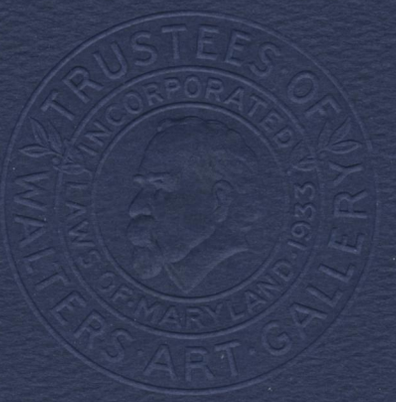
THE JOURNAL OF THE WALTERS ART GALLERY



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BALTIMORE, MARYLAND

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VOLUME X

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THE WALTERS ART GALLERY

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Editor of the JOURNAL . . . . . DOROTHY E. MINER
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FIGURE 1

WALTERS ART GALLERY

Imperial Dragon Robe
Front

A ROBE OF THE CH'IEN-LUNG EMPEROR

BY SCHUYLER CAMMANN

THE WALTERS ART GALLERY has in its Chinese collection a magnificent blue silk robe, heavily embroidered in silver and gold, that must have been made for the Ch'ien-lung Emperor in the latter part of the eighteenth century (figs. 1, 2). With its subtly original details, and its technical perfection, it makes a striking work of art; but quite apart from this, it is a social document which can tell us a great deal about the Manchu Emperor for whom it was made, and the civilization of China in his time.

This robe represents the crowning point and culmination of the Manchu costume tradition, and in order to appreciate it fully it is necessary to trace some of the historical background of the Ch'ing, or Manchu, Dynasty, insofar as it involved costume.

While Abahai, the second great ruler of the Manchus, was continuing his father's plans to conquer China in the 1630's, some of his followers came to him and suggested that the Manchus should change their native style of dress and adopt the robes of Ming China, with their broad skirts and wide, flowing sleeves.[1] He not only emphatically rejected their suggestion, but on two occasions he summoned all his princes and chieftains and commanded them and their descendants to keep the Manchu costume and the Manchu language at all costs, in order to retain their national identity. He recalled how a previous alien dynasty had perished after relinquishing its native language and national dress under strong Chinese influence, and he reminded them that the Manchus were a nation of horsemen and bowmen. They should wear clothing in which they could ride and shoot, he emphasized, lest they forget their heritage and become weakened by foreign ways.[2]

Abahai died before completing his plans for conquest, but his six-year old son was placed on the throne of China in 1644. As soon as the latter was old enough to rule for himself, he was faced with another plea that the Manchus should adopt Chinese ceremonial robes.[3] He angrily refused, and had laws issued to perpetuate the Manchu costume tradition.[4] His laws of 1652 were not very specific, however. They did not prescribe any definite patterns for the robes, for example, but merely stated that five-clawed and three-clawed dragons, and yellow colors were an imperial monopoly unless they were especially conferred by the Emperor.[5] This enabled the textile workers of the next two reigns to experiment widely with patterns on the dragon robes. As a result, there were infinite variations by 1736, when Abahai's great-great-grandson ascended the Dragon Throne as Ch'ien-lung Emperor.

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[1] *Tung-hua lu,* Ch'ung-tê, 1, p. 20.

[2] Abahai's first speech was in December, 1636, and his second in May, 1637 (*Ibid.,* 1, pp. 19b-21b; 2, pp. 8b-9). The second occasion is briefly described in Franz Michael's brilliant book, *The Origin of Manchu Rule in China* (Baltimore, 1942), p. 107.

[3] *Shih-tsu Chang Huang-ti shih-lu,* 54, p. 18b.

[4] *Ibid.,* 64, pp. 11-16.

[5] *Ibid.,* 64, pp. 15b-16.

Probably it was a desire to define the dynastic costume tradition and prevent further variations that caused the Ch'ien-lung Emperor to standardize the clothing laws, and prescribe definite patterns for robes in 1759. In the century that had elapsed since the Conquest, the Manchus had become highly sophisticated in Chinese ways, and had already begun to use the Chinese language to the extent that they were forgetting their own. It was only natural then that people would again suggest the adoption of Chinese costume. But Abahai's edicts concerning the national dress remained strong in the mind of his Imperial descendant.

In the preface to the illustrated book of new laws, *Huang-ch'ao li-ch'i t'u-shih*, the Emperor wrote: "We have followed the old traditions of this dynasty (regarding costume), and have not dared to change them, fearing that our descendants would hold us responsible for this, and that We would offend Our Ancestors." Once more, he recalled what happened to the previous Tartar dynasties after they abandoned their native dress to adopt Chinese styles; and he warned his sons and grandsons to follow his example and avoid such folly, so that the Dynasty would continue to receive the protection of Heaven for ten thousand years.[6]

The dreaded change was of course the renunciation of the Manchu costume, and nothing more. The Ch'ien-lung Emperor had no objection to changes within that costume tradition. In fact many alterations were made in the two-fold process of unifying the patterns on the robes and making minor distinctions that would set apart the various ranks, or groups of ranks. For example, by these laws of 1759, the Emperor's robes were distinguished from those of his princes, who had the same general pattern and the same five-clawed dragons, by the addition of Twelve Symbols which had decorated the sacrificial robes of Chinese rulers for at least two thousand years.[7] This, it is true, was a concession to Chinese custom, but it was a very small one, and had no effect on the cut of the robes, which after all was the chief difference between Chinese and Manchu styles.

All these historical influences are apparent in this particular robe. Possibly it was cut a little broader than some of the earliest Manchu robes, but like them it would have been worn tightly belted at the waist, so there would be no loose, flapping skirts to hamper a man of action. It had the slits in the skirts at front and rear for convenience in riding—the Ch'ien-lung Emperor was a fine horseman—and lastly, its sleeves were narrow so that they would not bind when the wearer was shooting his bow. The time had long since passed when a Manchu sovereign was obliged to lead his troops in battle, but the Emperor was still expected to prove his skill as a mounted bowman in the great annual hunts.[8]

If the cut of the robe had not changed in over a hundred years, the pattern had—and we are not referring merely to the reintroduction of the Twelve Symbols. The new spirit of sophistication was very apparent in the diminished size of the dragons, the reduction in the boldness of the mountains and waves below; the delicate diaper pattern of the background in place of a few stongly-drawn clouds; and the profusion of lucky symbols which had nothing to do with the basic pattern. In a sense, these features subtly show the weakening of the Manchu Dynasty, but the dragons are still vigorous-looking

[6] *Op. cit.*, Introduction, pp. 5-6.

[7] *Huang-ch'ao li-ch'i t'u-shih* 4, p. 19.

[8] Strictly speaking, the robe we are describing was for semi-formal use at Court, and the Emperor would not have been expected to wear it on the hunting field. But the point is that Manchu tradition required that all their robes (with the possible exception of the strictly formal ceremonial costume) should be suitable for riding and archery, as befitted a nation of warriors.

FIGURE 2

WALTERS ART GALLERY

Imperial Dragon Robe
Back

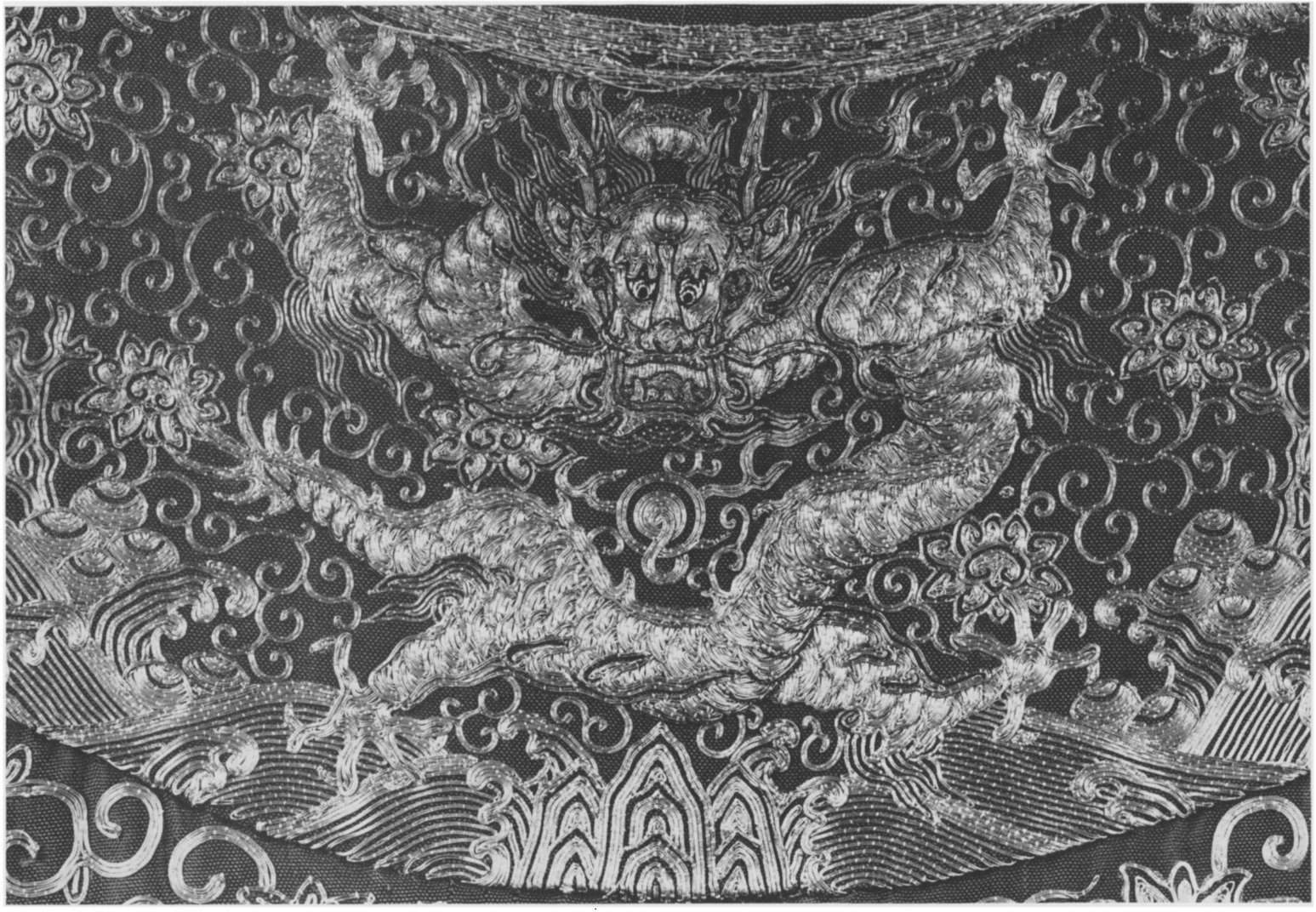

FIGURE 3

WALTERS ART GALLERY

Imperial Dragon Robe
Back of Collar (Detail)

compared to the wizened ones of the following century, and on the whole, the pattern represents an era of precise taste and cultural refinement, rather than a period of decline. In the latter part of the eighteenth century, when this robe was made, the dynasty was still rich and strong—though flagrant corruption in Court and rebellions in the province warned of bad days to come—and this is indicated by the splendor of its gold and silver embroidery, as well as by the technical perfection with which it was executed.

The decoration on this robe represents the final pattern evolved by the Manchus after long experimentation, before excess repetition led to stultification and decay. The pattern as a whole on all the dragon robes of this dynasty, since its founding, had represented the Universe in miniature. At the bottom of the robe we find the Sea with its waves, the mountains rising from the waters to represent the Earth, or Land, and the Sky in which the dragons soar, above. These elements had undergone considerable evolution, however. The mountain had become more slender, then wider again, by the time this robe was made; the strip of sea was now much broader; and while the upper waves were represented more naturalistically, the deep sea was now rendered in diagonal stripes, forming an artificial convention known to the Chinese as *li shui*.

Meanwhile the dragons had also changed, both in form and in arrangement. The early Manchu dragon robes generally had either two main dragons extending down the front and back of the robe—sometimes with smaller ones on each shoulder, making four in all—or the two main dragons curled back over the shoulders while a pair of smaller ones were placed at the front and back of the skirt, making six in all. The eight-dragon pattern seems to have been a somewhat later development; at least we have never seen one that dated from before the early eighteenth century. Sometime in the middle of that century a ninth dragon was added, since nine was considered an auspicious number, associated with the *Yang*, or active element, in the dualistic *Yin-yang* concept of the Universe.[9] This ninth dragon was placed on the inner, front flap, so it did not show when the robe was worn, and thus did not spoil the symmetry of the pattern.

In spite of the fact that the early Manchu Emperors had instituted an Imperial monopoly on five-clawed dragons, we have noted that these could be conferred on people of lesser rank as an award of merit. However, in 1738, the Ch'ien-lung Emperor revived an old law which decreed that no one below the rank of second degree prince could wear five-clawed dragons. This stipulated that if the Emperor conferred five-clawed dragon robes as a mark of favor, the recipients must remove one claw; and people who already had such robes in their possession, even if they had already worn them, must take out one claw.[10] Examples in American collections of robes on which the threads have been removed from one toe and claw on each foot of every dragon show that, for a time, the law was actually carried out.[11] Thus, at the time when this robe was made, the five-clawed dragon was probably still an Imperial symbol; though it was not long before

[9] The first mention of a ninth dragon on a Ch'ing robe is found in a law of 1723 prescribing the details for another type of robe (*Ta Ch'ing hui-tien tsê-li* 65, p. 1b.).

[10] *Ta Ch'ing hui-tien shih-li* (Kuang-hsü ed.) 328, p. 22b.

[11] The Textile Museum of Washington, D. C., has a gauze dragon jacket, dating from the second quarter of the eighteenth century, which has had the claws removed in this way; while Mrs. Walter Beck of New York City has a much later dragon robe (late eighteenth or early nineteenth century) on which they have carried out the letter, but not the substance of the law. Only the threads of the claws proper have been removed, leaving the toes, so that from a slight distance, the dragons still seem to have five claws.

FIGURE 4 WALTERS ART GALLERY
Imperial Dragon Robe
Longevity Symbol
(Detail)

the dynasty weakened to the extent that it could no longer enforce its laws, and lesser nobles and officials wore five-clawed dragons with impunity.

One of the characteristic features of the earlier Twelve Symbol robes, dating from the middle of the Ch'ien-lung reign, is the posture of the principal dragons on breast and back, which usually have both fore-legs raised. The fact that on this robe both of these have the left leg turned down, in the usual fashion, while the great, curling waves of the earlier robes have been dropped into less prominent positions, are indications that this robe was made somewhat later, probably after 1780. —Note however that the facing dragons on the collar still have both legs upraised. (fig. 3).

The pattern of the background, behind the dragons, is one of the unusual features of this robe, setting it apart from any others that we have seen. Other later Ch'ing robes have all-over diaper patterns in the background, as though to relieve the monotony of the now-stereotyped, basic pattern, but these are usually annoyingly repetitious, and always have cloud wisps superimposed on them. This is the only example we have seen that not only provides variety, but lacks the clouds altogether.

This background pattern represents curling vines and tendrils, with lotus flowers at intervals. The flowers have been conventionalized almost beyond recognition, but this was a common way of representing them at that period.[12] It also seems strange to see lotus flowers among vines. However, it appears that this motive was originally derived, through confusion of names, from the familiar pattern of the flowers and tendrils of the passion flower *passiflora caerulea*, which the Chinese call "Western barbarian lotus" (*Hsi-fan lien*).[13]

Since no element of the design was merely decorative, the lotus is also here for a reason. Its Chinese name, *lien*, makes a pun on the word meaning "continuous" or "unceasing", which has the same sound, though written with a different character. Thus, in combination with the highly conventionalized longevity characters which also decorate the background, these flowers conveyed the idea of a long life, without end. At the same time, the swastikas (*wan*) combined with the characters for longevity (*shou*) made a second pun (*wan shou*), meaning

[12] The familiar Buddhist lotus is conventionalized in this way on a Ch'ien-lung porcelain wine vessel in the Walters Gallery. See S. W. Bushell, *Oriental Ceramic Art* (New York, 1897), vol. II, p. 61, fig. 90.

[13] From this comes the (mistaken) Occidental name for the motive, "Indian lotus pattern." For a transitional example of this motive, in which the flowers still retain the essential form of the *passiflora*, see E. Henri, *Tapis Anciens de la Chine* (Paris, 1932), pl. 12.

FIGURE 5 WALTERS ART GALLERY

Imperial Dragon Robe
Symbols in the Upper Waves
(Detail)

"ten thousand years of long life" (fig. 4.). These sentiments must have seemed very important to the Ch'ien-lung Emperor at the time this robe was made, for he was getting on in years.

In fact this Emperor seems to have had an inordinate fondness for auspicious symbols and charms. He even carried this to the extent of introducing common lucky emblems into the decoration on his formal court robes and dragon robes, though they had previously been used only on strictly informal attire. As further examples of this, the waves at the base of the robe contain still more of them—mostly emblems of wealth. Almost all of these belong to a group usually referred to as the "Eight

FIGURE 6 WALTERS ART GALLERY
Imperial Dragon Robe
The Dragon Symbol
(Detail)

Precious Things" (*pa pao*, in Chinese). This term is misleading, however, since the complete set from which these were taken comprises fifteen or sixteen separate symbols, although it was usually customary to show only seven or eight at one time.[14] Here, for example, ten types of wealth symbols are shown, singly or in groups: pearls and sticks of coral, round golden jewels (*yüan shêng*), square golden jewels (*fang shêng*), ingots of silver, rhinoceros' horns, *ju-i* scepters, valuable scroll paintings, sacred conch shells, and trays or medallions inscribed with a swastika (*wan*). The last—and other, smaller swastikas—are shown in association with bats (*fu*) to convey the idea, "May you have ten thousand forms of Happiness" (*wan fu*); while marigolds are depicted growing from the swastika medallions, because their popular name, *wan-shou hua*, means "flowers of ten thousand years," making them another symbol of longevity. It is interesting to note how naturalistically the latter are rendered; compared with the over-conventionalized lotus flowers, their curling petals and leaves seem very lifelike (fig. 5.).

Superstitious as the Ch'ien-lung Emperor was, these symbols on his robe have been kept small and unobtrusive for the most part, so that they do not intrude against the main pattern of the dragons and the Universe; but unfortunately they started a bad trend, and the robes of later Manchu emperors were less effectively planned. The lucky symbols became more and more numerous on them, until they crowded the background, forcing the designers to diminish the size of the dragons in order to fit them in, thus detracting from the dignity of the robes, and indirectly symbolizing the loss of Imperial power and prestige in the period of dynastic decay.

The Twelve Symbols, to which we have previously referred, are in a class by themselves, since they were not emblems of luck or good fortune, but rather of Imperial dominion. They had been used since ancient times on the sacrificial robes of the Emperors of China, and in the later Ming were placed on the Emperor's less formal robes as well. The Early Manchus scorned to wear them, but a century had elapsed since the Ch'ien-lung Emperor's great-grandfather had indignantly rejected the suggestion of a Chinese official that he adopt the Old Chinese sacrificial dress with the Twelve Symbols. By now, the old rancor between the two races was, outwardly at least, in abeyance, and furthermore, the Ch'ien-lung Emperor was an ardent traditionalist, excessively fond of old forms. In adding the Twelve Symbols to his robes, he no doubt felt a link with former Emperors of other dynasties, giving him a sense of enchanced prestige. The situation is not unlike one which has often occured in our own

[14] See S. Cammann, "The Development of the Mandarin Square," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, vol. 8, no 2 (Aug., 1944), p. 111, for a listing of some of the other "jewel" symbols used in alternative groupings.

civilization. The founders of new fortunes have usually liked to think of themselves as plain men who have succeeded by their own industry, but within a few generations the current heads of the family look up the coat-of-arms used by Europeans of the same name, and adopt it for rings and silverware, etc., to give themselves the sense of belonging to an old tradition.

The Sun-disc on the left shoulder of his robe, and Moon-disc on the right shoulder, together with the Constellation of three stars over the dragon on the chest, were the chief symbols of the twelve, limited in former dynasties to the Emperor alone. On either side of the chest dragon are the Axe and the Symbol of Discrimination (like reversed E's, as shown in figure 1), while below them, on the skirt are the Sacrificial Cups decorated with animals (fig. 8) and the Waterweed. Above the main dragon on the back is the Mountain, and on either side of it are the Dragon(s), paired to symbolize Yin and Yang (fig. 6), and the Pheasant (fig. 7); while below it on the skirt are flames of Fire and a tray of Grain.

Originally, this group of symbols represented a magnificent concept. The Stars symbolized the heavens, and the Mountain the Earth. (Sun and Moon, Heaven and Earth were the four principal features of Nature, to which the four annual sacrifices were offered by the Emperor). The Dragon(s) and Pheasant were symbols of animals and birds in general, or animate Nature. The Symbol of Discrimination was an emblem of Imperial (or Divine) power in Judgment; and the Axe an emblem of Imperial (or Divine) power to punish. The bronze Libation Cups, the Water-weed, Flames and Grain, are all symbols of elements in Nature—metal, water, fire, and plant-life, while Earth, the fifth of the

FIGURE 7 WALTERS ART GALLERY
Imperial Dragon Robe
The Pheasant Symbol
(Detail)

traditional Five Elements, was already represented by the Mountain. Tradition said that these should all be embroidered or painted (or woven) on the robes in five colors, which corresponded to the Five Elements, the Five Directions and the seasons of the year, adding still more cosmic significance.[15]

Thus, not only were all these symbols closely associated with the sacrificial ceremonies, but collectively, they also comprised a symbolic representation of the greater Universe and its component elements, signifying Universal Dominion in an even more comprehensive way than did the basic pattern of the dragon robe. In short, he who wore the Twelve Symbols was figuratively at least the Ruler of the Universe. This concept is simply expressed in an old Chinese classic which says, "The Emperor wears the robe with the Twelve Symbols on the days of sacrifice in order to represent God."[16]

[15] Ts'ai Shên, *Shu-ching chi-ch'uan* 1, p. 38b, text; p. 39, notes.

[16] *Li chi, chiao-tê-shêng* (Commercial Press ed. of the *Shih-san ching)*, 1, p. 294.

FIGURE 8 WALTERS ART GALLERY

Imperial Dragon Robe
The Sacrificial Cups
(Detail)

The original explanation was somewhat obscured by later rationalizations; particularly one of the seventh century which is often cited by Western writers.[17] But the latter was written nearly a thousand years after the sentence quoted above, and was merely intended to flatter and inspire a young Emperor-to-be. We cannot be sure exactly what these symbols meant to the Ch'ien-lung Emperor, since he never wrote down his feelings on the subject, but probably it was enough for him and his successors that they were emblems of Emperorhood, linking them with the great rulers of past dynasties.

Lastly, it is interesting to study how this robe was made, for it gives us clues to the techniques employed on many other robes of this same period. The artisans in the Imperial factory apparently took two long strips of heavy blue silk in simple plain-cloth weave,[18] each measuring about ten (Chinese) feet by two,

[17] Yang Ch'iung of the T'ang Dynasty wrote this familiar, rationalized explanation of the Twelve Symbols (found in *Chiu T'ang shu* 45, p. 17). Translations may be found in Priest and Simmons, *Chinese Textiles* (2nd ed., New York, 1934), pp. 55-6, and in Alan Priest, *Costumes from the Forbidden City* (Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 1945), p. 7.

[18] The fact that yellow, in various shades, was still an Imperial monopoly did not mean that the Emperor could not use other colors if he wished. Indeed, blue was quite commonly used for Imperial dragon robes, and a number of them can be seen in other American collections.—The dyes for these came from native indigo.

and set them up in embroidery frames. Then they traced the pattern on the fabric with a starchy white pigment, after which they took gold and silver filaments, made by wrapping thin, flat wire of these metals around very fine white thread, and couched them on the white lines with loops of even more delicate thread, so that all the gold and silver lay flat on the surface of the cloth. These panels were then taken down and cut out to make the left side —front and back—and the back and inner front flap of the right side. Then they took a third panel, half the length of the two preceding ones, set it into a smaller frame, and embroidered it to make the right, outer flap. Because of the limited width of the panels—as well as an archaic Manchu convention, which we shall not stop to discuss here[19]—the basic robe had sleeves which only extended partway down the upper arm, so lower sleeves of silk were added, having the same general color as the basic fabric of the robe, but ribbed transversely for greater variety.[20]

Meanwhile the workers had taken a panel of brown silk of the same weight and weave as that used for the main robe, and embroidered on it a round collar-strip, S-shaped lapel, and horsehoof cuffs, all decorated with the same motive of dragons against a background of flowers and tendrils, with mountains and waves below (fig. 3). Then they sewed these to the robe proper, added a lining of soft, pale blue damask, and the robe was complete for the Emperor's use.

After it had been passed by the inspectors at the Imperial factory, and delivered to the Palace Storehouse in Peking, the Emperor's attendants apparently found that it was a trifle too long for its intended wearer. Rather than taking in the robe at the bottom, and thus losing some of the rich, shimmering effect of the heavy gold in the lower waves, they decided to take a tuck at the waist, in such a way that it would be hidden under the Manchu belt when the robe was worn. As this came between the upper and lower dragons, it did not seriously impair the design, though it slightly interrupted the rhythmic pattern of the tendrils in the background, and abbreviated some of the longevity characters on the front of the robe.

The whole process of designing and embroidering this robe must have taken many months, because the Ch'ien-lung Emperor was always very exacting, and demanded only the best workmanship. In this robe he got it.

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[19] The first Manchu dragon robes were robes from Ming China, re-cut to conform to Manchu traditions. In the process of narrowing the wide, Ming sleeves to make the Manchu idea of a practical sleeve for bowmen, they were compelled—for a technical reason—to cut off the lower sleeves, and add new ones. This topic will be discussed in greater detail in our forthcoming monograph on the evolution of the dragon robe in the *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*.

[20] Dragon robes that were intended to be worn outdoors with the short-sleeved formal jacket, usually had black lower sleeves to match the jacket; but if the robe was to be worn in the privacy of the palace, this was not necessary.

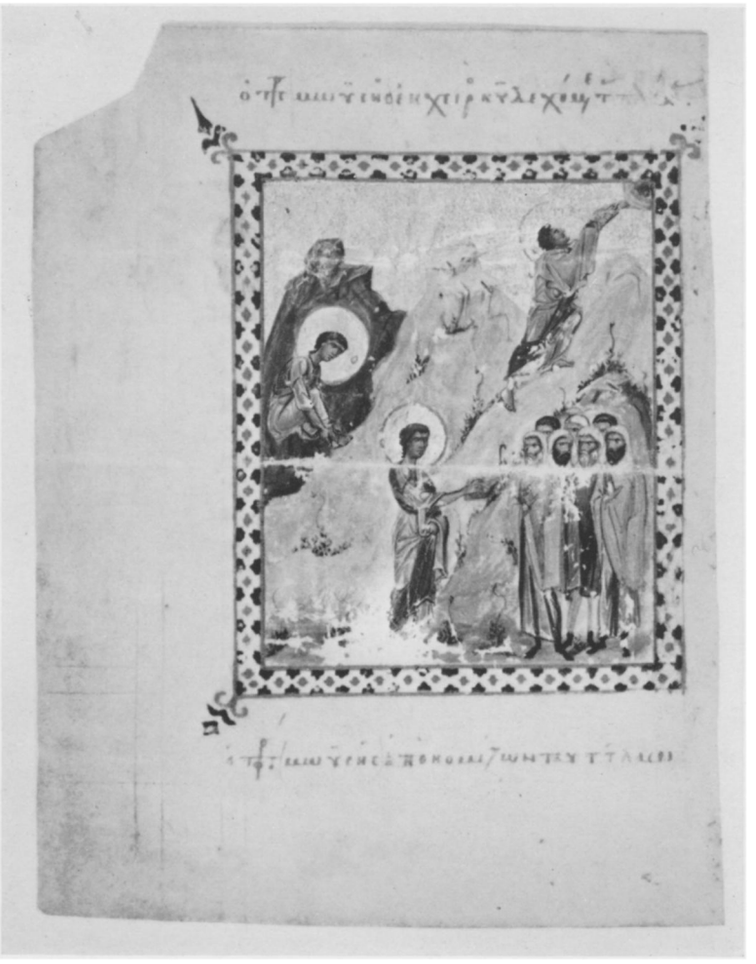

FIGURE 1 WALTERS ART GALLERY

Moses Receiving the Law
(formerly fol. 111vo of the Vatopedi Psalter)

THE PSALTER VATOPEDI 761

ITS PLACE IN THE ARISTOCRATIC PSALTER RECENSION

BY KURT WEITZMANN

Princeton University

FROM A VERY early time the Psalter has been the most important book of the Old Testament in the Christian Church and no book is more often read in the service except that of the Gospels themselves. It is, therefore, not surprising that among the extant Greek manuscripts the Psalter exceeds in number of copies all other books of the Old Testament. Owing to this great popularity, illuminators expended much energy on its adornment, and it is in full agreement with the textual transmission that the illustrated Psalter manuscripts also are more numerous than the other illustrated books of the Septuagint. This is by no means as natural as it might seem at first glance, because the text of the psalms confronts the illustrator with particular difficulties. Historical books of the Bible, such as the Octateuch or the Books of Kings, are full of vivid stories and epic details which an illustrator could easily render in pictorial form, just as classical artists depicted the tales of the Homeric poems or the dramatic situations of Euripidean tragedies, but the more abstract content of the psalms does not easily lend itself to pictorial rendering.

It is true that one of the greatest masterpieces of mediaeval art, the Carolingian Psalter in Utrecht,[1] is a literal illustration of the psalms, which shows that in the hands of the ingenious artist who created its archetype the peculiar difficulties of coping with the Psalter text were not insurmountable obstacles. The frequent copying of the Utrecht Psalter down to the thirteenth century is proof of a considerable popularity of this kind of illustration in the Latin West, but it is equally true that for the more rationally minded Eastern illustrator the rendering in pictorial form of abstract ideas, poetical phrases, metaphors, etc., had no such appeal as for his Latin colleagues. This literal illustration was indeed not altogether neglected in the East, as may be seen in the twelfth-century Psalter in the Vatican, cod. gr. 1927;[2] but its illustrator is not comparable to the artist of the Utrecht Psalter in imagination, fancy or inventiveness; nor was he as consistent, since, in addition to the literal illustrations, he borrowed copiously from other illustrated biblical manuscripts of the Old as well as the New Testament. Moreover, unlike the Utrecht Psalter, no other replica of this Vatican Psalter is preserved—a circumstance which, in view of the great number of illustrated Psalter manuscripts still in existence, can only mean that this type of illustration never became popular in Byzantine art.

