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THE WALTERS ART GALLERY

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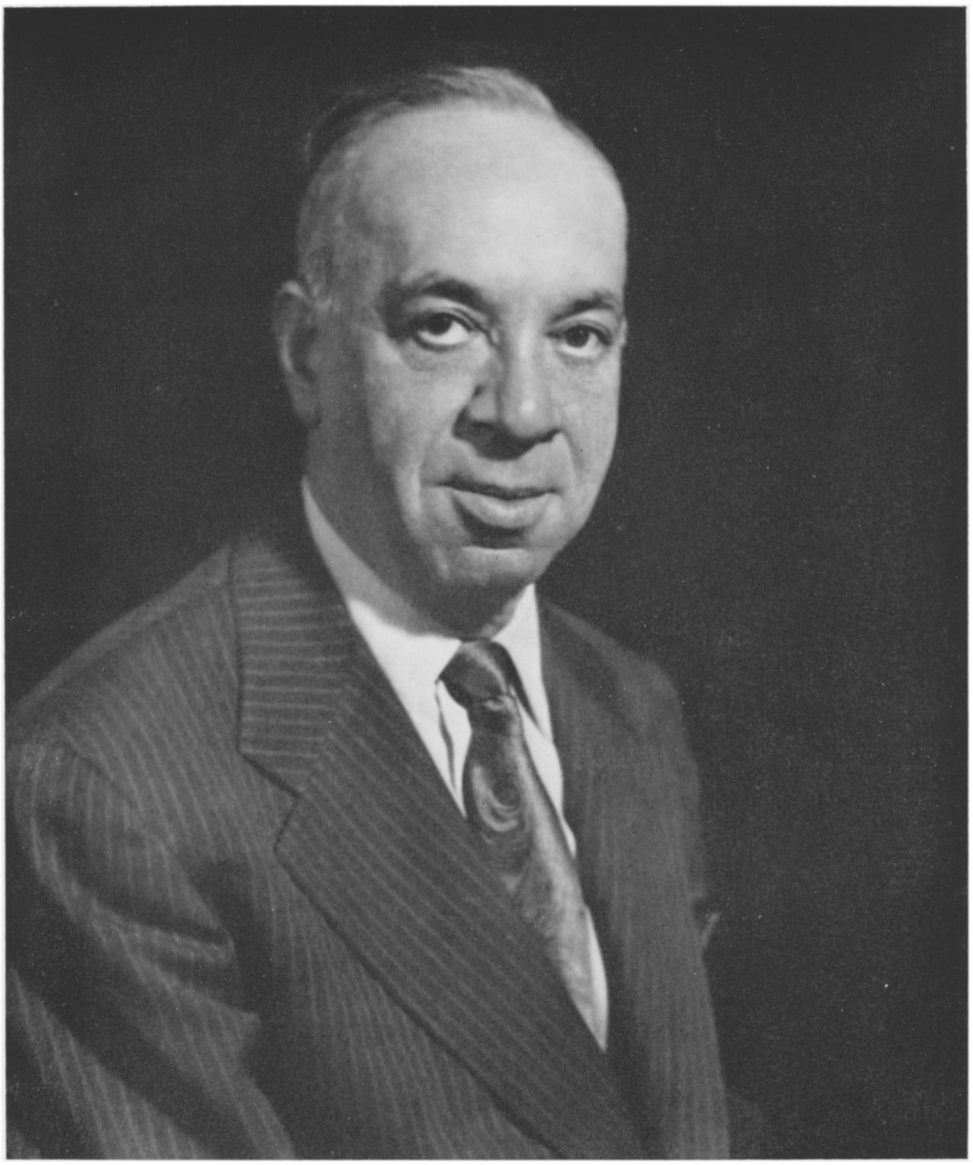


PHILIP B. PERLMAN

March 5, 1890—July 31, 1960

In the death of Philip B. Perlman, President of the Board of Trustees, on July 31st, the Walters Art Gallery has suffered an irreparable loss. It is a loss which extends far beyond the Gallery itself, for his death leaves other vacant places—some of national importance—which will not be filled.

Mr. Perlman's distinguished career in the fields of law and of politics in the service of the City, the State and the Nation over a period of more than forty years culminated in his appointment by President Truman to the office of Solicitor General of the United States, in which from 1947 to 1952 he made a notable record. The details of this career have been narrated in the press, and editorials have paid proper tribute to the quality and value of his public service—a contribution which to those who knew him was something felt as well as witnessed and recorded.

Mr. Perlman was one of the eight members of a commission appointed by Mayor Howard W. Jackson in November of 1932 to establish a permanent organization for the administration and operation of the Walters Art Gallery as a public institution, following the bequest of Henry Walters, who gave to the City the Gallery and its collections, and left one-fourth of his estate in trust for its maintenance.

The magnitude and importance of the Walters bequest and the cultural promise it held for the City fired the enthusiasm of Mr. Perlman, and he was from the very beginning one of the most active and dedicated workers for the development of the Gallery. His first contribution was the preparation of the various legal documents setting up the institution; he was the author of the several ordinances creating the Trustees of the Walters Art Gallery by the Mayor and City Council, the Act of the General Assembly incorporating the Trustees, and the By-Laws of the institution.

When the members of the first Board of Trustees were named by the Mayor, Mr. Perlman was one of them. Realizing the importance of obtaining the best possible guidance in the task which faced the Trustees, he was instrumental in securing the appointment of a group consisting of the most eminent museum directors and specialists in the country, to serve as an Advisory Committee to help with the early stages of organization and in the selection of a professional staff. In 1944, Mr. Perlman was elected Vice-President of the Trustees, and, following the resignation of Robert Garrett,

the President in 1955. During this period of over twenty-eight years, from 1932 to 1960, Mr. Perlman gained a knowledge of the Gallery's affairs—administrative, fiscal and professional—which was exceptionally comprehensive and intimate. His belief in the significance of the collection and its educational potentialities was equalled only by his confidence in the professional staff of the Gallery. Following their discoveries and their plans with interest, he was always ready to strengthen their efforts by his support. Even during the most strenuous moments of his legal and political undertakings, he was unfailingly available for consultation, advice and help. No amount of time was too great, no application to problems too arduous for him to devote to the furtherance of the Gallery's affairs.

Constantly aware of the urgent need for more adequate space in which to house and display the treasures bequeathed by Mr. Walters, Mr. Perlman knew also that a collection—no matter how extensive—which stands still is bound to stagnate and ultimately to lose its eminence. It was in large measure due to his efforts that the collection through the years was enriched by notable acquisitions, both by purchase—so far as very limited funds permitted—and by the encouragement of important gifts. To this development he also contributed generously by gifts of his own, both during his lifetime and in the provisions of his Will.

His final endeavor, prosecuted up to the very day of his death with characteristic courage, devotion and unremitting application, was to bring about the expansion of the Gallery's building. He realized that the purpose of Henry Walters in willing his great art collection to the City "for the benefit of the public" would remain to a major extent unfulfilled so long as physical limitations hampered every phase of the Gallery's usefulness and effectiveness. He envisioned the great collection housed in such a way that the most modern methods of exhibition and lighting would make manifest to the citizens of Baltimore the beauties of the masterpieces of all sizes, from the largest to the very smallest. He wished every school-child in Baltimore to have an opportunity to become familiar with what these things had to teach him—both through the effectiveness of the display and by the availability of classrooms in the Gallery for auxiliary instruction. He hoped for study rooms to make it possible for the collections to play their proper part in the development of our young scholars among the college and university students, and to accommodate the mature scholars from all over the world who are attracted by what is here. He wanted the reference materials, such as the research library, to be housed so that they could serve efficiently not only the staff, but all who wanted to use them. He wanted there to be facilities, such as shipping rooms and adaptable display areas, which would permit more effective and stimulating presentation of the temporary shows organized by the Gallery. He wanted space in which to accommodate the future strengthening of the collection and development in its special fields. He realized that if the Gallery is to enhance its public usefulness and professional prestige, if the collections are to maintain and increase their eminence, private benefactors will have to play a part. But he saw clearly that no

significant private benefactions could be expected so long as there were only storage shelves to receive them, and so long as the surpassingly magnanimous gift of Henry Walters to the City had never stirred in its owners—the citizens—a responding desire to do their part in housing it.

Philip B. Perlman believed deeply in the importance of the cultural institutions of Baltimore. His service on the Boards of the Baltimore Symphony, the Peale Museum, the Maryland Institute, the Evergreen House Foundation, testify to this. The Baltimore Museum of Art, of which he was a Trustee from 1933 until his death, benefited abundantly over the years from his active interest and devotion and hard work. He played a part in nearly every major step in the development of that institution—from the drawing up of the enabling act and ordinances which authorized the municipal bond issue to build the original structure, to assuring, by his personal efforts, every one of the successive wings erected and the donation of many of the most important collections which have so splendidly enriched the museum. He strove for the development of all the cultural institutions, believing that by the collaboration and close relationship of the museums, the colleges, and the universities, Baltimore could—especially in view of its proximity to the resources of Washington—become the chief center of art studies and of connoisseurship in the South, just as it had gained a place of distinction in medicine and in music.

He loved Baltimore, he believed ardently in its future, and he wanted it to be the best possible city in which to live.

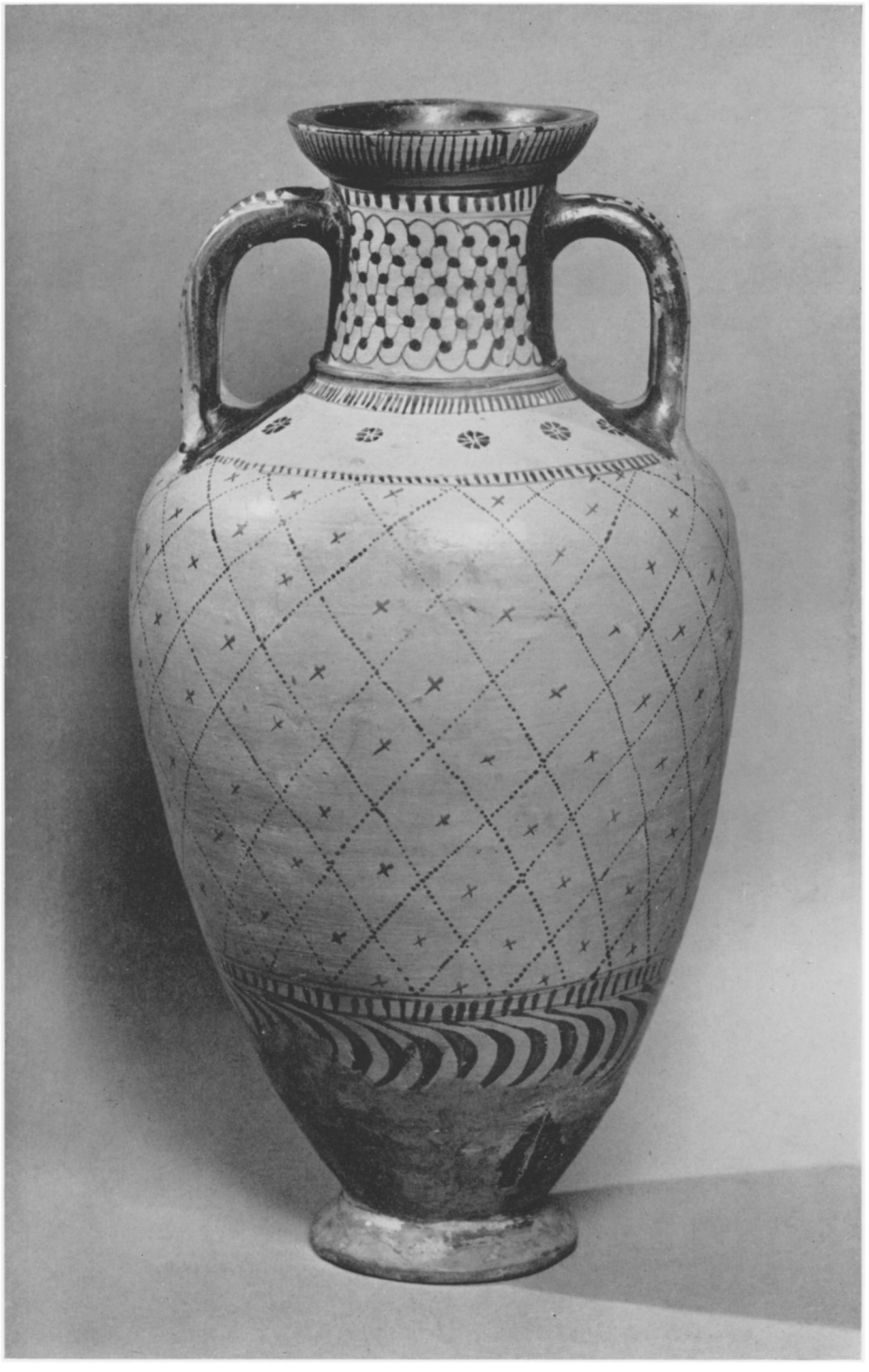


FIGURE 1 WALTERS ART GALLERY

Fikellura Amphora. 550-525 B.C.

FIGURE 2 WALTERS ART GALLERY

Three Cups

GREEK VASES ACQUIRED IN 1959

By DOROTHY KENT HILL

The Walters Art Gallery

During the year just past, four interesting Greek vases were added to the collections of the Walters Art Gallery. As examples of vase decoration in its greatest age, 550-450 B.C., they deserve detailed publication.

The oldest (fig. 1) is a tall, slim amphora.[1] Its upper part is almost perfectly preserved, but the lower quarter and base have been broken and the surface hereabouts has to some extent been replaced by filler, plain colored. The surface of the vase is a rich cream color and almost incredibly smooth. This finish is a coat of slip, applied by dipping into a suspension of fine clay in water the shaped but unfired vase, which, as can be seen in the damaged areas, is of coarser clay, slightly pink. Decoration is in dull glaze, shading from black to pale brown, covering the flat edge and concave interior of the lip and forming as principal patterns on the neck a guilloche (braid), having its ribbons reduced to mere boundary lines with intermediary spaces blackened so as to appear like beads on strings; on the shoulder, rosettes, widely spaced; on the body, a net pattern in dotted lines crossing one another diagonally, forming diamonds, each enclosing a tiny cross; below this, a row of crescents; and, at the very bottom, emerging from the base, lotus flowers, alternately open

[1] Walters Art Gallery, no. 48.2114. Height, 15" (.038). Illustrated in sale catalogue, *Hesperia Art Bulletin,* VII. 1958, no. 213; *The Art Quarterly,* XII, 1959, p. 179, bottom row, center.

and closed. Not without reason has the net pattern been compared to a textile design.[2] Dividing the patterns, except the lowest, are bands of vertical lines, resembling tongues. The edges of the handles are black and around each handle, on the body of the vase itself, there spreads irregularly a black area of glaze so thin that the neck decoration shows through. The execution of these decorations is imperfect, although the design is good.

The ware is called "Fikellura," from the place where it was first discovered in 1858-1865 by Salzmann and Biliotti, excavating one of several cemeteries of ancient Cameiros, on the island of Rhodes.[3] The name persisted even though Boehlau, after excavating Samos, concluded in his report of 1898 that the ware was Samian.[4] More recent excavations in cemeteries around Cameiros and Jalysos[5] might seem to justify the Rhodian claim to the ware, were it not also known from the Greek colonies in Egypt, from South Russia, the cities of Asia Minor and elsewhere. Today most scholars would hesitate to suggest any one provenience, but would agree that the ware was manufactured in the eastern Mediterranean area and had connections with the "Cameiros" or "wild goat" ware, of which the true locale is only slightly less uncertain.

Within the "Fikellura" framework there exists a sub-class to which this vase belongs.[6] Where the majority of Fikellura vases have some little figure ornament, this group has only abstract patterns, chiefly the net pattern with filler ornaments, and equally distinctive is its tall form, contrasting with the common Fikellura amphora of ample breadth.

Chronologically, Fikellura comes at the end of the East Greek wares, being one of the last produced before Athens cornered the market with her black-figure. Fikellura is a sixth-century ware and abstract decoration and tall form are among its last developments. In a certain grave in Rhodes a tall amphora was found together with one of the East Greek siren-shaped vases, such as was purchased recently for the Walters Art Gallery.[7] Another Rhodian grave contained a Fikellura vase almost exactly like ours, together with a gold ring, and two pieces of Attic black-figure, a cup with floral band and an amphora.[8] This grave has been dated about 530 B.C.,[9] but it might be even later. In any case, our Fikellura amphora was new in

[2] A. Furtwängler, *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts,* 1, 1886, p. 142.

[3] Perrot and Chipiez, *Histoire de l'art dans l'antiquité* IX, 1911, p. 680; A. Salzmann, *Nécropole de Camiros, île de Rhodes. Journal des fouilles exécutées dans cette nécropole, pendant les années 1858 à 1865,* 1875, pls. 46-48.

[4] J. Boehlau, *Aus ionischen und italischen Nekropolen,* 1898, pp. 52-73. For Fikellura from subsequent excavations on Samos, see Technau, *Athenische Mitteilungen,* 54, 1929, p. 26 and Kunze, *ibid.,* 59, 1934, p. 81, n. 4.

[5] *Clara Rhodos* III, 1929 (Jalysos, 1924-1928); *Clara Rhodos* IV, 1931 (Macrì Langoni, Camiros, 1929-1930). These finds were republished in *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum,* Rodi, fasc. I, II (Italy IX, X), II D 1.

[6] R. M. Cook, "Fikellura Pottery" in *Annual of the British School at Athens,* XXXIV, 1933-4, pp. 1-98. The division to which our piece belongs is Y 3, pp. 48-51 (amphoriskoi with reticulated decoration). Only the tall form distinguishes Y from Q. The term amphoriskos is descriptive, but there is nothing small about this vase. I fail to grasp Cook's subdivision of Y 3 on the basis of shape. His (a) and (b) seem to me to overlap. No. 16 in (a) and No. 19 in (b) are alike in shape, decoration and size and with them the Walters acquisition is closely linked.

[7] Walters Art Gallery, no. 48.2020. D. K. Hill, *Studies Presented to David M. Robinson,* II, 1953, pp. 60 ff., pl. 18, a. Since I wrote the above, other examples have been published, as *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum,* Munich (fasc. 3) pl. 151, 4-5, 6-7. My present opinion is that the siren vase dates later than I said, that is, after 540 B.C.

[8] Jalysos, grave CCLIV. *Clara Rhodos,* III, 268 ff.

[9] Cook, *op. cit.,* p. 49, no. 16. The floral band cup (J. D. Beazley, *Journal of Hellenic Studies,* LII, 1932, p. 189) is not a very good basis for dating, since cups of the type persisted for a long time; cf. *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum,* Reading, pl. IX, 5; *Hesperia,* XV, 1946, p. 314, nos. 218 f., pl. LXII. The Attic black-figured amphora is fairly early. On dating of Fikellura, see also A. Rumpf, *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts,* XLVIII, 1933, p. 60.

[10] Walters Art Gallery no. 48.2116. Height, 4¼" (.108). Diameter of bowl, 8 3/16" (.22). Illustrated in sale catalogue, *Hesperia Art Bulletin* VIII, 1959, no. 2.

FIGURE 3 WALTERS ART GALLERY

ATTIC, MINIATURIST CLASS
Interior of Drinking Cup: Stag
550-525 B.C.

the quarter-century between 550 and 525 B.C.

The second of the year's acquisitions is a product of this very period (550-525) of the gradual domination of Athens over the ceramic industry (figs. 2, 3). It is an Attic drinking cup (kylix) of the miniature class and is the gift to the Walters Art Gallery of Mr. and Mrs. James J. O. Anderson.[10] Its glaze is clear, bright black, the body a smooth, firm orange and, though broken and repaired, it is complete. It is of a standardized form and decorative scheme, "lip cup," in which the black and the clay-color play against one another. Above the black stand with the spreading foot, plain edged, is a shallow two-handled bowl, the lower part black with a single reserved band, the handle zone and the upper zone unpainted and divided from each other by an offset emphasized by a black band (thicker than usual). The

FIGURE 4 WALTERS ART GALLERY

"ANTIPHON PAINTER"
Interior of Cup: Boar Hunt
Attic, 500-475 B.C.

handle zone lacks the palmettes that are common on lip cups. Handles are black outside, clay-color inside. The rim of the cup is black, a narrow black band between the plain outer surface and a single reserved band on the interior. Reserved in the otherwise solidly black interior, at the bottom of the cup is a circular medallion framed by bands and tongues, enclosing a stag with long antlers, his forelegs bent sharply at the knees, the left under his body. The animal is painted in silhouette with fine incision through the black for the inner markings, overpainting in dark red on his neck, and white spots on his rump, under his tail, on his belly and in a huge white dot at the tip of his nose. In order to show both antlers in their entirety the artist drew them one above the other as if the head were tipped, while showing the head itself in pure profile with one ear visible.

The pose, with its curious tucking away of the forelegs, tempts one to ask whether the stag has stumbled. You may try to make the pose more natural by pivoting the cup about its own center—but then the hind legs are too far under the body! Perhaps the most reasonable explanation is that the artist hit upon this slight distortion in order to fit the stag into a circular space. Perhaps, too, he saw and used as model such a drawing of a wounded stag as is preserved on a beautiful piece by the celebrated Tleson.[11]

In an age when potters' and painters' signatures were fairly common, the creator of this vase did not deign to identify himself, and we can only say that he was one of Tleson's contemporaries, perhaps a younger one, using a similar theme.

Our third acquisition is a kylix from Athens of a later date, painted in ripe archaic red-figure during the quarter-century from 500-475 B.C.—the generation that saw the Persian Wars and Athens' subsequent revivification (figs. 2, 4, 9).[12] Its exterior is solid black, deriving its beauty from the lustre of the glaze and the perfectly balanced, mature kylix form in which base, stem, body and handles seem to flow together (fig. 2, right). Inside, a central medallion is bordered by a meander and encloses a spirited youthful hunter beside a wild boar which he has just killed (fig. 4). The quarry is falling into the picture, only its fore parts appearing, the legs collapsing, the head sinking forward with the eye already closed, while blood gushes from a wound in the shoulder. The shoulder thrust seems to have been the sporting one. Just so young Odysseus, hunting with his comrades on Mount Parnassus, killed a boar by a spear thrust in the right shoulder, receiving from the boar's counter-attack the leg wound and resulting scar that were to figure in the drama of his return from the wars (*Odyssey,* XIX, 428 ff.). The youth on the vase is close enough to the boar for hand battle. He wears a large, flat hat (petasos) with chin-strap and a mantel with a stripe border, fastened with a brooch on his right shoulder and spread so as to cover his left arm and hand, which are outstretched in a gesture suggestive of a matador's movement. A sheath with sword hangs on a cord passing over his right shoulder and under his left arm, the weapon appearing to be in front of him and the cord visible for only a short stretch below the brooch. Two spears, just alike, are grasped in his right hand. We are left in doubt as to which weapon has inflicted the fatal blow.

The drawing is fine. Much of its effectiveness stems from the fact that relief line, of almost hair texture, bounds everything in the scene except the bristling part of the boar (contour line only) and the back of the youth's head (reserve line). This drawing with fine relief line is a technique much more precise than the use of the mere broad contour line. Dilute glaze renders the internal markings of the abdomen and neck and part of the boar's bristles and certain folds in the drapery. A few sketch lines are faintly visible as depressions, chiefly around the spear points. In added dull purple-red are the boar's blood, the inscriptions, the head-band, chin-strap and baldric.

For all its precision, the drawing has a certain awkwardness. It belongs to the experimental stage when artists were struggling toward lifelike repre-

[11] Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, no. 98.920, signed by Tleson, son of Nearchos. Beazley, *Attic Black-Figure Vase-Painters,* 1956, p. 179, no. 1; J. C. Hoppin, *Handbook of Greek Black-Figured Vases,* 1924, pp. 370 f., no. 5.

[12] Walters Art Gallery, no. 48.2115. Diameter 12⅝" (.32). Illustrated in sale catalogue, *Hesperia Art Bulletin* VIII, 1959, no. 4. The attribution to the Antiphon Painter and the parallel of the Aberdeen kylix were offered in that catalogue. Certain missing portions of the edge and some splintering along cracks appear in white plaster in the catalogue, retouched in dull black in our illustration (chiefly lower edge, center and near right handle). It is not easy to decide exactly the right position for upright view of the scene. See below.

sentation, breaking away from the traditional combination of frontal and profile views for various members of the body and sometimes producing even stranger combinations. Here, the whole figure—torso, arms, left leg and foot—is frontal, except the head in profile to (proper) left and the right leg and foot in profile. There can be no doubt of the correctness of the attribution to the "Antiphon Painter,"[13] an artist who has been described as having as his chief theme "youth, preferably in action. Often the young men engage in violent exercise. All sorts of turnings and twistings are favored, drawn mostly in the archaic piecemeal manner, but occasionally with fairly successful three-quarter views."[14]

In the field, to the right and above the figure, we read the inscription, "Aristarchos is beautiful." This name is preserved elsewhere only twice, once on a vase signed by Onesimos.[15]

As a foil, I am permitted by the University of Aberdeen to illustrate a vase by the same painter (fig. 5).[16] It seems as if we had moved back a few seconds in time and changed our vantage point, for here is the back of the hunter and the boar is on his left, still very much alive, biting at the edge of the mantel which swings toward him. This time it is the sword that is to be the fatal weapon; it is held aloft, in contact with the petasos which has slipped from the hunter's head and hangs behind by its cord.

Presumably the scene is taken from the Athenian life of the day, since there is no obvious connection with the fabulous hunts of Theseus, Hippolytus, or Herakles, or with Meleager of Calydonian boar hunt fame. That boar hunting was an important sport is known from Xenophon, who wrote during the century in which the vase was produced.[17] According to Xenophon, the boar hunt was conducted by a party with dogs and nets; the weapons were javelins for distance work and spears for the hand-to-hand attack, which one avoided if possible; the sword is not even mentioned. His account of hunting, including advice for saving oneself or one's comrades, makes exciting reading. The vase representations are much curtailed, lacking the participating crowd and organized maneuvers. Another vase, slightly later, shows a sword encounter between a single youth (again waving his draped left arm) and a boar standing between upright sticks that indicate a trap or suspended net;[18] another shows four hunters, one almost obliterated but bearing the name of Meleager, two armed with clubs and one with a spear.[19]

Our fourth vase[20] is also red-figured, a drinking cup (figs. 2, 6, 8, 9), not a kylix but a *skyphos,* a form that was from first to last less popular, but which enjoyed a vogue during the period variously called "early free style" or "early classical," the quarter-century from 475 to 450 B.C.[21] Little

[13] Beazley, *Attic Red-Figure Vase-Painters,* 1942, pp. 230 ff. Formerly "Lysis-Laches-Lykos group."

[14] G. M. A. Richter, *Attic Red-Figured Vases,* 1946, p. 86.

[15] Beazley, *Attic Red-Figure Vase-Painters,* p. 916.

[16] *Ibid.,* p. 230, no. 16. Illustrated by Ed. Gerhard, *Auserlesene Vasenbilder,* III, 1847, pl. CLXII, nos. 3-4. Gerhard's draughtsman misunderstood the rendering of the left foot and restored laces on the sole of the shoe. The red exergue determines the ground line of the scene, slightly off the horizontal in the photograph.

[17] Xenophon, *Cyn.* X (Loeb Classical Library, vol. V, pp. 428 ff.)

[18] Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, 781. Eichler interprets it as Meleager: *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum* (fasc. 2), pl. 78, 1.

[19] Berlin, Staatliche Museen, F. 2538. Furtwängler and Reichhold, *Griechische Vasenmalerei,* pl. 140; Neugebauer, *Führer,* II, pp. 100 f. Inscribed with name of Meleager.

[20] Walters Art Gallery, 48.2121. Height 5½″ (.14); diam. 7½″ (.187); with handles, 11″ (.278). Sale catalogue, Hans M. F. Schulman, New York, November 21, 1959, p. 63, no. 637, pl. 10 (with collection of Paul I. Ilton).

[21] Less correctly, *kotyle.* See G. M. A. Richter and M. Milne, *Shapes and Names of Athenian Vases,* 1935, p. 28.

FIGURE 5 UNIVERSITY OF ABERDEEN

"ANTIPHON PAINTER"
Interior of Cup: Boar Hunt
Attic, 500-475 B.C.

is known of its history, but of one thing we can be sure: unlike vases placed immediately after their completion in the luxurious tombs of the wealthy, it was a prized and used possession of an owner who went to great lengths to have it repaired. Was it after a truly gay Athenian evening that he found it broken, one handle knocked completely out and a deep crack beside the other handle? The repairing was done with bronze at three points near one handle and one at the opposite side. A pair of holes was drilled through the body, then a bronze strip was applied to the outside, crossing the break, and another to the inside, and bronze rivets through the holes held the strips tight. None of the repairs is holding today (modern repairs at these points and elsewhere are obvious), but broken strips and rivets are partly preserved in three out of four places. This method of mending seems primitive and undoubtedly the repaired vase leaked; however, its lower portion was intact, so that it could be used, though only with discretion, at subsequent symposia.

There is no handle ornament. The sole decora-

tion consists of two figures on a reserved ground line, two komasts, participants in the *komos* or processional dance at the symposium, with just enough equipment on the walls to indicate that the scene takes place indoors.[22] They pursue each other to the right, linked by their joint action, as frequently on the two sides of a skyphos. The more vigorous (figs. 6, 8) moves swiftly, turning his head back over his shoulder and swinging both arms behind him, the left hand bent sharply upward at the wrist and drawn in profile, the right with back exposed. His right leg is outstretched with the foot free of the ground, almost as if he were kicking the gnarled stick, emblem of fashion of that day, which is stuck into the ground slantwise. The dancing pose presented difficulties to the artist, like those we noted for the Antiphon Painter's boar hunter; the solution was to draw the torso in front view with the left shoulder projected upon it, the left leg in profile with attempted foreshortening, and right leg and the head in the traditional way—that is, in profile. Despite the shortcomings of this combination of views, vigorous motion is convincingly implied. The dancer is nude and wears a fillet, a broad bundle or band with black cross-lines, shoved well down on his forehead. The garment which he has discarded during his performance is rolled up and placed upon an object in his path, occupying the position not infrequently taken by a drinking cup;[23] its form and size, however, are those of a larger vessel, a bell krater in which the symposium wine was mixed with water for serving. To put one's clothing on the punch bowl and the latter on the floor—these actions indicate the pleasurable state of the party. On the wall, directly over the bowl with the clothing, a basket is suspended in a string bag, a property common in banquet scenes, for it had been used to bring the dinner. Frequently the baskets are open, occasionally they have stiff covers, while this time the basket is covered with a cloth with a row of little crosses reproducing the textile pattern. The tasselled ends of the bag's strings appear as groups of short strokes in added paint on the glaze below the basket; the cord for suspension is not distinguishable.

On the other side of the cup, the figure is more simply posed and drawn in true profile (figs. 2, center, and 7). He advances to the right with short steps, bouncing in a measured dance, extending his right arm before him and balancing in his left hand a full cup—a skyphos like the vase itself (it is damaged by one of the repair holes we have mentioned). His garment winds around his (distant, concealed) left shoulder and is visible only in a mass blowing out behind the shoulders and a folded end at waist level. His fillet is like his comrade's. Again, a cane stands upright behind him and on the wall near his head

[22] For the *komos* in Athenian private life, see Lamer in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie,* XI, 2, cols. 1293 f. On the komos generally, the remainder of Lamer's article and A. Greifenhagen, *Eine attische schwarzfigurige Vasengattung und die Darstellung des Komos in VI Jahrhundert* (*Königsberger Kunstgeschichtliche Forschungen,* Heft 2, 1929); F. Studniczka, *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts,* II, 1887, pp. 166 f.

[23] For example, kylix by Douris in Boston and his psykter in the British Museum, and skyphos by the Lewis Painter in Florence (see below). On child dancing before oinochoe, see F. Weege, *Der Tanz in der Antike,* 1926, p. 18, fig. 15.

[24] Pair drawn on the wall, at least as early as Douris; see Louvre G. 121. See H. R. W. Smith, *Der Lewismaler* (*Polygnotos II*) (*Bilder griechischer Vasen,* 13, herausg. v. J. D. Beazley, Paul Jacobsthal), Leipzig, 1939, p. 29, no. 3, pl. 22 c (Eleusis Group or Agathon Painter). Smith, after giving this interpretation of sandals for the sherd that depicts Persephone, in his following entry, no. 4, interprets a pair as jumping weights. For sandals in a symposium see Ashmolean, 1929.466, *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum* (fasc. II) pl. LII, 5 and LIV, 3 and 4; better drawn, but still suggesting jumping weights, Athens, National Museum, 17302, *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum* (fasc. II) III I d, pl. 13, fig. 4. See also, by the Penthesileia Painter, one pair together, another separated, H. Diepolder, *Der Penthesileia-maler* (Beazley, Jacobsthal, same series, 10), 1936, pl. 18.

FIGURE 6 WALTERS ART GALLERY

POLYGNOTOS II?
Cup: Dancer
Athens, 475-450 B.C.

are two tiny objects, badly drawn. They are sandals, one shown as a sole, the other as a mere stroke to represent the sole in side view, each sandal with its strap added in faint paint.[24] Does this group on the wall mean that you removed your sandals for the *komos?* Considering the frequency of sandals in this position and the equally common presence of boots under the banquet table, it seems that they are but an added indication that the scene takes place indoors.

The bodies are drawn complete with relief lines, behind which a narrow contour line is visible. Internal markings are in relief lines, supplemented on arms and legs by preliminary sketch lines, barely visible as depressions, and on the abdomen by lines in dilute glaze. The heads are bounded by reserve lines, themselves bordered by relief lines. The hair is not very short, a little longer before the ears than sometimes, and its lower portion is rendered by relief lines laid one above the other in such profusion that the ends are shaggy and the whole mass raised above the surface of the vase. Above each figure, painted in the dull whitish red that has been mentioned for a few other details, is the single word *kalos,* "beautiful." In certain areas, chiefly the lower parts of the bodies, there remains a little of the red ochre which once heightened the red tone

FIGURE 7 WALTERS ART GALLERY

POLYGNOTOS II?

Head of Dancer (Detail of Vase, Center in Figure 2)

of the clay. The red, bright even where the ochre has vanished, contrasts with a shiny black glaze, on the whole of excellent quality, though there is a greenish tinge in a few places. Even the basket on the wall is outlined in relief. There is no relief line around the other objects on the walls, the ground line or the canes, or the vase that holds the clothing. Glaze dripping between this vase and the youth's toe has obliterated part of its base.

It was remarked above that, in so far as the rendering of the figures is concerned, this skyphos and the kylix are in substantially the same stage of development. Where the artist of the skyphos shows himself to be further advanced is in the face drawing, specifically in the drawing of the eye. The Antiphon Painter twice drew eyes in the tradition of Greece and all primitive countries: an almost perfect almond under an arching brow (fig. 9). A black dot indicating the pupil is off center, near the bridge of the nose. This rendition may suggest an eye but it is not what one sees when he views a face in profile. The more sophisticated artist of the skyphos reproduced more nearly what we see from the side; half the lids and the front of the eye-ball. His eye (fig. 8) consists of a half oval for the lids with an auxiliary

line for the fold above the upper lid, a roughly vertical line marking the front of the eye and extending upward and outward to suggest the eyelash and, above all this, a long eyebrow. In his other subject (figure 7) the effect is more startling and less realistic, since the short line that forms the upper lid curves the opposite way from what we would expect. The eye drawing, like the distorted body, is witness to good, wholesome experimentation, which will lead eventually to realistic representation.

