ Bibliothèque Royale, ms. 9169. Cf. *Catalogue des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique*, X (Brussels, n.d.), 6, no. 6762; Gaspar and Lyna, *Les principaux manuscrits à peintures de la Bibl. Royale de Belgique*, I (Paris, 1937), 296 and pl. 63; Gudiol, *Els Trescentistes* (Barcelona, n.d.), p. 265 and figs. 87-88.

¹² The miniature on folio 1 of the Brussels manuscript combines forms drawn from both frontispieces of the *Privilegios* at Palma.

¹³ Post, *op. cit.*, III (1930), 141-2, sees little of Duccio in the retablo of S. Quiteria; the central image of the saint reminds him of Pietro Lorenzetti. Mayer, *Historia de la Pintura Española* (Madrid, 1929), p. 29, and Bertaux, *loc. cit.*, believe that the style of the *Libro de Privilegios* was influenced by Simone Martini.

this group of works, formed probably by the painter of the retablo of S. Quiteria and of the miniature at the head of the Latin text in the *Privilegios* in Palma (fig. 3), is derived chiefly from Duccio, or rather, from the followers of Duccio in Pisa, who were acquainted also with the work of Simone Martini (fig. 10).¹³ Indeed, the style of the chief master of the *Privilegios* is permeated to such an extent by Italian characters that one might perhaps ask whether he was not an Italian painter, i. e., a painter born and first developed in Italy, who had settled in Majorca, rather than a Majorcan or Catalan painter who had assimilated Italian elements, perhaps during a visit to Italy. His facial types, and those of his followers, with aquiline noses forked at the bridge, languid eyes, and soft, full mouths, are Ducciesque. The angels in the second frontispiece in the *Privilegios* (fig. 6) incline their heads sentimentally towards King James as they do towards the Madonna in Duccio's "*Maestà*." The drapery patterns echo Duccio's, especially in the meandering line of the borders (fig. 6). Certain qualities of the folds and silhouettes recall Simone Martini, but these, as well as the

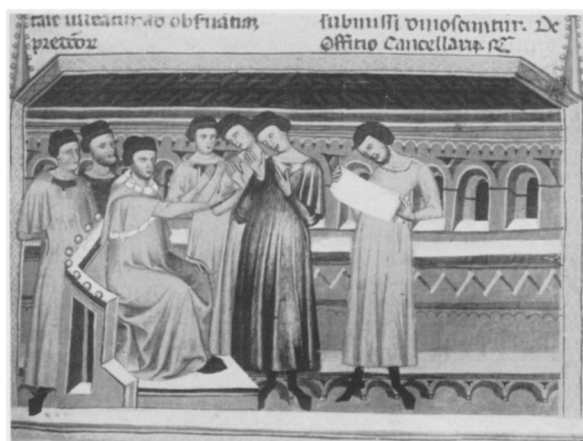


FIGURE 7 BRUSSELS, BIBLIOTHÈQUE ROYALE
CLOSE FOLLOWER OF MASTER
OF THE PRIVILEGIOS

"Constitutiones" of James II of Majorca (Ms. 9169, f. 35)



FIGURE 8

PALMA, CATHEDRAL

FOLLOWER OF MASTER OF THE PRIVILEGIOS
Retable of St. Eulalia (detail)

sway of the figures, are possibly due more to memories of French Gothic style than to any

¹⁴ Post, *loc. cit.*, makes a similar suggestion.

¹⁵ The architectural forms resemble most of all those in Byzantine paintings of the early fourteenth century, such as the frescoes at Nagoricino, or the mosaics of Kahrie-Djami. Similar forms appear in a retable in the Archaeological Museum, Palma, which Post, *op. cit.*, III (1930), 183 and fig. 139, believes represents a phase of Tuscan style prior to or contemporary with Simone Martini. The style of this altarpiece seems to me fundamentally Byzantine rather than Italian. If the altarpiece was not imported into Majorca, then it may have been executed by some east Mediterranean painter who had wandered to that island. It does, however, contain some elements which seem to derive from Sienese Trecento painting. The ground is tooled in Ducciesque fashion (foliate forms on a hatched ground). The figures in the "Washing of the Feet" resemble those in Duccio's representation of this subject in the "*Maestà*" and even the shoes on the floor exhibit a wriggly animation, like Duccio's. The Virgin and St. John are seated on the ground in the "Crucifixion", a motif which is not common in Italy, where apparently it originated, until the 'thirties or 'forties.

influence of that artist.¹⁴ While the master of the *Privilegios* absorbed all these Ducciesque forms and something also of Duccio's manner of modeling, he learned, on the other hand, very little of that master's perspective methods. Very few of his forms are foreshortened; orthogonal lines sometimes incline in the upper part of the scene while they decline in the lower part, and parallel lines frequently diverge. Although there are numerous projecting ceilings, they usually have no support in the foreground (fig. 8), and Duccio's "boxed" interior is never achieved. The architecture itself, which is not Ducciesque, or even Tuscan, is a *mélange* of Byzantine, Romanesque, and a few Gothic forms.¹⁵ These charac-



FIGURE 9 PALMA, CATHEDRAL
CLOSE FOLLOWER OF MASTER
OF THE PRIVILEGIOS
Retable: Head of St. Eulalia

ters seem to indicate that the author of this style was not of Tuscan origin, and he may actually be identical with the Romeo des Poal of Manresa mentioned above.

The master of the *Privilegios*, active in the 'thirties, either did not know, or, what is more probable, could not assimilate post-Ducciesque Sienese painting. He did not in fact, even succeed in understanding important aspects of the work of Duccio, as we have seen. Ferrer Bassa of Barcelona, however, turned to the most modern examples of Italian style, and made an attempt to bring Catalan style up to date in terms of the Italian evolution. Already active in the 'twenties, executing his chief extant works, the mural paintings in Pedralbes, in 1345/46,¹⁶ he was

either a few years older than the master of the *Privilegios*, or his contemporary. Though not a very great painter, he nevertheless managed to assimilate Lorenzettian and possibly also Giottesque forms.¹⁷ From these masters he learned much about modelling, foreshortening, and diminution (see the "Adoration of the Magi" at Pedralbes), and also the means of representing an interior (see the "Mocking of Christ"). From them he acquired a conception of perspective and of an objectified space and narrative which could lead him to seat some apostles in the "Pentecost" with their backs to the spectator, though he still felt it necessary to turn their heads around into profile. In the paintings of the Lorenzetti he must have seen models for his active figures, such as the man drawing nails from the feet of Christ in the "Deposition."¹⁸ Bassa was so interested in this figure that he allotted to him alone the entire right half of the composition, giving him a prominence which he never had in Italian art.

The "Lamentation" at Pedralbes¹⁹ follows closely Ambrogio Lorenzetti's representation of this subject in the Siena Gallery, and one gesture of grief, that of digging the fingers into the cheeks, though missing in Ambrogio's painting, appears in the "Entombment" by his brother Pietro in Assisi. From Ambrogio Bassa derived also the large billowy Child in the Pedralbes "Madonna."²⁰ The Child is wrapped in a thin form-revealing cloth containing numerous narrow

¹⁶ Cf. Post, *op. cit.*, II (1930), 194 ff.

¹⁷ Post, *loc. cit.*, rightly minimizes the influence, frequently asserted, of Giotto on Bassa, and rejects the connection with Cavallini proposed by Sanpere and Gudiol. He refers to the Sienese, Simone Martini and the Lorenzetti, and also to Barnaba da Modena (with whom I fail to see any relationship).

¹⁸ Sanpere y Miquel, *op. cit.*, fig. 82.

¹⁹ *Idem*, fig. 87.

²⁰ Post, *op. cit.*, II (1930), fig. 140 and p. 196. Post sees Bassa's "Maestà" as an "exact parallel" to Simone's and Duccio's, but it seems more closely related to Madonnas by Lorenzetti. For the posture of the Child and position of the Virgin's right hand, cf. Pietro's "Madonna" at S. Ansano a Dofana. On the other hand, the kneeling angels in the Pedralbes "Madonna" resemble those in the "Maestà" by Simone Martini.

parallel folds which Ambrogio developed, on the basis of antique sculpture, for figures such as Peace or Security in the Palazzo Pubblico frescoes (fig. 16). Miss King showed recently²¹ that Bassa's "Crucifixion" imitates Pietro Lorenzetti's fresco of the same subject in the church of S. Francesco, Siena. The Pedralbes "Nativity,"²² with its shed projecting above the cave, and the Child, lying in a wattled crib, adored by the kneeling Virgin, likewise depends, I believe, upon a lost Lorenzettian "Nativity" which is reflected in a number of paintings by their Sienese followers.²³

In the Pedralbes "Annunciation" (fig. 12) Bassa makes a surprising innovation. The Angel Gabriel is flying towards the Virgin, and this posture for the angel antedates any similar extant example in Italian painting, though in one instance—Taddeo Gaddi's "Annunciation" in S. Croce—the angel is flying *down* head foremost towards the Virgin—a motif which was introduced at least partly, it would seem, because of exigencies of space.²⁴ Bassa's figure resembles in its drawing, its heavy build, and even in facial type, figures by Ambrogio Lorenzetti; and the architectural and ornamental forms, especially the frieze, are clearly Lorenzettian. The angel in Ambrogio's one extant "Annunciation" (in the Siena Gallery) is kneeling. However, an "Annunciation" in S. Michele at Paganico (figs. 11, 13), which was undoubtedly influenced by Ambrogio,²⁵ contains an angel like Bassa's.



FIGURE 10 ALTENBURG, LINDENAU MUSEUM
PISAN FOLLOWER OF DUCCIO
St. John the Evangelist

The two angels are, in fact, so similar that even without the resemblance between the Virgins, one might infer that the Paganico fresco was the source of Bassa's. The dates of the respective works do not, however, permit this conclusion. For the Paganico fresco was painted by a close follower of Bartolo di Fredi, and certainly cannot have been made before 1350, later, then, that the Pedralbes "Annunciation." It is, furthermore, in an outlying small town which Bassa probably would not have visited. The only conclusion which accounts for all the facts is that both of these "Annunciations," evidently embodying Lorenzettian characters, derive from a representation of this subject, now lost, by Am-

²¹ G. G. King, in *The Art Bulletin*, XVI (1934), 116.

²² Sanpere y Miquel, *op. cit.*, fig. 80.

²³ Cf. the following "Nativities": The Cloisters of the Metropolitan Museum, by Bartolo di Fredi; Lindenau Museum, Altenburg, in the style of Paolo di Giovanni Fei; Museum at Béziers, by a follower of Bartolo di Fredi; Fogg Museum, Cambridge, by "Ugolino Lorenzetti" (Bartolommeo Bulgarini?). King, *loc. cit.*, observed the relationship between Bassa's "Nativity" and the one in the Fogg Museum.

²⁴ The motif was perhaps suggested to Taddeo by Giotto's "Annunciation to Anna" in the Arena Chapel.

²⁵ As Berenson recognized, in *Rassegna d'Arte*, V (1905), 102-3.



FIGURE 11 PAGANICO, S. MICHELE
FOLLOWER OF BARTOLO DI FREDI
Angel of Annunciation

brogio.²⁶ And even though Ambrogio's surviving "Annunciation" does not show a comparable posture, this can be found elsewhere in his works, especially the *Securitas* in the fresco of "Good Government" in Siena (fig. 16). Ambrogio's flying angel, like his *Securitas*, was derived directly or indirectly from late antique sources.²⁷

In many respects, particularly details of ar-

chitecture and ornament, Bassa's "Annunciation" seems to follow the assumed Lorenzettian prototype more closely than does the Siennese fresco at Paganico. As a foreigner he was more likely to imitate literally the works of the Lorenzetti, especially in minor details, than were the Siennese followers of these masters. And in his little known "Coronation of the Virgin" at Bellpuig (fig. 14), which was burned during the Civil War in Spain,²⁸ he adopted elements of a remarkable design by Ambrogio Lorenzetti which apparently did not enter into later Siennese painting itself. In the "Maestà" at Massa Marittima (fig. 15), Ambrogio arranged the saints in rows, one group of which radiates from the sides of the Madonna's throne. This is probably a development of the design of Simone Martini's "Maestà," where the groups of saints contain oblique axes. In Simone's fresco the saints are "terraced," and almost all the heads are fully visible, since they rise regularly one above the other, or are turned into the relatively wide interval between the rows. In Ambrogio's panel

²⁶ David Robb, in *The Art Bulletin*, XVIII (1936), 487, note 35, mentioned my findings in this question, and referred to the present study, which was then in manuscript form.

²⁷ On the relationship of the "*Securitas*" and other figures by Ambrogio with antique sculpture cf. G. Rowley in *La Balzana*, I (1927), 215. As another example of Ambrogio's relationship with late antique or early Christian art, the present writer, in *The Art Bulletin*, XVIII (1936), 454 has commented on the similarity of Ambrogio's "Madonna" in S. Francesco to a Madonna in the catacomb of Priscilla, itself dependent on late antique forms.

Miss Helen Franc has called to my attention an example in late antique painting of a flying or soaring figure acting as a messenger (*Codex Romanus*, f. 74 v., Iris bringing a message to Turnus). Robb, *loc. cit.*, believes that the flying angel (as distinguished from the "diving" angel) probably developed from the walking angel of the Byzantine or Italo-Byzantine type, which in turn derives from the antique Niké. Almost exactly the same posture of Ambrogio's angel, including the crossed legs, appears frequently, however, in Byzantine figures of angels who are flying parallel to the ground (*i.e.*, the main axis of the body is parallel to the ground), though this type does not occur in the "Annunciation" itself. Ambrogio may well have developed his motif from one of these figures by turning it 90°, so that the chief axis of the body is not parallel to the ground, but approximately perpendicular. For examples of the Byzantine figures cf. Stornaiuolo, *Miniature delle Omilie di Giacomo Monaco* (Rome, 1910), pl. 21.

²⁸ Cf. J. Gudiol Ricart, *La pintura gotica a Catalunya* (Barcelona, 1938), p. 9.

the saints and prophets at each side are likewise "terraced;" they stand on three levels. But each of the three groups is quite large, and each is viewed from a single point of view, which is not very high, so that only the heads of the figures in front are completely visible; of the figures in the rows behind one sees merely the tops of the heads, or progressively smaller segments of the haloes. Ambrogio used perspective to represent an innumerable host assembled to honor the Madonna, sacrificing completely, however, the identity of most of the saints, a very radical departure from the traditional iconography of cult-images.²⁹

Ferrer Bassa adopted for the saints in the Bellpuig "Coronation" Ambrogio's design for the lowest groups of saints in the Massa Marittima "Maestà," even increasing the number of figures and deepening the banks of haloes. Four



FIGURE 12 PEDRALBES, CHAPEL OF ST. MICHAEL
FERRER BASSA
Annunciation



FIGURE 13 PAGANICO, S. MICHELE
FOLLOWER OF BARTOLO DI FREDI
Virgin

saints at each side, who stand on a higher level, rise above these tiers of haloes. They are reminiscent of the upper groups in Ambrogio's painting, and their presence greatly strengthens the belief that Bassa had in mind the Massa Marittima altarpiece itself, rather than some other lost work of the Lorenzetti.

The Bellpuig "Coronation," which has been mentioned by only a few students of Catalan painting, is not unanimously attributed to

²⁹ This kind of design was, of course, already known to the Trecento in *historical* representations.



FIGURE 14

BELLPUIG, CHURCH

FERRER BASSA
Coronation of the Virgin
(Destroyed During Civil War)

Bassa.³⁰ But unmistakably his are, among other things, the curious old men with cottony beards who, despite very pugnacious jaws, seem quite timid and harmless. Another panel (fig. 17), whose attribution to Bassa has likewise been questioned,³¹ reveals the master in a somewhat different phase. This painting, which is in the museum at Vich, and which represents scenes from the legend of St. Bernard, shows an astonishing resemblance to the style of Pietro Lorenzetti, and I believe that students of Sienese painting, knowing only the heads of St. Bernard and the monk in the scene of the "Exorcism" (fig. 20), would attribute them, and quite rightly, to the workshop or immediate following of that painter. The narrow heads with deep-set, troubled eyes and intent glances, are

Pietro's. The suffused light, the method of modelling, and even the character of the brushstroke, derive from the same source; likewise the linear construction of the figures, and the drape-

³⁰ Gudiol, *Els Trescentistes*, p. 127, reproduces it (but poorly) as a work of Bassa. Gudiol Ricart, *La pintura gotica a Catalunya*, p. 9, mentions it as a work probably by Bassa. Post, *op. cit.*, II (1930), 204, believes that it was not painted by Bassa, but in his milieu.

³¹ Gudiol, *op. cit.*, p. 127 and figs. 41-2, and Gudiol Ricart, *loc. cit.*, attribute the panel to Ferrer Bassa, with question. Post, *op. cit.*, II (1930), 204, seems to believe that it is not his work. He sees the influence of Giotto in this painting.

Demonstration of Bassa's authorship of the Vich panel cannot appropriately be introduced here, but it may be useful to note some forms which occur both in the panel and in the paintings at Pedralbes. The borders of the drapery in both works frequently show two closely spaced thin lines. The six-pointed star which is used repeatedly in the frieze of the room in the Vich panel, appears also in the borders of the Pedralbes paintings. Compare, furthermore, the straight parallel folds of the mantle of St. Bernard in the scene of the "Exorcism" with those of St. Michael at Pedralbes; or the flat-topped rocks in the panel with those in the "Betrayal" or "Entombment" at Pedralbes.

ery patterns. The perspective of the interior shows a convergence of orthogonals towards a rather large vanishing area, and in the representation of the miracle of a ship saved from a storm at sea—a subject especially dear to the merchant patrons of fourteenth-century art—the painter has accomplished a marine with a kind of diminution which must have been learned from Pietro, or directly from the author of the first known extended seascape in perspective, Ambrogio Lorenzetti (cf. his painting in the Uffizi of a similar miracle wrought by St. Nicholas). In the panel in Vich Bassa is, in fact, closer to Pietro Lorenzetti in some respects than were

any of Pietro's Sienese pupils. What distinguishes him readily at this moment from Pietro's Sienese followers, and at the same time indicates his Spanish origin, is the squatness and stumpiness of the figures, their comparative lack of structure, and the cast of some of the features, especially of the women in the representation of the "Exorcism."

Bassa's panels in Bellpuig and Vich approximate Italian models more closely than do the murals at Pedralbes. Evidently he did not master Italian fresco technique to the same extent as he did tempera on panel. The murals were probably executed to a greater extent by assistants,



FIGURE 15

AMBROGIO LORENZETTI
Maestà

MASSA MARITTIMA, MUSEO



FIGURE 16 SIENA, PALAZZO PUBBLICO
AMBROGIO LORENZETTI
Security

and, much more important, they were painted in 1345/46 at the end of his career (he died in 1348), when his experience of Italian paintings was no longer so vivid. In view, however, of the date of certain paintings of the Lorenzetti with which he was familiar, Bassa must have visited Siena on one occasion in the late 'thirties. The extraordinary depth of his assimilation of Lorenzettian style would lead one to suppose that he had been in Siena also in his youth, when he was very impressionable and had not yet fully formed a style of his own. We first hear of Bassa as a painter in 1324, and then not again until 1333,³² so that either before 1324 or between 1324 and 1333 he may have been studying panels and frescoes in Siena, and assisting in the workshops of the Lorenzetti.

The Catalan painters whom we have considered hitherto—the Majorcan painters and Ferrer Bassa—show a decided preference for Sienese style. There are, however, a few painters of this period who, unlike their Catalan or even European contemporaries, imitate Florentine style of the early fourteenth century. Chief among these masters is the author of the retablo of St. Vin-

cent from Estopiñan, now in the Plandiura collection in Barcelona, whose style derives principally, I think, from Jacopo del Casentino³³ and perhaps also from Bernardo Daddi. Followers of the Florentines are, however, exceptional during the entire course of fourteenth-century Catalan painting, and the preference for Sienese style clearly extends beyond the producers of paintings to those who purchased them. For there are in Spanish ecclesiastical collections a number of Italian Trecento works either of the Sienese School or of Italian schools under Sienese influence, and at least some of these paintings were in Spain in the fourteenth century. Professor Post has described an altarpiece in the Cathedral of Murcia which is signed by Barnaba da Modena, and which includes images of donors whom he believes are probably Spanish.³⁴ Furthermore, a small reliquary in the Diocesan Museum in Valencia is, I believe, Sienese, and contains a painting (fig. 18) by a Sienese master of the end of the fourteenth century whose style is related to both Andrea Vanni and Andrea di Bartolo. The painting represents the "Man of Sorrows," an Italian type which became popular in Spain in the second half of the fourteenth

³² Cf. Post, *op. cit.*, II, (1930), 194 and Mayer in Thieme-Becker, *Künstler-Lexikon*, XI (1915), 469.

³³ Cf. especially the altarpiece by Jacopo del Casentino in S. Miniato. Post, *op. cit.*, II (1930), 210, observes the relationship of this work with Giotto and his followers, but as "immediate followers" he cites Jacopo and Nardo di Cione, and Andrea di Firenze, whose style does not seem to me to have influenced the St. Vincent triptych, and was, furthermore, actually developed too late to have done so. The date of c. 1340 to 1350 for the triptych proposed by Mayer in *Cicerone*, XV (1923), 173, is, I think, approximately correct. The panel of St. Vincent is reproduced by Post, *op. cit.*, II (1930), fig. 144.

Another Spanish work influenced by Florentine precedents is the "Madonna of Humility" in Cordova which imitates a Daddesque design. [Cf. Post, *op. cit.*, III, 308 and fig. 359 and Meiss in *The Art Bulletin*, XVIII (1936), 449].

³⁴ Post, *op. cit.*, II (1930), 186, note 1. The altarpiece has, as far as I know, never been reproduced.

³⁵ This painting was reproduced as "Ecole d'Avignon" in the catalogue of the sale of the *Collection de Madame C.*, Hotel Drouot, Paris, May 28/29, 1925, no. 14. Another early Spanish example of the "Man of Sorrows" appears in the retablo of the high altar of the Cathedral of Tortosa, which is apparently dated 1351, cf. Post, *op. cit.*, VI, part 2 (1935), 506.

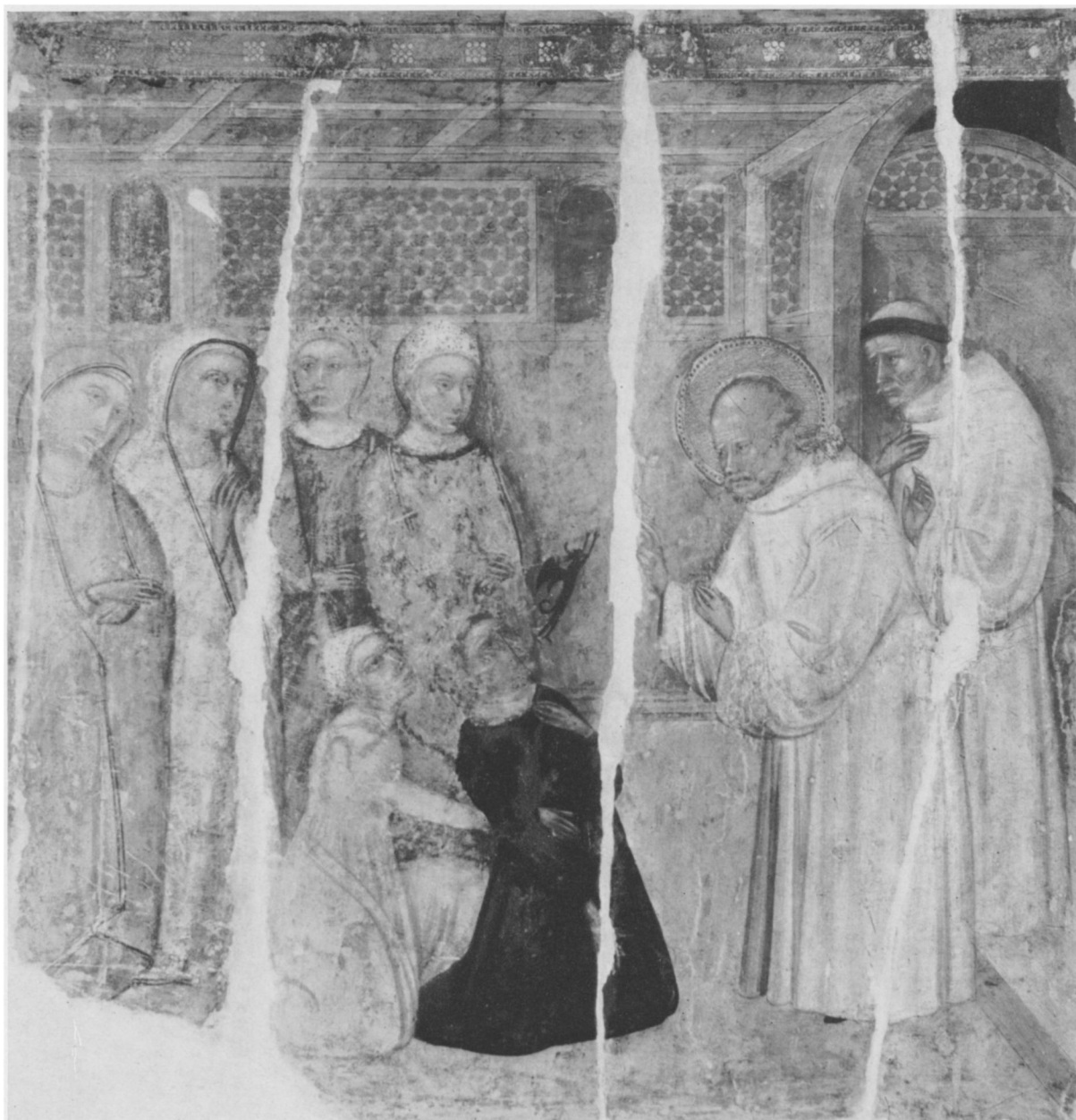


FIGURE 17

VICH, MUSEUM

FERRER BASSA
St. Bernard Exorcising the Devil

century. One of the earliest Spanish examples of this image appears in the Morgan altarpiece, a second in a hitherto unpublished panel from the shop of Jaime Serra (fig. 19).³⁵ Another early Italian panel in Catalonia, also unpublished, is

the "Coronation of the Virgin" in the Museo Provincial of Valencia, painted by a follower of Duccio and his school, although the style shows certain un-Sienese characters, especially the wide intervals between the forms (fig. 22).³⁶

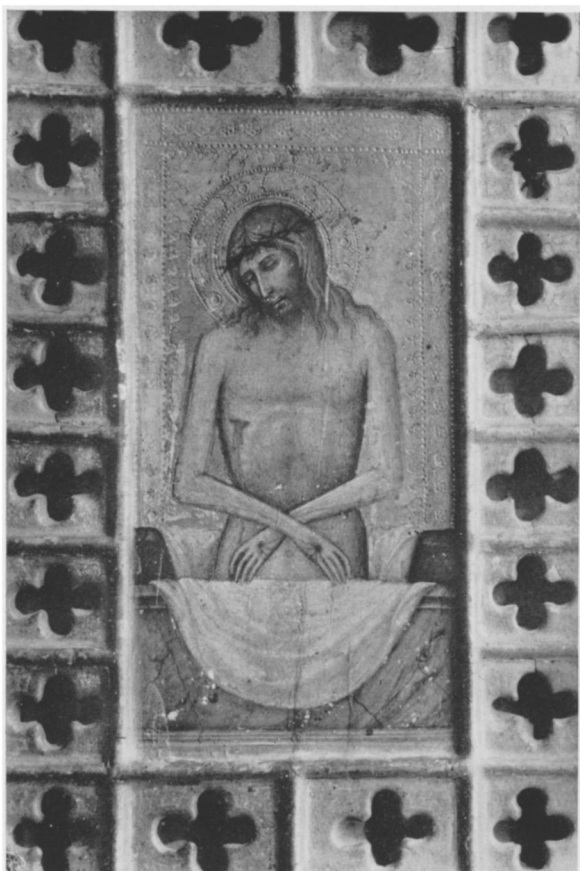


FIGURE 18 VALENCIA, DIOCESAN MUSEUM
SIENESE, LATE XIV CENTURY
Man of Sorrows

³⁶ The head of the central angel has been repainted. I have mentioned this painting elsewhere as one of the earliest examples of the kneeling Virgin in the representation of the "Coronation." Cf. *The Art Bulletin*, XVIII (1936), 459, note 79. Another early example of the same motif which has come to my attention since the publication of that note is the panel in the collection of Lord Rothermere, which is interesting because it is Florentine and Giottesque, whereas all the early examples cited in the note mentioned above are north Italian. The Rothermere panel is reproduced in *Catalogo della Mostra Giottesca* (Bergamo, 1937), pl. 55. Berenson, *Italian Pictures of the Renaissance* (Oxford, 1932), p. 140, attributes the Valencia "Coronation" to the school of Cavallini.