[1] E. T. DeWald, *The Illustrations of the Utrecht Psalter* (Princeton, 1932). The earlier bibliography is given here.

[2] E. T. DeWald, *Vaticanus Graecus 1927, The Illustrations in the Manuscripts of the Septuagint,* vol. III, part 1 (Princeton, 1941).

FIGURE 2 MT. ATHOS, VATOPEDI MONASTERY
Easter Tables

With very few exceptions, the whole body of illustrated Greek Psalters has been divided by Tikkanen[3] into two recensions, a classification which has generally been accepted. The first he called the "monastic-theological" recension, to which belongs a small but very prolifically illustrated group of manuscripts. The artist who created the archetype by placing all pictures on very wide margins made a limited number of literal illustrations of Psalter phrases and in many instances was very successful and imaginative, but miniatures of this type remained in the minority. By far the greater part of the "monastic-theological" Psalter miniatures are borrowings from works such as the Octateuch, the Books of Kings, the Prophets, the Gospels, the Menologion, illustrated chronicles and other texts.[4]

The second recension was called by Tikkanen the "aristocratic", because of the distinctiveness of its splendid full-page miniatures. It is characteristic of this recension, to which the great majority of the illustrated Greek Psalters belong, that very few pictures are found within the Psalter text proper and these only before the 50th, the 77th and, occasionally, before the supernumerary 151st psalm. The chief decoration is a series of miniatures in front of the first psalm which follow each other without intermittent text. They illustrate the life of David as a kind of biographical record and have no particular connection with the text of the psalms proper. A second, larger group of pictures is found at the end of the Psalter, illustrating the Odes or Canticles which at an early period were added to the Psalter for liturgical purposes.

To this aristocratic recension belongs a little Psalter which is the subject of our present study: a volume in the Vatopedi monastery on Mt. Athos, codex 761 (figs. 2-16)[5] and a single leaf from it now in the Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore (fig. 1).[6]

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[3] J. J. Tikkanen, *Die Psalterillustration in Mittelalter, Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicae,* vol. XXXI, no. 5 (Helsingfors, 1903).

[4] K. Weitzmann, *Illustrations in Roll and Codex. A Study of the Origin and Method of Text Illustration,* vol. II of the *Studies in Manuscript Illumination* (Princeton, 1947), pp. 198 f.

[5] H. Brockhaus, *Die Kunst in den Athosklöstern,* 1st ed. (Leipzig, 1891), pp. 174 f. and 207 ff.—Tikkanen, *op. cit.,* p. 128—A. Venturi, *Storia dell'arte Italiana,* II (Milan, 1902), p. 441 and fig. 310—S. Eustratiades and Arcadios, *Catalogue of the Monastery of Vatopedi on Mt. Athos, Harvard Theological Studies* XI (Cambridge, 1924), p. 150—G. Millet and S. Der Nersessian, *Le Psautier arménien illustré,* in *Revue des études arméniennes,* IX, fasc. 1 (1929), pp. 165 ff. and pls. X, XII and XVI—H. Buchthal, *The Miniatures of the Paris Psalter* (London, 1938), pp. 15, 17 and pl. XVI, no. 20—Weitzmann, *op. cit.,* p. 179 and fig. 188. The photographs of the Vatopedi Psalter published in this article were made by the author during his third trip to Mt. Athos in 1935.

[6] This leaf was acquired together with six others from various manuscripts, mounted in an album which bears the shelf-number 530. *Cf.* S. de Ricci and W. J. Wilson, *Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada,* I (New York, 1935), p. 826, no. 415.

I. *Description of the Manuscript*

The Vatopedi Psalter, which today bears the number 761, but in the older literature is listed as codex 609, contains 236 folios of small size (11.8 x 9.7 cm.). Pocket-size Psalteria were by no means uncommon as private prayer books at the time the Vatopedi manuscript was made,[7] and there exist even tinier ones.[8]

A brief description of the pictorial decoration may precede a more detailed iconographical discussion:

Fols. 3^{r}-4^{v}: Four pages with Easter-tables. Each is made up of six medallions with Paschal indications that run from the year 1088 to 1111 A.D. inclusive (fig. 2). The manuscript can thus be dated close to the year 1088 A.D., since it was the custom to start the tabellae with the year of the manufacture of the manuscript and to work out from there those for the future. The ground between the medallions is filled with a blue jig-saw ornament which was a common pattern in the early tenth century, but persisted throughout later centuries in a rather stereotyped form.

Fol. 11^{r}: David as a shepherd (fig. 3). Surrounded by his flock, he sits in a mountainous landscape and plays the lyre, while a woman, the personification of Melodia, shares the rocky seat with him and touches his shoulder. This and all the succeeding miniatures, with the exception of those later inserted at the end, have a golden background and are framed by a border with a simple crenellation pattern in blue and red. On the top runs a later Armenian inscription which reads: "the prophet David (shepherd?)."[9]

FIGURE 3 MT. ATHOS, VATOPEDI MONASTERY
David as a Shepherd

Fol. 11^{v}: David slaying the lion (fig. 4). In front of three mountain peaks the young hero raises his arm to smite the lion with a club, while with the other hand he holds the mane of the attacking animal. In the foreground lies the bleeding lamb which he delivered out of the lion's mouth. The Armenian inscription above the frame is effaced, as is the case in the three following miniatures.

Fol. 12^{r}: The Anointing of David (fig. 5). Samuel holds the horn of oil over David's head, while his brothers watch the ceremony with arms crossed in an attitude of devotion. Six of them stand in a row, the number which occurs most frequently in aristocratic Psalters, although the text mentions that seven had passed before

[7] *Cf.* Athens, Nat. Libr. cod. 16 (=12 x 9 cm.); London, Brit. Mus. cod. add. 36928 (=12.2 x 9.8 cm.); Oxford, Bodl. Libr. cod. E. D. Clarke 15 (=14 x 11 cm.); Vatican cod. Barb. gr. 285 (=11 x 8 cm.).

[8] Milan, Ambros. Libr. cod. + 24 sup. (=9 x 6.8 cm.); Paris, Bibl. Nat. cod. gr. 41 (=9.2 x 7.2 cm.).

[9] This and the other Armenian inscriptions were translated by Miss Sirarpie Der Nersessian in the article by Millet and Der Nersessian, *op. cit.*, p. 181, note 2.

FIGURE 4 MT. ATHOS, VATOPEDI MONASTERY
David Slaying the Lion

Samuel prior to David's anointing. Behind them, in a second row, stand the white-bearded Jesse and a woman with a veil over her head, who is surely meant to represent his wife, although the biblical text does not mention her in this context. There is no parallel scene known to me in which David's mother attends the anointing. Two simple, conventional buildings, arranged symmetrically, form the background.

Fol. 12v: *The fight against Goliath* (fig. 6). David, with the sling in one hand and his mantle held up in defense in the other, advances against Goliath, who is on horseback. There is no basis in the text for Goliath's being a rider and normally he is represented as a foot-soldier.

Fol. 13r: *The decapitation of Goliath* (fig. 7). The slain giant lies on his back; David approaches from behind and cuts off his head. In the foreground Goliath's shield and spear are visible. At the right the hindquarters of his bridled horse have been cut off by the frame because of lack of space.

Fol. 13v: *David's welcome in Jerusalem* (fig. 8). David returns from the battle riding on the giant's horse and carrying the victim's head impaled on the captured spear. He is greeted by a group of Israelite elders who stand in front of the city gate of Jerusalem. The scene is undoubtedly abbreviated, since the dancing women of Israel should be represented in the center, and David should be accompanied by Saul, whom the text (I Kings, XVIII, 8) mentions as displeased with the honors paid to the young hero.

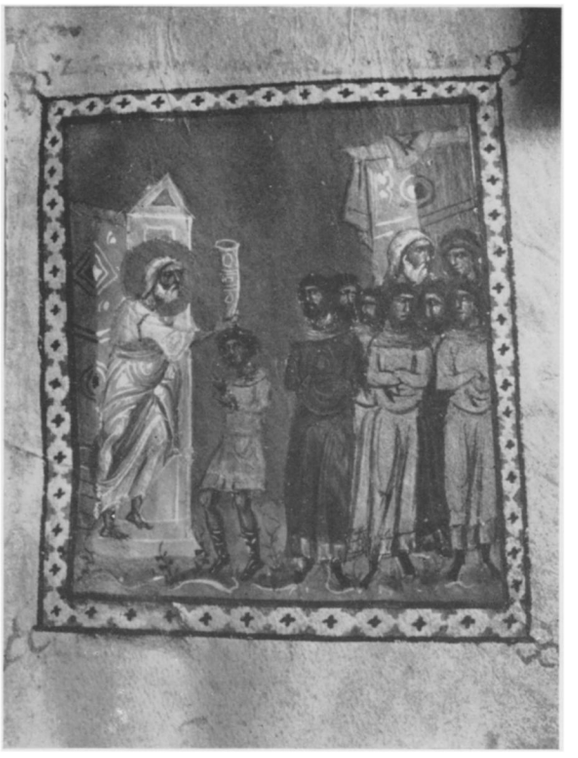

FIGURE 5 MT. ATHOS, VATOPEDI MONASTERY
The Anointing of David

The Armenian inscription says: "having cut off the head of the latter he enters the city."

Fol. 14r: *The coronation of David* (fig. 9). Clad in imperial garments, he stands on a shield raised by two Israelites. This manner of proclaiming the emperor was employed for the first time in Constantinople for Julian the Apostate[10] and, pictorially, this scheme of the raising on the shield must have originated in some illustrated chronicle, whence it was adapted for the Books of Kings.[11] At the right, in front of a conventional building, stands a group of acclaiming Israelites, and at the left, likewise set against a simple building, there appears a crowned man in imperial garments, seemingly elevated above the ground, who places the crown on David's head. There is no explanation for him in the biblical text (II Kings, II, 4 and V, 3), but apparently the painter thought of him as Saul (although at the time of David's coronation he was already dead). Nevertheless, the identification as Saul is confirmed by comparison with a miniature in a Vatican Psalter, cod. gr. 752, where the coronation of David by another imperial person is accompanied by the inscription: ὁ σαοὺλ στέφει τὸν δαυὶδ εἰς βασιλέα.[12]

Moreover, the identification as Saul was accepted also by the later Armenian scribe who

FIGURE 7 MT. ATHOS, VATOPEDI MONASTERY
The Decapitation of Goliath

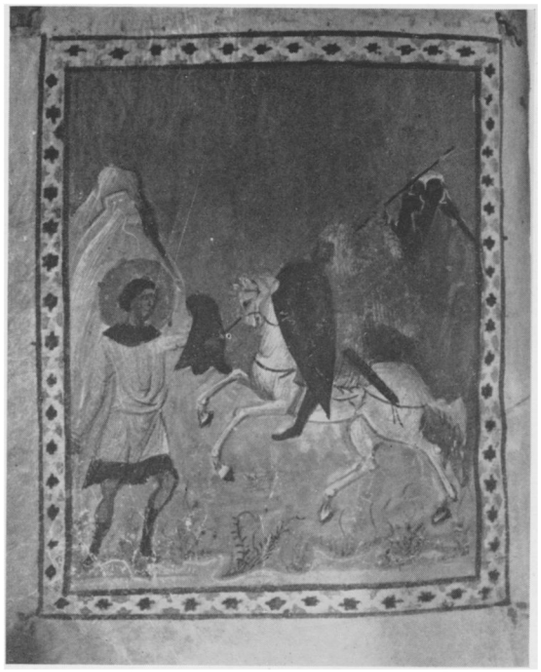

FIGURE 6 MT. ATHOS, VATOPEDI MONASTERY
David Fights Goliath

[10] *Cf.* Ammianus Marcellinus, XX, IV, 17 and Zosimos, III, 9.

[11] Weitzmann, *Illustrations in Roll and Codex*, p. 178 f. and fig. 188.

[12] E. T. DeWald, *Vaticanus Graecus 752, The Illustrations in the Manuscripts of the Septuagint*, vol. III, part 2 (Princeton, 1942), p. 41 and pl. LIII.

FIGURE 8 MT. ATHOS, VATOPEDI MONASTERY
David Welcomed in Jerusalem

added to the Vatopedi miniature the inscription: "Saul crowns him."

Fol. 14v: *David among the musicians* (fig. 10). This miniature, not being part of the biographical cycle of David scenes, can be considered as the actual frontispiece to the Psalter. David as a crowned emperor sits on a throne in the center of the picture and holds in his left a codex, *i.e.*, the Psalterion, in the writing of which he has been assisted by the musician-prophets surrounding him in a symmetrical arrangement. Each of these prophets heads a chorus of musicians, many of whom hold instruments like drums and cymbals. The Armenian inscription at the top has been effaced and overwritten by a later Greek scribe who identified each of the choruses by their leader. On top we read ἰδιθοὺμ* and ἐθὰμ on either side of the name δα(υὶ)δ and at the bottom are written the names υἱοὶ κορὲ and ἀσὰφ. This composition is based on the προοίμια τῶν ψαλμῶν by pseudo-Chrysostom[13] and in early manuscripts it was surely connected with the text of this preface, as is the case in the cod. Vat. gr. 752,[14] but at the time of the Vatopedi Psalter the pic-

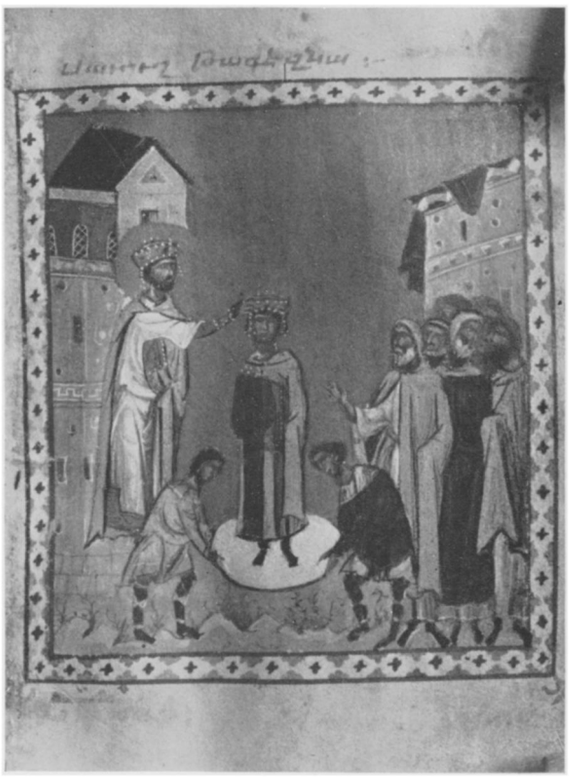

FIGURE 9 MT. ATHOS, VATOPEDI MONASTERY
The Coronation of David

* The author's transcription of the manuscript shows a diaeresis on the first iota, but typographical limitations prevent presenting this with the breathing. *Ed.*

13 Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, 55 col. 531 f.

14 DeWald, *Vaticanus Graecus 752*, pp. 4 f.

15 *E. g.*, Vatican cod. gr. 342, fol. 24v from the year 1088 A.D.; see K. & S. Lake, *Dated Greek Minuscule Manuscripts to the year 1200*, fasc. VIII (Boston, 1937), pl. 545—Vatican cod. Barb. gr. 372, fol. 1v, from about 1092 A.D.—London, Brit. Mus. cod. add. 36928 fol. 46v, from the year 1090 A.D.

ture was repeatedly copied without its basic text.[15]

Fol. 15r: *The title of the first psalm* (fig. 16). This is framed by a border in the delicate and yet conventional flower-petal style of the eleventh century.

Fol. 111v: *Moses receiving the Law* (fig. 1). Millet states that in 1894 he saw this leaf, which today is in the possession of the Walters Art Gallery, still in the manuscript.[16] By examining the structure of the manuscript, it becomes quite clear that the miniature must have been in front of the 77th psalm, *i.e.*, in the place where the main caesura occurs within the Psalter text. Three scenes are united in one frame: Moses loosening his sandals, receiving the tablets from the hand of God, and bringing the tablets to the Israelites waiting at the bottom of the mountain. The inscription, which is contemporary with the picture, reads at the top: ὁ προ(φή)τ(ης) μωϋσῆς ὁ ἐκ χειρὸ(ς) κ(υρίο)υ δεχόμε(νος) τ(ὰς) πλάκ(ας) and at the bottom: ὁ προφ(ή)τ(ης) μωϋσῆς ἀποκομίζων ταύτ(ας) τ(ῶ) λαῶ.

FIGURE 10 MT. ATHOS, VATOPEDI MONASTERY
David Among the Musicians

FIGURE 11 MT. ATHOS, VATOPEDI MONASTERY
The Crossing of the Red Sea

Fol. 206v: *The Crossing of the Red Sea* (fig. 11). With his staff Moses closes the sea in which Pharaoh's army is drowned, while the throng of Israelites marches ahead in safety. The contemporary inscription which begins above the

[16] Millet and Der Nersessian, *op. cit.*, p. 169. His remark that it was lost later implies that on a subsequent visit (probably during the first World War) it was no longer in the manuscript.

FIGURE 12 MT. ATHOS, VATOPEDI MONASTERY
The Virgin and Child

FIGURE 13 MT. ATHOS, VATOPEDI MONASTERY
St. John Chrysostom Praying

frame and continues on the gold ground of the miniature reads: ὁ προφ(ήτ)ης μωϋσῆς ῥάβδω τ(ὴν) ἐρυθρὰν θάλασσαν κ(αὶ) διαβηβάζων τ(ὸν) λαὸν τοῦ ἰ(σρα)ῆλ. This picture heads the first Ode and is the only one for the whole set of Odes.

At the end of the manuscript there is a gathering of paper leaves of the late Byzantine period, containing four more miniatures:

Fol. 231ᵛ: *The Virgin and Child* (fig. 12). The Virgin enthroned holds the Christ Child on her lap, while behind her stand two archangels with flabella. All figures turn to the right, directing their eyes toward the kneeling man in the opposite picture. The inscriptions read: ὁ ἀρχ(άγγελος) μηχ(αήλ), μ(ήτ)ηρ θ(εο)ῦ, ὁ ἀρχ(άγγελος) γα(βρι)ήλ and on the back of the throne: ἰ(ησοῦ)ς χ(ριστό)ς.

Fol. 232ʳ: *The prayer of John Chrysostom* (fig. 13). John kneels in proskynesis on a mattress and places his hands on a book which he offers to Christ and the Virgin in the opposite miniature. Probably the book is supposed to contain the church father's homilies on the psalms. The head with its large forehead and the sparse beard are characteristic features of the saint, who is dressed as a monk and not, as is usual, as a bishop. On the margin are written the words: ιε(υἱὲ?) κ(αὶ) δέσποτ(α) τῇι ζωῇ, with which the saint addresses the Christ Child in the Virgin's lap, and in the upper left corner is inscribed the title of the picture: ἡ προσευχὴ τοῦ

FIGURE 14 MT. ATHOS, VATOPEDI MONASTERY
Three Saints from Thessalonica

FIGURE 15 MT. ATHOS, VATOPEDI MONASTERY
The Martyrdom of St. Demetrius

ἁγ(ίου) ἰω(άννου) τοῦ χρ(υσοστόμου). John as a monk is repeated once more, with the inscription: ὁ ἅγ(ιος) ἰω(άννης) ὁ χρ(υσόστο)μ(ος), standing in front of a lectern and reading from a book in which the beginning of the 54th psalm is written: ἐνώτισαι, ὁ θ(εὸ)ς τήν προσευχήν μου κ(αὶ) μὴ ὑπερ(ίδης). A rope is slung around his breast, fastened to a hook that projects from a tower-like structure, probably with the idea of signifying the frailty of his body which the saint was otherwise unable to hold erect, sick and emaciated as he was at the end of his life. The background is filled with a church-like building in the front door of which stands Proclos, John's secretary, who is likewise dressed as a monk and inscribed: ὁ πρωκλ(ος).[17]

Fol. 232ᵛ: *Three saints from Thessalonica* (fig. 14). In the center stands St. Demetrius, the greatest saint of that city [inscribed: ὁ ἅγ(ιος) δημήτ(ριος) ὁ θεσσ(αλονικεύς)], clad in an embroidered tunic and a chlamys and holding the

[17] The *Vita* of John Chrysostom by George of Alexandria mentions the secretary Proclos only once in connection with the vision of Paul, who appeared to John while writing the commentary to Paul's epistles [Chap. 27. *Cf.* Henry Savile's edition of the works of John Chrysostom (Eton, 1612), vol. VIII, pp. 192 f.], an episode repeated in John's *Vita* by Symeon Metaphrastes (Migne, *P.G.*, 114, col. 1104) and other biographies. These texts mention explicitly that Proclos stood in the door while watching John's inspiration by Paul. This episode is illustrated in a beautiful eleventh-century miniature in Vatican codex gr. 766 (unpublished, so far as I know), where Paul looks over the shoulder of the writing John Chrysostom while Proclos stands in the door of a church in exactly the same attitude as in the Vatopedi miniature. It seems, therefore, very likely that there exists a formal relation between the two compositions, and that the Vatopedi painter borrowed the figure of Proclos in the doorway from a representation of his vision of Paul.

cross of martyrdom before his breast. At the right stands St. David, a hermit of the sixth century [inscribed: ὁ ἅγ(ιος) δα(υὶ)δ ὁ θεσσ-(αλονικεύς)], who has a beard reaching down to his feet and holds a scroll in his right hand. The saint at the left is Gregorios Palamas [inscribed: ὁ ἅγ(ιος) γρηγ(όριος) ὁ παλαμ(ὰς) ὁ θεσσ(αλονικεύς)], the famous theologian from Mt. Athos who became bishop of Thessalonica. Dressed in bishop's vestments, he blesses with one hand and holds a codex in the other.

Fol. 233^r: The martyrdom of St. Demetrius (fig. 15). This saint, sitting on a marble bench, is pierced by the spears of a group of soldiers. Two companions—one of whom is Lupus, the famulus of Demetrius, and the other most probably Nestor, whom Demetrius had instructed in the Christian faith—stand in the door of the baths which served as prison. They watch as an angel places the crown of martyrdom on the dying saint.[18] The inscription reads: ἡ σφαγ(ὴ) τοῦ ἁγίου δημητρίου.

II. *Style and History of the Manuscript*

The most splendid copies of the aristocratic Psalter recension show the style of Constantinople, where in all probability the archetype was made. The Vatopedi manuscript, too, shows distinct features which relate it to the style of the capital, and yet there are indications that it was not executed there, but somewhere in the provinces under the influence of a Constantinopolitan model. The last quarter of the eleventh century is a period in Byzantine book illumination when, for the first time, we have a considerable number of dated manuscripts, among which are no less than half a dozen Psalteria. Surely Constantinopolitan in origin and closest in date to the Vatopedi manuscript of 1088 A.D. are two other Psalters: Pantokratoros cod. 49 of the year 1084[19] and Vatican cod. gr. 342 of the year 1087.[20] In the miniatures of these two manuscripts the human figures reveal a sense of proportion, an understanding of the structure of the body, a system of highlights and well organized folds emphasizing the plasticity, as well as a great finesse in the depiction of the expressive faces with their intense gaze, by which good Constantinopolitan miniatures can be recognized. The illustrator of the Vatopedi Psalter obviously tried to imitate this style, but only on occasion does he succeed in achieving a clear articulation of the body, a comparable degree of plasticity or well arranged folds and highlights, as, for instance, in the Moses figures of the Baltimore leaf (fig. 1) or the Samuel who anoints David (fig. 5). In other figures, like David's brothers in the same picture, the interior design is reduced to simple, straight folds, omitting the highlights altogether. Moreover, the peculiar style of the copyist is apparent in the faces (figs. 5, 8, 9) which show deep shadows and, instead of the piercing look in Constantinopolitan faces, a rather dull expression. The range of colors moves within lighter shades than in most Constantinopolitan manuscripts of that period, where the illuminators aim to imitate the more saturated, brilliant colors of enamels. Yet the artist shows a great decorative sense in the distribution of color, which sometimes leads him to such abstractions as a light green for Goliath's horse (figs. 6-8).

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[18] A very similar representation of Demetrius' martyrdom occurs on a sixteenth-century icon in the Benaki Museum at Athens, save that here Lupus is the only companion [**A. Ξυγγόπουλος, Κατάλογος τῶν εἰκόνων, Μουσεῖον Μπενάκη, Ἀθῆναι** (1936), pp. 17 f. and pl. 11, no. 9]. For representations of the life of Demetrius in general *cf.* **A. Ξυγγόπουλος, Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.** (1936), pp. 101 ff.

[19] G. Millet in *Bull. Corr. Hell.*, XVIII (1894), p. 453 and pl. XV—O. M. Dalton, *Byzantine Art and Archaeology* (Oxford, 1911), figs. 277-278—Millet and Der Nersessian, *op. cit.*, p. 165 and pl. IX—Buchthal, *op. cit.*, pp. 28 and 38; pls. XXII, no. 53 and XXV, no. 68.

[20] *Cf.* note 15.

However, a localization of the Vatopedi Psalter in a provincial center seems to be contradicted by an entry on folio 2 verso which reads: Κωνσταντῖνος ἐλέῳ θεοῦ ἡμῶν εὐσεβὴς βασιλεὺς καὶ αὐτοκράτωρ Ῥωμαίων ὁ Μονομάχος. Eustratiades and Arcadios in their catalogue[21] considered it as an autograph of the Emperor. If this were true, the Constantinopolitan origin of the manuscript would be quite certain. But since Constantine Monomachus died in 1054 A.D. and our manuscript cannot be dated before 1088, we can only conclude that this entry is a falsification by a later hand, added with the intention of making the manuscript appear as a product of an imperial scriptorium or, at least, as an imperial possession, thus heightening its value. In our opinion, the style of the miniatures speaks against a Constantinopolitan origin, although we must admit that we are unable to propose a specific provincial center where it might have been executed. No attempt has been made so far to determine, on the ground of style and other criteria, the localization of those groups of eleventh and twelfth-century manuscripts which were made outside the capital.

One or at the most two centuries after its completion, the manuscript passed into the hands of an Armenian owner who not only wrote the Armenian inscriptions above some of the pictures, as we have mentioned above, but painted some additional ornaments on the margins (fig. 16) [22] According to Der Nersessian, these additions were made in the twelfth or thirteenth century. One might argue that the Psalter must have been in Armenia at that time and that therefore a neighboring Greek province

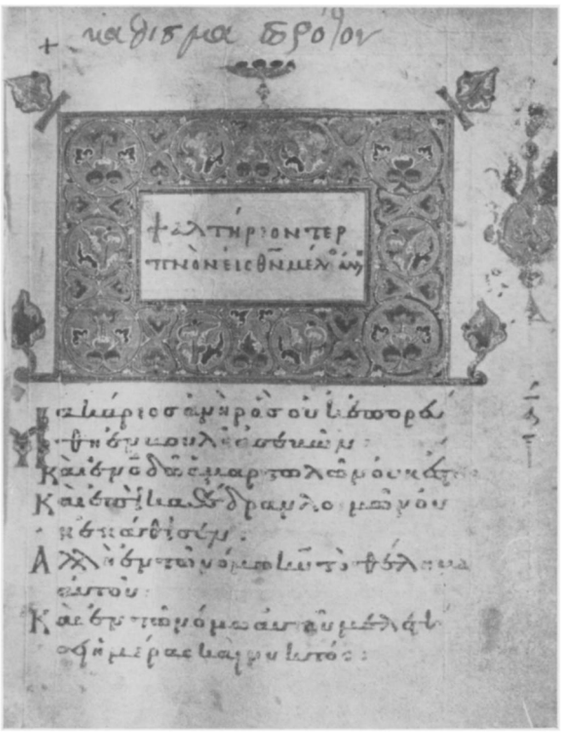

FIGURE 16 MT. ATHOS, VATOPEDI MONASTERY
Headpiece to First Psalm

may have been the place of origin of the manuscript itself. An Anatolian origin is indeed not unlikely, but is hardly more than a possibility. On the other hand, it must be realized that at that period Armenians were living in many cities within the Byzantine empire and that, therefore, the additions by an Armenian hand do not provide definitive proof that the manuscript was at any time actually in Armenia, although this is, of course, highly probable.

On folio 2 verso there is another entry, according to which the manuscript belonged to a certain Makarios of Thessalonica, and on folio 231 recto the same Makarios signs himself as archbishop of Corinth.[23] The same name is found also in another manuscript belonging to the Vatopedi monastery. In the codex 483, which contains the handbook of canon law by Mat-

[21] Eustratiades and Arcadios, *op. cit.*, p. 150.
[22] Millet and Der Nersessian, *op. cit.*, p. 181 and pl. XVI.
[23] Eustratiades and Arcadios, *loc. cit.*

thaeos Blastares, there are several entries by the same Makarios of Corinth.[24] In one (fol. 388^{v}), where he states that the manuscript belonged to him, he signs himself as archbishop of Corinth and in another of the same kind (fol.2^{v}) as archbishop of Thessalonica, so he must have occupied these two bishoprics in succession.

FIGURE 17 MT. ATHOS, VATOPEDI MONASTERY
An Ecclesiastical Council
Ms. 483

There are two more written passages that bear his name on folio 5 recto and 5 verso, one being dated 1508 and the other 1517 A.D. The authors of the catalogue even assumed Makarios to be the scribe of the Blastares manuscript, though nowhere does he call himself such and the attribution is based merely on palaeographical resemblances between the entries and the text itself. The Blastares manuscript contains a number of miniatures which are contemporary with the text and represent figures of saints and two synods (fig. 17) in very much the same style as the inserted miniatures of the Psalter, *i.e.*, with only the drapery painted in wash color and the faces left free of any coloring. It is difficult to say whether the miniatures of the two manuscripts are by the same hand, but they are certainly the products of the same period and of the same scriptorium. From this evidence we may conclude that the inserted miniatures of the Psalter were added when Makarios signed himself as the owner of the book and that this occurred at the beginning of the sixteenth century in Thessalonica, to which city the selection of the standing saints and the martyrdom of Demetrius clearly point.