Finally, let us consider the artist who painted the skyphos. Obviously, this vase is connected with a group of skyphoi which have been attributed to a single artist, formerly called the "Lewis Painter," after the collection which included one of his masterpieces, later identified by two signatures as Polygnotos—one of three artists (two

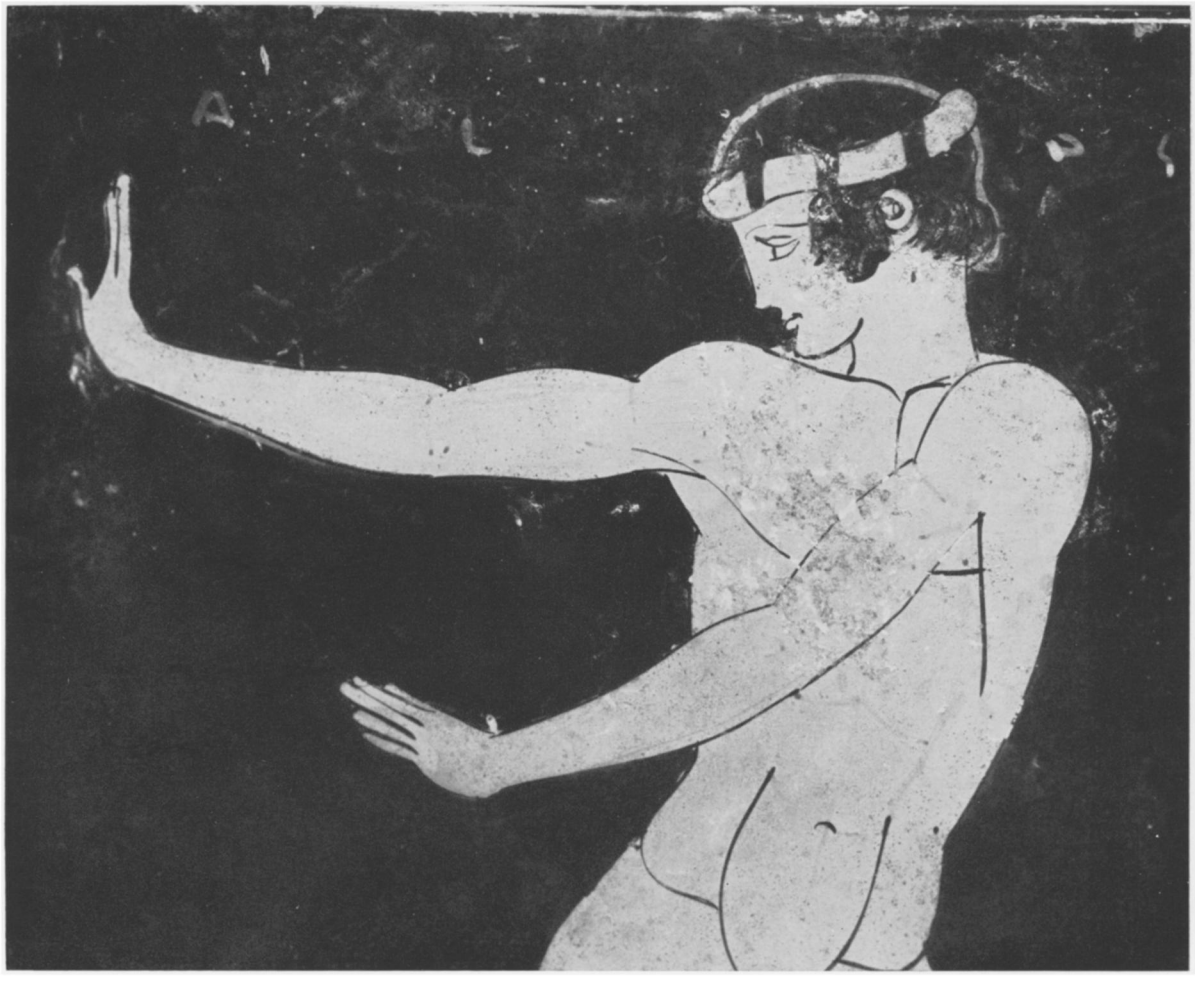


FIGURE 8 WALTERS ART GALLERY

POLYGNOTOS II?

Head of Dancer (Detail of Vase, Figure 6)

FIGURE 9 WALTERS ART GALLERY

"ANTIPHON PAINTER"
Head of Hunter (Detail of Figure 4)

vase-painters and a muralist) of that name known to have been working in fifth-century Athens.[25] Our skyphos has much in common with his work. The rendering of the eye has been noted as characteristic.[26] Other tricks that reappear in his work are the ragged hair rendered by relief lines; the ear as concentric circles; and the mantel billowing in a loop behind the shoulder and swinging as a tail at hip level.[27] In subject matter, too, it is not unlike that painter's choice; one can point to a close parallel in a vase attributed to Polygnotos. On it there are two komasts, one moving to the right playing the flutes, staff and hanging basket behind him, the other dancing before a kylix on the ground, swinging his arms wide to the sides and turning his head back over his right shoulder.[28]

[25] On the Lewis Painter see Smith, *op. cit., passim;* D. M. Robinson and S. E. Freeman, "The Lewis-Painter=Polygnotos II," *Amer. Journ. of Archaeol.,* 40, 1936, pp. 215-227; Beazley, *Attic Red-Figure Vase-Painters,* pp. 516 f.

[26] Richter, *Attic Red-Figured Vases,* p. 112.

[27] Detailed study of features of Lewis Painter's draughtsmanship, Robinson and Freeman, *op. cit.,* pp. 221 f. The curious drawing of the profile foot, with a relief line to indicate the arch, occurs once out of a possible four times on our skyphos.

[28] Archaeological Museum, Florence, 3956. Smith, *op. cit.,* 28, pl. 9, a and b.

Again there appear basket and the diagonal, knotty cane. In form, this last vase is rather like the Walters acquisition, but most Polygnotan skyphoi are of a typologically later shape: deep, with straight sides and narrow handles.

Yet an attribution rests not so much upon identity of detail as upon sameness of artistic spirit. In this respect the Walters vase with its extraordinarily active komos performers, caught at a supreme moment, is equalled by few creations of Polygnotos II, and these his best and earliest. With some misgivings, I call it a work of his in his earlier period and on one of his better days, when he could sketch a moving dancer and keep him dancing through the ages.

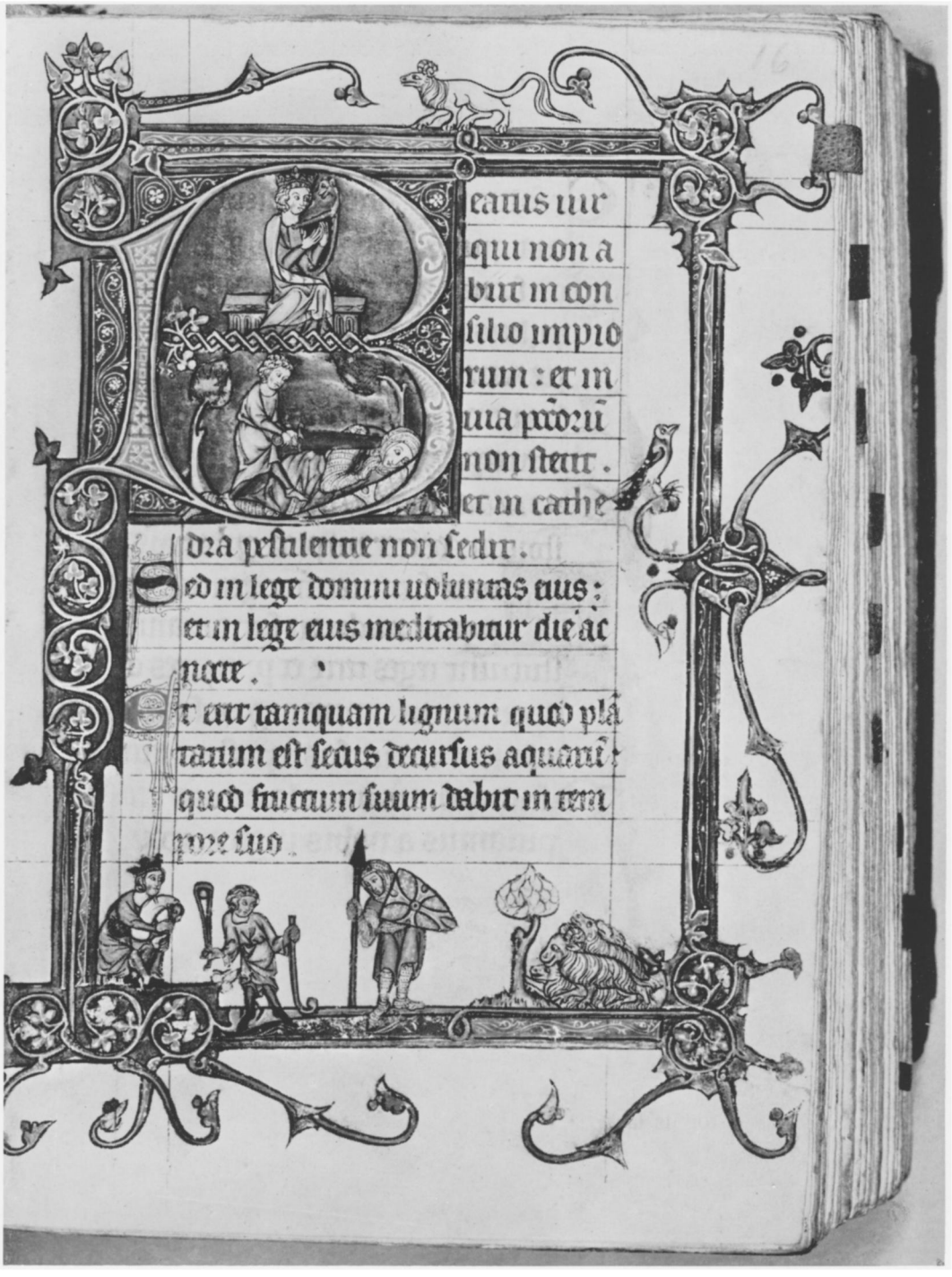


FIGURE 1 WALTERS ART GALLERY

Psalm 1
(W. 45, fol. 16)

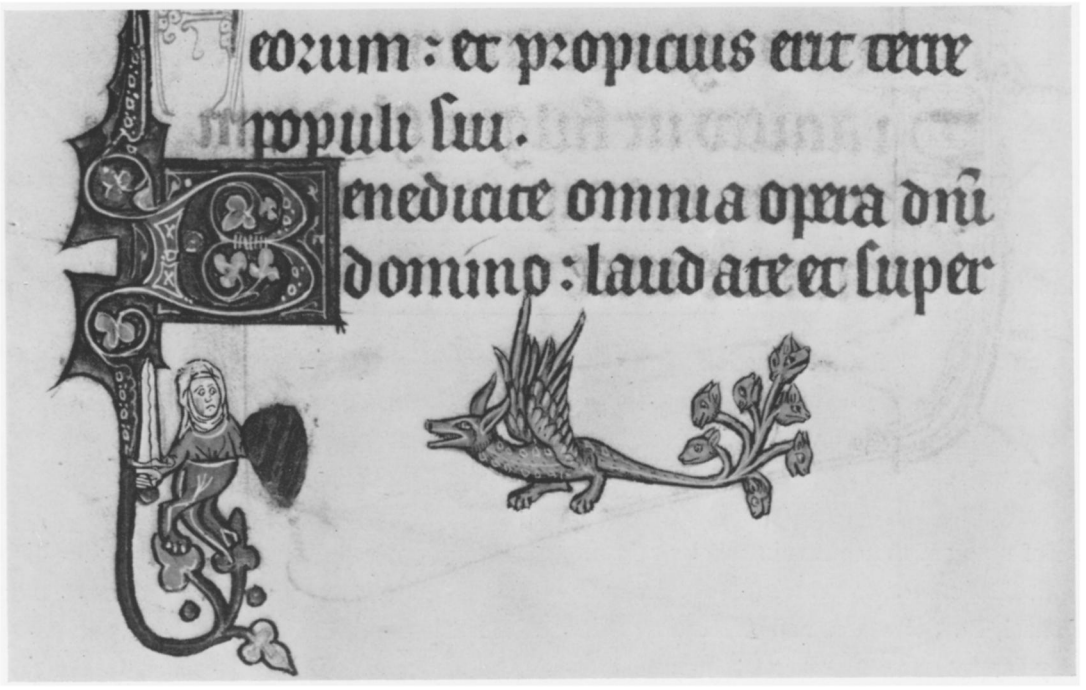


FIGURE 2 WALTERS ART GALLERY

Female Hybrid with Shield charged with Fieschi Arms
(W. 45, fol. 256 verso)

THE FIESCHI PSALTER

By LILIAN M. C. RANDALL
Brookline, Massachusetts

I

In a field generally noted for its lack of documentary evidence, it is indeed gratifying to come across a late thirteenth-century manuscript whose original owner and provenience can be established on the basis of information contained in the manuscript itself. This is the case with Walters Ms. 45, a Psalter richly illuminated with historiated initials and marginal decoration whose style and iconography point to a northeast French origin towards the end of the thirteenth century.[1]

Most of the clues for determining the provenience of the Psalter appear in the calendar. The inclusion of numerous northern saints, such as

[1] *Illuminated Books of the Middle Ages and Renaissance,* Walters Art Gallery Exhibition Catalogue, Baltimore, 1949, p. 23, no. 57; S. de Ricci, *Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts* . . . , New York, 1935, pp. 771-772, no. 91. For the early 16th century Genoese panel-stamped binding, see: *The History of Bookbinding* . . . Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, 1957, no. 192.

Saints Maur, Egide, Donat, Remi, and Grisogone, affirm the regional attribution of the manuscript. From the special celebration of the birth and translation of St. Francis, as well as from the inclusion of St. Clare and St. Anthony, one can conclude that the Psalter was designed for Franciscan use, a fact further corroborated by the dedication notice of an altar of St. Francis by Pope Innocent IV (1243-1254) on October 15, 1251. This calendar entry commemorates the consecration of the altar in the newly constructed church of Saints Francis and Dominic in Bologna, where the Pope spent eight days *en route* home after an extended trip to Germany.[2]

Also of note are the entries in rubrics referring to the dedications of several basilicas, including St. Michael, St. Salvatore, and Saints Peter and Paul. By far the most significant reference, however, is recorded for January 30: *Anno nativitat[is] dñi Leonardo de flisco filii alb'ti cōtis lavanii añ dñi mccxlvi.* This notice marks the birthday on January 30, 1246, of Leonardo de' Fieschi, son of Albert, count of Lavagna.[3] The Fieschi arms (argent, three bends azure) appear in various forms throughout the latter part of the manuscript, having been added after the rest of the decoration was completed (fig. 2). In its own modest way the Fieschi Psalter, a northern manuscript originally owned if not commissioned by an Italian nobleman, is a distant precursor of the monumental developments of artistic interchange between Italy and the north in the fifteenth century.[4]

Leonardo's presence in the northern provinces might be assumed to be due to the influx of Genoese and Florentine bankers and merchants who established themselves in Bruges towards the end of the thirteenth century.[5] This was actually not the case, however. A first-cousin-once-removed of Pope Innocent IV, Leonardo was descended from a high-ranking family which had settled in Genoa early in the eleventh century. At that time, according to legend, the Emperor Henry II sent three brothers, members of his retinue, to guard his treasure (*fiscus*), bestowing upon them the County of Lavagna and appointing one of them General Vicar of Genoa.[6] The family name of Fieschi evolved from the insertion of an "l" transforming *fiscus* into *fliscus* which eventually became Fiesco (plural, Fieschi) in Italian.

For several centuries the non-Italian origin of the Fieschi proved a detriment to their social and political rise. The accession of Pope Innocent IV, a Fiesco, in 1243 marked the beginning of an era of unprecedented prestige for the Genoese family. During the second half of the thirteenth century the Fieschi received innumerable appointments to high ecclesiastic and diplomatic posts throughout Europe. One of Leonardo's uncles was elected Pope Adrian V (1264), another named Boniface served as archbishop of Ravenna and envoy to France and England. Other members of the family held ecclesiastic offices at Rouen, Beauvais, St. Martin of Tours, and Reims. Leonardo's father, Alberto, mentioned in the calendar entry, was

[2] P. Pansa, *Vita del Gran Pontefice Innocenzio Quarto,* Naples, 1601, pp. 77 ff.; on the transactions between Innocent IV and St. Clare, see H. E. Goad, *Franciscan Italy,* London, 1926, pp. 186-187.

[3] De Ricci, *op. cit.,* p. 772, gives 1261 as the birth date. For aid in deciphering the somewhat rubbed numerals correctly as well as for other helpful suggestions I am greatly indebted to Miss Dorothy Miner.

[4] On this subject see A. Warburg, "Flandrische Kunst und Florentinische Frührenaissance, Studien," (1902) in *Gesammelte Schriften,* I, *Die Erneuerung der heidnischen Antike,* Leipzig, 1932, pp. 185-207. This reference was kindly supplied me by Dr. Hanns Swarzenski.

[5] On the influx of Italians in the Low Countries toward the end of the thirteenth century, see R. de Roover, *Money, Banking, and Credit in Medieval Bruges,* Cambridge, 1948, pp. 11 ff.

[6] N. Schöpp, *Herkunft und Jugend des Kardinals Ottobuono Fieschi,* Heidelberg (Diss.), 1916, p. 4; a brief summary of the Fieschi family history and property holdings is found in A. E. Bacigalupi, *Famiglie Nobili e Patrizie di Genova e della Liguria,* Genoa, 1800, I, p. 5. The most complete work on the Fieschi is F. Federici's *Trattato della Famiglia Fiesca,* Genoa, 1641. Compiled from manuscripts preserved in the Genoa library, it is, unfortunately, not available in this country.

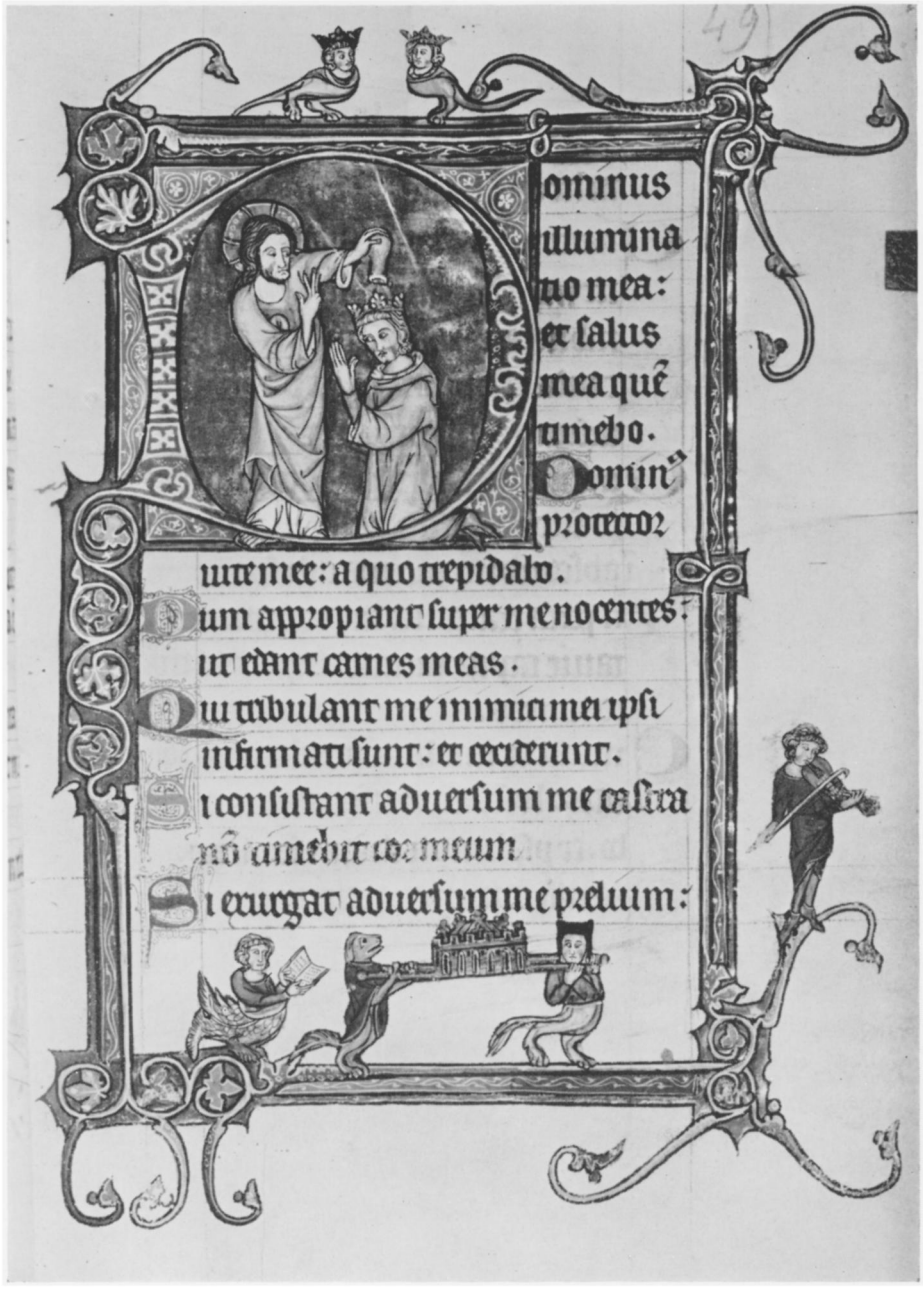


FIGURE 3 WALTERS ART GALLERY

Psalm 26 [27]
(W. 45, fol. 49)

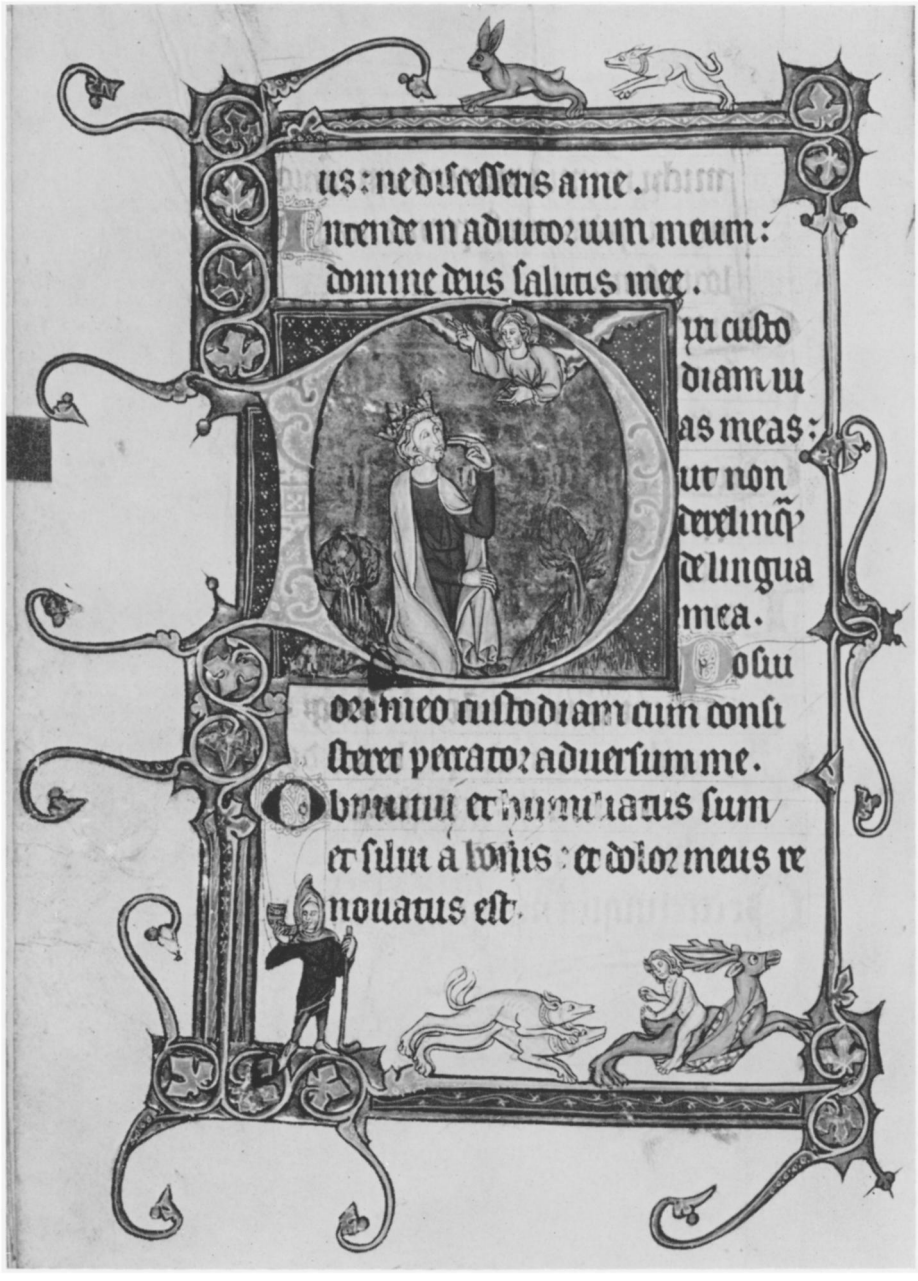


FIGURE 4 WALTERS ART GALLERY

Psalm 38 [*39*]
(W. 45, fol. 70 verso)

instrumental in elevating Innocent IV. Another relative, Lucas, was canon of Lichfield and in 1297 was appointed canon of Berrington in the diocese of Norwich.[7] The wide distribution of Fieschi in Italy, France, and England is in direct contradiction to their motto: *Sedens ago.*[8]

About Leonardo's life few facts have been recorded, but from them a sketchy biography can be pieced together. The published accounts of the family history, gleaned from manuscripts preserved in Genoa, do not mention his date of birth, so the Walters Psalter appears to contain the sole extant record of this event.[9] Again, nothing is known about his early training, but much can be inferred from an edict of Boniface VIII dated April 5, 1295, appointing his nephew Leonardo to the provostship of St. Donatian in Bruges.[10] Addressing his edict to Grimerius, treasurer of Bailleux, and to Thedisius Malocallo, also an Italian, canon of Cambrai, the Pope cited the excellent qualifications of Leonardo, who by the age of forty-nine had held numerous offices, including canon- and prebendships in Paris, Chartres, Cambrai, Bayeux, Lisieux, Avranches, and Coutances. He was also in charge of San Salvatore in Genoa, which explains the special celebration of this church in the calendar of the Walters manuscript (folio 9).

Before reviewing in detail the events ensuing from Leonardo's appointment to St. Donatian, it might be well to summarize briefly the few remaining facts known about his life. After serving in Bruges for eight years, he was named archbishop of Ravenna in 1303 and returned to Italy the following year to assume the bishopric of Catania, which post he still held in 1327.[11] In 1317 he founded the monastery of San Leonardo in Garignano at Genoa; the circumstances of the construction of the monastery reaffirm Leonardo's interest in the Franciscan order, without shedding any further light on the precise nature of this affiliation, however. The monastery was to be constructed for forty regular monks and thirteen Franciscans and was to admit free of charge up to twelve members of the Fieschi family. The new enterprise was extremely well endowed (according to the standard history of the Fieschi, Leonardo was *di molte ricchezze abondante*) and enjoyed full papal sanction.[12] A final extant notice records Leonardo's death on March 21, 1331 at the age of eighty-five as can be determined from the entry of his birth date in the Walters manuscript.[13]

For the purposes of the present study, it is extremely fortunate that the majority of extant documents pertain to Leonardo's sojourn in the north from 1295 to 1304, during which time he acquired the Psalter now in the Walters collection. The office of provost of St. Donatian of Bruges, to which Leonardo was appointed in April, 1295, had been since its establishment in 1089 until shortly before the middle of the thirteenth century extremely important, outranking in power and

[7] L. T. Belgrano, *Atti della Società Ligure di Storia Patria,* Genoa, 1870, II, Pt. I, Tables X and XI; E. Berger, *Les régistres d'Innocent IV,* Paris, 1887, 2nd Ser., II, p. ccix; G. Digard et al, *Les régistres de Boniface VIII,* Paris, 1907, I, col. 792.

[8] G. von Puttkamer, *Papst Innocenz IV,* Münster i. W., 1930, p. 9.

[9] Signora Vittoria Pugliese, formerly of the Genoa University Library, was kind enough to send me the brief account of Leonardo's life contained in Federici, *op. cit.,* p. 46, in which there is no mention of the year of Leonardo's birth.

[10] Digard, *op. cit.,* no. 39.

[11] P. B. Gams, *Series Episcoporum Ecclesiae Catholicae,* Regensburg, 1873, p. 944, gives the years 1304 to 1314 as the dates of Leonardo's tenure of the bishopric of Catania. An action taken by him in his official capacity is recorded by another source as late as 1327, however. See G. Mollat, *Jean XXII (1316-1334), Lettres Communales,* Paris, 1919, VII, p. 22, no. 29927.

[12] Federici, *op. cit.,* p. 46. It is noteworthy that in the Genoa tax-list of 1387 San Leonardo in Garignano and San Salvatore di Lavagna were among the institutions exempted by Urban VI (Belgrano, *op. cit.,* p. 395).

[13] Gams, *loc. cit.*

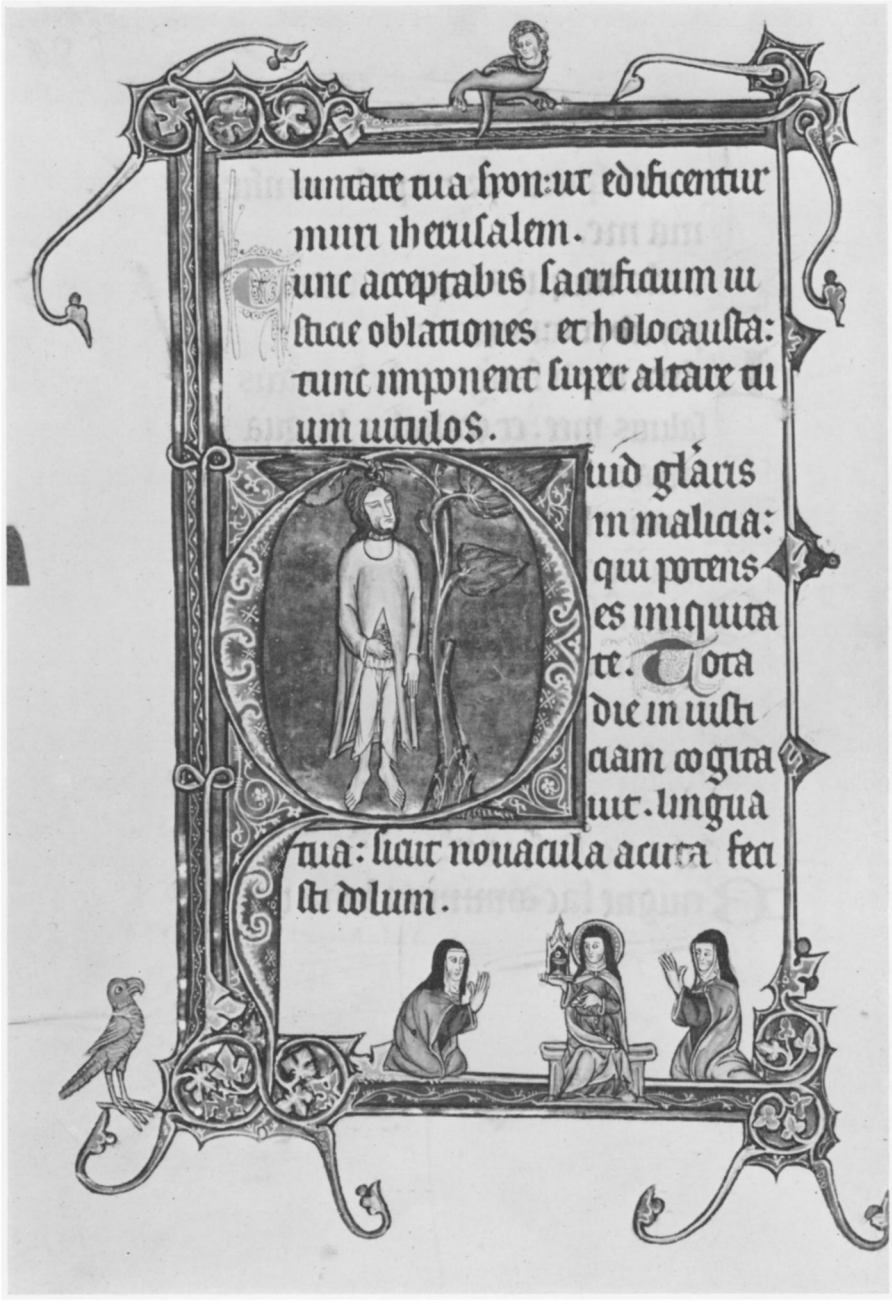


FIGURE 5 WALTERS ART GALLERY

Psalm 51 [52]
(W. 45, fol. 89 verso)

scope of jurisdiction equivalent positions in Cambrai, Tournai, and the county of Hainaut. All clerks, notaries, and chaplains of the Count of Flanders were controlled by the provost of Bruges, who at the same time held the titles of chancellor and overseer of revenue under the Count. While the former privilege was extended to the Bruges provost until the eighteenth century, the control over the Count's fiscal affairs was relegated to a special *receveur* in 1232, as a result of continual disputes over the Count's expenditures, deemed excessive by the provost.[14] At the time of Leonardo's appointment the post must still have retained considerable prestige, however, since a Papal Bull assigned to his special charge ten clerks and any additional help required; the new provost was also empowered to confer benefices on all clergy in his church who would within the year become regular priests.[15]

Leonardo did not assume his duties immediately upon appointment, due to the violent opposition of Gui de Dampierre, count of Flanders (1280 to 1297). Embroiled in various political schemes and heavily in debt, Gui attempted to maintain the vacancy of the St. Donatian provostship as long as possible.[16] Even though the office was officially under his jurisdiction and the function of chancellor mainly nominal, its occupation by a conscientious or strong-minded Papal appointee would undoubtedly curtail or at least interfere with Gui's financial freedom. In August, 1295, four months after Leonardo's appointment, Gui was forced into submission by a Papal edict threatening him with excommunication and rebuking him in strong terms for availing himself freely of the revenue of the chancellery (*Faisant main basse sur les revenues de la Chancellerie.*).[17] According to another source the threat of excommunication was actually put into effect.[18]

This pressure apparently sufficed and Leonardo assumed his office in the fall of 1295. He was immediately confronted with the problem of persuading the count of Flanders to repay the funds which he had so liberally "borrowed," as is evident from an account of delivery by Gui to Leonardo of the revenue in arrears for the past six months, an agreement arrived at after considerable controversy on January 20, 1296. As for the remainder due, the count informed the provost that he would determine the time and conditions of final and complete reimbursal.[19]

The records remain silent regarding Leonardo's activities during the next eight years. Shortly before leaving Flanders to assume the bishopric of Catania, to which he was elected in January, 1304, he still exercised his authority as provost by admitting two new members to St. Donatian. Despite the fact that so little is known about Leonardo's sojourn in Bruges, it appears that he was tremendously disliked. It might even be conjectured that Leonardo, aware of the increasing antagonism, had instigated the transfer to Catania. A document dated February 28, 1304, soon after his election to the bishopric, states that Leonardo had been forced to withdraw from Cambrai where he served as canon because of certain mortal enmities. A decree of Benedict XI ordered the repayal of all prebends due Leonardo for the past four years despite the *malitia* with which he was regarded.[20]

[14] R. Monier, *Les institutions financières du comte de Flandre, du XI^e siècle à 1384,* Montchrestien, 1948, pp. 41-45. See also L. A.Warnkoenig, *Flandrische Staats- und Rechtsgeschichte bis zum Jahre 1305,* Tübingen, 1836, II, Pt. I, p. 168.

[15] E. Reusens, "Les chancelleries inférieures en Belgique depuis leur origine jusqu'au commencement du XIII^e Siècle," *Analectes,* XXVI, p. 97.

[16] On the extent of Gui's debts, see de Roover, *loc. cit.*

[17] Aug. 14, 1295; Reusens, *loc. cit.*

[18] A. Wauters, *Table chronologique des chartes et diplômes de la Belgique,* Brussels, 1881, VI, p. 495.

[19] Reusens, *op. cit.,* p. 98.