The motif of the kneeling Virgin in the "Coronation" is adopted in Spain, as in France, under Italian influence in the later fourteenth century. The earliest Spanish example, as far as I know, is in the altarpiece in the parish church at Abella de la Conca, which is very close to Pere Serra in style.

³⁷ Cf. Gudiol, *Els Trescentistes*, pp. 242-249; Domínguez Bordona in *Archivo Español de Arte y Arqueología*, I (1925), 177. Perhaps I should mention in connection with these Italian Trecento paintings in Spain, the Florentine antependium—not a painting, but a textile—in the Cathedral of Manresa. Cf. *Museum* (Barcelona), VI, p. 411 ff. Also the late fourteenth-century Florentine paintings in the Cathedral of Toledo.

Italian illuminated manuscripts, moreover, were common in Spain in the fourteenth century, to judge from records of purchase and from the presence of such manuscripts today in the churches and libraries of that country.³⁷ Most of them were legal works written and painted in Bologna, but a manuscript of the commentary by Johannes Andrea on the sixth book of *Decretals* in the Capitular Archives at Vich contains some paintings which are, in my opinion, by Lippo Vanni. The manuscript is ornamented with initials in rather a crude version of French Gothic style of the early fourteenth century, but on the first folio Lippo Vanni has added two initials, each with a figure of Pope Boniface, and

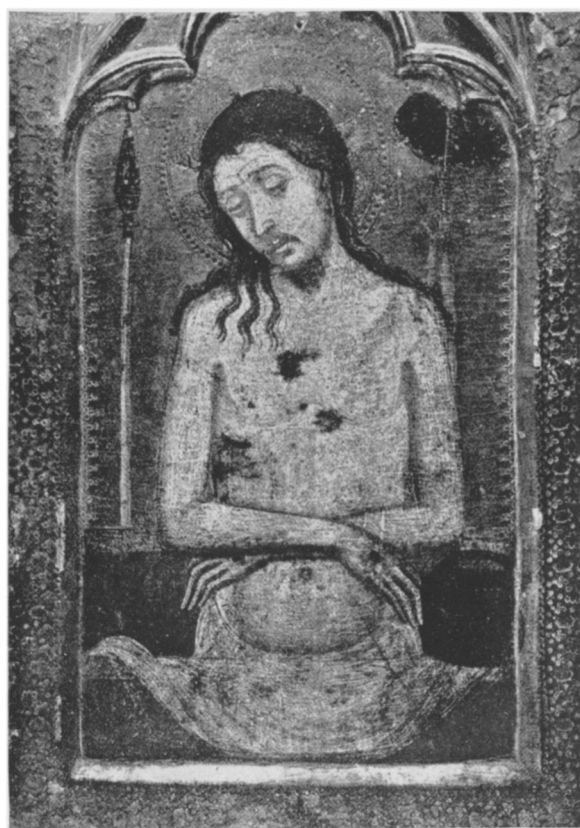


FIGURE 19 LOCATION UNKNOWN
JAIME SERRA
Man of Sorrows



FIGURE 20

VICH, MUSEUM

FERRER BASSA
St. Bernard (detail of fig. 17)

a miniature which shows the same Pope with the consistory of Cardinals (fig. 21). The miniature, one of Lippo's finest, looks like a diminutive panel, and is, in fact, based even to the gestures on Ambrogio Lorenzetti's fresco in S. Francesco, Siena, which represents "St. Louis before Pope Boniface."

Almost all the Sienese or Italian paintings which have been discussed above belong to the second half of the fourteenth century. But there once were, undoubtedly, many Italian works of the early Trecento in Spain, which gave contemporary Catalan painters access to Italian

style without travelling to Italy. A number of Catalan painters of the period which we have been considering did go there, but evidence for such journeys in the latter half of the century seems to me less conclusive. Around 1350 the ties of apprenticeship to Italy were somewhat loosened, and though absorption of Italian characters continued, the Italian sources were narrowed down for the most part to one, Simone Martini. A new style, relatively independent of Italy, was developed by certain masters, and this style spread, probably from Barcelona, throughout Catalonia, drawing to-

wards greater uniformity the painting of a region which in the second quarter of the century had shown such a wide variety of styles. To this later phase of Catalan painting the polyptych in the Morgan collection seems to me to belong.

II

The small altarpiece in the Morgan collection is composed of four panels of equal size (fig. 2). It is, then, a polyptych without a central leaf accented by a greater height, and without the bilateral symmetry which is usually found in Italian altarpieces. But in the four lunettes of this un-Italian design the painter has introduced the symmetrical Italian representation of the Man of Sorrows, composed of three figures, Christ (labelled "*Pietas Christi*"), the Virgin, and St. John. In Italy Christ is placed on the central axis of the design; here He is relegated to the third lunette, the Virgin and St. John occupy the second and fourth, and the first lunette, for which no figure was left, is filled with the symbols of the Passion, which in Italy are placed in the field around Christ.

Below the lunettes there are smaller fields, six to a panel, the lowest pair slightly larger than the other four, so that the lowest fields and the uppermost ones (the lunettes) are larger than the middle ones. Thus the proportions as well as the general scheme indicate a non-Italian origin. The crude profiles of the frames, furthermore, could scarcely be matched in Italy. The sixteen middle fields of the altarpiece contain lively and colorful historical scenes. In Trecento Italy historical scenes were usually allotted to murals or, in a more abbreviated form, to the predella. In Spain, however, frescoes were rare during this period,³⁸ and iconographic distinctions of this sort were not developed; the altarpiece itself became the carrier of relatively large historical scenes as well as of the images of saints and devotional groups.



FIGURE 21 VICH, CAPITULAR ARCHIVES
LIPPO VANNI
Pope Boniface and Cardinals (Ms. 7, f. 1)

Of the first row of eight scenes in the Morgan polyptych (reading from left to right) seven—the "Annunciation," "Nativity," "Adoration of the Magi," "Appearance of Christ to the Virgin," "Ascension," "Pentecost," and "Death of the Virgin with the Assumption of her soul"—represent the Seven Joys of the Virgin, and these are coupled with a sequence of seven Passion scenes, extending from the "Betrayal" to the "Entombment," which appear in the row below. The same iconographic program was prescribed in 1343 for the Pedralbes frescoes of Ferrer Bassa,³⁹ and in 1368 for an altarpiece commissioned to Jaime and Pere Serra.⁴⁰ In the Morgan polyptych these cycles of seven leave one field in each row still to be filled; for them eschatological subjects were chosen—the "Har-

³⁸ Cf. Post, *op. cit.*, II (1930), 191.

³⁹ Cf. Sanpere y Miquel, *op. cit.*, p. 185. The contract calls for "*Vii goys de Na Madona Sancta Maria*" and "*Vii istories de la passio de Jhesu Crist*." In the executed works at Pedralbes the "Seven Joys" consist of the same scenes as the Morgan sequence, except that the "Three Maries at the Tomb" are included instead of the unusual "Appearance of Christ," and the "Coronation of the Virgin" instead of her "Death." The scenes of the Passion are specified in the contract, but Bassa substituted the "Way to Calvary" for "*Com fo posat en la Creu*," and instead of a final "*Pietat ab Maria e Jouan*" he introduced a "Lamentation," between the "Crucifixion" and the "Entombment." The Passion scenes in the Morgan altarpiece are the same as at Pedralbes except that in the altarpiece the "Crucifixion" is expanded into two scenes, and the "Lamentation" is not represented.

⁴⁰ Cf. Sanpere y Miquel, *op. cit.*, pp. 277-8. The terms used in the contract to designate the cycles are the same as in Bassa's contract.

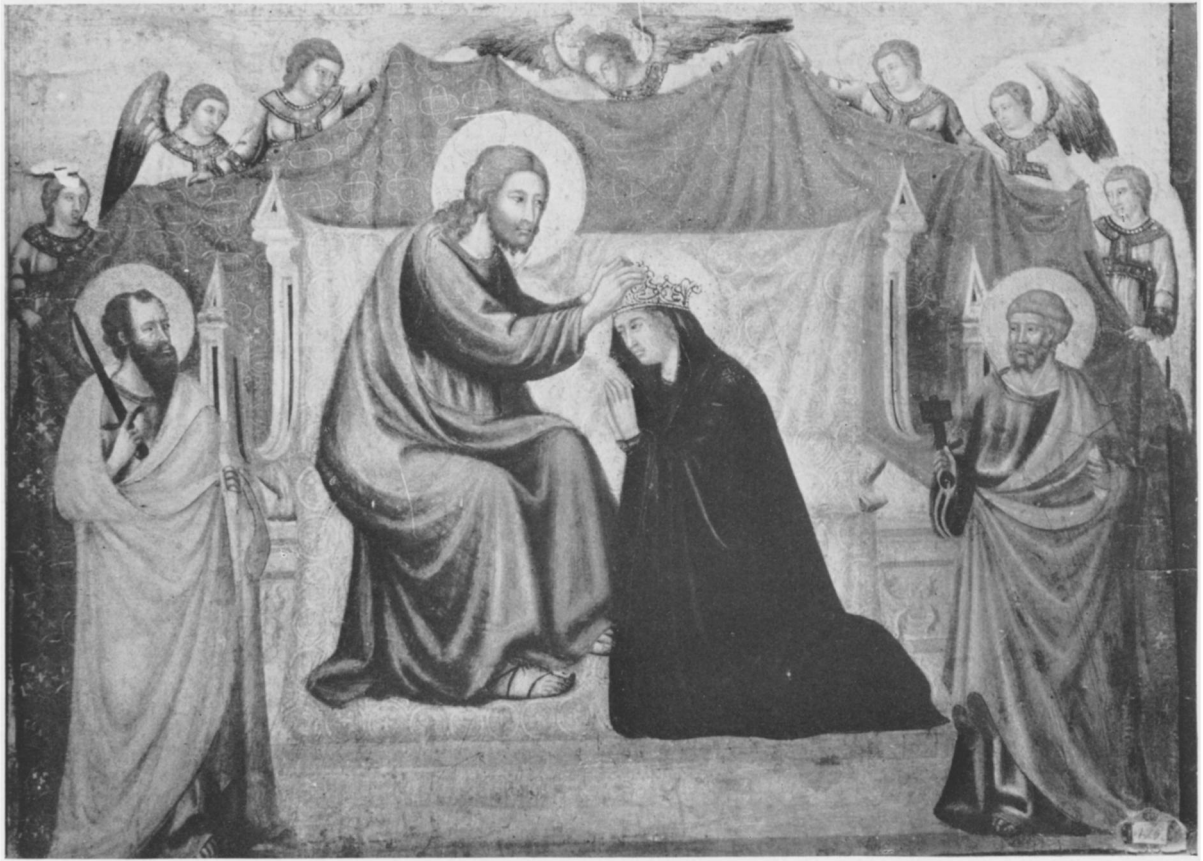


FIGURE 22

VALENCIA, MUSEO PROVINCIAL

LATE FOLLOWER OF DUCCIO
Coronation of the Virgin

rowing of Hell" at the end of the Joys of the Virgin, and the "Last Judgment" following the scenes of the Passion. An individual or institutional bias led, in the latter scene, to the representation of the Blessed exclusively as monks of one order (they wear white habits and are perhaps Cistercians) and the Damned as Benedic-

tines.⁴¹ Below the historical scenes, instead of above them as in the usual Italian altarpiece, is a row of full-length saints. The only unusual saint, Thecla, was worshipped especially in Tarragona and in Milan.⁴²

All the paintings in the Morgan altarpiece resemble Tuscan Trecento compositions either iconographically or in design, or both. In the "Annunciation" both the angel and the Virgin are kneeling, as in Giotto's fresco in the Arena Chapel and in numerous later paintings, especially Florentine, which follow it. In the "Nativity" the action of the Virgin, who holds the Child over the manger, recalls, likewise, certain Florentine "Nativities."⁴³ The "Ador-

⁴¹ Cf. Post, *op. cit.*, IV, part 2 (1933), 510.

⁴² Cf. Moroni, *Dizionario di Erudizione Storico-Ecclesiastica*, LXXIII (Venice, 1855), 256, or *Les Petits Bollandistes, Vies des Saints*, XI, 331.

⁴³ Cf. "Nativities" by followers of Bernardo Daddi in the castle at Konopiste, Offner, *Corpus of Florentine Painting*, Section III, vol. IV (New York, 1934), pl. 50; # 549 in the Wallace Collection; and whereabouts unknown, *Dedalo*, XI (1930-31), 969; also Florentine c. 1365, in the Philip Lehman collection, cf. the *Catalogue of the Collection* (Paris, 1928), no. 66.

ation of the Magi" adopts the Italian innovation of the oldest Magus kissing the foot of the Child, but Italian representations do not usually show this kind of portico. The "Flight of the Apostles" is represented along with the "Betrayal," as in Duccio's panel on the back of the "Maestà." Similarly the other Passion scenes follow in many respects the central Italian tradition,⁴⁴ adopting motives such as the pathetic separation of Christ and the Virgin on the way to Calvary, and the Virgin embracing Christ or the Magdalene's gesture of despair in the "Entombment."

The specific Italian, or rather Tuscan, sources of the compositions of the Morgan altarpiece are apparently varied, and there are, furthermore, forms such as the yawning beast in the "Descent into Limbo" which probably derive from an iconographic tradition outside of Italy. But the most pervasive influence on the style of the Morgan panels is that of Simone Martini. In this respect the altarpiece differentiates itself from the Catalan paintings which have been considered above, and, at the same time, resembles the work of the Serra brothers and Catalan painting in general of the third quarter of the century. The influence of Simone Martini in the Morgan altarpiece shows itself primarily in the nature of the rhythmic pattern of the silhouettes of the figures, in the rippling drapery folds and borders, and in a delicacy and refinement in the rendering of surfaces and the shaping of forms which is new to Catalan painting. The style of the altarpiece is clearly distinguished from that of the Italian followers of Simone, however, by the iconography and composition of the historical scenes, which, as mentioned above, contain elements drawn from different painters and schools. Furthermore, the faces of the figures depart from the canons of Tuscan idealism, and the expression, although echoing Simone's exquisite spirituality, is sombre and dour. The interiors in which several of the scenes are laid sometimes consist only of a

rear wall and a ceiling or canopy which lacks supporting members in the foreground.⁴⁵ And while the painter has captured Italian Trecento methods of creating space through linear perspective⁴⁶ and the disposition of cubic forms, the architecture does not show the kind of adjustment to the figures which is characteristic of Tuscan, if not all Italian, painting. In the "Appearance of Christ to the Virgin" and in the "Annunciation" the architecture is, for Italian taste, too heavy; in the "Death of the Virgin," too narrow; and the decorative leaf-forms on the walls are too large. The foreground of the "Deposition" and of the two scenes of the "Crucifixion" consists of a rocky mound, on which the figures stand and in which the cross is implanted, but immediately behind them a high wall rises. This form is a survival in "out-door" historical scenes of the low wall introduced commonly in Byzantine representations as an element of what has aptly been termed "stage space."⁴⁷ It persisted also in Italian Dugento painting, but was eliminated by Giotto and Duccio and their followers in all progressive Italian centers.⁴⁸ On the other hand, it appears very often in Catalan

⁴⁴ The "Appearance of Christ to the Virgin," however, was very seldom represented in Italy; van Marle, *Development of the Italian Schools*, VI (1925), 59, cites only one example: a fresco by the school of Cavallini in S. M. di Donna Regina, Naples. Other examples may be found in a Florentine miniature of c. 1400 (influenced by Spinello Aretino) in the museum at Chantilly (Photo. Giraudon 7389), and in a Tuscan Trecento panel which is in a private collection in Paris, and of which I have seen a photograph (the other scenes represented in this panel are the "Resurrection," "Doubting Thomas," and "Christ's Appearance to the Apostles").

⁴⁵ Cf. "Death of the Virgin," "Adoration of the Magi," "Pentecost."

⁴⁶ The perspective resembles that of the panel of St. Bernard discussed above.

⁴⁷ Cf. Miriam Bunim, *Space and the Forerunners of Perspective in Medieval Painting* (N. Y., 1940), p. 127.

⁴⁸ In the fourteenth century it still appears in, for example, Venetian painting, and other schools in which Byzantine elements persist. It is common in Bolognese miniatures of the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, even in representations of the "Crucifixion;" cf. for example, a Bolognese psalter of the late Dugento; *Tesori delle Biblioteche d'Italia, Emilia e Romagna* (Milan, 1932), fig. 130.

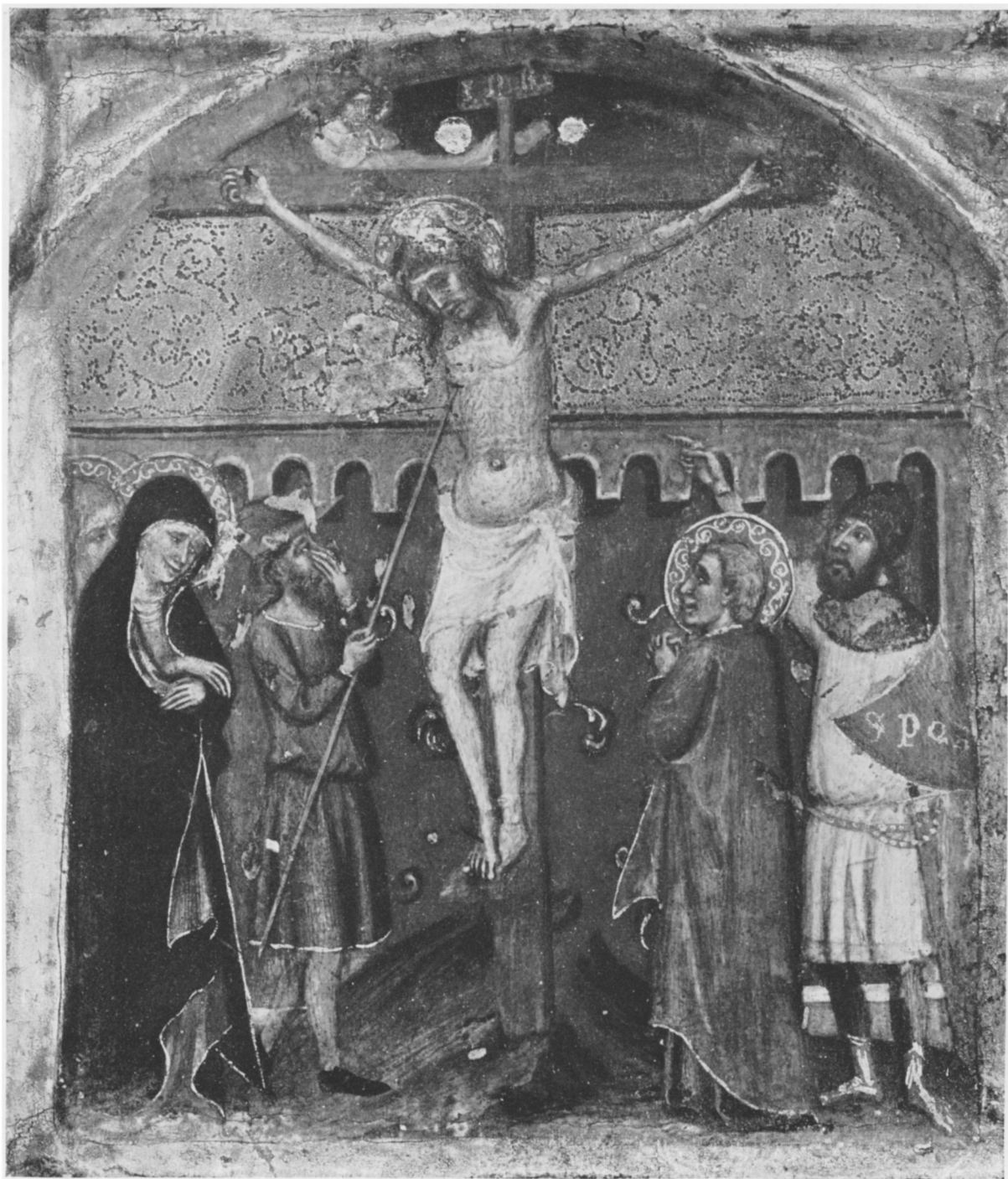


FIGURE 23

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MASTER OF ST. MARK
Polyptych, detail: Crucifixion

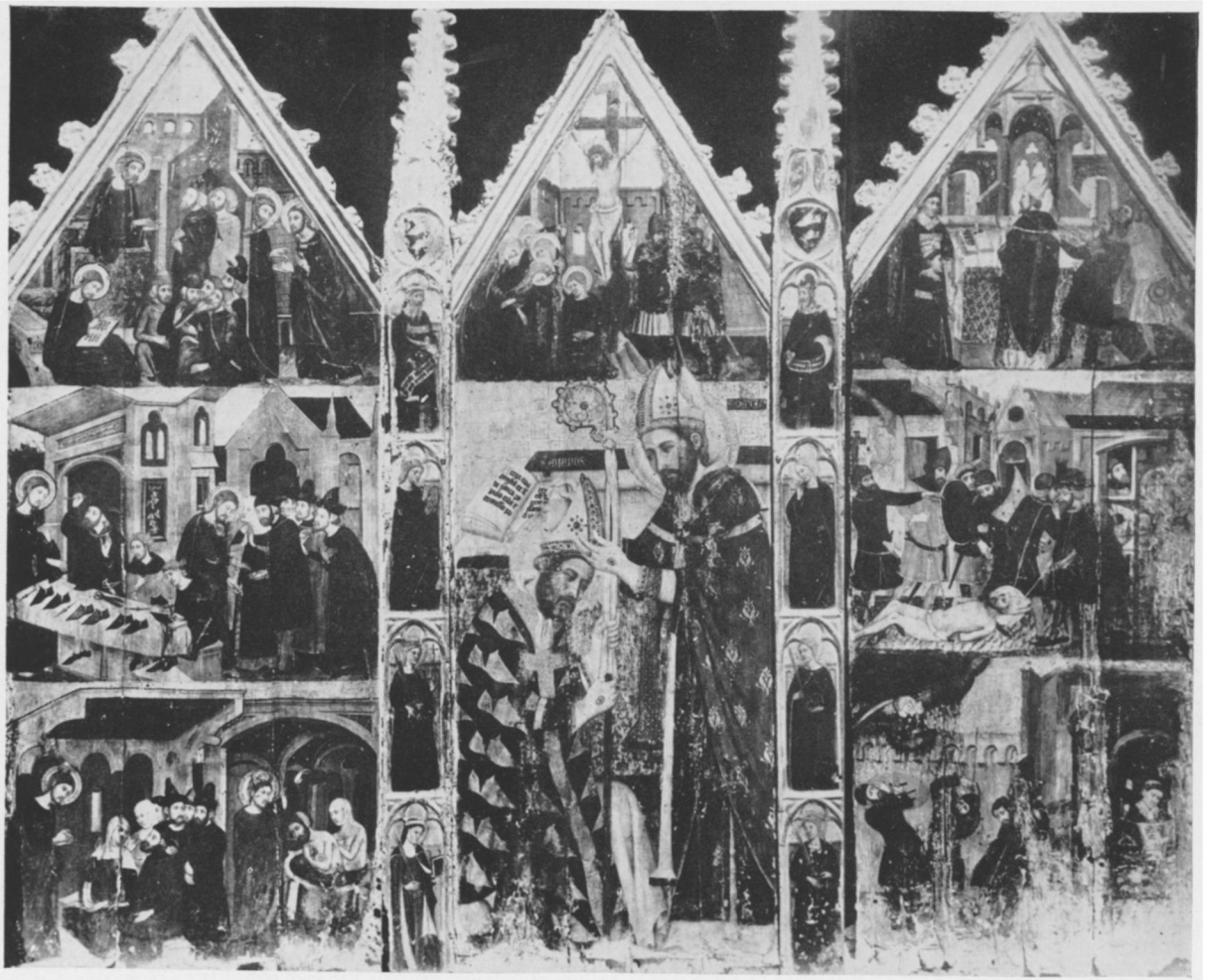


FIGURE 24

MANRESA, CATHEDRAL

MASTER OF ST. MARK
Triptych of St. Mark

painting of the second half of the fourteenth century.

Most of the paintings in the Morgan polyptych are so small as to resemble miniatures. What the author of these spirited little panels could achieve on a larger scale is shown, I believe, by the triptych representing St. Mark and scenes from his legend in the Cathedral of Manresa (fig. 24), and a number of other works by the same painter. The triptych of St. Mark, which is perhaps the most grave and monumental Catalan painting of the fourteenth century, has been re-

garded by some scholars as the work of Bernardo Martorell, a painter of Barcelona mentioned from 1433 to his death in 1453/54.⁴⁹ Recently, however, Soler y March brought together around it a group of panels which he believes to be by the same painter.⁵⁰ This painter he calls the Master of St. Mark, and considers him to have been a follower of Jaime Serra active at the end of the fourteenth century. This group has been accepted and enlarged by other students,⁵¹ and the Morgan altarpiece itself has been associated with it in a little book published during the Civil War in

Spain by Josep Gudiol Ricart, who showed it to me just before this paper left my hands.⁵² I cannot, however, follow Soler y March's view of the derivation and date of the style of the Master of St. Mark; and of the ten panels (exclusive of the Morgan polyptych) which he and others have brought into the group, only three—the panel of St. James in the Diocesan Museum, Barcelona, the "Annunciation" from Cardona in

⁴⁹ On the ascription of the altarpiece to Martorell cf. Sanpere y Miquel, *Cuatrocents Catalanes*, I (Barcelona, 1906), 18 ff. Mayer, in *Geschichte der Spanischen Malerei* (Leipzig, 1922), p. 45, accepts the attribution, but in *Gotik in Spanien* (Leipzig, 1928), p. 188, he rejects it, though he dates the triptych in the fifteenth century. G. Richert, *Mittelalterliche Malerei in Spanien* (Berlin, 1925), p. 59, likewise rejects the identification; she dates the altarpiece in the middle of the fifteenth century. Post, *op. cit.*, II (1930), 370 ff., regarded the identification as not proved, but nevertheless possible; several years later, however, he changed his mind (see note 50).

The only reason for considering the Manresa altarpiece a work by Martorell is that its subjects correspond to those specified for a retable ordered from Martorell in 1437 by the shoemaker's guild of Barcelona for the Cathedral of that city. Since the subjects are unusual and since the Manresa altarpiece also was probably made for a shoemaker's guild, there may have been some connection between the two works. The Manresa triptych, which is much the earlier, may have served as a model for the one commissioned to Martorell. Or the shoemaker's guilds may have developed a tradition of representation, of which both works are representative.

⁵⁰ Cf. Soler y March, in *La peinture Catalane à la fin du Moyen Age* (Paris, 1933), p. 39-40. The following paintings, beyond the triptych of St. Mark, constitute his group: in the Diocesan Museum at Barcelona, retable of St. James, retable of St. Vincent; in the Museum of Catalan Art, Barcelona, "St. Matthias" and the "Annunciation" from Cardona; in the monastery of Mt. Sinai, "St. Catherine" (with question).

⁵¹ Post, *op. cit.*, VI, part 2 (1935), 522-4, accepted the reconstruction, rejecting, however, the "St. Catherine" in Mt. Sinai. He added to the group, furthermore, three saints in the museum at Lille (which he had previously shown belonged to the same altarpiece as the "St. Matthias" in the Museum of Catalan Art, Barcelona), and also the "Nativity" now in the collection of Mrs. Murray Crane, New York, which is, as he pointed out, part of the same altarpiece as the "Annunciation" in the Museum of Catalan Art (*op. cit.*, IV, 2, fig. 196). He rejected the two panels with scenes from the legend of St. Stephen in the Junyent collection, Barcelona, which were attributed to the Master of St. Mark by J. Gudiol Ricart in the catalogue of an exhibition, *La pintura gotica a Catalunya* (Barcelona, 1936), p. 4 and pl. 1.

⁵² Gudiol Ricart, *La pintura gotica a Catalunya* (Barcelona, 1938), p. 10. Cf. also his *Spanish Painting* (Toledo, Ohio, 1941), pp. 15-18, where he refers to my attributions to the Master of St. Mark, whom he identifies without reservation with Arnau de la Pena (but cf. Appendix to this article, p. 87).

⁵³ The relation of the panels in the Junyent collection to the group seems to me a problem, on which I must suspend judgment because they are somewhat damaged and because I know them only through reproductions.

For a reproduction of the Cardona "Annunciation" see Post, *op. cit.*, II (1930), fig. 46, and of the "St. James," Post, *op. cit.*, VI, part 2, fig. 226.

the same museum, and the partly repainted "Nativity" in the Crane collection, which originally belonged to the same altarpiece as the "Annunciation"—seem to me to have been painted in one workshop.⁵³ For this smaller group, and with the reservations mentioned above, I shall continue to use the name "Master of St. Mark."