Thus, we can reconstruct a few stages of the colorful history of the little Psalter: it very likely originated somewhere in an Eastern province of the empire, was then acquired by an Armenian, later came into the possession of the archbishop of Thessalonica, and finally found a haven in the Vatopedi monastery. From the false imperial signature we gather the impression that it must have been highly appreciated by its owners.

III. *The Relation to the Octateuch and the Books of Kings*

In dealing with the aristocratic Psalter recension one point cannot be too strongly emphasized, namely that, with the exception of the frontispiece proper, not a single miniature was invented from the Psalter text. The whole cycle of miniatures accompanying the Psalter proper, as well as the Odes, is deri-

FIGURE 18 ROME, VATICAN
Moses on Mt. Sinai
Ms. Gr. 746

vative and goes back to other books of the Bible. Consequently, in order to find the place of each example of an aristocratic Psalter in the stemma, the relation of its miniatures to those of the proper books of the Bible is a matter of primary consideration. It is obvious that the more features of what we might call the "basic" cycles are preserved in a Psalter copy, the closer it must be to the archetype which first made the borrowings.

For our study of the Vatopedi Psalter, which contains a very restricted number of miniatures, only two basic cycles come into play, though in more fully illustrated Psalteria with a complete set of Ode pictures some additional ones are involved. For the miniatures of Moses receiving the Law (fig. 1) and the Crossing of the Red Sea (fig. 11) the source is obviously an illustrated Octateuch, several copies of which, dating from the eleventh to the thirteenth centuries, have come down to us. These surviving Octateuchs are not older than most Psalter manuscripts, but nevertheless the fact that their pictures still accompany the very text for which they were invented justifies the assumption that they preserve a better iconographical tradition. Furthermore, the Octateuchs, being extremely richly illustrated, were certainly not copied as often as the more popular Psalters and, therefore, we can reckon with fewer intermediary copies and consequently with less frequent changes.

The Baltimore miniature (fig. 1) unites three scenes in one frame, scenes which in the Octateuchs are separate pictorial units and not even

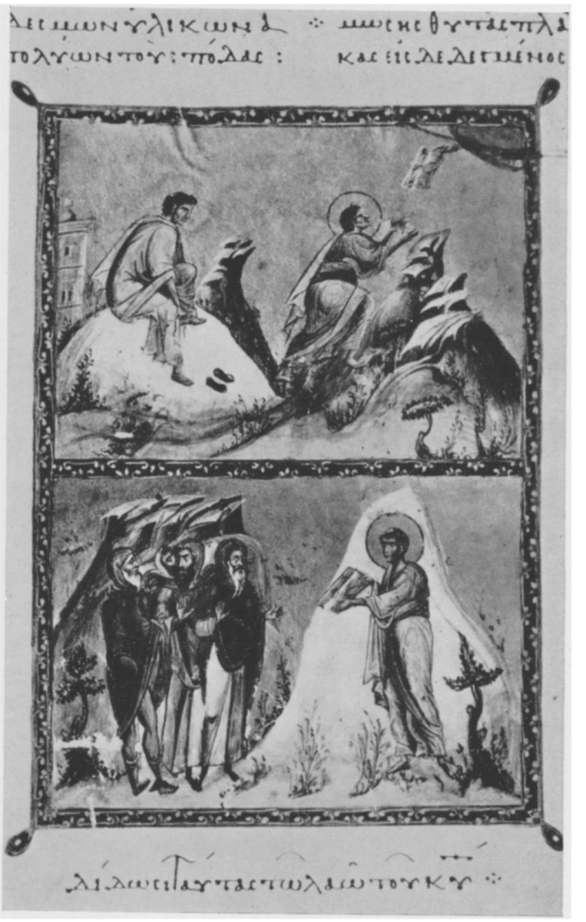

FIGURE 19 BERLIN, THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY
Moses Receiving the Law

consecutive. The first shows Moses loosening the sandal of his right foot (Exod. III, 2) just as in the Octateuch illustrations, *e.g.*, the Vatican cod. gr. 746 (fig. 18)[25]. The only difference is in the position of the left leg: in the Psalter picture merely the sole of the foot is to be seen, indicating that Moses sits with crossed legs upon the ground, whereas in the Octateuch he is represented standing and stepping forward. From what has been said above, we should expect the Octateuch to represent the original and the Baltimore miniature the altered version. If we had these two documents only, it would be

[24] Eustratiades and Arcadios, *op. cit.*, p. 99.

[25] Only examples of the miniatures have been published. *Il Rotulo di Giosuè, Codices e Vaticanis selecti*, V (Milan, 1905), pls. A-K—J. Wilpert, *Die Römischen Mosaiken und Malereien*, Text, vol. I, fig. 17 and *passim*.—C. Diehl, *Manuel d'art Byzantin* (Paris, 1925-26), I, fig. 197; II, figs. 280-281—H. Gerstinger, *Die Wiener Genesis* (Vienna, 1931), pls. IX ff. and elsewhere.

FIGURE 20 FORMERLY IN SMYRNA

Moses Receiving and Giving the Law
Ms. A. I.

difficult to prove the process of transformation from the one type to the other, but fortunately there are other Psalter miniatures which can be considered as intermediary links. Close to the Baltimore leaf in the choice of the subjects and their compositional arrangement is the corresponding miniature in a contemporary Psalter in the Theological Seminary of the University of Berlin (fig. 19),[26] which is certainly of Constantinopolitan origin. Here Moses is depicted in a somewhat indistinct posture, sitting on a hillock, while at the same time one leg is lowered so far that if moved backward slightly it would easily support his body. Such a type can be interpreted as a first stage in the alteration from the stepping to the squatting type.

The second scene represents the receiving of the Law according to Exodus XXXI, 18. In the climbing attitude of Moses as he receives the marble tablets with veiled hands from the hand of the Lord, the representation agrees well with the Octateuchs, of which the copy formerly in Smyrna may this time be shown as parallel (fig. 20). [27] The only difference is in the position of the legs: in the Walters miniature the left leg is raised, whereas in the Octateuchs it is the right. Here once more the Berlin miniature (fig. 19) serves as an intermediary link to show that originally the Psalter version agreed more precisely with the Octateuch and that the Moses in the Walters miniature is an alteration within the same recension.

[26] G. Stuhlfauth, *A Greek Psalter with Byzantine Miniatures* in *Art. Bull.*, XV (1933), pp. 311 ff.

[27] D. C. Hesseling, *Miniatures de l'octateuque grec de Smyrne, Codices Graeci et Latini photographice depicti duce Scatone de Vries*, Suppl. VI (Leiden, 1909), pl. 63, no. 201. The manuscript was destroyed by fire in 1923.

FIGURE 21 ISTANBUL, SERAGLIO

Moses and the Law
Ms. 8

In the third scene Moses addresses a group of Israelite elders. In the left hand he holds a scroll and the right is extended in a gesture of speech. A very similar scene, but reversed, so that Moses stands at the right, occurs in the Octateuchs, as, *e.g.*, the one in the Seraglio (fig. 21),[28] as an illustration to Exodus XIX, 7: "And Moses came and called for the elders of the people, and laid before their faces all these words which the Lord commanded him." The Berlin Psalter (fig. 19) has a somewhat different scene in the same place: here Moses is represented not as speaking, but as holding in his raised hands the tablets he had just received, and showing them to the people. This type of Moses corresponds to the one which in the Octateuchs follows immediately the receiving of the Law (fig. 20 at the right). Here, too, Moses holds the tablets with both hands, but instead of showing them to the people, he is confronted only by Joshua, in agreement with Exodus XXXII, 17. Thus, it becomes quite clear that the two scenes in the Vatopedi and the Berlin Psalters, similar as they are in general compositional arrangement, do not go back to the same prototype. One is not a transformation of the other, but they are derived from two different Octateuch miniatures, one illustrating Exodus XIX, 7 and the other Exodus XXXII, 17. Consequently, the archetype of the Psalter must have possessed both scenes. But in later copies, when more restricted space forced the illustrators to abbreviate, they either chose one of the two scenes or tried to combine the two into one.

[28] T. Ouspensky, *L'Octateuque de la bibliothèque du Sérail à Constantinople* in *Bull. de l'Inst. Arch. Russe à Constantinople*, XII (Sofia, 1907), pl. XXIII, no. 132.

The first alternative was chosen by the Berlin painter, the second by the Vatopedi painter. In the Walters miniature we recognize behind the extended hand of Moses a slab-shaped object painted in brown, which is surely meant to represent the tablets, although they are not grasped by the prophet's hand. Apparently the illustrator interpolated them under the influence of a scene similar to that in the Berlin

FIGURE 22 NICOSIA, CYPRUS

Silver Plate
David and the Messenger

miniature and thus combined the compositional scheme of Moses talking to the Israelite elders with the type of Moses bringing the tablets.

The Vatopedi miniature of the Crossing of the Red Sea (fig. 11) finds its closest parallel among the Octateuchs in Vatican cod. gr. 747 from the eleventh century (fig. 23),[29] in that Moses, bringing up the rear of the throng of Israelites, closes the sea behind him with a wand, and also that the position of the legs,

FIGURE 23 ROME, VATICAN

Crossing of the Red Sea
Ms. Gr. 747

with the left taking a long stride forward, agrees in both miniatures. It may be mentioned that in the other Octateuchs Moses is not the very last in the group of the marching Israelites, but is followed by a man with a sack over his shoulder, and, furthermore, that he crosses his legs, stepping forward with the right.[30] We have demonstrated elsewhere[31] that, among the Octateuchs, Vatican cod. gr. 747, is the best copy from the iconographical point of view and hence the closest to the archetype. The close relationship between the Psalter miniature and this very Octateuch indicates, therefore, that the first painter to create the archetype of the aristocratic Psalter recension used an early or at least an iconographically faithful copy as model.

Owing to the change in format from a strip-like composition, which all Octateuchs have in common, to a full-page miniature which is higher than it is wide, the Vatopedi painter was

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[29] This Vatican Octateuch, like the other, also has not been completely published. Examples of the miniatures are published in: *Il Rotulo di Giosuè*, *op. cit.*, pls. L-M—Wilpert, *op. cit.*, I, fig. 18 and *passim*—Diehl, *op. cit.*, fig 295—Gerstinger, *op. cit.*, pls. IX ff., and elsewhere.

[30] E.g. in the Smyrna Octateuch, Hesseling, *op. cit.*, pl. 59, no. 179.

[31] Weitzmann, *The Joshua Roll, A Work of the Macedonian Renaissance* (now in preparation; to appear as volume III of the Princeton series, *Studies in Manuscript Illumination*).

FIGURE 24

METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

Silver Plate
David and Goliath

forced to abbreviate the scene. The group of Israelites is partly cut by the frame, the column of fire is omitted altogether, and within the group of the drowned Egyptians there was no opportunity to single out Pharaoh for greater prominence, as is the case in the Octateuch miniature. Other Psalter painters, however, did not make so thorough a condensation of the scene as was necessary in the Vatopedi manuscript because of its tiny format.

The scenes from the life of David go back to an illustrated manuscript of the Books of Kings,

but here we are in a less fortunate position than in the case of the Octateuchs, since only one illustrated copy of these historical books of the Bible has come down to us, the Vatican cod. gr. 333, which belongs to the twelfth century.[32] Though its picture cycle is fairly extensive—the first book alone has about a hundred scenes—

FIGURE 25 PARIS, NATIONAL LIBRARY
Anointing of David
Ms. Gr. 923

it is quite certain that the present copy is already an abbreviation and condensation of an originally fuller archetype. The evidence for this statement rests on a considerable number of scenes from Kings that are found among the marginal illustrations of the ninth-century manuscript of the Sacra Parallela of John of Damascus in Paris, cod. gr. 923.[33] Those scenes which correspond with Vatican cod. gr. 333 show the same iconography and hence go back to the same archetype. From the very nature of John of Damascus' *florilegium* we can, of course, expect only a limited selection of text passages and of their accompanying miniatures. Yet there are a good many scenes, particularly relating to books II to IV, which do not exist in the Vatican Books of Kings, thus proving the latter's incompleteness and, at the same time, the existence of an extraordinarily richly illustrated archetype. The fact, therefore, that of the seven scenes from the life of David in the Vatopedi Psalter, the first two (figs. 3, 4) do not occur in the two extant cycles of the Books of Kings, does not mean that they did not exist in the archetype of the latter, since both events, the playing of the harp by David and his smiting the lion, are mentioned in the text of the Books of Kings.

The first miniature of the Psalter represents David playing the harp (fig. 3). He sits in a mountainous landscape tending the flocks of his father and is inspired by a woman who personifies Melodia. The playing of the harp by David is mentioned in verses 17 to 19 of the sixteenth chapter of the First Book of Kings, where a servant tells Saul that he knows a son of Jesse who is cunning in playing, whereupon Saul dispatches the servant to bring the young harpist to his court. A literal illustration of this text-passage can be seen on a silver plate from the beginning of the seventh century now in the museum of Nicosia on Cyprus (fig. 22).[34] This is decorated with a relief showing David sitting in frontal view with the harp in one hand, and extending the other in a gesture of

[32] Lassus, *Les miniatures byzantines du Livre des Rois* in *Mél. d'archéologie et d'histoire,* XLV (1928), pp. 38 ff.—Weitzmann, *Illustrations in Roll and Codex,* pp. 107, 132, 178.

[33] Examples of this as yet unpublished manuscript in: Weitzmann, *Die Byzantinische Buchmalerei des IX. und X. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, 1935), pp. 80 f. and pl. LXXXVI—*Idem, Illustrations in Roll and Codex,* pp. 115 ff., 133 ff., 150, 195.

[34] O. M. Dalton, *A Second Silver Treasure from Cyprus* in *Archaeologia,* LX, Pt. 1 (1906), pp. 1 ff. and fig. 4a—M. Rosenberg, *Der Goldschmiede Merkzeichen,* IV (Berlin, 1928), p. 651, no. 9707.

speech towards Saul's servant who has just delivered his master's message. It has long been realized that the set of silver plates to which this piece belongs is closely related to the aristocratic Psalter recension, since the largest of the plates, now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York (fig. 24), shows David's fight with Goliath in a composition so similar to the corresponding miniature of the well known Psalter in Paris (with which we shall have to deal later)[35] that a common archetype can rightly be assumed. Consequently, the plate with the harping David and the messenger must also be understood as a copy of a miniature in an aristocratic Psalter and, because of its literal illustration of the text, it seems to reflect the archetype even more closely than any of the later Psalter miniatures. In comparison with this early silver plate, the Vatopedi miniature obviously represents a later stage in the development of the iconography of this scene: the messenger is omitted and a personification inserted, with the result that the scene is deprived of its original narrative character. Instead, it is transformed into a kind of frontispiece to the biographical series of scenes from the life of David, and as such has acquired a certain hieratic quality.

David's fight with the lion (fig. 4) likewise occurs in the set of Cyprus plates[36] and in both representations David grasps the mane while he swings a club with which to smite the lion. There is a difference, however, in the position of the lion, which in the miniature attacks David from the front, while in the silver plate David kneels upon its back. It is indeed conceivable that in this case the miniature represents the better version and that in the plate, without impairing the iconographical accuracy, a formal change in the arrangement of figure and animal was made with regard to the round shape of the

FIGURE 26 PARIS, NATIONAL LIBRARY
David Fighting Goliath
Ms. Gr. 923

[35] C. R. Morey, *Early Christian Art* (Princeton, 1942), pp. 97, 263 and figs. 64 and 94.

[36] Dalton in *Burl. Mag.*, X (1906-07), p. 357 and fig. 1—Rosenberg, *op. cit.*, p. 637, no. 9656.

FIGURE 27 ROME, VATICAN
David Welcomed to Jerusalem
Ms. Gr. 333

object. In the archetype this combat must have had its counterpart in the slaying of the bear, a scene omitted in the very restricted cycle of the Vatopedi Psalter, but still preserved as a separate scene on another silver plate in Nicosia.[37]

To the succeeding five scenes of the Psalter we find parallels in one or the other cycle from the Books of Kings mentioned above—and at times even in both. The compositional arrangement of the anointing of David (fig. 5) is in many respects close to that of the marginal miniature in Paris gr. 923 (fig. 25). In both, Samuel stands at the left with one hand hidden under his himation, holding in the other the horn with which he anoints David who, still a boy, approaches the prophet with both hands extended towards him. The group of Jesse and his sons at the right is differently arranged and much condensed in the Paris miniature, since here the illustrator was handicapped by the necessity of compressing the scene into the margin, whereas in the model it stood within the text column and occupied more space.

David's fight against Goliath in the Vatopedi manuscript (fig. 6) shows a strange feature, in that Goliath is depicted on horseback. The miniatures in the Sacra Parallela (fig. 26) as well as that in Vatican cod. gr. 333[38] show the giant on foot, and so does the Cyprus plate in New York (fig. 24)[39] which, to judge from the previous examples, follows the archetype fairly closely. It thus seems likely that this feature was not present in the archetype, but that we have to reckon with an alteration. Yet this painter was not the only artist to represent Goliath on horseback. An ivory casket in Sens[40] likewise shows Goliath on horseback, but here, although still wielding his spear against David, he has already turned away in flight. Therefore, the Vatopedi painter cannot be credited with the invention of this type of Goliath, for it must

FIGURE 28 ROME, VATICAN
Coronation of David
Ms. Gr. 333

[37] Dalton in *Archaeologia,* LX, p. 8, fig. 4b—Rosenberg, *op. cit.,* p. 653, no. 9716.

[38] Lassus, *op. cit.,* fig. 6—E. DeWald, *A Fragment of a Tenth-Century Byzantine Psalter* in *Medieval Studies in Memory of A. Kingsley Porter,* I (Cambridge, Mass., 1939), p. 149, fig. 14.

[39] Dalton in *Burl. Mag.,* X (1906-07), p. 361—Rosenberg, *op. cit.,* p. 640, no. 9668 and 9670 and elsewhere.

[40] A. Goldschmidt and K. Weitzmann, *Die Byzantinischen Elfenbeinskulpturen des X.-XIII. Jahrhunderts,* I (Berlin, 1930), pl. LXXIII, no. 124 h.

have already come into the recension in some earlier intermediary copy. What was the reason for this alteration of the Goliath type? In a miniature of the twelfth-century Psalter in the Vatican, cod. gr. 1927[41] the fight between David and Goliath takes place between the armies of the Israelites and the Philistines, both of which consist of riders. Some copyists may, therefore, have concluded that Goliath, too, had approached the Israelites on horseback and so may have preferred to depict him in the subsequent fight as not yet having dismounted. But aside from this change, the types of both David and Goliath are quite similar to those in the miniature from the Sacra Parallela insofar as David leans slightly forward and Goliath holds the lance at a similar angle.

In the decapitation of Goliath (fig. 7) the significant iconographical feature is that the giant lies on his back while David approaches from behind. The Sacra Parallela (fig. 26) as well as Vatican cod. gr. 333[42] depict Goliath as having sunk to his knees, facing his executioner. Dealing here as we do with the basic cycles of the Books of Kings, one would, of course, be inclined to consider the latter as closer to the original version and that of the Vatopedi miniature as an alteration. Yet the latter version also has an old tradition, since it already occurs on the silver plate in New York from the early seventh century (fig. 24). Thus the question of primacy may in this case be left undecided until fuller evidence of the iconography of this scene can be provided.

In more complex compositions the illustrator of the Vatopedi Psalter reduced the number of figures, because of lack of space in miniatures of such small format. We have already observed

FIGURE 29 PARIS, NATIONAL LIBRARY
David Welcomed to Jerusalem
Ms. Gr. 923

this to some extent in the scene of the Crossing of the Red Sea, but in the miniature of David's triumphant return to Jerusalem (fig. 8) the limitation of the picture area resulted in so drastic a reduction that the content has become somewhat obscured. Most essential to the understanding is, of course, the welcome by the dancing women of Israel, as we see them in the corresponding miniature of Vatican cod. gr. 333 (fig. 27). This part of the composition has been entirely omitted, so that David merely faces a group of Israelite elders who stand in front of the city gate of Jerusalem. Vice versa, this group of older men is lacking in the Vatican miniature, where we see only the walled city with a huge closed gate. The archetype in all probability contained both groups, the elders

[41] E. T. DeWald, *Vaticanus Graecus 1927*, pl. LXV, folio 264 verso.

[42] Lassus, *op. cit.*, fig. 7.

and the dancing women, and each of the two copies dropped one or the other, the Vatopedi obviously omitting the more important part.

It is consistent with the preceding miniatures of the Vatopedi manuscript that in the scene of the triumphal return, the illustrator depicted David riding on Goliath's horse, thus displaying it as part of the booty. On the other hand, we should expect that in the Books of Kings and those Psalters which reflect the archetype most closely, David would be represented on foot. The miniature in Vat. gr. 333 confirms this assumption, since here David walks at the head of the army of the Israelites, carrying Goliath's head on top of the giant's spear; another much abbreviated scene in the Psalter, Vatican cod. gr. 752, likewise represents David on foot.[43] But then it is surprising to see David on horseback in the Sacra Parallela in a miniature (fig. 29) which is likewise much abbreviated in its omission of the city of Jerusalem, but which retains from the model at least two of the dancing women of Israel. This divergence within the two cycles from the Books of Kings which belong to the same recension is difficult to explain, particularly in view of the fact that both versions again make an appearance in the Psalter manuscripts. Normally we should assume that the transformation from a cycle illustrating the Books of Kings into the Psalter cycle was made only once, *i.e.*, when the archetype of the latter was constituted, and that all variants are the result of frequent changes within the much copied Psalter recension. Ought we, therefore, to conclude that subsequent illustrators of Psalters made more than one reference to an illustrated Books of Kings as source for their borrowings? Once again this question is better left unanswered until fuller evidence can be taken into account.

Another omission in this same Vatopedi miniature which seriously impairs clear understanding of the scene is the absence of Saul, who accompanied David on the return and, as the text says, was very wroth and displeased when he saw that more attention was paid to David than to him. The miniatures from both cycles of the Books of Kings depict not only Saul, but a whole group of soldiers following David—in the Vatican codex on foot, and in the Sacra Parallela apparently on horseback like David himself, though the damaged condition of the miniature makes it impossible to be certain on this point.

The final scene in the biographical cycle is David's coronation (fig. 9). David is raised on the shield by two Israelite youths, a ceremony which is not explained by the text of Kings, but, as we have demonstrated elsewhere,[44] must be considered as an adaptation of a compositional scheme invented for the coronation of Byzantine emperors in some illustrated chronicle. This adaptation took place in a Books of Kings, since in Vatican cod. gr. 333 (fig. 28) we see David being raised on a shield while he is proclaimed king of Israel. In the Vatopedi miniature David is crowned by Saul, an action which, as noticed before, conflicts with the meaning of the text, since Saul was dead by this time. We observed further that Saul is suspended in the air with no ground upon which to stand. From a formal point of view, this incongruity clearly indicates that the figure is a later insertion, an idea which is strongly supported by the fact that in the corresponding scene of the Vatican Books of Kings David is not crowned by anyone. He is simply raised on the shield by a whole crowd of youths, while the Israelite elders look on as they do in the Vatopedi miniature, only with the difference that they are standing at the opposite side of the picture.

[43] DeWald, *Vaticanus Graecus 752*, pl. LIII, folio 449 recto.

[44] Weitzmann, *Illustrations in Roll and Codex*, pp. 178 ff. and figs. 183-188.

Having thus analyzed the miniatures of the Vatopedi Psalter in relation to those of the basic cycles of the Octateuch and of the Books of Kings, it must have become apparent that no generalizing statement can be made. In some cases the dependence is very close, in others the changes resulting from a long process of repeated copying are quite considerable. David's fight against the lion, his anointing, and Goliath's decapitation (figs. 4, 5 and 7) have apparently undergone no changes or at the most only minor ones. In other cases, such as David's welcome into Jerusalem and the Crossing of the Red Sea (figs. 8 and 11), the artist was satisfied with mere abbreviations. Where he changed certain types, as for instance Goliath on horseback (fig. 6) or the various Moses figures in the Receiving of the Law (fig. 1), the alterations are of such a nature that their connection with the basic narrative scenes, as far as composition and figure types are concerned, is still clearly traceable. In only two instances do we encounter the introduction of additional figures that apparently were not in the archetype: the crowning Saul in the coronation scene and the personification of Melodia in the first picture. In the latter, the transformation has gone further than in any other picture, since the omission of the messenger has obscured its narrative character. This effect was obviously intended by the artist, who transformed the miniature into a kind of introductory frontispiece to the biographical cycle. David is no longer conceived as the youth ordered to appear before Saul, but as the composer of the psalms.

IV. *The Relation to the Paris Psalter*

Every discussion of the aristocratic Psalter recension in the past has been focussed on the well known Psalter manuscript in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale gr. 139,[45] and all other copies have been analyzed with reference to this famous manuscript. This is quite understandable in view of the high artistic quality of its miniatures which, though uneven in their execution and painted by several artists of varying skill, are nevertheless outstanding and superior to any other copy in existence. Yet, from the methodical point of view, it cannot be too often emphasized that high artistic quality does not necessarily coincide with purity of iconographical tradition. On the contrary, the greater the artist, the less he feels himself bound to tradition and the more readily will he embark on alterations of all kinds; whereas a mediocre artist, being more timid, as a rule adheres more closely to his model, thus preserving the distinctive elements of the archetype more faithfully. This may well be kept in mind during the following discussion of the relation between the Vatopedi and the Paris Psalters with regard to their common archetype.

The Paris Psalter also begins with the miniature like a frontispiece, representing the harp-playing David inspired by Melodia.[46] But, in addition to this personification, two more are seen: the mountain-god Bethlehem, embracing the trunk of a tree with one arm, and a girl looking from behind a column who is supposed to be Echo. Hitherto, nearly all scholars have held that this fuller version is the original one and that those miniatures which, like the Vatopedi miniature (fig. 3), show only the Melodia represent an abbreviated form. But if we are correct in believing that the prototype of this picture was the scene with David being approached by Saul's messenger, as represented on the silver plate of Nicosia (fig. 22), then we

[45] H. Omont, *Miniatures des plus anciens manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale du VI^e au XIV^e siècle* (2nd ed., Paris, 1929), pp. 4 ff. and pls. I-XIV (with the older bibliography)—Morey, *Notes on East Christian Miniatures* in *Art Bull.*, XI (1929), pp. 21 ff. and elsewhere in his writings—Buchthal, *op. cit.*

[46] Omont, *op. cit.*, pl. I—Buchthal, *op. cit.*, pl. I.

FIGURE 30 PARIS, NATIONAL LIBRARY

Moses Receiving the Law
Ms. Gr. 139

arrive at the opposite conclusion. The silver plate has no personification and indeed in a narrative scene of this character we should not even expect a figure such as Melodia. But when personifications were added to this picture, the process apparently took place in two successive stages, by the insertion first of Melodia and later of the mountain-god and the so-called Echo.

In David's fight against the lion both Paris and Vatopedi miniatures (fig. 4) agree in the main group, but the former has once more certain additional personifications,[47] that of Ischys, Power, whose function is to incite David, and also an unnamed girl who looks from behind the rocks in wonderment at David's deed. As mentioned above, neither of the two extant cycles from the Books of Kings contains this scene; thus there is no direct evidence whether or not the lost scenes, which we assume at one time existed in the archetype of a more fully illustrated manuscript of the Books of Kings, included these personifications. But, by analogy with the first scene, we may at least feel a suspicion as to their being an integral part of the original composition. The question of whether or not the numerous personifications of the Paris Psalter were in the archetype has to be decided on the basis of the whole cycle rather than a single picture, and a satisfactory answer can only be given after we have examined some of the succeeding miniatures. It is not without significance, however, that the earliest representation of the lion fight within our recension, that of the silver plate from Cyprus,[48] contains no personification. Admittedly, it can be argued that in this case the circular format did not permit the inclusion of still another figure. Yet it cannot be overlooked that even the larger silver plates, where lack of space cannot be held responsible, are not at all rich in personifications. As a matter of fact, in the whole set there occurs only one, namely that of a river-god who rests peacefully between Goliath and the challenging David (fig. 24).[49] On the whole, one can safely say that personifications were not as popular a feature in this early cycle as they were in the Paris Psalter.

In the set of silver plates, the fight against the lion has a counterpart in a second plate illustrating the fight against the bear. The Paris illustrator tried to combine the two events in one picture and so depicted a slain bear on the ground, another indication of the facility with which this artist introduced additions and changes where the Vatopedi painter rather preferred to omit the second scene altogether.

The Anointing of David in the Paris Psalter,[50] besides being reversed so as to show Samuel at the right instead of at the left as in the Vatopedi miniature (fig. 5), adds the figure of Praotes, the personification of Gentleness. We have seen that she does not occur in the corresponding scene in the Sacra Parallela (fig. 25), but she does appear in Vatican cod. gr. 333,[51] in a form quite similar to that in the Paris Psalter. This very fact seems to disprove our thesis that personifications are a later insertion in the Psalter recension. Yet, in looking through the extensively illustrated Vatican manuscript we soon realize that this figure of Praotes in the Anointing scene is the *only* personification in the whole cycle of the four books. This clearly indicates that personifications were not a characteristic feature of the picture cycle of the Books of Kings and that the exception only proves the rule. The isolated occurrence in a single picture can, in our opinion, most reasonably be explained as the retroactive influence of a Psalter miniature

[47] Omont, *op. cit.*, pl. II—Buchthal, *op. cit.*, pl. II.
[48] *Cf.* note 36.
[49] *Cf.* notes 35 and 39.
[50] Omont, *op. cit.*, pl. III—Buchthal, *op. cit.*, pl. III.
[51] Lassus, *op. cit.*, fig. 4—Buchthal, *op. cit.*, pl. XXV, no. 71.

upon the Books of Kings. Such an influence seems quite natural, if we imagine how likely it might have been for an illustrator of the extensive but simple narrative cycle of the Books of Kings to be impressed by the great splendor of many of the aristocratic Psalters.