[20] *Loc. cit.*

II

Possibly Leonardo's dismissal only a few months before the removal of the Papal seat to Avignon was a reflection of French anti-Papal sentiment which would inevitably have been directed against a non-northern Papal appointee. Whatever the reasons, they have no bearing on the subject at hand, namely how and when the Walters manuscript came into Leonardo's possession. One may assume that the main body of the Psalter had already been completed when the St. Donatian provost first saw it, since the Fieschi arms, liberally disseminated throughout the latter third of the manuscript, are additions. The calendar, evidently designed for Leonardo, is in a different hand, but is contemporary with the rest of the manuscript—judging from the style of the illumination. Its Franciscan character coincides with the illustrative scheme of the Psalter, which contains in the lower margins several scenes from the lives of St. Clare and St. Francis. These may have been included at the behest of a particular patron, who for some reason was prevented from ultimate acquisition of the manuscript. The absence of a coat of arms other than that of the Fieschi, however, leads to the conjecture that Leonardo may have seen the Psalter complete, save for the calendar, and had it adapted for his use.

While a great number of northeast French and Flemish manuscripts were personally commissioned in the second half of the thirteenth century, the purchase of ready-made books was by no means rare. In 1270, for example, Gui de Dampierre paid a sizable sum to Gilon of Bruges for a Missal and Troper bought in Lille.[21] Of the manuscripts owned by Mahaut, Countess of Artois, many came from the Paris book-dealer Thomas de Maubeuge; others, including several romances of chivalry, were purchased in Arras.[22] In 1304 Mahaut acquired a Psalter for "damisiele Blanche" from the mayor of Torchi.[23]

Despite the lack of documentary evidence regarding the exact provenience of the Walters Psalter, its origin can be determined with fair certainty on the basis of comparison with a closely related Breviary for use at St. Sépulcre, Cambrai (Cambrai, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 102-103).[24] This manuscript, one of nine grouped by Gunther Haseloff in his study of Psalter initial iconography,[25] bears great stylistic and iconographic affinity to Walters Ms. 45, indicating production in the same workshop. It is perhaps even possible that the Cambrai Breviary is the one mentioned by Guillaume de Hainaut, Bishop of Cambrai, in his testament dated August 7, 1296:

> Encore volons nous que on restaulisse al eglise Saint Geri de Cambrai un breviaire nouviel en deus parties, lequel Gilles de Tournai, jadis nos saeleres de Cambrai, laissa, si comme on dist, al eglise devant dite.[26]

On a stylistic basis, Cambrai Ms. 102-103 could be dated 1295-1296 and could thus well have been considered "nouviel" in August, 1296. The date of the Walters manuscript is closely concomitant. Since Leonardo served as canon of Cambrai prior to his appointment as provost of Bruges in April, 1295, he could have acquired the Psalter before assuming his duties at St. Donatian, or any time between then and 1304.

Judging from extant documents, Cambrai was an active center of manuscript production at this period. Since it was a bishopric, liturgical books

[21] Dehaisnes, *Documents et extraits divers concernant l'histoire de l'art dans la Flandre, l'Artois, et le Hainaut avant le XV^e siècle,* Lille, 1886, p. 63.

[22] *Ibid.,* pp. 183, 191, 207, 276.

[23] *Ibid.,* p. 165.

[24] L'abbé V. Leroquais, *Les breviaires manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France,* Paris, 1939, I, pp. 194 ff., no. 120.

[25] *Die Psalterillustration im dreizehnten Jahrhundert,* Kiel, 1938, p. 50.

[26] Dehaisnes, *op. cit.,* p. 89.

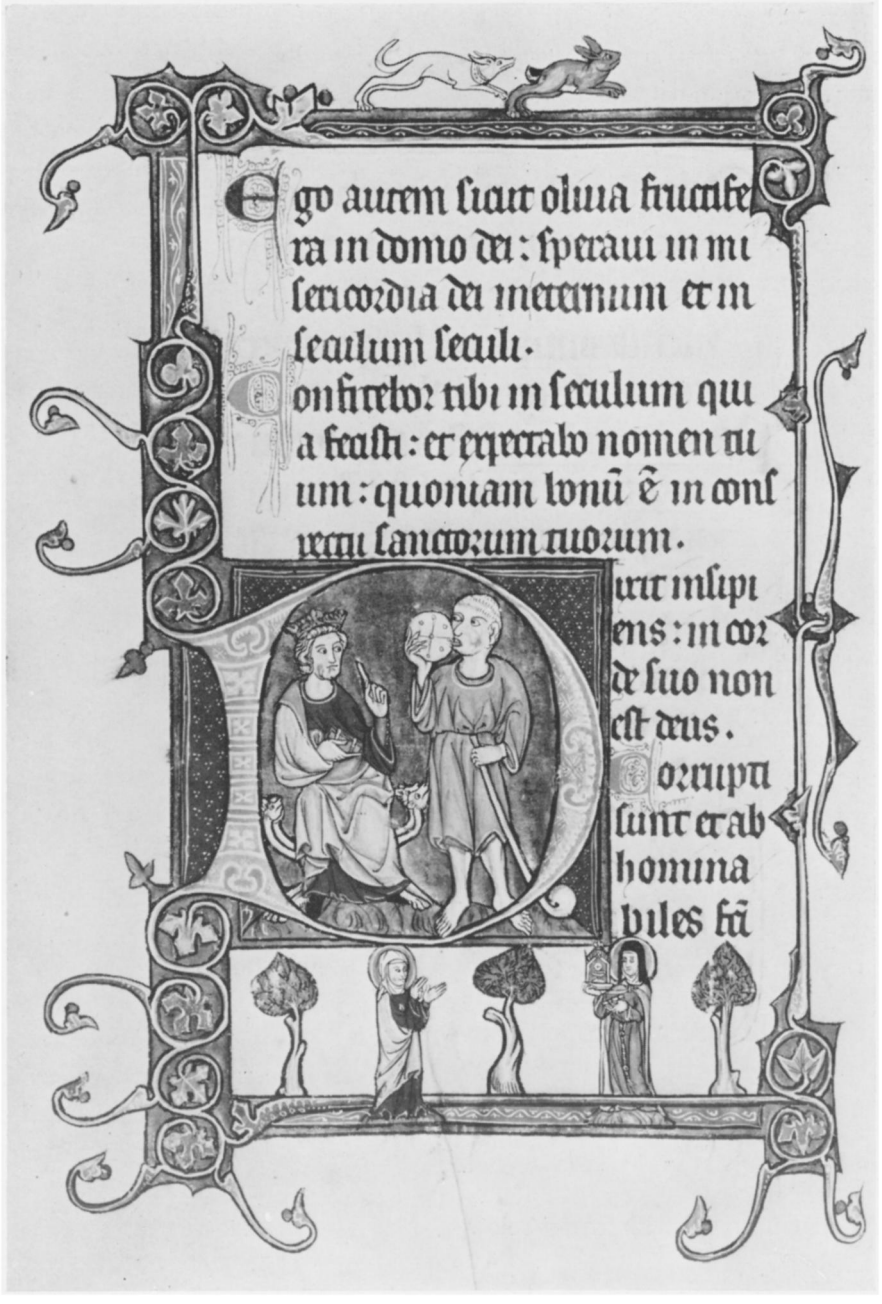


FIGURE 6 WALTERS ART GALLERY

Psalm 52 [53]
(W. 45, fol. 90 verso)

were sought after and held in great esteem. A document of October 9, 1295, records the payment to Jean Auxoeufs (*Johannes scriptorem dictum ad ova*) for copying and carefully correcting a Bible for Ubald de Sart, canon of Cambrai.[27] The excellent care accorded to manuscripts is attested by the numerous accounts of payments for repairs to scribes, bookbinders, and illuminators employed at the *Fabrique de la cathédrale de Cambrai*.[28] In addition to the cathedral workshop, there was also a scriptorium in the monastery of Saint Sépulcre, as may be deduced from a reference in the testament of Guillaume de Hainaut mentioned above, bequeathing to the monastery a book of *Gestes* produced for the bishop by one of the monks.[29]

Although it is impossible to assign a specific atelier provenience to the Fieschi Psalter and the related Breviary, both manuscripts in all likelihood originated at Cambrai. Aside from stylistic affinities, their iconographic program is closely coincident. They alone diverge from the other manuscripts in the Haseloff group in representing Judas hung, rather than the more common suicide of Saul or slaying of Abimelech by Doeg, in the opening initial to Psalm 51 (fig. 5). The remainder of the iconographic program of the Walters Psalter is identical to that of the Cambrai Breviary, presuming that the missing illustration to Psalm 97 contained the usual scene of monks singing at a lectern:

Psalm 1 (fol. 16, fig. 1)
- Initial: David enthroned with harp; below, David slaying Goliath.
- *Bas-de-page:* David with bagpipe; David and Goliath; herd of sheep.
- Other marginalia: At top, lion with ram's horns; at right, songbird.

Psalm 26 [27] (fol. 49, fig. 3)
- Initial: Anointing of David.
- *Bas-de-page:* Parody of a religious procession; male siren with book following cowled dog and human-headed grotesque with abbot's hood bearing a reliquary.
- Other marginalia: At top, two confronted, crowned, human-headed grotesques; at right, youth playing a vielle.

Psalm 38 [39] (fol. 70v, fig. 4)
- Initial: David kneeling, pointing to mouth; Christ in clouds above.
- *Bas-de-page:* Hunter blowing horn; two dogs pursuing caparisoned stag mounted by nude man riding backwards.
- Other marginalia: At top, dog pursuing rabbit.

Psalm 51 [52] (fol. 89v, fig. 5)
- Initial: Judas hung.
- *Bas-de-page:* St. Clare seated, flanked by two praying nuns.
- Other marginalia: At top, human-headed grotesque; at left, parrot.

Psalm 52 [53] (fol. 90v, fig. 6)
- Initial: Fool with bread and staff, before David enthroned.
- *Bas-de-page:* St. Elizabeth of Hungary and St. Clare.
- Other marginalia: At top, dog pursuing rabbit.

Psalm 68 [69] (fol. 112, fig. 7)
- Initial: Christ in clouds, David in boat below.
- *Bas-de-page:* Human-headed grotesque confronting long-eared animal; St. Clare.
- Other marginalia: At top, two hooded human-headed grotesques.

Psalm 80 [81] (fol. 139v, fig. 8)
- Initial: David playing bells.
- *Bas-de-page:* St. Francis preaching to a bird and dogs; St. Clare.

[27] *Ibid.*, p. 87.
[28] *Ibid.*, pp. 185-186, 189, 193, 208, 223, 292, 365.
[29] See above, n. 26.

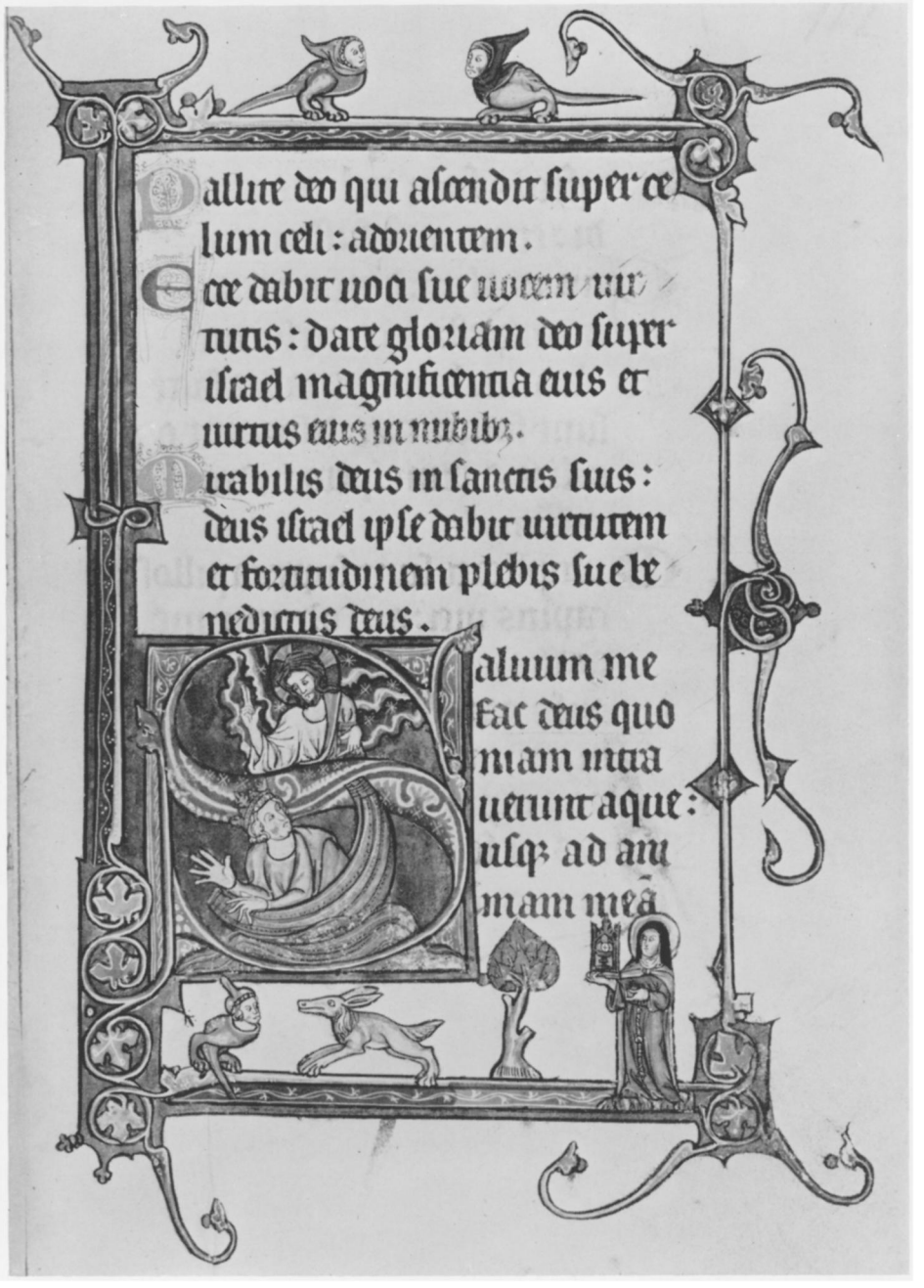


FIGURE 7 WALTERS ART GALLERY

Psalm 68 [69]
(W. 45, fol. 112)

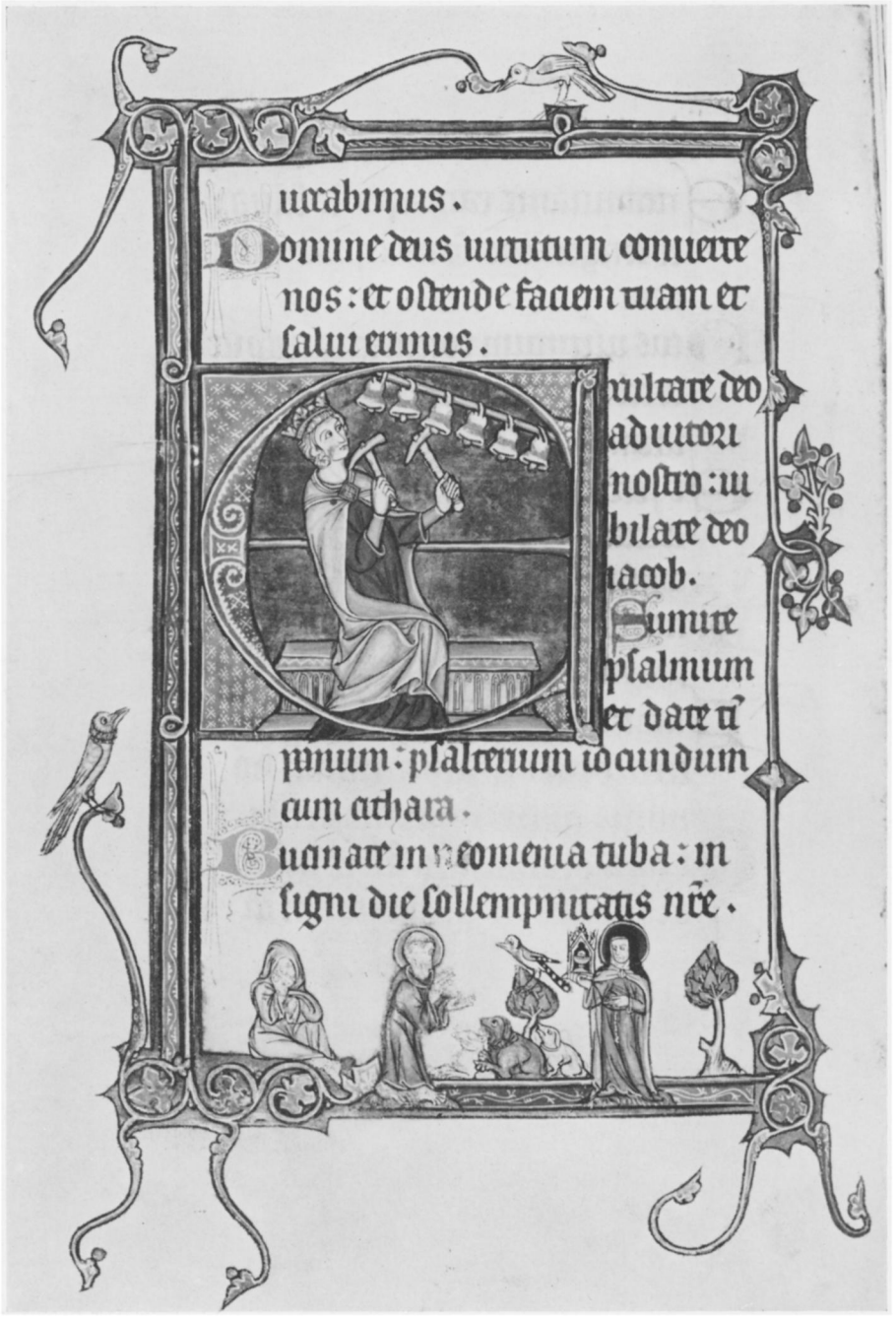


FIGURE 8 WALTERS ART GALLERY

Psalm 80 [81]
(W. 45, fol. 139 verso)

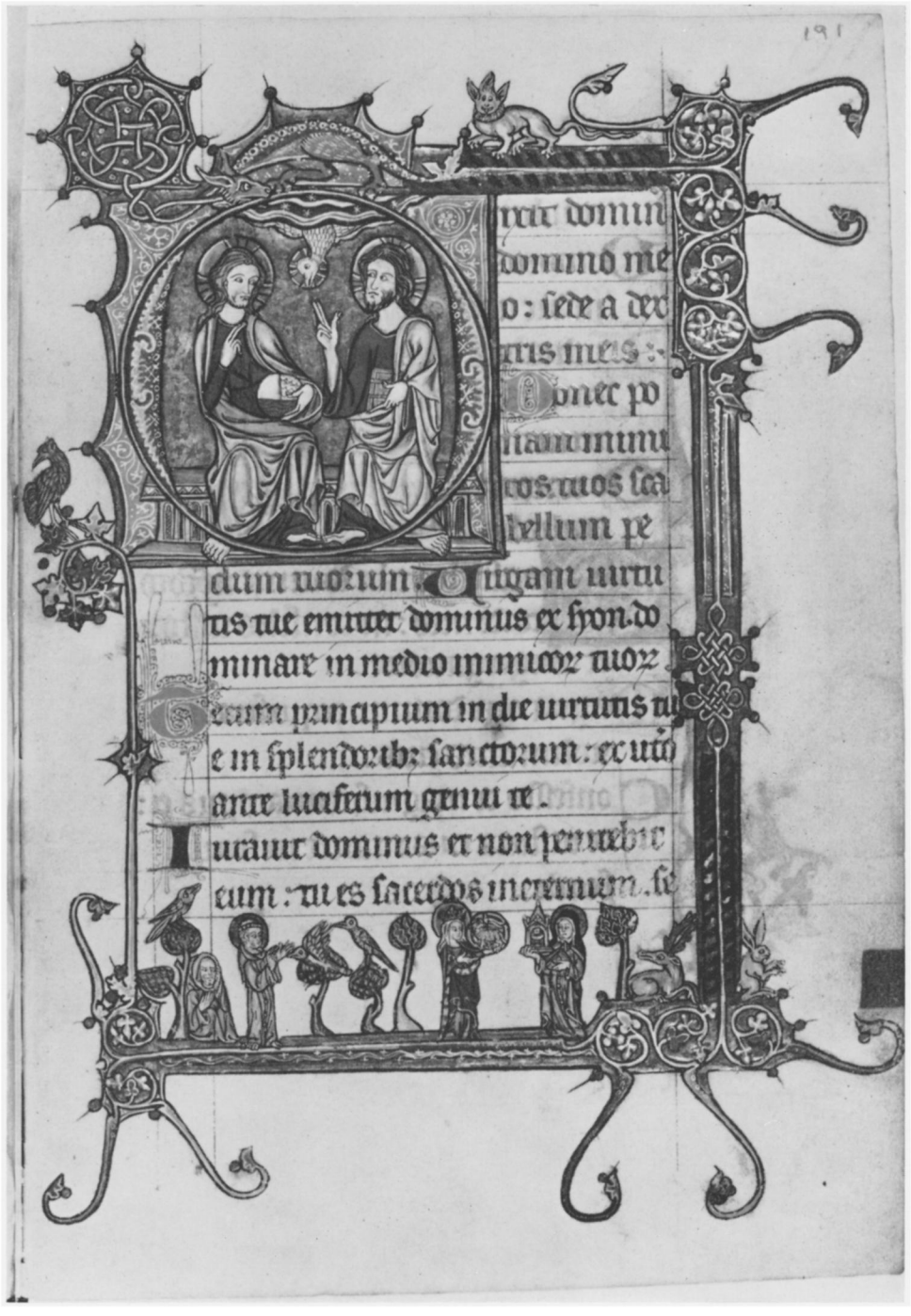


FIGURE 9 WALTERS ART GALLERY

Psalm 109 [110]
(W. 45, fol. 191)

Other marginalia: At top and at left, songbirds.

Psalm 97 [98], missing.

Psalm 109 [110] (fol. 191, fig. 9)

Initial: The Trinity.

Bas-de-page: St. Francis preaching to the birds; St. Elizabeth of Hungary and St. Clare; stag and rabbit.

Other marginalia: At top, lion.

The historiated Psalm-initials listed above are relatively large, measuring 5 by 5 centimeters, as opposed to the intervening initials, one and a half centimeters high, which are filled with plant ornament. The figures, placed against a burnished gold background, are rendered in subdued tones of grey and brown contrasted with deep shades of orange and blue. While the illuminations seem to be the work of one man, there is a perceptible difference in quality in the initials after Psalm 51. The drapery folds are more skillfully handled with an increased feeling for underlying form and the facial expressions have gained individuality and animation.

In its border design the Fieschi Psalter closely conforms to contemporary northeast French tradition. On the pages marking the major liturgical divisions, a heavy framework reinforced by foliate rondels terminating in cusped leaves with small gold-ball appendages encloses the text on all four sides. On the intervening folios a far less massive border adjoins the text on the left-hand side;[30] in many instances the border decoration consists of fine pen scroll flourishes in red or blue ink swinging out into the lower margin. In and around the border is distributed an abundance of marginal motifs. Their systematized placement results in an overall clarity in which the decorative elements unquestionably remain subsidiary to the text. In other manuscripts where the underlying structural unity of the *mise-en-page* has been disrupted by the removal of the constraining border and by the unrestricted release of illustrative motifs, the marginalia tend to dominate rather than adorn the text.[31]

As was customary, the lower margins in the Fieschi Psalter are reserved for more elaborate scenes, particularly on the folios of the major Psalter divisions, while the remaining margins contain single decorative themes such as songbirds, birds in a nest, apes snaring birds, musicians, dogs hunting, and paired grotesques. Most noteworthy is the preponderance of Franciscan subjects in the major *bas-de-pages*. The inclusion of two versions of the preaching of St. Francis is highly unusual, as is the repeated depiction of St. Clare and her contemporary, St. Elizabeth of Hungary—symbols of female piety and charity.[32] The other three *bas-de-pages* contain more common marginal subjects. Of these, the Beatus-page illustration is the only one in the manuscript clearly related to the historiated initial above; this does not seem to be the case with the remaining two scenes which are parodies, the one a direct satire on the clergy, the other perhaps a ridicule of the pursuit of lost sinners (figs. 1, 3, 4).

While there are more hagiographic representations in the Walters Psalter than in the Cambrai Breviary, the remainder of the iconographic mar-

[30] Other examples of this border style appear in Cambrai, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 102-103; Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Mss. latin 1076 and latin 10435.

[31] This style of decoration is exemplified, for instance, by a Psalter for Dominican use at St. Omer (Douai, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 193), and a Book of Hours possibly also for St. Omer (British Museum, Ms. Add. 36684 and the Pierpont Morgan Library, Ms. 754).

[32] A Psalter for Franciscan use in the Bibliothèque Nationale (Ms. latin 1076, mentioned above, n. 30) is noteworthy in this connection for the vast number of representations of St. Francis and St. Clare. See Leroquais, *Les psautiers manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France, Macon,* 1941, II, p. 63, no. 308.

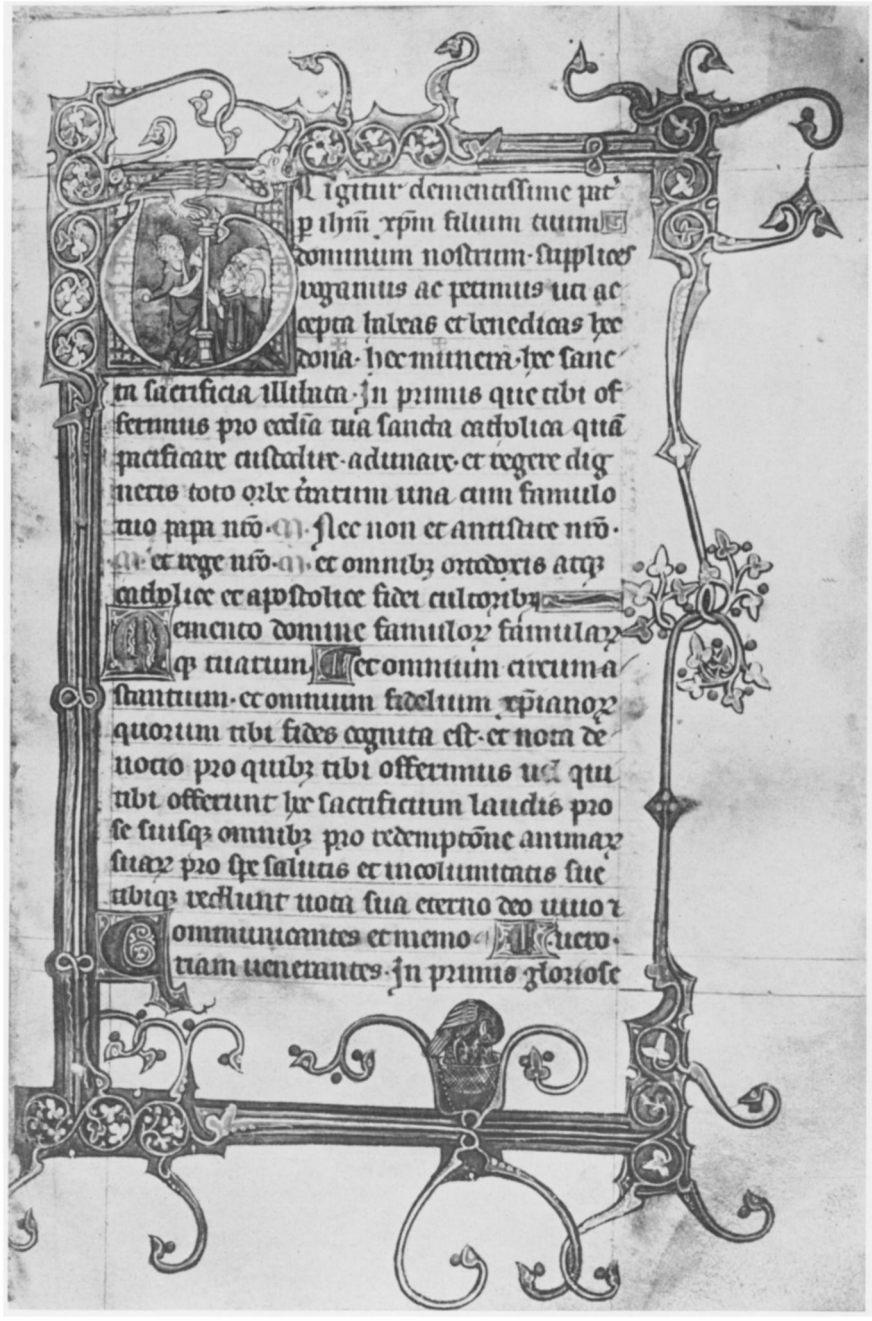


FIGURE 10 CAMBRAI, BIBLIOTHEQUE MUNICIPALE

Te Igitur; at bottom: Pelican Feeding her Young
(Ms. 102, fol. 345)

ginal program is closely analogous. Among the motifs recurring throughout are vast numbers of birds, grotesques (usually paired), snails, foxes, dogs, and apes, depicted either singly or in more animated compositions. Both manuscripts include the pelican feeding her young (Walters Ms. 45, fol. 174, Cambrai Ms. 102, fol. 345; fig. 10) and a sciapode possibly derived from the same model-

FIGURE 11 WALTERS ART GALLERY

Sciapode
(W. 45, fol. 92; enlarged detail)

book (figs. 11, 12). A striking similarity also exists in the rendering of the leaping white hounds in perpetual pursuit of their quarry (figs. 4, 15), as well as in the depiction of apes accentuated with white highlights and the drawing and scale of the trees in figural compositions. Curiously enough, Aesopic fables are not represented in the Cambrai Breviary; in the Fieschi Psalter, however, two of the most popular fables appear: the fox and the stork (fols. 104, 147) and a disguised version of the stork's extraction of a bone from the wolf's throat (fol. 145v).[33]

Two other themes, both standard components of marginal repertory, but seldom repeated with such frequency as in the margins of W. 45 and Cambrai 102-103, are the fox running with a fowl in his jaws and various representations of combats with snails. The former, originally based on an Aesopic fable illustrating the dire results of yielding to flattery, was transmitted in variant versions through animal epos and moralised apologues.[34] All revolved around the fox's cupidity and differed only in the ruses employed to satisfy it. While in the margins the *fait accompli* of the escaping fox is generally depicted, in many instances the episode is embellished by the addition of an irate crowd or single figure, usually a woman with distaff and spindle, in eager pursuit of the culprit.[35]

Whereas the fox was traditionally portrayed in the role of miscreant, from Aesop's fables on to the *Roman de Renard,* the sinister connotations of the snail are less readily explicable. In the Fieschi Psalter, as well as in numerous contemporary manuscripts including the Cambrai Breviary, this small beast is the object of attack by knights, men with spears and shields, and grotesques (fols. 23, 40v, 52v, 82v, 103; figs. 13, 14). In most northeast French representations of the theme at this period, the odds seem to be equal or often in favor of the human opponent, although there are numerous illustrations of the triumph of the snail.[36] Why the snail should be regarded with such intense hostility is less readily discern-

[33] W. 45, fol. 174, Cambrai Ms. 102, fol. 345.

[34] The possible moral interpretations of these fables are described in my article, "Exempla as a Source of Gothic Marginal Illumination," *Art Bulletin,* XXIX, 1957, p. 104, notes 63, 64.

[35] The literary transmisison of this fable via Alcuin, the *Ecbasis Captivi,* and the *Roman de Renard* is outlined briefly in M. Bergenthal, *Elemente der Drolerie und ihre Beziehungen zur Drolerie,* Berlin (Diss.), 1934, p. 119. For moralised variants of the theme, see L. Hervieux, *Les fabulistes latins,* Paris, 1896, IV, p. 198, no. XXV and T. F. Crane, *The Exempla of Jacques de Vitry,* London, 1890, p. 125, no. CCXCVII. A special study devoted to medieval illustrations of fox epos is A. L. Meissner's *Die bildlichen Darstellungen des Reineke Fuchs im Mittelalter,* Herrigs Archiv f. d. Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen, LVI, LVII, Braunschweig, 1876-1877.

[36] The victory of the snail is depicted, for instance, in Walters Ms. 104, fol. 134v; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce Ms. 366, fol. 109; and Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. latin 10483, fol. 42.

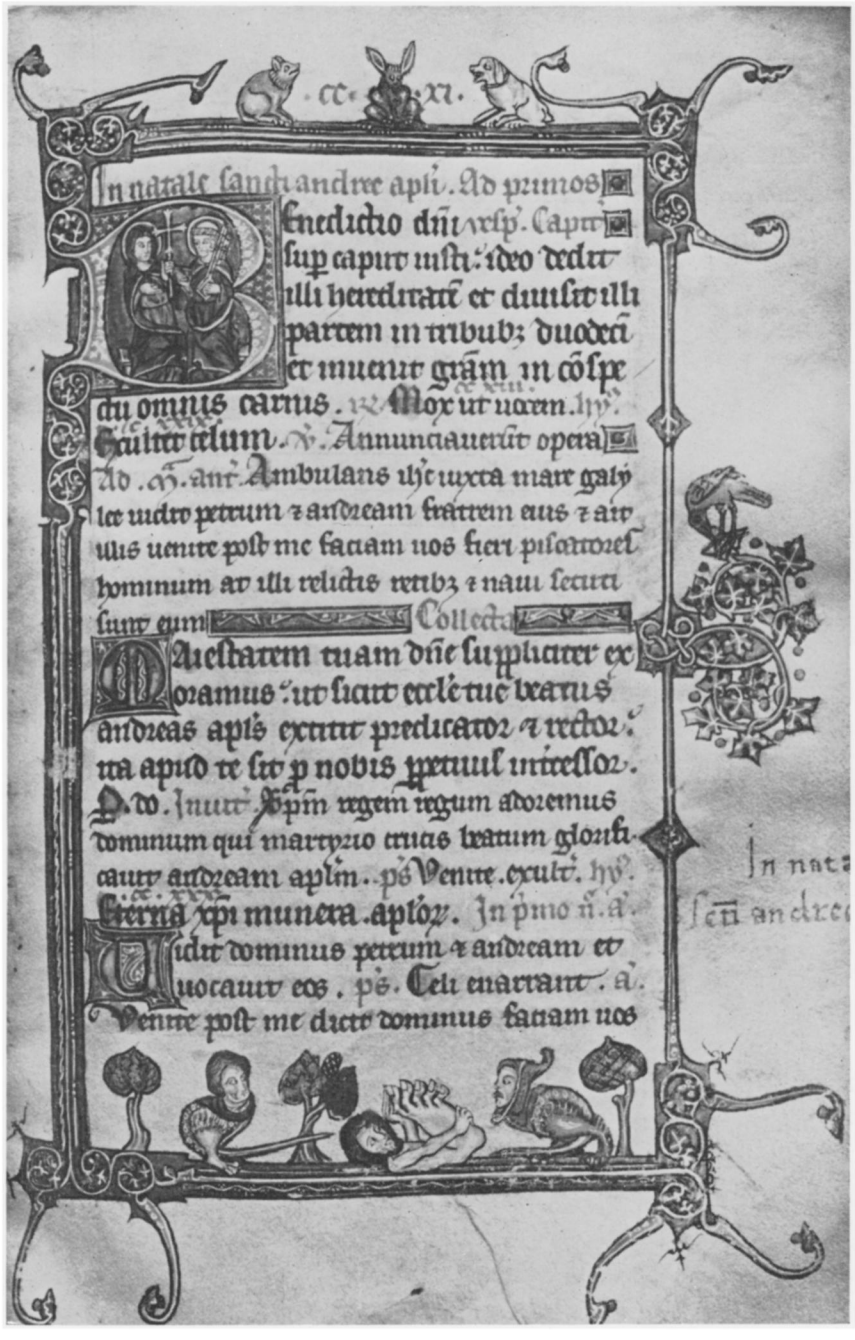


FIGURE 12 CAMBRAI, BIBLIOTHEQUE MUNICIPALE

Sciapode and other Drolleries
(Ms. 103, fol. 482)

FIGURE 13 WALTERS ART GALLERY
Knight Confronting Snail
(W. 45, fol. 82 verso; enlarged detail)

ible than in the case of the fox. Its frequent juxtaposition with inimical knights suggested to Louis Maeterlinck implications of the conflict between the aristocracy and the lower classes.[37] Champfleury sought an explanation in the snail's destructive power in the vineyard which might provide sufficient reason for universal contempt.[38]

Doubtless there is some truth in both these conjectures. It is also possible, however, to explain the sudden multiple appearance of marginal snail-representations in northeast France at the end of the thirteenth century through the inspiration of a literary work, perhaps a farce composed in Arras which at the time was a prolific center of literary production. Although the original source yet remains to be discovered, a farce on this theme seems to have provided the basis for a short verse-play, *Thersytes,* composed by Jean Tissier de Ravisy, rector of Paris from 1520 to 1524.[39] The early sixteenth-century version recounts the tale of a bragging but cowardly knight named Thersytes who requests a blacksmith to forge him an invincible suit of armor. Fully apparelled, the hero encounters a snail, at the sight of which he fearfully hides behind his mother's skirt until the snail retracts its horns. The marginal renderings in the Walters and Cambrai manuscripts might well be interpreted as illustrations of Thersytes's experience:

> [Nay truly] the monster cometh towarde me styll!
> Excepte I fyght manfully, it wyll me surely kyll! (lines 443-444)

If a contemporary literary source existed for this marginal theme, it would serve to confirm Maeterlinck's supposition that these snail combats were a parody of the nobility, a theory equally applicable to the scenes of snails confronted by grotesques.