The differences in size and in content, and also in date, between the Morgan polyptych and other paintings by the Master of St. Mark mask to some extent their origin in a single workshop. In the retable of St. Mark, for example, space is deeper, the architecture more complex and fanciful, the ornament, especially in the central panel, more prominent. The individual forms, such as features and hands (fig. 25), which are larger in proportion to the single brush-stroke than corresponding forms in the Morgan panels, contain more detail and annotation than the comparatively sketchy forms in the polyptych. But fundamental resemblances between the paintings underlie these differences. They extend from a similar manner of grouping the figures and a similar pantomime, to such details as the rather detached spot of light which denotes the earlobe, or the very slender curved thumb, affixed in a peculiar way to the hand. Behind each saint on the uprights of the triptych of St. Mark rises a wall with corbels similar to those in the polyptych. This wall appears also in the "Crucifixion" in the central pinnacle of the triptych (fig. 26), just as it did in the "Crucifixions" in the polyptych (fig. 23). Further comparison of these scenes shows that the centurions (in the Morgan panels I refer to the centurion in the second scene of the "Crucifixion") stand alike, and wear similarly pleated tunics and melon-shaped helmets, which, moreover, appear frequently in both altarpieces. The figures of Christ hang in a similar way from the cross; and all the parts of the body, to the knee-caps and wriggly toes, are painted in the same way. The knee of the

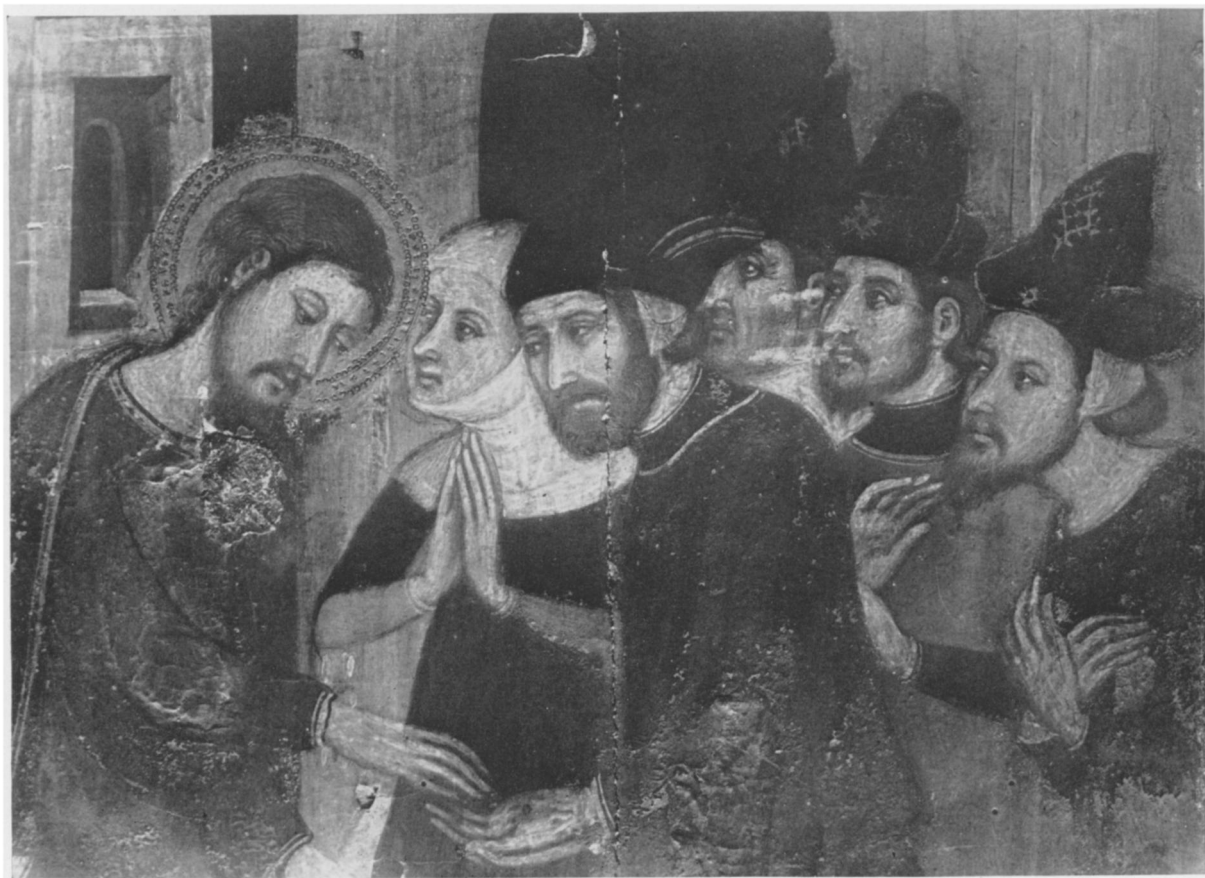


FIGURE 25

MANRESA, CATHEDRAL

MASTER OF ST. MARK
Triptych, detail: St. Mark Healing Anianus

Angel Gabriel in the "Annunciation" scenes of both the Morgan polyptych and the Cardona "Annunciation" rises in the same curious manner, quite detached structurally from the body, and producing a similar cascade of drapery. The setting of the "Adoration of the Magi" in these two works, furthermore, shows close resemblances. Additional proof of the origin of the Morgan polyptych in the workshop of the Master of St. Mark may be derived from the following comparisons: the head of St. John in the "Crucifixion" of the triptych of St. Mark with St. John in the lunette of the Morgan polyptych; St. Peter in the two works; the female saint (Catherine?) second from the bottom in the left up-

right of the triptych, with St. John in the polyptych, especially with respect to the curling fingers of the hands; the third soldier from the left in the "Martyrdom of St. Mark" with the foremost apostle in the "Flight of the Apostles;" and St. John the Baptist in the Crane "Nativity" and in the Morgan polyptych.

The small historical scenes of the Morgan polyptych resemble miniatures, as we have already mentioned, and their author belonged, in fact, to a workshop or at least a circle of painters which produced illuminated manuscripts as well as panel paintings. The largest group of paintings which is closely related to the Master of St. Mark is the series of later miniatures in

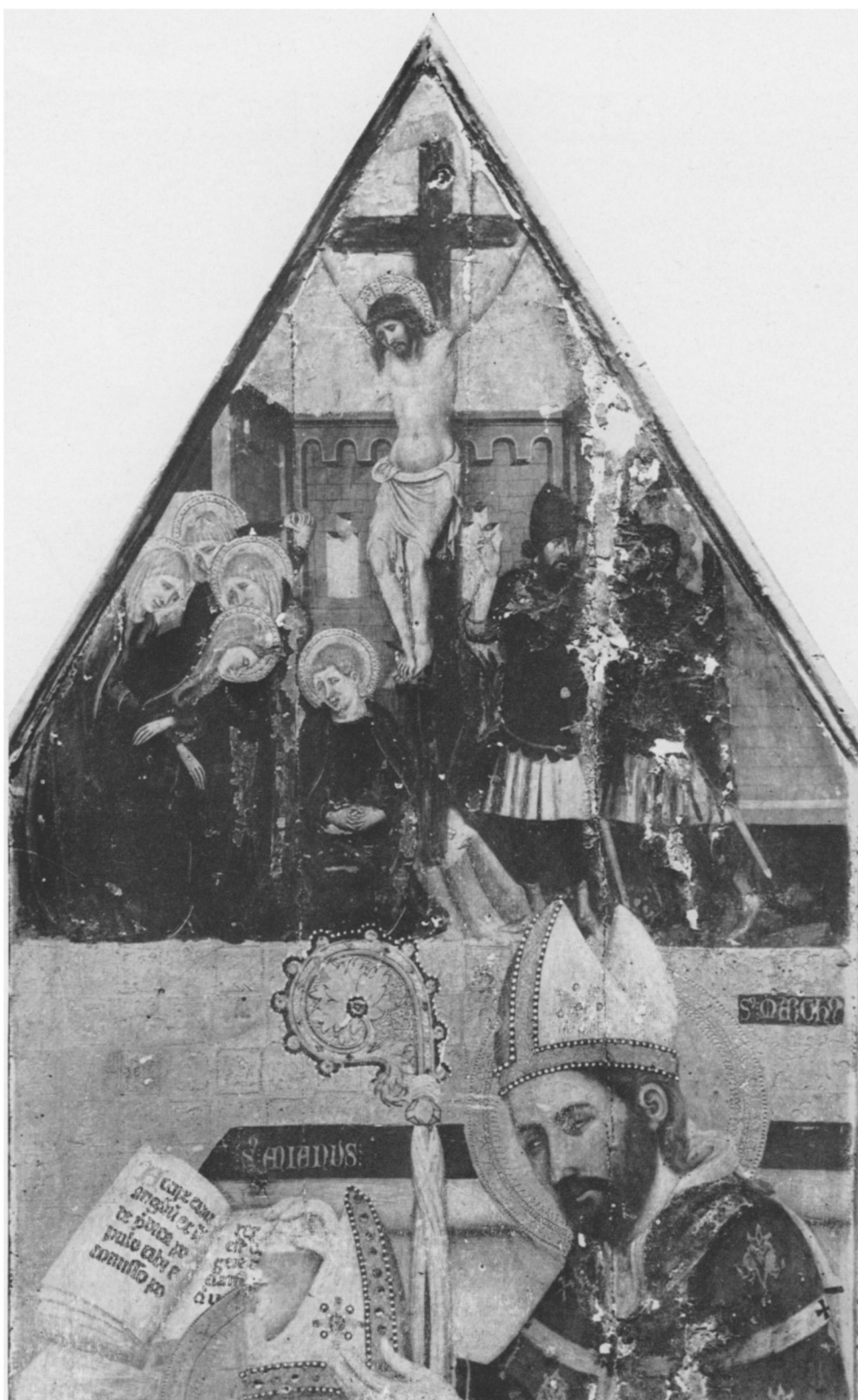


FIGURE 26

MANRESA, CATHEDRAL

MASTER OF ST. MARK
Triptych, detail: Crucifixion

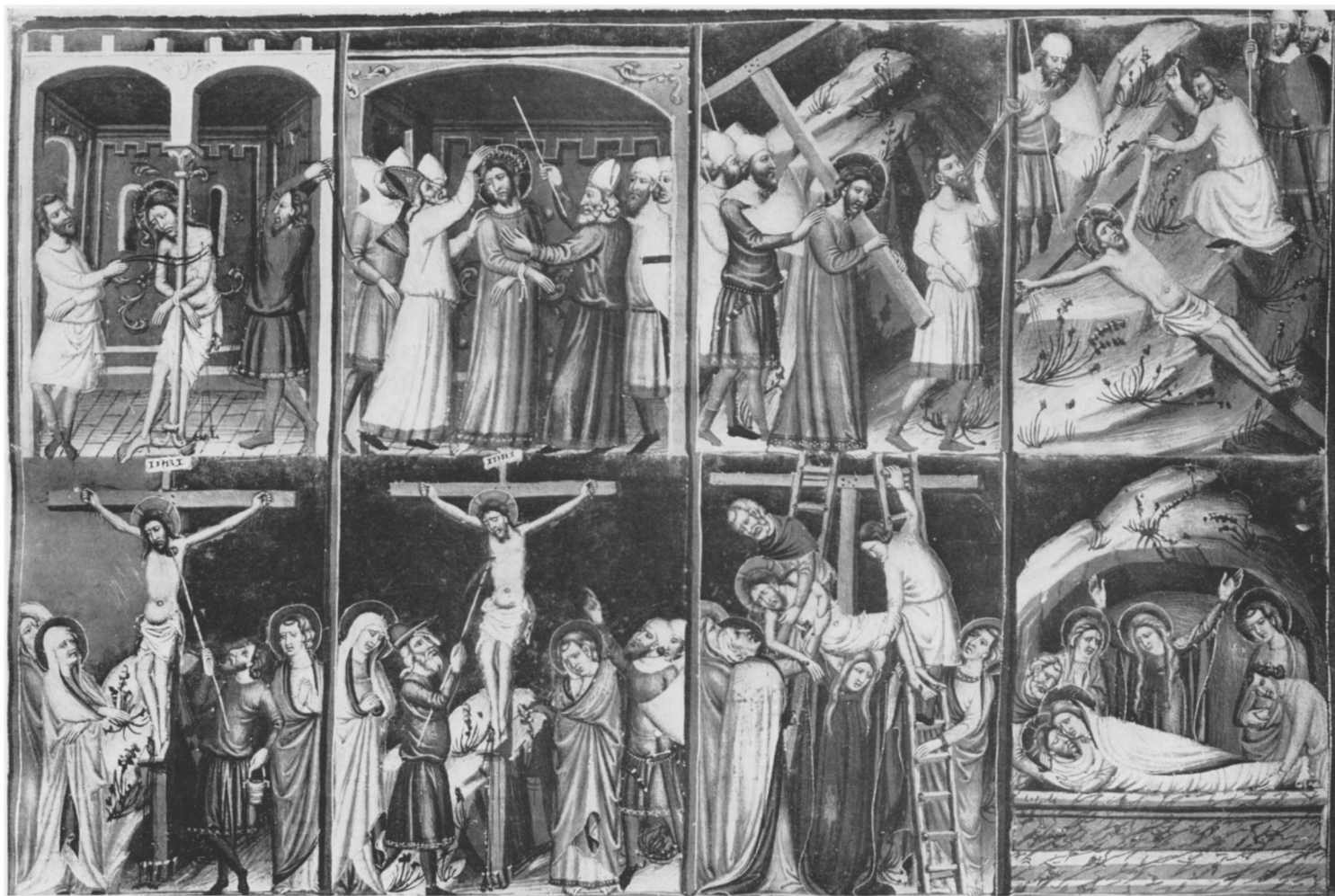


FIGURE 27

SHOP (?) OF MASTER OF ST. MARK
 Psalter (Ms. lat. 8846, f. 117)

PARIS, BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Latin manuscript 8846 (figs. 27-29). This manuscript, a richly illustrated psalter,⁵⁴ is well known for its beautiful late twelfth-century illumination, the work of English painters who did not, however, carry it to completion. Their miniatures extend from folios 1 to 70, and appear also on folios 75, 76, 79, 84, 88v., 90v., 92. The miniatures from folio 94 through 174 were painted in the fourteenth century, and have always been attributed to Italy.⁵⁵ The miniatures on folios 72v., 73v., 80v., 81v., 82v., 86v. (fig. 31) and 93, owe their anomalous character to the hitherto unnoticed fact that they were executed by the fourteenth-century master over late twelfth-century drawings or partly executed paintings, which were followed, in most respects apparently, quite closely.⁵⁶

The early English section of the manuscript belongs to a group of illuminated psalters which derived from a common prototype (probably the Utrecht Psalter), and which share several qualities, especially the unusually full illustration of the text contained in the large rectangular miniatures which extend the width of the folio at the head of each psalm.⁵⁷ This general plan for the miniatures was followed also in manuscript

8846 by the fourteenth-century painters who continued the work. But these later masters abandoned the primarily literal method of illustrating the text which had been employed by the earlier painters. They sought instead to represent and to interpret the content of the psalm as a whole, or at least a section of it. In accordance with the principle of prefiguration which was so widely applied in the late Middle Ages, they interpreted the psalms in relation to biblical history and especially as prophecies of major events in the New Testament, chiefly the life and Passion of Christ. Thus psalm 68 (69) is illustrated in the Eadwine Psalter, which is an earlier member of the group, by a series of incidents (such as David's falling into water) which re-present in a graphic medium the verbal images of several verses of the psalm. In manuscript 8846 this psalm, wherein David, who is "in trouble," appeals to God because "they that would destroy me are mighty" and "in my thirst they gave me vinegar to drink," is illustrated by scenes of the Passion from the Flagellation to the Entombment (fig. 27). Psalm 81 (82) which speaks of God judging among the gods, and which contains the invocation "Arise, O God, and judge the earth," is illustrated in manuscript 8846 by scenes of Christ among the doctors, and the Baptist announcing the appearance of Christ (f. 146, fig. 28). The Eadwine Psalter shows God judging, and, among other incidents, illustrates even the metaphor "the foundations of the earth are out of course" by a representation of an Atlas-figure shaking the earth. The sequence of ideas in psalm 84 (85) about the iniquity of man, and the "land shall yield her increase," and forgiveness of iniquity and salvation, is interpreted by the later painters of manuscript 8846 (f. 150 v., fig. 29) to refer to the Expulsion from the Garden of Eden, Adam working and Eve with her children, and finally, for salvation, the Annunciation.

⁵⁴ The 107 miniatures of the psalter are reproduced in the volume published by the Bibliothèque Nationale with an introduction by H. Omont—*Psautier illustré* (Paris, n.d.).

⁵⁵ Adolf Goldschmidt, *Der Albanipsalter* (Berlin, 1895), p. 15-16. H. Omont, *op. cit.*, p. 4. Omont dates the miniatures in the late thirteenth or early fourteenth centuries. R. van Marle, *Recherches sur l'iconographie de Giotto et de Duccio* (Strasbourg, 1920), p. 7, note 4 (here dated c. 1300). P. Schubring, *Cassoni* (Leipzig, 1923), p. 70 and fig. 6. E. Mâle, *L'Art religieux à la fin du Moyen Age en France* (Paris, 1925), p. 21. M. R. James, *The Canterbury Psalter* (London, 1935), p. 4. E. Millar, *La miniature anglaise du Xe au XIIIe siècle* (Paris, 1926), p. 46. C. Couderc, *Les enluminures des manuscrits du Moyen Age* (Paris, 1927), p. 64. H. Martin, *Joyaux de l'enluminure à la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris, 1928), p. 100 and figs. 30-32.

⁵⁶ Omont, *op. cit.*, p. 4, and James, *loc. cit.*, remarked that the models for these miniatures are to be found in the Utrecht Psalter.

⁵⁷ Cf. Goldschmidt, *op. cit.*, p. 9, and James, *loc. cit.* The Paris psalter is closest to the Eadwine Psalter in Trinity College, Cambridge, and is apparently a direct copy of it (exclusive, of course, of the fourteenth-century miniatures).

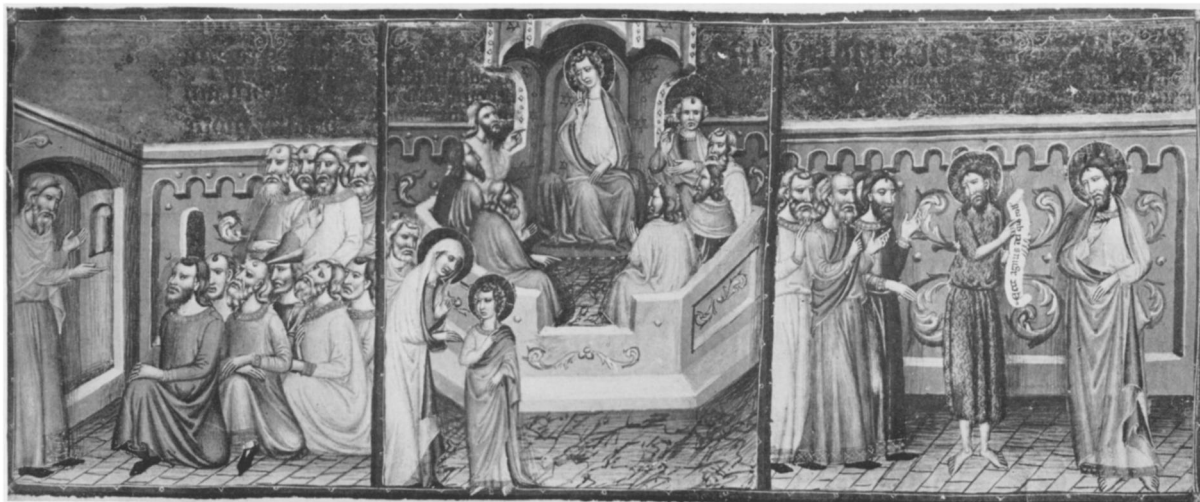


FIGURE 28

PARIS, BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE
SHOP (?) OF MASTER OF ST. MARK
Psalter (Ms. 8846, f. 146)

The appearance in the psalter in Paris of scenes from the life of Christ provides an opportunity for comparison with the same cycle in the Morgan polyptych. The resemblances in iconography, design, architecture, and figures, are so numerous that they render superfluous any lengthy demonstration of the close relationship of the two works. The greatest similarity—approaching identity—is shown by the two “Entombments” (figs. 2B and 27); but compare also with corresponding scenes in the Morgan panels the “Annunciation” on f. 150v. (fig. 29), the “Nativity” on f. 113, the “Adoration of the Magi” on f. 124, “Pentecost” on f. 94, “Descent into Limbo” and “Ascension” on f. 114, “Betrayal” on f. 154v., and among the Passion scenes, especially the two moments of the “Crucifixion” on f. 117 (fig. 27).⁵⁸ Furthermore, the representation of “St. Peter Baptizing,” on f. 172, is very similar to that of “St. Mark Baptizing” in the triptych of St. Mark.⁵⁹

Though these miniatures are obviously very close to the work of the Master of St. Mark, they do not seem to me to have been executed by him. The forms in the miniatures are a little less

delicate and attenuated than those in the panels. The figures are more stocky, the heads squarer, with broader faces and features. The light and shade is laid in relatively larger patches and produces stronger contrasts than the suffused light on the smoother, more sensuous surfaces of the panels. The forms in the miniatures are worked to a more emphatic volume and density, sacrificing to a certain extent the undulating contours and linear patterns of the panels. Similarly, the psalter shows a more forceful action and emotional expression, with less of the pathos which is inherent in the panel paintings.

⁵⁸ While the two moments of the Crucifixion—the offering of vinegar at the ninth hour, and the “*coup de lance*”—appear in both the altarpiece and the psalter, the psalter omits the very unusual motif which appears in the first scene in the altarpiece, *i.e.*, the Virgin mournfully regarding the loincloth of Christ which she holds in her hand, while Christ, Who is completely nude, looks down at her.

Two or more moments of the Crucifixion are sometimes represented in sequence in medieval art. *Cf.* the Horae of the middle of the thirteenth century in the Dyson Perrins collection (called to my attention by Dr. Hanns Swarzenski), where three scenes are shown [Millar, *English Illuminated Manuscripts from the X to the XIII Century* (Paris, 1926), pl. 74].

⁵⁹ Compare also the baldachino in the scene of the “Arrest of St. Mark during Mass” (fig. 24) with the one on folio 146 of the psalter (fig. 28).

While it is clear that the miniatures were not painted by the Master of St. Mark, it is equally clear that their author⁶⁰ was closely associated with him in some way, probably active in the same workshop. The Master of St. Mark was, I think, the better painter. He was more sensitive and capable of a greater depth and variety of expression, and it is probable that he was chiefly responsible for the formation of the style which is shared to so great an extent by the two painters.⁶¹ The miniatures, furthermore, show certain forms which indicate a somewhat later date than the Morgan polyptych, or at least a later stage in the development of the style. The drapery folds, for instance, while cast in patterns similar to those in the panels, are a little looser and more ornamental, with rather mannered elaborations. The chief master of the psalter was probably, then, a follower of the Master of St. Mark, active in his workshop as a pupil or as an associate,

though not necessarily at the moment of the painting of the psalter. There is not sufficient evidence to show whether or not the Master of St. Mark himself participated in the production of the designs for the miniatures. A comparison of the corresponding scenes in the miniatures and the Morgan altarpiece reveals some differences in iconography; certain scenes are fuller and more complex in the polyptych, others are fuller and more complex in the psalter. Thus, in the polyptych the "Betrayal" includes the "Flight of the Apostles," and the "Way to Calvary" includes the Virgin and the two thieves, none of whom are represented in the psalter. However, Joseph is present in the "Annunciation" in the psalter (fig. 29) but not in the altarpiece (fig. 2A), and the actions of the Apostles in the "Pentecost" scene are more varied in the psalter than in the panels. Typical of the relationship is the fact that the wall, with characteristic corbels



FIGURE 29

PARIS, BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE

SHOP (?) OF MASTER OF ST. MARK
Psalter (Ms. 8846, f. 150v.).



FIGURE 30 BARCELONA, ARCHIVO HISTÓRICO
SHOP OF MASTER OF ST. MARK
Llibre Verd (f. 19)

and decorative leaf-forms, appears in the "Crucifixion" in the polyptych, but not in this scene in the psalter, while it is introduced in the "Betrayal" in the psalter, though not in the "Betrayal" in the altarpiece.

Some further light is thrown on the problem of the relationship of the miniatures in the psalter with the Master of St. Mark by the illumination of the first volume of the *Llibre Verd* in the Municipal Archives of Barcelona.⁶² This manuscript contains a series of miniatures, mostly initials, some of which resemble to a great extent the painter of the psalter (fig. 30), while others seem closer to the Master of St. Mark (figs. 32, 36). The appearance of the two stylistic tendencies in this one manuscript gives additional support to the hypothesis advanced above that the painters worked together in the same shop.

Another manuscript which was probably illuminated in the same shop is a *Decretum Gratiani* in the British Museum (Additional manuscript 15274-5).⁶³ The style of the paintings in this manuscript (figs. 33, 34) resembles that of the psalter very closely, and does, in fact, differ

from the psalter only by embodying to a somewhat greater degree those very qualities of weight and mass and emphatic chiaroscuro which differentiate the psalter from the style of the Master of St. Mark. It is possible that the *Decretals* were painted by the master of the psalter at a time when he was influenced to a lesser extent by the Master of St. Mark. In the *Decretals* we meet once again the curiously assembled architecture, the ceilings or canopies without adequate supporting members, the high walls with corbels and large leaf patterns, and the web-like "marbling" of the floor. The

⁶⁰ There are variations of style within the psalter itself, but these are within a very narrow range, and though several painters may have participated in the execution, they were all completely dependent upon one master.

⁶¹ One detail in the polyptych might perhaps suggest that the painter was copying the designs of another master. In the "Pentecost" the rays do not issue from the dove, but from a point midway between the dove and the Virgin's head. This might indicate that the dove had been moved upward from the lower position which it had occupied in another design (such as the "Pentecost" in the psalter) without a corresponding change in the rays. The reason for the elevation of the dove would be found if the supposed model had a straight frame at the top, as in the "Pentecost" in the psalter; for the frame in the altarpiece is arched, thereby adding a space above the building, which was filled by raising the dove. It is, however, probable that the design resulted, not from raising the dove, but from lowering the rays (below the ceiling), in order not to confuse spatial relations by extending the rays across the front face of the ceiling or roof.

⁶² For a description of the *Llibre Verd*, and a discussion of the problems of date and authorship which it raises, see the appendix. Gudiol Ricart, *op. cit.*, p. 10, has already related the miniatures in the *Llibre Verd* to the Master of St. Mark.

⁶³ On folio 174 of the second volume of the *Decretals* there is a note in Catalan which proves that the manuscript was in the neighborhood of Barcelona by November 10, 1440, when the entry was made. The substance of the note is that Gile Cacomio, a bookseller, who wrote the note, bought the *Decretals* from Miquel Barmona, "beneficiat an la Seu de Barcelona," for Gabriel Manera, rector of St. Bartholomew, Valencia.

Despite this clue, the miniatures have been considered Italian: cf. G. F. Warner, *Illuminated Manuscripts in the British Museum*, First Series (London, 1904); *idem*, *Reproductions from Illuminated Manuscripts in the British Museum*, II (London, 1910), 15 and pl. 42; Herbert, *Illuminated Manuscripts* (London, 1912), p. 263 says "Of the many fourteenth-century Italian law-books in the British Museum, the only one with real artistic significance is a fine two-volume copy of the *Decretum*, Add. 15274-5." E. Millar, however, has recognized their Spanish origin, and has noted the resemblance with the illumination of the *Llibre Verd*. At the same time, he claimed that the illumination of a book of Devotions in the Beatty collection was closely related also; cf. Millar, *The Library of A. Chester Beatty, A Descriptive Catalogue of the Western Manuscripts*, II (London, 1930), 221 and pls. 183-4. There are, it seems to me, several styles in this ms., one of which was influenced by the Master of St. Mark (cf., for example, fol. 32).



FIGURE 31

PARIS, BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE

SHOP (?) OF MASTER OF ST. MARK

Psalter (Ms. 8846, f. 86 v.); Painted over a Late XII Century Design

colors are similar to those used in all the paintings of the group—gray, violet, blue, together with some orange, red, and deep green—though here and in the psalter the hues are more intense, and juxtaposed so as to produce sharper contrasts than in the work of the Master of St. Mark.

The style of the workshop or group of painters which has been discussed above is reflected in a number of manuscripts painted in the latter part of the fourteenth century or the early years of the fifteenth. The illumination of a missal from Ripoll, now in the Archivo de la Corona de Aragon, Barcelona (fig. 37),⁶⁴ follows the style of the Master of St. Mark; the later miniatures in a manuscript of the *Usatges* of Barcelona, now in the Ayuntamiento at Lerida (fig. 39),⁶⁵ derive from the style of the psalter and the *Decretals*; and those in a manuscript of Egidio Colonna, *De Regimine Principi*, in the University Library, Valencia,⁶⁶ depend upon the style of both the panels and the psalter. The borders of these manuscripts, as well as of those painted in the immediate circle of the Master of St. Mark,

⁶⁴ Manuscript no. 18. Cf. Dominguez Bordona, *Manuscritos con Pinturas*, I (Madrid, 1933), 28.