David's fight against Goliath and his decapitation are united in the Paris Psalter within one frame and spatially related to each other by the groups of soldiers who extend from the lower into the upper zone of the picture,[52] whereas in the Vatopedi manuscript the two scenes are distributed over two opposite miniatures (figs. 6, 7). Since in Vatican cod. gr. 333 the two phases of the combat are likewise depicted in separate units, even on different pages,[53] this arrangement is surely the original one and the fusion in the Paris manuscript must be considered as a later phase in the development. Once again personifications are added: Dynamis, personifying Power, encourages David, while Alazoneia, the personification of Vainglory, flees in despair. Neither the Sacra Parallela (fig. 26) nor Vatican cod. gr. 333 contains these figures, and even the Cyprus plate which is extremely close to the Paris miniature is free of them.[54] Nor do other Psalter manuscripts have them, as, *e.g.*, that in Berlin,[55] which like the Vatopedi manuscript, has the two scenes separately framed, following the older tradition, even though they are on the same page. The David and Goliath miniature is among the best evidences we have to support our theory that the personifications were neither in the basic cycle of the Books of Kings nor even in those aristocratic Psalters which are particularly close to the archetype.

David's welcome in Jerusalem in the Vatopedi manuscript (fig. 8), though much abbreviated, is nevertheless certainly derived from the corresponding scene in the Books of Kings (figs. 27, 29). But the composition of the same subject in the Paris Psalter[56] is unique and stands outside the tradition. With the exception of one dancing Israelite woman none of the other figures can be derived from earlier representations of this theme. It is not David who is greeted by the dancer, as one would expect from a literal illustration of the text, but Saul; the young hero does not exhibit Goliath's head on the point of his lance and he is seen from the back as if he were relegated to a place of secondary importance; a woman stands quietly in the background who neither is explained by the text nor has any pictorial ancestry in the iconography of this scene. Quite obviously the traditional composition for the scene of David's triumph has been disregarded and a scheme adopted which was not invented for this context. We have demonstrated elsewhere[57] that the model used by the Paris painter was a picture of *Iphigenia among the Taurians* as we see it in several replicas on the walls of Pompeii. From this classical scene, with which he probably became acquainted through a classical miniature, he took over the temple and the figure of Iphigenia, removing her from the original position between the columns of the portico and placing her beside the temple, and the figure of Orestes seen from the back he adapted for David by adding clothing and changing the attitude of the arms. The attempt to classicize this composition must be understood as an expression of the same mentality that led to the insertion of personifications in the other pictures of the Paris Psalter, and both phenomena have to be seen in relation to each other.

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[52] Omont, *op. cit.*, pl. IV—Buchthal, *op. cit.*, pl. IV.

[53] Lassus, *op. cit.*, figs. 6-7.

[54] *Cf.* notes 35 and 39.

[55] Stuhlfauth, *op. cit.*, p. 325 and fig. 13.

[56] Omont, *op. cit.*, pl. V—Buchthal, *op. cit.*, pl. V.

[57] Weitzmann, *Euripides Scenes in Byzantine Art* to appear shortly in *Hesperia.*

In the coronation scene of the Paris manuscript[58] David is crowned by a woman who may be considered as the adaptation of a Nike type, although she has no wings. She has the same function as Saul, who performs the crowning in the Vatopedi miniature (fig. 9), and, like him, she is placed in a suspended position and unconvincing spatial relation to David. The corresponding scene in Vatican cod. gr. 333 (fig. 28) has neither of the two crowning figures and, therefore, both must be considered insertions. Here we have a case where within the same recension two different solutions were found for the enrichment of the prototype, and it is interesting to see that the artist of the Vatopedi miniature who inserted Saul chose a figure from the repertory of Old Testament types, while the Paris painter, by adding the Nike, stayed within the realm of classical personifications.

The most complex miniature is that of Moses Receiving the Law. In the Paris Psalter (fig. 30)[59] it precedes the second Ode, whereas the Baltimore leaf (fig. 1), as stated above, once prefaced the 77th psalm. The latter position is surely the original one. The second Ode had in the archetype a different picture, namely that of Moses reciting the Ode, in agreement with the underlying text. Such a picture is still preserved in a second Psalter in Vatopedi, cod. 760, and we have shown elsewhere[60] that its composition, as might have been expected, is taken over from an illustration of Deuteronomy in an Octateuch.

Of the three scenes in the Baltimore miniature, only the actual Receiving of the Law finds a parallel in the Paris miniature. This, of course, being the most important, could not be missed under any circumstances. But in place of the two figures of Moses, one loosening his sandals and a second addressing the Israelite elders and at the same time showing to them the tablets, the Paris miniature has still another Moses figure which in turn is not found in the Baltimore picture. He looks up to the Hand of God, but his very specific gestures reveal that we are not dealing with one of the conventional conversation scenes between Moses and the Lord which appear quite frequently in the Octateuchs and depict Moses with both hands raised in prayer.[61] In the Paris miniature one hand touches the chin, a gesture usually connoting astonishment, and the other is held outstreched as if pointing at something on the ground. This is the very type of Moses which in the Octateuchs appears in the scene preceding the loosening of the sandals (fig. 18).[62] Here he points with one hand to the burning bush, while with the other he touches his chin to show his astonishment at the miracle taking place before his eyes. There can hardly be any doubt that it was this type that was taken over into the Psalter picture. Since this scene occurs in the Octateuchs, where it is united with the loosening of the sandals within a common frame, it seems very plausible that both were taken over jointly into the archetype of the aristocratic Psalter. Thus, taking all evidence together, we arrive at the conclusion that this archetype must have had at least five different scenes which originally preceded the 77th psalm: Moses pointing to the burning bush, loosening his sandals, talking to the Israelites, receiving the Law, and (fused with scene 3) showing the tablets to the Israelites. Moreover, it must be kept in mind that we have not adduced the full evidence for the iconography of this Psalter picture and that, therefore, we cannot

[58] Omont, *op. cit.*, pl. VI—Buchthal, *op. cit.*, pl. VI.

[59] Omont, *op. cit.*, pl. X—Buchthal, *op. cit.*, pl. X.

[60] Weitzmann, *Illustrations in Roll and Codex*, p. 131 and figs. 112-113.

[61] Hesseling, *op. cit.*, pls. 53, no. 159; 57, no. 174; 60, no. 183; 61, no. 189, etc.

[62] C. R. Morey, *The "Byzantine Renaissance"* in *Speculum*, XIV (1939), p. 150.

even be sure that the five scenes enumerated represent the full number of scenes preceding the 77th psalm. So many scenes must surely have been distributed over at least two or perhaps even more full pages, and, consequently, later copyists who confined themselves to only one had to make a selection. This explains why the Vatopedi and the Paris miniatures do not agree with each other in every scene, even though they doubtless belong to the same recension. As a whole, the Baltimore miniature preserves more features from the archetype than does the Paris version. On the other hand, a new feature was inserted in the latter which was neither in the archetype nor, apparently, in some of the conservative Psalter copies, namely the personification of Mount Sinai, a figure seated in the lower left corner and looking up toward Moses receiving the tablets.

In the Crossing of the Red Sea, the Paris miniaturist made an important rearrangement of the whole scene.[63] Whereas the Vatopedi painter (fig. 11) retained the frieze-like composition of the scene in accordance with the Octateuch tradition (fig. 23), even though the format of a full-page miniature necessitated some condensation, the Paris artist cut the scene in two and superimposed one half above the other. In this way, he preserved more elements of the original composition, such as the prominent position of Pharaoh in the group of drowning Egyptians and the column of fire ahead of the marching Israelites. Moreover, he filled the tall format more evenly from the formal point of view, although losing the close connection between the two parts of the composition. Moses is now closing the sea above the Egyptians instead of in front of them, and he no longer looks at the disaster, but glances over the heads of the Egyptians into a vacuum. The natural connection between the two parts has thus been obscured.

In the Paris miniature, no less than four personifications are assembled in this scene. Of these the Nyx in the upper left corner also occurs in Vatican cod. gr. 747 (fig. 23), the Octateuch which, as mentioned before, is the closest to the archetype. Therefore, we can be quite sure that the Nyx not only existed in the earliest Psalter copy, but had a long tradition in the Octateuch illustration. But the other three personifications, Eremos personifying the Desert, Bythos dragging Pharoah into the abyss and Erythra Thalassa, the personification of the Red Sea with a rudder over her shoulder, we consider once more to be later insertions. It must be mentioned that with the exception of Vatican cod. gr. 747, these three personifications occur in all the other Octateuchs.[64] However, it should also be noted that, within the five books of Moses with their more than three hundred scenes, the Crossing of the Red Sea is the only miniature with such an accumulation of personifications. This miniature, then, is an exception within the Octateuchs which otherwise have extremely few personifications. Their accumulation of types identical with those of the corresponding Psalter miniature can only be explained by the retroactive influence of an aristocratic Psalter upon the Octateuchs (with the exception of Vatican cod. gr. 747), just as in the Vatican Books of Kings the representation of David's anointing shows the intrusion of the personification of Praotes under the influence of a Psalter miniature.

V. *The Problem of the Archetype*

This is not the place to attempt a full reconstruction of the archetype of the aristocratic Psalter recension and to investigate the genealogical relation of each copy to it. We have intentionally confined ourselves in this

[63] Omont, *op. cit.*, pl. IX—Buchthal, *op. cit.*, pl. IX.

[64] *Cf.* the Smyrna Codex. Hesseling, *op. cit.*, pl. 59, no. 179.

sketch to the Vatopedi manuscript in its relation to the corresponding miniatures in the historical books of the Bible on the one hand, and to those of the Paris Psalter on the other. Yet, in doing so we have at least had an opportunity to outline and apply the method which will have to be used in writing a more comprehensive study on the history of this widely ramified recension.

It has become clear in our discussion that the miniature cycle of the aristocratic Psalter recension is a derivative one and that it was not invented for the Psalter text. Thus, the painter who created the archetype may appear not quite as original an artist as has hitherto been thought, and yet neither do we need to envisage him as a slavish copyist. Merely from the formal point of view, he was faced with the problems of transforming the miniatures of his models, such as the Octateuch, the Books of Kings and some other biblical books, from strip-like compositions interspersed in the text, into full-page miniatures, a task which obviously involved in several scenes a rearrangement of figures and even of whole groups. Futhermore, it can be shown that iconographical inventiveness also was not altogether lacking. There are several Psalter copies, as, *e.g.*, Pantokratoros cod. 49, which have at the beginning of the life of David a representation of his birth,[65] an event which is not mentioned in the Books of Kings and therefore could hardly have existed in a picture cycle of this historical book of the Bible. It was added to the series of Psalter pictures with the apparent intention of rounding off the biographical cycle. In another Psalter, Vatican cod. gr. 752, the Birth of David is followed by a second infancy episode[66] which, again, has no basis in the text of the Books of Kings and therefore had to be made up for the Psalter.

But aside from the question of the Psalter painter's inventiveness, the two miniatures just cited nonetheless prove that the archetype had more pictures than are preserved in the Vatopedi and the Paris Psalters, and examination of all extant copies soon discloses that the original number of pictures must have been quite considerable. Moreover, the miniature cycle of the aristocratic Psalters was repeatedly copied by artists in other media as well, and these copies also serve to contribute to the reconstruction of the archetype. In the set of silver plates from Cyprus we find certain scenes which are not preserved in the two manuscripts on which our study is centered; the same is true—to quote one more example—of a tenth-century ivory casket in the Palazzo di Venezia in Rome[67] which begins its cycle of David scenes with the birth and caressing episodes, which, as explained above, could only have originated in a Psalter and not in the Books of Kings.

In determining the genealogical place of each copy in the stemma, our chief criterion is the closeness of the various scenes to the basic cycle of the historical books of the Bible. In this respect the Vatopedi Psalter is a copy which reflects many features of the archetype very faithfully and in this fact lies its significance in the history of Psalter illustration. The degree of faithfulness varies, of course, with each individual picture. The addition of the Melodia in the first miniature and of Saul in the coronation scene constitutes a notable deviation, whereas other scenes show few or no alterations.

In the Paris Psalter, on the other hand, not a single picture of those which we discussed can be considered an unaltered copy of the arche-

[65] Weitzmann, *Illustrations in Roll and Codex,* p. 152 and fig. 140.

[66] DeWald, *Vaticanus Graecus 752,* pl. I, folio 1 recto (much destroyed).

[67] Goldschmidt and Weitzmann, *Byzantinische Elfenbeinskulpturen,* I, pl. LXXI, no. 123—Weitzmann, *Illustrations in Roll and Codex,* p. 152 and fig. 141.

type, and the same is also true of the remaining scenes which cannot be dealt with in the present context. The changes are of three different kinds: either the artist regrouped constituent parts of a composition as, *e.g.*, in the Crossing of the Red Sea; or he abandoned the traditional iconography altogether as in the picture of David's triumphal return to Jerusalem; or, finally, he added a large number of personifications.[68] Personifications were, however, not entirely lacking in the archetype and a few, such as the Nyx in the Crossing of the Red Sea, existed even in the historical books. However, the marked increase in the number of personifications and the active role which some of them play are new features. It is not necessary to assume that the artist of the Parisian copy itself first introduced all these changes and additions. There are indications that he had a model not much older than the present copy in which an imaginative and humanistically inclined artist had introduced the classical elements and thus imparted to the miniatures a special flavor. In our study of the Joshua Roll where similar problems are involved,[69] we have endeavored to demonstrate that these classical intrusions and other changes occurred at the beginning of the tenth century in connection with a revival movement in the imperial scriptorium, in which the emperor Constantine Porphyrogenetus himself played a leading role.

Thus we come to the conclusion that the Paris Psalter is iconographically further removed from the archetype than the Vatopedi Psalter, in spite of the fact that the Vatopedi manuscript is more than a century later. It is by no means rare that a later manuscript should preserve the essence of the archetype better than an earlier one, since, as in textual criticism, it is not the age of a manuscript, but the number of intermediary copies that determines the probability of faithful transmission. We have reasoned above that from stylistic considerations the Vatopedi Psalter is not a Constantinopolitan product, but was made in all probability in a provincial center, perhaps somewhere in Anatolia. This might well explain why its picture cycle is more conservative than that of the Paris Psalter. In a provincial center an older tradition may well have continued untouched by the renaissance of the imperial scriptorium of Constantinople. The persistence of an older iconography in Anatolia is a well known fact, as Jerphanion demonstrated in the case of the cave frescoes of Cappadocia.[70]

Our concept of the distant position of the Paris Psalter in the stemma of the aristocratic recension is contrary to the prevailing opinion about this manuscript, to which a key position has always been attributed. Most scholars have considered it to be the best copy of an Early Christian archetype. There is no need to enumerate here all the statements supporting this view;[71] it may suffice to quote a few remarks by Millet, because he touched upon this problem in the same article in which the Vatopedi Psalter, the manuscript which gives the clue for a very different solution, was first introduced into the controversy. Millet says of the Paris Psalter that it is "*plus près des sources*" and he calls it "*l'ancêtre de toute une famille*" and "*l'oeuvre maîtresse dont tout dépend.*"[72]

In relating the Vatopedi Psalter more directly, *i.e.*, with fewer intermediary stages, to the archetype, it may be briefly mentioned,

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[68] Weitzmann, *Der Pariser Psalter, ms. grec. 139 und die mittelbyzantinische Renaissance* in *Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft* (1929), pp. 178 ff., where this theory was expounded for the first time.

[69] *Cf.* note 31.

[70] G. de Jerphanion, *Les églises rupestres de Cappadoce* (Paris, 1925-36).

[71] Tikkanen, *op. cit.*—Morey, *op. cit.*—Buchthal, *op. cit.*

[72] Millet and Der Nersessian, *op. cit.*, pp. 167, 175, 180.

[73] *Loc. cit.*, p. 180.

since the limitations of this sketch do not permit a fuller elaboration on this point, that we are dealing with a manuscript which is by no means unique. There are numerous Psalter copies preserved which reflect an earlier stage in the development of the aristocratic recension than the Paris codex. Two of them we have already mentioned in this study: one is the Psalter in the Theological Seminary in Berlin which contains the miniature of Moses Receiving the Law in purely narrative fashion (fig. 19), and the other is the second Vatopedi Psalter, cod. 760, of which we mentioned the original picture for the Deuteronomy Ode (p. 47). This latter manuscript, as Millet rightly pointed out,[73] is an Anatolian product and even more provincial in style than our Vatopedi manuscript. Besides these two there are still other copies of what we might call a pre-renaissance character—manuscripts whose miniatures are free from any influence of the Paris Psalter. Their introduction into the literature must be deferred until a study dealing with the full reconstruction of the archetype can be written. For the time being we can only hope that the publication of the Vatopedi Psalter and the charming little Baltimore leaf has laid the groundwork and outlined the method to be applied.

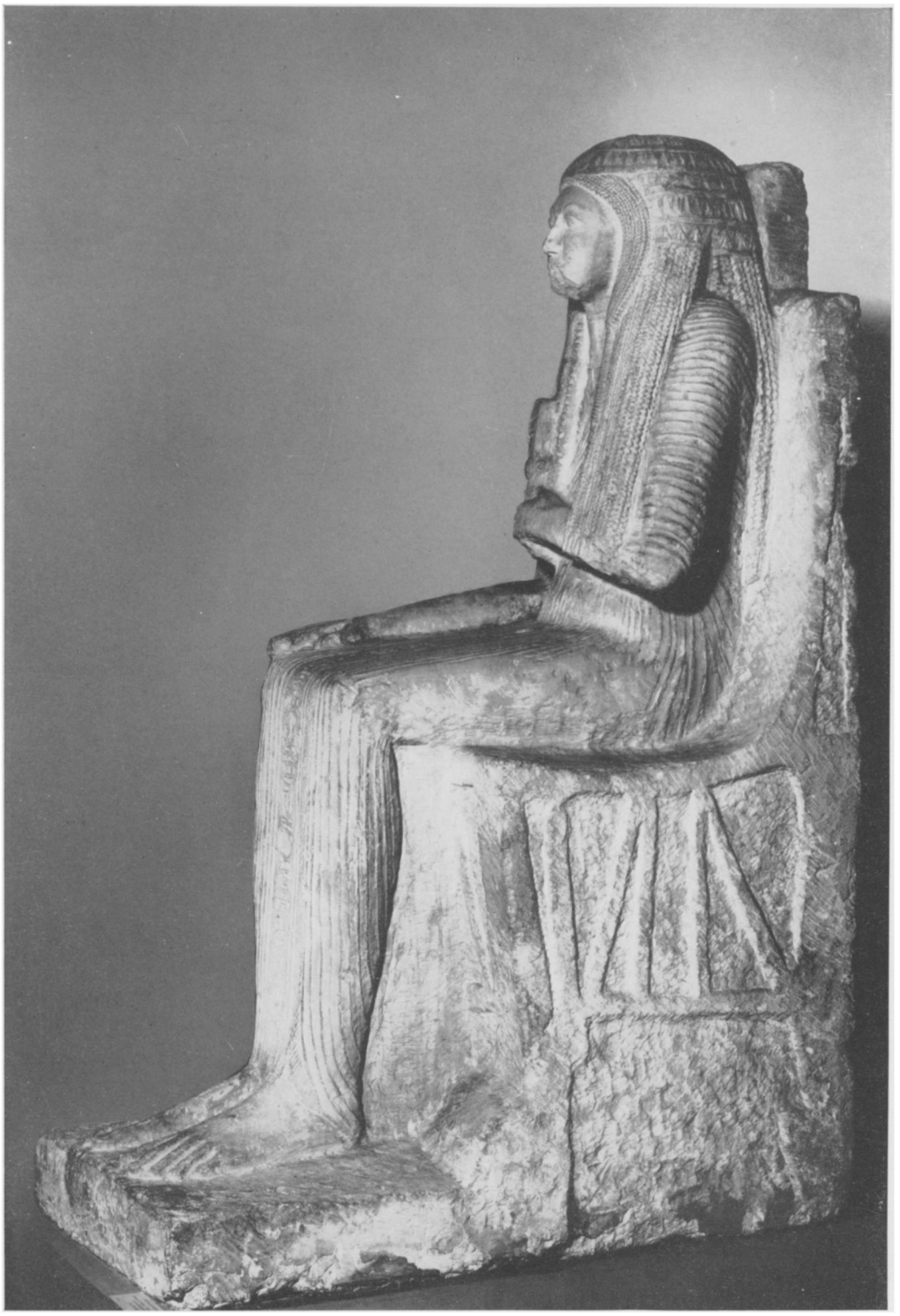

FIGURE 1 WALTERS ART GALLERY

Statue of Enchey
Probably Brought to Europe by an Officer of Napoleon's Expedition

FAKES AND FATES OF EGYPTIAN ANTIQUITIES

A SUPPLEMENT TO THE CATALOGUE OF EGYPTIAN SCULPTURE

BY GEORGE STEINDORFF*

DURING THE PREPARATION of the *Catalogue of the Egyptian Sculpture in the Walters Art Gallery*,[1] I had to be concerned constantly with the problem of whether the particular piece before me was genuine or a forgery. Such an inquiry was the more necessary since Mr. Walters, although an experienced collector, was not a trained archaeologist. None of the objects came into his hands directly from the excavation site, so that their genuineness was established without doubt, but all were acquired from dealers or at auctions. To be sure, there existed respectable and responsible dealers whose honesty could be relied on by their customers—dealers who, rather than risk the loss of a good client, would never sell a piece which they were not convinced was authentic. But they, likewise, were not learned experts. They had acquired their articles either from other dealers or from natives, and could, despite all their experience, be deceived themselves.

The faking of Egyptian antiquities[2] goes back to the first decades of the last century, when European museums and private collectors began to acquire specimens of ancient art. Most such pieces, however, were so clumsily fashioned and so devoid of style that they were readily recognized as forgeries. The problem was more difficult in the cases where a new inscription was added to an ancient object in order to make it more valuable, for there were many distinguished scholars who did not esteem sculpture for its artistic worth, but attached importance only to pieces bearing an inscription whereby the age and authenticity was guaranteed. With a thorough knowledge of the language, however, it is not difficult to determine whether an inscription has been added at a later date.

Most archaeologists have an intuitive sense which tells them whether or not a thing is false. Not that they depend to any extent upon this, for a trained scholar weighs all evidence in a strictly scientific manner and presents his opinion supported by reasons that are hard to dispute. An overly critical tendency, on the other hand, may result in a perfectly genuine piece being suspected as a forgery, because of an unusual inscription that is hard to interpret.

There was in the forties of the last century a collection in Cairo belonging to a certain Dr. Abbott. Many pieces were rightly suspected by Richard Lepsius, one of the giants of Egyptian archaeology, as being modern, but he also be-

* Translated by Dr. Gertrude Rosenthal.

[1] George Steindorff, *Catalogue of Egyptian Sculpture in the Walters Art Gallery* (Published by the Trustees, Baltimore, 1946).

[2] The manufacture of forged Egyptian antiquities is, as far as I know, treated only in a general and rather fictional work: T. G. Wakeling, *Forged Egyptian Antiquities* (London, 1912). This contains contributions from the experiences of several excavators, especially Dr. G. A. Reisner.

lieved many genuine ones with hieroglyphic inscriptions to be clever imitations. Among these falsely suspected objects was a gold ring inscribed with the name of Khufu-Cheops, the builder of the Great Pyramid. It was said to have been found in the neighborhood of the Sphinx at Giza (according to others it was found in Saqqara). In 1841 it was offered for sale to the English Egyptologist, Wilkinson, but was declined by him as suspicious. Then it came into the Abbott collection and subsequently into the possession of the New York Historical Society.[3] It is now in the Brooklyn Museum.

Today there remains hardly any doubt that the ring is ancient. To be sure, it does not belong to the third millenium B.C., in the epoch of Cheops, but to the Twenty-sixth Dynasty of the Psammetichs. Its inscription cites the titles and names of a priest of Cheops, *Nefer-ib-rē*, which was likewise one of the official royal names of Psammetich II (593-588 B.C.), and through this the date of the ring is established. The inscription is peculiar and not easy to interpret. For this reason it seemed doubtful and objectionable to Lepsius, who likewise unjustly considered the goldsmiths-work to be strange and not antique.

In contrast to the history of the Khufu ring is the story of two other famous pieces which also were originally in the Abbott collection and then came into the possession of the New York Historical Society, and so to the Brooklyn Museum. One of them is a gold necklace consisting of various pendants and beads, including eight medallions with the name of Menes (3200 B.C.), the first king in Egyptian history. The other item is a pair of earrings likewise bearing the name of Menes.[4] The pieces were generally considered ancient, although it was assumed that they were not of the period of Menes, but of a later epoch (perhaps Twenty-sixth Dynasty). Caroline R. Williams, however, has now proved on the basis of certain technical considerations that the necklace (with the exception of a few parts) and the earrings, as well, were made in modern times, possibly with the use of an ancient die and based on ancient designs. In carrying out his work, the forger was clever enough to use as a model late scarabs with the name of Menes, anticipating the value that this name would add to the objects.

That in other cases, as well, experts could be deceived by forged inscriptions was demonstrated by an incident that caused a great sensation forty years ago and which is quite unique in the history of Egyptology.[5] At that time, two large scarabs were purchased for a museum at Brussels, at a price of £400, if I remember rightly. The high price was justified because the two pieces bore identical long hieroglyphic inscriptions recording an extraordinary historical event, namely, the story—also told by Herodotus,[6]—of the circumnavigation of Africa by the fleet of the Egyptian King, Necho (609-593 B.C.). Historical scarabs of this kind, dating from earlier periods, were known, especially of the time of Amenophis III (1411-1375 B.C.).[7] Therefore, a memorial scarab of Necho should not, as such, have been anything unusual. To be sure, an Egyptologist familiar with the language should have seen, on examining the inscription, that it was full of bad mistakes, and obviously had been made by someone with only a superficial knowledge of the Egyptian tongue.

The grand new discovery was enthusiastically

[3] C. R. Lepsius, *Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Äthiopien,* Text, I (Leipzig, 1897), pp. 9 f.; *Revue archéologique,* I, sér. II, 2, p. 733.

[4] C. R. Williams, in New York Historical Society, *Catalogue of Egyptian Antiquities,* pp. 221-225, pl. XXXVI.

[5] Wakeling, *op. cit.,* pp. 70 ff.; Adolf Erman, *Mein Leben und mein Wirken* (Leipzig, 1929), pp. 244 ff.

[6] *Herodotus,* IV, 42.

[7] Percy E. Newberry, *Scarabs* (London, 1906), pp. 170 ff.; A. Lansing in *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin,* XXXI (1936), pp. 12 ff.

announced at the International Geographical Congress which met at that time in Geneva. But simultaneously, the Egyptologists Adolf Erman and Heinrich Schäfer published a paper[8] in which they proved that the text was a forgery, even pointing out some of the sources used for the sensational concoction. Later, moreover, there came forward the sculptor himself, who had made the scarab out of a lithographer's stone. Thereafter, there was complete silence on the part of the scholars who had been so jubilant in Geneva.

The affair, however, had a sequel. The people concerned with the purchase, when they learned they had been deceived, sued the dealer for return of the price. In the course of the investigation, it came to light that the author of the inscription was the dealer's father, a well known French Egyptologist, who had ordered the two scarabs for a joke as a birthday present for an old friend and colleague. He did not give them away at once, but put them in his desk until the proper time to send them to his friend. Then he forgot all about the matter. After his death, his son found them and sold them to the Brussels museum—doubtless in good faith.

Every year large sums are spent in Egypt for forged antiquities.[9] These consist mostly of small pieces bought by tourists as souvenirs—especially scarabs, amulets, necklaces, funerary figures, alabaster jars, blue faience vases, etc. Many of them are carefully preserved by their owners and regarded as extremely rare and valuable. Among the hundreds of scarabs sold in Egypt, often for a high price, that have been shown to me for examination, I have found hardly five percent to be genuine. Sometimes such pieces are only forged in part: a genuine scarab made of glaze-covered steatite may have lost its beautiful color after centuries of burial, so it is newly glazed and colored for the trade. This restoration is easily discerned by the connoisseur. To this same category of partially forged objects belong the genuine sculptures, as mentioned above, to which inscriptions have been added, or badly damaged wooden figures that were repaired and restored.

Since the beginning of the present century great progress has been made in the fabrication of sculptures, both statues and reliefs of limestone, sandstone and even granite, although the latter is difficult to work. This business has been taken up especially by Italian craftsmen who have been employed on Egyptian buildings, and by their skill Levantine and Egyptian forgers have profited. These fakes have gradually become so perfected that they constitute a great danger for museums and collectors.

Some years ago a statue in the style of the Old Kingdom was offered for sale in Paris—it was so cleverly made that at first even experts thought it to be genuine.[10] The only suspicious detail was the material, which was not characteristic of the period; moreover, certain parts of the inscription on the base seemed objectionable. But the deciding factor was that a sculptor discovered indications in the technique betraying the use of modern tools. Thus, the forger was found out before a buyer had been cheated.

A German Egyptologist, the late Ludwig Borchardt, developed an excellent method of tracking down forgers. In Egypt he took great pains to trace the workshops that produced the forgeries appearing on the market. A case in which his inquistiveness was especially successful was related to me by his widow, Frau Mimi Borchardt. In 1925 or 1926 Borchardt was

[8] Adolf Erman und Heinrich Schäfer, *Der angebliche ägyptische Bericht über die Umschiffung Afrikas* in *Sitzungsberichte Berliner Akademie der Wissenschaften* (1908), pp. 956-967.

[9] The sale of spurious Egyptian antiquities is not confined to Egypt alone. London, New York, Paris, Berlin and even Algiers, are also hunting-grounds of the forgers. *Cf.* Wakeling, *op. cit.*, p. 2.

[10] *Cf.* Erman, *Mein Leben*, p. 244.