Up to now the similarities between the Cambrai Breviary and the Fieschi Psalter have been emphasized. It now remains to point out the distinctive features of the Walters manuscript. The liveliness of expression, often imbued with a strong sense of humor, pervading the major as well as the minor elements of the illumination, extends even to the rendering of birds, whose air of alternately alert curiosity, interest, or bemusement greatly enlivens the border decoration. Close scrutiny of the faces of the figures in the lower margins reveals considerable variety of expression. The parodied abbot leading the religious procession is shown as distinctly, and no doubt intentionally, wall-eyed

[37] L. Maeterlinck, *Le genre satirique dans la peinture flamande,* Brussels, 1907, 2nd ed., pp. 55-56, fig. 69.
[38] *Histoire de la caricature au Moyen Age,* Paris, 1875, 2nd ed., pp. 40-41.
[39] A. Pollard, *English Miracle-Plays, Moralities, and Interludes,* Oxford, 1890, pp. 126-145.

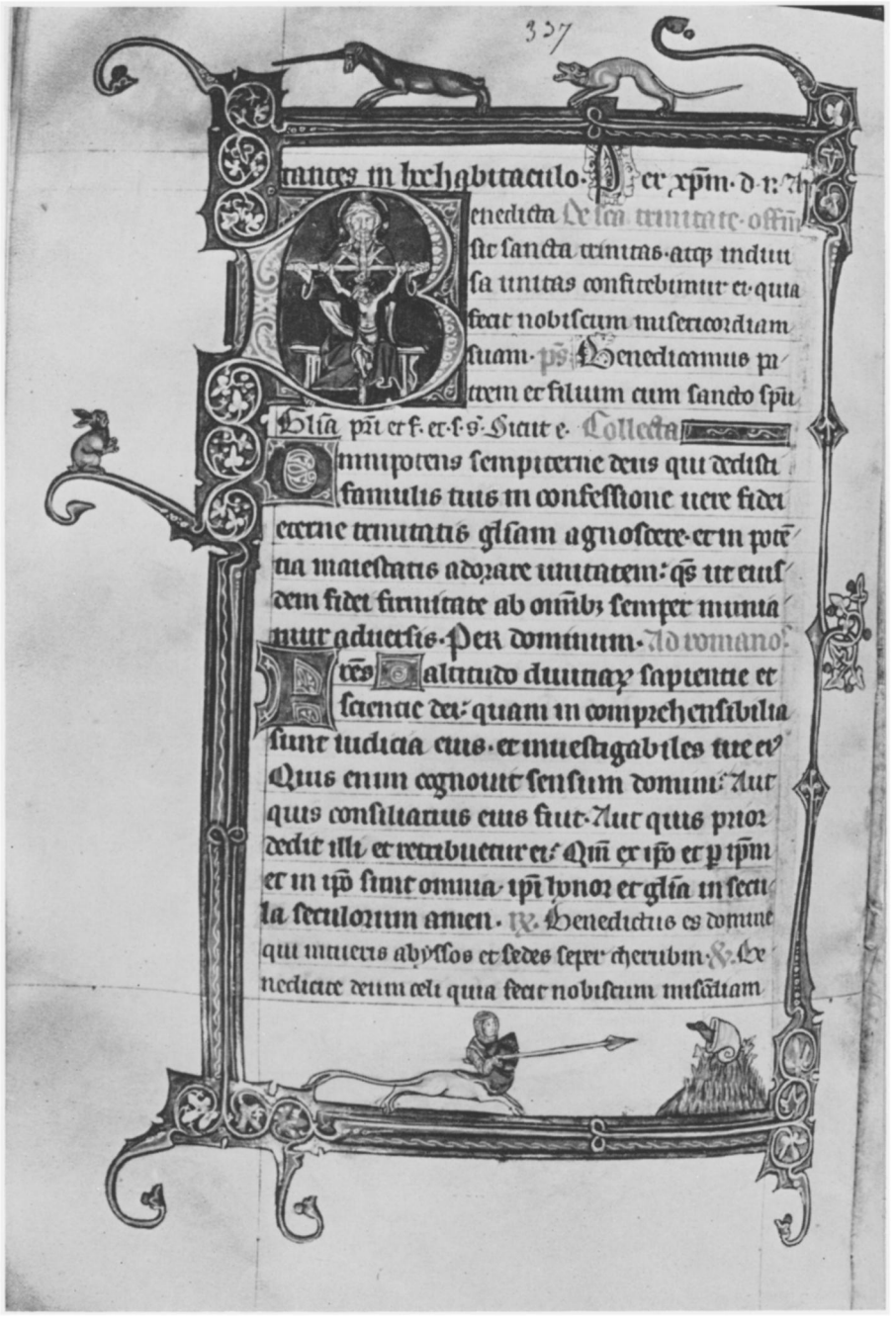


FIGURE 14 CAMBRAI, BIBLIOTHEQUE MUNICIPALE

Hours of the Holy Trinity
Drolleries of Knight Confronting Snail; Dog Pursuing Unicorn
(Ms. 102, fol. 337 verso)

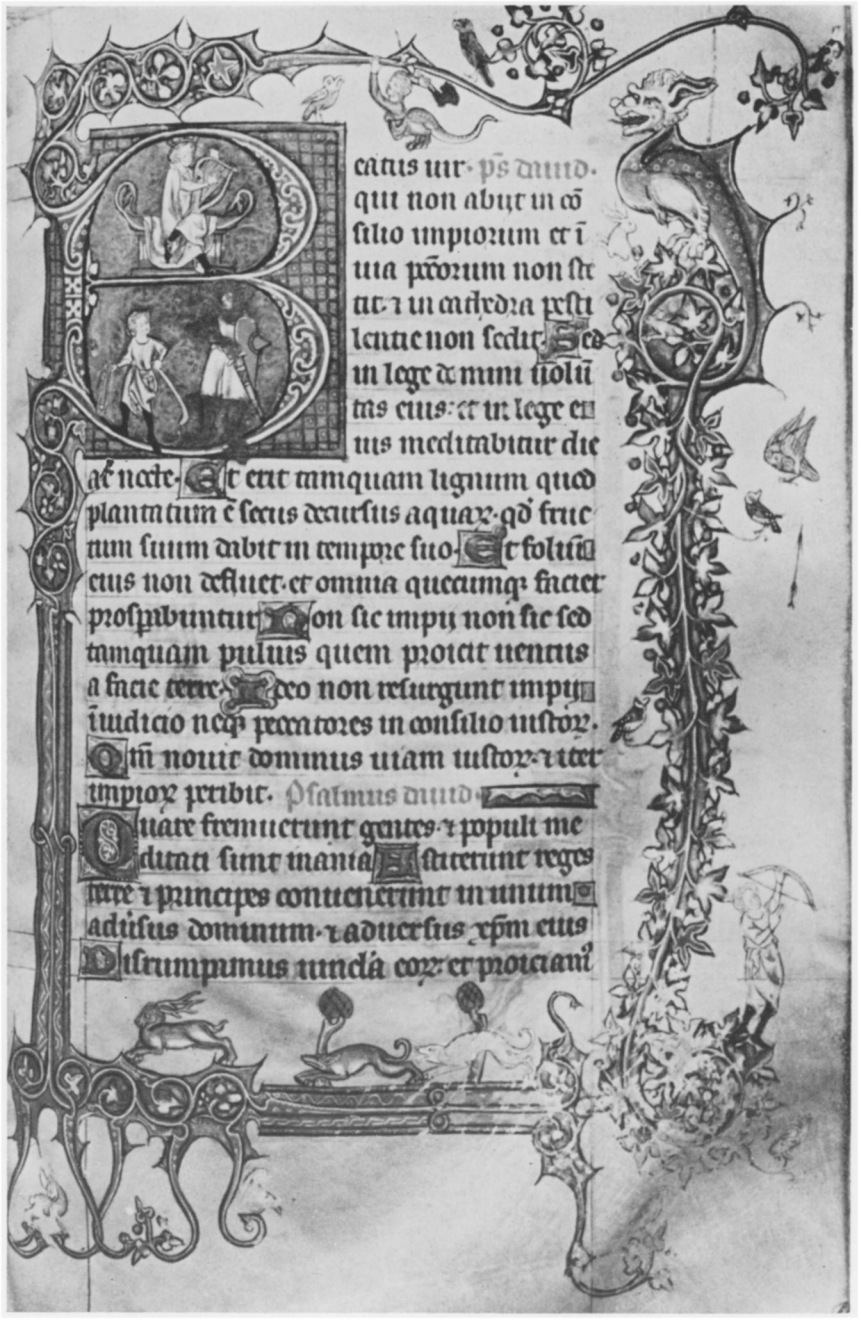


FIGURE 15 CAMBRAI, BIBLIOTHEQUE MUNICIPALE

Psalm 1: Drolleries of Stag Hunt and Archer
(Ms. 102, fol. 232)

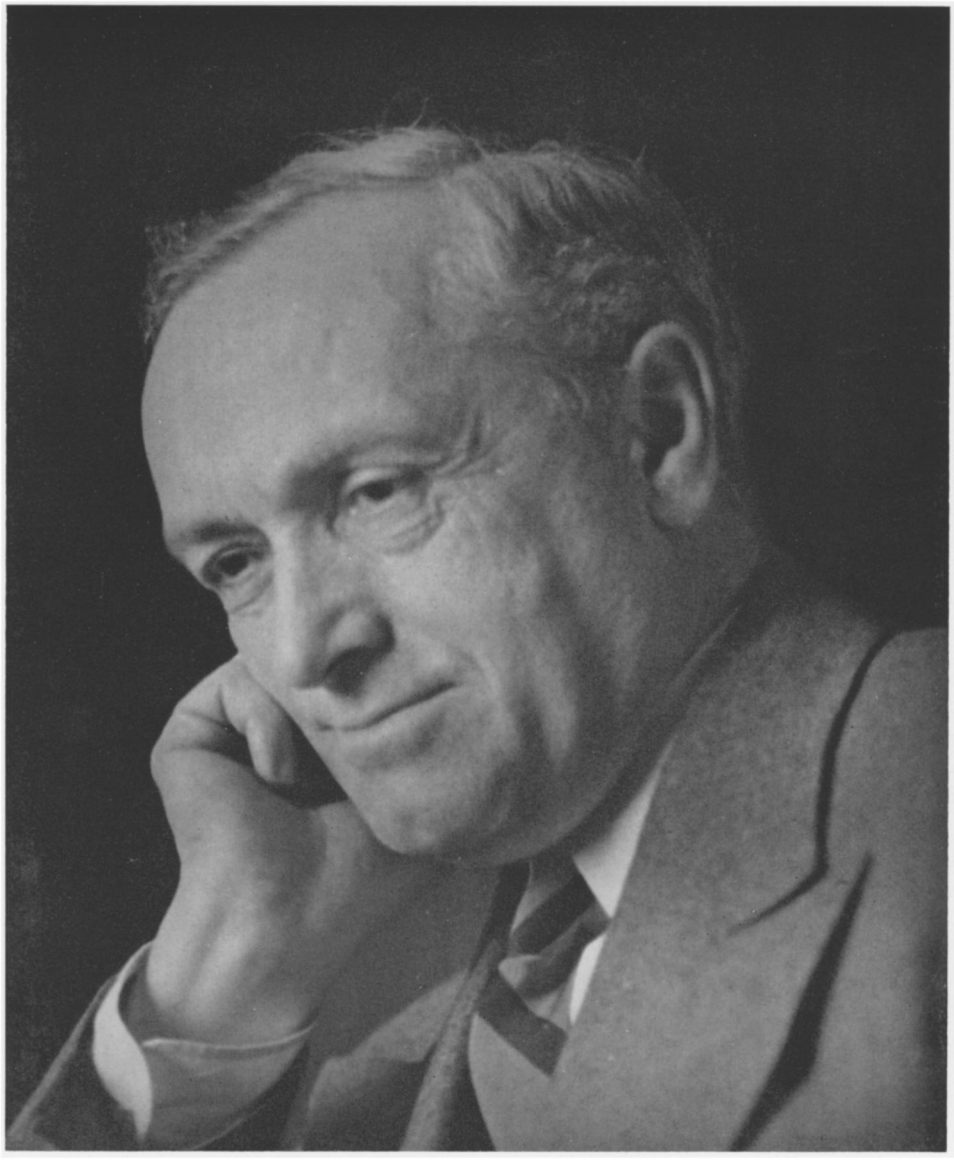
(fig. 3);[40] the seated monk witnessing St. Francis's preaching to the birds (fig. 9) seems to be somewhat bewildered although closely attentive.[41] The saint, meanwhile, directs his stern gaze at his auditors, one of whom is flapping his wings agitatedly.

The imagination of the illuminator, so apparent in the subtle differentiation of moods and expressions, is further reflected in his spatial organization. Although less evident in the historiated initials where the figures were generally placed two-dimensionally against a gold background, it is manifest in the illustration to Psalm 38 (fig. 4) in which the inclusion of two wooded mounds suggests an illusion of depth behind the figure of David. In several *bas-de-pages* the position of the figures atop hillocks in front of the border was intended to define the different spatial planes (figs. 7, 8). The result is not always successful. St. Elizabeth of Hungary, for instance, in figure 6 seems to be inserted like a cardboard puppet between two layers of the border, defeating the purpose of an enlarged spatial concept.

The experimentation with problems of space, as well as the distinct individuality expressed in the rendering of figures and marginal elements within a prescribed and standardized framework, are the essential qualities which elevate the Fieschi Psalter above the plane of ordinary production. In addition, the inscription of the birth-date of the original owner in the calendar adds greatly to the interest of the manuscript, not only for its own sake, but in a larger historical sense as an early example of Italian patronage in the north.

[40] The only comparable illustration to my knowledge appears in the Gorleston Psalter, fol. 68, reproduced on Plate XIV in S. C. Cockerell's *The Gorleston Psalter,* London, 1907.

[41] In accordance with Jacob de Voragine's account in the *Golden Legend* (London, 1900, VI, p. 227), representations of this scene frequently show St. Francis accompanied by a fellow-friar. Similiar to W. 45 is the rendering in a Book of Hours for a Franciscan lady from the diocese of Thérouanne (Marseilles, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 111, fol. 139, reproduced in J. Billioud, *Trésors des bibliothèques de France,* Paris, 1935, V, pp. 165-185, Pl. LXIV).



DAVID ROSEN

January 26, 1880 - March 8, 1960

A PROBLEM IN TECHNICAL RESEARCH

THE WALTERS "ST. FRANCIS"—A CONTRIBUTION TO EL GRECO STUDIES

By ELISABETH C. G. PACKARD
The Walters Art Gallery

This article is dedicated to the memory of David Rosen, head of the technical laboratory of the Walters Art Gallery from 1934 to 1954, and to that of John Carroll Kirby, a younger associate for whose training as a conservator Mr. Rosen was entirely responsible.[1] It seemed appropriate to contribute a discussion of one of the important and complicated problems which confronted the conservation department—a problem the solution of which, in fact, covered the entire period during which Mr. Rosen, Mr. Kirby and the author were working together. The restoration of the painting of "Saint Francis Receiving the Stigmata" attributed to El Greco[2] was actually initiated when the technical laboratory was first set up in 1935, and after numerous reprises was finally brought to conclusion only last year. It illustrates the many challenges that were encountered in the course of treatment, not only those which concerned the conservation of the painting, but also those which had to do with its status in the *oeuvre* of El Greco. The following pages will attempt to give some idea of the nature of Mr. Rosen's methods: his tireless efforts to accumulate comparative material, his application of technical

JOHN CARROLL KIRBY
December 4, 1910 - April 24, 1959

[1] Memorial articles on Mr. Rosen and Mr. Kirby were published in *The Bulletin of the Walters Art Gallery*, vol. 12, no. 7, April, 1960 and no. 1, October, 1959, respectively.

[2] Walters Art Gallery, 37.424. Size: 40⅛ in. x 38 3/16 in. (1.02 x 0.97 m.). Published: E. van Esbroeck and others, *Catalogue du musée de peinture, sculpture, et archéologie au Palais Accoramboni*, Rome, 1897, no. 351 (Catalogue of the Massarenti Collection); José Camón Aznar, *Dominico Greco*, Madrid, 1950, vol. II, p. 1386, no. 607.

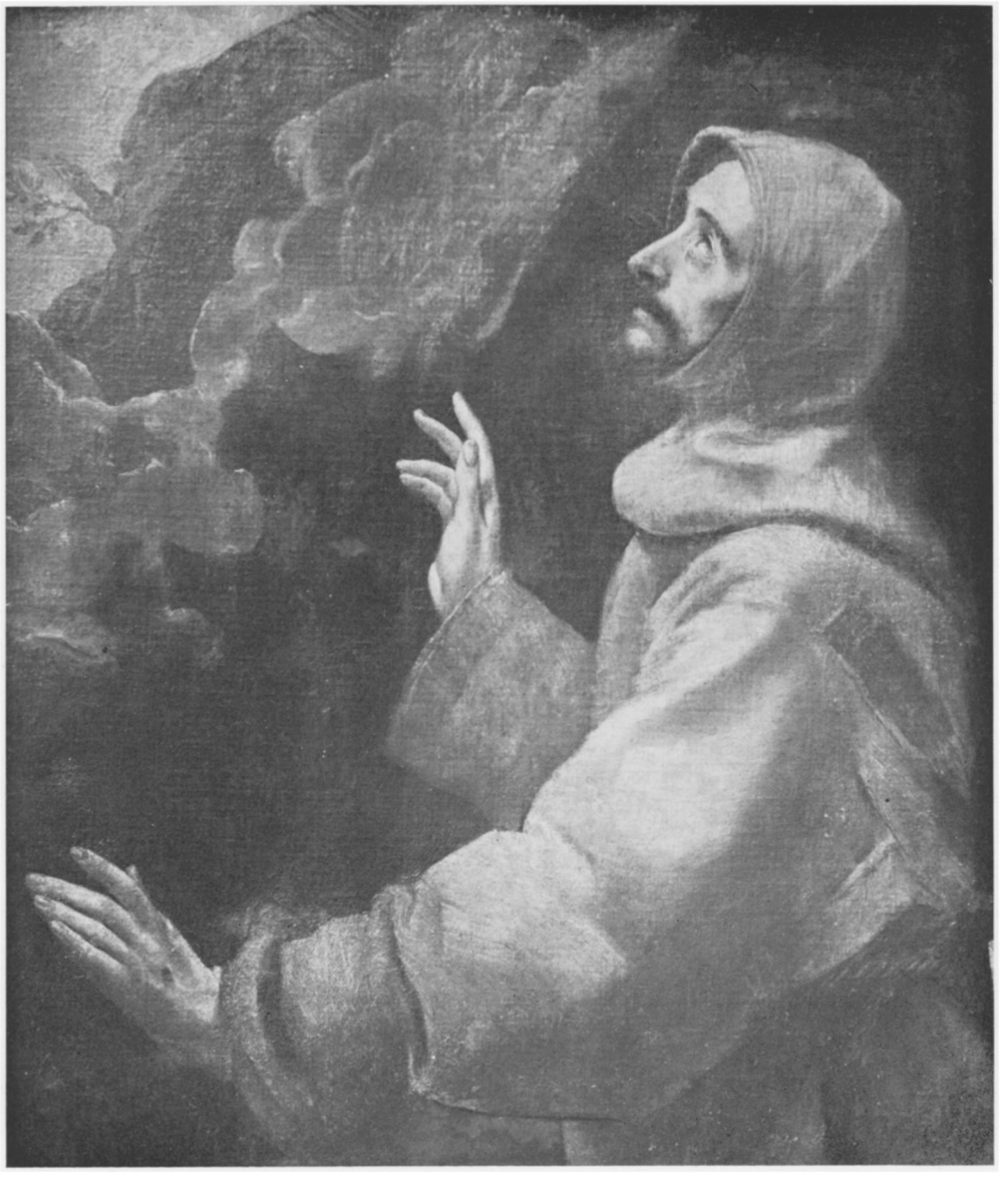


FIGURE 1 WALTERS ART GALLERY

Saint Francis Receiving the Stigmata

(State before cleaning, 1935. The landscape with a single tree and the dark brown color of the painting aroused the earlier suspicion that it might be a "free" or late copy after El Greco.)

means to the investigation of works of art. The problem of the Walters Saint Francis was, in fact, the starting point of extensive technical research on El Greco which he had hoped to carry out along the same lines as his studies of Daumier[3] and Corot.[4] For these reasons, I am glad to have an opportunity to review the technical history of the picture, to recall the excitement of discovery in which we all shared, and above all, to pay this tribute to Mr. Rosen for his invaluable lessons in the practice of conservation and his example in the broader applications of technical knowledge.

* * * * * * * * * * * * *

The important part played by atelier works and copies in assembling data which will eventually lead to a more accurate classification of the vast number of paintings linked with El Greco's name has been pointed out in a recent study by Dr. Halldor Soehner who, in addition to tracing the development of El Greco's style, has reconstructed the pattern of collaborative production in the great artist's workshop and appended a systematic catalogue of 374 paintings in Spain.[5] At the same time, Dr. H. F. von Sonnenburg has established a new basis of comparison with his analysis of El Greco's technique by means of pigment tests, cross-sections of paint and studies of unfinished paintings.[6] In Spain, where so many of El Greco's masterpieces still remain in the churches for which they were painted, the works in question are in a relatively good state of preservation. In other countries, however, a study of this kind is hampered by the fact that many of the El Grecos have been subjected to frequent restorations; disparities of condition make it much more difficult to disentangle copies and atelier works from those by the master's own hand. It would advance the El Greco research considerably if both original versions and copies were freed of layers of discolored varnish and falsifying repainting, and if the results were published. When cleaning is not feasible, it would be helpful if x-ray and infra-red photographs were available to reveal what lies beneath the surface of paintings which have been altered.

There are still a number of paintings attributed to El Greco which have not yet taken their proper places within the framework or scheme of the great artist's *oeuvre*.

Among the paintings acquired by Henry Walters when he purchased the Massarenti Collection in Rome in 1902 was a "Saint François en extase" attributed to "Théotocopuli, Ecole Vénitienne."[7] To those who examined the half-length figure of the saint silhouetted against a rocky hillside, it appeared to be an atelier work or a copy, because of certain anachronistic landscape elements and its unpleasing brownish green tonality (fig. 1). When, in 1934, the Walters Art Gallery was converted from a private collection into a public institution, the "El Greco" was one of the first paintings brought to the Gallery's technical laboratory, newly established under the direction of David Rosen. On inspection it was found that the painting had been lined at some previous time. Since the paint was flaking and the original canvas was greatly weakened by age,

[3] David Rosen and Henri Marceau, "Daumier: Draftsman-Painter" in *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, III, 1940, pp. 9-41.

[4] *Idem*, "A Study in the Use of Photographs in the Identification of Paintings" in *Technical Studies in the Field of Fine Arts*, VI, 1937, pp. 75-87.

[5] Halldor Soehner, "Greco in Spanien" in *Münchner Jahrbuch der Bildenden Kunst*, VIII, 1957, pp. 123-194; IX-X, 1958-59, pp. 147-242.

[6] Hubert Falkner von Sonnenburg, "Zur Maltechnik Grecos" in *Münchner Jahrbuch der Bildenden Kunst*, IX-X, 1958-59, pp. 243-255.

[7] This identification of El Greco with the Venetian School, instead of with Spain, appears in the 1897 catalogue of the Massarenti Collection (see note 2) and reminds us that it is only since the closing years of the nineteenth century that El Greco has been recognized as an original and important Spanish artist.

FIGURE 2 WALTERS ART GALLERY

Saint Francis Receiving the Stigmata

(The back of the original canvas during transfer to a new support, 1935. The adhesive which had attached the old lining-canvas has been partly removed; the dark areas are the original canvas. At top and bottom ragged edges suggest that picture may have been cut off at a previous time.)

it was decided not only to remove the lining, but also to detach the original fabric from the back of the paint layer, a restoration measure known as a "transfer." Figure 2 shows a photograph taken in 1935 of the back of the original canvas as the painting lay face down on a table, the stretcher and the lining canvas having been removed. At top and bottom, ragged edges suggest that the picture may have been cut down at some earlier date. The adhesive which had attached the old lining canvas has been partly removed, the dark areas being the original canvas, stained and showing signs of numerous old losses which had been filled with a white substance. The original canvas was of a medium-fine, close, regular weave, having in both warp and weft about 12 or 13 threads per centimeter.[8]

After the painting had been transferred to a new canvas, the work of cleaning the surface of the picture itself could proceed. The uppermost layer of soft resin varnish was easily removed, and, in the course of this restricted cleaning of the surface, it was discovered that the tree shown in the upper left corner of figure 1 was a recent addition, since it had been painted on top of the varnish (fig. 5). In 1935 the Walters Art Gallery had no apparatus for x-raying paintings; examination of the paint surface revealed so many losses and restorations that it was judged prudent to proceed no further with the cleaning for the time being.

In 1940, since the proper apparatus had now been installed, Mr. Rosen decided to x-ray the painting, and it was then that a startling discovery was made. In the upper left corner the x-ray shadowgraph revealed a figure of the crucified Christ concealed by an overlayer of paint representing a rocky hillside (fig. 3). Cleaning was therefore resumed in this area; the lower layers of varnish were found to be much less soluble than the uppermost one, but they were finally removed, and with them the overpainting. Instead of muddy tones of dark green and brown, there appeared streaks of white and lemon yellow over a translucent greenish blue sky. The figure of Christ, sketched in ivory white, appeared against shadowy seraphic wings of blue. From the brightly illuminated apparition in the sky, broad brushstrokes of yellowish paint radiated as if to suggest beams of light leading to the saint (fig. 4). New meaning was given to Saint Francis' outstretched hands, as well as a focus for his upward gaze. Complete cleaning of the rest of the picture revealed a much cooler and lighter tonality than before (fig. 6). It was now possible to examine the hard, enamel-like character of the paint, its fine *craquelure,* the variations of surface which alternated between thin, sparingly brushed glazes in the sky and tightly worked impasto which accentuated the coarse, hairy texture of the monk's habit (figs. 12 and 13). For the first time the modelling of the face could be appreciated: the grey underpainting and the half shadows of the flesh tones which emphasized the sunken cheeks, the small touches of rosy-yellow paint on the cheek bones and the ridge of the nose, the violet-grey shadows under the eye (fig. 14).

It is difficult to understand why the figure of the crucified Christ had been overpainted and replaced by a landscape. Possibly the representation of Saint Francis in communion with the apparition in the sky, so expressive of the mystical and visionary art of El Greco, seemed outmoded

[8] Although the Walters painting had been "transferred" before it was x-rayed, the ground or preparation retained the imprint of the weave of the original canvas which can be seen in the x-ray of the apparition in the upper left corner (fig. 3). In the areas of loss where there is no original ground, we can see the weave of the "silk bolting," an intermediary fabric sometimes used between the paint and the new canvas when a transfer is made. For a discussion of similar recordings of the weave of the fabric, see M. Hours-Mieden, *A la découverte de la peinture par les méthodes physiques,* Arts et Metiers Graphiques, Paris, 1957, p. 75, fig. p. 68.

FIGURE 3 WALTERS ART GALLERY

Saint Francis Receiving the Stigmata

(The x-ray shadowgraph of the upper left corner, taken in 1940, reveals a figure of the crucified Christ which was concealed by the overlayer of paint representing a landscape with a tree.)

FIGURE 4 WALTERS ART GALLERY

Saint Francis Receiving the Stigmata

(Detail of upper left corner, after cleaning, 1940-41.)

FIGURE 5 WALTERS ART GALLERY

Saint Francis Receiving the Stigmata

(State, 1935, after uppermost layer of varnish had been removed and with it the tree which had been painted on top of the varnish in the upper left corner. The white spots are losses in the paint.)

FIGURE 6 WALTERS ART GALLERY

Saint Francis Receiving the Stigmata

(State during cleaning, 1940-41. In spite of the losses found after removal of overpainting, the picture regained its original light, cool tonality. As a result of uncovering the apparition, meaning was given to Saint Francis' outstretched hands and upturned gaze.)

FIGURE 7 WALTERS ART GALLERY

Saint Francis Receiving the Stigmata

(Enlarged detail of El Greco's name written in Greek minuscule: "Dominikos Theotokopoulos epoiei.")

in a later age. Considering the great change in color wrought by those who restored the picture, it is not surprising that the subject and composition were also altered to suit the taste of the epoch.

It was evident that in the light of all these discoveries, the whole picture would have to be restudied before the task of restoration could be undertaken. In the months, in fact, years that followed, the surface was subjected to the closest kind of scrutiny and the sub-surface was investigated by means of x-ray and infra-red photographs. Examination was made under the microscope of cross-sections of small samples of paint. In scanning the x-ray shadowgraphs in an effort to distinguish between original and later paint, some interesting observations were made. For example, it was noted that the scallops of white impasto representing edges of clouds did not seem to be a part of the *facture* in this area, but to have been superimposed on the brushwork around the figure of Christ (fig. 3). The fact that they were fully visible in the composition before cleaning (fig. 1) suggested that they might

be later additions. Evidently they were of considerable age, for the paint was insoluble in the usual solvents and could not be scraped off without damage to the thin original paint underneath. Examination of the x-ray of the head of Saint Francis disclosed changes made in the course of painting the monk's cowl (fig. 11)—*pentimenti*—indicative, perhaps, of the working habits of the artist who painted our picture.[9] Whether this evidence is of any significance must await more data, x-rays of other pictures in the Franciscan series, both original works and copies.

The signature, which had been obscured by overpainting and partly hidden by the frame, was examined under the microscope. Written in Greek minuscule, it was now clearly decipherable: "Dominikos Theotokopoulos epoiei (i.e. made it)" (fig. 7). It is well known, of course, that El Greco usually signed his name in Greek: in his early period in capitals; after 1580 in minuscule; occasionally with initials. Not all paintings signed by El Greco were actually painted by him, for he apparently had no hesitation in thus putting the official stamp on work produced in his atelier. It is also true that many workshop pieces and copies were signed with his name by his assistants and followers.[10] In the Walters picture there is a contraction of π and ο which I have not found among El Greco's undoubted signatures. Before it can be decided whether the signature is by his own hand, further comparison must be made both with original and imitated inscriptions.

Because the surface had suffered from abrasion and loss of minute particles of paint, the reddish-brown ground showed through much more than was originally intended, increasing the general warmth of the tone. On the contrary, in the area adjacent to the apparition, the tone was greener than it should have been, because of stubborn flecks of dark green overpainting which remained embedded in the surface. Even more disturbing was the lack of transition between the brightly lighted clouds and the dark shadows behind the saint (fig. 6). How to merge these undefined sections was a question which could be solved only by consulting similar El Greco compositions.

When the "Saint Francis Receiving the Stigmata" was first cleaned it had been recognized that it was one of the many versions of the Franciscan theme created by El Greco: the "Escorial type"—so named after the example in the famous monastery near Madrid (fig. 9).[11] It was also realized that photographs of this prototype would be needed for comparison in the task of reconstructing the artist's intention in the areas of background where the paint was severely abraded and where much detail was lost. World War II intervened, however, before contact with Spain could be established, and it was not until 1953, following several years of correspondence which involved enlisting the aid of the specialist in Spanish art, Professor Walter W. S. Cook, and certain diplomats in Madrid, that the desired photographs were finally procured from the late Vicente Moreno, photographer. The photographic details showed that the Walters example followed the one in the monastery of the Escorial very closely.[12] In our painting the forms of the clouds surrounding the figure of the crucified Christ are not the same as those of the Escorial work (fig. 8), but this difference may be the result of damage and repainting in the Walters picture. If the x-ray

[9] Von Sonnenburg, *op. cit.*, p. 255, note 44.

[10] Soehner, *op. cit.*, IX-X, 1958-59, pp. 151-160.

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 182, no. 24. El Escorial, Salas Capitulares, Size: 1.12 x 0.90 m. *"Um 1581-82."* The signature has been restored.

[12] Although the Escorial example has a greater vertical dimension, this may be accounted for by the supposition that the Walters picture has been cut off at the top and bottom. It would be helpful to know whether the Escorial canvas retains its original horizontal dimension.