⁶⁵ Cf. Dominguez Bordona, *op. cit.*, I, 191, no. 329.

⁶⁶ Dominguez Bordona, *op. cit.*, II (Madrid, 1933), 264, no. 1984, calls it Italian, fifteenth century. Cf. also Gutierrez del Cano, *Catalogo de los Manuscritos existentes en la Biblioteca Universitaria de Valencia*, I (Valencia, 1914), 219, no. 652.



FIGURE 32

BARCELONA, ARCHIVO HISTÓRICO

SHOP OF MASTER OF ST. MARK

Llibre Verd (f. 37)



FIGURE 33 LONDON, BRITISH MUSEUM
SHOP (?) OF MASTER OF ST. MARK
Decretum Gratiani (Add. Ms. 15274, f. 172)

commonly show an Italianate structure, and the chief decorative elements are acanthus leaves (fig. 36). The leaves are, however, more attenuated and spiky than the Italian ones from which they are borrowed, and they, together with the stems, tend to sway in a manner reminiscent of French ivy of this period. Their movement, furthermore, becomes bolder and more sweeping towards the end of the century. Sprinkled among the leaves are numerous small gilt discs with projecting rays, some of which resemble stars, others ciliate protozoa.

The paintings in two additional manuscripts depend to some extent upon the style of the workshop which we have been considering, but they depart from it in several ways, notably through the assimilation of forms developed by the brothers Serra. These two manuscripts are

a Catalan prose version of the Provençal poem, *Breviari d'Amor*, formerly in the Yates Thompson collection (fig. 35),⁶⁷ and the Pontifical of Pierre de la Jugie in the Cathedral of Narbonne (fig. 38).⁶⁸ This second manuscript, made for the Archbishop of Narbonne, probably indicates that Catalan style spread northward into the adjacent region of southern France.

Similarities with the work of the Master of St. Mark and his circle are shown also by a large rectangular triptych in the Walters Art Gallery that has always, as far as I know, been attributed to Italy (fig. 1). The central panel represents the "Madonna and Child," and two angels offering flowers—the first representation of the Madonna, curiously enough, that has been introduced into this group of Catalan paintings. The glances of both the Virgin and the Child are directed intently downwards and to the right towards the scene of the "Presentation in the Temple;" possibly they were intended to look at some object placed near the altarpiece in its original setting, but most likely the painter was following a model—probably Italian—which contained, in the lower right corner, the figure of a donor. The four scenes in the wings are arranged in a rather unusual way: the earlier events

⁶⁷ M. R. James, in *A Descriptive Catalogue of Fourteen Illuminated Manuscripts in the Library of Henry Yates Thompson* (Cambridge, 1912), p. 1 ff., says that the first folio of the ms. was painted by a different hand, possibly an Italian. In *Illustrations from One Hundred Manuscripts in the Library of H. Y. Thompson*, VII (London, 1918), 11 and pls. 45-47, Mr. Thompson suggests that the ms. was produced in Avignon. It is perhaps possible that this ms. (like the Pontifical in Narbonne, with which it shows certain similarities) is an example of a version of the Catalan style which we have been considering which spread across the Pyrenees into extreme southern France.

⁶⁸ The frontispiece of the ms. contains the emblems of Pierre de la Jugie and of the chapter of St. Just, and the ms. bears a note (in French) which states that the Pontifical was written in 1350 for Pierre de la Jugie; cf. *Louis Narbonne, La Cathédrale Saint-Just de Narbonne* (Narbonne, 1911), p. 201-3. The miniatures could scarcely have been made that early. Pierre de la Jugie was made Archbishop of Saragossa in 1344, of Narbonne in 1347, and of Rouen in 1375. Narbonne is, of course, not very far from Catalonia, and it is not surprising to discover there a Catalan painter, or at least Catalan style. Interesting, moreover, is the fact that Pierre de la Jugie was in Spain before he became Archbishop of Narbonne.



FIGURE 34 LONDON, BRITISH MUSEUM
SHOP (?) OF MASTER OF ST. MARK
Decretum Gratiani (Add. Ms. 15275, f. 1)

in the life of the Virgin and Christ—the “Annunciation” and the “Presentation in the Temple”—are placed in the lower row, and the later ones—the “Crucifixion” and the “Coronation of the Virgin”—appear above.

The architectural forms in the Walters triptych resemble closely those of the Master of St. Mark and his circle. The vaulted canopy which designates a church in the “Presentation in the Temple” is used for a similar purpose in, for example, the “Arrest of St. Mark at the Altar” in the triptych of St. Mark (fig. 24) and in the miniature in Paris of “Christ with the Doctors” (fig. 28). The architecture in this miniature, furthermore, displays six-pointed stars similar to those which ornament the throne of the Virgin in the Walters triptych. In all the paintings of our group the buildings tend to be seen from one side, and are frequently placed at an angle to the picture-plane, rather than parallel to it as is more commonly the case in Italy. In this respect the architecture in the Walters “Annunciation” resembles that in the “Translation of the Body of St. Mark” in the Manresa triptych (fig. 24), or “Christ Before Pilate” in the Morgan polypych, or the “Adoration of the Magi” in Barcelona. Leaves curl forward from the beams over the Virgin in the “Annunciation” as they do from the arms of the throne in a miniature in the *Llibre Verd* (fig. 32). The web-like marbling of the floor in the “Presentation in the Temple” has been observed in many other panels and miniatures of the group. The figures in the Walters triptych, the facial types, and the drapery with its narrow tubular folds, all recall the works which we have considered above. The color likewise is distinguished by the prevalence of the familiar pale violet and blue-green, and orange is sometimes used in the hair.

These pervasive similarities with the paintings of the Master of St. Mark do no more, however, than indicate the origin of the Walters triptych in the same general stylistic circle, for the style of the triptych is clearly distinctive. Of relatively high quality, it approximates Italian style even more closely than does the Master of St. Mark. The drawing, the relation-

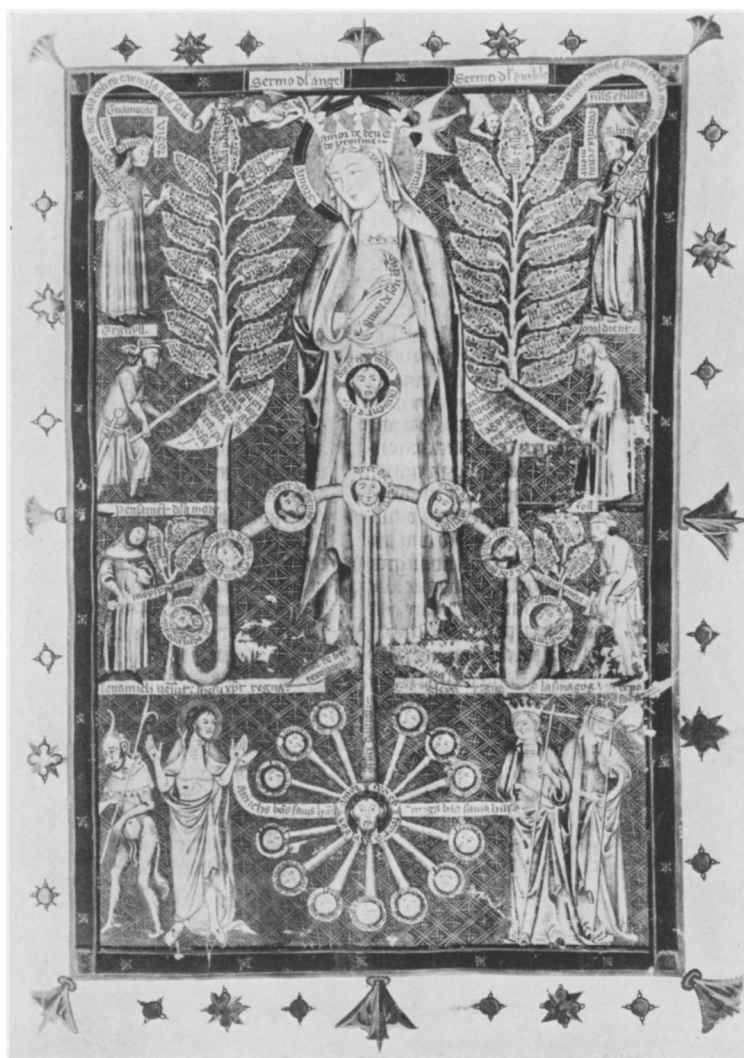


FIGURE 35 FORMERLY YATES THOMPSON COLLECTION
FOLLOWER OF MASTER OF ST. MARK
Breviari d'Amor; l'Arbre d'Amor



FIGURE 36 BARCELONA, ARCHIVO HISTÓRICO
SHOP OF MASTER OF ST. MARK
Llibre Verd (f. 205)



FIGURE 37 ARCHIVO DE LA CORONA
FOLLOWER OF MASTER OF ST. MARK
Missal (Ms. 112)

ship of figures to architecture, the values awarded in the design to the intervals between figures, the method of punching the gold in the haloes and borders, the refinement of value-gradations, and the smooth silken surfaces, presuppose a penetrating study of Italian painting, especially of the panels of Simone Martini—perhaps at Avignon—or of north Italian painters under his influence. We must even allow the possibility that the author of the triptych was an Italian painter who emigrated to Catalonia very early in his career. The remarkable depth of the space in the “Annunciation” recalls several scenes in Sim-

one’s altarpiece in S. Agostino, Siena. In the “Coronation” in the Walters triptych (fig. 41) Christ places the crown on the head of the Virgin with one hand, holding a globe surmounted by a cross in the other. This is an early way of enacting the “Coronation,” and it is continued in north Italy (and in France) up to the end of the fourteenth century,⁶⁹ whereas in Tuscany from the early years of the Trecento on,⁷⁰ Christ usually lowers the crown with both hands, a more active gesture which involved turning the upper part of His figure around towards profile. In Catalonia both Ferrer Bassa (Pedralbes and Bellpuig—fig. 14) and Jaime Serra (Saragossa) introduced the Tuscan type, but the “Coronation” of 1394 by Pere Serra in Manresa Cathedral closely resembles the Walters design, even with respect to the two canopies projecting from the throne, one over Christ, the other over the Virgin.

The date of the activity of the Master of St. Mark and his workshop, and the position of these painters in the evolution of Catalan painting, is difficult to determine very precisely in the present state of our knowledge. None of the works in question can be dated, as far as I know, by external evidence, except the *Llibre Verd* (1380),⁷¹ and even that is questionable. Professor Post ascribed the Morgan polyptych to the circle of Ferrer Bassa, and proposed a date probably no later than 1350.⁷² On the other hand, he dated the triptych of St. Mark as late as the first half of the fifteenth century at first,⁷³ and then, in a subsequent volume, he accepted the reconstruction and the date—late fourteenth century—proposed by Soler y March.⁷⁴ In the opinion of Soler y March and other students who accept his Master of St. Mark, the triptych belongs to the school of the Serras, showing especially the influence of Jaime.

There can be no question about a relationship of some sort between the style of the Serras and

⁶⁹ Cf., for example, triptych by Giusto da Padova, National Gallery, London; altarpiece by Serafino in the Duomo at Modena; panels by Simone dei Crocefissi in the museum at Troyes and at Pesaro, and Venetian paintings reproduced in van Marle, *Development of the Italian Schools*, IV, 6, and figs. 30, 31, 32, 43.

⁷⁰ Cf., for example, the Ducciesque triptych in the Blumenthal collection, New York (van Marle, *op. cit.*, II, fig. 55).

⁷¹ Cf. the appendix.

⁷² Post, *op. cit.*, IV, part 2 (1933), 510-512.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, II (1930), 375.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, VI, part 2 (1935), 522.



FIGURE 38 NARBONNE, CATHEDRAL
FOLLOWER OF MASTER OF ST. MARK
Pontifical of Pierre de la Jugie (f. 13)

that of the Master of St. Mark. The two styles resemble one another in a general way in design, in the form of the figures and the space. Certain characters of Simone Martini were assimilated by both. Between two specific works there are sometimes close iconographic and compositional similarities, as in the instance of the "Annunciation" in the Morgan polyptych and

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, IV, part 2 (1933), fig. 199.

⁷⁶ This posture of the Virgin, which appears also in the psalter in Paris, is not the only one used by the Serras. In Jaime's altarpiece at Saragossa, in Pere's at Manresa, and in the retable from Sijena now in Barcelona, the Virgin is seated on a bench.

⁷⁷ Cf. Post, *op. cit.*, II (1930), fig. 151; Meiss, in *The Art Bulletin*, XVIII (1936), 449 and note 40, and King in *The Art Bulletin*, XVII (1935), 489, where other similar compositions in the style of the Serras are listed.

⁷⁸ The devils and the chains of Jaime's composition are not represented in the Morgan polyptych.

⁷⁹ The gesture of the Virgin in the Pentecost of the Sijena altarpiece appears in all paintings of the subject in the Serra style, but not in the psalter nor in the Morgan polyptych.

the same scene in the panel in the Brera attributed to the shop of Pere Serra,⁷⁵ or in the altarpiece perhaps by Pere at San Lorenzo de Morunys (fig. 43); in all these paintings the posture of the Virgin, who is kneeling, is essentially the same.⁷⁶ Similar, likewise, are the representations of the "Madonna of Humility" in the psalter in Paris (f. 173) and the one by Jaime at Palau,⁷⁷ or the "Harrowing of Hell" by Jaime at Saragossa (fig. 42) and in the Morgan polyptych,⁷⁸ or the "Pentecost" in the polyptych and the same subject in the altarpiece from Sijena now in the Museo de la Ciudadela, Barcelona.⁷⁹ Emotion is represented by similar methods in the two groups; grief, for example, is expressed by curving the mouth up into a crescent, arching the brow, and narrowing the eyelids almost to slits, so that a sort of tense grimace is created.

Given all these resemblances, there seems to be no evidence to prove conclusively that the Serras, especially Jaime, were the originators, while the Master of St. Mark and his circle were the followers. The determination of the nature of the relationship is, furthermore, made difficult because of the existence of only one dated early work by Jaime—the Saragossa panels of 1361



FIGURE 39 LERIDA, AYUNTAMIENTO
FOLLOWER OF MASTER OF ST. MARK
Usatges de Barcelona

(fig. 42)—and also by the present state of the criticism of the Serras, which has not yet distinguished clearly the style of Jaime from that of Pere, nor their works from those of their followers, nor has it established a chronological order for the major works. It is better, then, to fall back upon the documented and dated paintings, Jaime's panels of c. 1361 in Saragossa,⁸⁰ Pere's retable of c. 1394 in S. Maria, Manresa,⁸¹ and his panel representing SS. Bartholomew and Bernard in Vich,⁸² probably part of an altarpiece contracted for in 1395. The style of the Serras, which best represents Catalan painting and its development in the second half of the century, underwent a considerable transformation from the phase represented by Jaime's panels of 1361 (fig. 42) to that of Pere's paintings of 1394 and 1395, which is then further developed in the early fifteenth century by Cabrera and Borrassá. The style of Pere is clearly dependent upon that of Jaime, but the rather tense compactness of the Saragossa panels has been resolved into a swift fluency; the lines have become very wavy, the figures more lively, their mood appealing and sentimental. The drapery is wrapped loosely, the folds often swinging around the figures, and the tri-dimensionality of both filled and unfilled areas is more highly developed. Landscape becomes more prominent, and more picturesque. The analogies with French painting are much more extensive than in the paintings of 1361. The work of the Master of St. Mark is essentially dissimilar from this *fin de siècle* Catalan style, with its fluid, graceful, and rather pretty forms; and it is still more unlike its later stages in the first quarter of



FIGURE 40 PARIS, BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE
BOLOGNESE, CA. 1330
Decretals, (Ms. lat. 3988, f. 69)

the fifteenth century. It exhibits radical similarities, however, with Jaime's altarpiece of 1361 (fig. 42). But despite these resemblances, there are significant differences. The style of Jaime is fundamentally more linear than that of the Master of St. Mark; Jaime develops the values of two-dimensional pattern, of silhouette, rather than of volume and space. His forms are denser, more compact; though modelled, they are not evolved by the subtle chiaroscuro, with its atmospheric suggestions, of the Master of St. Mark. Jaime's line, furthermore, is stiffer, more tense, and tends to fall into diagrams and schematic patterns. Partly because of these linear qualities, and partly because the function of the drapery is more exclusively ornamental than expressive of the body and its action, his figures do not move as freely and easily as those of the Master of St. Mark.⁸³ Jaime's facial types, too, differ from those of the Master of St. Mark in so far as they tend to be more oval, the nose curves

⁸⁰ Cf. Sanpere y Miquel, *Trescentistes*, figs. 99-103 and pls. X-XI.

⁸¹ Cf. Richert, *Mittelalterliche Malerei in Spanien* (Berlin, 1925), figs. 39-40.

⁸² Cf. Post, *op. cit.*, II (1930), fig. 164.

⁸³ Cf., for example, Christ in Jaime's "Descent into Hell" (fig. 42) with Christ in the same scene in the Morgan polyptych (fig. 2B).



FIGURE 41

WALTERS ART GALLERY

CATALAN, THIRD QUARTER OF FOURTEENTH CENTURY

Coronation of the Virgin (detail of fig. 1)

outward towards the tip, the chin is very small, and the expression usually pert.

With respect to all these qualities (except facial type) Jaime's style represents in Catalan painting a phase corresponding to that into which central Italian painting entered shortly after the middle of the fourteenth century.⁸⁴ The recapitulation of the development of Sienese style in Catalonia in the second quarter of the century—we observed a Ducciesque stage, then a Lorenzettian one—is thus continued in the third quarter of the century. Indeed, the great increase in the influence of Simone Martini just after 1350 is, in Catalonia just as in Siena and Florence, to a great extent the result rather than the cause of general tendencies at this period away from the "naturalism" of the earlier years of the century towards a two-dimensional form and pattern, subtle refinement, and intense, aloof, introverted spirituality. These qualities of the Saragossa altarpiece are not prominent in the Morgan polyptych or the Barcelona "Annunciation," as was implied in the contrast with Jaime Serra presented above, but they do emerge clearly in the triptych of St. Mark, which is, I believe, a later work.

⁸⁴ I have discussed this phase briefly in *The Art Bulletin*, XV (1933), 151.

⁸⁵ Post, *op. cit.*, IV, part 2 (1933), 510-12, also proposed an early date for the Morgan polyptych; too early, I believe, since he states that it was probably painted no later than 1350.

⁸⁶ J. Gudiol Ricart, *loc. cit.*, has proposed a similar date for the activity of the Master of St. Mark. He has also suggested that the style of the painter derives from that of the author of the panel of St. Vincent from S. Vincenc dels Horts in the Museum of Catalan Art, Barcelona (Post, *op. cit.*, V, fig. 62), and a number of related works which he dates around 1350. These works show many similarities with the paintings of the Master of St. Mark, but they do not seem to me earlier than the Morgan polyptych or the "Annunciation" from Cardona. The tendencies inherent in them towards two-dimensionality, consolidation, and linear schematization, render a date before 1360 very unlikely. These qualities, and the later date, are clarified by a comparison of the panel of St. Vincent with the St. Vincent from Estopiñan mentioned in the text above, which is dated by most students, including Gudiol, around 1350. The former can scarcely have been painted less than ten years after the latter.

⁸⁷ Post, *op. cit.*, VII, part 2, 737.

⁸⁸ Cf. the "Mocking" at Pedralbes by Bassa, and the "Pentecost" or the "Adoration of the Magi" in the Morgan polyptych.

The general development of Catalan painting indicates, then, that the works of the Master of St. Mark fall into a period which begins shortly before 1361, the date of Jaime's Saragossa panels, and extends at least into the first decade following the Saragossa altarpiece. The panels in the Morgan collection and in Barcelona were painted near the early limit,⁸⁵ the triptych of St. Mark near the later, and possibly as late as 1385. The Master of St. Mark was not, therefore, a follower of Jaime Serra, but approximately a contemporary.⁸⁶ We hear of Jaime as a painter first in 1360, and then on up to 1375, and he died some time before 1395/6.⁸⁷ Both of these painters owe much to Ferrer Bassa, but the Master of St. Mark seems to stand to a greater extent within his tradition, even in the continued use of such a detail as the Italian type of coffered ceiling.⁸⁸ Certain forms and motifs in the work of the Master of St. Mark which are not to be found in Jaime Serra appear in the work of Jaime's followers, especially his brother Pere. Thus the kneeling Virgin in the "Annunciation" of the Morgan polyptych resembles very closely the Virgin in panels of the "Annunciation" in the Brera Gallery and at San Lorenzo de Morunys (fig. 43), as has been observed above. Both of these panels show the later Serra style, and have been attributed to Pere. In Jaime's "Annunciation" of 1361, on the other hand, the Virgin is seated. The "Nativity" in the Morgan polyptych contains forms such as the cave with no overhanging shed, the straw in the mouths of the animals, which appear in the "Nativity" by Pere at Manresa, but not in Jaime's panel at Saragossa. The composition of the "Deposition" in the panel in the Santo Sepulcro, Saragossa, attributed to Pere Serra, is essentially the same as in manuscript 8846 in the Bibliothèque Nationale, and the "Adoration of the Magi" in the Sijena altarpiece by a follower of Jaime is very similar to the representation of this scene in the



FIGURE 42 SARAGOSSA, MUSEO PROVINCIAL
JAIME SERRA
Descent into Limbo

Morgan polyptych. These resemblances would seem to indicate an influence of the Master of St. Mark on Pere Serra and the later Serra style, although conclusions based on similarities of this nature are rather questionable because only part of the work produced during this period is extant today.

The styles of the Master of St. Mark and Jaime Serra issue from a tradition established in Catalonia chiefly by Ferrer Bassa. Both Jaime and the Master of St. Mark, furthermore, owe much to Simone Martini and his followers in Siena. But the paintings of the Master of St. Mark, and especially the miniatures executed in his shop or by his followers, reflect also the style of another Italian center—Bologna (fig. 40). In color and in the character of their architecture, they resemble Bolognese illumination of the first half of the fourteenth century, and Bolognese miniatures were probably the actual source of many forms in the style of the master that are reminiscent of Byzantine painting.⁸⁹ In this re-

spect, as in many others, the painting of the Master of St. Mark and his circle differentiates itself from the work of Jaime Serra. The style of the Master of St. Mark is, in fact, the only one in Catalan painting of the later fourteenth century which is distinct from that of the Serras, and equal to it in quality.

APPENDIX

The *Llibre Verd* and Arnau de la Pena

The *Llibre Verd*, so called because of the color of its cover, consists of four volumes, of which only the first contains miniatures in the style under consideration. The text is a compilation of juridical documents, chiefly "*Consuetudines Cataloniae*" and "*usatici Barchinone*." It contains a preface which states that, on the order of the "*Consilium*" of the city of Barcelona, the compilation was made, and the text written by Ramon Ferrer, "*notarius Barchinone ac scriba*," who began the work in 1345 and finished it in 1346. Additions to the codex were made as late as 1383, according to Bofarull in *Cortes de los antiguos Reinos de Aragon y de Valencia y Principado de Cataluña*, I, part 2, (Madrid, 1896), 807-808. A second copy of this compilation, made at the same time, and also under the direction of Ramon Ferrer, and with the same preface, is likewise preserved in the Municipal Archives at Barcelona, and is commonly known as the "*Usatges de Ramon Ferrer*." This codex contains additions up to 1365 (cf. Cortes, *op. cit.*, p. 806). Gonzalez Nunez, of the Municipal Archives of Barcelona, in *Exposicion de Codices Miniados Españoles* (Madrid, 1929), p. 221, note 1, states that the *Usatges de Ramon Ferrer* is a replica of the *Llibre Verd*. Bofarull (*loc. cit.*), however, claims that the "*Usatici*" in the *Llibre Verd* are a copy of the *Usatges de Ferrer*, and he dates the writing and illumination of the *Llibre Verd* in the early fifteenth century.

It is evident that both the writing and illumination of the *Llibre Verd* are superior to the *Usatges de Ramon Ferrer*. The *Usatges* contains fewer painted initials and miniatures than the *Llibre Verd*; they are very close in style to those in the *Llibre Verd*, though not quite so good, and no consider-

⁸⁹ There are also elusive similarities with the work of north Italian painters outside Bologna, such as Barnaba da Modena. Cf. also the miniatures in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. lat. 4895, which are Milanese of the second quarter of the century [P. Toesca, *Pittura e Miniatura nella Lombardia* (Milan, 1912), pl. IX]. Certain qualities of surface and of light in the Walters triptych recall Giovanni da Milano.

able length of time could have passed between the illumination of the two codices.

Errors of different sorts have entered into several previous references to these codices. Dominguez Bordona, *Exposicion de Codices Miniados Españoles* (Madrid, 1929), p. 221, nos. 165 and 166, dates the *Llibre Verd* fourteenth-fifteenth century, and the *Usatges de Ferrer* in 1396, despite the fact that he publishes on the same page the note by Gonzalez Nunez mentioned above, which gives very different dates. Bordona, furthermore, reproduces (pl. 50) as a miniature of the *Usatges* of Ferrer, folio 205 verso of the *Llibre Verd*. He repeats this error in *Manuscritos con Pinturas* (Madrid, 1933), no. 51 and fig. 44. Figure 45, however, is correctly labelled as from the *Llibre Verd*, of which it is folio 49 verso, though in his *Spanish Illumination* (Florence, 1930), pl. 104, this same miniature is erroneously described as on folio 1 of the *Llibre Verd*. In these works Bordona repeats the date of 1396 for the *Usatges* of Ramon Ferrer; and the same date is given earlier by de Broca, in *Institut d'Estudis Catalans, Anuari*, V (1913/14), 375 ff. No evidence is given anywhere for this date, and Señor Duran y Sanpere, present director of the Archives, informs me that it must be an error. Mayer, *Gotik in Spanien* (Leipzig, 1928), p. 228, says that the *Llibre Verd* was begun in 1335 (sic!), and enlarged for the first time in 1370. Mayer attributes the miniatures in the *Llibre Verd* and the *Usatges de Ferrer* to the same hand.

For several years circumstances have prevented me from studying these two manuscripts in Barcelona and, therefore, from exploring further the possibilities of determining the date of the miniatures on the basis of their relationship with the successive sections of the texts. The only certainty is that 1345/6 must serve as a *terminus post quem* for the miniatures.

Further light may be thrown on the date of the miniatures in the *Llibre Verd* by a statement in Gudiol, *Els Trescentistes*, p. 333, based on a note provided by Duran y Sanpere, that Arnau de la Pena "en 1380 ornava l volum primer del *Llibre verd* de l'Arxiu Municipal de Barcelona." The documentary source of this statement is not given, and Señor Duran is now unable to provide it. He agrees with my opinion that the volume referred to is the one containing the miniatures under consideration. (I am very grateful to Señor Duran and to Señor Josep Gudiol Ricart for their kindness in looking into this problem for me several years ago.) But it is not wholly clear that "ornava" refers to the painting of miniatures. It might refer to the pen work which decorates numerous capital letters. This Ar-



FIGURE 43

S. LORENZO DE MORUNYS
PERE SERRA (?)
Annunciation

nau de la Pena is mentioned in documents in Barcelona from 1357 to 1390 [cf. Gudiol, *loc. cit.*, and the documents published by Rubio y Lluch, *Documents per l'Historia de la Cultura Catalan Mig-eva* (Barcelona, 1921), II, 118, note 1; 156, 162], and some writers say he is heard of as late as 1396, though no sources are cited [cf. Puig-gari, in *Memorias de la Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona*, III (1880), 269, and El Conde de la Vinaza, *Adiciones al Diccionario de Cean Bermudez*, I (Madrid, 1894), 115]. Four of the published documents show Arnau de la Pena active in the execution of ornamental letters; only one records a payment for miniatures (in 1357 he was paid for nine "istorias" in a book of hours).

Thus we can conclude at the present time only that Arnau de la Pena was probably the author of the miniatures in the *Llibre Verd* [J. Gudiol Ricart, *La pintura gotica a Catalunya* (Barcelona, 1938), p. 10, has made the identification without reservation, and in *Spanish Painting*, published by the Toledo (Ohio) Museum of Art in connection with an exhibition held in March, 1941, pp. 15-18, he states, incorrectly that I do likewise. If so, he was one of the painters associated with the Master of St. Mark. If, however, he made only the ornamental letters in 1380, then at least it seems likely that the miniatures in the *Llibre Verd* were not painted earlier, nor much later, than this date.