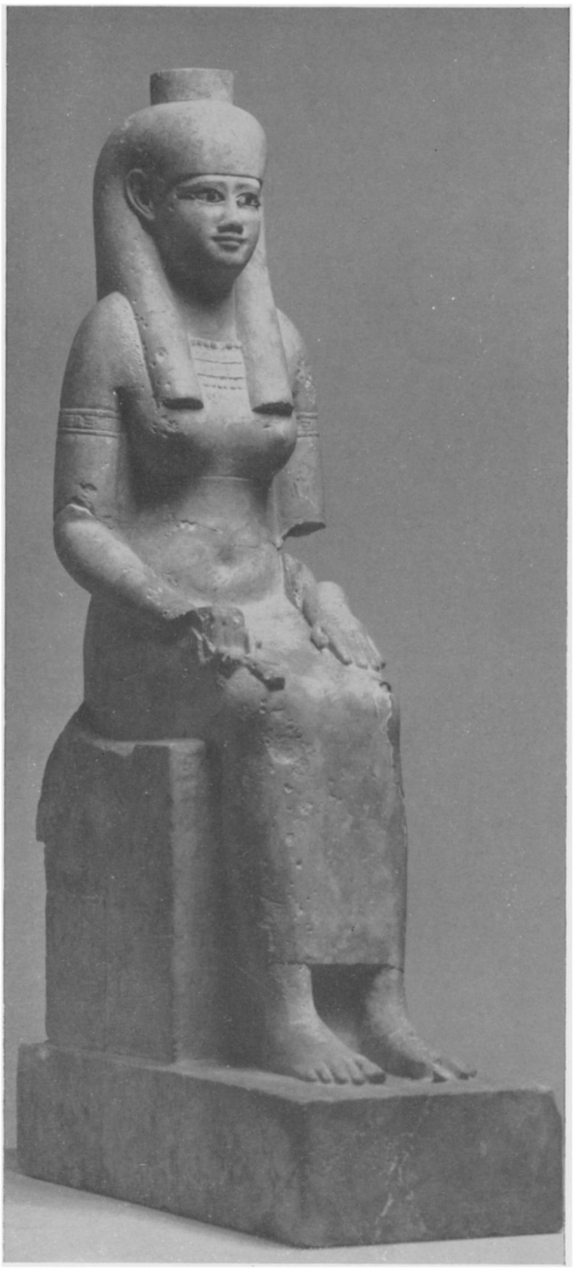

FIGURE 2 WALTERS ART GALLERY
The Goddess Rayet-Towy
Found in the ruins at Medamūd

offered a head of Amenophis IV-Ekhnaton that he considered genuine. Since at that time the Egypt Exploration Society was excavating the site of the ruins of El-Amarna, the residence of Amenophis IV, it could be assumed that the head had been found there and stolen. About a year later, another head was offered that was said to have been found in a tomb dating from the end of the Old Kingdom. Borchardt at once recognized this head as a forgery. Inasmuch as the dealers were the same as those who had brought him the Amenophis head, he became suspicious and looked into the matter. He succeeded in winning the confidence of the men, who led him to their lion's den. There he met an Italian marble worker, who finally let him into his secrets, showing him all about the technique of his forging. Equipped with this information, Borchardt recognized forgeries by this Italian artist in various European museums.

Another center for forgeries, where Levantines were active, was also discovered. The father was an antique dealer in Cairo, while the son lived in France and sold his objects on the Paris market. Most of them were pieces of the Amarna period, the stylistic peculiarities of which are unmistakable and easily imitated. How well this could be done is evident from the fact that Borchardt himself thought the Amenophis head mentioned above was genuine, while the director of the Egyptian Museum in Berlin, Heinrich Schäfer, one of the greatest experts on Egyptian art, bought and exhibited two such forgeries.

To these forgeries also belongs a small head of the Amarna period, said to have been inserted in a large relief. It corresponds to another example in the collection of the Walters Art Gallery,[11] and both originated in the same forgery-center. Through repeated inspections of German collections, Borchardt found still more "heads of princesses" of the same provenance. He also discovered that certain private collections did not include a single genuine object, and that the owners had spent large sums for nothing.

[11] *Cf. Catalogue of Egyptian Sculpture,* No. 277.

Considering the tremendous number of forgeries in existence, it is remarkable that among the sculptures of the Walters Art Gallery the percentage of fakes or of partially forged pieces is so small. When I prepared the *Catalogue of the Egyptian Sculpture* I had weeded out examples that were obviously worthless fakes, but I included others of which the genuineness was possible even if doubtful, since it is important for such objects to be available for discussion.

During the period of nearly a year since the appearance of the catalogue, correspondence from colleagues has added useful information to what I had been able to discover, and several have contributed their views on the authenticity of certain pieces. Dr. Ludwig Keimer of Cairo, in particular, has furnished many important suggestions. He suspects the genuineness of the two wood statues described under numbers 28 and 81 and the stone heads, numbers 189 and 223. Two nearly identical "models," numbers 324 and 325 he believes to be the work of a forger known to him. On the other hand, number 270, a fragment of a tomb relief whose authenticity I had doubted, he considers to be genuine.

Other correspondents agree with me that the polychrome bust of a man described under number 110 is probably false, and confirm as forgeries the reliefs, numbers 277 and 278, that I had doubted. However, they also suspect the unusual inlaid wooden female figure (no. 127) and the wooden head (no. 124), even though the latter is made of ancient wood.

Since all the pieces listed in the catalogue were acquired from dealers or at auction, it has been possible in only a few cases to trace their original provenance with certainty. It was all the more appreciated therefore when some of my correspondents knew the history of a few objects and made it possible to trace their careers from the place of discovery to the Walters Art Gallery.

Concerning the unusual stone seated goddess cited under number 222 (fig. 2), I am indebted to M. Étienne Drioton, Directeur Général du Service des Antiquités at Cairo, for interesting information. He wrote as follows:

"In no. 222 you must know that I have rediscovered an old acquaintance. The statue comes from the *favissa*, of Medamūd, where it would have been found in March, 1926, at the same time as the other cult statues which are discussed in Bisson de la Roque, *Médamoud*, 1926, pp. 110 and following. A few days after the find, an informer let us know that a statuette stolen from our excavations had turned up in Luxor in the hands of a native; but we were unable, even though we had all the data, to get the police to enter a charge. We knew that the statuette was taken to Cairo. . . . The following summer I saw it at the shop of a well-known dealer in Paris. It was your number 222, and I have no doubt that this is the statuette that had escaped from us. All is well, now that it has found a peaceful haven and the honor of being published by you!"

Any further comment on this informative history would indeed be superfluous.

I am obliged to my friend John D. Cooney, Curator of Egyptian Art at the Brooklyn Museum, for information concerning the provenance of number 726, a wooden funerary statuette of Si-Eset.

He tells me that the piece is identical with the funerary statue found by Ahmed Bey Kamal during his excavations, commissioned by Sayed Khashaba in 1913-1914, at Deir Durunka, near Asyūt in Middle Egypt. It belonged originally to the tomb of the "overseer of the granaries, Si-Eset", but got by chance into a tomb of the

Ptolemaic period.[12] According to the report of Kamal,[13] a rather poor one, there was also found in the grave shaft of Si-Eset, his mummy-shaped granite sarcophagus, now in the private museum of Khashaba in Asyut,[14] and an inscribed funerary statue broken in three parts (which is not the Walters piece), as well as a fragment of bas-relief with the name of Si-Eset.

Mr. Cooney also reports that a very beautiful wooden statuette, likewise once the possession of Si-Eset, has been acquired by the Brooklyn Museum from the estate of the late Joseph Brummer of New York. Doubtless it also came from his tomb, although it is not in Kamal's list. Cooney, in view of Si-Eset's title—"overseer of the granaries in the Ramesseum" and the style of the sculpture, dates the statue in the late Nineteenth or the Twentieth Dynasty.

Another noteworthy history is that of the seated statue of Enehey, number 106, which I first published in 1942 (fig. 1).[15] This, together with a companion statue of the same lady, which is now in the collection of Reverend Theodore Pitcairn in Bryn Athyn, Pennsylvania, was said to have been at an earlier date in the "Chateau des Egalades" in southern France—a place unknown to me. I had not been able to ascertain anything further about its past wanderings. Now Mr. Bernard V. Bothmer, of the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, during a European study-trip chanced to uncover the mystery. He had the kindness to send me the following information, for which I owe him my most sincere thanks.

"The Chateau of Aygalades (which is the correct spelling) . . . is situated seven kilometers outside Marseilles. It was put up for auction, complete with its contents, in 1917, and an obscure dealer in Marseilles bought the two statues and put them away in a shed. Years later a Paris art dealer acquired them and they were sold to Mr. Walters and to the Reverend Mr. Pitcairn."

My supposition that the two statues might somehow have come to the French chateau through François Champollion, the decipherer of hieroglyphics, is not shared, however by Mr. Bothmer. He is much more of the view—and I agree with him thoroughly—"that they, like many other Egyptian objects, were brought to France by officers of the Napoleonic expedition. French provincial collections are full of them. I have not collected the names of donors, but most of them were members of the officers' corps who did not surrender their finds to the British (as required by the treaty of 1801), either because they had left Egypt before the surrender took place, or had sent their baggage ahead, or simply because only those antiquities were extradited which could not be claimed as personal property, but were, as in the case of the Rosetta Stone, regarded as belonging to the Expedition proper. . . . At any rate there are so many such monuments in French collections formed at the period of the Expedition, that one encounters them everywhere."

So finally the Walters Art Gallery must also thank the Expedition of Napoleon that it has achieved possession of the distinguished statue of Enehey!

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[12] Ahmed Bey Kamal, *Annales du service des antiquités de l'Égypte,* vol. XVI (1916), p. 73, no. 42; B. Porter and R. L. B. Moss, *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings,* vol. IV (Oxford, 1934), p. 269.

[13] Kamal, *op. cit.,* pp. 79 ff.; no. 55.

[14] Baedeker, *Egypt and the Sudan,* 8th rev. ed. (Leipzig, 1929), p. 227.

[15] *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery,* V (1942), pp. 9-17.

APPENDIX

In connection with the information that has come to light on numbers 222 and 726, I should like to make the following additions to the descriptions in the catalogue.

222. SEATED GODDESS, RAYET-TOWY

Fine limestone, originally gilded. Found in a pit (*favissa*) in the temple ruins of Medamūd, north of Luxor, together with other cult images of the same type and of the bull-headed god, Mont. Headdress now lacks cow's horns and two plumes.

Rayet-towy (*Rat-taoui*), "the sun goddess of the Two Lands" (Egypt), is the divine consort of Mont, Lord of Thebes.

Cf. Fouilles de l'Institut Française d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire, année 1926, IV (Le Caire, 1927), pp. 110 ff., pl. VII.

726. FUNERARY STATUETTE OF SI-ESET

From a tomb at Deir Durunka, near Asyūt, Middle Egypt. Publ.: Ahmed Bey Kamal, *Ann. Serv.*, XVI (1916), p. 73, no. 42. *Cf.* Porter and Moss, *Top. Bibl.*, IV, p. 269.

New Kingdom (end of Nineteenth or Early Twentieth Dynasty).

To be added to p. 163, footnote 4 on the Horus Stelae: *cf.* the earliest work on these stelae: C. Laemans, *Ägyptische Monumenten van het Nederlandsche Museum van Outheden te Leyden*, partie I A, pls. 12, 13.

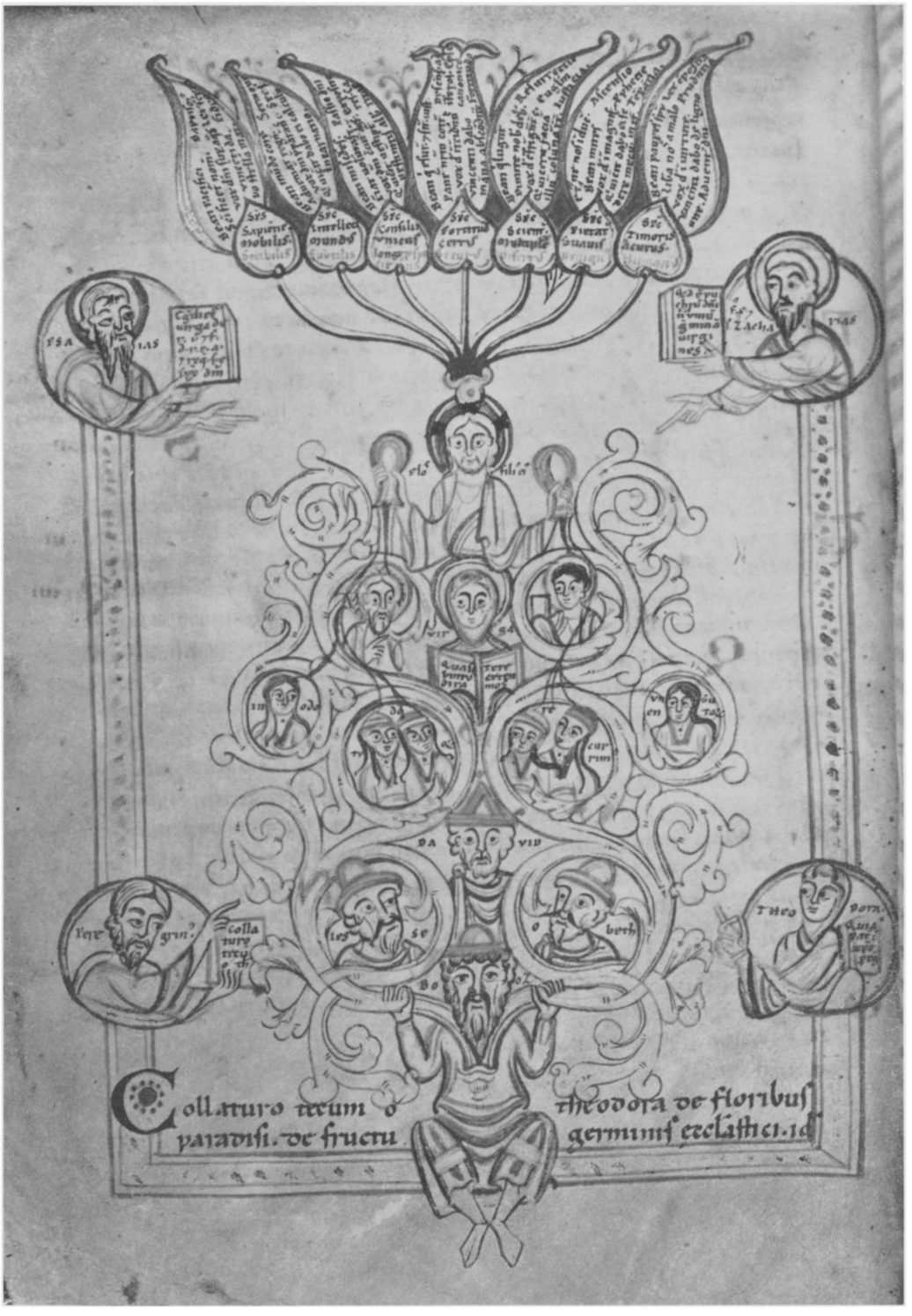

FIGURE 1 LONDON, BRITISH MUSEUM

The Tree of Jesse
(*Arundel Ms. 44, fol. 2 verso*)

A MANUSCRIPT OF THE SPECULUM VIRGINUM
IN THE WALTERS ART GALLERY

BY ARTHUR WATSON
London

THE WALTERS ART GALLERY possesses one of at least twenty-one known manuscripts of the *Speculum Virginum*—a dialogue between a teacher, called Peregrinus, and one of his students whom he addresses as Theodora, in which he seeks to instruct her in mystical theological learning. The Walters manuscript, which bears the shelf number 72,[1] was written in the first half of the thirteenth century. A contribution by the present writer, entitled *The Speculum Virginum with Special Reference to the Tree of Jesse*,[2] dealt in detail with the twelfth-century manuscript, Arundel 44, in the British Museum. This article was followed by an important research, *Die Illustrationen des Speculum Virginum*, by Martha Strube.[3] In neither of these publications is the Walters manuscript mentioned.

The present article affords, for the first time as far as I am aware, reproductions of a complete series of the twelve principal illustrations of the *Speculum Virginum*, ten from the Walters manuscript and two from British Museum MS. Arundel 44.[4] There is a close affinity between the two manuscripts in imagery, and detailed descriptions of the illustrations in the British Museum manuscript may be found in the two publications referred to above.

Career of the Walters Manuscript

At the beginning of the Walters volume there is an inserted leaf to take the place of a missing portion of the original thirteenth-century manuscript. On the *recto* of this inserted leaf, assigned to the fifteenth century, is the incompletely erased ex-libris of the Cistercian monastery of Himmerode, and the pressmark, C1, assigned to it in the library of that monastery. The Walters manuscript, then, as it now stands came from Himmerode,[5] which in the early times of its history was known as Claustrum. It is related

[1] S. de Ricci and W: J. Wilson, *Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada* (New York, 1935), vol. I, p. 822, no. 393. 124 (not 123) folios (31 x 23 cm.).

[2] In *Speculum* (Mediaeval Academy of America), III, 4 (1928).

[3] Martha Strube, *Die Illustrationen des Speculum Virginum*, an Inaugural Dissertation for the Doctorate at the University of Bonn. Published 1937 by the Dissertations-Verlag G. H. Nolte, Düsseldorf.

[4] The first illustration, the Tree of Jesse, and the seventh, the Wise and Foolish Virgins, are missing from the Walters manuscript.

[5] The following are references to books on Himmerode: Carl Wilkes, *Die Zisterzienserabtei Himmerode im 12. und 13. Jahrhundert* (Münster in Westf., 1924) (*Beiträge zur Geschichte des alten Mönchtums und des Benediktinerordens*, Heft 12); an important book with abundant references to authorities on Himmerode. Karl Lamprecht, *Deutsches Wirtschaftsleben im Mittelalter* (Leipsic, 1885-6), II, 744; III, Index. Caesarius of Heisterbach. *The Dialogue on Miracles* (English translation) (London, 1929), 2 vols.; contains a number of incidents relating to Himmerode. P. Ambrosius Schneider, *Cistercienserabtei Himmerod, 1138-1938* [Trier (1938)]; an interesting little book with illustrations giving an account of the buildings to the present time, and a few reproductions from Himmerode illuminated manuscripts.

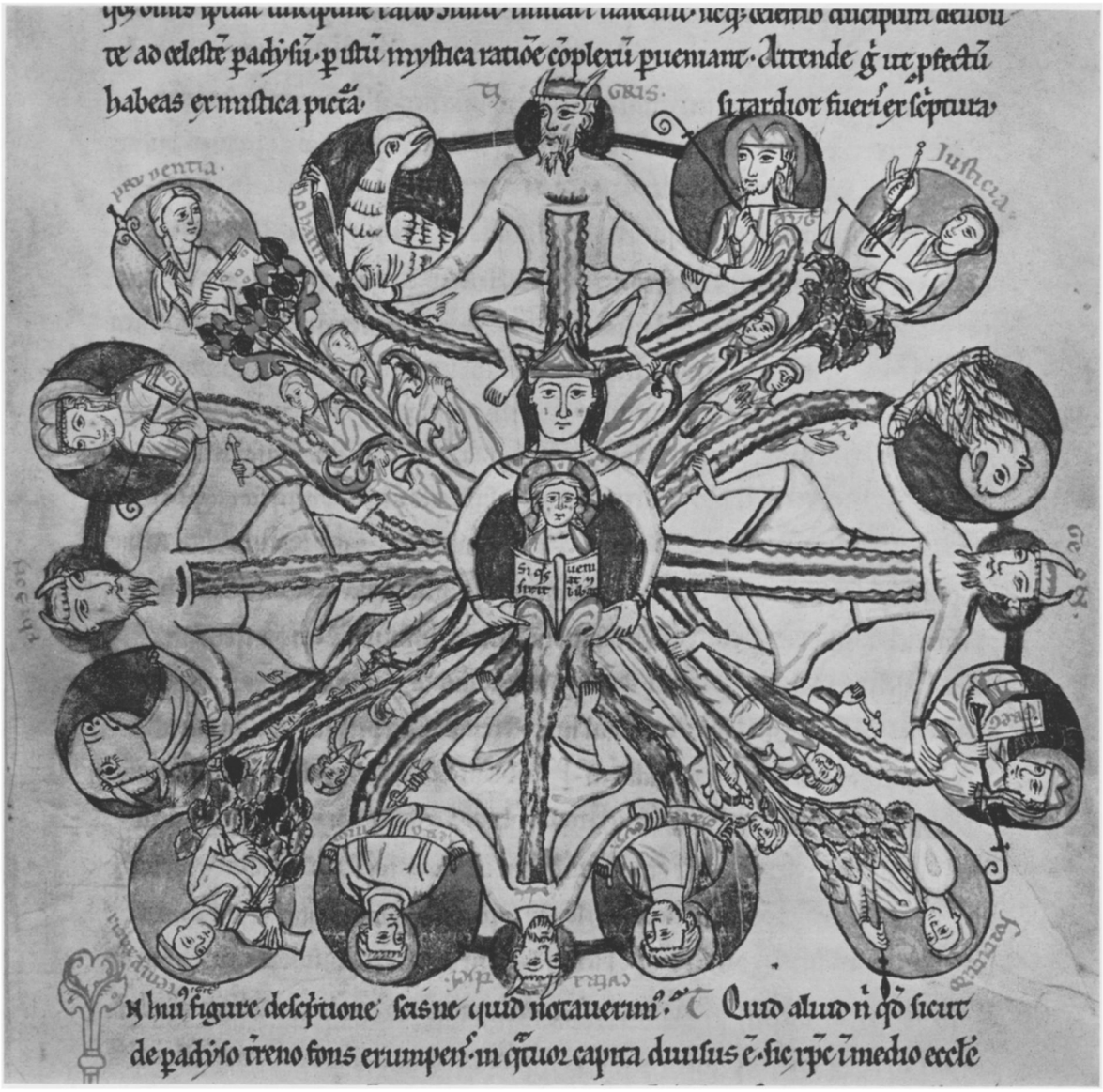

FIGURE 2 WALTERS ART GALLERY

The Mystic Form of Paradise
(Ms. 72, fol. 12 recto)

that this name was given to it by St. Bernard when he visited it and saw how the site was shut in on all sides.[6] The name by which it is now known, Himmerode (or Himmerod), appears in old documents in various forms, as *e.g.* Hemmenrode, Hemmerodium, Himelrot, Haymenrode.

During the French Revolution, manuscripts of Rhineland monasteries were dispersed, but a considerable number of Himmerode manuscripts were afterwards saved by the eager collector, Joseph Görres. He died in 1848 and ninety-four of his manuscripts were offered for public sale at Munich in 1902.

In an article on Görres' collection of manuscripts, Emil Jacobs[7] states that the vendor was Dr. Jochner, who was the grandson of Dr. Guido Görres, and in a table at the end of the article[8] he sets forth the provenance of the manuscripts, numbers in the catalogue of the Munich sale and the names of purchasers. De Ricci[9] gives 76 as the number, at the Munich sale, of the manuscript now in the Walters Art Gallery, and in the table drawn up by Emil Jacobs it is shown that number 76 came from Himmerode and was acquired by M. Chappée.[10] It was from the dealers Gruel and Engelmann of Paris that the manuscript was obtained by Henry Walters.

The Author of the Speculum Virginum

The earliest known manuscript of the *Speculum Virginum*, the British Museum MS. Arundel 44, begins: *Ultimus Christi pauperum C virginibus sacris N et N.*[11] These words may be reasonably supposed to indicate that the letter C is the initial of the name of the writer. The address is followed by C's *Epistola*, a message to the sacred virgins introducing them to the dialogue, in which he calls the participators, Peregrinus and Theodora. These names are not given without reason. Theodora is a suitable name for a sacred virgin, and Peregrinus with its scriptural connotation has a qualitative significance. C also tells us that the little book which he calls *Speculum Virginum* was sent, as a sign of mutual affection, to the sacred virgins who had been his students.[12] It was to be in his absence an incentive for them to be zealous in their devotion to what they had undertaken. While the author gives us interesting information about himself, he does not tell us his name. We gather, however, that it began with the letter C. For a name we may turn to the evidence furnished by Trithemius (Tritheim) who, in a book [13] published in 1494, set forth the titles of seven manuscripts with the initial identifying words of each of them. Of all these works he named as the author, "Conradus monachus Hirsaugiensis". In this list he included the *Speculum Virginum*, and quoted correctly the initial words, *Collaturo tecum O Theodora*,[14] the first words of the text after the prefatory *Epistola*. Trithemius stated that Conrad had become famous in 1140, and it may be doubted whether, on the evidence available, any better assignment of the period of Conrad's life can be given than from about 1070 to about 1150.

There is other material bearing on the authorship of the *Speculum Virginum* which from different points of view has been investigated by Schepss, Hauréau and Martha Strube,[15] all of whom have come to the conclusion that the author's name is Conrad of Hirsau.

Content of the Speculum Virginum

The author explains what he means by *speculum*. It is a mirror not for use to discover increase or decrease in attractiveness, but a mirror of Scripture, one in which virgins may learn to know their spiritual selves, to know what they should avoid, what they should do, and how they might please the Eternal Spouse. The author does not claim to have been an originator,

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[6] Angel Manrique, *Cisterciensium seu verius Ecclesiasticorum Annalium a condito Cistercio* (Lyons, 1642), vol. I, p. 285.

[7] Emil Jacobs, *Die Handschriftensammlung Görres', ihre Entstehung und ihr Verbleib* in *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, XXIII (1906), p. 192, footnote 2.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 204. *Cf.* Fritz Schillmann, "Die Görreshandschriften" (Berlin, 1919), vol. III of the *Verzeichnis der Lateinischen Handschriften der Preussischen Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin*, p. 74.

[9] De Ricci and Wilson, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 822, no. 393.

[10] Jacobs, *op. cit.*, p. 204.

[11] *Speculum*, III, *op. cit.*, p. 467.

[12] It may even be that the manuscript in the British Museum is the little book that C sent to N and N.

[13] Johannes Tritheim, *Liber de scriptoribus ecclesiasticis* (Basileae [Joannes de Amerbach] 1494), fol. 58*v*.

[14] The text of the book begins near the bottom of the Tree of Jesse (see fig. 1).

[15] G. Schepss, *Conradi Hirsaugiensis Dialogus super Auctores sive Didascalon* (Würzburg, 1889); B. Hauréau, *Les Oeuvres de Hugues de Saint-Victor* (Paris, 1886); Strube, *op. cit.*, pp. 46 ff.

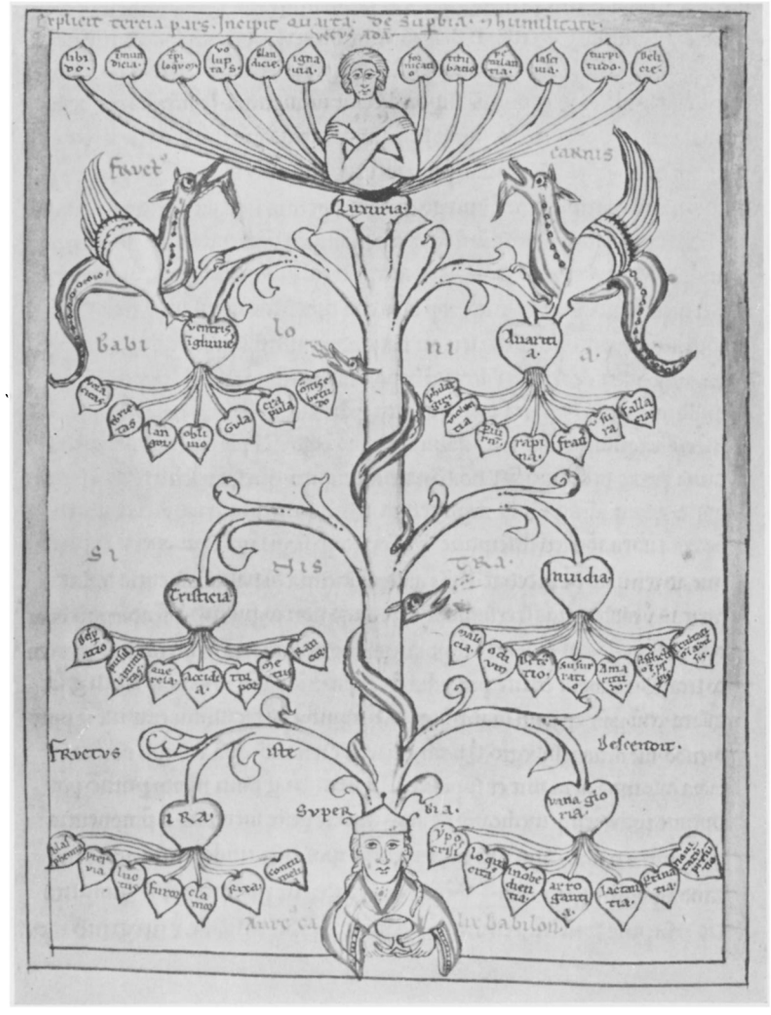

FIGURE 3 WALTERS ART GALLERY

The Vices in the Form of a Tree
(Ms. 72, fol. 25 verso)

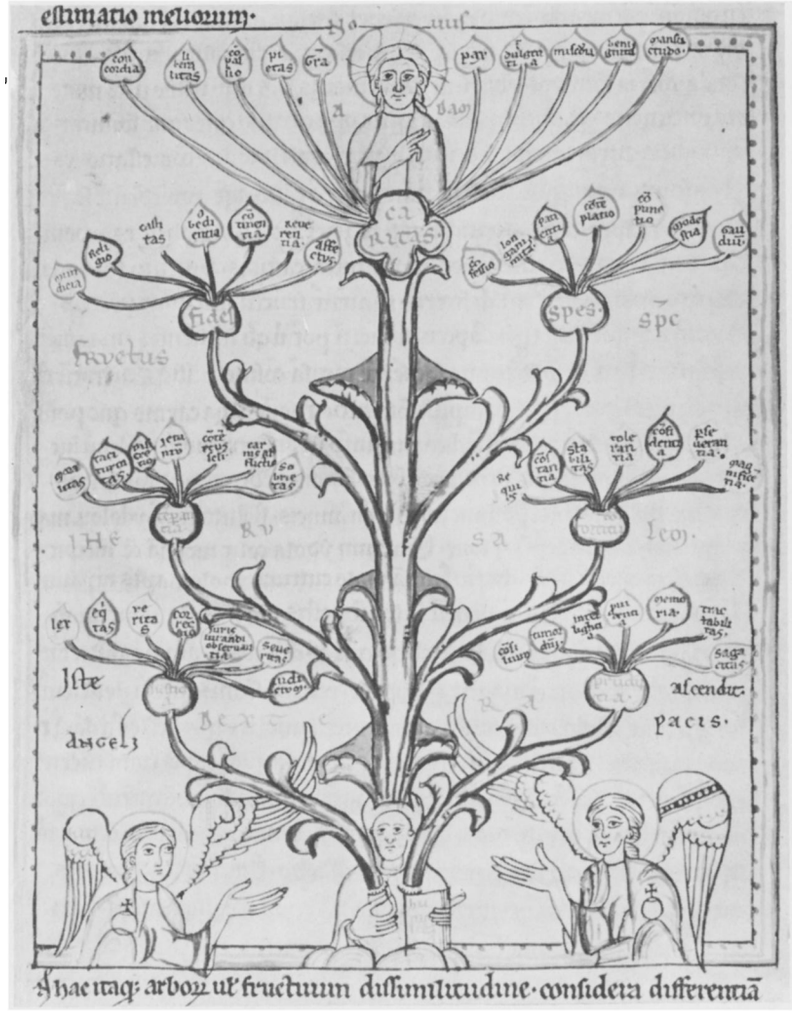

FIGURE 4 WALTERS ART GALLERY

The Virtues in the Form of a Tree
(Ms. 72, fol. 26 recto)

but a demonstrator. He teaches with a wealth of elucidation the significance of that mystical union of which his students should strive to be worthy. He provides pictures, for any illiterate student, as well as to make his teaching easier to understand for those who could read. For instance, he sets before them a picture of the tragic disappointment of the Foolish Virgins who have come without oil and find the door shut against them (fig. 7), and the hard struggle which the virgins have to face to get past the wary dragon at the foot of the ladder and then to make their way against the Ethiopian (fig. 10). Near the end of the Walters manuscript comes the Epithalamium,[16] a bridal hymn, describing, in dramatic and rhapsodical manner, the glories of the heaven into which the faithful enter as *sponsae*.

Such expressions as *accensis lampadibus cum oleo* and *ancilla Christi sum*, occurring in Orders for the Benediction or Consecration of Virgins,[17] would be fully understood by students who had grasped the meaning of the author's teaching.

The wide circulation of copies of the *Speculum Virginum* indicates that it was through centuries valued as a text-book in the hands of monastic teachers. It may be added that it is of interest as affording a side light on actual teaching and the relations of master and students.[18]

Principal Illustrations

The Tree of Jesse (fig. 1). The illustration of this subject, now missing from the Walters manuscript, no doubt appeared on folio 2*v*. in its original condition. The drawing reproduced is from the British Museum manuscript, Arundel 44. Here, in two medallions, cutting across the vertical lines in the lower part of the framework are the two persons of the dialogue, Peregrinus on the left and Theodora on the right. A quite unusual feature in this Tree of Jesse, and in those of other manuscripts of the *Speculum Virginum*, is that Booz is placed at the bottom of the genealogical line. Above him are Obeth and Jesse, David, the Virgin and Christ. At the top are leaves with inscriptions giving the names of the Seven Gifts of the Spirit and seven septenaries associated with each of them.[19]

The Mystic Form of Paradise (fig. 2). Here we have the Old Testament Paradise, represented by the quaternary of the rivers: Tigris, Geon, Euphrates and Phison. On the other hand, the New Testament is represented by the Virgin[20] and the Child Christ and, on the circumference, by the quaternaries of the Fathers of the Church, Saints Augustine, Gregory, Jerome and Ambrose, of the Cardinal Virtues, Justice, Fortitude, Temperance and Prudence, and of the symbols of the Evangelists. In addition there are the eight Beatitudes, which, like the Virtues, are shown as Virgins.

The Vices in the Form of a Tree. (fig. 3). The Vices range from *Superbia* at the root to *Luxuria* at the top. The number of the Vices is sixty-two.[21]

The Virtues in the Form of a Tree (fig. 4). The Virtues range from *Humilitas* at the root to *Caritas* at the top. The main heads are seven, made up of the four Cardinal Virtues, Justice, Prudence, Temperance and Fortitude, and the three Theological Virtues, Faith, Hope and Charity. The total number of the Virtues is sixty.[22]

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[16] Fols. 120 ff. in the Walters manuscript.

[17] *Cf.* Edmond Martène, *De Antiquis Ecclesiae Ritibus* (1788), vol. II, pp. 188-197.

[18] Thus, Peregrinus, after listening to Theodora, says "Quite right" (*Recte sentis*), and Theodora, when he has suggested that he was going to give some explanation, replies "Nothing [would be] more acceptable" (*Nichil acceptius*). Again, Peregrinus rebukes Theodora by saying, "Many times you have to be told, and you always seem to keep on carelessly sticking in the same mud" (*Multotiens tibi litera repetenda est, quae semper in eodem neglegentiae luto heritare videris*).

[19] For further details relating to this Tree of Jesse in British Museum MS. Arundel 44, *cf.* Watson in *Speculum, op. cit.*, pp. 458-463; also Strube, *op. cit.*, pp. 5 ff.

[20] Martha Strube, however, *op. cit.*, p. 12, takes the central figure holding the Child Christ to be *Ecclesia*.

[21] *Cf.* Strube, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

[22] *Cf.* Strube, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

FIGURE 5

WALTERS ART GALLERY

The Triumph of Humilitas over Superbia
(*Ms. 72, fol. 31 recto*)

The Triumph of Humilitas over Superbia (fig. 5) is paralleled by the triumph of Jahel over Sisara, and of Judith over Olofernes.[23]

[23] *Superbia* with open mouth closely resembles *Superbia* in the corresponding picture of the British Museum MS. Arundel 44. *Cf.* Adolf Katzenellenbogen, *Allegories of the Virtues and Vices in Mediaeval Art from Early Christian Times to the Thirteenth Century* (London, Warburg Institute, 1939), pl. VII, fig. 15.

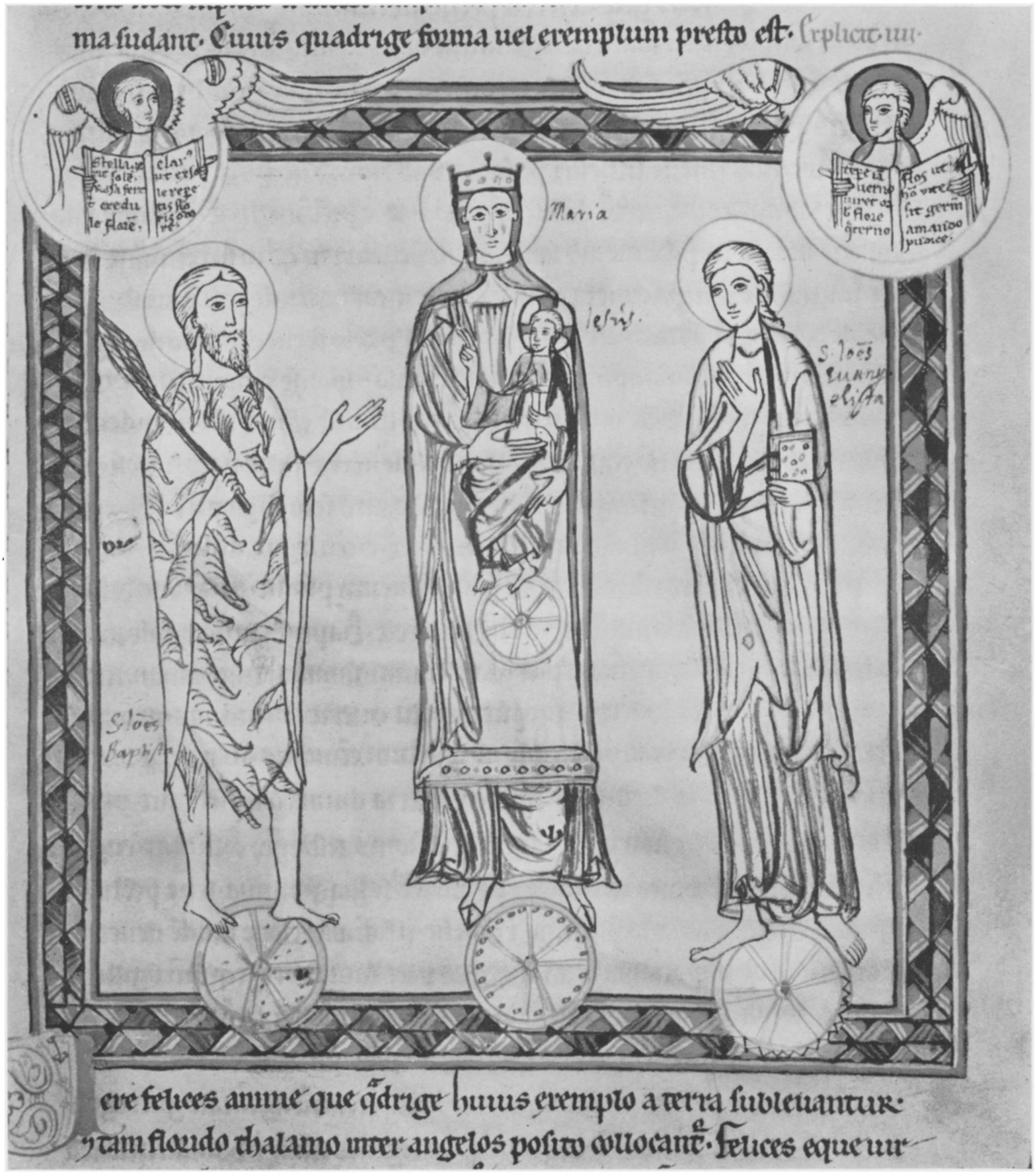

FIGURE 6 WALTERS ART GALLERY

The Quadriga
(*Ms. 72, fol. 41 recto*)

The Quadriga (fig. 6). Here are represented in the middle the Virgin with Christ in her arms. To the left and right of her, respectively, are St. John the Baptist and St. John the Evangelist,

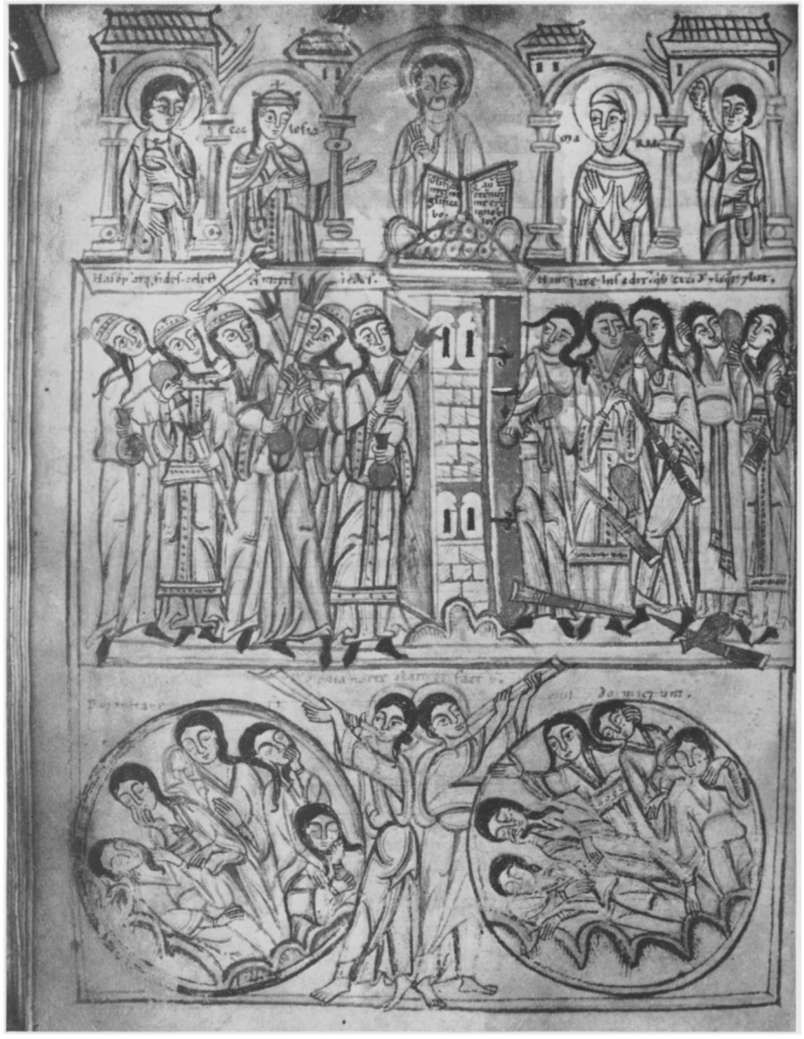

FIGURE 7 LONDON, BRITISH MUSEUM

The Foolish and the Wise Virgins
(Arundel Ms. 44, fol. 57 verso)

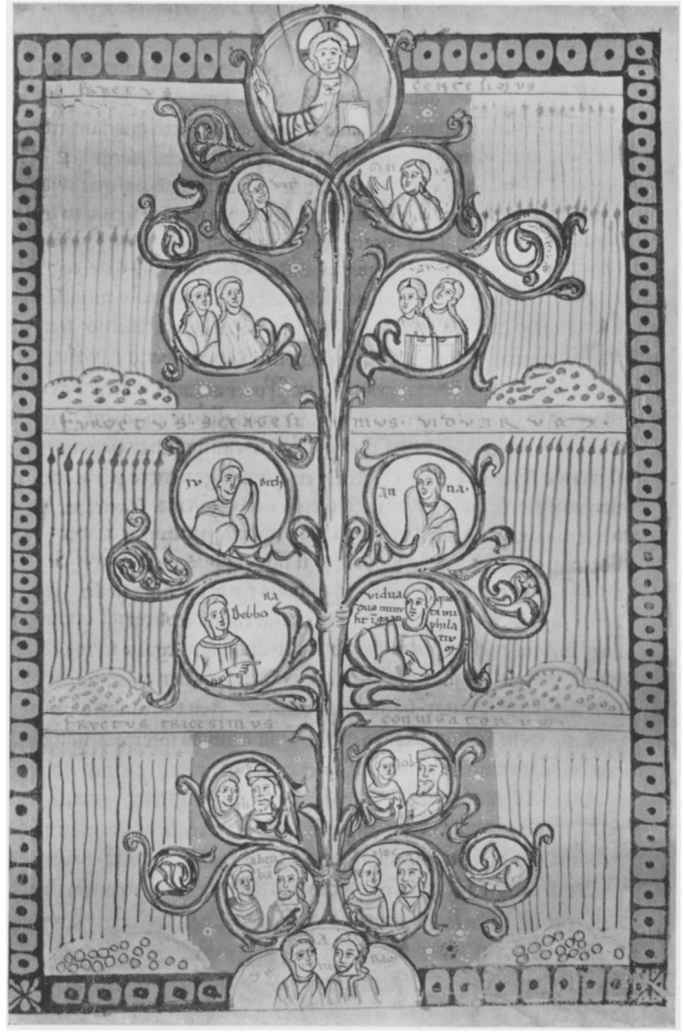

FIGURE 8 WALTERS ART GALLERY

The Thirty-, Sixty- and Hundredfold Fruits
(Ms. 72, fol. 61 recto)

each of the four figures with a wheel beneath the feet. This group, in the author's teaching, constituted a *Quadriga* by which virgins were carried to heaven.

The Foolish and the Wise Virgins (*Matthew* XXV, 1-13) (fig. 7). This scene is missing from the Walters manuscript. The illustration reproduces the picture in the British Museum manuscript, Arundel 44. At the bottom is the awakening; in the middle the open door for the Wise and the closed door for the Foolish. At the top is Christ, with *Ecclesia* on His right and *Maria* on His left.

The Thirty-, Sixty-, and Hundredfold Fruits (*Matthew* XIII, 3-8) (fig. 8). This is a transference of the Parable of the Sower to the fruits merited by women according to the grade to which they belong. Among the married women is Eve with Adam. Among the widows are Judith and Anna, weeping, and the widow who threw two mites into the treasury (*Mark*, XII, 42). In the highest division are the virgins.[24]

The Flesh and the Spirit (fig. 9). This picture illustrates how man consists of Flesh and Spirit, and both are to be considered in due proportion. The Flesh (*Caro*), for instance, in its place is good, but the Spirit is better. The Spirit seeking the higher good is not to neglect the care of the Flesh. And in the picture Reason and Wisdom grasp the arms of both the Flesh and the Spirit.

The Ladder of St. Perpetua (fig. 10). In this picture are fused two visions of St. Perpetua. Virgins are climbing a ladder guarded by a dragon and are making their way past the opposing *ferramenta* and the Ethiopian, so that they may gain the rewards held out by Christ.[25]

Christ in Majesty (fig. 13). Included in the group to the left is *Maria* and in the group to the right, *Johannes*. The figure at the bottom with tonsured head is, in humble devotion, holding with his left hand the right foot of Christ.

The Septiformis Spiritus (fig. 11). This illustration, at the beginning of Chapter XI, has a double significance. There is a Tree of Jesse, including the Seven Gifts of the Spirit with the septenaries at the top, and also, the pillars which support the House of Wisdom (*Proverbs* IX, 1).[26]

Hand Signs

In figure 14 are representations of the signs which stand for the thirty-, sixty- and hundredfold rewards respectively of married women, widows and virgins (*cf.* fig. 8). The text does not vary substantially from that of St. Jerome.[27]

Peregrinus and Theodora

On fol. 16 *verso* are representations of Peregrinus and Theodora (fig. 15). As in the Tree of Jesse (fig. 1), Peregrinus, the teacher, with his index finger uplifted, appears to be giving emphasis to what he is saying. On the right Theodora is holding a book which may be meant for Holy Scripture, the *speculum* into which she is to look for guidance.

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[24] *Cf. Speculum, op. cit.* p. 451 and Martha Strube, *op cit.*, pp. 28, 29.

[25] For further details, *cf.* Watson in *Speculum, op. cit.*, pp. 452-455, and for the two visions, *Acta Sanctorum*, vol. VII, March 7th, pp. 632-634 and *Patr. lat.*, vol. III, 24-29, 39-41.

[26] *Cf.* Watson, *The Early Iconography of the Tree of Jesse* (Oxford, 1934), p. 102.

[27] St. Jerome, *Adversus Jovinianum*, Lib. I (*Patr. lat.*, vol. XXIII, 213). Centesimus et sexagesimus et tricesimus fructus quamquam de una terra et de una semente nascatur, tamen multum differt in numero. Triginta referuntur ad nuptias. Nam et ipsa digitorum conjunctio, quasi molli se complexans osculo, et foederans, maritum pingit et conjugem. Sexaginta vero ad viduas, eo quod in angustia et tribulatione sunt positae. Unde et superiori digito deprimuntur; quantoque major est difficultas expertae quondam voluptatis illecebris abstinere, tanto majus est praemium. Porro centesimus numerus (diligenter, quaeso, lector, attende) de sinistra transfertur ad dexteram, et iisdem quidem digitis, sed non eum [eadem] manu, quibus in laeva nuptae significantur et viduae, circulum faciens, exprimit virginitatis coronam.

For other references to hand signs *cf.* footnotes to St. Jerome's text (*Patr. lat.*, vol. XXIII, 213) and J. E. B. Mayor, *Thirteen Satires of Juvenal*, vol. II, pp. 142-3, notes on line 249 of Tenth Satire.

Groups of Manuscripts of the Speculum Virginum

It may be of interest to give some indication of the relation of the Walters manuscript [see (c) below] to some other manuscripts[28] of the *Speculum Virginum* which fall into two groups, German and French.

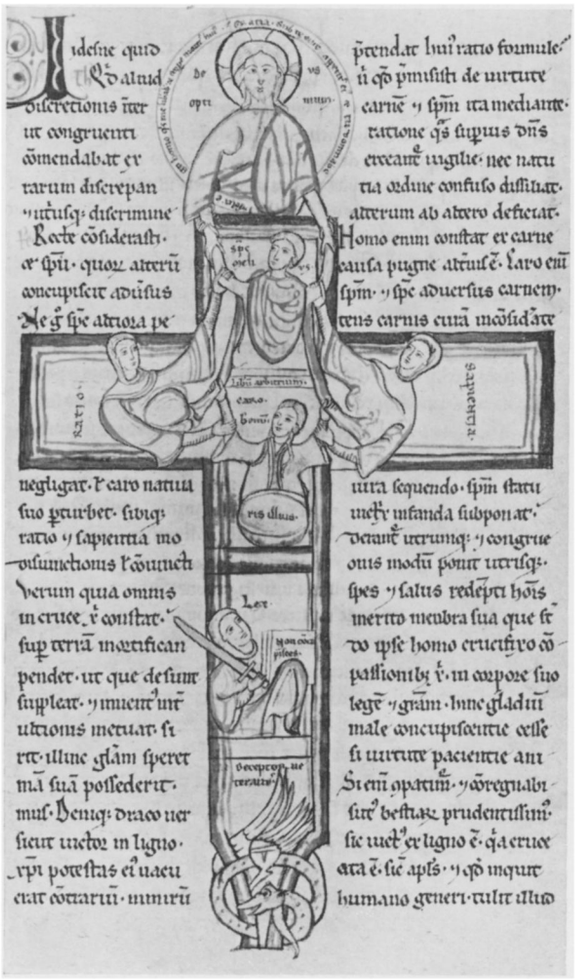


FIGURE 9 WALTERS ART GALLERY

The Flesh and the Spirit
(Ms. 72, fol. 73 recto)

German manuscripts. The following are five of the manuscripts of the German group:

(a) London, British Museum MS. Arundel 44; about 1150 A. D. From Hirsau, Benedictine monastery in the diocese of Speyer.

(b) Cologne, Stadtarchiv MS. W 276a; about 1160. From Maria Laach, Benedictine monastery in the diocese of Trier.

(c) Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery MS. 72; first half of the 13th century. From Himmerode, Cistercian monastery in the diocese of Trier.

(d) Rome, Vatican MS. Palat. cod. lat. 565; about 1200. From Frankenthal, Augustinian monastery of Santa Maria Magdalena in the diocese of Worms.

(e) Zwettl, Klosterbibliothek MS. 180; first half of the 13th century. Cistercian monastery near Krems in Austria in the diocese of Passau (now St. Pölten).

The British Museum MS. Arundel 44 and Cologne MS. W 276a are closely allied, and the iconography of Walters manuscript 72 is clearly like that of these two precedents, whereas the Rome and Zwettl manuscripts are in a number of details different. For instance, in the representation of the Ladder of St. Perpetua, the British Museum, Cologne, and Walters manuscripts show seven virgins climbing and the obstruction of five swords; in the Rome and Zwettl manuscripts there are five virgins and three swords. In the Paradise scene the Rome manuscript represents at the center one figure only, *viz.* that of Christ, the figures standing for the rivers are not horned, and the Beatitudes are not full length. In the *Quadriga* picture the

[28] The most complete list hitherto published is to be found in the previously cited dissertation by Martha Strube, pp. 3-4. To that list may now be added the Walters manuscript and a manuscript (with illustrations) in the cathedral of Burgo de Osma in Spain. *Cf.* Timoteo Rojo Orcajo, *Catálogo Descriptivo de los Códices que se conservan en la Santa Iglesia Catedral de Burgo de Osma* (Madrid, 1929), p. 124.

Zwettl manuscript shows the Virgin seated on a throne and holding a flowering rod which the Child Christ on her left knee is grasping; and the only wheel is that under the feet of Christ.

French manuscripts. The following are three manuscripts of the French group:

(f) Berlin, Preussische Staatsbibliothek, MS. Phill. 1701; end of the 12th century. From Igny, Cistercian monastery in the diocese of Reims.

(g) Troyes, Bibliothèque de la Ville, MS. 252; first half of the 13th century. From Clairvaux, Cistercian monastery in the diocese of Langres, now Troyes.

(h) Arras, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS. 282; second half of the 13th century. From St. Vaast, Benedectine monastery in Arras.

Apart from the evident contrasts between German and French technique, striking differences appear in respect of imagery and of the expression of religious thought and feeling. For instance, in the Berlin manuscript (f) the figures of David and the Virgin in the Tree of Jesse have become full length, the four figures at the top representing the persons of the *Quadriga* have been more clearly grouped together and the Gifts of the Spirit have been omitted. In the Paradise scene the Cardinal Virtues are no longer within medallions and are three-quarters figures resting on calices. In the Ladder of St. Perpetua the Ethiopian, as he is represented in the Arras manuscript (h), is poised on the ladder with his feet between two rungs, and there is no virgin holding him by the hair. There are eight virgins and eight swords instead of seven and five respectively in the British Museum, Cologne and Walters manuscripts. The Foolish and Wise Virgins in the middle section of the representation in the German manuscript in the British Museum MS. Arundel 44, have variety in demonstrative action, while in the corre-

FIGURE 10 WALTERS ART GALLERY

The Ladder of St. Perpetua
(Ms. 72, fol. 82 verso)

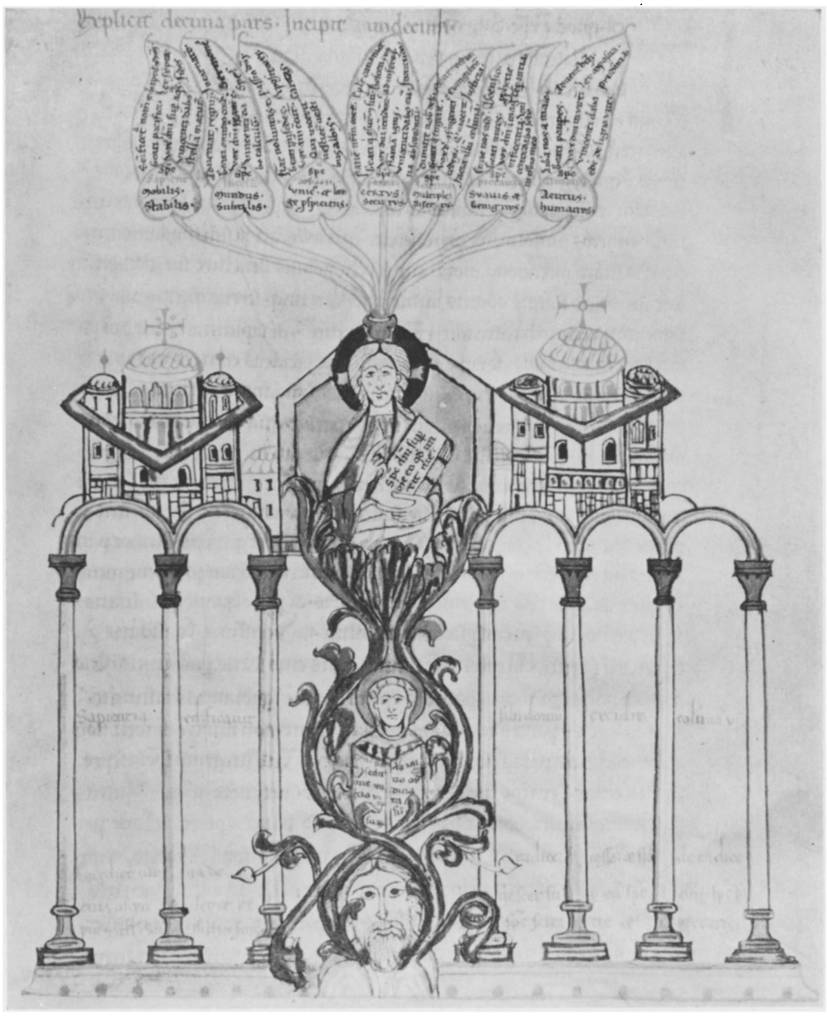


FIGURE 11 WALTERS ART GALLERY

The Septiformis Spiritus
(*Ms.* 72, *fol.* 104)

FIGURE 12 BONN, PROVINCIAL MUSEUM

Tree of Jesse
(*No.* 15326)

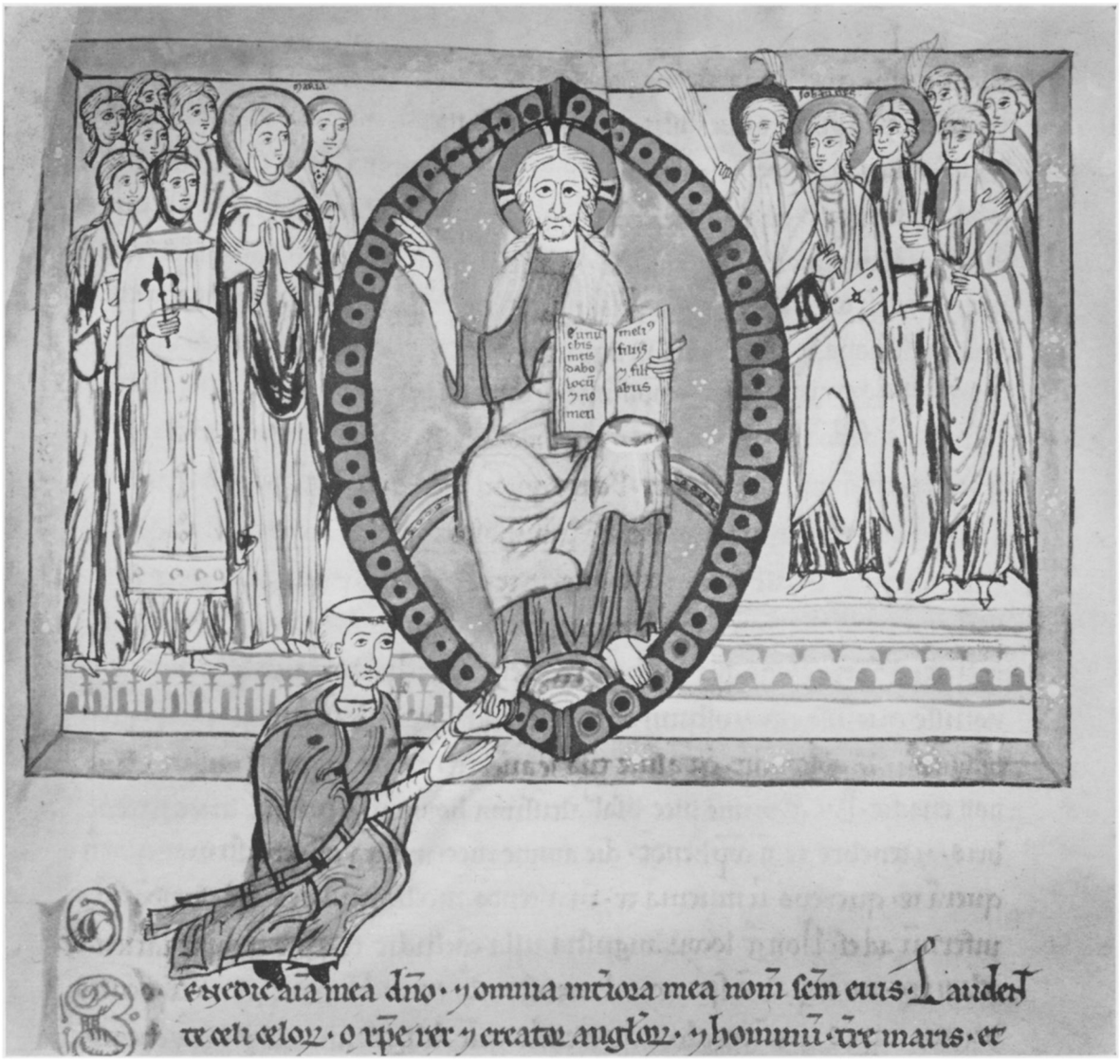


FIGURE 13 WALTERS ART GALLERY

Christ in Majesty
(Ms. 72, fol. 98 recto)

sponding Arras picture they have the dull uniformity of drilled soldiers. Moreover, in the highest section there is no guidance as to the meaning of any of the five figures immediately to the right and left of the figure of Christ.

Appendix

Miniatures from Rheinbrohl

Remarkable deviations from usual pictures in manuscripts of the *Speculum Virginum* appear in three miniatures from the church of Rheinbrohl

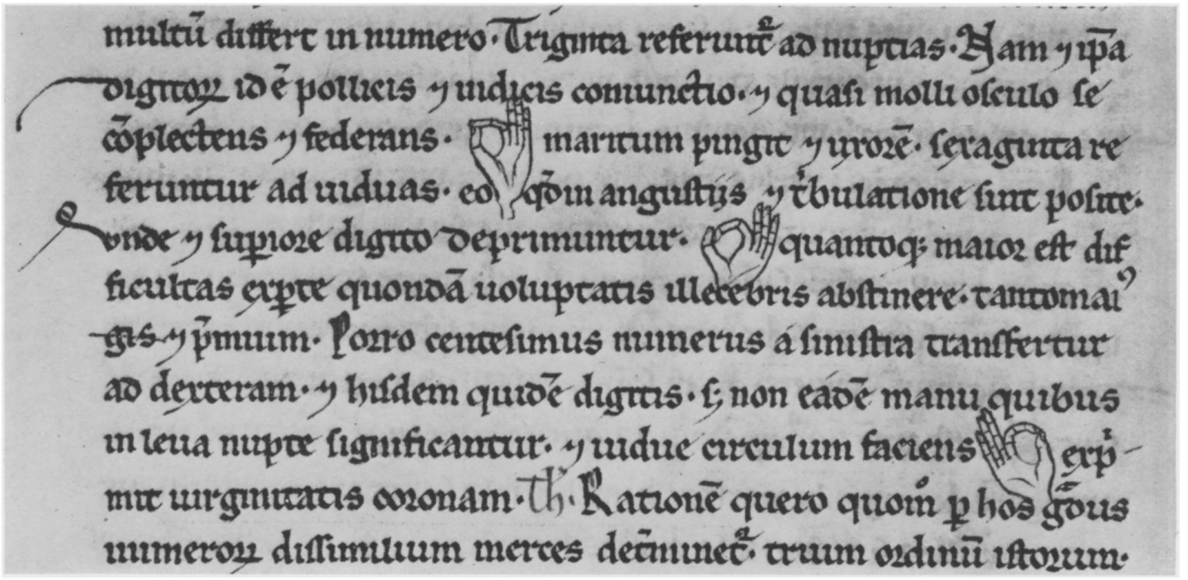


FIGURE 14 WALTERS ART GALLERY

The Hand Signs
(Ms. 72, fol. 71 verso)

in the Rhineland. One of these is reproduced in figure 12. It has several peculiarities. Though it is a Tree of Jesse, Jesse himself is not represented; the design is remarkably florid and full of inscriptions, some being the same as those in figure 1, others being a collection of expressions in which the word *virga*[29] occurs; Theodora at the lower right hand corner is gazing into what appears to be a mirror. Another leaf[30] shows three harvest scenes (thus keeping close to the Parable of the Sower) in place of the transference, as in figure 8, of the parable to the three grades of women; and, lastly, there is a representation of the Foolish and Wise Virgins in which at the top Christ is shown as about to place a ring on a finger of the left hand of *Ecclesia*.*

* The author of this article desires to acknowledge his indebtedness to Professor F. Saxl for very important suggestions.

[29] Standing for the Virgin. *Cf.* Watson, *The Early Iconography of the Tree of Jesse*, Chapter I, pp. 1-8.

[30] Reproduced in Hanns Swarzenski, *Vorgotische Miniaturen* (Leipsig, 2nd ed., 1931), pl. 67 and note on p. 95.

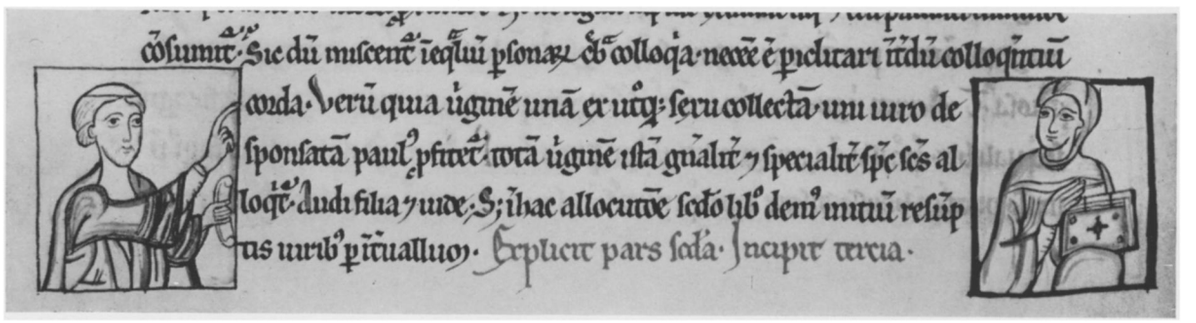


FIGURE 15 WALTERS ART GALLERY

Peregrinus and Theodora
(Ms. 72, fol. 16 verso)

A PORTFOLIO OF BYZANTINE SCULPTURE

Photographs by

SHERLEY HOBBS

Comments by

MARVIN C. ROSS

A PORTFOLIO OF SCULPTURE FROM ISTANBUL

THESE PHOTOGRAPHIC STUDIES of Byzantine sculpture are published in commemoration of the Exhibition of Early Christian and Byzantine Art held in Baltimore in the Spring of 1947. One of the noteworthy features of the event was the loan from the Archaeological Museum in Istanbul of the first examples of imperial Byzantine sculpture to be seen in a public exhibition in this country. These superb examples, dating from the fourth to the sixth century, have been especially photographed for presentation here by Miss Sherley B. Hobbs, photographer of the Walters Art Gallery, under the direction of the Technical Advisor, David Rosen.

The great importance of the loan lay in the opportunity of studying here in America these large sculptures of unquestioned provenance, in close proximity to the small objects in every medium which had been assembled from American collections. This made possible fresh appraisals and the recognition of convincing relationships. For example, the porphyry fragment, doubtless formerly part of the tomb of Constantine the Great, is very close in design to the well-known sarcophagus of his consort, Constantia, now in the Vatican Museum. But, unlike the latter monument and most other porphyries to be seen in the West, the surface of the Istanbul fragment had never received the high polishing so often administered in the eighteenth century. The opportunity to see not only the undisturbed sculpture of the piece, but the original color and surface, was of particular interest in considering two porphyry heads loaned from American collections.

The marble drum of a column sculptured with figures and vines has been accessible to students in this country only through the medium of very inadequate illustrations. The opportunity of studying the style and cutting of this piece, authenticity and period of which are unquestionable, was of particular interest in relation to the long debated "Rubens Vase," which was to be seen in a neighboring room.

The three reliefs from the Stoudion presented many points of style and workmanship to be compared with ivory carvings and other decorative arts.

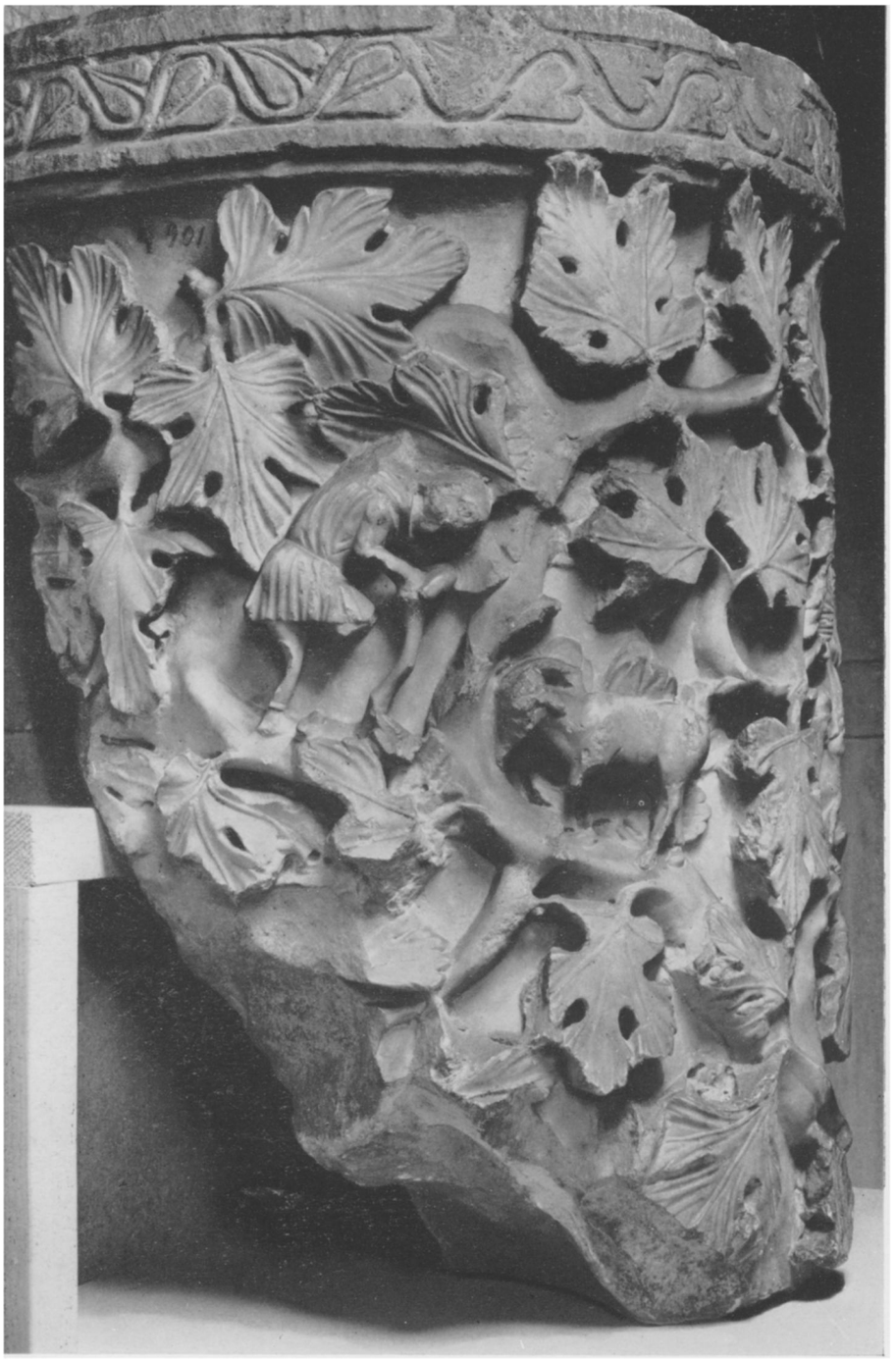
The new photographs were made in order to bring to American scholars some permanent benefit from the visit of these sculptures to this country. They suggest, moreover, that a new and well illustrated catalogue of the Byzantine sculpture now in Istanbul should be the next important step in Byzantine studies.

The very generous loan of these five large sculptures from the Archaeological Museum in Istanbul was initiated by Dr. Thomas Whittemore and arranged through the Council of Ministers and the Minister of Education, Resat Semseppin Sirer, the Director of Museums, Hamit Zubyei, the Director of the Istanbul Museum, Aziz Ogan, in Turkey; and in Washington through his excellency the Turkish Ambassador, Hüseyin Ragip Baydur.

FRAGMENT OF A PORPHYRY SARCOPHAGUS

This fragment, forty-seven inches long by twenty-six inches high, is said to have been excavated in Constantinople. It is unquestionably the relic of a sarcophagus made for one of the imperial family. Because its design, a massive rinceau framing putti plucking grapes, practically duplicates the ornamentation on the sarcophagus of the Empress Constantia, it is supposed that this fragment comes from the companion tomb made for the Emperor Constantine (306-337 A.D.).

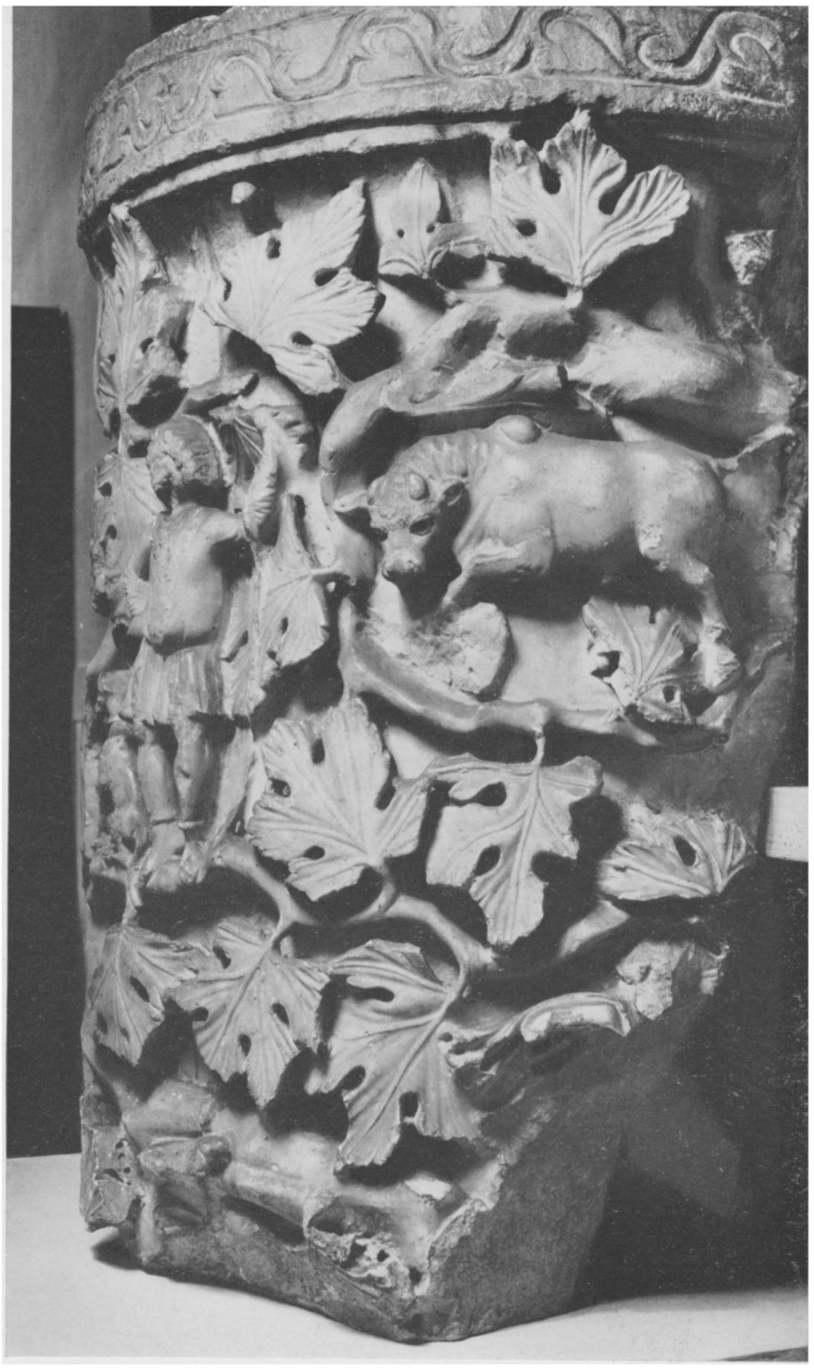
BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Early Christian and Byzantine Art* (Baltimore, 1947), no. 34; G. Mendel, *Catalogue des sculptures grecques, romaines et byzantines*, Musées Impériaux Ottomans, (Constantinople, 1914), no. 665, ill., with literature; H. Peirce and R. Tyler, *L'art byzantin*, I (Paris, 1932), no. 18, ill.; R. Delbrueck, *Antike Porphyrwerke* (Berlin, 1932), p. 219, pl. 107, with literature.

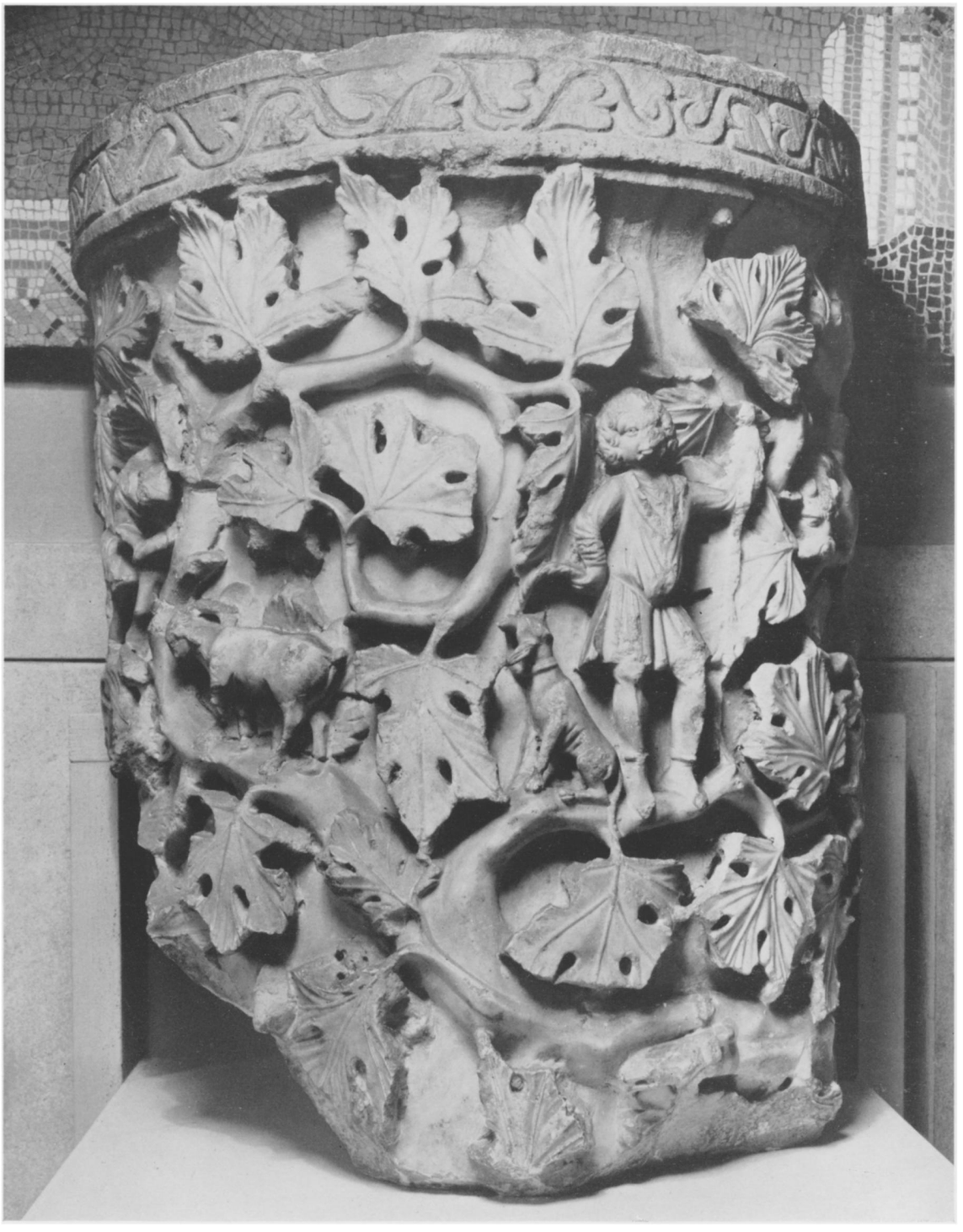


MARBLE DRUM OF A COLUMN

Two remarkable column drums, sculptured with large grapevines enclosing scenes, are believed to have come to the Istanbul Museum from excavations at Hagia Sophia. The one loaned to the Exhibition of Early Christian and Byzantine Art is here illustrated in three views, on this and the neighboring pages, to show all remaining sculpture. As may be seen, nearly one half of the drum has been split off longitudinally. The drum is thirty inches high, and twenty-five in diameter. Among the giant branches and grape-leaves are figures of a man digging, a goat, a shepherd and his dog, and a humped bull, charging.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Early Christian and Byzantine Art* (Baltimore, 1947), no. 54; G. Mendel, *Catalogue des sculptures grecques, romaines et byzantines*, Musées Impériaux Ottomans (Constantinople, 1914), pp. 440 ff., no. 658.





THREE LIMESTONE RELIEFS

These large slabs, carved in low, flat relief, were excavated in 1908 by the Russian Archaeological Institute on the site of the Stoudion in Constantinople. They are believed to be part of an enclosure for a communal monastic ossuary. The one shown on this page has a peculiar quadrant-shaped projection enclosing a bust of a man. The other figures, standing under the open pediment are interpreted as part of a group of Apostles. On the following pages are shown the Entry into Jerusalem, and Christ Enthroned, with St. Peter. The unfinished area on the last relief was probably covered by a stairway or an ambo.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Early Christian and Byzantine Art* (Baltimore, 1947), nos. 58, 57, and 59, respectively; G. Mendel, *Catalogue des sculptures grecques, romaines et byzantines*, Musées Impériaux Ottomans (Constantinople, 1914), nos. 668, 669, 670; pp. 453 ff.

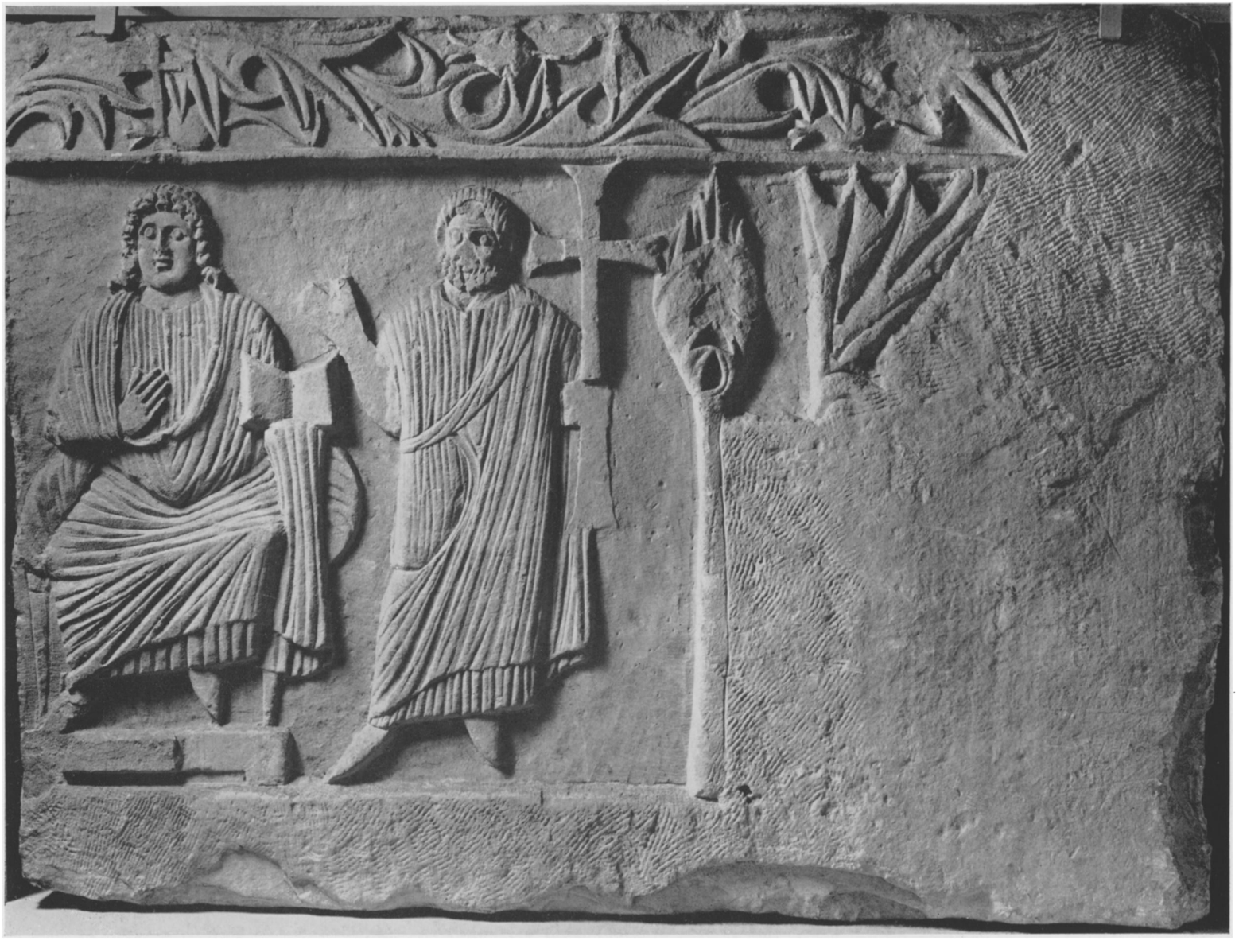


FIGURE 1 WALTERS ART GALLERY

Deity called Dispater of the Gauls

DISPATER OF GAUL

DOROTHY KENT HILL
The Walters Art Gallery

MOST OF US gained our impressions of the religion of the Gauls, France's ancient inhabitants, from an early reading of Caesar's *Gallic War*. We learned something of the ritual conducted by the Druids; the bare fact that the Gauls worshipped five chief gods called by Caesar, Mercury, Apollo, Mars, Jupiter and Minerva; and the additional fact that the Gauls considered themselves offspring of the common father, Dis.[1] Other Classical authors called Caesar's Dis "Dispater," Dis the father, all in one word.

Caesar's writing represented the sum total of human knowledge regarding paganism in Gaul until the commencement of scientific excavations of ancient rites and subsequent study of epigraphical and iconographic evidence. Only recently has it been possible to form any conception of the physical forms which the Gauls, in large part under Roman stimulus, gave to their gods. For apparently before the conquest the Gallic deities lacked anthropomorphic crystallization, a state of affairs incomprehensible to Caesar but highly desirable in our opinion.

The extraordinary bronze here illustrated (figs. 1, 2) is a Gallic archaeological relic which has been said to represent Dispater.[2] Far from being unknown, it was the cause of one of those violent archaeological quarrels which lent color to nineteenth-century intellectual society. During the controversy it was inaccessible to most of the scholars who discussed it and since that time its whereabouts have been unknown. It therefore seems advisable to republish it now.

It is a large bronze, 17¼ inches tall, consisting of three parts: a base, a statuette, and a rod surmounted by a cylinder. From the cylinder five spokes project like spokes from the hub of a wheel, and each spoke ends in a small spool-like object. The effect of the half wheel appearing over the head of the statuette is indeed startling.

The statuette is a male figure wearing an animal's skin on his head; the forepaws are tied on

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[1] *De Bello Gallico*, VI, 17-18.

[2] Walters Art Gallery, no. 54.998. Measurements have been variously indicated in past publications. Total height, 17¼ in. (.44). Height of figure, 9¾ in. (.247). Height of figure including attribute, 14½ (.365). Height of figure including base, 12¾ in. (.328).

General bibliography: *Bulletin de la Société impériale des antiquaires de France* (1866), pp. 99 ff., 109; E. Flouest in *Revue archéologique* (1884), pt. II, pp. 285-288; (1885), pt. I, pp. 7-30, *Deux stèle de laraire*, published as monograph with illustrations of this piece, (Paris, 1885); Flouest in *Gazette archéologique* (1887), pp. 306-312; H. Bazin in *Gazette arch.* (1887), pp. 178-181 John Edward Taylor Collection, Sale Catalogue (London, Christie, Manson and Woods, 1912), p. 92, no. 364; H. Gaidoz in *Revue arch.* (1885), pt. II, p. 168; (1888) pt. I, p. 274; H. Gaidoz and E. Roland, *Mélusine, recueil de mythologie* (Paris, 1878), p. 343, p. 353: fig.; M. A. Barthelemy in *Revue celtique*, I, (1870), p. 4 (not illus.); *Musée archéologique* (1877), pl. I; S. Reinach, *Répertoire de la statuaire grecque et romaine*, II, 21, 6; S. Reinach, *Antiquités nationales. Description raisonnée. Musée de Saint-Germain-en-Laye. Bronzes figurés de la Gaule romaine* (Paris, 1894), pp. 137 ff.; Allmer, *Revue épigraphique du Midi* (1887), p. 319.

FIGURE 2 WALTERS ART GALLERY

Deity called Dispater of the Gauls
(Back view, with attribute removed)

his chest and the greater part, including the skin of the hind paws and tail, is draped from front to back over the left arm and falls behind. The weight of the man's body is supported by the right leg, and the right hip is pushed far to the side. His left leg is relaxed, with the knee slightly bent, and extended backward and to the side, with the toe alone touching the ground. The right elbow is bent and the hand stretches forward to hold an *olla*, a kind of small jar. The left arm is raised and the hand is contracted to grasp something now lost.

The man is sturdy and his muscles are clearly delineated, but there is no over-development. In pose and proportion the figure might be classed as a later version of a Polykleitan athletic type. The costume reminds one of Hercules, who habitually wore the skin of the Nemean lion to cover his head, but this is a wolf's skin.

The face is reminiscent of Jupiter, or, better still, of that peculiar deity who emerged from Egypt and sometimes was equated with Jupiter, Sarapis. The brows and cheeks are broad and calm and the realistically treated eyes fail to convey an impression of great cerebral activity. The human hair is almost concealed by the wolf's skin, but we can see a lock of hair rising sharply at each side of the center and undulating sidewards. The moustache turns up in spirals at the ends, as is the case with some late types of Jupiter and with Sarapis almost always. The beard is parted near the center and billows forward in two degrees. This arrangement is quite typical of Jupiter and Sarapis.

This bronze was one of four pieces excavated in a Roman lararium at Vienne, Isère, France, in 1866. It was announced in various publications immediately. A line drawing was made and was re-used frequently (fig. 3). In the drawing, a tall rod is held by the left hand. Flouest made the first serious and detailed study in 1885, and interpreted this figure as Gallic Jupiter, or Celtic Jupiter, or Dispater, with his usual attribute, the hammer, amplified into a huge hammer with five smaller hammers attached. His fellow countryman, Bazin, denounced Flouest and his identification. Mallet gods, in general, he considered to

FIGURE 3 WALTERS ART GALLERY
Deity called Dispater of the Gauls
(after drawing in Reinach)

represent Silvanus. He claimed that our figure was a simple Hercules, to which foreign items had been added, chief of them being a horizontal attachment for lamps. Flouest replied to this attack, reiterating his original contention, and published his first paper as a separate monograph before withdrawing from the fray.

The next publication was by Salomon Reinach, in the catalogue of the collection of bronzes in the museum at Saint-Germain-en-Laye, in 1894. Included in this collection is a telling object, a damaged attribute like the one at the back of our statuette. The supporting rod, the central cylinder, and five spokes and two small cylinders remain. It was found at Vienne in 1874. The Saint-Germain museum and Reinach's catalogue also included casts of similar figures, of which the originals were to be found in other museums. Finally, Reinach republished the familiar line drawing of our bronze and illustrated and listed other objects of which no casts existed, and discussed the whole subject of gods with hammers, usually called Dispater. Reinach's long repertory included only one other free-standing figure holding a hammer; hammers are assumed for all figures with their left hands uplifted and pierced to grasp something; the basis for the assumption is a long series of relief carvings. Reinach pointed out that the nudity of our particular figure is exceptional, differentiating him from the usual Sarapis and from the usual mallet deity. He derived the physical characteristics of this mallet deity (whom he calls Dispater in his headings but not in his text) in large part, but not exclusively from Sarapis. The basket on the head which this deity frequently adopts in imitation of Sarapis shows that he has some nether connections. According to Reinach, the mallet which some authorities interpreted as a weapon is, in origin at least, a fetish. The very inconclusiveness of Reinach's summary is, for our generation as for his own, a virtue.

By this time our bronze was famous. When Walters and Murray published the British Museum bronzes they acepted this piece as an important document on Gallo-Roman bronze working and they did not doubt its homogeneity. They interpreted the fancy attribute as five hammers attached to a barrel. Walters mentions our piece as one of several remarkable bronzes with the barrel and hammer attribute.[3] He considered a basket on the head and a jar in the hand to be the distinguishing attributes of Dispater, and the hammer to be but an additional feature. In discussing Ogmios or Gallic Hercules he remarked upon the similarity of types of Ogmios and Dispater, but he did not suggest that our piece was an Ogmios. Murray made the observation that the barrel could be used for wine, and that the barrel which he saw in the attribute of our figure could connect our deity with wine production, as was suitable in a wine area. Indeed, works of art of all types indicate that in Gaul barrels were used for storing wine in preference to the pottery jars favored in Italy and Greece.[4]

At the end of the nineteenth century Bertrand wrote the first and only definitive book on the religion in Gaul as a whole.[5] He placed all the small statues of gods and goddesses that we know late in the history of Druidical religion, a religion which was not essentially anthropomorphic in character. He minimized the importance of the statuettes, viewed in the light of the complete history of France. Our statuette (he could not omit it!) was illustrated once more, and classified as a Roman type of deity, Jupiter, to which had been added the Celtic symbol, the mallet. Bertrand pointed out

[3] H. B. Walters, *Catalogue of the Bronzes . . . . in the British Museum* (London, 1899), p. LV.

[4] A. S. Murray, *Greek Bronzes (The Portfolio; monographs on artistic subjects, No. 36)*, (London, 1898), pp. 97., fig. 40.

[5] A. Bertrand, *Nos origines. La religion des Gaulois, les druides et le druidisme* (Paris, 1897), especially pp. 313 ff. See also his article, *Le Dispater gaulois, le Jupiter Sérapis et le Pluton Euboleus de Praxitèle* in *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-letteres,* Serie 4, XV (1887) pp. 443-448.

that Caesar's pantheon was his own creation, formed by combining many Celtic deities into each of five Roman gods or goddesses, and he emphasized the fact that Caesar does not allude to a single image of one of his Roman deities. He agreed with Reinach that Dispater was represented after the model of Sarapis, and habitually shown draped, wearing modius, and holding *olla* and mallet; but he skillfully avoided mentioning our bronze at this point, and so gives no answer to the question: is our exceptional figure really Dispater?

Finally, in 1912, came the sale catalogue of the John Edward Taylor collection, with a photograph (the only one ever published) of the statuette on its base, but taken without the rod in the hand and the attribute at the back. The catalogue entry stated that the object had been acquired for the Taylor Collection at the Wills sale in 1894. Mr. Henry Walters bought it at the Taylor sale. The rod had disappeared from the left hand before he bought it, or at least before he had it photographed. The present study is the first publication since its acquisition by the Walters Collection, and consists primarily of physical examination of the object, something that has been impossible for a long time.

All three parts are to a large degree covered with a stony brownish coating, and all have a few bright green spots. The consistent coloring makes it probable that the parts were buried together. The rod which supports the ornament is broken off just above the base, but since upper and lower sections of the rod are of the same diameter, there is no reason to suppose that the parts do not belong together. Although some of the spokes may have been replaced, the ornament, consisting of the five "hammers" seems to be a whole. The rod has been inserted into the largest hammer (or barrel) *through* a broken piece of hollow rod which is firmly attached to the cylinder. This fact suggests that a piece of the rod is missing or concealed, and that originally the rod was longer and the ornaments higher above the base. There is no possibility that the object was made to hold lamps, as Bazin said.

The attachment of the statuette to the base has been achieved by modern screws and nuts. Even a hasty glance reveals that the statuette is very small for this base. Actually, there are two old holes in the base, each a little farther from the center than the existing feet. They could have been used for the attachment of a larger figure, and it need not have been in the same position. An iron rust stain on the base, in front of the left foot, looks as if it had been formed around the right foot of a larger figure, attached by its toe to one of the holes, and pointing crosswise of the present foot (fig. 4).

So much for the evidence of the hammer and the base. Now, what of the pose of the figure? There must have been a hammer in the left hand. But if there was a hammer in the hand, why should a whole collection of hammers tower above the figure?

And so it seems to me probable that originally

(*Continued on p. 100*)

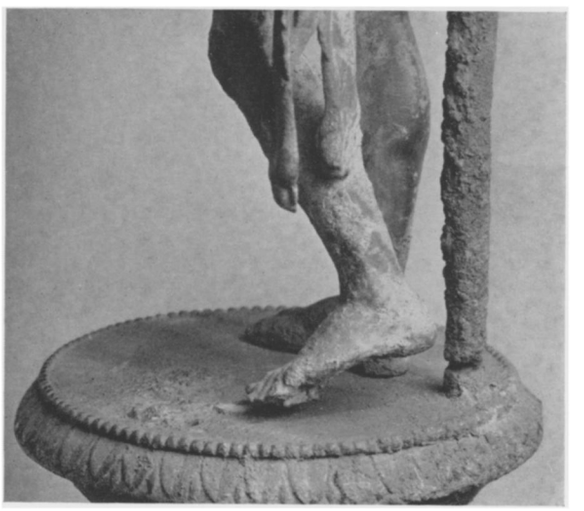

FIGURE 4 WALTERS ART GALLERY
Deity called Dispater of the Gauls
(Detail of lower parts)

FIGURES 5, 6 WALTERS ART GALLERY

FRANÇOIS-JOSEPH BOURGOIN
Enamelled Snuffbox
(Ends)

an eagle's head for the goldsmith Jean Fremin. The box first appeared in the Allègre sale in 1872; then in the Dreyfus de Gonzales sale of 1896[5] and finally in the Rikoff sale in 1907[6]. It was acquired by Mr. Henry Walters in 1914 and became part of the present collection.

Although the box has been known before, the publication of it again makes clear that the enamels were done by François-Joseph Bourgoin and not by François-Jules with whom he has been confused. Also, the illustrations of all the sides may lead to the identification of other works of this charming eighteenth-century enameller.

[5] Sale Catalogue (Paris, June 1, 1896), no. 1.
[6] Sale Catalogue (Paris, December 4, 1907), no. 176.

DISPATER OF GAUL

(Continued from p. 89)

there was a larger statuette on this base. It may have been very like our figure, with a nude athletic body, a wolf's skin, an olla, and a face like Jupiter-Sarapis. On the other hand, it may have been clothed. To find its place, we would pivot the present figure a little more than 90 degrees to its left, so that the hammer ornament would be based in front of the left foot. The large deity's left hand would grasp the lengthened rod which supports the hammers. The figure now present should be mounted on a smaller base and provided with its own hammer—possibly the hammer ornament, part of which is still preserved in Saint-Germain, or possibly the hammer the stem of which appears as a rod in the old illustrations. The consistent coloration of base, figure and hammer ornament makes it probable that the two pieces were buried together and excavated together. The original report that a lararium was excavated explains the presence of two on the same spot.

There still is no proof of the identity of the deity involved. Any faith in the identification as Dispater which is based upon the presence of the hammer is no longer justified. Yet the possibility is great that we are dealing with Dispater, ancestor of the Gauls, but with fragments of two representations of him instead of one.

FIGURE 1 WALTERS ART GALLERY

SOUTH GERMAN WORKSHOP
The Flight into Egypt
(after reconditioning)

THE STRUCTURE OF SOME SOUTH GERMAN PANEL PAINTINGS

A PROBLEM IN CONSERVATION

BY ELISABETH C. G. PACKARD AND JOHN C. KIRBY
The Walters Art Gallery

A PANEL PAINTING representing "The Flight into Egypt" has remained since its acquisition in the storeroom of the Walters Art Gallery, its surface so obscured by layers of darkened varnish that no one had ventured to question its attribution to the Italian school of the sixteenth century (fig. 3).[1] During the centuries the extremes of dryness and moisture to which it was exposed had caused the panel to crack and warp and finally to separate into three sections. Although it may seem shocking to the casual observer that a painting should have reached this state of disintegration, such neglect is in reality preferable to the treatment that has frequently been bestowed upon warped panel paintings by over-zealous but ignorant restorers. Their method usually included reducing the panel to a fraction of its original thickness and gluing strips of wood on the back of the panel, parallel to the grain of the wood, with movable cross strips slotted in them (fig. 2). Intended to allow movement and also to prevent further warping, the effect of this device, known as a cradle, is quite the opposite, for the stresses and strains produced by the contraction and expansion of the stationary members of the new wood backing generally result in renewed cracking and warping of the original panel. A further disadvantage is that, in planing down the panel, interesting evidence concerning its thickness and construction is destroyed. The detrimental effects of cradling have been convincingly demonstrated by David Rosen in a previous article in this *Journal*.[2]

When "The Flight into Egypt" was reconditioned recently by the Conservation Department of the Walters Art Gallery, it was possible to study the method used by the artist in constructing and preparing his panel. We noted that in several respects there was a resemblance to the structural features of four panel paintings by Bernhard Strigel that are also in the collection (figs. 2, 4, 5).[3] These, however, had been subjected to the misguided practice of cradling and had lost much of their original physical character. An unusual opportunity was offered,

[1] No. 1936. Panel, approx. 38½ x 31½ in (.978 x .799 mm.). Formerly in the Massarenti collection, Rome, which Henry Walters acquired in 1902. See E. Van Esbroeck, *Catalogue du musée de peinture, sculpture et archéologie au Palais Accoramboni* (Rome, 1897), no. 336, attributed to Pagani da Lattanzio, about 1553.

[2] David Rosen, *Notes on the Preservation of Panel Paintings* in *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery,* IV (1941), pp. 123-127.

[3] No. 665, "Christ before Pilate". Panel, 58 x 24⅜ in. (1.472 x .619 mm.). No. 666, "Christ taken into Captivity". Panel, 58⅜ x 24 in. (1.482 x .61 mm.). No. 672, "The Entry into Jerusalem". Panel, 56¼ x 25½ in. (1.428 x .648 mm.). No. 673, "Christ before Caiaphas". Panel, 58 x 24⅜ in. (1.472 x .619 mm.). From a series of scenes of the Passion by Bernhard Strigel (1460-61—1528). Published by C. L. Kuhn, *Catalogue of German Paintings of the Middle Ages and Renaissance in American Collections* (Cambridge, Mass., 1936), nos. 249-252, pl. L and dated "about 1495" by Kuhn.

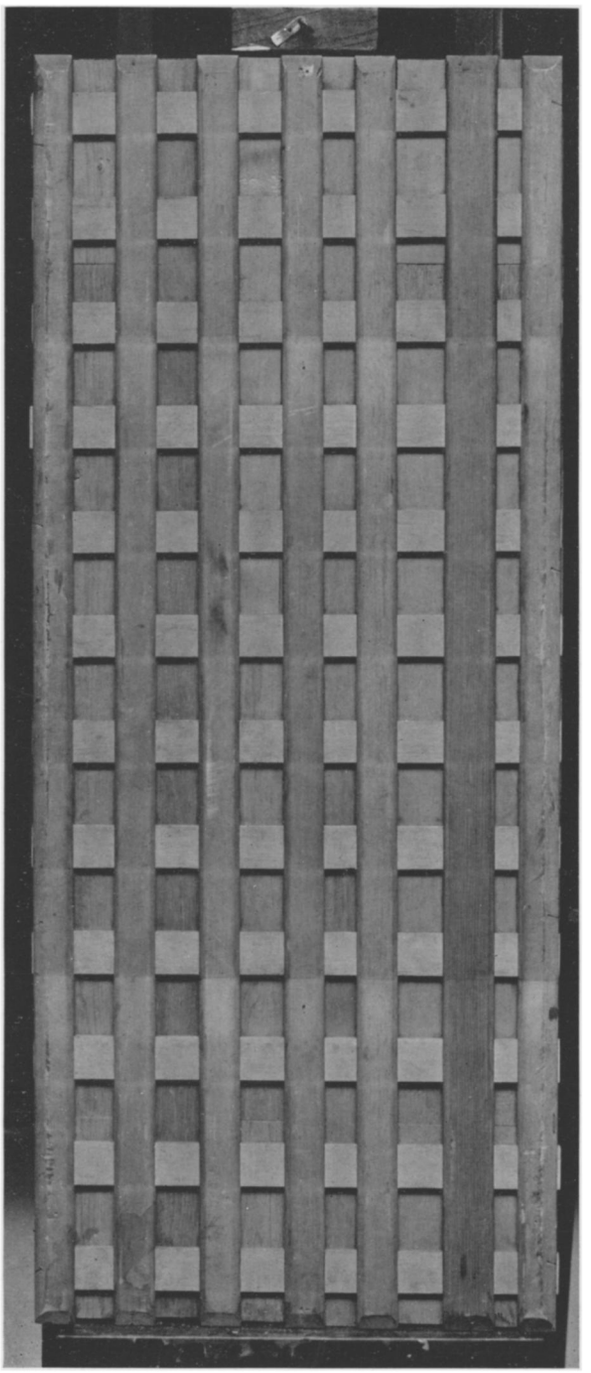

FIGURE 2 WALTERS ART GALLERY

BERNHARD STRIGEL
Reverse of one of Passion Scenes
(showing cradled panel)

therefore, to contrast the straightforward treatment required to recondition the uncradled "Flight into Egypt" panel with the complicated corrective measures demanded by the much abused Strigel panels. We shall describe in this note the steps involved in the two operations and we shall also attempt to draw certain conclusions concerning the methods of panel construction in a South German workshop at the beginning of the sixteenth century.

An examination of both back and front of "The Flight into Egypt" revealed that the panel was composed of four members or boards of a very knotty pine wood with a tendency to twist and warp in a longitudinal as well as a transverse direction. The thickness of the boards varied from approximately one half to three quarters of an inch.[4] Two horizontal batten marks and two rows of nail holes clearly visible on the reverse (fig. 6) showed that originally the boards were held together by horizontal battens to which they were attached with large nails before the panel was prepared to receive the gesso ground. Traces of a coarsely woven material at the joints and at the nail holes indicated that the artist had covered his boards with cloth before applying the gesso ground. Battens and nails had long since been removed, leaving large holes in the painting. Figure 7, illustrating a panel having battens still in place, exemplifies this type of construction. It seems probable that there was originally a third batten at the top of the "Flight into Egypt" panel, since the spacing of the battens calls for a third member and the height of the painting seems to have been considerably reduced. Six or more additional inches at the top of the painting might have made possible the inclusion of the angels bending down the palm tree, a favorite motif of German paint-

[4] Although Italian panels were sometimes covered with linen, they were less crudely constructed and usually at least one inch thick.

FIGURE 3

WALTERS ART GALLERY

SOUTH GERMAN WORKSHOP

The Flight into Egypt

(before treatment)

FIGURE 4 WALTERS ART GALLERY

BERNHARD STRIGEL

The Entry into Jerusalem

ers of the period in portraying the story of the Flight.[5]

In spite of its dilapidated condition, the "Flight into Egypt" panel presented a straightforward conservation problem which could be treated in the manner indicated by David Rosen.[6] After the painted surface had received proper protection, the four boards were gradually straightened by controlled humidity. They were then placed in the press until completely dry. Finally they were permeated with a wax resin mixture to protect them from atmospheric changes and to solidify their fabric, which had deteriorated considerably because of worm tunnellings. Their weight increased 30 percent during the course of the wax treatment. Metal strips were attached to the back of the panel to provide mechanical strength only, and at that time the separations between the four boards were closed. The support of the painting having been preserved in its original thickness and rendered inert and resistant to variations in humidity, it was safe to proceed to the repair and cleaning of the painting, a task in itself, as a comparison of figure 3 with the final state, figure 1, will emphasize.

When the cleaning had been completed, it became apparent that the attribution of "The Flight into Egypt" to an Italian painter was not satisfactory. The picture evidently belongs to the South German School of the early sixteenth century, in spite of a marked North Italian influence throughout. Although probably of later date than the four paintings by Bernhard Strigel in the Walters Gallery, and undoubtedly of inferior quality, the picture is related in style to later works of Strigel (fig. 8).[7] It lacks, however,

[5] See Schongauer's engraving, "The Flight into Egypt", Bartsch 7.

[6] Rosen, *op. cit.*, p. 127.

[7] Note rendering of trees and stones and grasses in the various paintings reproduced by Ernst Buchner, *Zum späten Malwerk Bernhard Strigels* in *Pantheon*, XXXII (1944), pp. 49-62.

the individuality of style and the unity of action in Strigel's paintings, for it is an eclectic picture with elements borrowed from various sources and recombined in a landscape of undeniably German character. This may be explained by the fact that it was not unusual at this time for a North Italian painter to work for several years in a German workshop, and the reverse also occurred frequently. Certain stylistic details[8] in the Walters "Flight into Egypt" appear also in the version of the same subject by Jorg Breu, the Elder (1475-1537), who spent some time in Italy in 1514 or 1515.[9]

If we are reasonably sure that the Walters "Flight into Egypt" belongs to the South German School of painting on stylistic grounds, we become convinced when we compare its physical construction with that of the Strigel panels. The latter were undoubtedly in the same condition as the "Flight into Egypt" panel (fig. 3) when they fell into the hands of an old-time restorer who went to work and planed each panel down to a thickness of approximately one eighth of an inch. Each was then glued to a new pine panel, only one-fourth of an inch thick, which in turn was cradled (fig. 2). Apparently no measures were taken to render the old panel inert and resistant to the movement of the new wood backing. Consequently, renewed warping and cracking of the original panel inevitably set in. Two of the four Strigel panels (figs. 4 and 5)[10] were in a dangerously cracked and blistered condition and required immediate attention. They presented particularly complicated problems, but were successfully treated and preserved at the Walters Art Gallery several years ago under the direction of David Rosen. After

FIGURE 5 WALTERS ART GALLERY

BERNHARD STRIGEL

Christ before Pilate

(Photographed under cross-lighting before treatment)

[8] Compare the donkey and even the embroidery on the Madonna's mantle in "The Flight into Egypt" by Jorg Breu, the Elder (1475-1537) illus. in *Pantheon,* XXV (1940), p. 8.

[9] Kuhn, *op. cit.,* p. 66.

[10] No. 665, "Christ before Pilate" and no. 672, "Entry into Jerusalem".

FIGURE 6 WALTERS ART GALLERY

Reverse of Flight into Egypt Panel
(before treatment)

the painted surface had been properly protected, each panel was clamped face down to a smooth board and the cradle and new wood backing removed section by section. At this stage, it was observed that in each case the original panel was composed of several boards of a knotty pine wood with traces of coarsely woven material showing between the ground and the support.[11] After removal of the cradle and backing, the warped panels were gradually straightened by controlled use of humidity and put under the press until completely dry. It was evident that the two methods of reinforcement already used successfully at the Walters Art Gallery,[12] were

[11] Compare the construction of the "Flight into Egypt" panel.
[12] Rosen, *op. cit.*, p. 127.

FIGURE 7 WALTERS ART GALLERY

Reverse of a Panel with Battens

not feasible. In the first place, what remained of the original panels was a section so thin that metal strips for mechanical support could not be attached. Secondly, the method of reinforcement by attaching a thin sheet or backing of aluminum with a wax adhesive, which has proved satisfactory when a weakened panel is composed of one member, was found in this instance to be inadequate. It was decided, therefore, to attach the panels to specially prepared 7-ply laminated boards, considered to be a material least subject to contraction and expansion under average variations in humidity. In preparing the back surfaces to insure adhesion to the new support, any irregularities in thickness were corrected. Each

(*Continued on p.* 101)

THE STRUCTURE OF SOME SOUTH GERMAN PANEL PAINTINGS

(*Continued from p. 97*)

panel was then cemented to a laminated board, placed in the press, and examined and adjusted from time to time during the drying out process to prevent any tendency to warp or bend concavely away from the support. After the exposed areas of the original panels had been sealed with wax to protect them from changes in humidity, the reconditioning of the damaged painted surface was undertaken. Completed in January, 1944, these two paintings have been carefully observed and have shown no change or movement. The other two Strigel panels, which also had been cradled, are as yet only slightly cracked and warped. They are under observation and will receive treatment in the near future.

The history of these four paintings by Bernhard Strigel clearly illustrates the serious disadvantages of cradling or "*parquetage*," which not only often results in the disappearance of valuable information concerning the original support, but in the course of time generally causes irreparable damage to the painted surface itself. On the other hand, an uncradled panel like "The Flight into Egypt" is a much less complicated problem when conservation measures are required. Moreover, it retains its original physical structure, evidence which is of invaluable aid to scholars in their investigation and identification of any painting.

FIGURE 8 BERLIN, DEUTSCHES MUSEUM

BERNARD STRIGEL

St. Agnes and Conrad with a Monk (detail)

(after Buchner)

FIGURES 1, 2 WALTERS ART GALLERY

FRANÇOIS-JOSEPH BOURGOIN
Enamelled Snuffbox
(Top and Bottom)

A SNUFFBOX WITH ENAMELS
BY FRANÇOIS-JOSEPH BOURGOIN

BY MARVIN C. ROSS
The Walters Art Gallery

AMONG THE enamellers in France during the eighteenth century there are two by the name of Bourgoin.[1] Although their given names are different, the older one being François-Joseph and the younger François-Jules, they have been considerably confused in the literature on the subject. Perhaps they were father and son or related in some way or another. The older Bourgoin, François-Joseph, is known to have been working for the King in 1763, while François-Jules Bourgoin exhibited in the Salon as late as 1812.

François-Joseph Bourgoin lived in the rue Saint-Thomas-du-Louvre opposite the Hotel de Longueville in Paris. He was *agréé* at the Academy of Saint-Luc in 1764[2] and became *professeur-adjoint* in 1776. He was a painter for the *Menus-Plaisirs*, or informal fêtes, and in 1763 he did two enamelled portraits of Louis XV. In 1764 he exhibited at the Academy an enamel with the "Birth of Venus" as its subject, as well as several portraits in enamel and in miniature. Diderot criticized him that year, but in 1776 the *Almanaque Historique* said that he was a superior painter both in enamel and in miniature. His price for an ordinary enamel was eighteen

[1] E. Bénézit, *Dictionnaire des peintres, sculpteurs, dessinateurs et graveurs* (Paris, 1924), I, p. 715; Thieme-Becker, *Künstlerlexikon* (Leipzig, 1910), vol. IV p. 464; Maze-Sencier, *Le livre des collectioneurs* (Paris, 1885), p. 492; Bellier-Auvray, *Dictionnaire générale des artistes de l'école française* (Paris, 1882), I, p. 152; H. Clouzot, *La miniature sur émail en France* (Paris, 1928), p. 132; J. J. Foster, *A Dictionary of Painters of Miniatures* (London, 1926), p. 33; E. Molinier, *Dictionnaire des émailleurs* (Paris, 1885), p. 15; Vicomte de Grouchy, *Les artistes françois des XVII^e^ et XVIII^e^ siècles* in *Nouvelles archives de l'art français,* III Sér., vol. VII (1891), p. 100, footnote.

[2] J. Guiffrey, *L'Académie de Saint-Luc* in *Nouvelles archives de l'art français,* Nouvelle Periode, IV (1915), p. 202.

Louis, but he charged nineteen Louis if it was executed on gold.

Some official correspondence[3] of 1760 gives an interesting picture of the intrigues that went on among the artists employed by the French court. A government official, Cochin, in October of that year wrote to Marigny, director-general of buildings for the King, that he considered Durand, another enameller, superior to François-Joseph Bourgoin and asked that Durand be considered in Bourgoin's place or at least employed along with him. In December there was further correspondence from Marigny to Cochin about the prices asked by Durand and Bourgoin, and Cochin hastened to write that he was responsible for the suggestion and not the enamellers, probably indicating he had been intirguing further.

The last that is heard of François-Joseph Bourgoin is in 1786 when his daughter, Marie-Louise, was married to the architect, Antoine Huet. The other Bourgoin, François-Jules, a pupil of Mengs and Casanova, exhibited often between 1796 and 1812, after which he does not appear to be mentioned.

An often cited gold snuffbox in the Walters Art Gallery[4] has hall-marks dating it to the year

FIGURE 3 WALTERS ART GALLERY
FRANÇOIS-JOSEPH BOURGOIN
Enamelled Snuffbox
(Side view)

FIGURE 4 WALTERS ART GALLERY
FRANÇOIS-JOSEPH BOURGOIN
Enamelled Snuffbox
(Side view)

1762-3 and is decorated with enamels signed "Bourgoin" (figs. 1-6). A single glance is sufficient to prove that these were never done by a pupil of Mengs or Casanova (the latter's work can be seen on a snuffbox in the Metropolitan Museum of Art). Both the gold box and the enamelled pictures are in the full rococo style of France in the 1760's.

The box is oval with a hinged cover and enamelled on each face. On the cover is represented Venus receiving a breastplate from Jupiter (fig. 1), this being the scene with the artist's signature. Zephyr, descending on a cloud to Flora, is the decoration on the bottom of the box (fig. 2), while the sides have various scenes and landscapes, all of the designs being suggestive of the work of François Boucher (figs. 3-6). The hall-marks on the gold box are the stamp of Paris, thrice, the charge and discharge of the adjudicataire-general, J.-J. Prevost, for 1762-8, the date letter "y" for 1762-3 and the initials and

[3] *Correspondance de M. de Vaudières, Marquis de Marigny, Directeur-General des bâtiments du Roi sur l'administration des beaux-arts* in *Nouvelles archives de l'art français*, XIX (1903), pp. 181-5.

[4] No. 57.153.

FIGURES 5, 6 WALTERS ART GALLERY

FRANÇOIS-JOSEPH BOURGOIN
Enamelled Snuffbox
(Ends)

an eagle's head for the goldsmith Jean Fremin. The box first appeared in the Allègre sale in 1872; then in the Dreyfus de Gonzales sale of 1896[5] and finally in the Rikoff sale in 1907[6]. It was acquired by Mr. Henry Walters in 1914 and became part of the present collection.

Although the box has been known before, the publication of it again makes clear that the enamels were done by François-Joseph Bourgoin and not by François-Jules with whom he has been confused. Also, the illustrations of all the sides may lead to the identification of other works of this charming eighteenth-century enameller.

[5] Sale Catalogue (Paris, June 1, 1896), no. 1.
[6] Sale Catalogue (Paris, December 4, 1907), no. 176.

DISPATER OF GAUL

(Continued from p. 89)

there was a larger statuette on this base. It may have been very like our figure, with a nude athletic body, a wolf's skin, an olla, and a face like Jupiter-Sarapis. On the other hand, it may have been clothed. To find its place, we would pivot the present figure a little more than 90 degrees to its left, so that the hammer ornament would be based in front of the left foot. The large deity's left hand would grasp the lengthened rod which supports the hammers. The figure now present should be mounted on a smaller base and provided with its own hammer—possibly the hammer ornament, part of which is still preserved in Saint-Germain, or possibly the hammer the stem of which appears as a rod in the old illustrations. The consistent coloration of base, figure and hammer ornament makes it probable that the two pieces were buried together and excavated together. The original report that a lararium was excavated explains the presence of two on the same spot.

There still is no proof of the identity of the deity involved. Any faith in the identification as Dispater which is based upon the presence of the hammer is no longer justified. Yet the possibility is great that we are dealing with Dispater, ancestor of the Gauls, but with fragments of two representations of him instead of one.