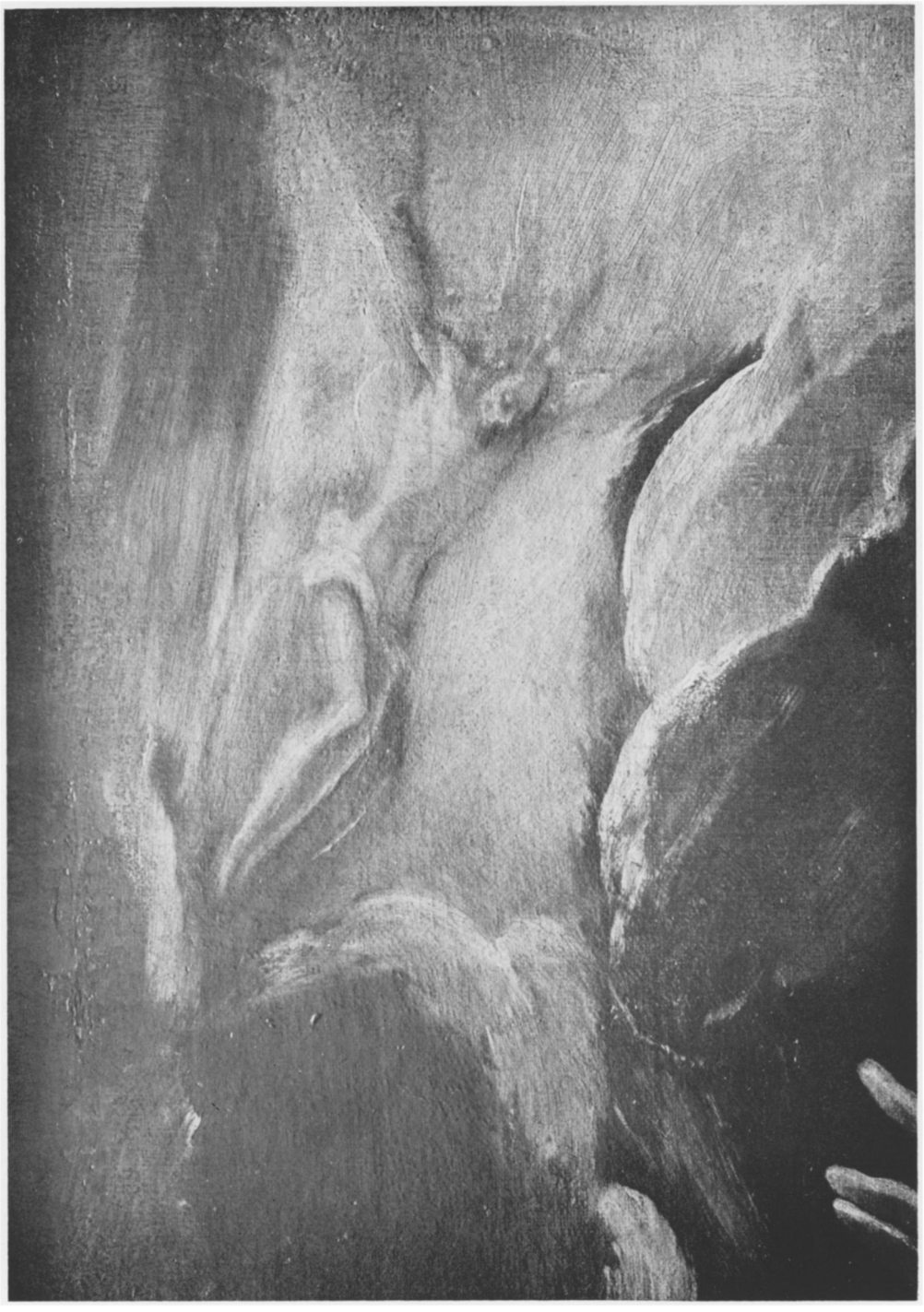


FIGURE 8 MONASTERY OF THE ESCORIAL, SPAIN

EL GRECO

Saint Francis Receiving the Stigmata: detail of upper left corner
(Photograph by Vicente Moreno)

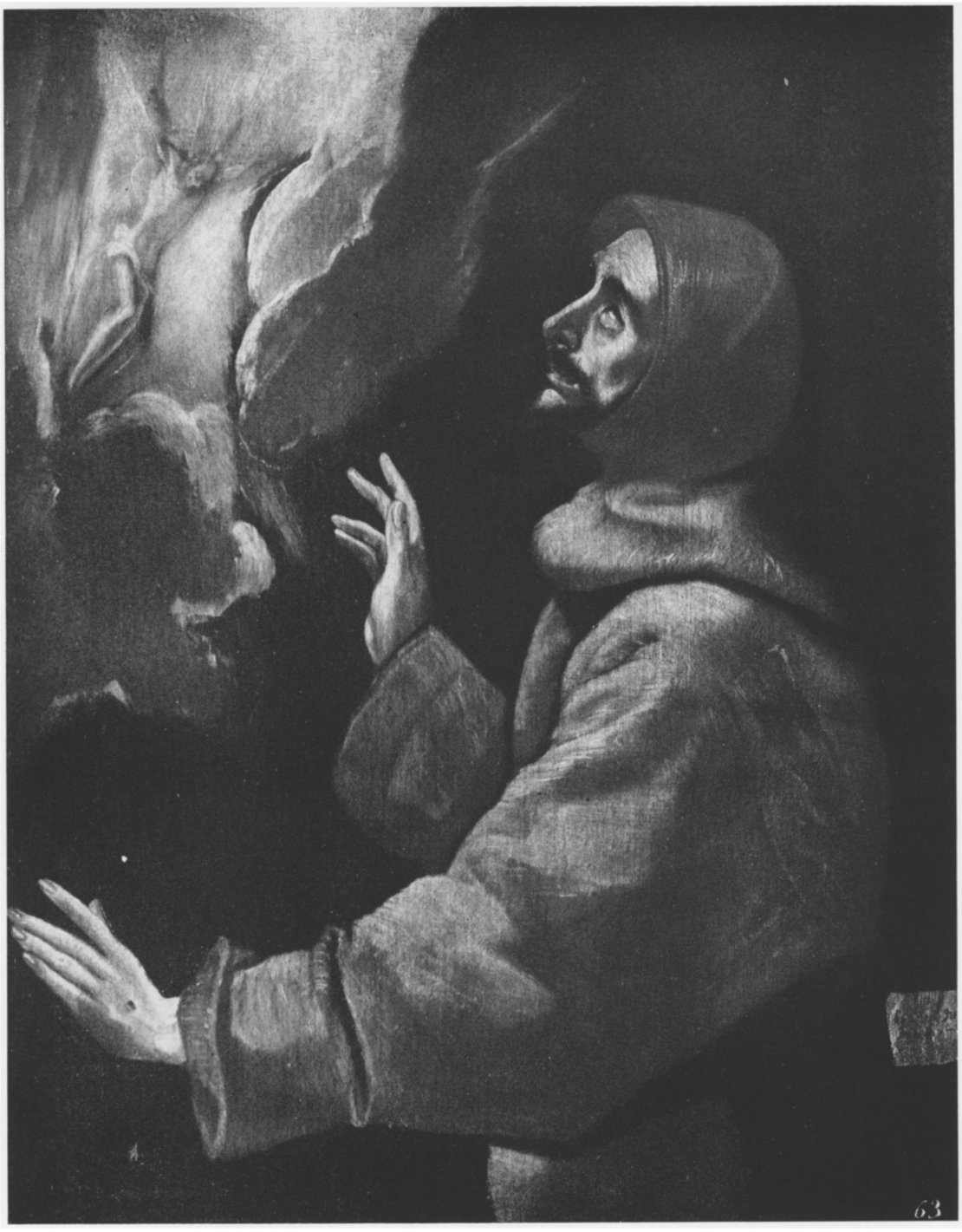


FIGURE 9 MONASTERY OF THE ESCORIAL, SPAIN

EL GRECO

Saint Francis Receiving the Stigmata
(*Photograph by Vicente Moreno*)

of the apparition (fig. 3) is compared with the detail of the corresponding area in the Escorial painting (fig. 8) a certain similarity in the brushwork is noticeable. The treatment of the saint's habit is very close in both pictures. The photograph of the Escorial example also reveals a change in the line of the cowl similar to the *pentimenti* appearing in the x-ray of the Walters painting (fig. 11). When I examined the Saint Francis in the Escorial in 1956, it had not been cleaned recently and therefore it was difficult to make any estimate of its true color tonality.

With the information provided by the photographs at hand, the work of restoration was finally begun. In keeping with the original reddish-brown ground, the losses were first given a local reddish tint in tempera. The inpainting was then carried out in tempera and completed by a glaze over some of these retouches with colors mixed with n-butyl methacrylate resin. Finally, the picture was varnished with a layer of polyvinyl acetate in toluene. Many abraded areas and other signs of age and condition were not touched up, but allowed to remain clearly visible (fig. 10). Although this effect may be disturbing to some, it was decided that "under-restoring" was preferable to the glossing over of imperfections which might make it even more difficult to establish the authorship of the painting.

When the cleaning of the Saint Francis was first completed, its vivacity in comparison to its former state revived hopes that the painting might be by El Greco himself, or at least in part by his hand, an attribution which was held at the time of its publication in the Baltimore *Sun* last year. Since then new opinions have created some uncertainties. The final conclusion as to the exact position of the Walters picture in relation to the documented works of El Greco or his atelier has not yet been firmly established. Before discussing the new evidence uncovered by cleaning, and what it tells us about the technique of the Walters Saint Francis, it is necessary to consider briefly the Greco workshop system in general and the great demand for replicas of the Saint Francis in particular. The atelier assistants known by name from documents are few; there may have been more. Contrary to general belief, a relatively small proportion of atelier replicas were produced between 1576, when El Greco is believed to have arrived in Spain, and 1595.[13] During these years an Italian, Francisco Preboste, was his only known helper.[14] Another "Saint Francis Receiving the Stigmata," also in the Escorial, a version of the so-called "Pidal Type" has been suggested as possibly partly by Preboste.[15] The hard contours and feeble treatment of the drapery folds in that picture are among the features which suggest the work of a helper. In a document of 1597, El Greco's son, Jorge Manuel, was designated to continue the work of a *retablo* of the Monastery of Guadalupe, together with Preboste, in the event of the master's death. From that time until the actual death of El Greco in 1614, Jorge Manuel was active in the atelier. The career and artistic development of El Greco's son is a story in itself and does not concern us, for I can see no relationship between the mannerisms associated with Jorge Manuel or his workshop and the style of the Walters picture.[16] Another artist known to

[13] Soehner, *op. cit.*, IX-X, 1958-59, p. 160.

[14] *Ibid.*, p. 162.

[15] *Ibid.*, p. 183, no. 28: illustrated in Camón Aznar, *op. cit.*, fig. 226.

[16] Elizabeth du Gue Trapier, "The Son of El Greco" in *Notes Hispanic*, III, 1943, pp. 1-47, has restudied Jorge Manuel's collaboration with his father and the production of his own workshop with the result that it has been possible to assign to him certain works formerly attributed to El Greco. See also Soehner, *op. cit.*, IX-X, 1958-59, pp. 166-171.

FIGURE 10 WALTERS ART GALLERY

Saint Francis Receiving the Stigmata: present state

FIGURE 11 WALTERS ART GALLERY

Saint Francis Receiving the Stigmata

(X-ray shadowgraph of Saint's head discloses changes made by the artist in the course of painting the cowl. The dark spots are losses in the original paint.)

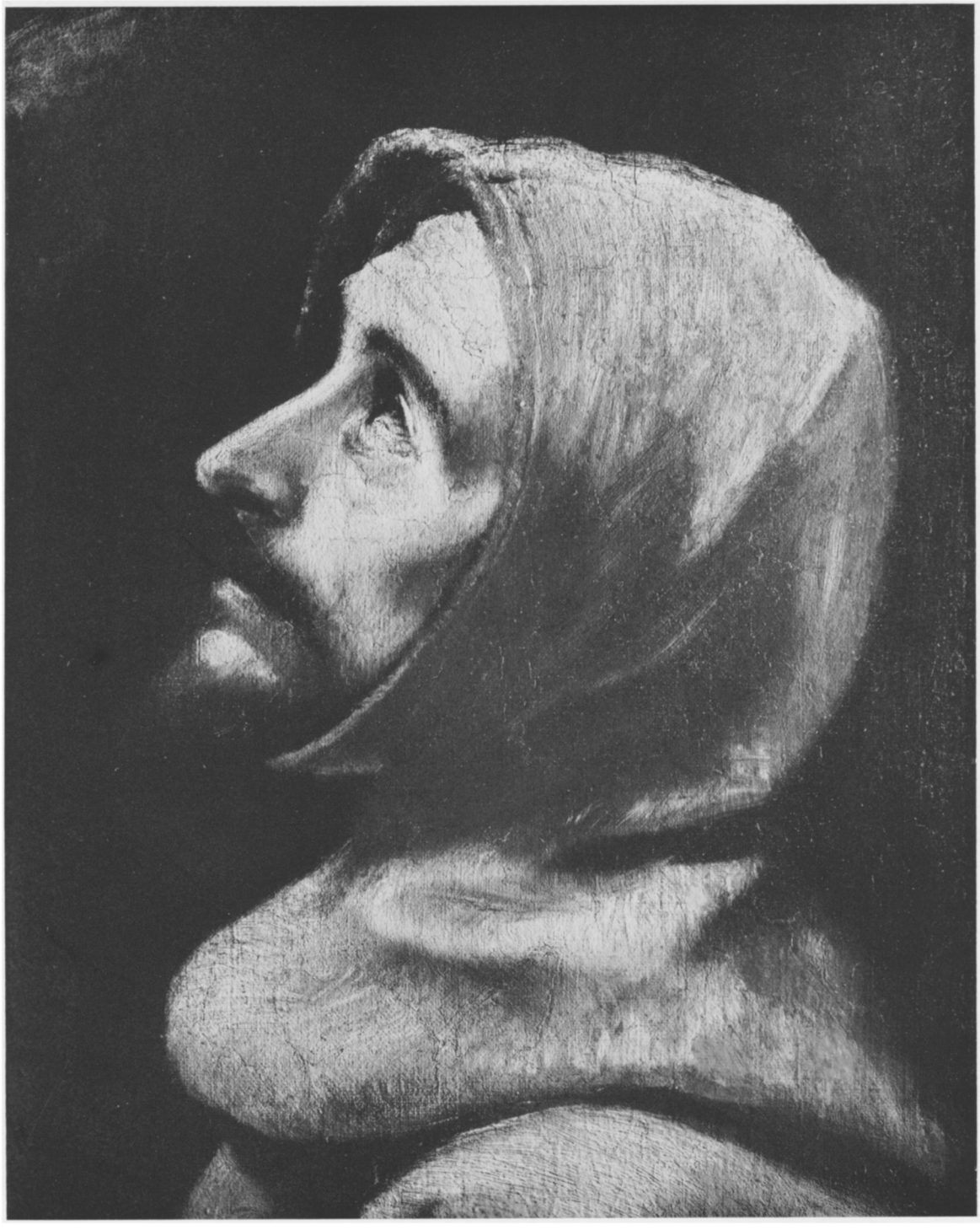


FIGURE 12 WALTERS ART GALLERY

Saint Francis Receiving the Stigmata

(Detail of Saint's head photographed in raking light, emphasizing surface irregularities.)

FIGURE 13

WALTERS ART GALLERY

Saint Francis Receiving the Stigmata

(Detail of sleeve of Saint's habit photographed in raking light, emphasizing the coarse, hairy texture achieved by impasto applied with bristle brush.)

have worked with El Greco between 1603 and 1607, and later on with Jorge Manuel, was Luis Tristan.[17] It was during this period, when the workshop production had become almost an industry, that certain technical methods which facilitated execution were introduced. The modelling of the forms was achieved, not by underpainting in grey as in the earlier works, but by allowing the red bole ground to show through the uppermost layers of paint and thus serve as the shadowed parts. The master then "worked over" the shop pieces with his own inimitable brush strokes, putting in small, deep shadows of crimson madder glaze and other accents. On the other hand, some compositions of this time, notably the Apostle series now in the Greco Museum in Toledo, appear to have been sketched in black, underpainted in grey by the master and finished by Jorge Manuel or someone else.[18] During the late period, from 1607 to 1614, as he became old and ailing, El Greco apparently occupied himself less and less with the atelier pictures. His way of manipulating the paint became so complex and so peculiarly his own that the atelier could no longer imitate it, and thus it is not too difficult to recognize the pictures in which El Greco had no hand at all. Typical of the replicas produced in the late period was the work of a helper known as the Master of the Hatching Stroke, whose use of single brush strokes, mechanically placed, sets apart his style from that of El Greco.[19]

If the atelier paintings can be detected by deviations from El Greco's manner, so can the work of strange copyists who were unfamiliar with atelier techniques, pigments and mediums. Provincial painters reproducing Greco compositions had not the ambition to copy the great artist's brushwork and tended to work in their own manner. The lighting in their pictures was different and so was the general tonality. Involuntarily reflecting the style of their own epoch, they often transformed the grey-toned paintings of the El Greco tradition into brown-toned compositions, similar to those of the school of Caravaggio. They replaced the crimson madder shadows and accents of El Greco with brown or olive green shadows. In some instances, variations in faces, hands and drapery and the introduction of realistic landscapes betray these works.[20]

Copies after El Greco testify to the admiration in which he was held throughout most of the seventeenth century. While his great altarpieces were rarely reproduced, his smaller canvases of the Apostles and Saints were widely copied, for he was one of the most important creators of religious painting of the Counter-Reformation.[21] The enormous devotion to Saint Francis produced in Toledo alone in El Greco's lifetime three Franciscan monasteries and seven convents of this order, and the artist's workshop was busy supplying the demand for paintings of the saint there and elsewhere in Spain.[22] These images of Saint Francis became so popular that, even after El Greco's death, his followers and other painters continued to repeat faithfully the types that he had created and to distribute them to churches and convents. There are said to be about one hundred and twenty representations of Saint Francis attributed to El Greco. Soehner lists only four copies of the Escorial type.[23] None of these is as close to the prototype as the one in the

[17] Trapier, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

[18] Von Sonnenburg, *op. cit.*, p. 249.

[19] Soehner, *op. cit.*, IX-X, 1958-59, p. 166.

[20] *Ibid.*, p. 173. An example of a late copy of the Escorial type is illustrated p. 170, fig. 24, catalogued p. 232, no. 301.

[21] *Ibid.*, p. 171.

[22] Camón Aznar, *op. cit.*, pp. 525-531.

[23] Soehner, *op. cit.*, IX-X, 1958-59, p. 232, nos. 301-304.

Walters Gallery (which that scholar did not know).

From this account of the workshop it will be realized that there are distinctions to be made not only between atelier pictures "worked over" by El Greco, unfinished original compositions completed by assistants, works entirely produced by the atelier, but also distinctions between the styles of different periods during which the workshop flourished. The atelier reflected to some degree each successive stage of El Greco's own artistic development, adopting at one period his smooth, flat technique, at another, his manner of using impasto, still later, his exploitation of the reddish-brown ground. For this reason, copies made some years after El Greco first created the image are difficult to date. It must also be kept in mind that El Greco often varied his method, his color, his *facture,* according to the subject matter depicted. Obviously the series of saints and monks in their sober habits of his early period in Spain demanded a conservative and unspectacular technique and should not be judged by the same standards as a brilliant composition, such as the Martyrdom of Saint Mauritius, which was the dominant work of that period.[24]

In order to decide where the Walters Saint Francis fits into this complicated hierarchy of the workshop, the picture must be studied in relation to representations close to it in subject and in date. Obviously our first recourse is to compare our new evidence concerning its technique with corresponding data from the Saint Francis in the Escorial which is now assigned to the years 1581-82, and from other paintings of the same period. Unfortunately, such data is not available at the present time.[25] The examples of El Greco's technique described and illustrated by Von Sonnenburg are either slightly earlier or else considerably later in date.[26] Thus, we can only publish here observations based upon our examination under the microscope of the paint surface of the Walters picture, upon the analysis of its pigments, and upon our study of x-ray shadowgraphs and enlarged photographs of details of the picture.

The examination of cross-sections of minute samples of paint taken from the forehead, the hand and the sky has confirmed what the worn condition of the painting had already told us, namely that the reddish-brown ground or preparation of the canvas extended under the entire composition. Study of a cross-section of greenish blue paint in the sky showed that the paint had been applied in layers, a light blue opaque stratum with a translucent greenish blue on top. The pigments were identified as follows: the blue particles were azurite, the white matrix was white lead, and the reddish-brown underlayer had the characteristics of red bole.[27] A sample of the violet-grey shadow of the thumb of the right hand was examined and identified as a mixture of white lead and black, possibly charcoal black, over red bole. The violet tone of this shadow might be caused by the reddish ground shining through the semi-transparent grey shadow. The specimen of flesh color from the forehead also consisted of white lead with a few widely scattered red and yellowish brown particles.

The manner in which the modelling of the face was developed can be seen in figure 14. On top of the reddish-brown ground, the artist first laid in the shadows in dark grey. This grey underpainting is visible in varying degrees under the ivory-

[24] *Ibid.,* p. 180, no. 23; date, 1580-82, is documented.

[25] Technical data would be welcomed from an atelier copy, Saint Francis, "Malaga Type," which, judging from the illustration, resembles the Walters painting in many ways, Soehner, *op. cit.,* VIII, 1957, p. 190, fig. 65; IX-X, 1958-59, p. 233, no. 306.

[26] Von Sonnenburg, *op. cit.,* pp. 245-250.

[27] The author is indebted to Mr. Rutherford J. Gettens, Curator, Freer Gallery Laboratory, Washington, D. C., who examined and identified the paint samples cited here.

FIGURE 14 WALTERS ART GALLERY

Saint Francis Receiving the Stigmata

(Enlarged detail of Saint's face, showing the development of modelling. Remains of black overpainting may also be seen embedded in eyebrow, above eye and around nostril.)

colored flesh tones. Adjacent to the thick paint giving the highlight of the cheek bone, the flesh color becomes thinner and the underpainting shows through, producing a violet-grey middle tone. In the lower right of the illustration can be seen the ragged brush strokes which make the transition between the flesh tone and the deepest shadow. The same process can also be recognized in the treatment of the shadows of the temple and around the mouth and chin. The contour of the forehead was formed by a bulky paint dragged over the dark grey, almost black, shadow of the cowl. The flesh tones were enlivened by a number of rosy-yellow impasto high-lights on the ridge of the nose and on the cheek, but they are indistinguishable in the black and white photograph. The deepest violet-grey shadow under the eye registers black in the photograph. Figures 12 and 13 show how carefully the surface of the saint's habit was built up with a lean, bulky paint which retains the imprint of the bristles of the paint brush.

In summing up the evidence of the examination of the paint and the manner in which it was applied, it may be said that the Walters Saint Francis unquestionably demonstrates familiarity on the part of the artist with the materials and techniques of the El Greco atelier: the fine regular weave of the original canvas, which is more characteristic of Greco paintings than of the late copies in which a very coarsely woven fabric is often found;[28] the light, cool tonality, particularly the subtle gradations and half shadows of the flesh tones, and the lemon-yellow, white and azure-blue color scheme of the apparition in the sky. We find in it the carefulness of the works which were produced before 1603, preceding the industrialization of the atelier. We note the tightly worked brush strokes of the saint's habit, in contrast to the loose, haphazard strokes of later copies. We observe, especially in the sky and in the flesh tones, the superimposed paint layers, in which the surface tone is achieved by making use of the transparency of one paint layer over another. We may look in vain, it is true, for some of the very characteristics that we have come to expect in the work of the master: his exciting manipulation of paint, his unique modelling of color, the twist of a form with which he conveyed the existence of a volume in space, the crimson madder glaze with which he enlivened the shadows and contours, the pressure of thumb or finger with which he "worked over" the impasto. On the other hand, if we compare the Walters Saint Francis with the "free" or late copies after El Greco, we find none of the features alien to the atelier tradition which were introduced by provincial painters far removed from El Greco's influence. Certainly the dark tonality, strong contrasts and concentrated lighting used by painters who followed the school of Caravaggio are absent. In its present state after cleaning, our picture reveals no landscape or other variations, no brown, green or black shadows, no "golden tone." Even the signature betrays none of the errors common to the late copies.[29]

The facts about the Walters Saint Francis are set forth here in considerable detail because of our conviction that only by the dissemination of such data will the long overdue classification of El Greco's paintings be achieved. Of a total of about seven hundred paintings attributed to El Greco, Soehner has classified the three hundred and seventy-four examples in Spain, distinguishing those by the master's hand from the studio works

[28] Von Sonnenburg, *op. cit.*, pp. 247-248, mentions that in his first canvases El Greco ranged between fabrics of coarse and fine weave, but for the most part he used a fine, strong weave comparable to the "Sargas" of the Seville School.

[29] Some of the errors found in signatures of late copies are the use of Greek and Latin combined, the presence of undecipherable and meaningless letters.

supervised by him, as well as indicating the relationship of the various categories of copies. Impressive as this achievement is, it only underlines how much still remains to be done, how very recent is our knowledge of the great artist's work.[30] The interpretation of this technical history and the evidence it contains is now up to the specialists in the field; it is they who will decide the exact place of the Walters painting within the framework of El Greco's enormous output.

[30] Soehner, "Der Stand der Greco-Forschung" in *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte,* XIX, no. 1, 1957, pp. 47-75.

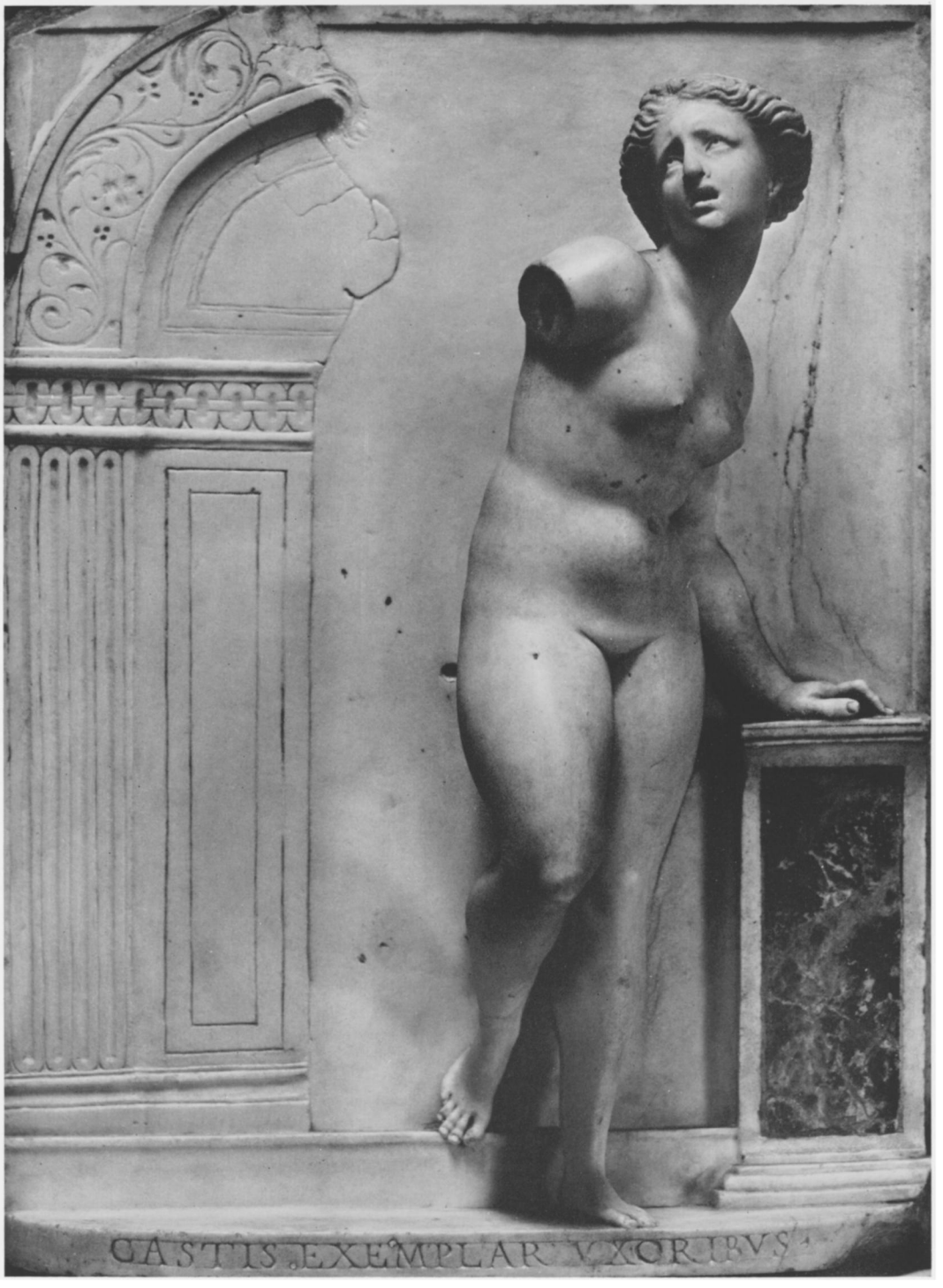


FIGURE 1 WALTERS ART GALLERY

ANTONIO LOMBARDI (?)
Lucretia

THE AUTHORSHIP OF THE WALTERS "LUCRETIA"

By WOLFGANG STECHOW
Professor of the History of Art, Oberlin College

The renaissance marble relief of "Lucretia" in the Walters Art Gallery (fig. 1)[1] is part of a now widely scattered series of reliefs representing heroes and heroines of antiquity, about whose original size and destination nothing is known,[2] and which included a "Eurydice," a "Portia," a "Helle," a "Philoctetes," a "Mucius Scaevola" and an "Achilles"(?).[3] The early fame of several of these works is vividly attested by many copies and adaptations: the "Eurydice" exists in versions in Naples and New York (fig. 5), another one was in the collection of Margaret of Austria in Malines as early as 1524, and the German master P. E. (Peter Ehemann?) copied it as a "Cleopatra" in an alabaster relief of 1532 now in Berlin.[4] Of the Walters "Lucretia" a replica exists (or existed) in the Maurice de Rothschild collection in Paris.[5] Of the "Philoctetes," versions are preserved in the Victoria and Albert Museum in London (fig. 9), as well as in Leningrad, in the Palazzo Ducale at Mantua and in the collection of Mr. J. Pope-Hennessy in London.[6] A composition with "Anthony and Cleopatra" by the same master has survived in two copies only.[7] It is, however, important to add at once that we are not at all certain that we are in possession of "the" original version in *any* of the cases just enumerated. I shall return to this point later on.

[1] Inv. No. 27.252. Height 13½ in.; width 9⅜ in. Acquired by Henry Walters from the Paris firm of Jacques Seligmann in 1928; previously in the Benoit Oppenheim collection in Berlin (*Originalbildwerke aus meiner Sammlung,* Berlin, 1907, no. 102, pl. 53, called "North Italian *ca.* 1550" and attributed to the same hand as the Louvre "Judgment of Solomon," on which see below). Besides the broken arm there are small damages, now repaired, to chin, nose and one toe. For friendly and time-consuming assistance in the tracing of some of the problems of the sculpture's recent history I am grateful to Mr. James Humphry III, Chief Librarian of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, and Mr. Helmut Ripperberger of Knoedler's. My sincere thanks go to Miss Dorothy Miner for aid extended far beyond the editor's call of duty.

[2] At the present stage it seems impossible to arrive at any conclusions with regard to the exact meaning of this series. What can be said with confidence is that the subjects are all traceable either to Ovid or to Valerius Maximus and have in common the point of heroic sacrifice and suffering.

[3] Julius von Schlosser, "Aus der Bildnerwerkstatt der Renaissance, III: Eine Reliefserie des Antonio Lombardi," *Jahrbuch der Kunstsammlungen des allerh. Kaiserhauses* (Vienna), XXXI, 1913/14, pp. 87 ff. and 356 ff.; G. de Nicola in *Burlington Magazine,* XXXI, 1917, pp. 174 ff.; Andrea Moschetti in Thieme-Becker, *Künstlerlexikon,* s.v. "Antonio Lombardi"; Leo Planiscig, *Venezianische Bildhauer der Renaissance,* Vienna, 1921, pp. 259 ff.; *idem* in Thieme-Becker, s.v. "Mosca"; Adolfo Venturi, *Storia dell'arte italiana,* X, 1, Milan, 1935, pp. 433 ff.

[4] Max Sauerlandt, *Kleinplastik der deutschen Renaissance,* Königstein, 1927, p. 81; E. F. Bange, *Die Kleinplastik der deutschen Renaissance in Holz und Stein,* Florence-Munich, 1928, p. 83, pl. 86.

[5] Mentioned in Burlington Fine Arts Club, *Catalogue of Italian Sculpture,* London, 1913, p. 48, under no. 36; Schlosser, *op. cit.,* p. 357, reported his inability to procure a photograph.

[6] Eric Maclagan and Margaret H. Longhurst, *Catalogue of Italian Sculpture, Victoria and Albert Museum,* London, 1932, p. 102, no. A9-1928, entered as "Antonio Lombardo (?) or Il Mosca (?)." I owe the photograph of the Victoria and Albert Museum relief, as well as of the replica in his own collection, to Mr. J. W. Pope-Hennessy, whose assistance in the preparation of this paper is gratefully acknowledged. In the Leningrad version the head of "Philoctetes" appears incongruously in a frontal view: Schlosser, *op. cit.,* p. 98, pl. XX, 2; he considers it an original by A. Lombardi.

[7] Both illustrated by Planiscig, *op. cit.,* pp. 270-271.

FIGURE 2

MARCANTONIO RAIMONDI
after RAPHAEL

Lucretia (engraving)

Since I neglected to mention the Baltimore "Lucretia" in a recent paper in which I tried to trace some special aspects of this subject in renaissance art,[8] I am grateful for this opportunity to make amends, even though I can contribute but little to defining its precise place in the development of Italian renaissance sculpture.

Lucretia, *castis exemplar uxoribus,* as the inscription calls her, is represented nude, bewailing her tragic plight as a victim of Tarquinius' heinous passion and readying herself for the expiation of her guiltless crime. Her left hand is supported by a kind of pedestal, perhaps signifying a house altar, as she steps down toward us, her body fully displayed in rich torsion and contrapposto, its roundness effectively set off against the flat foil of the background. Her right arm has been lost, but can be reconstructed as having once held the sword or dagger she was about to plunge into her body.[9] In contrast, the gateway-like structure in the left background was deliberately designed as broken—almost breaking before our eyes—possibly as a symbolic reference to Lucretia's violation by Tarquinius. The material of the work is a fine marble; the face of the pedestal is inlaid with lapis lazuli (or an imitation of it).[10]

In my article on "Lucretiae Statua" I pointed out that the early popularity of the nude Lucretia as a single statuesque figure seems to be connected with the passion which Pope Leo X evinced for a supposedly antique statue of the subject found in the Trastevere at the beginning of the sixteenth century, and that a design by Raphael, preserved in Marcantonio's extremely influential engraving of about 1510 (fig. 2), may at least serve as a clue to the High Renaissance conception of an ancient Lucretia statue. That Marcantonio's print was known to the author of the Walters relief is primarily suggested by the gateway motif; even though it does not convey any symbolical meaning in the engraving, it is a distinguishing feature of these two renderings.[11] How-

[8] Wolfgang Stechow, "Lucretiae Statua," *Essays in Honor of Georg Swarzenski,* Berlin-Chicago, 1951, pp. 114 ff.

[9] Unfortunately I do not know whether the Rothschild version of the same composition can be used for a reconstruction of this motif.

[10] However, Schlosser, *op. cit.*, p. 92, described it as a "rotes Marmorplättchen," and it ought to be pointed out that the inlay of the "Philoctetes" in London (fig. 9) is called in the catalogue (see note 6) a "red and purplish-grey breccia marble."

[11] A *niche* as background occurs in an engraving attributed to Giacomo (or Giulio) Francia (A. M. Hind, *Early Italian Engraving,* V, 1948, p. 23, no. 4; VII, pl. 812), which is indebted to Marcantonio in several ways; Lucretia is here nude but conceived in a very static manner. Somewhat closer to the Walters "Lucretia" is the same (?) master's engraving, Hind no. 4a (*ibid.,* pl. 811), with its more pathetic facial expression and a left hand which is strangely similar to that of the relief but

ever, the quiet composure of Raphael's clothed "statue" otherwise stands in significant contrast to the high relief, and the different interpretation of the motif of varying foot levels—really a *stance* in the former, a *step* in the latter—is apt to heighten the impression of stylistic difference rather than to weaken it. In the engraving of "Cleopatra" by Agostino Veneziano after Bandinelli (fig. 3)—already connected with the Walters "Lucretia" by Planiscig[12]—the "stance" has been preserved, in a form clearly indebted to Marcantonio's print, but stability of the pose has been sharply impaired. The nudity of the figure, its fully three-dimensional torsion, the motif of the supported hand, and, last but not least, the pathos of the face—head and eyes lifted and mouth more fully opened—leave little doubt that Planiscig was right in considering this "Cleopatra" a main source of the Walters "Lucretia."

A main source—but no more than that. The Bandinelli design is a characteristic example of Florentine Mannerism; the Walters relief, though not untouched by manneristic elements, is deeply rooted in the Venetian High Renaissance. The attitude of the engraving's heroine is a frustrated step rather than a relaxed stance; the Walters figure is stepping down in a movement which betrays High Renaissance composure—and now seems paradoxically more akin to Raphael's than to Bandinelli's conception (figs. 2, 3). Likewise, the relief replaces the tension of the "Cleopatra" with a fluency evocative of High Renaissance principles of style rather than of mannerist ones, its anatomy is more normal, its movement more supple, and even its facial pathos is more "melodious." The relationship between the figure and its surroundings lacks the characteristically mannerist incongruities of the print and conveys an impression of harmony, almost serenity, in spite of its elements of pathos.[13]

FIGURE 3 METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

AGOSTINO VENEZIANO
after BANDINELLI
Cleopatra (engraving)

Among the renderings of the Lucretia theme in actual sculpture, the closest relative of the Walters relief is a statuette by a close follower of Konrad Meit, which in turn is a restrained three-

rests on nothing; there is no architectural background here. Both of these engravings show Lucretia's right hand pointing the sword at her body in a horizontal movement which may have been akin to that of the relief. The question of date and attribution of these two prints seems to be unsettled.