FIGURE 1

ALBRECHT DÜRER
St. Eustace

BARTSCH 57

AMONG THE DÜRER PLAGIARISTS

BY HANS TIETZE

IN DISCUSSING one of the minor paintings of the Walters Art Gallery—one not even on display at present, but deservedly put away in the Gallery's storeroom—I do not intend to rehabilitate it, but, by stressing the social function of such work, to separate more effectively great art from the underbrush lushly thriving under its protection.

The "Adoration of the Magi"¹ illustrated here (fig. 2) bears no official attribution other than to the Italian school of the sixteenth century. This resignation to anonymity expresses a justifiable indifference to more specific attribution of such a painting, rather than the actual state of our knowledge. It was attributed to Girolamo da Santa Croce when it formed part of the Manfrin collection in Venice, and this name was accepted by Borenius in his edition of Crowe and Cavalcaselle's *History of Painting in North Italy*.² Fiocco, however, in his article on the Santa Croce family lists it among the works of Francesco, Girolamo's son.³ Personally, I am inclined to believe in the former attribution. At

any rate, the picture comes from the Bergamask shop of the Santa Croce, whose trade-mark it bears: the parrot in the lower left corner, which is to be regarded as a signature—even a "speaking" one, as Fiocco has put it in sarcastic allusion to the mechanically imitative character of their workshop.⁴ This signature gives some works a certain distinction above the main bulk of their production. A version of the "Adoration" in the Museo Civico Borgogna in Vercelli, also attributed to Girolamo da Santa Croce, lacks the parrot and with it the little quality which the picture in Baltimore possesses.

These works are of a sort that in the era of Giorgione and Titian were executed for customers modest in their financial means as well as in their artistic pretensions. Professor Fiocco has investigated exhaustively the mode of production employed by the Santa Croce. By utilizing an apparently well assorted stock of graphic models they saved the effort of inventing compositions or even single figures, and, by presenting their mixtures in a more old-fashioned or a more modern make-up, satisfied the needs of their unassuming public.

The painting in the Walters Art Gallery may serve as a specimen. The main scaffolding of the composition evidently goes back to Dürer's woodcut of 1511 representing the same subject⁵ (fig. 3) where the relation of the figures to the archi-

¹ No. 37.261. Panel: 26¾ x 32 in. (.679 x .812 mm.). Excoll.: Pinacoteca Manfrin, Venice; Catalogue (Venice, 1872), no. 51: "Girolamo Santa Croce."

² (London, 1912), III, 447.

³ *I Pittori da Santacroce* in *L'Arte*, XIX (1916), 179-206.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 179.

⁵ Adam Bartsch, *Le peintre graveur, nouvelle édition* (Leipzig, 1866), VII; *Albert Dürer, Gravures en bois*: no. 3.



FIGURE 2

WALTERS ART GALLERY

GIROLAMO DA SANTA CROCE

Adoration of the Magi

ture is very similar. At the right the only solid wall of the dilapidated hut in which the "Adoration" takes place is shown in the same foreshortening in both works, and also the construction of the posts and beams which form the hut is identical. In the woodcut, however, the architecture is higher and is carried right down to the front of the picture, so that the action occurs within the hut, whilst in the painting it happens in front of it. Nevertheless, the debt is obvious, and is further confirmed by the fact that

the kneeling king likewise is copied from the same woodcut. He has acquired a new and eminently academic head, but the rest of the figure, particularly the painstaking execution of the draperies down to the last detail of arrangement, is slavishly copied. The complicated headgear, with the sash elaborately wound around it, is carefully put on the ground behind the worshipping king. The casket which he offers to the Holy Infant is the same as in the woodcut, but the Infant differs and so does His Mother, although



FIGURE 3

BARTSCH 3

ALBRECHT DÜRER
Adoration of the Magi

her garments follow the woodcut fold for fold. The drapery, through being adapted to a figure which sits differently and faces in another direction, has lost its organic structure, just as the whole group has become less forceful by giving up the impressive motive of the two main figures facing one another.

This woodcut (Bartsch 3) is not the only Dürer design utilized by the painter for this one picture. From Bartsch 87 (fig. 4), representing the same subject, he took not only the rhythm of his semicircular composition and the steps and stones which form the frontal delimitation, but also the motive, mentioned before, of putting the figures in front of the hut. Moreover, he found here the group of three angels singing *Gloria* from a sheet which they jointly hold. The middle one of the three differs; he is taken from another Dürer

woodcut (Bartsch 85), with some slight modification of details.

If the painter plundered others of Dürer's woodcuts it has escaped me. More interesting is the fact that he did not limit his activity to Dürer, whom the sixteenth century seems to have considered a legitimate source for any artistic piracy, but exploited other artists as well. The man with the turban at the left in the middle background is borrowed from Lucas van Leyden's engraving, "Joseph telling his dreams to his brothers" (Bartsch 19), dated 1512. The two men in the middle ground that lean casually over the window-sill, are taken from Titian's "Adoration of the Shepherds," existing in sev-



FIGURE 4

BARTSCH 87

ALBRECHT DÜRER
Adoration of the Magi

eral painted versions,⁶ and also in a contemporary woodcut, probably closer than these paintings to Titian's original invention of the early 1520's. That the woodcut⁷ must have been among the familiar properties in the shop of the Santa Croce is confirmed by the fact that the same group of figures—and in addition a shepherd from the same composition—is employed in another of its products, a "Nativity," formerly in the Ehrich Galleries in New York.⁸ This work, by the way, is much more archaic in appearance than the painting in Baltimore.

This method of producing paintings by combining single elements borrowed from the most heterogeneous models strikes us as utterly inartistic, and certainly even in the sixteenth century it was a certificate of poverty. But, on the other hand, we must not overlook the fact that in those days the appropriation of well-tested older models was less strange than it now seems to us. In his masterly article on the sources of artistic inspiration in the Middle Ages,⁹ Julius von Schlosser pointed out that the artistic tradition of the period was based predominantly on the use of models which had already proved their validity in older works, and that this proceeding, so greatly in contrast with our present artistic conventions, was a means of producing and maintaining a great tradition. In the fifteenth and even in the sixteenth century in Italy and elsewhere this medieval habit was not yet forgotten or overcome. The use of such model-drawings, jealously preserved and passed on to the next generation in the workshops, was still familiar, and sketches of this kind form the nucleus of the older collections of drawings. Jacopo Bellini's so-called "sketchbooks" in the Louvre and in the British Museum are collections of the model-material employed in the workshop of the family, and even among Dürer's drawings these "models" are frequent. So the use of printed models—favored by the enormous diffusion

of engravings and woodcuts from the end of the fifteenth century on—may have been a new feature in the Santa Croce workshop, but the resort to foreign models in general was not. Even in the "Adoration of the Magi" under discussion we may suppose that not only prints, but drawings also, were used. In the upper left corner the landscape is filled with a number of Turkish figures walking or riding on horseback, such as are so familiar from Gentile Bellini's compositions. And our painter is supposedly just the same "Girolamo de maestro Bernardin" to whom Gentile Bellini in his last will of February 18, 1506, bequeathed his drawings made in Rome ("designia retracta de Roma"), which sometimes, although in my opinion wrongly, are identified with Gentile's studies after Orientals.¹⁰ If, in fact, these small oriental figures—like the very similar ones in Pietro Paolo da Santa Croce's paintings in Naples¹¹—can be traced back to Gentile's studies, then our "Adoration" combines models ranging in date from about 1480, the period of Gentile's studies in Turkey, to about 1525, the approximate year of Titian's composition. The other models lie midway (1511, 1512). Considering the vast range of his borrowings, the ability with which the plagiarist arranged and harmonized his booty seems remarkable. At first sight we are not shocked by noticeable incongruities anywhere, and the general style of the whole does not correspond unfavorably to the art of a provincial painter of about 1525. Of course, when we consider that Titian's early

⁶ Florence, Pitti Palace; Oxford, Christ Church.

⁷ Illustrated in the *Print Collector's Quarterly*, XXV (1938), 333.

⁸ Photo in the Frick Art Reference Library, New York City.

⁹ *Zur Kenntnis der künstlerischen Überlieferung im späten Mittelalter* in *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Kaiserhauses* (1903).

¹⁰ E. g.: G. Gombosi in Thieme u. Becker, *Künstlerlexikon*, XXIX (Leipzig, 1935), 422.

¹¹ Cf. Gombosi, *op. cit.*, p. 423; Fiocco, *op. cit.*, p. 205.



FIGURE 5

BARTSCH 61

ALBRECHT DÜRER

St. Jerome

masterpieces, the Assunta or the Pesaro "Madonna," had been painted or were in the process of being painted, our picture is exceedingly archaic. However, compared not to the creations of a genius, but to what was produced at that time in Padua, Treviso, or Vicenza, it is not so very old-fashioned, and we may imagine that it conformed to the taste of the average art-lover in one of these minor centers. The painting does not display the style of 1525, but *one* style of the period, still having its supporters and, therefore, its right to existence.

To underline the relative modernity of the adaptation in the "Adoration," I compare it to another painting produced with the help of a somewhat similar mixture of "Düreresque" ele-

ments. A "St. Jerome," seen in Milan in the spring of 1938 (fig. 6), was exhibited for sale under the name of Jacopo de'Barbari, and one of the certificates offered into the bargain to the buyer was even liberal enough to suggest Albert Dürer as the author. The expert had allowed himself to be led astray by borrowed charms. The saint with the lion, as well as the chapel on the hill and the stones in the foreground are taken from Dürer's engraving of the same subject (Bartsch 61) (fig. 5). But to give the customer his money's worth, this centerpiece, made a little less recognizable by the grotto behind the saint, was enriched by the lovely landscape (upper left corner) from Dürer's engraving of "St. Eustace" (Bartsch 57) (fig. 1), the monkey in the

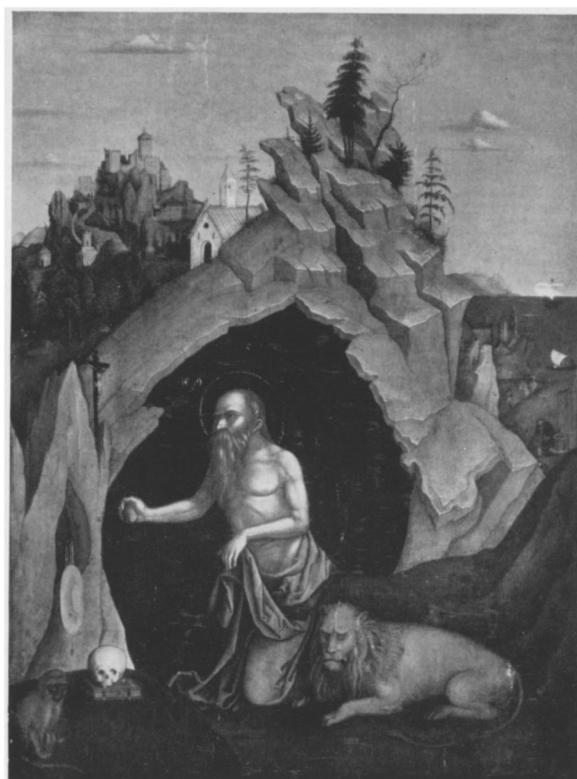


FIGURE 6

NORTH ITALIAN WORKSHOP

St. Jerome

foreground from Dürer's "Virgin" (Bartsch 42), the upper sailing boat at the right, familiar from Dürer's apocalyptic woodcut "The Seven Angels Sounding the Trumpets" (Bartsch 68), and finally, also at the right, the well with a figure pouring water from Dürer's "Nativity of Christ" engraved in 1504. Since all the other sources are earlier, 1504 is the *terminus post quem*, a date-limit from which we shall probably not be inclined to deviate much. At any rate, the general impression is very different from that of the "Adoration." The latter had pretty well been brought up to date. Compared to it the "Saint Jerome" looks positively archaic. The decisive element is the grotto, whose rocky shell has an almost medieval character and reminds one of the rough landscapes in Byzantine panels. Combined with the woodcut-like dryness of the principal figures, it gives an archaic impression which the patron may have taken for a sign of special devotion. He must have belonged to an older generation than the customer for whose taste the "Adoration" had been produced. In a very awkward fashion the latter is touched by the reigning renaissance currents, whilst the "St. Jerome" remains in the Gothic spirit.

Contemporary graphic art, and especially Dürer's woodcuts and engravings, proved an inexhaustible mine for lesser Venetian painters; but even some of much greater fame, such as Carpaccio, did not disdain an incidental insertion of faithfully copied figures from this source. Perhaps they would have refrained from exploiting Dürer's paintings to the same extent; here his personal property in the inventions and the connection with their national and local artistic background would have been strong enough to protect them from too daring a pillage. But the fixing of forms in a graphic medium, and especially in the still more impersonal woodcut, abstracts them so that they are, like canned food, at everybody's easy disposal. This greater eman-



FIGURE 7 ROCHESTER, MEMORIAL ART GALLERY
ATTRIBUTED TO PATENIR
Madonna and Child

cipation from conditions of origin made the graphic models an international vocabulary, understandable and suitable for Italians as well as Germans.

Northern artists made a somewhat different use of Dürer's prints. The fact that the artists had a blood-kinship to their models gives their plagiarism less the character of a Chinese puzzle and more that of an organic continuation. I should like to illustrate this suggestion by means of another painting in an American collection. A "Madonna and Child" in the Memorial Art Gallery in Rochester, New York (fig. 7), has been attributed to Joachim Patenir. Fascinated by the landscape, which not only displays some of the characteristics of his art, but even con-

tains that lovely legend of the miraculous wheat-field, a favorite motive in Patenir's representations of the "Flight into Egypt," experts apparently have not looked very attentively at the principal group. This is a faithful copy after Dürer's engraving "The Virgin with the Child in Swaddling Clothes" (Bartsch 38) (fig. 9). The model is reproduced in every detail, but evidently translated into Flemish. The figure and the landscape form a unified whole. We know that Patenir was a specialist in landscape painting. No less an expert than Dürer called him the "good landscape painter." We know also that in some instances he collaborated with other artists, adding his landscapes to figures which Joos van Cleve or Massys had painted. Fried-



FIGURE 8
ZAGREBIA GALLERY
FLEMISH SCHOOL
Feeding of Paul and Anthony



FIGURE 9
BARTSCH 38
ALBRECHT DÜRER
Madonna and Child

länder¹² states that in every single case we ought to examine whether the figures in his paintings are not done by another hand. In the "Temptation of St. Anthony" in the Prado Massys painted the figures for a landscape by Patenir.¹³ But in the case of the "Madonna" in Rochester the same combination seems unlikely, since Massys, after 1520, was at the peak of his career and would not have copied slavishly an engraving by Dürer. If the landscape is by Patenir, he may have cooperated here with some other artist; or

(Continued on page 122)

¹² Max J. Friedländer, *Die altniederländische Malerei*, IX (Leiden, 1934), 104 ff.

¹³ *Op. cit.*, VII, pp. 45 ff, Taf. 31.

¹⁴ No. 69.



FIGURE 1

WALTERS ART GALLERY

ANDREA DI BARTOLO
The Resurrection

A NOTE ON A SIENESE RESURRECTION

BY S. LANE FAISON

Williams College

A SMALL TEMPERA panel of the "Resurrection" (fig. 1) in the Walters Art Gallery,¹ is by the same hand as a "Crucifixion" in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (fig. 2).² Furthermore, both panels belonged to the same altarpiece as part of the predella.

Identity of style is the first argument in support of these contentions. We may assume that both panels are Sienese of the second half of the fourteenth century. Both combine, in picturesque and anecdotal fashion, elements of the major traditions of Trecento Sienese painting: the Gothic elongation and ornamental calligraphy of Simone Martini with Ambrogio Lorenzetti's flair for the grouping of bulks. The "Crucifixion," as Offner has shown, is directly inspired by Barna's fresco at San Gimignano,³ but scaled smaller, rearranged, and padded to fit a long rectangle; in style it is equally dependent. While there is no evidence for inspiration from Barna for the composition of the "Resurrection",⁴ a similar dependence on Barna's style may be

pointed out. In both pictures there is the same Simonesque canon for the figure of Christ, but with Barna's added concern for rib structure. The head of Christ in the "Resurrection" is derived from Barna, as for example the Christ in the fresco of the "Marriage at Cana" (fig. 5). Note the treatment of the hair, the long nose, and especially the strong, somewhat squinting gaze which recurs in the group of horsemen at the right of the "Crucifixion."

Assuming a common dependence on Barna, we may cite more detailed comparisons to bring the two panels together. Note the rock formations, particularly the bullet-shaped ones (fig. 3), at the left of each picture, and the conventional treatment of plant growth (especially to the right of St. John in the "Crucifixion"). The soldiers sleeping before the tomb recur in other postures at the foot of the cross. Armor and costume agree in numerous details. The faces are comparable even when due allowance is made for damage and restoration.⁵ In both

¹ Number 741. The panel taken from its modern frame measures: Height: 20 $\frac{7}{8}$ " width: 18 $\frac{3}{4}$ " (at the top) and 18 $\frac{5}{8}$ " (at the bottom). As half of the left border has been shaved off, the width should be increased to slightly over 19". The painting was formerly in the Massarenti collection, Rome, which Mr. Henry Walters acquired in 1902. See E. Van Esbroeck and U. and M.P., *Catalogue du musée de peinture, sculpture et archéologie au Palais Accoramboni* (Rome, 1897), no. 51 as Uccello.

² Number B. 28-1. The panel taken from its modern frame measures: Height: 20 $\frac{1}{4}$ ", width: 38 $\frac{3}{8}$ " (at the top) and 38 $\frac{1}{2}$ " (at the bottom). The height should be increased to ap-

proximately 20 $\frac{7}{8}$ " as several of the extremities at the base are slightly cut off. The heights of the two panels would thus be the same. *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (1912), p. 54; *Catalogue of Paintings* (New York, 1931), p. 11.

³ R. Offner, *Italian Pictures at the New York Historical Society and Elsewhere in Art in America*, VII (1919), 152; S. L. Faison, Jr., *Barna and Bartolo di Fredi in The Art Bulletin*, XIV (1932), 312.

⁴ The "Resurrection" fresco at San Gimignano is nearly obliterated, but some of the main outlines are still discernible. Photo Frick Art Reference Library SN 6665.



FIGURE 2

THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

ANDREA DI BARTOLO
The Crucifixion
(Courtesy Metropolitan Museum of Art)

pictures appear the same thin but boneless hands and feet. There are similar juxtapositions of bright colors.

The most immediate inspiration for this style is Bartolo di Fredi. To this master Berenson attributes both panels;⁶ and Sandberg-Vavalà has assigned to him the "Resurrection."⁷ The special combination of incident and ornament, of Lorenzetti and Simone (via Barna), points strongly in this direction.⁸ If the figures seem less monumental than is usual for Bartolo, it should be recalled that he, like other painters of his time, left off formalism in small pictures, stressing both anecdote and the figurine-appearance of his personages.

The attribution to Bartolo di Fredi is, however, unacceptable. A comparable small picture by Bartolo⁹ will clarify this assertion (fig. 7). Compare the horse in this picture to the horse at the extreme right of the "Crucifixion." The relative flabbiness in silhouette and internal drawing indicate a pupil's hand in the "Crucifixion." What may be said for the detail is true for the whole picture. On the other hand, Bartolo's picture agrees with his masterpiece, the "Adoration of the Magi" (fig. 4);¹⁰ compare the small horses in the background, and even the large horse in the left foreground. Color provides another clue. The two pictures by Bartolo di Fredi which we have discussed have in



FIGURE 3

WALTERS ART GALLERY

ANDREA DI BARTOLO

The Resurrection (detail)

common a pervading gray-green pallor. This characteristic coloration of Bartolo's middle period may be studied in an "Adoration of the Shepherds" at The Cloisters, New York.¹¹ In contrast, the "Crucifixion" and "Resurrection" panels have an everyday joyousness of color. The early and late periods of Bartolo's development provide far less comparable material. The attribution of the "Crucifixion" and the "Resurrection" to him must, therefore, be rejected in favor of one of his pupils.

How shall we identify the painter? Many years ago, Offner¹² assigned the "Crucifixion" to Andrea di Bartolo. This was a plausible solution, with which I find no reason to disagree. If my argument has been correct, the Walters

⁵ In its present condition this area of the Walters panel shows restorations of some previous time. For evidence of restoration of the New York panel see J. J. Rorimer, *Ultra-Violet Rays and Their Use in the Examination of Works of Art* (New York, 1931), pp. 48-49 and fig. 46.

⁶ Lists of 1932 and 1936 (Italian edition).

⁷ E. Sandberg-Vavalà, *La croce dipinta italiana* (Verona, 1929), pp. 344-345.

⁸ S. L. Faison, Jr., *op. cit.*, pp. 302-304.

⁹ Siena, Pinacoteca, no. 98. Brandi, *La regia pinacoteca di Siena* (Rome, 1933), p. 36, assigns it to Bartolo's middle period. Although the picture is not documented, its attribution is not likely to be questioned.

¹⁰ Siena, Pinacoteca, no. 104. Brandi, *op. cit.*, p. 37. Likewise of the middle period.

¹¹ J. J. Rorimer, *The Cloisters* (New York, 1938), p. 50.

¹² R. Offner, *op. cit.*, p. 152.

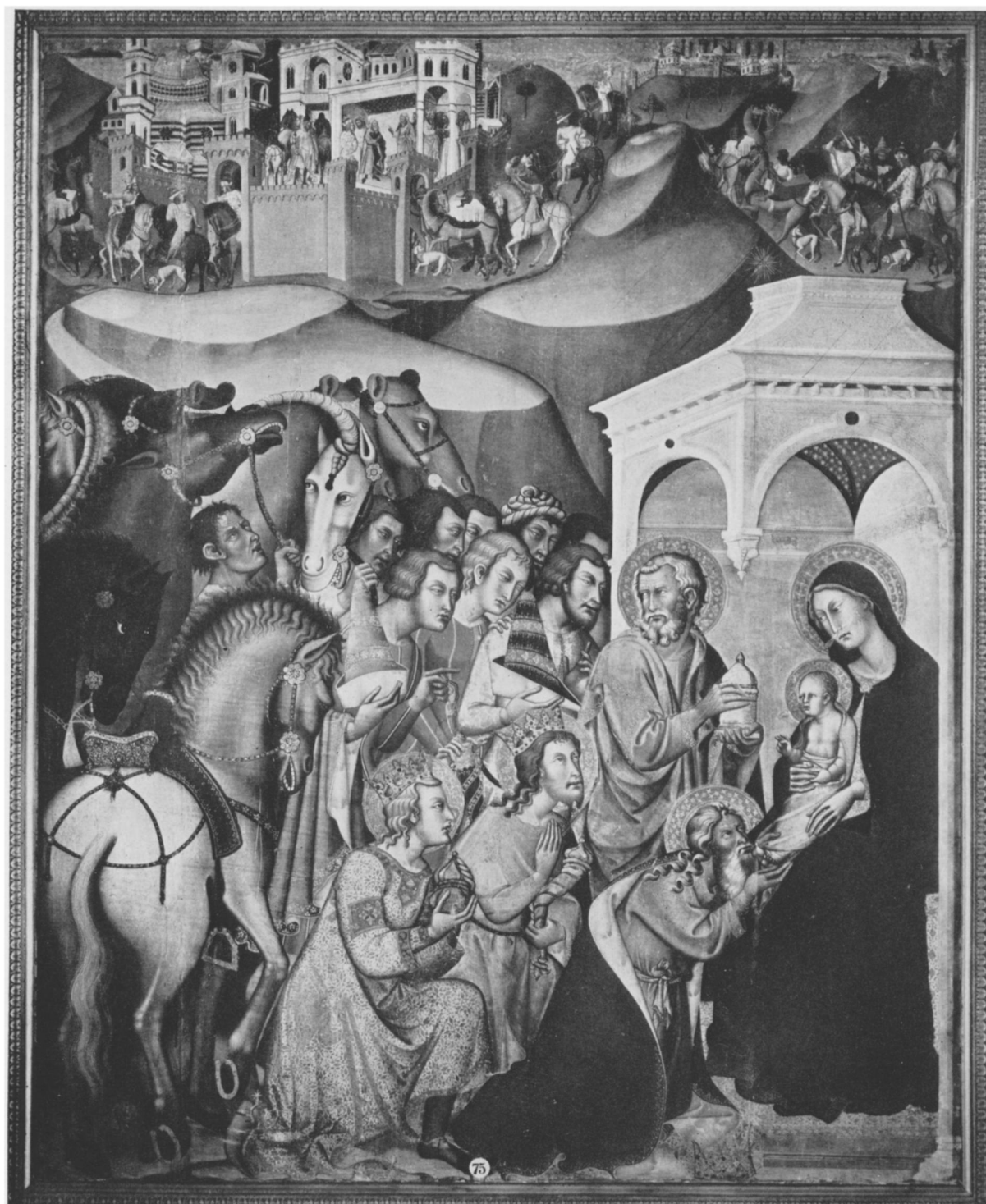


FIGURE 4

SIENA, PINACOTECA

BARTOLO DI FREDI
The Adoration of the Magi
 (photo Alinari)



FIGURE 5

SAN GIMIGNANO, COLLEGIATA

BARNA DA SIENA
The Wedding Feast at Cana (detail)
(Courtesy Frick Art Reference Library)

“Resurrection” should now be added to the work of Andrea, the son of Bartolo di Fredi.

If the two panels were painted by the same hand, were they part of the same altarpiece? The virtual correspondence of the height measurements is a strong argument for this contention, when joined to the other evidence. The “Crucifixion” is only three-sixteenths of an inch

shorter than the “Resurrection.”¹³ Furthermore, it has been shaved off by about that amount at the base, as even a cursory examination of the soldiers’ feet will show. The gold borders are composed of the same elements; the major motive of a six-petaled flower alternating with paired quatrefoils occurs throughout the “Crucifixion” and on the vertical margins of the “Resurrection” (fig. 3). The top border of the latter has a simpler rhythm of the same elements: a regular

¹³ See notes 1 and 2.

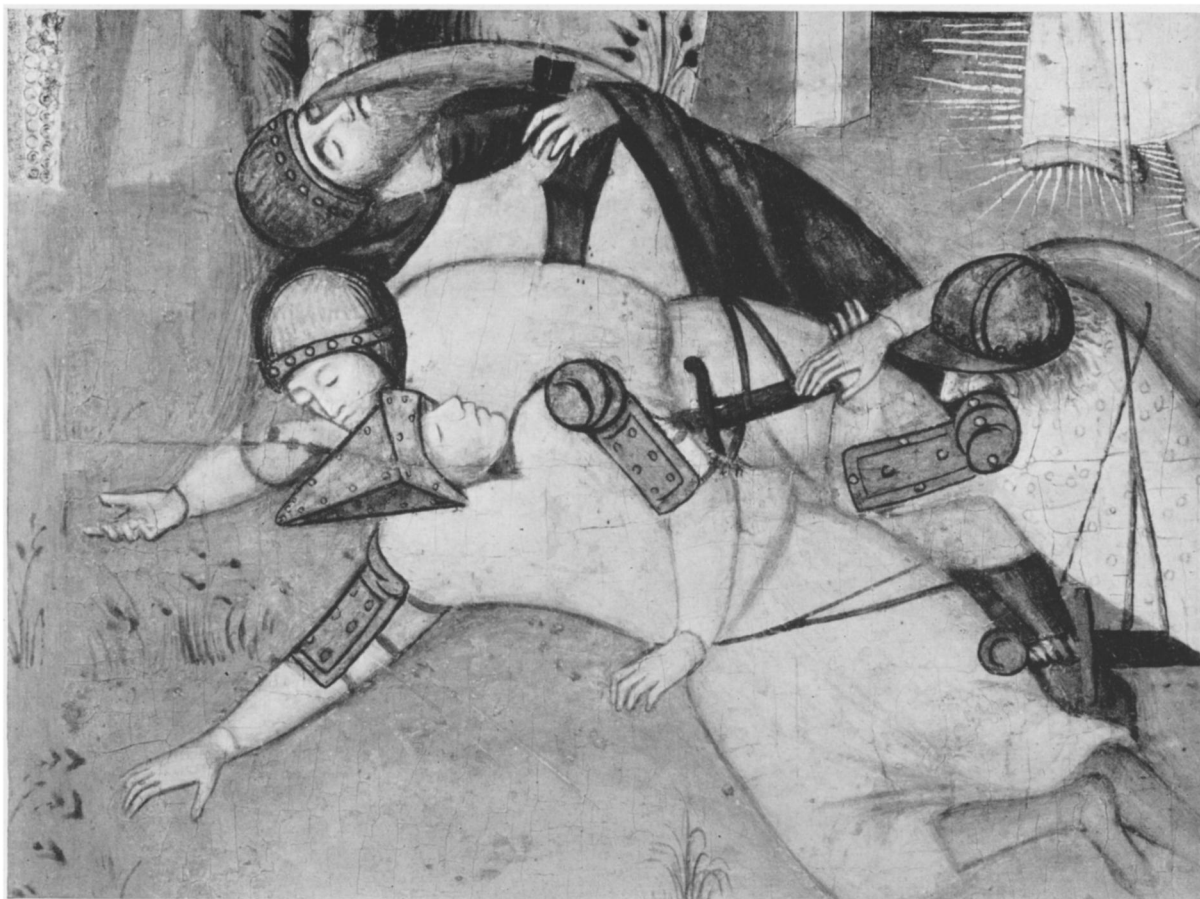


FIGURE 6

WALTERS ART GALLERY

ANDREA DI BARTOLO
The Resurrection (detail)

alternation of one six-petaled flower with one quatrefoil. While the tooling of different panels of the same altarpiece usually is consistent throughout, this was not always the case, and there is evidence that exceptions were made in the shop of Bartolo di Fredi.¹⁴ Such exceptions involve only minor variations, not so important as to break up the decorative unity of the assembled panels.¹⁵ There is a final point of correspondence between the "Crucifixion" and "Resurrection" panels, essential to our argument: since the figure of Christ is roughly half the total height in each picture, the scale is consistent.