[12] *Op. cit.*, p. 265; see also note 27. It is worth recalling that the New York "Eurydice" (fig. 5) bears a false Bandinelli signature.

[13] A characteristic example of *northern* Mannerism along the lines of Bandinelli's "Cleopatra" is a "Lucretia" by Jan Gossaert, illustrated by Gustav Glück in *Art Quarterly*, VIII, 1945, fig. 10 (see also my article, *op. cit.*, p. 120, note 30).

FIGURE 4 METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

FOLLOWER OF CONRAD MEIT
Lucretia
(Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan 1917)

dimensional version of an engraving by Lucas van Leyden. This work is known to us from a bronze version in the museum at Braunschweig and the boxwood statuette of the Metropolitan Museum in New York (fig. 4)[14] (most probably the modello for the Braunschweig bronze). Various similar statuettes are known, and there is reason to believe that all of them were indebted to a work by Meit himself which was in Margaret of Austria's collection at Malines in 1524 and which may have been executed about ten years before that. The Metropolitan sculpture lacks the more overt pathos of the Walters relief. With her eyes lowered in pained memory of her sufferings and her mouth but slightly opened, Lucretia has already plunged the sword into her chest; but her complete nudity, the fullness of her limbs, the torsion of her body and the angle at which her head emerges from it, tie these two works together. Since there is little doubt that the New York statuette must be dated around 1525-30, any notion that the Italian relief may have been influenced by a northern prototype would have to be based on Meit's presumed original of about 1510-15. But it seems much more probable that Lucas van Leyden's engraving was the source not only of the New York statuette but also of Bandinelli's "Cleopatra" (fig. 3) and, through it, eventually of the Walters relief.

What do these observations suggest with regard to the problem of the authorship of the Walters "Lucretia"?

Julius von Schlosser, in his fundamental, excellently illustrated article of 1913,[15] attributed the group of reliefs to which the "Lucretia" belongs to the Ferrarese sculptor Antonio Lombardi (1458-1516)—after demonstrating that the Bandinelli "signature" on the New York "Eurydice" (fig. 5) was false. In arriving at this conclusion the Viennese scholar did not rely so much on their relationship to the work executed by Antonio Lombardi for the *Camerino d'alabastro*—a room in Bellosguardo Castle, decorated for Alfonso III of

[14] See my article, *op. cit.*, p. 119; E. F. Bange, *Die deutschen Bronzestatuetten des 16. Jahrhunderts*, Berlin, 1949, pp. 70 and 134, pl. 130; *idem, Die Kleinplastik der deutschen Renaissance in Holz und Stein*, Florence-Munich, 1928, pp. 65 ff., pls. 67 and 68; Georg Troescher, *Conrat Meit von Worms*, Freiburg, 1927, pp. 46 ff. (with attribution to Meit himself), pl. 47.

[15] See note 3.

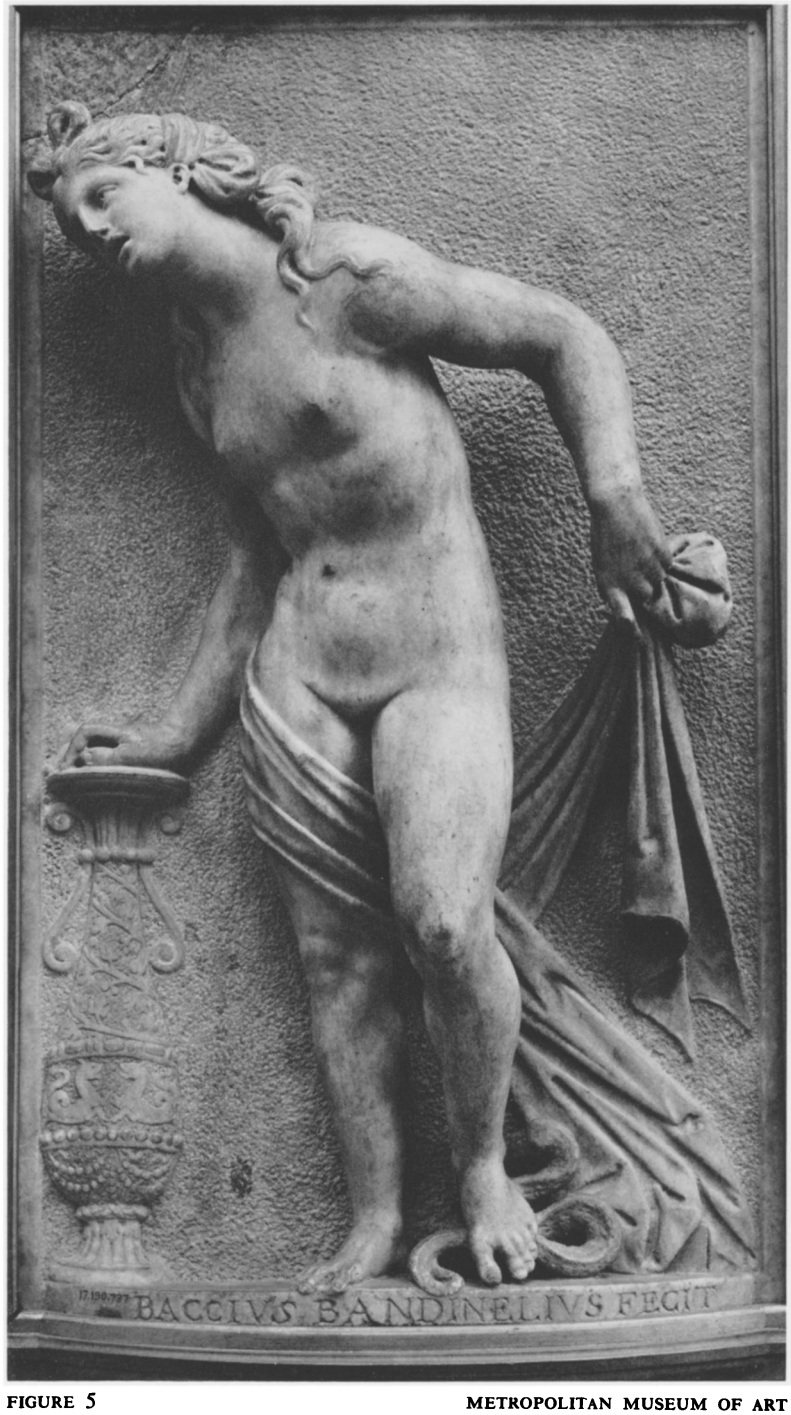


FIGURE 5 METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

ANTONIO LOMBARDI (?)
Eurydice
(Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan 1917)

Ferrara in 1508[16]—as on their resemblance to Antonio's relief for the Chapel of the Santo in San Antonio in Padua ("Miracle of the Child," before 1505). However, the *Camerino* reliefs were subsequently accepted more or less as companion pieces of our group,[17] until Planiscig demurred.[18] Objections made on the basis of style, Planiscig tried to support by documents. According to him, the series under discussion is by the same hand as the marble relief with the "Judgment of Solomon" in the Louvre (fig. 6).[19] He points out that a terracotta relief which can reasonably be identified with the bozzetto for this Louvre marble was described in the diary of the early sixteenth-century traveller, Marcantonio Michiel, who said it was a work by Zuan Maria Padovano (called Mosca). I find less cogent Planiscig's identification, as the modello of the Walters "Lucretia," of another terracotta described by Michiel in the same account as among the Mosca bozzetti—*a*

FIGURE 6 PARIS, LOUVRE

ZUAN MARIA PADOVANO (MOSCA)
Judgment of Solomon

FIGURE 7 LENINGRAD, HERMITAGE

ANTONIO LOMBARDI
The Forge of Vulcan

nuda de terra cotta in piedi appoggiata ad una tavola. It is hard to imagine that the Walters piece could have left a doubt in Michiel's mind with regard to its correct title.

The only surviving documented early relief of Mosca is the "Miracle of the Unbroken Glass," begun by him in 1520 for the Chapel of the Santo in San Antonio in Padua (but finished by Paolo

[16] Adolfo Venturi, *L'Arte,* V, 1902, pp. 61 f.; Lionello Venturi, *L'Arte,* XV, 1912, pp. 305 ff.; Leo Planiscig, *op. cit.,* pp. 215 ff.; Adolfo Venturi, *Storia dell'arte italiana,* X, 1, Milan, 1935, pp. 397 ff.; John Walker, *Bellini and Titian at Ferrara,* New York, 1956, p. 35; John Pope-Hennessy, *An Introduction to Italian Sculpture,* II, New York, 1958, p. 356.

[17] See Andrea Moschetti, *loc. cit.* There exists no indication of any physical or historical connection between the two groups.

[18] See note 3.

[19] For earlier attributions of the Walters "Lucretia" and the "Judgment of Solomon" to the same hand see notes 1 and 3 (Schlosser, p. 97). For the photograph of the Louvre relief I am indebted to the kindness of M. Herbert Landais of that museum.

FIGURE 8 MUNICH, BAVARIAN NATIONAL MUSEUM

ANTONIO LOMBARDI (?)
Helle

Stella in 1529). A comparison of the style of this with the other works under discussion shows the younger master's great indebtedness to Antonio Lombardi. However, it is clear that the older artist's strict classicism was somewhat altered in Mosca's work, in which quicker movements, bolder torsions, and a greater variety in the arrangements of levels and planes make themselves felt. These differences appear even more marked in a comparison between the reliefs which are certain to have belonged to the *Camerino d'alabastro*—i.e., documented works by Antonio Lombardi done in 1508 (figs. 7, 10)—and the "Judgment of Solomon" (fig. 6). I need not dwell upon these stylistic discrepancies, which have been ably characterized by Planiscig, and which are, to a degree, differences not only between personalities but also between generations—Mosca's first known work was done (or rather begun) in 1520, that is, four years after Antonio Lombardi's death; he is supposed to have lived until 1573, and in any case we know for certain that he worked in Prague between 1537 and 1545, and in Dresden as late as 1553.[20]

To Planiscig's eyes, this same relationship applies to Antonio Lombardi and the author of our group of reliefs, whom he therefore unhesitatingly identified with Mosca. But here great difficulties arise, which are at least partly caused by a problem which Planiscig seems to have overlooked: we hardly ever know whether we have to do with the originals of this much-imitated group or—and to what extent—with copies, adaptations, emulations. In the case of the composition of "Anthony and Cleopatra," it seems quite certain that both known versions are but copies. The "Mucius Scaevola" and the "Achilles"(?) in the Bargello do not inspire much confidence either. It is doubtful whether either of the known "Eurydice" versions is the original one.[21] The two "Lucretia" versions cannot be confronted. The Munich "Helle" (fig. 8) has been called a Lombardi workshop piece and it has also been called a German adaptation.[22] The "Portia" is not beyond doubt (see below).

But even if we interpret this situation in Planiscig's favor, he does not seem to have clinched his argument for an attribution to Mosca, and it is precisely a composition accepted by him as a work by Antonio Lombardi,[23] but not illustrated in his book, which jeopardizes his Mosca theory most severely. This is the "Philoctetes" (*Vulnere Lernaeo dolet hic Poean*[*tius*] *heros*), the finest version of which—most probably the original—appears to be the one in the Victoria and Albert Museum in London (fig. 9). This work is not only based directly on an antique cameo, as far as its main motif is concerned,[24] but is also most classical in *spirit*—and undoubtedly very close to the *Camerino* reliefs that are now in Leningrad, as well. This will be borne out by a comparison of Philoctetes' head, anatomy, and movement with the corresponding features of the

[20] See Leo Planiscig in Thieme-Becker, s.v. "Mosca."

[21] Schlosser, *op. cit.*, p. 90, considers the Naples version shop work and the New York one inferior (*gering*); even Planiscig, *op. cit.*, p. 268, accepts neither of the extant versions as the original (in spite of the caption of his fig. 279).

[22] Schlosser, *op. cit.*, p. 98 (Workshop of Lombardi) and p. 358 (quoting the opinion of W. Bode). Inv. No. R 2837; height 38 cm., width 22 cm., depth 10 cm. As this relief was not reproduced by Planiscig (and only poorly by Schlosser, *op. cit.*, p. 99), I am illustrating it here from a photograph kindly put at my disposal by Dr. H. Weihrauch, who also called my attention to the (certainly erroneous) attribution of the "Helle" to Willem Tetrode (J. Six, *Onze Kunst*, XXVII, 1915, pp. 69 ff.) and the mentioning of a similar relief with "Psyche" (?) in the museum at Rennes (not known to me) by M. Devigne, *Oud Holland*, LVI, 1939, p. 89. The Munich relief was first published in *Hirths Formenschatz*, 1906, no. 23, where the frieze is convincingly interpreted as the sacrifice of the ram by Phrixos at Kolchis. It is worth pointing out that the pose of Helle is almost identical in reverse with that of Mucius Scaevola in the Florentine relief.

[23] *Op. cit.*, p. 224 (as "Philostrat"!) and p. 271.

[24] Probably the Hellenistic one of the Beverley Collection, signed "Boethos"; Adolf Furtwaengler, *Die antiken Gemmen*, Leipzig-Berlin, 1900, pl. LVII, 3, with the older literature; see also *ibid.*, pl. XVIII, 64.

men in the "Forge of Vulcan" (fig. 7), and the "Contest between Neptune and Minerva."[25] But that this "Philoctetes" belongs to the group around the Walters "Lucretia" is almost certain, in view of its subject matter and of common features, such as the curved base with the Latin inscription (figs. 1, 9 and [originally] 5), the inlay, background treatment, and so on.

All of these reliefs differ in some essentials from the "Judgment of Solomon" by Mosca (fig. 6). None of them show the conspicuous neglect of the rhythmic relationship between figures and background that characterizes (and in a way vitiates) the "Judgment of Solomon" and makes it look like a fully three-dimensional group all too precariously reconciled with its background. The figures of our series of sculptures are conceived in true relief fashion, with their contours displayed convincingly in such a way as to define and clarify the overall design. Nor can the different conception of the "Judgment of Solomon" be explained by the greater complexity of the scene. A figure like that of the false mother, at the right, in its wrapped-up isolation differs radically from anything that occurs in our relief group. On the other hand, there is certainly a greater torsion and generally a less classical restraint in the "Lucretia" than in the "Philoctetes"—who resembles her more closely with respect to facial characteristics than to the bodily motif. And it is even more evident that there is a notable difference between the "Lucretia" and the *Camerino* reliefs. The "Venus" and the "Apollo" from the *Camerino,* which are now in the Bargello in Florence (fig. 10),[26] show exactly the same classical reserve as Antonio Lombardi's work for the Santo. The figures are basically in frontal positions, have their feet placed both on the same level, and lack the complicated motion of the "Lucretia" and other members of our group to such a degree that Planiscig's qualms can well be understood. Yet, the "Philoctetes" (fig. 9) does form a convincing transition from the *Camerino* reliefs to the "Lucretia" group. For the latter, an attribution to Antonio Lombardi may therefore tentatively be accepted, *provided* we can assume a not inconsiderable chronological interval between the *Camerino* and the present series. If Planiscig was correct—as I think he was—in maintaining that Bandinelli's "Cleopatra" (fig. 3) was a source of the "Lucretia," the latter must indeed be dated a good deal later than the *Camerino* reliefs and not long before Lombardi's death[27] which occurred before March, 1516.[28] Such a solution does not look unreasonable. The lost original of the "Anthony and Cleopatra" composition (in which the "broken wall" motif is as close to the "Lucretia" as the architecture and tree motifs are to the "Philoctetes") belongs in the same vicinity. I am less sure about the "Portia," which at first sight

[25] I owe the photograph of the "Forge of Vulcan" to the kindness of Mr. John Walker. The need for an iconographical investigation of this whole group is drastically illustrated by the title given to the other relief by A. Venturi, *Storia . . .* , p. 400: "Pallade, Ercole e Mercurio"! See the pertinent remarks on the program of the *Camerino* by E. Piot, *Gazette des Beaux-Arts,* 1878, pp. 594 ff., and L. Venturi, *L'Arte,* XV, 1912, pp. 305 ff.

[26] For the inscription on the "Apollo" (A L . D . III) see the literature quoted in note 16. The surface of these figures, which Schlosser, *op. cit.,* p. 358, considers shop work, seems to have suffered severely, and a comparison between them and the reliefs around the "Lucretia" is possible in very general terms only. My thanks to Dr. Eckhard Schaar of the Kunsthistorische Institut in Florence for procuring the photographs and for excerpts from the literature mentioned in note 28.

[27] The date on Agostino Veneziano's engraving (1515) is, of course, not a strict *terminus post quem* for the "Lucretia," since Lombardi may possibly have known Bandinelli's "Cleopatra" cartoon (Vasari-Milanesi, VI, p. 138) from a different source; but the cartoon cannot have antedated the print by more than a few years.

[28] Pietro Paoletti di Osvaldo, *L'Architettura e la scultura del Rinascimento in Venezia,* Venice, 1893, I, pp. 250 f., after Luigi Napoleone Cittadella, *Documenti ed illustrazioni risguardanti la storia artistica ferrarese,* Ferrara, 1868, pp. 193 f.

FIGURE 9 LONDON, VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM

ANTONIO LOMBARDI (?)
Philoctetes

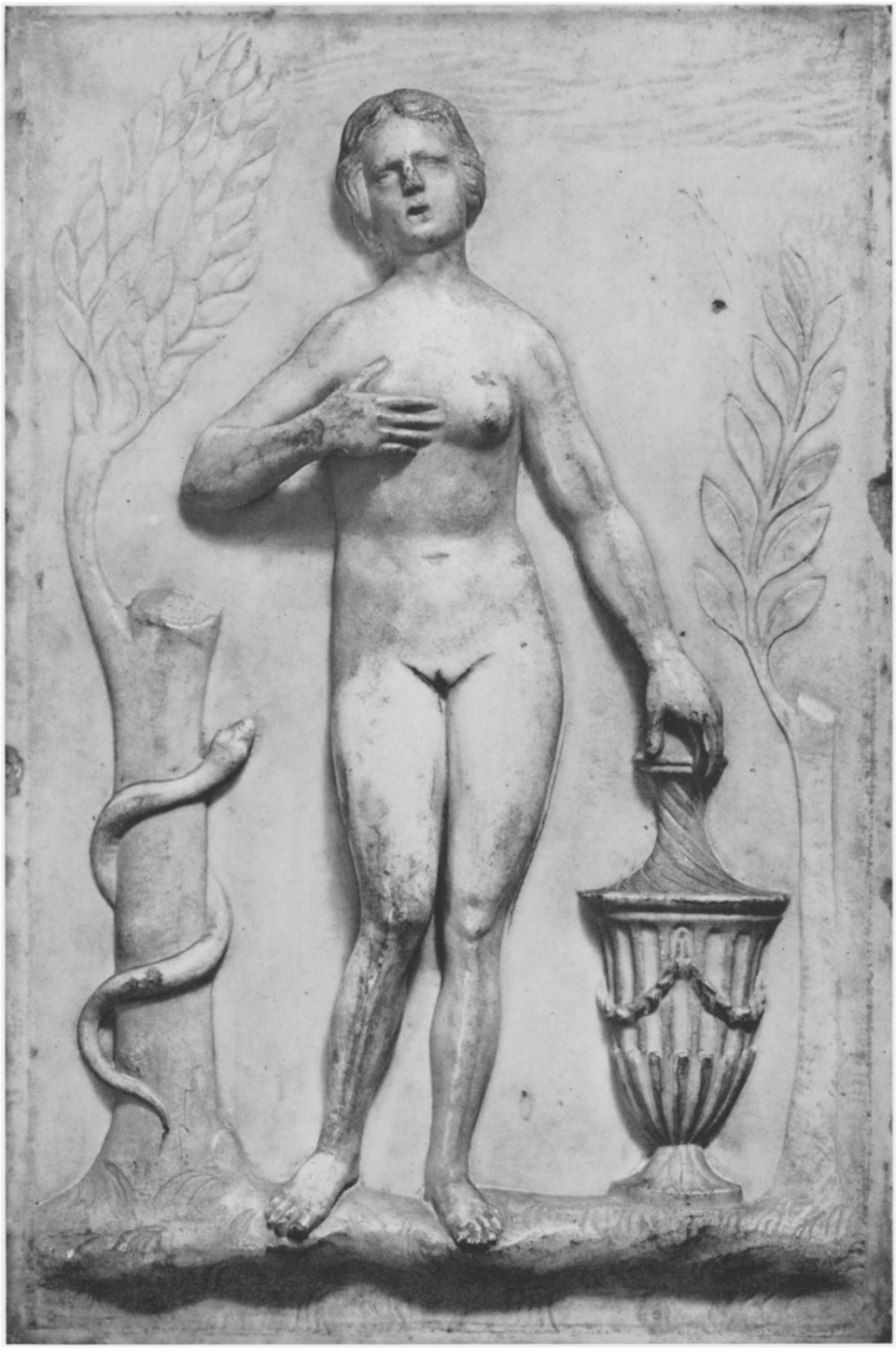


FIGURE 10 FLORENCE, BARGELLO

ANTONIO LOMBARDI

Venus

(Photo: Soprintendenza alle Gallerie di Firenze)

seems to be rather similar to Mosca in type (though not in its relief conception.)[29] The solution of this problem may lie in one of three assumptions: 1) that the "Portia" composition is by Lombardi, but still later than the "Lucretia" and farther on its way, as it were, to Mosca; 2) that the only known version of the "Portia" in Venice is a copy of a lost original which was more closely related to the "Lucretia"; or 3) that Antonio Lombardi died during his work on this series and left some of the pieces—including the "Portia"—for Mosca to complete. The third theory seems to me more convincing than the other two; and it will be remembered that Mosca's activity, as we know it, started about four years after Lombardi's death, which occurred very soon after the presumable date of the "Lucretia." Did Mosca also *copy* works by Antonio Lombardi because of their great reputation? Is this the reason for other similarities between certain versions of our group and Mosca's authenticated pieces? Was the recorded terracotta by Mosca with *la nuda in piedi appoggiata ad una tavola* a "non-Lucretia" variation upon the Walters relief? Was the lost Rothschild "Lucretia" even nearer to Antonio Lombardi than the Baltimore relief? It will take much additional research to give satisfactory answers to these and many other questions.

[29] Schlosser (*op. cit., p.* 96) considers the "Portia" an original by Antonio Lombardi and compares her, not very convincingly, with the woman at the right on the Santo relief of 1505.

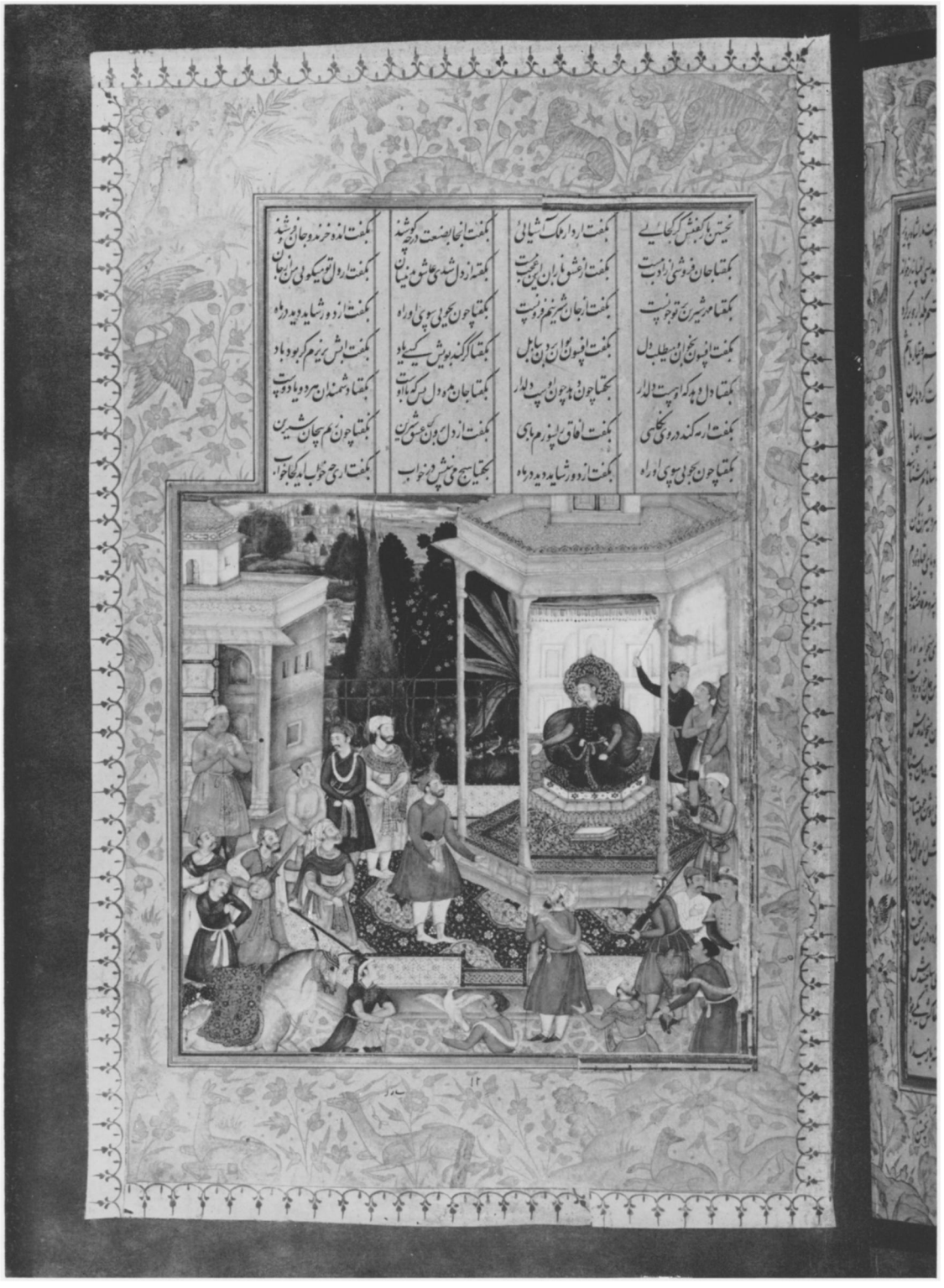


FIGURE 1

WALTERS ART GALLERY

SĀNWLAH

Farhād before Khusrau

(*Ms. W. 613, fol. 5a*)

THE EMPEROR AKBAR'S *KHAMSA* OF NIẒĀMĪ

By STUART CARY WELCH, JR.
Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University

In 1909, C. W. Dyson Perrins, a determined and fortunate English collector of manuscripts, forsook momentarily the Western field and bought a Mughal *Khamsa* of Niẓāmī which has been described as "without exception the most wonderful Indian manuscript in existence."[1] At about the same time, Mr. Henry Walters of Baltimore acquired a portion of a Mughal codex of comparable quality.[2] Both now belong to public collections, the Perrins *Khamsa* having been bequeathed recently, on the death of its owner, to the British Museum (where it is now Or. Ms. 12208), while the Walters fragment went to the Walters Art Gallery through the generosity of the founder. Curiously, it has not until now been realized that the Englishman and the American shared the pages of a single manuscript.

Mr. Perrins found by far the larger piece of the book. His section contains three hundred twenty-five folios, measuring 11⅞ inches by 7⅜ inches, and thirty-seven of the original forty-four full-page miniatures. The borders of each page are adorned with drawings in gold of birds, beasts, and flowers. The Walters part consists of thirty-nine folios, five with miniatures, which leaves two pictures still to be accounted for. Both fragments suffered slightly when the manuscript was remargined, a few of the marginal drawings having been trimmed. Otherwise, the condition is excellent and it is fortunate that the contemporary attributions to painters as well as the numeration of the pictures are undamaged. These numbers enable us to know which paintings are missing from the British Museum folios and supply us with proof that the Walters pictures are indeed from this source—evidence which would other-

[1] F. R. Martin, *The Miniature Painting and Painters of Persia, India and Turkey,* London, 1912, vol. I, p. 81, vol. II, pls. 178-181. For a full description see: Sir George Warner, *Descriptive Catalogue of the Illuminated Manuscripts in the Library of C. W. Dyson Perrins,* Oxford, 1920, vol. I, pp. 314-317, vol. II, pls. 122-125. Further illustrations have been published by Percy Brown, *Indian Painting Under the Mughals,* Oxford, 1924, pls. 36, 37, 40 (fig. 2), and 18, a portrait of the calligrapher with a self-portrait by Daulat, added to the manuscript at the order of the Emperor Jahāngīr (1605-1627) soon after his accession.

[2] Walters Art Gallery, W. 613. 39 folios (338 x 208 mm.), remargined with colored papers. 21 lines of nāsta'liq script in four columns per page (text dimensions 197 x 107 mm.). Fols. la-6b fragment of *Khusrau u Shīrīn;* fols. 7a-39b part of *Sikander-nāma.* The names of the artists and the picture numbers were originally deciphered by Dr. Richard Ettinghausen. I am indebted to Miss Dorothy Miner of the Walters Art Gallery for this and other valuable information which has made it possible to identify the Walters fragment as part of the Perrins *Khamsa.* This article is entirely due to her encouragement.

A translation of part of the text given in the Walters folios can be read in: H. Wilberforce Clarke, *The Sikandar Nama, e Bara,* or *Book of Alexander the Great,* London, 1887.

FIGURE 2 WALTERS ART GALLERY

SHĪVDĀS

Making the Mirrors

(*Ms. W. 613, fol. 17a*)

FIGURE 3 WALTERS ART GALLERY

NĀNHĀ

The Invention of the Mirror in the Presence of Alexander the Great

(*Ms. W. 613, fol. 16b*)

FIGURE 4 WALTERS ART GALLERY

DHARM DĀS

The Death of Darius

(*Ms. W. 613, fol. 26b*)

wise be based upon size, style, and the fact that the Walters miniatures illustrate sections absent from the Perrins manuscript.

The Walters-British Museum *Khamsa* was written in the 40th regnal or Ilāhī year (A.D. 1595) by 'Abd al-Rahīm, known as "'Ambar Qalam" or "Amber Pen," one of the most distinguished calligraphers of his day.[3] It was probably produced at Lahore, then the centre of the Mughal court, and might be a companion volume to a *Bahāristān* of Jāmī, similar in size and format, now in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, which was written there in the 39th year of the Ilāhī era.[4] A number of excellent miniatures by the same group of artists in the Metropolitan Museum of Art,[5] illustrations to the poems of Amīr Khusrau Dihlavī, one of India's greatest Muslim poets, further suggest that these volumes once formed an imperial set of poetry. Such a series would almost certainly have included the works of Niẓāmī (1140-1203), one of Persia's most renowned writers, best known for his *Khamsa,* or "quintet."

Our manuscript is dated sixty-nine years after the conquest of much of Northern India by Bābur (1526-30), a descendant of Tīmūr, who came from Persia in search of a kingdom. Although a passionate lover of nature and the author of a remarkable autobiography in which he occasionally discusses painting, it is unlikely that he had time in his short reign to foster a school of painting. This was left to his son, Humāyūn (1530-1556), who brought two notable miniature painters from Persia, Mīr Sayyid 'Alī and 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad, one of whom instructed Akbar (1556-1605), the original owner of the *Khamsa,* in the art. Humāyūn is said to have commissioned the vast series of giant "miniatures," probably the largest book paintings in Muslim art, which illustrated the *Dāstān-i Amīr Ḥamza,*[6] although none of the surviving examples can be earlier than the Akbar period. The few pictures which are most generally accepted as belonging to the reign of Humāyūn are in a style that differs little from Persian painting.

Akbar's incredible energy, intelligence and curiosity are reflected in the school of painting which he so lavishly supported. Although illiterate, he was a generous patron of many forms of learning. Poets, philosophers, theologians of vari-

[3] We are indebted to Dr. Basil Gray, Keeper of the Department of Oriental Antiquities of the British Museum, for his kindness in deciphering for us the two colophons of the calligrapher, on folios 284 verso and 325 verso. Both of these give the date as the 40th Ilāhī year, and the second and final one includes the day of the finishing of the work: the 4th Āzar (i.e. November 24th, 1595). The several previously published references have mentioned dates varying from 1593 to 1596.

[4] Bodleian Library, ms. Elliott 254. *Vide:* Sir Leigh Ashton (editor) and Basil Gray, *The Art of India and Pakistan,* London, 1950, no. 651, p. 146. Although never published in full, a number of reproductions can be found in: *Mughal Miniatures* (Bodleian Picture Book No. 9), Oxford, 1953, figs. 8-12, and Percy Brown, *op. cit.,* pls. 35 and 40 (fig. 1).

[5] M. Dimand, *Handbook of Muhammedan Art,* 2nd ed., New York, 1944, fig. 33. The earliest dated manuscript of this kind is a *Dīwān* of Anwārī, far smaller in format, written at Lahore in 1588 and illustrated by the same atelier. This manuscript also formed part of the fine collection of the late C. Dyson Perrins and was sold at the auction of the second part of his collection at Sotheby's, December 1, 1959, lot 93, pl. 45. It is now in the Fogg Art Museum. Other literary manuscripts of this phase of Akbarī painting include: a second version of the *Khamsa* of Niẓāmī, in the collection of A. C. Ardeshir, Poona; a *Dīwān* of Hāfīz, ca. 1595, in the National Museum of India; a dispersed *Dīwān* of Shāhī, of pocket size, of about the same date, four miniatures from which are in American private collections; a *Khamsa* of Amīr Khusrau Dihlavī, dated 1597/8, in the Walters Art Gallery, W. 624 (possibly the source of the miniatures in the Metropolitan Museum of Art mentioned above); and an *Anwār-i Suhailī,* dated 1596/7, in the Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras. Several isolated miniatures from other manuscripts of this group could also be listed. The miniatures from these manuscripts are notable for their exquisite finish and each is the work of one of the most admired of Akbar's artists working unassisted. Such manuscripts continued to be made after the accession of Jahāngīr in 1605, but they belong to another phase of Mughal book painting and need not concern us here.

[6] The fullest account of this manuscript is given by H. Glück, *Die Indische Miniaturen des Haemzae-Romanes,* Vienna, 1925.

ous schools and artists were attracted to his court. We know the names of over one hundred of his painters, many of whom were Hindus. It is probable that their influence contributed largely to the break with the Persian tradition to which Mughal painting owed so much in its beginnings. Inspired by the emperor's inquiring mind, artists studied nature itself rather than the stock forms handed down to them. Art ceased, for a time, to feed upon art. Birds, animals, landscape, and mankind were seen with a new, sharper focus. Contemporary life was drawn in all its aspects, however savage and cruel. The concept of space changed, too; no longer did the artist arrange his world in pleasing areas of flat color. Mughal painters saw life "in the round." Their landscapes recede and figures gained an amplitude hitherto unknown in Islamic painting, recalling the predominantly plastic tradition of India, where even the wall paintings, as at Ajanta, are sculptural in effect.

The earliest book illustration of the Akbar period was probably very Persian in character; we have no examples of which we can be certain.[7] Soon, however, the style which we associate with the *Dāstān-i Amīr Ḥamza* had developed, with its sweeping rhythms, intense color, and large areas of dynamic, richly patterned ornament. Persian conventions were gradually replaced by a kind of naturalism based not upon such laws as true perspective, but the result of groping to express the real world in visual terms. Pictures of this phase have the same admirable honesty one finds in the work of certain "primitive" painters—such as the Douanier Rousseau—who were forced to think out original solutions to technical problems which might easily, but uninterestingly, have been overcome by a competent academic. Within a few years, the appealing awkwardness of the *Ḥamza* series disappeared (the only manuscript of conventional size in this style is dated 1568,[8] while the next dated Mughal manuscript,[9] of 1570, is in a less restless, "progressive" style, not much different from work of the following decade). The bluster of the *Ḥamza* manner was superseded by a more illusionistic and miniaturistic style, which compensates for the loss of sweep and breadth by its jewel-like richness. Atmospheric perspective, foreshortening, and other devices borrowed in part at least from European sources—engravings and paintings were considered valuable items for trade by contemporary English and European merchants—made it possible for the Mughal artist to record historical events with startling immediacy. Akbar ordered an illustrated historical series, of which several volumes have survived,[10] that describes the events of the past so vividly that we can almost feel ourselves spectators. This huge project, climaxed by a worshipful account of Akbar himself, was no less than a history of the world. The entire imperial atelier worked on

[7] A puzzling *Gulistān* of Sa'dī in the British Museum (Or. 5302) may shed light on this period, although it was written at Bukhārā in 1567. Seven of its thirteen miniatures are in a variant of the Bukhārā style and might have been painted in India. One of the miniatures contains an inscription with Akbar's name and titles; the costumes are Mughal and the pigments have an Indian "feel" to them. For a reproduction of one of the possibly Mughal miniatures see: H. Blochet, *Musulman Painting,* London, 1929, pl. CXVIII. This miniature is signed by Shahm Mudhahhib.