Assuming now that the two pictures belonged to the same altarpiece, we can argue from the shape and size of the "Crucifixion" that they were predella panels.¹⁶ The "Crucifixion" would have been placed in the center, under the wider central panel of a triptych or polyptych. The "Resurrection" would have been to the right, under one of the narrower side panels. There would have been at least one more panel, to the left of the "Crucifixion," representing a Passion scene prior to the "Calvary." There may have been two or more other panels, depending upon the size of the altarpiece. Taddeo di Bartolo's great retable for the Cathedral of Montepulci-

ano¹⁷ has a predella of nine panels, with a wide "Crucifixion" in the center. If the altarpiece we are reconstructing was a triptych, it must have been about seventy-seven inches wide (not including frame).¹⁸ For the main part of the altarpiece we should have to supply three life-size images, presumably a "Madonna and Child" in a wider central panel flanked by two saints in narrower panels.

My search for unassigned predella panels of the proper specifications, and for an altarpiece by or close to Andrea di Bartolo minus its predella, has gone unrewarded. I leave this discovery for some later detective.

¹⁴ Siena, Pinacoteca, no. 99. Brandi, *op. cit.*, p. 34. Predella of the documented altarpiece painted in 1388 by Bartolo di Fredi for Montalcino. Under the cusped Gothic arches in the tooled border of the Joachim panel there is a row of small cir-

cles; in the "Deposition" panel these circles are replaced by small trefoils; in the "Birth of the Virgin" there is no gold background.

¹⁵ As the gold work is rough in panels of this period, no description of an ornamental border will be absolutely accurate.

¹⁶ In a retable composed of many small panels, such as that in the Pienza Museum, from the shop of Bartolo di Fredi, illustrating forty-eight scenes of the life of Christ, the oversize central panels ("Crucifixion," "Agony in the Garden") are vertical in shape, as in Duccio's "*Maestà*" ("Crucifixion," "Entry into Jerusalem"). In the Pienza retable, the "Resurrection" corresponds to the Walters panel in iconography; but it was painted by a far inferior hand.

Twenty inches is a normal height for the predella of a full-size altarpiece. Ambrogio Lorenzetti's "Deposition" (Siena, Pinacoteca, no. 77; Brandi, *op. cit.*, pp. 130-131) is about 18" high (46 cm.). A five-panel predella (Siena, Pinacoteca, no. 57; Brandi, *op. cit.*, pp. 32-33) by a follower of Barna and Ambrogio Lorenzetti is about 21½" high (55 cm.). Although not by the same hand as the Baltimore and New York panels, it makes an interesting comparison: the "Agony," "Flagellation," and "Road to Calvary," are derived from Barna's frescoes at San Gimignano; and the "Deposition" ("*Pietà*") is based on Ambrogio's predella panel just cited.

¹⁷ R. van Marle, *The Development of the Italian Schools of Painting*, II (The Hague, 1924), 552, fig. 348.

¹⁸ This figure is arrived at by adding the width of the "Crucifixion" panel (38½") to twice the restored width of the "Resurrection" panel (about 19¼").

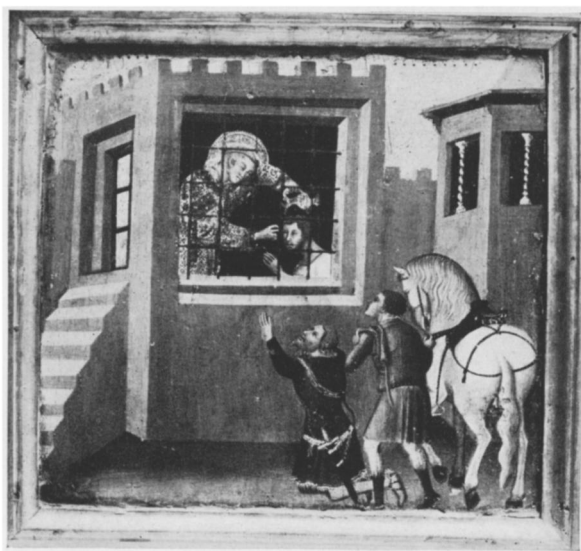


FIGURE 7
SIENA, PINACOTECA
BARTOLO DI FREDI
Baptism of a Neophyte in Prison
(photo Alinari)



FIGURE 1

BALTIMORE, PEABODY LIBRARY

JOHANNES ANDREAS PFEFFEL
(Illustration to Scheuchzer's *Physica Sacra*, 1773)
The Plague of the Philistines

MICE IN PLAGUE PICTURES

BY OTTO NEUSTATTER

Students of medieval and later history are familiar with the great devastations of the Black Death, or bubonic plague, that spread over Europe periodically, leaving imprints on the social and economic structure, as well as on the cultural creations of the times. The plagues left, too, their visual records from the hands of contemporary artists. The following study by a distinguished scholar of medical history is an attempt to seek what conclusions can be drawn from these artistic witnesses in reconstructing the etiological understanding of the period.—(ED.)

IT MAY seem somehow whimsical and inconsiderable to dedicate an investigation to the subject of mice in representations of the plague. Among the various creatures which may be found in plague illustrations, why give prominence to mice? To justify such discrimination one must consider the great importance which modern epidemiology has attached to mice, and more especially to rats, for the spread of this devastating epidemic. It was a decisive revolution in the understanding of the disease when in 1894 the pest-bacillus was discovered as its cause by Yersin and Kitasato.¹ Other authors, especially

Simonds,² soon afterwards showed that rats not only were stricken and killed by the same micro-organism, but that fleas, leaving the dead rats and seeking other hosts, transferred the malady to men susceptible to the disease.

Historians, upon this, came to inquire whether no precursory statements could be found hinting at some knowledge of this fact in olden times. Indeed, several prominent authors excavated in old literature and in works of art indications that seemed to verify their idea that the role of mice or rats in the causation of the disease was not at all unknown to ancient observers. Nuttall³ and especially Sticker⁴ quoted passages of ancient, medieval, and more recent authors that seemed to point to this conclusion. Among the proofs of this assertion, Sticker, the author of a two-volume history of the plague, in an article in *Janus*⁵ adduced the impressive painting in the Louvre by Nicolas Poussin, representing the plague among the Philistines (I, *Samuel*, V).⁶ Thus, while physicians for centuries had been in ignorance of the real epidemiological facts of this malady, this artist, according to Sticker, had extracted the proper concept involving the role of mice from the *First Book of Samuel*, as his picture proves!

In this assertion he followed a remark made by Richer and Charcot in their publication, *Les difformes et malades dans l'art*,⁷ where they pointed out the fact that Poussin in this picture had represented numerous mice swarming about. In

¹ A. J. E. Yersin in *Annales de l'Institut Pasteur* (1894), p. 662. S. Kitasato, *Investigation as to the Plague* (Tokyo, 1894).

² P. L. Simonds (1898), cited by Garrison, *History of Medicine* (1929), p. 864.

³ G. H. F. Nuttall in *Centralblatt für Bakteriologie*, Abt. I, XXII (1897), 93.

⁴ G. Sticker in *Wiener klin. Rundschau* (1898), p. 167.

⁵ G. Sticker, *Die Pest in Berichten der Laien und in Werken der Künstler in Janus* (1898), p. 129.

⁶ *Ibid.*, fig. between pp. 138-139.

⁷ (Paris, 1898), p. 102.



FIGURE 2
PIERPONT MORGAN LIBRARY
MS. 638, PARIS, CA. 1250
The Plague of Ashdod (detail)

his later enlarged edition of this work,⁸ Richer discussed the point somewhat more extensively. He quoted Letulle,⁹ who had called attention to the importance of works of art for the visualization of scientific facts, and had mentioned, as a significant instance, the role ascribed by artists to certain animals, especially rats, in the outbreak of plague. "The plague-smitten rat," Letulle wrote, "belongs to the domain of public interest in epidemiology. Works of art add to our historic knowledge in this line. One has but

to remember with what sure feeling Nicolas Poussin has given a place to the rats in his admirable painting. H. Meige in an article, *La peste dans l'art* (*La Nature*, no. 1245, April 10, 1897), rightly pointed out this detail, which proves that among people two hundred years ago the dominant idea about the plague of the Philistines was the same as that nowadays propagated by such eminent scientists as Netter and Proust, and accepted by the majority of modern hygienists." According to this, the credit for the priority of the idea actually belongs to Meige. Poussin's painting later on was referred to repeatedly, and its merit in the above sense either recognized or discussed.¹⁰ The argument was limited, however, insofar as it was based only on this picture, which was regarded as the only one existing where mice were depicted in connection with plague. Even Crawford, who has studied most extensively plague representations all over the world, cites in his admirable monograph¹¹ merely two replicas of Poussin's painting, one in the National Gallery in London and one in the Academy of Lisbon, but no other representations of the subject involving mice. Abel¹² also remarks that Poussin's is the only picture of this kind so far as he knows.

In my studies on the plague of the Philistines, I, too, became interested in this question. If laymen had, as the above-mentioned authors and others suppose, an understanding, or at least a presentiment, of the role of rats and mice in the epidemiology of plague, it seemed probable that

⁸ P. Richer, *L'Art et la médecine* (Paris, n.d., about 1902), p. 129.

⁹ M. Letulle in *Presse médicale* (Feb. 17, 1900), Appendix.

¹⁰ I. Wolff, *Diseases and Epidemics in the Old Testament in Hygeia* (Stockholm, 1927); J. Wilke, *Die Heilkunde der Europäischen Vorzeit* (Leipzig, 1936), p. 76; L. Aschoff in *Janus* (1900), p. 207; R. Abel in *Zeitschrift für Hygiene und Infektionskrankheiten* (1901), p. 92; R. Crawford, *Plague and Pestilence in Literature and Art* (Oxford, 1914).

¹¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 18.

¹² Abel, *op. cit.*, p. 115.



FIGURE 3

WALTERS ART GALLERY

NINTH GERMAN BIBLE, 1483

Death of Eli and the Plague of Mice

more such representations could be discovered.

Not all types of plague pictures, such as Crawford has taken into consideration, promise success for our purpose. Such pictures fall into two groups: devotional and descriptive. The first type includes glorifications of the Holy Virgin or certain saints invoked to avert the pestilence. The descriptive pictures render the scenes of the devastations wrought by the scourge. Very occasionally such scenes occur as a subordinate feature of the first kind of representation. The devotional pictures do not lack medical interest. They give us an insight into the notion of the cause of the malady current in the times of the artist. The Almighty sends his thunder-bolts or arrows down on sinning humanity, like Apollo in the classical representations. The Holy Virgin, heeding the supplications of the threatened mor-

tals, tries to avert the plague-missiles by her outspread mantle, or Saint Sebastian intercepts them with his own body. On the other hand, aside from this metaphysical concept, we find evidence of accurate materialistic observation of the most prominent symptom of plague in the pictures of Saint Roch, who points to his thigh where the plague boils are depicted with admirable exactness.

The descriptive representations generally dramatize the scenes observed during the ravage of the scourge: victims stricken in the middle of the street, people trying to help the dying, removing the suckling child from the breast of his dead mother, or carrying away the corpses strewn about. The helpers may be seen applying the protective measure recommended by the numerous contemporary pamphlets on the epi-



FIGURE 4

NEW YORK, PIERPONT MORGAN LIBRARY

LÜBECK BIBLE, 1491

Fall of Dagon and the Plague

demic: squeezing the nostrils shut against the poisonous atmosphere, a reflection of the current theory that the vitiated air comprised the danger.

Poussin's painting belongs to this second category of plague representation. In the foreground we see dead and dying, suffering and frightened people. Beyond on one side is a temple with the prostrate statue of the Philistine god, Dagon, beside the Ark of the Covenant, and priests excitedly discussing the miracle. On the steps of the buildings and in the street mice are running about; they show no sign of sickness, but seem quite lively. Richer reproduced a sketch which apparently was a preparatory study for

the painting. It shows a different composition, but includes a few indistinct patches which seem meant to represent the mice.

As has been said, this painting was regarded for many years as the only plague representation involving rats or mice. In his work,¹³ however, Richer had already pointed out one other representation of plague in which vermin appear. This is one of the wax-reliefs of Zumbo,¹⁴ showing in a gruesome, realistic manner, but based on sharp observation, the decomposing corpses of plague-

¹³ P. Richer, *L'Art et la médecine*, pp. 332, 536, fig. 339. H. Meige, *La peste dans l'art* in *La Nature*, XXV (1897), no. 1245.



FIGURE 5

WALTERS ART GALLERY

ERHARD ALTDORFER

(*Low German Translation of Luther's Bible, 1533*)

Fall of Dagon and Battle of the Philistines

victims massed in a common grave and preyed upon by rats.

In searching for additional plague pictures, beyond those already cited by medical histor-

¹⁴ Gaetano Giulio Zumbo (1656-1701), a Syracusan nobleman who took up wax-modelling as a pastime, and became famous for his intensely realistic productions in colored wax, which included anatomical studies as well as groups and reliefs. He produced works for various patrons and actually entered the service of Cosimo III de' Medici, for whom the plague representation was executed.

ians, I turned first to the illustrated Bibles. The Biblical stories of plagues had provided material for many illustrators, and especially the story of the plague of the Philistines contained in the *First Book of Samuel*. The description of this plague in chapter V, verse 6 reads: "But the hand of the Lord was heavy upon them of Ashod and he destroyed them, and smote them with emerods, even Ashod and the coasts thereof." The Latin Vulgate and Greek Septuagint texts,

on which were based most of the medieval translations into contemporary tongues, continue further: "And in the villages and in the fields in the midst of the country there came forth a multitude of mice; and there was the confusion of a great mortality in the city." This continuation is missing from the Hebrew text of the Old Testament, and, therefore, from the King James and those other English versions based upon it. The only allusion to the mice in these texts is in the following chapter, where the Philistines are directed to make as an offering "images of your emerods, and images of your mice that mar the land."

The earliest illustration of the plague-mice of the Philistines that I have come upon is in a renowned Old Testament picture-book in the Pierpont Morgan Library—a manuscript executed in Paris about the year 1250 (fig. 2).¹⁵ The victims here lie heaped, but otherwise show no specific signs of the plague, the great ravages of which swept over Europe a century later. Rats, however, swarm from every nook and cranny of the crowded city buildings and attack the bodies and faces of the victims.

A vivacious representation occurs in the Bible in Low German printed around 1478-1480 by Heinrich Quentell in Cologne, and this was copied in the German Bible printed by Anton Koberger in Nuremberg in 1483 (fig. 3). Eli collapses after learning from a messenger, escaped from the battle in the background, that the Ark of the Covenant has been taken from the Israelites (I, *Samuel*, IV). The center foreground is filled with what apparently are meant to be the mice mentioned in the later episode of the story. It is remarkable that they are not here connected with any plague victims, although the representation dates from a time when the happenings during the Black Death were well known. They are over-running the fields, according to the accompanying text in Low German,

which includes the passage about the mice swarming over the country.

A far more elaborate illustration of the various disasters brought upon the Philistines after they had taken the Ark, is contained in the famous Lübeck Bible in Low German printed by Steffen Arndes in 1491 (fig. 4). "But when the Philistines entered the temple next morning, they found their hopes bitterly disappointed, Dagon was fallen on his face before the ark of the Lord." They set him in his place again, but to their great horror the upheaval repeated itself, and they found that both head and arms lay cut off upon the threshold, leaving only the trunk. This is depicted at the left side of the composition. At the right, the Ark is being taken from the temple to be transferred to another city, as advised, in order to remove the curse from the population. The deadly effects of the Ark's presence are shown in the center. A group of people writhe in agony or lie dead. Some of the sick lie on their faces and cover with their hands the lower part of their backs, where, according to a much-contested word in the narrative, they were smitten with a most painful affliction. Of this affliction fuller details are given in the accompanying text than appear in any of our English translations. It is not the place here to decide what this malady was. I hope to give a conclusive answer to this question in another publication. For the artist it is apparently a pestilence of plague character, for in the upper center the Almighty, Jehovah, curiously enough with a cross atop his imperial globe, sends the deadly rays of pestilence down upon the guilty Philistines. The mice play an especially prominent part in this woodcut. They are busy in the foreground, in the temple, and in the back-

¹⁵ Morgan Ms. 638. Sydney C. Cockerell, *A Book of Old Testament Illustrations of the Middle of the Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge, for the Roxburghe Club, 1927), fol. 21 vo.

ground, where several approach the stricken people.

The death of Eli, the battle of the Philistines, and the fall of Dagon are again treated in a woodcut illustrating the Low German translation of Luther's Bible, published in Lübeck in 1533-1534 (fig. 5). Here the rats appear at the right, on the pavement and in the "fields," but no plague-stricken people are shown.

A composition of the eighteenth century (fig. 6),¹⁶ approaching in type, though not at all in artistic quality that of Poussin, shows a group of horrified people, two of them holding shut their nostrils, surrounding a woman and a child stricken dead by the pestilence, while another child is alive beside her. At the right, the broken statue of Dagon lies prostrate on its pedestal, while beyond is the Ark with the two seraphim. Some distance away, four mice run through the courtyard between monumental buildings of a strange archaic character. Not much care has been dedicated to the vermin. They consist principally of corkscrew patches, apparently intended to convey an impression of vivacity.

Finally, two engravings are given from Scheuchzer's *Physica Sacra*,¹⁷ known as the "Kupferbibel," because of the numerous copper-plate engravings illustrating it. One picture presents a dramatic scene of plague in front of a fantastic building probably meant to represent the temple of Dagon (fig. 1). Lamentation about the toll the pestilence has taken is the prominent feature of this composition. No truly realistic observation is to be discovered among the many figures, nor any characteristic of the special pestilence involved. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that nowhere is a mouse visible, either.

¹⁶ Goadby's *Illustrated Bible* (London, 1759), pl. 55.

¹⁷ J. J. Scheuchzer, *Physica Sacra*, with engravings by Joh. Andreas Pfeffel (Augsburg and Ulm, 1773); plates to *Samuel* V and VI. This work, written by a scientist and physician of encyclopedic mind, systematically discusses, from the standpoint of his own period, the phenomena of medical or scientific interest in the Bible.



FIGURE 6 CAMBRIDGE, WIDENER LIBRARY
GOADBY'S ILLUSTRATED BIBLE, 1759
The Plague of the Philistines

There is, however, a second picture illustrating the following chapter of *Samuel*, verses 2-11 (fig. 7). It represents the "trespass-offering" sent along with the Ark upon a cart drawn by two milch-cows. The offering consists of symbolical boils of gold and mice of gold which the Philistine priests hold on trays, ready to deposit them beside the Ark. A representation of the same incident occurs also in the thirteenth-century Morgan manuscript.

These are the plague pictures that I have found so far in which mice are represented. Probably more could be discovered. It is striking that they are only found in illustrations of the Philistine plague. In the one case that is an

exception, they are characterized, as in other illustrations, as parasites, feasting on the victims, but nowhere is a causal connection implied. Yet, did there perhaps exist among the authors of *Samuel* a knowledge of their causal connection? No affirmative answer to this can be given. We know that primitive people have observed that in time of pestilence mice or rats (the word used in *Samuel* may mean either) die in great numbers, and that where this is the case, human beings are endangered as well. Such reports have come from the far-eastern parts of Asia, as well as from central and eastern Africa.¹⁸ Among the Chinese the plague is reported to be called the Rat-Disease. So it is possible that the Philistines, or at least the authors of the narrative of *Samuel*, had such knowledge, too. But there is no hint in the Biblical narrative that would justify such a hypothesis. The vermin are clearly spoken of as "mice that devastate the land."¹⁹

It is significant that the mice in all the pictures seem as lively as the pencil can draw them, and in the best of health. This seems of great importance, as the comments from primitive people emphasize the remarkable behavior of rats in time of plague. They describe the animals as running hither and thither, swaying as if drunk, falling to the ground and getting up, only to lose their

balance and finally drop dead. "If you see mice behaving like this," they say in Africa, "be on your guard, plague is near!"

Generally speaking, the role ascribed to animals in the early days was not the transference, but the forewarning of the epidemic. In particular, the sudden massed flight of birds from their abode was believed to be a sign of the imminent danger. It was supposed that they perceived, far in advance of the epidemic's outbreak, the local contamination of the air, which was regarded as the essential cause of the pestilence. Similar foresight was ascribed to animals living underground. It was assumed that the contamination of the soil was a cause of pestilence, too, and that this would be noticed early, before the vapors passed into the air and injured people, by the earth-bound creatures such as snakes, lizards, rabbits, moles, mice, rats. These would flee dangerous environment, and, by observing their wanderings, men could predict imminent pestilence just as they did forthcoming earthquake.

Abel,²⁰ in a thorough study, refuted the theory of other authors that there existed in the Middle Ages and Renaissance an understanding of plague contagion by mice. They are mentioned in plague publications eventually, he conceded, but rather infrequently in comparison with other animals. In no case, he stated, was a causative connection assumed between the disease of the animals and the human epidemic. A positive interrelation was seen in the similar fate of the creatures, which were believed to be stricken and killed by the malady just like human beings. Also, it was thought that they transferred the contagion from one subject to another, as do lifeless objects such as garments, beds, food, etc. Even about this non-specific relation of animals to men in the plague, the ancient authors incline to radically different opinions.

¹⁸ G. Sticker, *Abhandlungen aus der Seuchengeschichte und Seuchenlehre*, I, 1, *Geschichte der Pest* (Giessen, 1908), pp. 11, 406, 409, 412. J. Campbell Gibson in *Expository Times*, XII (1901), 378.

¹⁹ It is noteworthy that the text of I, *Samuel* V as rendered in the Vulgate and in the fifteenth-century versions, especially those in Low German which accompany some of the pictures cited here, describe particulars that are not at all characteristic of bubonic (or oriental) plague. However, we cannot treat here the interesting question of whether or not it was bubonic plague that befell the Philistines according to the story in *Samuel*. Scheuchzer thought that it was. Yet, in the appropriate illustration to his work (fig. 1), we do not find mice included among the plague horrors. He certainly would have directed his illustrator to do so, had he understood their role, to emphasize his argument about the nature of this plague. The other artists do not consider whether or not the actual pestilence visited upon the Philistines was bubonic plague, but render the details of that disease because it was the one only too familiar to themselves.

²⁰ R. Abel, *op. cit.*, pp. 89-119.

Another factor which argues against any medieval or renaissance belief in a causal connection between rats and plague infection is that none of the pictures cited hint that the terror of the populace includes fear of the vermin, as would be the case if they were believed to spread the disease. People of the time shared the general concept of the supernatural origin of the disease. It was sent by divine powers directly, or indirectly through their agents. We find clear expression of this idea in two woodcuts from the Cologne and Lübeck Bibles, which illustrate the plague upon the Egyptians described in *Exodus*, chap. IX. In one case Moses, in the other, Jehovah scatters the plague seeds. We

do not find mice included in these pictures, or indeed in any representations of the plague other than that of the Philistines. The obvious conclusion is that the artists of the Middle Ages and Renaissance, having before them a text of *Samuel* which described an invasion of mice as well as an affliction of plague, simply illustrated the story as literally as they could. Thus, all indications tend to discredit the belief that in these earlier days there existed a popular understanding of the role of vermin in helping to spread plague. Certainly the artists reflected no such conception, but confined themselves to a faithful rendering of the details given in the Old Testament narrative which they were to illustrate.



FIGURE 7

BALTIMORE, PEABODY LIBRARY

JOHANNES ANDREAS PFEFFEL
(Illustration to Scheuchzer's *Physica Sacra*)
The Trespass Offering of the Philistines (detail)



FIGURE 1

WALTERS ART GALLERY

SOFONISBA OR LUCIA ANGUISSOLA
Young Nobleman

SHORT NOTES AND ARTICLES

SOFONISBA ANGUISSOLA AND HER RELATIONS WITH MICHELANGELO

BY CHARLES DE TOLNAY

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IN THE Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore there is preserved the portrait of a young nobleman, dressed in black, bearing a sword at his left side, and holding gloves in his right hand (fig. 1).¹ He is represented in full figure, standing before a green background near a white marble column, whose base is ornamented by lozenges in yellow marble. With his large black eyes of serious expression he regards the spectator pensively. Lying behind him, curled up, is a sleeping dog represented in the characteristic pose of the dog in Dürer's engraving, "Melancholia."² The animal is doubtless conceived here as a symbol of melancholy, a mood also expressed by his master; thus, he emphasizes the gravity of expression emanating from the sickly, precociously mature face of this young noble.

The scheme of the representation (in full figure near a column), the technique of the painting, the discreet coloring, in which white, black, and green dominate, and finally, the material (rough canvas) are all characteristic of the northern Italian School, and more precisely, are akin to the School of Brescia of the middle sixteenth century (1550-1560). The portraits of Giovanni Battista Moroni in the Gardner Museum in

Boston, in the Palazzo dei Conti Moroni in Bergamo, and in the Galleria dell'Accademia Carrara of Bergamo may be cited as examples of this school. The Walters picture was, in fact, formerly attributed to Moroni,³ but the quality in composition, drawing, and painting is not up to the level of the great master of Brescia. Berenson, in his catalogue, attributes it to Sofonisba Anguissola, painter of Cremona.⁴

Sofonisba Anguissola, a pupil of the *maniériste* Bernardino Campi of Cremona, and of Bernardino Gatti called Sojaro, followed closely the style of her teachers. Her painting is cold and generally lacking in animation; her composition is stiff and does not follow the freer technique of the School of Brescia. On the other hand, the sister of Sofonisba, Lucia Anguissola, who died while still young, was regarded by her contemporaries as a young artist of promising talent.⁵ She was more susceptible to the charms of Moroni, as is proven by the portrait, signed by Lucia, of "Doctor Pietro Maria di Cremona," in the Prado Museum of Madrid.⁶ Lucia was the pupil of her sister, Sofonisba, and it is not impossible that the painting in Baltimore is a work of collaboration. Perhaps the invention is due to Sofonisba, and the execution to the younger sister.⁷

The physical aspects of the young noble, notably the shape of the head, the expression of the large eyes, the small sensitive mouth, and the receding chin, reveal the traits of the Anguissola family. (See the self-portrait of Sofonisba, paint-



FIGURE 2 REIMS, MUSEUM
SOFONISBA ANGUISSOLA
Young Nobleman

ed in 1554, in the Vienna Gallery.) It is, therefore, not impossible that we are here dealing with the portrait of Sofonisba's young brother, Asdrubale. Baldinucci characterizes Asdrubale in the following fashion: "A young man who arrived at such a mature judgment that from his earliest years he was accepted among the presiding governmental lords of his own country."⁸ This description concurs admirably with the serious face of the portrait. Furthermore, we

learn from Vasari⁹ that the Anguissola family as well as the Punzona family (that of Asdrubale's mother) were "both very noble families of Cremona." This fact will explain the representation of the young man in the portrait as a noble, bearing a sword. In the only known portrait of Asdrubale Anguissola (made by Sofonisba), he is represented in a group with his father and one of his sisters, Minerva.¹⁰ In this painting the young man is shown in profile, and, therefore, it is difficult to make a comparison with the Baltimore portrait; however, there seems to be some resemblance.

To the artistic influences mentioned above (composition in the style of the Brescia School, the dog represented after the manner of Dürer), one may add a certain relationship to Michelangelo. This is proven by two unedited letters preserved in the Archivio Buonarroti of Florence. These letters were sent to Michelangelo in Rome by Amilcare Anguissola, the father of Sofonisba, from Cremona. We publish here the essential parts of these two letters:¹¹ May 7, 1557, Amilcar Anguissola, from Cremona to Michelangelo in Rome: ". . . we are much obliged to have perceived the honorable and affable affection that you have and show for Sofonisba; I speak of my daughter, the one whom I caused to begin to practice the most honorable virtue of painting . . . I beg of you that since, by your innate courtesy and goodness, you deigned by your advice in the past to introduce her (to art), that you will condescend sometime in the future to guide her again . . . that you will see fit to send her one of your drawings that she may color it in oil, with the obligation to return it to you faithfully finished by her own hand . . . I dedicate Sofonisba (to you) both as a servant and daughter . . ." The second letter is dated May 15, 1558: ". . . I place among the first of so many obligations that I owe to God, that I am alive during the lifetime of so many of my children

and that such an excellent gentleman, the most virtuous above all others, deigns to praise and judge the paintings done by my daughter Sofonisba."

These letters show that Michelangelo introduced Sofonisba to art, and that he gave her general advice. Furthermore, he may have sent her, from time to time, sketches which she attempted to color in oil. Finally, it shows that he praised the work of Sofonisba, at least, to her father.

The traces of Michelangelo's influence on the young artist may be seen in the Baltimore portrait in the slightly bent wrist of the left arm, the passive hand with the fingers slightly curved. This is a preferred motif of Michelangelo when he wants to represent potential force in the members of the body which are not indicated as in action. Compare, for example, his "David" in marble, the "Christ Child" in the relief in the Bargello, and his "Apollo" also in the Bargello.

The names of Michelangelo and Sofonisba are found together once more in a letter of Tomaso Cavalieri, friend of Michelangelo, written to Cosimo de' Medici, January 20, 1562.¹² With this letter, Cavalieri sent two drawings, one by Michelangelo representing "Cleopatra" and one by Sofonisba. The latter was a drawing of her brother, Asdrubale. Cavalieri says in his letter: "since I have one drawing done by the hand of a noblewoman of Cremona, named Sofonisba Angosciosa, today a lady of the Spanish court, I send it to you with this one (that of Michelangelo) and I believe that it may stand comparison with many other drawings, for it is not simply beautiful, but also exhibits considerable invention. And this is that the divine Michelangelo having seen a drawing done by her hand of a smiling girl, he said that he would have liked to see a weeping boy, as a subject more difficult to draw. After he wrote to her about it, she (Sofonisba) sent to him this drawing which



FIGURE 3 RICHMOND, COOK COLLECTION
SOFONISBA ANGUISSOLA
Young Nobleman

was a portrait of her brother, whom she has intentionally shown as weeping. Now, I send them such as they are, and I beg your excellency to consider me as a servant, which, in truth, I am." Vasari mentions this same drawing in his *Vita di Properzia dei Rossi*¹³ and he says that he has



FIGURE 4 PRINCETON UNIVERSITY, MUSEUM
LUCIA ANGUISSOLA
Girl Sewing

a copy of it in his collection of drawings, the *Libro dei disegni*.

The correspondence between Amilcare Anguissola and Michelangelo has a certain further importance in that it presents new evidence of the generous character of the artist. It is already known that he helped a succession of young artists, by sending them drawings, as for example, Sebastiano del Piombo, Benvenuto Cellini, and Antonio Mini. This "innate courtesy and goodness" extended to Sofonisba is not an exceptional act, but fits in quite well with our conception of the character of Michelangelo.

¹ No. 37.1016. Panel. From the collection of James Stillman. See *Important Paintings by Old and Modern Masters from the Estate of the late James Stillman, and from the Collection of the late C. C. Stillman*, American Art Association (New York, 1927), no. 29.

Two copies of this painting exist: one in the Cook collection of Richmond, England (fig. 3) mentioned by Berenson, *Italian*

Pictures of the Renaissance (Oxford, 1932), p. 23; and another in the Reims museum (fig. 2), illustrated in *Les musées de France, Bulletin* (1914), 24, pl. XI and mentioned in the *Exposition des trésors de Reims, Musée de l'Orangerie* (Paris, 1938), no. 46.

I am indebted to Mr. Edward S. King of the Walters Art Gallery for this information.

² This is not an exact copy of Dürer's dog, but it is evident that it was inspired by it. Dürer's dog is represented in a position which is similar, but reversed.

³ In the Stillman catalogue (*cf.* note 1) the painting is attributed to Giovanni Battista Moroni. The copy in the Reims museum is attributed to the same artist.

⁴ B. Berenson, *loc. cit.*

Concerning Sofonisba, see Vasari, *Delle vite de' piu eccellenti pittori, scultori, ed architettori* (Milanese edition), VI, 498, in the life of Benvenuto Garofolo. The fullest treatment of Sofonisba's art is to be found in J. R. Fournier-Sarlovèze, *Artistes oubliés* (Paris, 1902), p. 13 ff. See besides, Holmes in *Burlington Magazine*, XXVI (1914-1915), 181 ff.; H. Cook, *ibid.*, p. 228 ff.; Carlo Bonetti in *Archivio storico lombardo*, LV (1928), 285 ff.; and Adolfo Venturi, *Storia dell'arte italiana*, IX, part 6 (Milan, 1933), 923 ff.

⁵ Concerning Lucia Anguissola, see Vasari, *op. cit.*, VI, 500 ff.

⁶ See the reproduction in A. Venturi, *Storia dell'arte italiana*, IX, part 6 (Milan, 1933), 933. Another painting which we might attribute to Lucia Anguissola is a portrait of a young lady sewing, in the Museum of Historic Art, Princeton University (Acq. no. 1011). The painting was formerly attributed to Titian and is now assigned to the Venetian School. In the *mise-en-page*, in the stiffness of the pose, the indistinct fashioning (e.g. the hands), and, last but not least, in the north Italian colorism and technique (canvas) it reveals very close relationship with the portrait of the doctor in the Prado by Lucia Anguissola. (I am indebted to Prof. Frank J. Mather, Jr., for the photograph and permission to publish it.) The painting is not mentioned in Berenson's catalogue of Sofonisba Anguissola's works, but Dr. Mather informs us that Berenson, on the basis of a photograph, has ascribed it to Sofonisba. Finally, we would ascribe to Lucia Anguissola the painting, "Widower with his Children", in the National Gallery, Dublin, reproduced in Herbert Cook, *More Portraits by Sofonisba Anguissola* in *Burlington Magazine*, XXVI (1914-15), p. 228, pl. Ia.

⁷ The Reims copy (fig. 2), which is inferior in quality to that of the Walters Art Gallery, appears to be closer to the style of Sofonisba. It seems probable that the Reims copy is entirely the work of Sofonisba Anguissola, and that it served as a model for the Baltimore copy by Lucia.

⁸ Baldinucci, *Notizie dei Professori del Disegno* (Firenze, 1846), II, 621: "Asdrubale, giovane che riuscì di così maturo giudizio, che fin negli anni suoi più verdi fu accettato fra i signori presidenti al governo di sua patria."

⁹ *Op. cit.*, VI, 498.

¹⁰ Nivaagaard, Coll. Haage. See the reproduction in Venturi *op. cit.*, IX, part 6, 927.

¹¹ The two letters are published here for the first time, with the kind permission of Commendatore Giovanni Poggi, Director of the Archivio Buonarroti. Among the writings concerning Sofonisba Anguissola, [see Posse, in Thieme-Becker, *Künstlerlexikon*, I (Leipzig, 1907), 524, under Sofonisba; and Venturi, *op. cit.*, IX, part 6, 922 ff.], her relationship with Michelangelo has not up to the present been mentioned. However, we find a brief note concerning these two letters in J. A. Symonds, *Life of Michelangelo*, 3rd edit. (London, 1925), II, 340, note.

We publish here the extracts of the original letters:

(1) May 7, 1557 (Archivio Buonarroti Codex VI, no. 35):

"... ci fa obligatissimo, è l'avere inteso l'onorata et amoro-
evole affezione ch' egli à e dimostra a Sofonisba, io dico quella
mia figliuola, alla quale ce ò io fatto principiare ad esercitarsi
nell' onoratissima virtute del dipingere . . . pregarlo che sic-
come per sua innata cortesia e bontate la si è degnata nelli suoi

ragionamenti per il passato questa mia figliuola introdurla, la se degna nell' avvenire alcuna volta . . . ancora introdurla . . . ve dignati mandarli uno vostro disegno perchè lei lo colorisse in olio, con obbligo de rimandarlo di propria sua mano fidelmente finito . . . gli dedico essa Sofonisba per sua serva e figliuola. . . ."

(2) May 15, 1558 (Archivio Buonarroti, Codex VI, no. 36):
 "... tra tanti oblighi ch'io ho al S. Iddio, nel numero delli primi pongo, [ch'io] viva a tempo con tanti mei figliuoli, che uno tanto excl. mo gentilomo (*scil.* Michelangelo) sopra ogni altro virtuosissimo veramente se degna laudare et giudicare le pitture fatte di mia figliuola Sofonisba."

¹² Steinmann-Pogatscher, *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, XXIX (1906), 504ff.

The text of Cavalieri's letter follows: "... havendo io un disegno di mano di una gentildonna Cremonese chiamata Sophonisba Angosciosa, oggi dama della Regina di Spagagna, lo mando insieme con questo (drawing of Cleopatra by Michelangelo) et credo, che potrà stare a paragone di molti, perchè non è solamente bello ma ci è ancora inventione, et questo è che, havendo il divino Michelangiolo veduto un disegno di sua mano di una giovane che rideva, disse che harrebbe voluto vedere un putto che piangesse come cosa molto più difficile, et essendole scritto, lei li mandò questo quale è un ritratto di un suo fratello fatto piangere studiosamente; ora io li mando tali quali sono e supplico la Eccellenza Vostra a tenermi per servitore come veramente lo sono".

¹³ Vasari, *op. cit.*, V, 81.

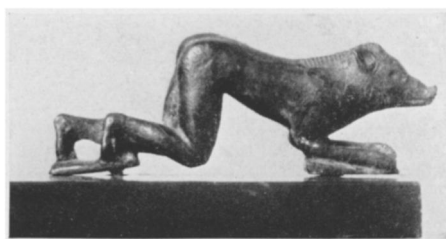


FIGURE 1 WALTERS ART GALLERY
 MAN WITH PIG'S FORE-QUARTERS
 Bronze figurine

ODYSSEUS' COMPANIONS ON CIRCE'S ISLE

BY DOROTHY KENT HILL

Walters Art Gallery

A TINY BRONZE figure, almost unique in Greek art, leads us straight into the maze of Greek mythology¹ (fig. 1). It is a creature with pig's head and forequarters, and a human trunk and legs, proceeding on all fours with the right knee slightly in advance of the left. The fore-legs are animal and end in cloven hoofs, but they are short like a man's arms. The whole sculpture is

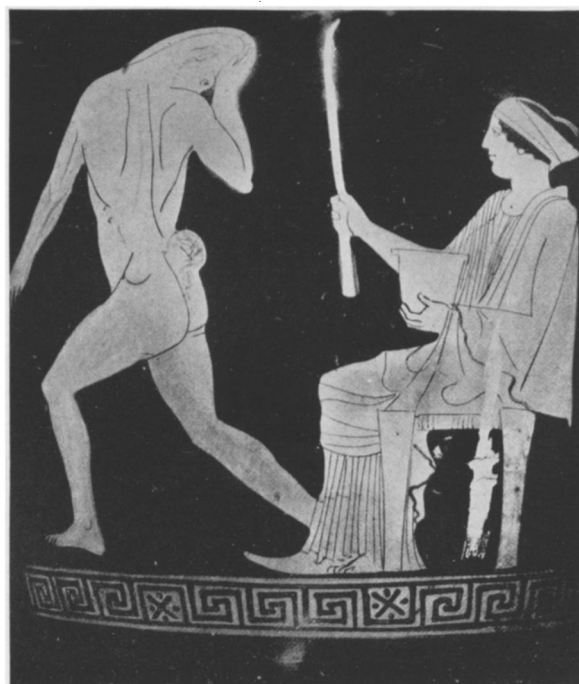


FIGURE 2 BERLIN, STAATLICHE MUSEEN. (AFTER SCHAAL)
 CIRCE AND ONE OF ODYSSEUS' COMPANIONS
 Attic red-figured vase

only one and three quarters inches (.046 m.) long. The body is smooth, trimmed down by chiselling after it was cast; the hair on the back of the neck and the details of the head are rendered by fine incised lines. Under the fore-legs and hind feet are small plaques for attachment to some object. The workmanship is that of the fifth century B. C.

The combination of human and animal form reminds us of the story of Circe and the comrades of Odysseus in Homer's *Odyssey*. The poet relates how half of Odysseus' companions, chosen by lot after landing on an island, advance stealthily through woodland thickly populated with wolves and lions of strangely peaceful behavior. They come upon a palace, where they are received by a charming hostess who invites them to partake of food. But she is the evil enchantress, Circe, who has already made beasts of all previous voyagers to her shores. Her food (or



FIGURE 3

BRITISH MUSEUM. (AFTER PFUHL)

CIRCE, ODYSSEUS AND COMPANION

Boiotian black-figured vase

drink; it is a mixture of cheese, meal, honey, and wine) is drugged, and as soon as the Greeks have tasted it she transforms them into swine and pens them in sties.

Instant her circling wand the goddess waves,
To hogs transforms them, and the sty receives.
No more was seen the human form divine,
Heads, face and members bristle into swine;
Still cursed with sense, their minds remain alone
And their own voice affrights them when they groan.
Meanwhile the goddess in distain bestows
The mast and acorn, brutal food! and strows
The fruits and cornel, as their feast, around,
Now prone and grovelling on unsavoury ground.²

But all ends well. Odysseus, hearing of their misfortune, comes to the rescue, and by the use of a drawn sword, his winning personality, and aided by the herb, moly, which is a countercharm given to him by Hermes, makes Circe change his comrades back to their original state. Circe then entertains them for a full year of glorious daily feasting; after which they sail away, apparently without doing anything to assist the other unfortunate animals that still roam the woodlands of the island.

It is clear that the maker of our pig was not following exactly the text of Homer, where it is stated distinctly that the whole body became

that of a pig, the mind alone remaining human. Yet how else could a sculptor represent a man bewitched into a pig than as a man with pig's head? An author can discuss the mind and the voice, but an artist cannot show them. Even when the scene is represented in pictorial form (for there is only one other similar figure in the round now known)³ the painter preferred a man with pig's head. Actually, there appears to be only one instance in all classical art where a common barnyard pig appears in this scene.⁴ This is an Etruscan bronze mirror-relief. Odysseus and Elpenor (the comrade who afterwards fell off Circe's roof "and snapp'd the spinal joint, and wak'd in hell")⁵ are drawing their swords against Circe, while at her feet sits a pig. The names of the characters are inscribed above them; otherwise we should have difficulty in recognizing them.⁶ In all other representations of the legend a pig-headed man, with or without tail, is seen retreating from Circe just after drinking the direful potion, or else he acts as spectator while Odysseus effects his rescue. Our figure 2 is an Attic red-figured vase in Berlin, illustrating the first of these two alternatives: Circe is seated on a chair, holding her bowl and waving her wand, while from her flees a man

with a tail sprouting from his human back, who raises his hand to feel his head which has already become that of a pig.⁷ Our figure 3 shows the other possibility. It is a Boiotian black-figured vase caricaturing the story.⁸ A Circe of negroid type shoves a bowl at a crippled old Odysseus who leans on a staff; behind her are the loom at which she has been working and one of the comrades, his pig's snout high in the air, his animal forefeet on the ground, and hind legs of human shape doubled up beneath him. He appears quite (may I say?) disgruntled—as if he did not expect Odysseus to succeed.

It is a curious fact that none of the scenes cited shows more than one of the comrades.⁹ When there are several they have the heads of various animals, no two alike. Our figure 4 is an Attic black-figured vase.¹⁰ In the center Circe is seated with a bowl in her hand; immediately before her is a man wearing a sheathed sword; we take him to be Odysseus. The four unclothed figures have the bodies of men, furnished with the heads of a donkey, a bull, a boar, and a goose, respectively,

all but the last wearing an appropriate tail. On another vase the men are clothed and have the heads of various animals.¹¹

It has been suggested that there must have been another, perhaps earlier, story in which the comrades were changed into various animals.¹² But is it necessary to assume so much, especially when we reflect that all these types of representation were used from early Greek times down to late Roman? It is even stated in the *Odyssey* (Book X, lines 212 ff.) that the gentle wild beasts in the woods around Circe's house were other travellers changed by her. Her power, therefore, was not supposed to be limited to creating swine. A convincing proof that there was no other story is a marble relief of late date which gives three scenes in chronological order. These scenes come right out of the *Odyssey*¹³ and are inscribed in such a way as to prove it. In the lower-most scene Odysseus on the way to the rescue meets Hermes who gives him the counter-charm, above this he is shown threatening Circe with his sword; and finally at the top she exhibits the

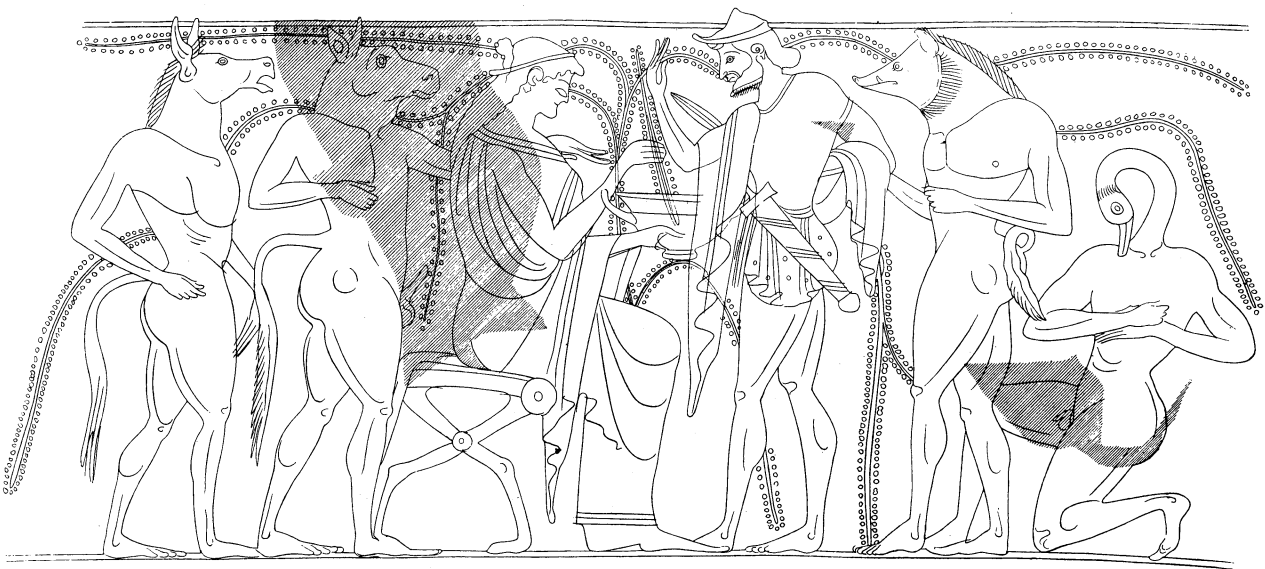


FIGURE 4

BERLIN, STAATLICHE MUSEEN. (AFTER ARCHÄOLOGISCHE ZEITUNG)
CIRCE, ODYSSEUS AND COMPANIONS
Attic black-figured vase

victims before restoring them to their original shapes; and they file out of her stable, human and clothed, one with a donkey's head, the next with a pig's head, the third with a ram's head, and the fourth with a bull's head. This artist was certainly using the familiar story. He required merely the slightest artistic license to represent Odysseus' own comrades as various animals—license quite justified by the effectiveness of his picture. One must explain similarly the fact that he represents the animal metamorphosis as affecting only the heads of the victims.

It seems clear then that our little figure represents one of the comrades of Odysseus, rendered after the *Odyssey* story by an artist who did not confine himself to the text in every literal detail. It is tempting to speculate as to whether our bronze figure was one of a group. For, as we have noted, the creature stands on plaques for attachment to some object, and according to good Greek practice this would be an object of household use. Perhaps he was on the shoulder of a bowl, a circumstance for which parallels may be found.¹⁴ Was he accompanied by the other actors in the drama—Circe, Odysseus, and some of his transformed comrades?

¹ Walters Art Gallery, no. 54.1483. Source and date of acquisition unknown.

² Homer, *Odyssey*, X, lines 237-243 (Pope's translation).

³ Formerly in the Forman Collection, Sale Catalogue (Sotheby's, London, 1899), p. 9, no. 64.

⁴ R. Engelmann, *Pictorial Atlas to Homer* (London, 1892), (*Odyssey*), pl. VIII, fig. 46; J. Harrison, *Myths of the Odyssey* (London, 1882), pl. 22; F. W. E. Gerhard, *Etruskische Spiegel* (Berlin, 1869), IV, pl. CDIII, 2. There is some doubt in this case, since part of the pig is erased. On two very similar mirrors there is a pig with human hind legs, *ibid.*, pl. CDIII, 1, and G. M. A. Richter, *Catalogue of Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York, 1915), p. 277, no. 800.

⁵ Homer, *Odyssey*, X, lines 559-560 (Pope's translation).

⁶ Lacking such inscriptions we cannot positively identify a vase painting of a woman feeding a pig, Harrison, *op. cit.*, pl. 20, a.

⁷ Berlin, Staatliche Museen, no. F.2342. *Archäologische Zeitung*, XXXIV (1876), pl. XIV; K. A. Neugebauer, *Führer durch das Antiquarium*, II (Vasen), (Berlin, 1932), p. 112 (not illustrated); H. Schaal, *Bilderhefte zur Kunst und Kulturgeschichte des Altertums*, V (1928), pl. XXVIII, fig. 46; Harrison, *op. cit.*, pl. 18 b. See also another Attic red-figured amphora, *Archäolo-*

gische Zeitung, XXIII (1865), pl. CXCIV, 1, and W. H. Roscher, *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie* (Leipzig, 1884-1913), II, part 1, col. 1195, fig. 1, and Harrison, *op. cit.*, pl. 18 a; and an Attic black-figured lekythos in Athens, National Museum, no. 1003, *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, XIII (1893), pl. II.

⁸ British Museum. *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, XIII (1893), pl. IV; Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung der Griechen* (Munich, 1923), fig. 616. See also an Attic red-figured example in Parma, *Monumenti dell' Istituto*, V, pl. XLI; Roscher, *op. cit.*, II, part 1, col. 1195, fig. 2; and Harrison, *op. cit.*, pl. 17 b.

⁹ A black-figured lekythos in the British Museum shows a woman and the forequarters of two pigs, H. B. Walters, *Catalogue of Greek and Etruscan Vases in the British Museum*, II, p. 245, no. B503.

¹⁰ Berlin, Staatliche Museen, no. F.1960. *Archäologische Zeitung*, XXXIV (1876), pl. XV; Engelmann, *op. cit.* (*Odyssey*), pl. IX, fig. 45; Neugebauer, *op. cit.*, p. 53 (not illustrated); A. Baumeister, *Denkmäler des klassischen Altertums*, II (1887), 782, fig. 837; Harrison, *op. cit.*, pl. 21.

¹¹ An Etruscan terra-cotta urn, Baumeister, *op. cit.*, p. 782, fig. 838, and Brunn-Körte, *Urne Etrusche*, I, pl. 38.

¹² Bethe in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*, I, p. 502. Harrison, *op. cit.*, p. 67, note 1, more justly says that the mixed being was transferred from art to literature, as by Apollonius Rhodius, IV, 670.

¹³ Engelmann, *op. cit.* (*Odyssey*), pl. VIII, fig. 46. The inscriptions, *Inscriptiones Graecae*, XIV, no. 1291.

¹⁴ Cf. the bowl with lioness and bull in the Ancona Museum, I. Dall'Oso, *Guida illustrata del Museo Nazionale di Ancona* (Ancona, 1915), p. 93, and the lion and boar in Boston, Burlington Fine Arts Club, *Illustrated Catalogue of Ancient Greek Art* (London, 1904), pl. LVIII.

AMONG THE DÜRER PLAGIARISTS

(Continued from page 95)

perhaps he himself used an engraving by Dürer, with whom he had been in personal touch in 1520 and 1521. But certainly one of his contemporaries might have employed the same expedient.

The problem is not confined to the single painting in Rochester. The gallery in Zagreb, Yugoslavia, possesses a panel representing the "Feeding of the Two Hermit Saints, Paul and Anthony, by the Raven"¹⁴ (fig. 8). It is ascribed to the Flemish School of about 1530, and the catalogue correctly points to its dependence on a woodcut by Dürer (Bartsch 107). The correspondence of the figures and of the table between them is complete; but again credit must be accorded to the painter who surrounded that borrowed group with a rich landscape and succeeded in harmonizing most advantageously the newly created composition.

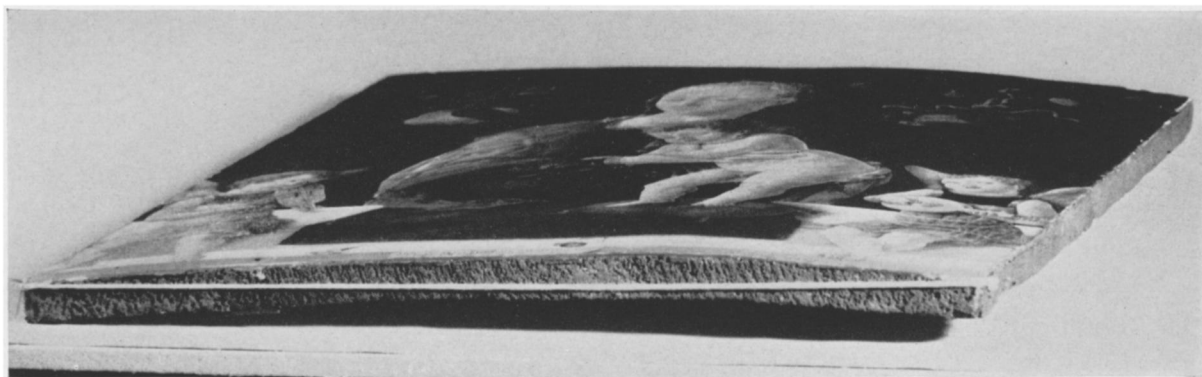


FIGURE 1

Panel Painting Before Straightening

NOTES ON THE PRESERVATION OF PANEL PICTURES

BY DAVID ROSEN

Walters Art Gallery

AN INHERENT characteristic of wood is to change in volume and shape with the fluctuations in the moisture content of the wood. Thus the preservation of paintings executed on wooden panels has always been one of the difficult problems of conservation. In the construction of the panels used by the old masters two or more battens often were nailed fast to the back or were dovetailed into the thickness of the panel, offering

support across the grain of the board or boards forming the panel. Sometimes these battens were later additions to reinforce a panel-painting already finished, and thus illustrate the crude beginnings of cradling. These efforts usually failed, and the resulting distress was accentuated when the paintings were brought to America and exposed to the extremes of dryness and moisture of the average museum and home.

In addition to damage of the wood by warping, twisting, and cracking, the paint film on panel-paintings often detached itself and buckled when the panel shrank, since the gesso carrying the paint film could not follow the movement of

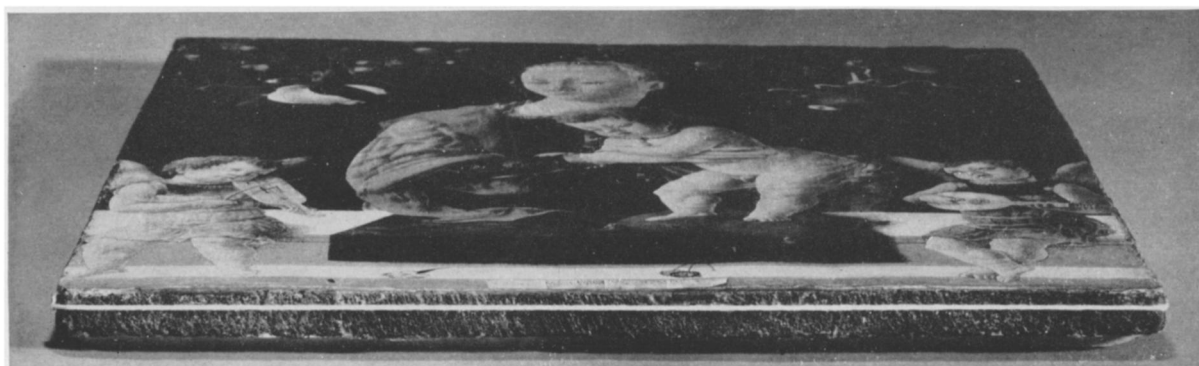


FIGURE 2

Panel Painting After Straightening Process

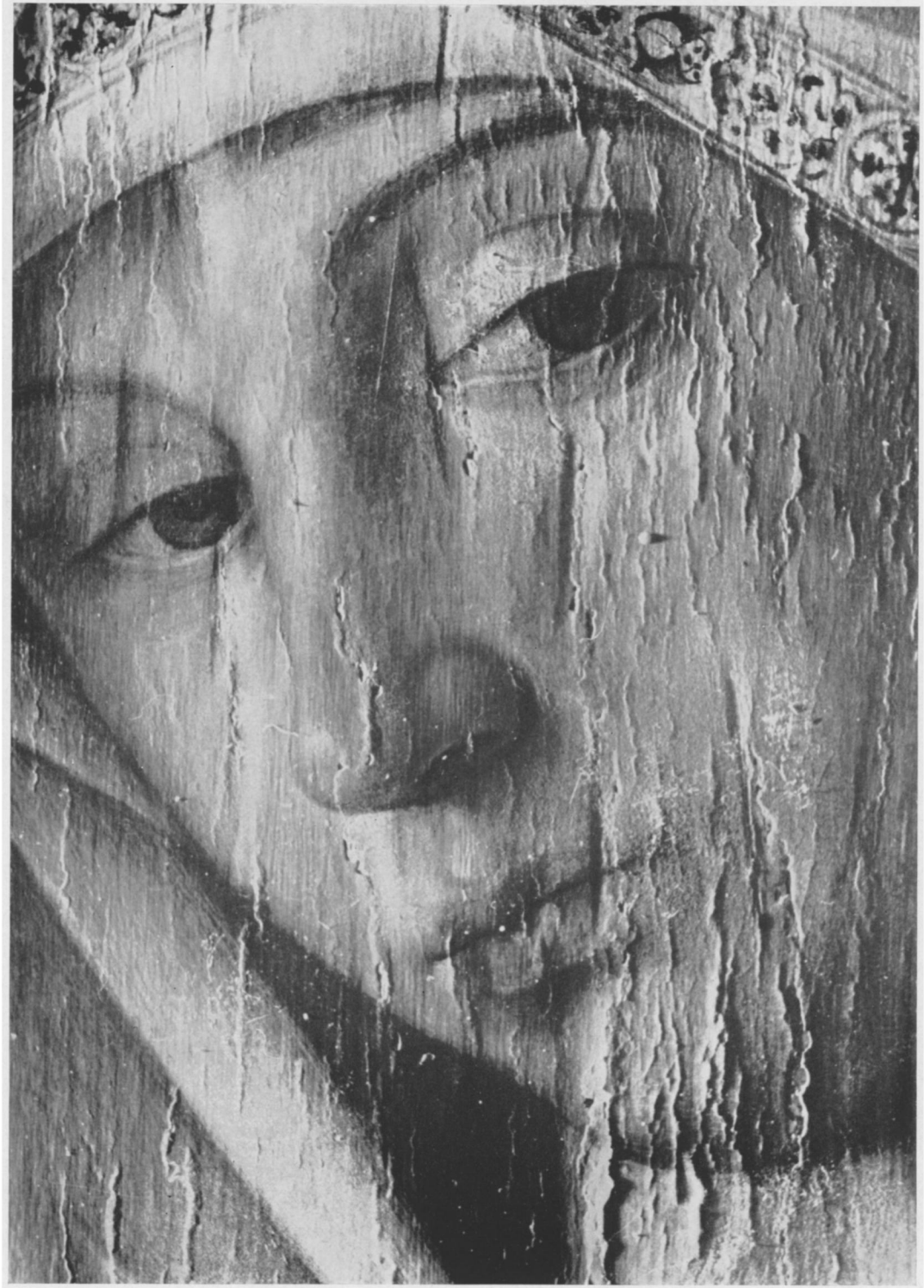


FIGURE 3

An Illustration of Movement in Paint Film Caused by Faulty Cradle

the wood. Then, too, decay and the tunnelling of beetles often threatened total destruction.

Faced with any one of these conditions, the old-time restorer adopted one of the procedures which tradition and hitherto accepted practice indicated:

1. Transposing gesso ground and paint film to canvas.
2. Reducing the panel to a more or less thin section and mounting this on another panel.
3. Cradling.

Before examining the disadvantages of these treatments it may be useful to review the basic principles which should govern all restoration of paintings. Clearly, these concern the *preservation intact* of as much of the original work as possible. This concept demands care in checking and correcting the damage caused by age and neglect. It implies the strictest respect for original paint, so as to preserve its unique character. It would also seem obvious that the original fabric of the work should remain unaltered in dimension, both along its surface and in its thickness. The traditional methods listed above fail to achieve any of these ends. In successful transposition to canvas, the wooden panel must be entirely removed, leaving the gesso or often only the paint film itself. This film is then backed with muslin and in turn is mounted on canvas. With the passing of years, it is inevitable that the weave of the canvas will establish its pattern on the face of the picture. A painting so treated is no longer enjoyable aesthetically as a panel-painting.¹

Transposition to another panel,² the second treatment mentioned, implies reducing the thickness of the original wooden support in order to permit straightening. In some instances it is necessary to remove all the wood and to transpose the thin film of gesso and pigment to the new wooden panel. The paint film when applied to the second panel must then respond anew to whatever movement will take place as a result of



FIGURE 4

The Heavy Vertical Cracks are Shear Lines Corresponding to Edges of Stationary Strips of Cradle

moisture changes. These stresses are generally too great for the original pigment to endure and once more losses are apt to result.

Toward the last quarter of the eighteenth century, the device known as the cradle came into general use in an effort to hold the straightened panels rigid. The type of cradle first developed, called *parquetage à plat*, employed wide stationary strips which sometimes covered seventy-five percent or more of the back of the original panel (fig. 6). In the process of straightening, the panel was usually planed down to a fraction of its original thickness. The strips of wood were then glued on the back of the panel parallel to the grain of the wood and cross strips were slotted into them with the intention of allowing free ex-

pansion and contraction within the fabric of the panel, as well as to hold it straight (fig. 6). However, the movement in the new wood of the stationary members of the cradle was transferred to the panel, causing splitting along the grain, blistering of the paint film and consequent paint losses (figs. 3, 4).

Later the so-called *parquetage de champ* was developed in an attempt to overcome these defects. This method followed the old principle, but modified the section of the stationary strips by turning these on edge, beam fashion, and by selecting fine-grained wood of uniform density. In this manner, equal or greater strength was secured and a smaller area of the original panel was covered. Not infrequently the members forming the cradle were so heavy as to add greatly to the weight of the picture and to place undue strain on the thin shell they were intended to support. Moreover the areas between the fixed strips were free to move at a different rate from the rest of the panel, thus shearing the panel in the direction of the grain and along the edges of the fixed slats.

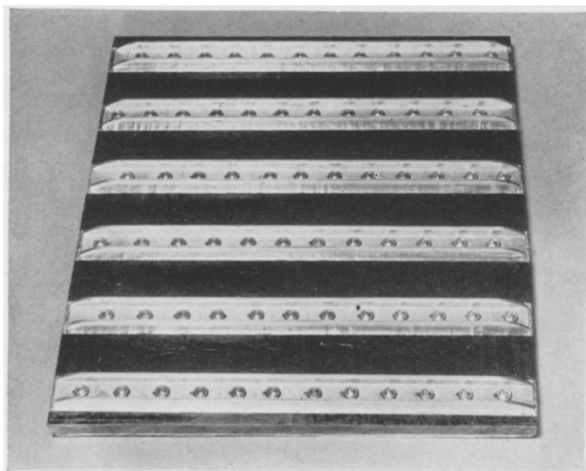


FIGURE 5
Use of Metal Strips, the Sole Purpose of Which is to Furnish
Additional Mechanical Support

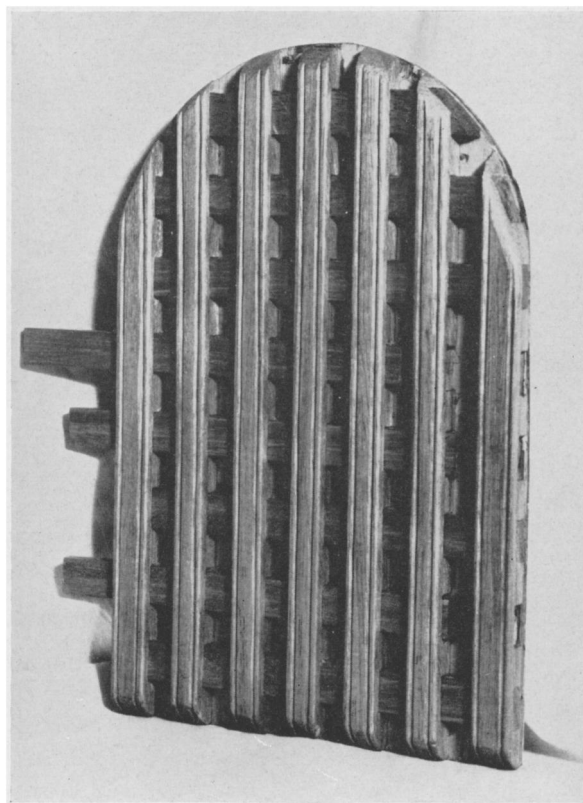


FIGURE 6

SO-CALLED *PARQUETAGE À PLAT*

Early Type of Cradle in which Stationary Members Cover Fifty or Seventy-five Percent of the Panel Area. The Cross-strips Slide through the Uprights and are not Attached to the Picture Itself

It would seem that all three methods described are the cause of such major problems as to render their use highly debatable. In addition, important information relating to the thickness of the picture is destroyed. When attempting to reconstruct a polyptych, for instance, positive identification of the dispersed parts may be impossible owing to the destruction of pertinent evidence.

How then should the preservation of panel-pictures be approached? First it may be helpful to urge that badly warped pictures which are otherwise sound be left as they are. Figures 7 and 8 illustrate the condition of a panel that has never been cradled. Panels of this kind are fre-

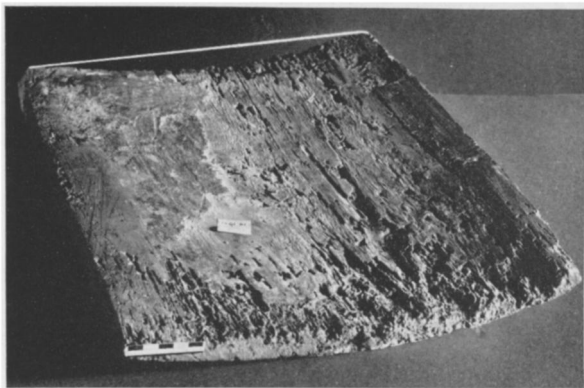


FIGURE 7



FIGURE 8

PANEL PRIOR TO TREATMENT

This is typical of many Italian pictures that have survived in their original thickness because they have never been cradled. Note amount of curvature and weakened condition of the wooden structure. Despite these, the paint film has remained remarkably intact

quently badly warped, but their condition is more easily remedied than that of panels that have been subjected to cradling. Frames can be accommodated to accept such pictures and to eliminate untidy sight-lines. In other words, if the paint film is sound, nothing should be attempted. If the painted surface is in danger and the panel itself has been planed down or damaged by cradling, more drastic treatment will be justified. After protecting the paint film in the usual manner, straightening of the panel by controlled use of humidity is indicated (figs. 1, 2). The panel may then be treated with a wax and resin mixture either by immersion or by the direct application of heat.³ This procedure replaces with wax the humidity and air in the wood. It is interesting to note that some panels which had deteriorated greatly, have in the course of this treatment, more than doubled their weight, and all wax-permeated panels have remained unaffected by subsequent variations in relative humidity. If the panel is large or composed of several boards, metal strips⁴ may be attached as an additional safeguard to give mechanical strength only (fig. 5). If the panel has been so weakened by being planed down that it becomes necessary

to reinforce it, an aluminum backing of required thickness may be used.

Panel pictures in the Walters Art Gallery restored in this manner subsequent to 1934 have given no further concern. We have adopted the routine policy of removing cradles from all pictures showing signs of distress and have submitted them to the wax treatment. It is our confident belief that this method, difficult though it may be in technique, offers the best protection for panel-pictures because it resists the damaging action of moisture, and tends to achieve homogeneous density throughout the structure of the panel, rendering it as inert as is physically possible.

¹ It follows that the modern practice of transposing canvas-paintings to wooden supports is equally undesirable from an aesthetic point of view.

² In recent times plywood panels have been employed.

³ In using this technique, care must be exercised to control temperature properly and to insure the painted surface from any contact with the wax solution.

⁴ Usually aluminum, because of its strength and lightness.

A TERRA-COTTA MODEL
BY ÉTIENNE LE HONGRE

BY MARVIN CHAUNCEY ROSS

The Walters Art Gallery

THE SECOND half of the seventeenth century in France was dominated by the personality of Louis XIV. Richelieu and Mazarin had begun the political, social, and economic centralization that the king was to complete, the latter even giving this tendency visible form in concentrating his court at Versailles. He made Versailles the chief capital, lavishing works of art on it, changing it from a simple hunting lodge to one of the most sumptuous layouts ever built by man.

All important French sculptors of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries worked at Versailles, embellishing the palace and gardens. In the time of Louis XIV the work at Versailles was under the direction of the painter Charles Le Brun. Antoine Coysevox and François Girardon were the sculptors most highly in favor with the king and Le Brun, but there were many others who assisted in various capacities. It is often the policy of art-historians to group these artists together indiscriminately when discussing French baroque sculpture. But a visit to Versailles is sufficient to demonstrate that these sculptors preserved their individual characteristics even though their work is subordinated to the whole scheme. Little of this sculpture is to be found in American museums, although the National Gallery in Washington has two lead fountains from Versailles, one by Tuby, the other by Pierre Legros. The Walters Art Gallery has recently acquired a terra-cotta model of the statue of "Air" at Versailles, made by Étienne Le Hongre, who had worked there with Tuby and Legros (figs. 1, 2).

Étienne Le Hongre¹ was born in 1628, the son of a carpenter also called Étienne Le Hon-



FIGURE 1

WALTERS ART GALLERY

ÉTIENNE LE HONGRE
L'Air

gre. The father, in the fashion of the day, may have been a sculptor as well as the son. He lived in Paris, and there in 1661 the son married Mar-



FIGURE 2 WALTERS ART GALLERY
ÉTIENNE LE HONGRE
L'Air

guerite Guichard, the daughter of an apothecary. They lived in the rue Montmartre and on June 7, 1671, they had twin sons. There were other sons and at least one daughter. In 1686 Le Hongre had achieved so prominent a place in royal patronage that he was given the room previously occupied by the Abbé de Sori in the Louvre. He

died on the 27th of April, 1690, at the age of sixty-two years.

Many commissions came to Le Hongre. His great masterpiece, an equestrian statue of Louis XIV, interrupted at his death and finished by another sculptor collaborating with a bronze-founder, was destroyed in the French Revolution.² The tomb of Mazarin, begun by him, was finished by Coysevox and Tuby after his death.³ The *Comptes des bâtiments du roi*⁴ mention payment to him for many works executed for Louis XIV, beginning in 1666-67 and continuing until the sculptor's death. These commissions were for sculpture or decoration on the Louvre, the Sainte-Chapelle, the Tuilleries, the Académie de Peinture, and for the palaces at Versailles, Fontainebleau, the Trianon, Clagny, Saint-Germain, and Marly. They include a great variety of work: models, fountains, statues, balustrades, capitals, pilasters, ornaments, vases, bas-reliefs, etc.; they were in stone, lead, and stucco—the list giving us the picture of an active life on the part of the artist and ability in more than one medium. Many examples of Le Hongre's sculpture may still be seen in the chapel at Versailles, on the chateau and in the gardens,⁵ on the palace of the Louvre, on the tomb of Cardinal Mazarin in the Louvre, and elsewhere.

Le Hongre's most admired work of sculpture is his statue of the personification of "Air" in the Allée d'Eau at Versailles. Brinckman speaks of it as "wundervoll rein und edel gearbeitet,"⁶ and Pierre de Nolhac calls it the "plus exquise"⁷ of all the marbles in this section of the gardens. In 1686 *Le Mercure Galant*⁸ in describing the visit of the Ambassadors of Siam to the gardens says: "Ils admirèrent la figure de l'Air . . . , qui est du nombre de ces vingt-quatre (figures) et qui est beaucoup estimée pour la délicatesse du travail et la correction du dessin."

The general idea of the *Allée d'Eau* was Italian, but Claude and Charles Perrault⁹ invented it. Charles Le Brun made sketches for the figures.¹⁰ The whole was designed to be seen from the king's windows that looked over this part of the garden.¹¹ There were to be twenty-four marble figures which showed "l'union de ce qui compose l'universe." The first models were made in 1670 and the commissions started in 1674. It was planned first to put up plaster models before proceeding. There appear to have been many changes, probably because there were too many figures, and in the end the statues were actually arranged without much sense as to their meaning, but rather to give the most pleasing effects. The work, although largely completed by 1680, really continued until 1694-96. An illustration in *Le Mercure de France* for 1686 shows the statues for the most part in place as they stand today.

The records of payments to Le Hongre in the *Comptes des bâtiments* include many for "models"¹² of various kinds, of statues or of architectural decorations. Apparently he was accustomed to submit such models, but so far none have been mentioned in the literature on Le Hongre as still existing. Hence, the model of the statue of "Air" now in the Walters Art Gallery¹³ becomes especially important. It is in terra-cotta and signed "— F. Le Hongre" and dated 1683 (fig. 3). The first initial is missing but the period is there; the "F" doubtless stood for a second name to distinguish him from his father. The statuette is in beautiful condition, except for the left hand which is partly missing, and is the same in every detail as the completed marble at Versailles—in fact, the small holes all over the terra-cotta may indicate it was used in pointing up the marble. Most of the marbles in the *Allée d'Eau* were erected in 1682-83. Le Hongre received part of his payment in 1683,¹⁴ but the complete payment did not come until December,

1684¹⁵ when the statue appears to have been finished. This would further indicate that the terra-cotta was made before the marble, and not afterwards for the purpose of making bronze statuettes.

Thus, the terra-cotta has a certain amount of historical interest in that it gives us an idea of the models that Le Hongre is known to have executed and to have been paid for as described on the *Comptes des bâtiments*. Further than that, it is of such fine quality that it reveals Le Hongre to us as an artist of the first order, hampered though he was by being obliged to use Le Brun's design. His finished marble at Versailles, although fine, lacks the loveliness so notable in the figurine. In the king's accounts Le Hongre was often paid together with his assistants. These assistants doubtless worked with him on the marble statue, as on most of his other sculptures. The terra-cotta, on the other hand, is the work of the sculptor himself and shows him well worthy of the esteem with which he was regarded in the time of Louis XIV.

¹ A. Alexandre, *La leçon de Versailles* in *Renaissance de l'art français*, II (1919), 366.

H. Herluison, *Actes d'état civil d'artistes français* (Paris, 1873), p. 235.

A. Fontaine, *Les collections de l'académie royale de peinture et de sculpture* (Paris, 1910), p. 165.

A. de Montaiglon, *Correspondance des directeurs de l'académie de France à Rome* (Paris, 1888), II, 105.

J. J. Guiffrey, *Brevets de logement d'artistes au Louvre* in *Nouvelles archives de l'art français*, II (1873), 77, 79.

A. Jal, *Dictionnaire critique de biographie et d'histoire* (Paris, 1872), p. 762.

L. Dimier, *Fontainebleau. (Les villes d'art célèbres)* (Paris, 1908), p. 90.

S. Lami, *Dictionnaire des sculpteurs de l'époque de Louis XIV* (Paris, 1906), p. 306.

H. Puvis de Chavannes, *La sculpture de Versailles* in *L'art et les artistes* (Nov. 1935), p. 39.

² J. J. Guiffrey, *Roger Scabol et François Aubry* in *Nouvelles archives de l'art français* (1882), p. 111.

³ H. Puvis de Chavannes, *Le tombeau de Mazarin* in *La renaissance de l'art français*, V (1922), 633.

⁴ J. J. Guiffrey, *Comptes des bâtiments du roi sous le règne de Louis XIV* (Paris, 1881-1901), see index.

⁵ H. Puvis de Chavannes, *La parterre et l'Allée d'Eau de Versailles* in *Gaz. des beaux arts*, I (1933), 108.

⁶ A. E. Brinckmann, *Barockskulptur* (Berlin, 1919), II, 304.

⁷ *Les marbres de Versailles* in *Gaz. des beaux arts*, II (1911), 263.

⁸ P. de Nolhac, *La création de Versailles* (Versailles, 1901), p. 152.

⁹ H. Lemonnier, *L'art français au temps de Louis XIV* (Paris, 1911), p. 310.

¹⁰ C. P. de Nolhac, *Les jardins de Versailles* (Paris, 1906), p. 44.

¹¹ G. Brière, *Le parc de Versailles: sculpture decorative* (Paris, n.d.), I, 21.

¹² Guiffrey, *Comptes*, see I, 181, 1196; II, 175.

¹³ No. 27.501. Height: 23 $\frac{1}{8}$ " (.59). From the collection of Dr. and Mrs. Henry Barton Jacobs; sale, Baltimore, December 12, 1940, No. 889.

¹⁴ Guiffrey, *Comptes*, II, 336.

¹⁵ Guiffrey, *Comptes*, II, 619.



FIGURE 3

WALTERS ART GALLERY

Signature and Date on Base of Statuette

EXHIBITIONS

IN 1940 and up to and including the summer months of 1941 the following special exhibitions were presented. With one exception, these were organized entirely from the collections of the Walters Art Gallery, with particular emphasis upon objects not on permanent exhibition.

1940

January 28-March 30: "Fifteenth-Century French Painting", illustrating the International Style and its development in paintings and manuscripts. Foyer and Gallery XV.

April 3-May 7: "Egyptian Sculpture", in stone, bronze and wood (2600 B.C.-100 A.D.). Gallery XV.

May 1-September 15. "English Porcelains of the XVIII and early XIX centuries". Gallery XII.

May 10-September 15: "Sculpture by Five Americans": Rinehart, Palmer, Miller, Schuler, and O'Connor. Gallery XV.

September 22-October 13: "Viennese Neo-Classical Porcelains". Gallery XV.

October 20-December 2: "French Eighteenth-Century Sculpture". Gallery XV.

December 6-January 15, 1941: "Egyptian Religion". Foyer and Gallery XV.

December 15-January 15, 1941: "The Christmas Story" as represented by medieval artists; an exhibition of manuscripts. Gallery VII.

December 23-May 18, 1941: "Greek Vases from the Collection of Robert Garrett". Court.

1941

January 18-February 20: "City Life in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance". Foyer and Gallery XV.

March 2-May 26: "Old Sèvres, the Porcelain of Kings." An exhibition of the entire collection of Sèvres porcelains. Gallery XV and Foyer.

March 2-Current: "Chinese Porcelains". Gallery XIV.

March 30-May 18: "Ceramics Through the Ages". An exhibition arranged in all departments of the Gallery in connection with the Convention of the American Ceramic Society.

May 4-6: "Flowers Arranged in Eighteenth-Century Vases". Gallery XV.

June 7-October 1: "William T. Walters Retrospective Exhibition". Gallery XIII.

July 18-September 15: "Masterpieces of Printing". An exhibition arranged in conjunction with the Convention of the Guild of Printing Craftsmen. Foyer.

ACCESSIONS

ADDITIONS TO the collection by gift and by purchase during 1940-1941 were as follows. Notes or more extended studies on these objects will appear from time to time in subsequent issues of the *Journal*.

SCULPTURE

François Marie Suzanne, *Benjamin Franklin*; terra-cotta statuette, French, eighteenth-century. Purchased at sale of collection of the late Dr. and Mrs. Henry Barton Jacobs.

Étienne Le Hongre, *Air*; terra-cotta statuette, French, seventeenth-century. Purchased at sale of Jacobs collection.

Anonymous, *Reclining River God*; terra-cotta statuette, Italian, seventeenth-century. Purchased at sale of Jacobs collection.

Louis Simon Boizot, *Jean Racine*; marble bust, French, eighteenth-century. Purchased at sale of Jacobs collection.

J. B. Lemoyne, *Fontenelle*; marble bust, French, eighteenth century. Purchased at sale of Jacobs collection.

School of St. Denis, *Sculptured corbel fragment*; limestone, French, twelfth-century. Gift of Joseph Brummer.

Hans Schuler, *Portrait of Henry Walters*; plaster relief, American, contemporary. Gift of the artist.

Jean Baptiste Pigalle, *L'Amour et l'Amitié*; plaster statue, French, eighteenth-century. Purchased at sale of Mrs. Henry Walters collection.

Jean Baptiste Nini, *Benjamin Franklin*; bronze plaque (after-cast), French, eighteenth (?) century. Gift of Louis H. Dielman.

PAINTING

Antonio Vivarini and Giovanni d'Alemana, *Madonna and Child with Saints*; polyptych, Venetian, fifteenth-century. Purchased from sale of Jacobs collection.

Winifred Brunton, *Portrait of Georg Steindorff*; miniature, British, contemporary. Gift of Dr. Georg Steindorff.

David Teniers the Younger, *The Guard Room*; oil, Flemish, seventeenth-century. Purchased at sale of the Mrs. Henry Walters collection.

DECORATIVE ARTS

Pair of "Rose Pompadour" vases with elephant handles; Sèvres porcelain, French, ca. 1760. Purchased at sale of the Mrs. Henry Walters collection.

Ornament with *Blanc de Chine* figure of Shou Lao; bronze doré and Saxe porcelain, French, eighteenth-century (Louis XV). Purchased at sale of the Mrs. Henry Walters collection.

Ornamental figure from furniture (said to be from palace at Versailles); bronze doré, French, eighteenth-century. Purchased at sale of the Mrs. Henry Walters collection.

Carved ram's horn coupe. Provenience and date undetermined. Purchased at sale of the Mrs. Henry Walters collection.

Vase, known as the "Rubens Vase"; carved agate, Renaissance or early Byzantine. Purchased at sale of the Mrs. Henry Walters collection.

Turquoise blue vase with mounts of gilded bronze; Sèvres porcelain, French, eighteenth-century (Louis XV). Purchased at sale of the Mrs. Henry Walters collection.

Engraved medallion with niello inlay; silver, Italian, ca. 1500. From the Mrs. Henry Walters collection. Gift of Joseph Brummer.

Figurine of a Saint; silver, Byzantine, seventh-century. Gift of Mrs. Saidie A. May.

JEWELRY, COINS AND MEDALS

Twisted torque; silver, Celtic, early medieval. From the William Randolph Hearst collection. Gift of George C. Cutler, Robert Garrett, B. Howell Griswold, Jr., C. Morgan Marshall, and Philip B. Perlman.

Knight's necklace; wrought gold and enamel set with gems, south German, sixteenth-century. Purchased at sale of the Mrs. Henry Walters collection.

Necklace with medallions of coins; gold, Egypto-Roman, third-century A.D. Purchased at sale of the Mrs. Henry Walters collection.

Five coins; silver, Byzantine, twelfth-century. Gift of Marvin C. Ross.

Collection of Renaissance medals; four in bronze by Leone Leoni, Guillaume Dupré, and an unknown artist; one in silver by Johann Blum. From the Mrs. Henry Walters collection. Gift of Douglas H. Gordon.

Jubilee medal of Pope Benedict XIII (1725); gilded bronze, by Ermenegildo Hamerani and Ottone Hamerani. Gift of Mrs. Saidie A. May.

BOOKS

(Not including additions to the reference library).

Dante Alighieri, *Inferno*; Venice, Casa d'Aldo and Andrea di Asolo, 1515. Purchased at sale of the Mrs. Henry Walters collection.

Pierre Matthieu, *L'Entrée de Très-Grand, Très Chrestien . . . Henry IV . . . en sa bonne ville de Lyon*; Lyon, Pierre Michel, ca. 1595. Purchased at sale of the Mrs. Henry Walters collection.

(*De Thou Binding*), Johannes B. Montanus, *Opuscula varia*; Basle, Peter Perna and Michael Isengrin, 1558;

bound in yellow morocco for Jacques Auguste De Thou (1553-1617). Purchased at sale of the Mrs. Henry Walters collection.

(*Grolier Binding*), Jacopo Sannazaro, *Opera Omnia Latina*; Venice, Aldus, 1535; bound in brown morocco for Jean Grolier (1479-1565). Purchased at sale of the Mrs. Henry Walters collection.

Nicolaus de Ausmo, *Supplementum*; Venice, Renner de Heilbronn and Nicolaus de Frankfort, 1474 (second issue). Gift of Dr. Michael Abrams.

Documents, formerly belonging to Henry Walters. Gift of Lyman Delano.

OTHER OBJECTS

Collection of epigraphy and carvings in hard stones: Eight carved plaques, steatite, Byzantine; 272 ancient seal-cylinders, stone and semi-precious materials, Babylonian, Assyrian, Sasanian, etc., Seventeen tablets and figures with cuneiform inscriptions, stone and terracotta. From the Mrs. Henry Walters collection. Purchased with Gallery funds and with contributions from Mrs. Saidie A. May and Miss Julia R. Rogers.

Six celts and two axe-blades; from Ireland, prehistoric. From the William Randolph Hearst collection. Gift of George C. Cutler, Robert Garrett, B. Howell Griswold, Jr., C. Morgan Marshall, and Philip B. Perlman.

Two winged celts; from Ireland, prehistoric. From the William Randolph Hearst collection. Gift of C. Morgan Marshall and Philip B. Perlman.

Mummy and painted cartonnage; Egyptian, late dynastic. Acquired by exchange from the Metropolitan Museum of Art.