[8] A *Duwal Rānī Khizr Khān* of Amīr Khusrau Dihlavī, containing two full page miniatures, in the National Museum of India. The author hopes to publish this important and earliest dated Mughal manuscript in the Bulletin of the National Museum.

[9] An *Anwār-i Suhailī* in the School of Oriental and African Studies, London. For a description and plates see: Sir Leigh Ashton (editor) and Basil Gray, *op cit.,* no. 636, color pl. F, pl. 119.

[10] A *Jāmi 'al-Tawārīkh,* dated 1595, in the Gulistan Library, Teheran; a *Tīmūr-nāma* at the Bankipur State Library, Patna; and the *Akbar-nāma,* of which 116 miniatures are in the collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum. A number of scattered pages have also survived from the *Tarīkh-i Alfī,* prepared for Akbar between 1582 and 1588.

FIGURE 5 WALTERS ART GALLERY

BĪM GUJARĀTĪ

Alexander the Great Enthroned at Persepolis
(*Ms. W. 613, fol. 34a*)

it, as many as four or five artists collaborating on each illustration. A master painter would sketch the design, an assistant paint it, and a specialist or two then added portraits or other details.

Communal work of this kind is not found in the small group of *de luxe* literary works to which the Walters fragment belongs. These extraordinary volumes were intended for the personal use of the emperor himself or for someone in his immediate circle and no economies were made. More intimate in scale than other Mughal manuscripts, these books were written and illustrated by the most distinguished calligraphers and artists. Each painting was the work of a single master from start to finish; working without assistants, the painters were encouraged to rise to the peak of their form. They strove to devise original compositions and outdid themselves in minutiae of brushwork. The *Khamsa* is a splendid example of what the Mughals themselves admired most in their miniature painting.

The first of the Walters miniatures (folio 5a, figs. 1, 6) is from the poem of the *Khamsa* entitled *Khusrau and Shīrīn,* the tale of a Shah of Persia and his beloved. Unhappily, a sculptor, Farhād, vied with the ruler, Khusrau, for Shīrīn's devotion. The contest was hardly fair; Khusrau promised the girl as a prize if Farhād could dig a tunnel through the greatest mountain in Persia. Inspired by his love, Farhād accomplished the impossible; but naturally the king kept the girl. Painted by Sānwlah, whose work is found in three of the British Museum's miniatures from the same manuscript,[11] Farhād stands before the Shah. He wears a bright orange *jāma,* white *pāyjāma,* and blue turban, while the king dazzles us in a rich crimson cloak over a green *jāma.* Attendants, musicians, and spectators are dressed in bright reds, oranges, tans, blues, and yellows; a dappled gray horse carries a gold brocade saddle blanket. Rugs, throne, and the slender-pillared architecture are suitably elegant. Behind a red fence, we see a particularly lush and Indian garden of plantains, cyprus, and dark green trees, beyond which are a river and a distant walled town. The mood of the court suggests that the lovesick sculptor has just heard his assignment.

The final poem of the *Khamsa,* to which the remaining illustrations belong, is called the *Sikandar-nāma,* or story of Alexander the Great—a figure at least as well known in the East as in the West. The world-conqueror is first seen (folios 16b-17a, figs. 2, 3) as he supervises the making of mirrors—according to Niẓāmī, the first that the world had known. Although the illustrations form a double-page composition, the right half is by Nānhā,[12] the left by Shīvdās.[13] It was seldom the practice for Mughal artists to sign their work, but attributions were often written, as here, in the lower margin by the clerk in charge of the

[11] Sānwlah painted folios 19, 26 and 39 of the London section. He also worked on the *Darab-nāma* in the British Museum (Or. 4615), a collection of tales from the Persian *Shāh-nāma,* of about 1580-1585, the *Razm-nāma* of the later 1580's, now in the City Palace Museum, Jaipur, the Bankipur *Tīmūr-nāma,* the Bharat Kala Bhavan's *Anwār-i Suhailī,* and the Walters Amīr Khusrau Dihlavī. His name is one of those singled out for praise by Abu'l-Faẓl, Akbar's biographer.

[12] Nānhā painted folios 9, 21 and 41 of the London part of the *Khamsa.* He also painted for the *Darāb-nāma* in the British Museum, the Victoria and Albert Museum *Akbar-nāma,* a *Bābur-nāma* in the British Museum (Or. 3714), another *Bābur-nāma,* possibly the earliest version, pages of which are in the Victoria and Albert Museum, and the Bankipur *Tīmūr-nāma.* A miniature in the Fogg Art Museum's Anwārī can be attributed to him, although it has lost its contemporary inscription. A miniature in an *Anwār-i Suhailī* in the British Museum (Add. 18579), dated 1610/11, shows us his work at a later stage (*vide:* J. V. S. Wilkinson, *The Lights of Canopus,* London, 1929, pl. 25). Another miniature by this master, painted at about the same time, is published by A. K. Coomaraswamy, *Notes on Mughal Painting,* 2, *Artibus Asiae,* III, Dresden, 1927, p. 212, fig. 20.

[13] Shīvdās is less well known than the others who worked here. A portrait of the Jahāngīr period, however, is attributed to him (*vide:* G. Stanley Clarke, *Indian Drawings,* London, 1922, pl. 11), and his work is found in an *'Iyār-i Dānish* manuscript in the Library of Sir Chester Beatty.

FIGURE 6 WALTERS ART GALLERY

SĀNWLAH

Farhād before Khusrau

(*actual-size detail of figure 1*)

project. Nānhā's picture sets bright tones against a predominantly low-keyed tan ground. The Macedonian kneels attentively, surrounded by servants, as the master artisan reads his instructions to the workmen. Skeptical graybeards glower nearby. In the centre of the courtyard, a forge is heated with a bellows by an exceptionally broad-shouldered young man in a vermilion coat. At the lower left, a blacksmith in rose and blue shapes a round mirror, hot from the fire, on an anvil. Nānhā had a special aptitude for painting workmen, whom he drew with such sympathy and vigor that we can virtually feel their labors. Opposite, Shīvdās's painting extends the scene to include two more forges and a group of spectators, two with horses, who stand before a brick-

colored wall. The two painters do not seem to have worked in close coordination, as the ground is pale green here rather than tan.

The death of Darius, slain by two of his own officers, (folio 26b, fig. 4), was painted by Dharm Dās,[14] one of the most prolific of Mughal artists. The head of the Achaemenian king rests on Alexander's knee, while the victor meditates on the passing of yet another empire. Nearby, the assassins humble themselves. In the foreground, the battle still rages; behind a large tree, several horsemen pursue the fleeing enemy. In the distance, we can make out a walled city and a shrine set atop a steep hill. Strong reds, blues, and yellows dominate a composition which effectively suggests the chaos of warfare.

Having defeated the Persian ruler, Alexander is next seen enthroned at Persepolis (folio 34a, fig. 5). He appears to be crowning himself with a headgear very like that worn by the Mughal emperor Humāyūn,[15] whom he also resembles. It was the custom in most Mughal paintings to depict personages of the past either in Mughal dress or in costumes which have been adjusted to the required epoch by such additions as Mongol feathered hats or the animal skins said to have been worn by primitive man. Alexander wears a vermilion robe over a sombre green *jāma* as he receives the devotion of violently saluting courtiers, who have brought him golden vessels, a hunting cheetah, and a hawk. Painted by Bhīm Gujarātī,[16] the palette is appropriately festive; apple greens, pale yellows, and pinks contrasting effectively with richer and deeper tones. An especially attractive border is decorated with a drawing in gold of birds and animals, mythological as well as natural, in a setting of flowers, trees, and rocks.

Mughal paintings of the type and quality found in the Walters-British Museum *Khamsa* are rare. Few remain in India, and there cannot be more than thirty outside of the Walters Art Gallery in the United States. It is, therefore, fortunate that these are available to students and lovers of painting in this country, although one regrets their separation from the main body of the manuscript. At any rate, the gentle reader in the British Museum can now know that a visit to Baltimore will enable him to see most of the pages missing from Akbar's *Khamsa* of Niẓāmī.

[14] Dharm Dās painted folios 5, 7, 15, 24 and 34 of the British Museum part. He also worked on their *Darab-nāma* (Or. 4615), the Victoria and Albert Museum's *Akbar-nāma* and *Bābur-nāma,* the Walters Amīr Khusrau Dihlavī, the Beatty *'Iyār-i Dānish,* the Bankipur *Tīmūr-nāma,* and the *Anwār-i Suhailī* at the Bharat Kala Bhavan.

[15] Many portraits exist of which one of the earliest and best known is in the British Museum (*vide:* Lawrence Binyon, *A Persian Painting of the Sixteenth Century, Emperors and Princes of the House of Timur,* London, 1930, halftone and detail in color). The resemblance of Alexander to Humāyūn is intentional and meant as a tribute to Akbar's father.

[16] Bhīm Gujarātī is known from the British Museum *Bābur-nāma* (Or. 3714), the Bankipur *Tīmūr-nāma,* and the British Museum's section of the *Khamsa,* for which he painted folio 42.

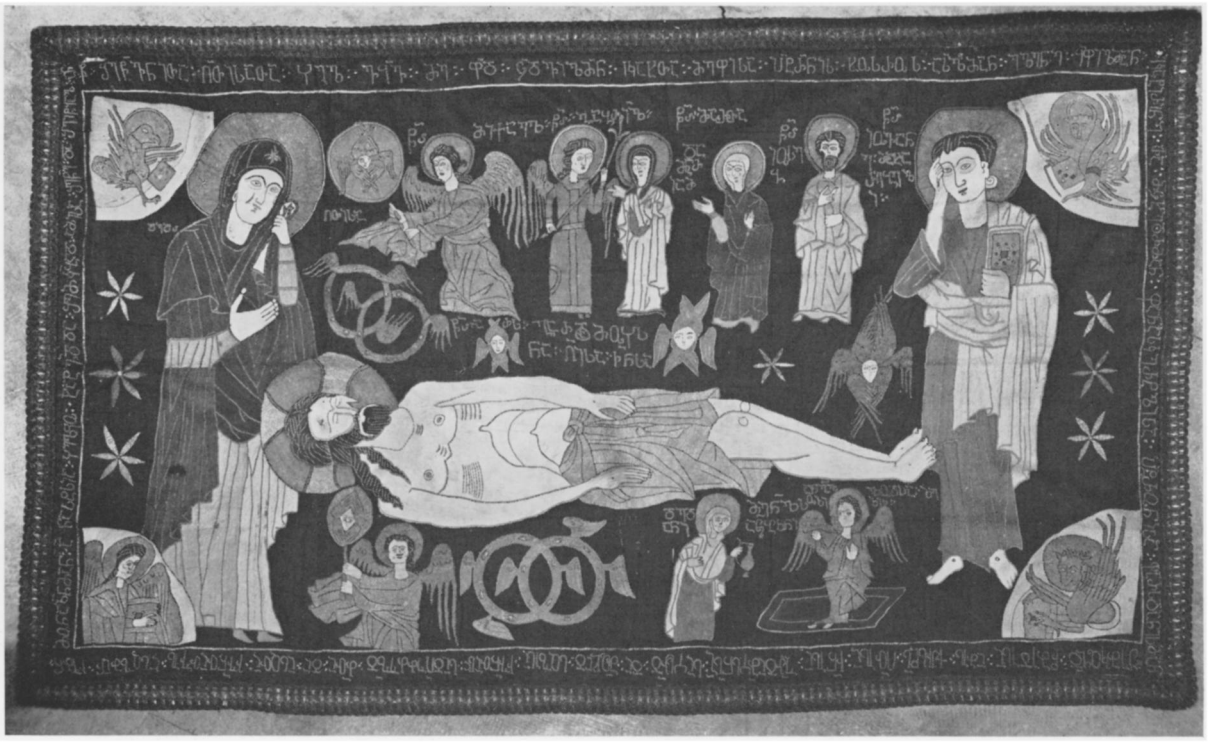


FIGURE 1 DETROIT INSTITUTE OF ARTS

Georgian Epitaphios

NOTES ON GEORGIAN MINOR ART OF THE POST-BYZANTINE PERIOD

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During the last two decades, various journals have published papers concerning Georgian minor art. These articles certainly deserve the attention of students, for they deal with the state of Georgian art after the fall of the Byzantine Empire.

However, most of the heretofore published papers concerning the monuments of post-Byzantine art are either misleading or at least partially erroneous. Hence, there is a real need for reconsideration of these subjects. I do not propose in this paper to give a detailed investigation of the artistic significance of the monuments. Such an analysis would be impossible, for in only one instance have I had the chance to examine the works which form the subject matter of my paper. Particularly in the case of embroideries, color is of great importance, and since my observations are based upon photographs, I shall not presume to set forth the exhaustive evaluation which these post-Byzantine monuments deserve and which I

hope subsequent scholarship will give them.

The first work to which we turn our attention is an *epitaphios* preserved in the Detroit Institute of Arts (fig. 1). This work is the subject of two almost simultaneous articles by A. C. Weibel[1] and M. Brière.[2] Weibel's interpretation of the composition was to a certain extent inaccurate; Brière, on the other hand, misread the Georgian text, an error which led to misinterpretation. The errors are obvious, and they are easily corrected.

The *epitaphios* is a large embroidered cloth. The Greeks knew it as ἀήρ ἐπιτάφιος, which was later shortened to εἰλητόν (corporale).[3] It is related to the linen cloth in which the Jews wrapped their dead after the bodies had been washed and anointed with aromatic unguents.[4] The *epitaphios* is of eastern origin and is used in orthodox churches during special liturgical services to symbolize the ceremonial bier of Christ. On Good Friday it is transferred from the altar-room to the middle of the church, where it is laid on a catafalque for worship. During the Easter-night liturgy, it is returned to the altar-room; there it is placed on the altar-table until the Feast of the Resurrection.[5]

Epitaphioi are normally rich in colorful embroidery and other decoration. Directly in the center, dominating the whole composition, lies a supine Christ. His hair is long, and about Him is wound the sheet, just as He was taken from the cross and placed upon the blanket (*sindon*). In most *epitaphioi,* above the body of Christ are angelic and superangelic beings, the Virgin, St. John the Evangelist, Joseph of Arimathea, Nicodemus, and the Holy Women. However, the number of figures varies. There may be more, especially those of angelic beings, or, on the other hand, there may be less figures than those I have mentioned. For example, the earliest *epitaphios* in the Stroganoff collection represents only the figures of Christ and two mourning angels. Rarely the figure of the donor appears in a praying posture.[6]

There are many iconographical variants of *epitaphioi.* Some show the body of Christ just taken from the cross by Joseph of Arimathea and Nicodemus; the body lies on a *sindon.* Some variants represent the lamentation over Christ, while others picture the anointing with myrrh. Still others present a combination of these themes. But

[1] A. C. Weibel, "An Embroidery of the Eastern Orthodox Church," *Bulletin of the Detroit Institute of Arts,* XXXIV, no. 1, 1954-55.

[2] M. Brière, "Une broderie géorgienne à Detroit," *Cahiers archéologiques,* VIII, 1956, pp. 245-248.

[3] Concerning *epitaphioi,* see N. Kondakov, *Pamjatniki khristianskogo isstkusstva na Afone,* St. Petersburg, 1902, pp. 260 ff.; concerning εἰλητόν, cf. Reiske, *De cer.,* II, p. 162; also the article by M. I. D. Stefanescu in *L'art Byzantin chez les Slaves dédié à la mémoire de Théodore Uspenskij,* I, pp. 303 ff. and one by R. P. G. de Jeraphanion, *ibid.,* pp. 310 ff; D. Ainolov, *Geschichte der russischen Monumentalkunst zur Zeit des Grossfürstentums Moskau,* Berlin and Leipzig, 1933, pp. 118-123. See, furthermore, W. Lazarew, *Iskusstvo Nowgoroda,* 1947, pp. 127-131 (with extensive bibliography). Also, G. Millet, *Recherches sur l'iconographie de l'évangile aux XIV, XV et XVI siècles,* Paris, 1916, pp. 189-516. Greek *epitaphioi* are discussed by E. Khatzidakis, *Ekklesiastika Kentimata,* Athens, 1953. This source contains many illustrations.

[4] *Jewish Encyclopedia,* New York, 1922, I, pp. 435 ff.

[5] Kondakov, *op. cit.,* p. 261. G. G. King's article, "Iconographic Notes on the Passion," *Art Bulletin,* XVI, 1934, pp. 301-302, is misleading. Miss King discusses the purpose and iconography of *epitaphioi,* but one wonders how an altar cloth 5 by 6½ feet could be used as a "chalice veil." It should also be noted that in exceptional cases chalice veils depict the mourning over the body of Christ. These embroidered covers— called ἀήρ (in Georgian, *dap'arna*)—are usually square and are used not only for the chalice, but as covers for both chalice and paten with holy offerings; certainly they are large enough to cover the chalice and paten, but they are much smaller than *epitaphioi.* Similar scenes appear also on *antimensia* (consecrated cloths or, sometimes, slabs of wood used in place of the altar and called *odiki* in Georgian). On this subject, see Archimandrit G. Pheradze, "Georgian Monks and Monasteries in Palestine," *Georgica,* IV and V, 1937, pp. 242 ff., pl. I. The covers which are used especially for chalices are much smaller, usually in the form of a cross. A good example is the Georgian chalice-cover in the Metropolitan Museum; it is embroidered in silver-gilt thread (fig. 2). On this matter, see Z. Avalishvili, "A Fifteenth-Century Georgian Needle Painting in the Metropolitan Museum of New York," *Georgica,* I, 1935, pp. 67-74.

[6] An example may be seen on a wonderful *epitaphios* of Queen Maria (1595-1678), now in the Georgian National Museum (in the catalogue of the exhibition of old Georgian art held in Berlin, 1930, figs. 11-12).

FIGURE 2 NEW YORK, METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

Georgian Chalice Cover

the theme of lamentation is preserved.[7]

This subject matter clearly differs from the Evangelic stories depicted in Byzantine miniatures.[8] In the miniatures, Joseph and Nicodemus carry the body of Christ to the rock-hewn tomb, which is in the form of a cave. *Epitaphioi* include figures and symbols not mentioned in the Gospels; furthermore, the *epitaphioi* omit the actual grave

[7] Millet, *op. cit.*, pp. 189-216.

[8] So far as I know, the earliest miniature painting which handles the mourning over the body of Christ appears in a 14th-15th century Georgian-Greek manuscript of Saltikov Shedrin in the Leningrad Public Library: S. Amiranaschvili, *Istorija Grusinskogo Iskusstva,* Moscow, 1950, p. 253, pl. 165. Unfortunately, I have not been able to find the catalogue and description of the above-mentioned manuscript. Nor was the following work accessible: H. L. Okunev, "O grusino Gretsheskoi rukopisi s miniaturami," in *Christianskii vostok,* I, St. Petersburg, 1912.

and the placing of Christ's body on the *corporale* or on a flat, rectangular stone.[9] In some cases, the body of Christ "floats," as in the Detroit panel. Thus the *epitaphios* depicts neither the descent from the cross nor the entombment, but rather the lamentation over the body of Christ, a theme which suggests close compositional analogy with the entombment.

In the center of the Georgian *epitaphios* in Detroit is a large figure of Christ; He is heavily bearded, wears a loin cloth, and has long hair. The representation is that of Christ newly taken from the cross. His arms are stretched beside His body, and His eyes are closed. At Christ's head stands the Virgin, and at the level of her shoulder is a Georgian inscription: "Mother of God." At Christ's feet stands St. John the Evangelist, while above the body and standing close together are the Archangel Gabriel and Mary, all identified by inscriptions. Gabriel holds the sceptre (*trisaglia*), a sign of the celestial messenger.[10] Next to the Virgin Mary is St. Martha—the sister of Lazarus of Bethany and of Mary Magdalene, who anointed the Lord with ointment and wiped His feet with her hair (John XI: 1-2). The figure to the right of Martha is labelled "St. Joseph," undoubtedly Joseph of Arimathea, a wealthy disciple of Christ who "took the body of Jesus and wound it in linen cloth with the spices" (John XII: 3-8). Therefore, St. Martha and St. Joseph are not mere "space fillers" or "patrons of the donor's family," as Weibel[11] assumed; rather, these figures are an organic, logical, and inseparable part of the composition, justified by the Evangelic story.

In the lower right of the *epitaphios* is the scene of Easter morning, with a myrrh-bearer holding a metallic vase. Interestingly enough, the inscription accompanying this scene notes more than one myrrh-bearer, for the noun is in the plural.[12] However, only one figure appears. The Evangelists mention varying numbers of myrrh-bearers. In the Detroit *epitaphios,* an angel sits on a tombstone, and the accompanying inscription states just this: "angel sitting on the stone."[13] Above and below Christ's head two mourning angels swing liturgical fans (*flabella* or *ripidiae*) which contain the images of seraphim, the dogmatic meaning and symbolic character of which logically define and give the real significance to the composition.[14] The top angel is labelled "St. Michael."

In each corner of the *epitaphios* is the symbol of an Evangelist.[15] The remaining space is filled by the highest level of celestial hierarchy: seraphim, winged wheels (Ezek. I: 15-20; X: 9-14), and

[9] Most frequently, the body of Christ is laid on a stone slab, a feature which obviously was introduced into the East by crusaders: Kondakov, *op. cit.,* p. 162; cf. M. A. Graeve, "The Stone of Unction in Caravaggio's Painting for the Chiesa Nuova," *Art Bulletin,* XL, 1958, p. 228.

[10] Concerning the scepter and its allegorical meaning, see A. Mayer-Pfannholz, "Marias Verkuendigung im Wandel der Kunstgeschichte" in *Das Kunstwerk,* Heft 9, 10, 1948, p. 258, n. 1.

[11] Weibel, *op. cit.,* p. 7.

[12] In this case the Greek equivalent is *mirophori,* which is an adequate translation of the Georgian *menelsatzkhebelni.* Both Georgian words are in the plural, although there is depicted only one holy woman.

[13] Based on Matthew XXVIII: 1-2

[14] *Flabella* for liturgical services were used in early Christian times. At first they were made of linen, leather, or more frequently, peacock feathers, the symbol of immortality. Later, silver was the prevalent material. There is an early example of the silver *flabellum* in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection (Syrian, sixth century). In the center of this *flabellum* are engraved cherubim, and on the border are stylized peacock feathers: *The Dumbarton Oaks Collection Handbook,* Washington, D. C., 1955, pp. 54 and 67, no. 128; see also F. Cabrol and H. LeClercq, *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne,* V, 2, col. 1615-1616; Prokhorov, *Khristianskie drevnosti,* pp. 1862-1867. Some Georgian silver repoussé *flabella* of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are pictured by Kondakov and Bakradze in *Opis pamiatnikov drebnostei,* St. Petersburg, 1890, p. 37, figs. 23 and 24; p. 131, figs. 65 and 66. There are also silver *ripidia* decorated with enamel: A. Frolow, "Les émaux de l'époque post-byzantine et l'art du cloisonné," *Cahiers archéologiques,* II, 1947, p. 136, pls. XXI, 2, XXII, 1-2. The *flabellum* as a liturgical fan for services in the church was mentioned in *Constitutiones Apostolorum* 1, VIII, C. XXII.

[15] These figures could have the symbolical meaning of the Eucharist: Millet, *op. cit.,* p. 499, n. 4; L. Brehier, "Les visions apocalyptiques dans l'art byzantine," in *Arta si Archeologia,* Bucharest, II, 1930, fasc. 4, pp. 1 ff.

stars. Above the first seraph stands a short but important inscription, meaning "Holy Is." Next to this, over the body of Christ, there is another inscription, which may be translated: "Descent of Our God." Brière reads these two phrases as if they were one sentence,[16] but such a reading is wholly unjustified. The first phrase, which is placed on both sides of the wings of the left-hand seraph, relates only to the two seraphim depicted on the *epitaphios*. It suggests the song of seraphim: "Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of Hosts: the whole earth is full of His glory" (Isaiah VI: 3). The second inscription, although it appears to be a continuation of the first, merely clarifies the phrase giving the title of the composition, which is, after all, "The Descent of Our God."

It is obvious that the Georgian *epitaphios* in Detroit illustrates the beginning and the end of Christ's life on earth, an opinion which is verified also by the presence of the Evangelists' symbols in the corners of the panel. The composition undoubtedly suggests many interesting iconographic concepts, one of which is the idea of the *epitaphios* itself and its profound dogmatic meaning. *Epitaphioi* in general are not mere depictions of the events leading up to Christ's burial; they are, rather, symbolic displays of the victory over death through Christ's human death. The purpose, then, is certainly not chronological or narrative; it is symbolic. The victory over death is expressed in part, at least, by the sacral service of the angels holding liturgical fans over the body of Christ. In this connection, one should not disregard the seven stars, which could suggest Christ as a *cosmocrator*. An inscription on the earliest known *epitaphios* shows the prevalent theme of Christ as victor over death. Schlumberger has twice published this piece,[17] a cloisonné enamel work. The laconic scene depicts Christ lying on a square stone slab covered with a richly ornamented blanket. An angel stands on either side of Christ. But more interesting for our purpose than the composition is the Greek inscription: χσ πρόκειται κ[αὶ] σηματίζεται θε[ος][18]

A similar idea is manifested in a Georgian *epitaphios* preserved in Jerusalem. Later, we shall discuss this piece in some detail, but, for the moment, the important point is the inscription. The embroidered inscription calls the composition on the *epitaphios* "Lifegiving passion of our Savior Jesus Christ." Thus, both inscriptions tend to confirm the possibility that the dogmatic theological idea behind the *epitaphios* is the apotheosis of Christ's victory over death. Christ's death was only a transitional event, overshadowed by His resurrection; it was a moment of short sleep, as a Greek homily on the Saturday of Easter makes apparent.[19] Otherwise, how can one explain the Holy Sepulchre's being called *lectus*?[20]

Let us return to the Georgian *epitaphios* in Detroit. Concerning style and form, one should mention the symmetrical arrangement of figures and the balanced and closed composition. Strikingly contrary to the normal rule is the fact that the Virgin and John do not, in a gesture of mourning,

[16] Brière, *op. cit.*, p. 147 (*g*).

[17] G. Schlumberger, "Un tableau reliquaire byzantin inédit du X[e] siècle," in *Monuments Piot*, Paris, 1894, I, pp. 99-104, pls. XIII-XIV; reprinted in *Melanges d'archéologie byzantine*, vol. I, 1895, pp. 187-192, pl. XI.

[18] Schlumberger's French translation, "Christ est couché et il se manifest Dieu," is quoted by G. G. King (*op. cit.*, p. 301), but incorrectly; this inaccuracy distorts the real meaning of the inscription. Schlumberger himself confessed that he could not find the real meaning of the word σηματίζεται (*op. cit.*, p. 301, n. 3). Kondakov pointing out that Schlumberger did not know the meaning of the word then went on to give his interpretation and also the meaning of the whole sentence (*op. cit.* in our note 3, p. 262): "Christ is laid [in the tomb] and shall resurrect as God." My own suggestion is that it means rather: "Christ is present and shall manifest [Himself] as God." In relation to the Stroganoff enamel, Graeve (*op. cit.*, p. 229 and note 34) mentions the *epitaphios* in the treasury of St. Mark's in Venice. However, the two angels on either side of Christ are holding *flabella* which depict seraphim, not candles, as she maintains.

[19] Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, 43, p. 439.

[20] *Itinera Hierosolymitane*, ed. Tobler and Molinier, I, pp. 147 ff.; Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, 39, p. 2205.

bend over the body of Christ. They are not deeply dramatic, nor do they reveal pathos and genuine sorrow; their eyes are not focused on the body of Christ. The gestures of Mary and John (with the book in his hand) suggest that the figures were taken from the composition of a crucifixion.

The panel is clearly the work of two different persons. As we shall see in a moment, a certain Elene and her daughter Anastasia conceived and executed the work. But even if we did not know the names of the makers, the two clearly disparate styles would make it obvious that the panel was the work of two separate hands. One person obviously executed the symbols of the Evangelists, Christ, all four angels, and the upper pair of winged wheels, as well as the seraph at the right of St. John. All the other figures are definitely by a different hand and reveal a strong influence of the cloisonné technique.

The inscription which runs around the *epitaphios* is in ancient Georgian characters called *mrglowani*. As mentioned above, the inscription was first translated by Brière. But through misreading of the word *Kakht'a,* Brière's inaccurate translation causes confusion. *Kakht'a* is the equivalent of the English prepositional phrase "of the Kakhs." The word in question is the ninth in the first line (i.e., at the top of the piece). The word *Kakht'a* is preceded by a character similar to the English capital T, but without the serif-line at the bottom. There is, however, no such symbol in Georgian. Brière reads the character as "I." Thus he makes the word into a proper noun, *Ikakh'ta.* But such a noun does not exist in Georgian. Other obvious defects in the embroidery of the inscription make Brière's assumption unwarranted.[21] Even if one would like to insist on reading the character preceding *Kakht'a,* it will by no means be "I" because of the crossing of the upper part of the character. On the whole, though, the inscription is clearly legible and intelligible. With few exceptions, words are separated by three dots. The whole text reads as follows in translation:

1 With the help of God, I, the great sinner Elene, daughter of the King of the Kakhs, Messire Khosro, having become
2 Ekatirine, wife of Messire Pharsadan of Phanaskert,
3 have undertaken to adorn the Holy Descent [from the Cross] of Christ, our God, for ransom and intercession for our souls [and] for long life to our sons and daughter. My daughter
4 the nun Anastasia has embroidered and adorned it. Help and have pity! Amen.*

Thus, the inscription clearly reveals that the *epitaphios* was embroidered by Elene, daughter of King Khosro of Kakhet'i (an East Georgian province), and by her daughter Anastasia. Both women were nuns, and Elene had assumed the holy name of Ekaterine, erroneously called "Ekatirine" in the embroidery. It is also clear that before becoming a nun Elene was married to P'arsadan P'anaskerteli.

King Khosro of the Kakhs was son of King Levan of the Kakhs (1520-1574); after the death of his father, Khosro seized the throne, but in the same year (1574) his brother, Alexander (legal successor to the throne), captured and murdered Khosro.[22]

The family of P'anaskerteli and their genealogy are well known through at least two documents:

[21] In the seventh word of the third line, the last character is *g* instead of *a;* in the same line in the thirteenth word, *ds* is used instead of *g*. Also in the fourth line, the next to last word lacks the final *e*. In five cases the signs of abbreviation do not appear, and in one case the sign is used superfluously. Furthermore, the three dots at the end of each word are not always present.

* For transcription in Georgian, see Appendix to this article, Text A.

[22] M. F. Brosset, *Histoire de la Georgie,* IIme partie, Ire livraison, St. Petersburg, 1856, pp. 153-154; for checking the historical sources not available to me, I am greatly indebted to Prof. Chubinashvili, Director of the Art Institute in Tbilisi.

one issued in 1467 by Prince Konstantine,[23] later known as King Konstantine II of Georgia (1479-1505); the other, the genesis of the Georgian dukes and nobility composed by Ioane Batonishvili (Crown Prince Ioane) about 1799.[24] Through certain official documents, colophons and historical sources, we learn that as early as the middle of the fourteenth century this family was forced to leave their previous dukedom, Panaskerti (situated in southwest Georgia). They settled in Karthli and, through intermarriage with the house of the King of Georgia, became very influential feudal personages in political affairs of the country. Their ascendancy took place toward the beginning of the fifteenth century. At least five Parsadan P'anaskerteli are known, but the only probable contemporary with Elene was the head of the House of P'anaskerteli (later known as Zizishvili); this man was Parsadan, mentioned in 1543[25] with his wife Guldam,[26] who decorated the Gospel of Berthai.[27] In 1599 he played a decisive role in the operations leading to the liberation of the city of Gori from Turkish domination. [28] If Elene can be regarded as the second wife of Parsadan P'anaskerteli, then the Detroit *epitaphios* can be dated at the time when Elene was widowed and entered the convent under the name of Ekaterine. The date, then, would be sometime between the death of Khosro in 1574 and the end of the sixteenth century.

In the throne hall of the Greek patriarchate in Jerusalem is kept another Georgian *epitaphios* (fig. 3) which was unknown until now.[29] It is nearly contemporaneous with that of the Detroit Institute and offers very interesting iconographic details. As usual, the central figure of Christ lies in a horizontal position on a stone slab, the front of which is built upon small rocks. Crowded together on the left side are Holy Women, one of whom sorrowfully stretches both hands upward, mourning over the body of Christ. In front of the Holy Women is the Virgin, bent forward in a mourning gesture, she holds the head of the Son in her lap. In the middle of the composition, the elongated figure of St. John the Evangelist bows over the body of Christ and holds His left hand. The right side of the *epitaphios* is occupied by the small figure of a woman (Mary Magdalen, perhaps) and larger figures of Joseph of Arimathea and of Nicodemus, who supports Christ's feet. Directly in the center of the composition and above St. John the Evangelist is a cross, as well as personifications of the sun and the moon. Two hovering angels are symmetrically arranged on both sides of the cross. This composition is more dramatic and expressive than that of the Detroit panel. It displays a pathos which is characteristic of most *epitaphioi*. The figures are flat, without any modelling or use of shadows.

A one-line Greek inscription occupies the lowest part; it records that in 1893 this *epitaphios* was restored during the Patriarchate of Germanos. The remaining space above is filled by a thirteen-line Georgian inscription executed in so-called *mrglowani* (rounded characters); this inscription runs from one end of the panel to the other. In translation it reads:

1 Jesus Christ, the true God, Thou who has suffered for us in the flesh although in-

[23] D. Gvritishvili, *Pheodaluri Sakart'velos Sozialuri urthierthobis istoriidan,* Tbilisi, 1955, pp. 121 ff.

[24] *Ibid.,* pp. 122-123.

[25] Th. Zordania, *Chronikles,* Tiflis, 1897, vol. II, p. 347.

[26] Colophon of Georgian Manuscript H. 2806 of the Georgian Institute of Manuscripts; also in the Georgian Manuscript of the Sinai Monastery, VI, 195a.

[27] M. F. Brosset, *Rapp.,* vol. VI, p. 112.

[28] Gvritishvili, *op. cit.,* p. 400. Obviously this is the same Pharsadan, sovereign of Vere, mentioned in 1556 in Akhali K'artlis Zkhovreba: Brosset, *op. cit.,* p. 347.

[29] I wish to express my deepest gratitude to the Reverend Abbess Tamara, to the Patriarch of the Greek Orthodox Church, His Grace Theodosius, and to Mr. Teimuraz Bagration. It was through their kind cooperation that the photograph of the *epitaphios* in Jerusalem was made available to me.

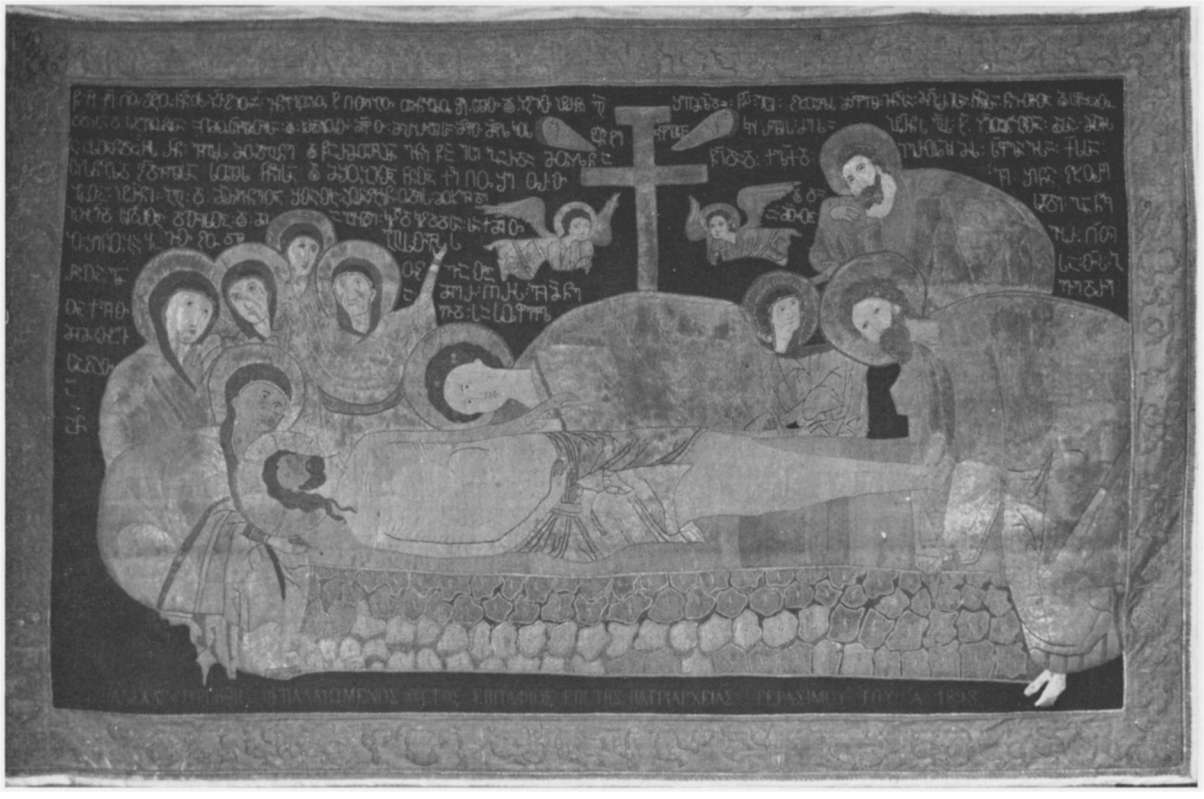

FIGURE 3 JERUSALEM, GREEK PATRIARCHATE

Georgian Epitaphios
(Photo Semerjian)

vulnerable, being divine. Have mercy upon the soul and flesh of Messire Giorgi. This Holy life-giving Passion of our Savior was provided by the wealth and possessions

2 of Messire Giorgi, the son of the great and famous ruler of the Kings of the East and North, the King of Kings Konstantine, who became Cyril, and by the handicraft of his sister

3 Asthandar. He devoutly sent this "Holy Descent" to the Holy City of Jerusalem, to the sepulchre of Christ,

4 to intercede for our sinful soul, and for those of our parents. O Christ, God, have mercy on both lives

5 of Messire Giorgi and set him at Your right hand when You come to judge

6 on the throne of David and reward everyone according to his deeds. For the sake of God, I beseech you [i.e., the reader]

7 to have mercy upon the sinner Giorgi

8 that through your prayer

9 I shall become worthy

10-13 to enter the Kingdom of Heaven. Amen.*

This inscription mentions three historical personages: the King of Kings, Konstantine, his son Giorgi, and the sister of Giorgi, Asthandar.

The identification of these persons is relatively easy. Since through historical record we are centain that the Georgian King Konstantine I (who reigned 1407-1411) was captured by the Turks and beheaded in 1411, only Konstantine II (1478-1505) could be meant here. Konstantine II was the great-grandson of Konstantine I and the last

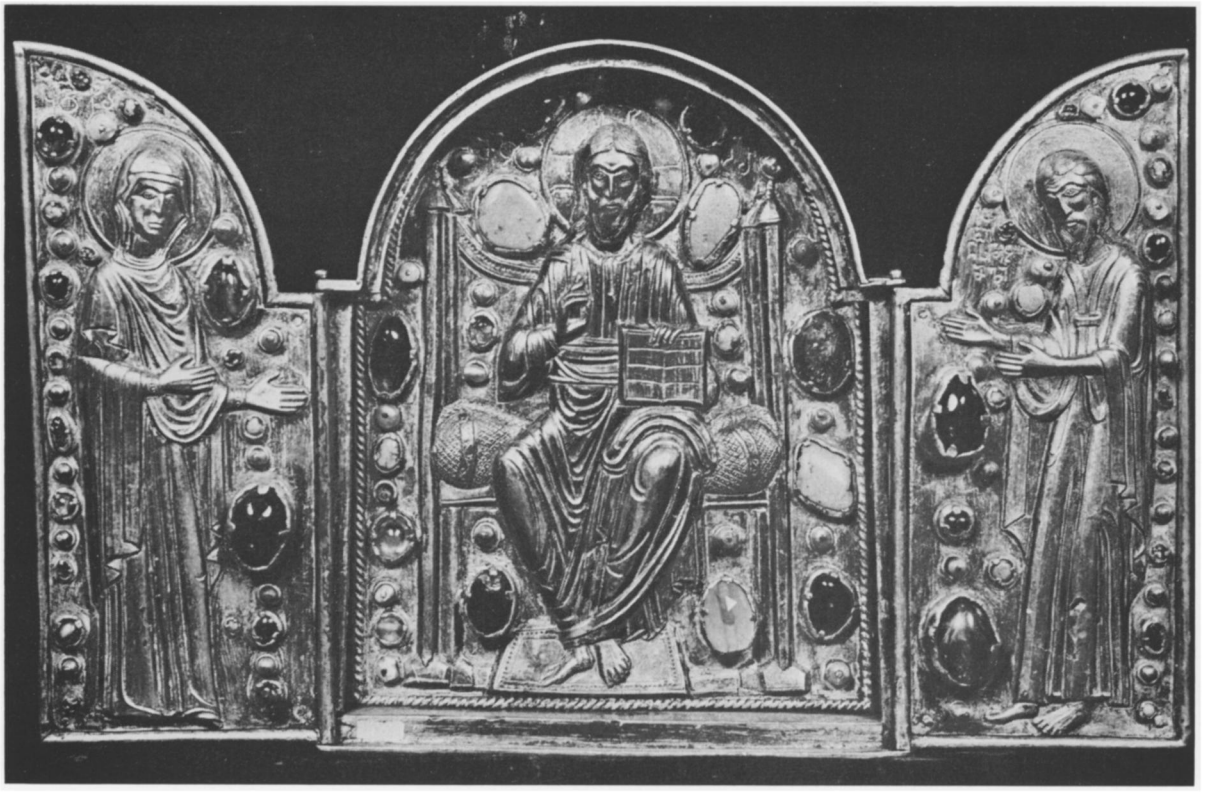

FIGURE 4 PITTSBURGH, GEORGE R. HANN COLLECTION

Triptych from Kwemotshala

King of the United Kingdom of Georgia. A difficulty arises in the inscription's mentioning that Konstantine II became a monk under the name of Cyril, an event which is not recorded in any historical source. Messire Giorgi, the son of Konstantine mentioned in the inscription, is well known from historical documents; he succeeded his brother David VIII (reigned 1505-1525) and as Giorgi IX (1525-1534) became King of Karthli. Konstantine II had seven sons:[30] David became a monk under the name of Damian,[31] and Giorgi under the name of Gerasime.[32] The third son, Bagrat, in 1539 also became a monk under the name of Barnaba.[33] The fourth son, Melchisedek, became a bishop. The inscription makes it apparent that Konstantine II also had a daughter named Asthandar, but she is not mentioned in historical sources. The inscription also makes it clear that when the *epitaphios* was embroidered, Konstantine had already become a monk, and Giorgi had not been crowned. Thus we have reason to conclude that the embroidery can be dated between 1505 and 1525.

One must mention, furthermore, that around the border of the *epitaphios* there is another Georgian inscription. However, the reproduction from which the author worked was not clear

* For Georgian transcription see Appendix, Text B.

[30] Vakhuschti, *Life of Georgia,* St. Petersburg, 1854, p. 16.

[31] Brosset, *Rapp.* IV, 6, p. 22; *idem, Histoire de la Georgie,* II, p. 626.

[32] Brosset, *Rapp.* IV, p. 25; *ibid.,* VI, pp. 39 and 76.

[33] K. Kekelidze, *History of Georgian Literature,* II, Tbilisi, 1958, p. 238; also *Life of Georgia,* Redaction of Queen Mary, p. 914.

FIGURE 5 PITTSBURGH, GEORGE R. HANN COLLECTION

Triptych from Kwemotshala (closed)

enough for this border inscription to be legible.

In the George R. Hann collection is a Georgian silver triptych which became known in the western world through the exhibitions arranged by the Carnegie Institute in Pittsburgh [34] and by Oberlin College.[35] However, Takaishvili was the first person to publish this work.[36] It is a triptych worked in silver-repoussé which has been gilded. The shape is that of a rectangle topped by a semi-circle. It is six inches high, five inches wide when closed, and ten inches wide when opened (fig. 4).

This work has an extremely interesting past. Among other precious gifts, it was part of the dowry given to Ana (Anuka), the daughter of Georgian King Wachtang V, when she was married to Wachtang Abashidze.[37] From 1871 until the nineteen-twenties this triptych and part of the rest of Ana's dowry were preserved in the church of Kwemotshala, a Georgian village.[38] Then it disappeared without a trace, but subsequently emerged on the art market. Mr. George R. Hann bought it and added it to his collection, where it remains today.

The majestic figure of Christ as Ruler of the Universe dominates the center of the triptych. Seated on a broad-backed throne, He holds His right hand in an attitude of blessing; with His left hand He supports an open book which rests on the left knee. His feet repose on a footstool (*suppedaneum*). He is clad in a *chimation* and mantle falling softly over the body in flat folds which define the lines of the body. The throne is without decoration. On the right wing is a full length figure of the Virgin humbly approaching her Son in intercessory supplication. On both sides of her halo is an easily legible Georgian *mrglowani* inscription: "Most Holy." On the left wing is a figure of John the Baptist in the same attitude as that of Mary. There appears between his halo and his right hand another *mrglowani* inscription: "St. John the Baptist."

Thus, here we have a typical image of the fundamental type of the so-called *deesis,*[39] where all three persons mentioned above are crystallized in unity by the deep symbolical religious context of the theme. In its symbolical meaning, the *deesis* composition as a whole represents the terrestrial church with its head, the Supreme Judge, Jesus Christ; it is an abbreviated version of the Last Judgment or an eschatological representation of the Second Coming. But it is at the same time a prayer of the world to the enthroned Pantocrator, through the mediation of the most important persons of the New Testament: the Virgin Mary and St. John the Baptist, the advocate of the faithful of the Old Covenant.[40] The Virgin symbolizes the Church of the New Testament and the protectress of the mortals.[41] On the other hand,

[34] *Russian Icons and Objects of Ecclesiastical and Decorative Arts from the Collection of George Hann,* Carnegie Institute, Pittsburgh, 1944, no. 103, fig. 103. The item is described as "Caucasian XI-XII century."

[35] Edward Capps, Jr., "Notes on an Exhibition of Russian Icons from the Collection of George R. Hann," *Bulletin of the Allen Memorial Art Museum,* Oberlin, XI, May 1945, pp. 30, 33, no. 103, fig. 11.

[36] Takaishvili in *Materialy po archeologii Kavkaza,* Uvarova, ed., (henceforth, *MAK*), XII, pp. 132-135, fig. 81, fol. XXII.

[37] This is obvious from the list of Anuka's dowry, which was made by her father, King Wachtang VI of Georgia. The document is preserved in the National Museum of Georgia in Tbilisi. In 1889 it received its first publication in *Iveria,* p. 235, n. 34.

[38] Takaishvili, *op. cit.,* p. 132.

[39] For the definition of the word *deesis,* see S. Usov, "O znacenii slova deesis," in *Drevnosti Moskowskogo Arch. Obcestva,* 1897, vol. II, fasc. 3; C. Osieczkowska, "La mosaique de la porte Royale," *Byzantion,* IX, 1934, fasc. 1, pp. 46 ff.

[40] For representations of the *deesis* and its symbolical meaning, see Kirpitschnikov, *Deesis na Vostoke i na Zapade i ego literaturnie paralleli,* pp. 2-8; Osieczkowska, *op. cit.,* p. 46; E. Kantorowicz, "Ivories and Litanies," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes,* V, 1942, p. 70; R. Berger, *Die Darstellung des thronenden Christus in der romanischen Kunst,* Reutlingen, 1926, pp. 156 ff.

[41] Kirpitschnikov, *op. cit.,* p. 11; J. Wilpert, *Die römischen Mosaiken und Malereien,* Freiburg im Breisgau, 1917, vol. II, pp. 1143-1144.

FIGURE 6 PITTSBURGH, GEORGE R. HANN COLLECTION
Triptych from Kwemotshala (back)

in St. John the Baptist the orthodox church sees a link through which the two worlds of the Old and New Testament are connected. Thus is justified the representation of St. John the Baptist as a personification of intercession and solicitation on behalf of this world.[42]

The backs of the wings display two standing images: on the back of the right wing, St. Demetrius; the other, St. George (fig. 5).[43] Both figures are clothed in armor and wear mantles. They are in frontal position, with their heads symmetrically turned toward one another so as to give a three-quarter view of each face. The saints are youthful and strongly built; their glances are penetrating. In their right hands they hold lances. St. Demetrius' left hand rests on his shield, while St. George carries his shield on his back with a leather strap. Both saints are standardized and reveal a striking similarity. Even their facial expressions are the same, and both have symmetrically arranged heavy, curly hair, such as is frequently found in Byzantine and Georgian art.[44]

On the upper part of the wings, a Georgian *mrglowani* inscription identifies the saints as: "St. Demetrius" and "St. George." They represent the so-called warrior-saints which in the tenth and eleventh centuries replaced the martyr-types of the same saints in Byzantium.[45] When the triptych is closed, only the warrior-saints are to be seen, thus evoking a symbolical meaning: the two saints are the guardians of the celestial world, a theme which has its parallels also in Byzantine art.

On the back of the central panel is represented a flaring cross on a stippled background; at the apex of the cross are symmetrically arranged leaves which suggest a relationship with the Tree of Life, a theme which is very common in Georgian art.[46] At the four termini of the cross are circles which are set off by the stippled ground (fig. 6). The remaining space is filled by an eight-line inscription which reads:

[42] A. Baumstark, "Bild und Lied des christlichen Ostens," in *Festschrift zum sechzigsten Geburtstag von Paul Clemen,* Düsseldorf-Bonn, 1926, p. 169; J. Sdrakas, *Johannes der Taufer in der Kunst des christlichen Ostens,* München, 1943, pp. 65-69.

[43] Usually the closed wings of Georgian triptychs depict St. Demetrius and St. George, as is demonstrated by the golden triptych of Dsalendjikha: E. Takaishvili, "The Icon of the Crucifixion in the Dsalendjikha Church in Mengrelia," *Georgica,* I, nos. 1-2, London, 1936, pp. 162 ff., pl. 1. However, in some cases, St. Peter and St. Paul replace St. Demetrius and St. George, as in the triptych of Ubisi (Takaishvili, *Arkheologisceskie razuskania i zametki,* Tiflis, 1915, pp. 23-24, fig. 18) and in the Sazan triptych (*ibid.,* pp. 41-43, fig. 29).

[44] S. Amiranashvili, *Istorija Gruzinskogo Iskusstva,* Moscow, 1950, fig. 88.

[45] V. Lazarev, "Novie pamjatniki stankovoi zivopisi XII veka i obraz Georgia-voina v vizantiiskom i drevne russkom iskusstve," *Vizantiiskii Vremennik,* VI, 1953, p. 189.

[46] In the Georgian repoussé work it has many parallels, a few of which follow: the Icon of the Crucifixion of Dsalendjikha (Takaishvili, "The Icon of Crucifixion," *Georgica,* I, 1 and 2, pp. 12-13, pl. IV), the Icon of the Virgin in Dsalenjikha (R. Schmerling, "Vaisseau en or trouvé à Tchkhoro-Tsqou," *Ars Georgica,* I, Tbilisi, 1942, p. 155, pl. 46), and the triptych of Sazani (Takaishvili, *Arkheologitscheskie Rasiskania y Zametki,* V, Tiflis, 1915, p. 41, figs. 29-30).

1 O Christ, have mercy
2 in both
3-4 lives upon Dadiani
5 Giorgi and Queen Tamar and
6 their son Leon, by whose [Giorgi's]
7 order was adorned this icon
8 of the Savior. Amen.[47]

The inscription does not give the *chronicon* (pascal cycle), but because of the persons mentioned in the inscription, the triptych lends itself to close dating. Takaishvili correctly pointed out that Giorgi Dadiani should be Giorgi III (Duke of Megria). Though three persons of this name are known, only Giorgi III Dadiani had a son named Leon.[48] Furthermore, the inscription reveals that the wife of Giorgi III was Tamar; she was the daughter of a Circassian prince and had been educated at the court of Giorgi II, King of Imerethi. (Brosset knew whose daughters were the wives of Giorgi III, but he did not know their names.) We know that the son of Giorgi III was born in 1577 and died in 1582 (after the death of his father). Consequently, the date of the triptych must be placed between 1577 and 1582, for the inscription mentions Giorgi as, apparently, living.

We must mention briefly that the same artist who made the triptych also made a *kiot* (container) for the piece. On the lid is a representation of the Virgin with the Child Jesus holding her left hand. The Virgin is of the type called *Hodegetria,* which in Georgia enjoys highest veneration.[49] The bottom of the *kiot* is engraved with a cross similar to that of the triptych; the inscription on the bottom reads:[50]

1 O Holy God, have mercy,
2 in both lives,
3 on the adorner of this icon
4-5 and glorifier
6 of you,
7 Dadiani Giorgi, and his
8 wife, Queen
9 Tamar, and their son
10 Leon. Amen.

The importance of this triptych lies in the fact that it reveals the stylistic trend which was crystallized in Georgia after the fall of the Byzantine Empire.

Comparing the triptych of Kwemotshala to the *deesis* representations of the twelfth-century Georgian artists, Beschken and Beka Opisari, one can easily see how in the sixteenth century the technique of goldsmithswork had deteriorated. Though the artist of the Hann triptych was inspired in many ways by the work of the twelfth century, the piece shows much simpler and more schematic execution; it is colder than the earlier triptychs. Plastic values are drastically reduced, the figures are flat and have little volume, and strongly accentuated parallel lines dominate. The bodies are overly long, the limbs are fragile, the heads are small and the bodies have no real relationship to the ground. Characteristic also are the concave lines on the garments, especially those of the Virgin and of St. John the Baptist. The same stylistic qualities can be seen on the cover of the *kiot* in the representation of the Virgin and the Child. The figures, indeed, remind one of late Gothic sculpture. The impressive facial expression is achieved by strongly modelled, widely opened eyes, as well as by heavy and continuous wavy eyebrows, which are used to the full for dramatic effect. The background is not covered with the

[47] Takaishvili published the Russian translation of this inscription in *MAK,* XII, p. 134. For Georgian transcription see our Appendix, Text C.

[48] Brosset, *Histoire,* II, 1, pp. 260, 262, 646-647.

[49] *MAK,* XII, p. 133, fig. 79. Similar iconographic types which show close stylistical relationship are the following: the Icon of the Virgin of Gelathi (Kondakov and Bakradze, *Opis pamniatnikov drevnosti,* St. Petersburg, 1890, p. 34, fig. 17); the central part of St. George's Church of Gelathi (*ibid.,* pp. 35-36, fig. 18); and the Icon of the Virgin in Bitshvint'a (*ibid.,* p. 36, fig. 19).

[50] *MAK,* XII, p. 133, fig. 80.

FIGURE 7

WALTERS ART GALLERY

Georgian Gold and Enamel Book Cover dated 1707 A.D.

rich ornamental designs typical of Georgian silver icons; rather the background is set with semi-precious stones, which, on the one hand, function as frame and, on the other, give the triptych decorative value. These stylistic characteristics are akin to those of many Georgian repoussé works.

In the Walters Art Gallery there are two works of Georgian applied art: a golden book cover, and an icon of the Virgin, both enamelled. A. Frolow studied both of these enamels; he analyzed them technically and stylistically and made certain iconographic observations. The present paper will merely supply an adequate translation of the inscriptions on the two works.[51]

On the four wings forming the hinged lateral sides of the book cover[52] is a two-line inscription (fig. 7). The inscription begins on the vertical wing located on the extreme left of the cover (as it is represented on the photograph) and runs from left to right twice around the cover. The inscription is executed in Georgian *Mkhedruli* script and, with only two exceptions, is easily legible. The fifth word of the fifth line is not clear, but I read it "having become." The other doubtful case is the last word of the inscription, the chronicon or pascal cycle, involving three letters. The second letter is illegible, but the other two are clear. Since the inscription reveals that the cover was made during the second rule of Giorgi, there is only one possibility for the center letter, namely *Ž*. Consequently, chronicon *Tźe* gives 1707.

The inscription is written in full, and after each word are two dots; it reads in translation: "With the permission and help of the Lord, we, very sinful Giorgi Kvinikhidze, secretary and slave of the great and elevated King of Kings of Karthli, Spassalar[53] of all Iran, Beglar Beg[54] of Kirman and Kandahar,[55] Lord Giorgi, having become Shahnavaz,[56] had this Holy Gospel made to save [our] souls and bodies. Amen. Chronicon [was] Tže."[57]

By "King of Kings of Karthli" is meant Giorgi XI (Shahnavaz II), King of Karthli, who ruled twice. His first reign was from 1676 until 1688, when Erekle I deposed him; the second reign was *in absentia* and extended from 1703 to 1709 while he was serving as Persian commander-in-chief.[58] The inscription, of course, supports this data. The donor of the book cover, Giorgi Kvinikhidze, Secretary to the King of Karthli, is known through various sources. I had access to a letter of donation of King Shahnavaz (Giorgi XI); in 1706 the letter was written and signed by Giorgi Kvinikhidze and verified by the nephew of Giorgi I, Iese.[59]

The second work is an icon[60] representing the Virgin Orans with the Child Jesus in her lap (fig. 8), an iconographic type known as a variant of *Blacherniotissa*.[61] On the lateral and lower border is a two-line Georgian inscription; with four exceptions, ends of words are marked by two dots (fig. 10). The inscription is completely legible. It starts on the top of the right side of the icon:

[51] A. Frolow, *op. cit.* in *Cahiers archéologiques,* II, 1947, pp. 147-150.

[52] Walters Art Gallery no. 44.269 (105 x 75 x 25 mm. when closed). It belongs to a contemporary Georgian Gospel manuscript, W. 549; see D. Miner, *The History of Bookbinding, 525-1950 A.D.,* Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, 1957, no. 21, pl. VIII; Philippe Verdier, *Russian Art,* Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, 1959, no. 22, ill. These publications made use of a slightly different reading of the inscription by Dr. V. Zizishvili (unpublished).

[53] Commander-in-chief.

[54] Governor general.

[55] Kirman and Kandahar, two provinces of Iran.

[56] Known in Persia also as Gurjen Khan.

[57] For Georgian transcription see Appendix, Text D.

[58] D. M. Lang, *The Last Years of the Georgian Monarchy,* New York, 1957, p. 98. Giorgi's brother Levan had also a very important function, he was Chief Justice of Iran, while Levan's son Khaikhosro was prefect of Isfahan: *ibid.,* p. 98; also M. F. Brosset, *Histoire de la Georgie,* II, 2, pp. 16-23.

[59] Collection of Georgian Central Archives, 226, No. 96.

[60] Walters Art Gallery, no. 44.176 (89 x 75 mm.); P. Verdier, *op. cit.,* no. 23, ill.

[61] N. Kondakov, *Ikonografia Bogomateri,* St. Petersburg, 1914-15, II, pp. 103 ff.

FIGURE 8 WALTERS ART GALLERY

Gold and Enamel Icon of the Virgin dated 1710 A.D.

1 We, son of the King, Khvaramse, ordered
2 This icon and donated [it] to Tbilisi Sion
3 Cathedral of the Mother of God because our daughter T'amar
4 is buried in your cathedral. In ransom for her soul and
5 in forgiveness for our sins, accept it You
6 most beloved Maid. Chronicon [was] Tžē (i.e. 1710).[62]

Frolow noted that Khvaramse was the son of Levan, the brother of Giorgi XI.[63] About his daughter T'amar nothing is known.

On the back of the icon is a repoussé design (fig. 9). In the center stands a cross on a three-step base, in front of which is a superimposed *craneo*. On both sides of the cross are instruments of Christ's martyrdom, a spear and the long-handled sponge (sponge on a reed). The sign on the cross consists of four Georgian letters, in abbreviation for: "Jesus of Nazareth the King of the Jews" (John XIX: 19). The background consists of skillfully executed floral ornaments which indicate the influence of western taste. Four Georgian letters (*Khuzuri*) are in the background. One stands slightly above the end of each arm of the cross, and two are located near each border of the work about one-third of the distance from the bottom. In translation they read: "Jesus Christ, the Son of the Lord."

FIGURE 9 WALTERS ART GALLERY

Icon of the Virgin (back)

[62] For Georgian transcription, see Appendix, Text E.
[63] Frolow, *op. cit.*, p. 150; Brosset, *op. cit.*, II, 1, pp. 85, 627.

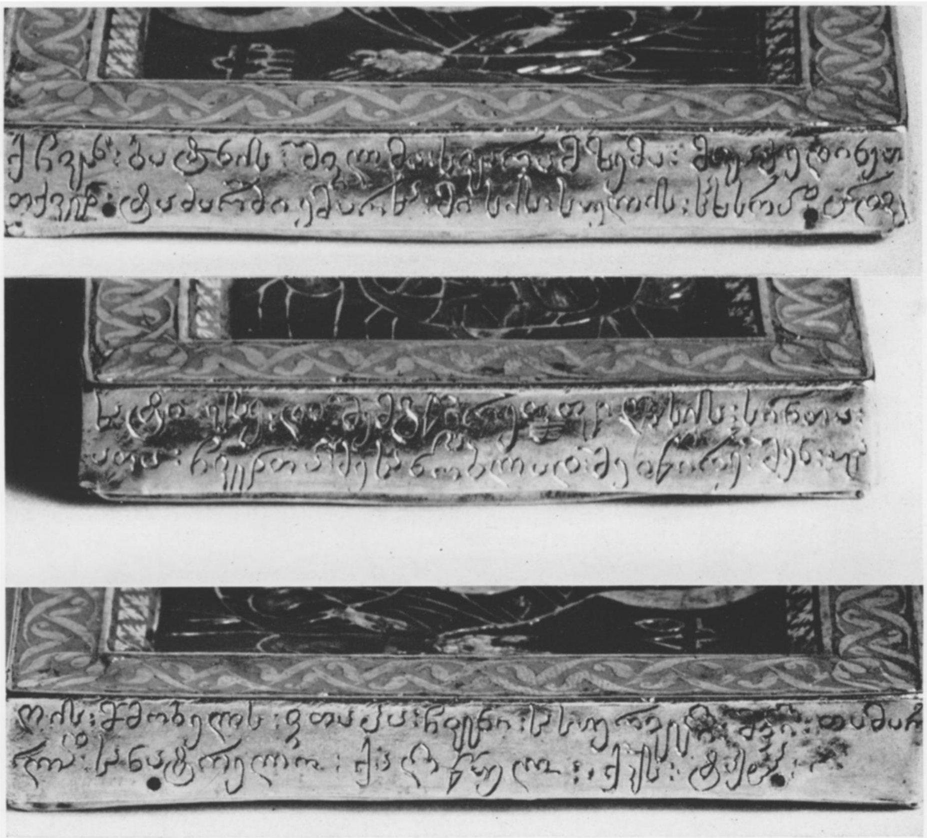

FIGURE 10 WALTERS ART GALLERY

Inscription on Icon of the Virgin

APPENDIX

TEXT A (*transcription*):

1. წ̃:· შეწ̃ევნითა:· ღ̃თისათა:· ქელ:· ვყ̃ვ:· მე:· ფ̃ჲ:·
ც̃ჲვილმნ̃:· კახთა:· მეფისა:· პ̃ტრ̃ნის:· ხოსროს:·
ას̃ლმან:· ელენე:· ყ̃ფილმან:·

2 ქკატირინე:· (sic) თ̃ა:· მ̃კხედრმან:· ფანასკერტლისა:·
პტრონისა:· ფარსადანისმან:·

3. შემკობ̃ჲ: წმიდისა: ამის: ქრისტ̃ს: ღ̃თისა: ჩ̃ნისა:
გ̃რდამ̃ქსნ̃გ: (sic) საჴსრ̃ჲ: და: მ̃ოხაჲ: სულისა:
ჩუ̃ნთასა: სადღ̃ეძძელ̃ჲ: (sic) ძ̃თა: და: ასულთა:
ჩუ̃ნთათჳს: ასულმან: ჩ̃მნ:

4. მონაზ̃ნმან: ა[...]ნასტასია: ქ̃ლყო: ხატ̃ვჲ და: შემკ̃მაჲ:
ამისა: შეწ̃ე: და: შეიწყალ[ე] ა̃ნ:

Text A (*expanded*):

1. წ̃: შეწევნითა ღმრთისათა, ქელ ვყავ მე, ფრიად ცოდვილმან
კახთა მეფისა, პატრონის ხოსროს ასულმან ელენე, ყოფილმან

2. ეკატერინე (sic) თანა მეცხედრემან ფანასკერტლისა, პატრონისა
ფარსადანის[ა] მან;

3. შემკობაჲ წმიდისა ამის ქრისტეს ღმრთისა ჩუენისა, გარდამო-
ქსნის (sic) საჴსრად და მეოხად სულისა ჩუენთასა სადღეძ-
ძელოდ (sic), ძეთა და ასულთა ჩუენთათჳს. - ასულმან ჩუენმან,

4. მონაზონმან ანასტასია, ქელყო ხატვად და შემკობად ამისა,
შეეწიე და შეიწყალე ამინ.

Text B (*transcription*):

1. წ̃: ო̃ე. ქ̃ე: ღ̃ო: ჯ̃ტო: ჩ̃ნის: ჯ̃რკითა: ვნემყლო ს.
ღთემით ყვნმლო შ̃ე. სლით და. ქცით ჰტრნი გი|
შეიმზდა: წ̃ა: ესე: ცხოვლს მყ̃ფელი ვნმა: მკ̃ხრისა.
ჩ̃ნისა. ნუთითა და სფსითა

2. დდისა და სხელონისა ალმოსვლეთისა: და: ჩრდილოთ:
მ̃ფთ: მპყრმლისა. მ̃ფთ მფს კოს̃ტნტე | ყფლისა
კირლეს: ძესა ჰ̃ტრნს გის: ს. ქლოვს̃მითა:
დისა: მათის

3. ა: ასთანდარის რნ: ვგლს მოდგინე და წარმოვგზა
[···] ვნე წნ ესე გარდა[··]მოჯსნა | წიდაქ: ქლქდ:
იეროსლიმს: სფლავსა: ქსსა:

4. ს ჯსნმლრდ ცქდვილისა სყლის ჩნისა და მშობეთა
ჩნთა ქე ლო შე ორთ|ვე: შინა: ცხორე

5. მათა: ჰკრნი: გგი: დ: მრჯვნეთა შთათა:
ალრაკხენ: ოდეს: მოხვიდე | და დასჯდე: განჯ

6. ითხვე სყდრთა: დთისათა: და: მიაგემდე:
ჰცდვკდდსა: (sic) საქმეთ|ა: მთთავბრ: ღთისა: თს:
ბევედრე

7. მი: შენობა ყა[···]ვთ ცო[···]დლი გგისთვის

8. რათა ლოცვათა

9. თქვეთა. მიერ: ღირს: ვიმნე

10. მიმთხვევე: სასყფეველ

11. სა ცათ

12-13. ა ან

Text B (*expanded*):

1. წ. იესო ქრისტე, ღმერთო ჭეშმარიტო, ჩვენთვის ჴორცითა ვნებულო ხოლო ღმრთებით უვნებელო; შეიწყალე სულით და ჴორცით პატრონი გი|ორგი. შეიმზადა წმიდა ესე ცხოველის მყოფელი ვნება მაცხოვრისა ჩვენისა ნივთით და საფასითა

2. დიდისა და სახელოვანისა, აღმოსავლეთისა და ჩრდილოთ მეფეთ მპყრო-ბელისა, მეფეთ მეფის, კონსტანტინე | ყოფილისა კირილეს ძე[ი]სა პატრონის გიორგის[ა], ხოლო ხელოვნებითა დისა მათის

3. ა ასთანდარის რომელმან ვიგულოს-მოდგინე და წარმოვგზავნე წმიდა ესე
გარდამოჴსნა | წმიდაჲ ქალაქაჲ იეროსალიმს საფლავსა ქრისტესსა.

4. საჴსენებლად ცოდვილისა სულისა ჩვენისა და მშობელთა ჩვენთა,
ქრისტე ღმერთო შეიწყალე ორთ|ავე შინა ცხოვრე-

5. შათა ჰაგრონი გიორგი და მარჯვენეთა შენთათა აღრაცხენ, ოდეს
მოხვიდე | და დასჯე, განა-

6. ითხვად საყდართა დავითისათა, და მიაგებდე კაცად-კაცადსა (sic)
საქმეთ|ა მათაებრ. ღმრთისათვის გევედრე-

7. ბი შენდობა ყავთ ცოდვილი გიორგისათვის

8. რათა ლოცვათა

9. თქვენთა მიერ ღირს ვიქმნე

10. მიმთხვევად სასუფეველ·

11–13. სა ცათა ამინ.

TEXT C (*transcription*):

1. წ. ქ̃ე შ̃ე ო
2. რთ̃ვე შინა
3. ცხოვრე
4. შ̃სა და
5. დ̃ინი გ̃ი დ̃ დ̃ფლი თმ̃რ დ̃
6. ძე მ̃თი ლ̃ონ რომლისა მრ
7. ძნ̃მითა შ̃ეკო ხ̃ტი ესე მ
8. აცხოვრისა ა̃ნ

TEXT C (*expanded*):

1. წ. ქრისტე შეიწყალე ო-
2. რთავე შინა
3. ცხოვრე
4. ბასა და
5. დიანი გიორგი და დედოფალი თამარ და
6. ძე მათ ლეონ, რომლისა მრ-
7. ძანემითა შეიმკო ხატი ესე მ-
8. აცხოვრისა ამინ.

TEXT D:

1. ⸗: ნემითა: და: შეწევნითა: მლთისათა (sic) ჩვენ: ფრიად: ცო
2. დვილმან: დიდისა: და: ზეშთა: ად
3. მაგვშულისა: ქართლისა: მეფეთ: მეფისა: სრულად: ერ
4. ანისა: სჰასალარისა: ყანდარის: და: ქორგნ
5. ისა: შეგლარ: შვილისა გიორგი: ყოფილისა: პატრონისა: შაჰნაკაბის
6. მონამან: მდივანმა: კვინიხიძემა
7. გიორგიმ: მოვაკვდინეთ: პატიოსანი: სახარება: ეს:
8. სულთა: და: ხორცთა: საოხად: ამის: ქონს: ტუე:

TEXT E:

1. ⸗: ჩვენ: პატონის: შვილმა: ხვარამზემა: მოვაკვდინეთ:
2. ხატი: ესე: და: შემ[კ]ვრე თეიმურაზის: სიონთა:
3. ლის: მშობელს: ვითაცა: ჩვენი: სასურველი: შვილი: თამარ:
4. თ⸗ვენ: ტაძარში ემარხა: მისის: სულის: სახსრად ცოდვა
5 ათა: (sic) ჩვენთა: შესანდომლად: შეიწირე: შენ: ყუ
6 ოლად: (sic) სანატრელო: ქალწულო: ⸗ქ̃ს: ტუპ:
