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# THE JOURNAL OF THE WALTERS ART GALLERY

## THE JOURNAL OF THE WALTERS ART GALLERY

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#### THE WALTERS ART GALLERY

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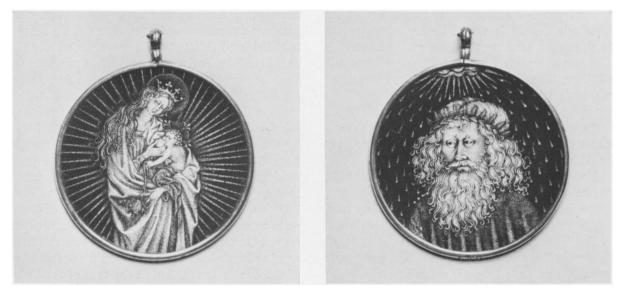
(The Journal of the Walters Art Gallery is indexed in "Art Index")



FIGURE 1

The Medallion of the "Ara Coeli" Obverse: The Virgin and Child clad in the sun (Enlargement)

WALTERS ART GALLERY



FIGURES 2, 3

The Medallion of the "Ara Coeli" Obverse and Reverse: Actual size WALTERS ART GALLERY

### A MEDALLION OF THE "ARA COELI" AND THE NETHERLANDISH ENAMELS OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

**By PHILIPPE VERDIER** The Walters Art Gallery

In the collections of the Walters Art Gallery I have "rediscovered" an enamel forgotten for half a century, which is of capital interest for the history of painted enamels of the Renaissance. The object is a medallion-shaped pendant, painted on its two faces in grisaille enamel highlighted in gold, on a background glazed in midnight blue.<sup>1</sup> On one side is represented the Virgin and Child in a glory of sun-rays (figs. 1, 2), and on the other a portrait in three-quarter view of an elderly em-

<sup>1</sup>No. 44.462. For previous publications and other

peror with flowing beard, his long hair crowned with a diadem of spikes and laurel leaves (figs. 3, 4). Upon him falls a golden rain which is supposed to shower from the vision represented on the obverse. There is no doubt about the interpretation: the subject concerns the apparition of the Ara Coeli to Emperor Augustus-or as the medieval account went in the Golden Legend-to Octavian.<sup>2</sup> Technically, the medallion belongs to the extremely small group of enamels of the first

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> No. 44.462. For previous publications and other studies of this enamel, see note 3 below. <sup>2</sup> Those unfamiliar with the legend of the *Ara Coeli* can do no better than to refer to William Caxton's quaint translation of this story as part of his rendering of the *Legenda Aurea* into English for the edition of *The Golden Legend* which he printed at his press in West-minster about 1483: ". . . Also Octavian the Emperor, like as Inpresent recorded the he was much desired of like as Innocent recordeth, that he was much desired of

his council and of his people, that he should do (i.e., make) men worship him as God. For never had there been before him so great a master and lord of the world as he was. Then the Emperor sent for a prophetess named Sibyl, for to demand of her if there were any so great and like him in the earth, or if any should come after him. Thus at the hour of mid-day she beheld the heaven, and saw a circle of gold about the sun, and in the middle of the circle a maid holding a child in her arms. Then

half of the fifteenth century which are called "Netherlandish."3 It would be hazardous to try to determine whether the base of the enamel is silver or silver-gilt, like the frame. Probably it is of silver. The diameter of the pendant is that of a medal: two inches (5 cm.). The style of the enamel-painting recalls the international art of the first quarter of the fifteenth century, but thinnedout, softened and mannered; thus the piece may be dated around 1425 to 1430.

No document has been found which casts light on the origin of the medallion or upon its history, up to the time of its purchase.<sup>4</sup> I shall, however, try to propose a plausible attribution.

The iconography, even more than the style, of the enamelled medallion suggests that it depends upon two sources: first, the medals purchased by

<sup>3</sup> It was first reproduced by Erich Steingräber in Alter Schmuck (Munich, 1956), fig. 94, cf. p. 62; again by the same author in Reallexikon zur deutschen Kunstges-chichte, V (1960), s.v. Email, p. 43, fig. 29. I translate his comment in the 1956 publication:

"The powerful influence of Netherlandish art could not help being felt in the decorative arts. Corresponding to the new pictorial developments was the art of painted enamel, which was developed during the first half of the fifteenth century. The enamel is treated in the same way as the painter employed his colors. It was applied with a brush in monochrome modelling of silver or gold. An enamel of Netherlandish technique shows on the obverse the Virgin, on the reverse a bearded elder (this reference is to the Walters medallion). With subtly graduated values, which remind one of the Netherlandish altarpieces painted in grisaille, the figures stand out like carvings against the dark ground of the enamel. Probably a little later, in the second quarter of the fifteenth century, was executed a Crucifixion painted on gold (in the Victoria and Albert Museum: Steingräber, fig. 95). The heavy, massive character of the figures undeniably had its origin in Netherlandish painting. These incunables of painted enamel are the ancestors of a long lineage which was to culminate in enamelled portrait miniatures.

Otto von Falke alluded to the Walters medallion and the London Crucifixion in his essay in the Histoire de l'art, edited by André Michel, vol. III, pt. II (Paris, 1908), p. 893. W. Burger in Abendländische Schmelzarbeiten (Berlin, 1930), merely copied the mention of the Walters Gallery enamel, just as von Falke had given it. This medallion did not escape the keen notice of J. J.

Marquet de Vasselot. It was cited on pages 42 and 43 of

the brother of King Charles V of France, the great art patron and collector, Jean duc de Berry, in 1401 and 1402 from Florentine merchants established in Paris; and, second, upon certain illuminations in the two prayer-books known as the Belles Heures (otherwise, les Heures d'Ailly) and the Très Riches Heures, which were painted for the duke of Berry between 1410 and 1416 by the de Limbourg brothers. The gold medals were fantastic interpretations (with erudite pretensions) of Roman and Byzantine imperial monetary types.<sup>5</sup> Two had images of Augustus and Tiberius, and there was a celebrated pair of Constantine and Heraclius; all four were mounted in frames of precious stones. Of the first two we know nothing beyond the descriptions in the inventories of the duc de Berry,6 but in the case of the Con-

a study entitled Emaux bourguignons et germaniques et orfèvreries émaillées vénitiennes, which he commenced in January, 1915, but which, unfortunately, remained unfinished and unpublished; cf. J. J. Marquet de Vasselot, Les Emaux Limousins de la fin du XVe siècle et de la première partie du XVIe (Paris 1921), p. 17, note 1. The reference follows: "... très joli medaillon à deux faces, émaillé sur argent, qui a passé dans le commerce à Londres il y a quelques années et qui figure maintenant dans la collection d'un amateur de Baltimore. had not known of this unpublished mention of M. Marquet de Vasselot until July of 1961, when the conclusions of this article had already been arrived at. Marquet de asselot dated the medallion in the second half of the fifteenth century, and did not suspect the connection with the artistic and humanistic center at the court of duke Jean de Berry. He had at first thought of the Vision of the Ara Coeli, then he struck this out and suggested that the medallion might have to do with the Virgin and David rather than Augustus, in conformity with a type of the Marian iconography in the *Biblia Pauperum*. It is a great pleasure for me to express here my thanks to MM. Pierre Verlet and Hubert Landais, who had the great generosity and confidence to permit me to make use of the unpublished notes of J. J. Marquet de Vasselot, a veritable monument of science and scholarship on the painted enamels of the fifteenth to the seventeenth century, which were deposited after his death in the files of the Conservation des Objets d'Art at the Louvre.

<sup>4</sup> It was acquired by Harding at the F.W.B. Massey Manwaring sale (London, Robinson and Fisher), and sold by him to Henry Walters, I suppose around 1914.

<sup>5</sup> Among the many studies devoted to the medals, the most penetrating are still those of J. von Schlosser, "Die altesten Medaillen und die Antike," Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses. Mistorischen Sammungen des alternochsten Ratsernauses, XVIII (1897), pp. 64-108; and of G. H. Hill, "A Note on the Mediaeval Medals of Constantine and Heraclius," *The Numismatic Chronicle*, 4th Series, X (1910). <sup>6</sup> In the inventory of 1413, items 198, 197, respectively;

in that of 1416, items 230 and 1190.

she called the Emperor and showed it him. When Octavian saw that he marvelled over much, whereof Sibyl said to him: Hic puer major te est, ipsum adora. This child is greater lord than thou art, worship him. Then when the Emperor understood that this child was greater lord than he was, he would not be worshipped as God, but worshipped this child that should be born. Wherefore the christian men made a church of the same chamber of the Emperor, and named it Ara coeli.



FIGURE 4

The Medallion of the "Ara Coeli" Reverse: The Emperor (Enlargement) WALTERS ART GALLERY



FIGURE 5

METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

THE LIMBOURG BROTHERS The "Belles Heures" of Jean, duc de Berry (fol. 26<sup>vo</sup>) The Sibyl Shows Augustus the Virgin and Child (The Cloisters Collection, Purchased 1954) stantine and Heraclius medals, the duke had one of his goldsmiths make copies of them.<sup>7</sup> Of these copies in gold, we have only after-casts, none of which goes back as early as the fifteenth century. The finest specimens are preserved in the collections of Paris and Vienna.

As for the miniatures related to the Virgin and Child on the enamelled medallion, we can point out three in the *Belles Heures*, now in the museum of the Cloisters in New York: the Vision of the *Ara Coeli* illustrating the prayer to the Virgin, "O Intemerata . . ." (fig. 5), the illumination for the Mass of Our Lady (fig. 6), and the Court of Heaven (fig. 8). In the *Très Riches Heures* at Chantilly, also the prayer, "O Intermerata . . ." is illustrated by the Vision of the *Ara Coeli* (fig. 9).<sup>8</sup>

Another link between the Virgin and Child of the enamelled medallion and the works of art commissioned by the duc de Berry is the "round jewel not set with gems, where there is on one side an image of Our Lady holding her Child . . . and on the other side is a half-length portrait of my lord [the duke] . . . which jewel my lord bought from Michelet Saulmon, his painter."9 The reverse of the bronze after-cast of the lost jewel is preserved. In diameter it corresponds to the average of the medals of Constantine and Heraclius. Its style is very similar to that of the medal of Constantine (fig. 7)<sup>10</sup>—a remarkable comparison, since it implies that a certain iconography of the Virgin which had been created in the ateliers employed by the duc de Berry was associated with the medals à l'antique which he collected, and which he loaned

<sup>7</sup> The original of the medal of Constantine with its mounting was valued at 400 *livres Tournois*, its reproduction at 60 *livres*. The original of the medal of Heraclius and its mounting was assessed at 500 *livres Tournois*, its reproduction at 80 *livres*.

<sup>8</sup> J. Porcher, Les Belles Heures de Jean de France, duc de Berry (Paris, 1953), pls. XXIX (folio 26), CXLIX (fol. 209), CLVI (fol. 218). P. Durrieu, Les Très Riches Heures de Jean de France, duc de Berry (Paris, 1904), pl. XVII (fol. 22). The Court of Heaven on folio 218 of the Belles Heures exactly reproduced the frontispiece of a Legende Dorée finished on January 3, 1405 (Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. fr. 414, fol. 1), perhaps painted by Pol de Limbourg (J. Porcher, op. cit., fig. 2, pp. 8-9); it was copied, except for a few differences, in the Heures de Rohan on folio 29 verso; cf. Revue de l'art ancien et moderne, II (1912), fig. 17, p. 175.

<sup>9</sup> "Un joyau d'or rond, non garny, ouquel a en l'un des costez un ymaige de Nostre Dame tenant son enfant



#### FIGURE 6 METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART, CLOISTERS THE LIMBOURG BROTHERS "Belles Heures" of Jean, duc de Berry (fol. 209) The Virgin and Child

to his painters as models for their inspiration.<sup>11</sup> Let us add to the preceding documents for

... et de l'autre costé a un demi ymaige fait à la semblance de Monseigneur ... lequel joyau Monseigneur acheta de Michelet Saulmon son peintre": article 234 of the inventory of 1416. The round jewel was valued at 70 livres Tournois, a sum halfway between the valuation of the gold reproduction of the medal of Constantine and that of Heraclius (cf. note 7). Its author was probably the same as the one who executed these replicas, which also were not garnies; cf. W. Bode, Amiliche Berichte aus den Königlichen Kunstsammlungen, XXX-VIII, 12 (Sept. 1917), fig. 102, 103, p. 317.

<sup>10</sup> On either side of the Fountain of Life—a Cross set in a *pigna* or a giant pine-cone—are Faith and Hope, according to the old explanation proposed by Scaliger. Others would see in the two figures symbols of a typological opposition between the Old and the New Dispensation or between Christianity and Paganism.

<sup>11</sup> The feeling for the nude in one of the allegorical figures on the reverse of the medal of Constantine is as

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FIGURE 7 BERLIN, STAATLICHE MUSEEN Bronze After-casts of Medallions for the Duc de Berry Left: Reverse of Medal of Constantine (diam. 9.5 cm.); Right: Reverse of the Michelet Saulmon Jewel (diam. 9.6 cm.)

comparison the gold plaquette of the emperor Philip the Arab (244-249), listed in one of the inventories,12 and also those pictures of the kings and princes of France and of the emperors of the two empires of East and West which the duke of Berry had painted in his Château de Bicêtre.<sup>13</sup> Finally, until October of 1412, there was to be seen in the Sainte Chapelle at Bourges something

exquisite as in certain miniatures of the Très Riches Heures. The mounted king at the left in the miniature of the Meeting of the Three Magi, on folio 51 of the Très Riches Heures, copies, as Durrieu first noticed, the ob-verse of the medal of Constantine (Durrieu, op. cit., p. 39; cf. pl. XXXVII). Panofsky has made the very judicious remark that the other two Magi in the miniature are figures stylistically of a numismatic conception, since they are composed like monetary types and can be in-scribed in a circle: Erwin Panofsky, *Studies in Iconology* (New York, 1930), p. 154, note 85, fig. 79. The chariot of the triumph of the Cross brought back to Jerusalem by Heraclius after his victory over Chosroes, which is struck on the reverse of the medal of Heraclius, was copied scrupulously both on folio 156 of the *Belles Heures* to illustrate the Hours of the Cross, and in the Calendar of the Très Riches Heures, where it has become the Chariot of the Sun.

<sup>12</sup> Article 55 of the inventory of 1413. <sup>13</sup> A. de Champeaux and P. Gauchery, *Les travaux* d'art exécutés pour Jean de France, duc de Berry (Paris,

which must certainly have inspired the Limbourg brothers in their illuminations of the Vision of the Ara Coeli: a large relief of gold, two feet square, with images of the "Trinité" (that is to say, God the Father at the top of the composition) and of "Notre Dame tenant son enfant" whom "une femme nommé Sebille" pointed out to "un empereur nommé Octavien."<sup>14</sup> This visionary

1894), p. 32. <sup>14</sup> Hiver de Beauvoir, "Description d'après la teneur des chartes du trésor donné par Jean du de Berry à la Sainte Chapelle de Bourges," Mémoires de la Société Historique du Département du Cher, I (1855-60). The description of this retable of gold, which was also called "the picture of Rome," did not figure in the inventories. It was published by J. Guiffrey as an appendix to volume II of his *Inventaires de Jean duc de Berry* (Paris, 1896), pp. 309-311. The panel was ceded to the English in October, 1412, as pledge of payment owed for the aid which they had brought to Jean against the Bursundans. I would compare the golden retable of Bourges with the reliquary in gold of "Nostre Dame tenant son enfant sur ung soleil" which belonged to Louis d'Orléans as early as 1403: see document no. 5957 (cf. no. 6046), de Laborde, *Les Ducs de Bourgogne*, seconde partie, Tome III (Paris, 1852), p. 203 (cf. p. 221), and the panel of gold "ouquel a un ymage de Nostre Dame, enlevé, tenant son enfant, assis sur un soleil," *ibid.*, p. 125, no. 5734.

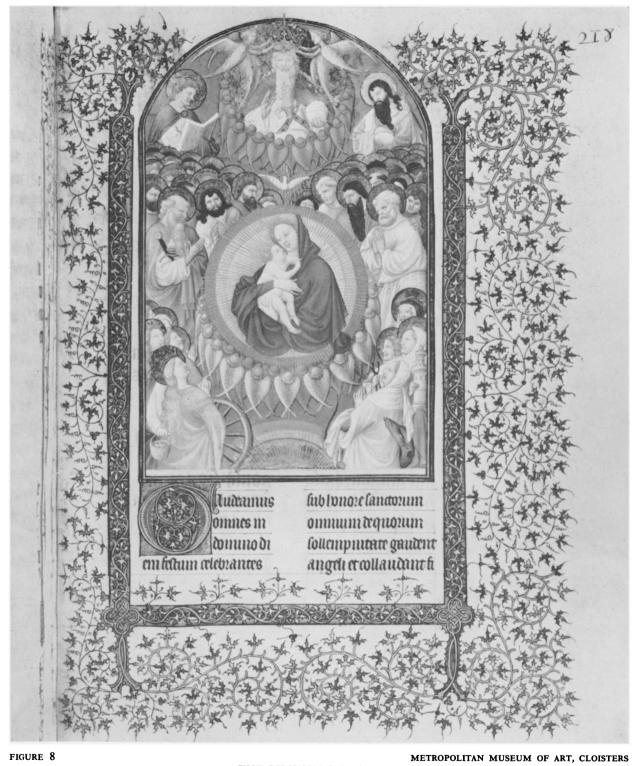


FIGURE 8

THE LIMBOURG BROTHERS "Belles Heures" of Jean, duc de Berry (fol. 218) The Court of Heaven Trinity appearing to Augustus was completed by the scene of the Annunciation. The back of this plaque was ornamented with "un petit tableau quarré fait de pourcelaine" (i.e., mother-of-pearl engraved or carved) "avec ymaige de Dieu tenant une croix et au-dessous un pape et un empereur à genoulx" (Silvester and Constantine) "et y a plusieurs escriptures tant en grec qu'en latin."<sup>15</sup>

From these comparisons arises a single inference: the three Limbourg brothers who were illuminators to the duc de Berry used as models objects of goldsmiths work collected or commissioned by Jean, which had semi-archaeological and semi-legendary themes. Nothing would have been more natural, since the careers of Pol and Herman began in 1399 with their apprenticeship to Albert de Bolure (alias Alebret de Bonne), master goldsmith at Paris. The art of enamelling is halfway between goldsmiths work, of which it is the servant, and illumination. In the Très Riches Heures the three miniatures-one a medallion and the two others little rectangular panels-all reserved on folio 22 to illustrate the Vision of the Ara Coeli (fig. 9), make one think of enamelled plaques because of their proportions, their disposition and even their thin borders.

Documents recently published have established some new facts about the family of Pol, Herman and Jan de Limbourg, the three famous brothers who had been introduced around 1399 to the court of Burgundy by their uncle, the painter Jean Malouel, and were already in the service of Jean duc de Berry by 1410. It is known that all three of the illuminator brothers died in the same epidemic in 1416. They were the sons of the sculptor, Arnold the Elder de Limbourg, and had a younger brother also called Arnold, after his father.<sup>16</sup> Arnold the Younger entered the shop of the goldsmith Adam van Stokkum at Nijmegen as an apprentice in 1417,17 and was married two years later in that same town. I would propose that the Walters enamel, which reflects so much of the stylistic and iconographic fashions current at the court of the duc de Berry, may well have been the work of Arnold de Limbourg the Younger.

There is no evidence that Arnold de Limbourg ever went to Bourges or Paris. He remained at Nijmegen. But, after the death of his three older brothers in 1416, he came into possession of the projects and preparatory sketches left by them in those two cities. These had been gathered with the rest of their estate by the efforts of Derik (Thierry) Neven, who had been appointed by Arnold and his sister Margaret as trustee in the set-tlement of their inheritance.<sup>18</sup>

In our enamelled medallion Arnold has copied his models in his own personal style.<sup>19</sup> He has treated one of the sides in the manner of a miniature—that representing the Madonna and Child (figs. 1, 2). The other he has formulated as a compromise between a portrait as conceived by a painter and a portrait as executed by the striker of medals or the engraver of seals (figs. 3, 4). The effigy of Augustus stands for the scene of the Emperor and the Sibyl. It bears some resemblances to the obverse of the medallion of Heraclius (fig. 10) in that both feature the head of an old man,<sup>20</sup> the illuminating golden rain, analogous

<sup>15</sup> The mixture of inscriptions in Greek and in Latin also characterized the medal of Heraclius devoted to the exaltation of the Cross. The adoration of the bejewelled cross illustrates the Hours of the Cross on folio 157 of the *Belles Heures* and on folio 193 of the *Très Riches Heures*. The inscription, *Illumina vultum tuum Deus*, which accompanies the image of Heraclius on the medal is drawn from Psalm 66, verse 2, recited on September 14th at the Introit of the feast of the Exaltation of the Cross.

<sup>16</sup> F. Gorissen, "Jan Maelwael und die Brüder Limburg, eine Nimweger Künstlerfamilie um Wende des 14. Jhs.," Vereniging "Gelre"—Bijdragen en Mededelingen, LIV (1954), pp. 153-221. Arnold (the Elder) de Limbourg, who was a native of the region of Aachen and who died at Nijmegen before 1399, had six children: besides Pol, Herman and Jan, who were artists of the dukes of Burgundy and Berry, he had Rutger, canon at the Sainte Chapelle in Bourges (died in 1435), Arnold the Younger and Margaret (Greta). <sup>17</sup> Document of April 2, 1417: Gorissen, op. cit., p.

<sup>17</sup> Document of April 2, 1417: Gorissen, op. cit., p. 216.

<sup>18</sup> F. Gorissen, *op. cit.*, p. 214: documents of October and September, 1416; also on p. 216, the documents of 1417, the year when Margaret de Limbourg married Derik Neven. The latter vouched for the contract which engaged Arnold as apprentice to the goldsmith Adam van Stokkum (April 2, 1417).

<sup>19</sup> For an analogous transposition of a miniature painted in the International Style into a Flemish work of the time of the Van Eycks, cf. Paul Wescher, "Two Burgundian Drawings," Old Master Drawings, XII (1937), pl. 17. <sup>20</sup> In the Greek sources of the legend of the Ara Coeli,

<sup>20</sup> In the Greek sources of the legend of the *Ara Coeli*, which are the most ancient ones, Augustus was fifty years old when the Virgin and Child appeared to him in a vision. Personages with flowing beards are very frequent in the illuminations of the Limbourg brothers, who represent thus the Magi, Augustus or Heraclius, indifferently.



FIGURE 9

CHANTILLY, MUSÉE CONDÉ

THE LIMBOURG BROTHERS The "Très Riches Heures" de Jean, duc de Berry (fol. 22) The Sibyl Shows Augustus the Virgin and Child spiky crowns (although that on the enamel is more normal),<sup>21</sup> and the very simple mantle rather than the oriental costume given to Octavian by Arnold's illuminator brothers. The innovation of the enamel, however, resides in the three-quarter turn of the portrait bust of the emperor, which principle," because the bust-length portrait of the duc de Berry on the reverse of the gold medallion bought by him from Michelet Saulmon was described as "demi ymaige." Direct imitation from a single model seems to be ruled out in the case of our enamelled medallion of the *Ara Coeli*. It



PARIS, BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE Medallion of "Heraclius" (obverse)

anticipates easel painting—or, perhaps, already reflects it. (It is true that portraits in three-quarter profile were sometimes produced by the medieval goldsmiths who engraved the master-models of seals.)<sup>22</sup> On the other hand, there is no direct correspondence with the medallion of Octavian acquired by the duc de Berry which reproduced in relief the "visaige"—which is to say, in principle, only the head and neck of the emperor as in numismatic profiles.<sup>23</sup> I deliberately say "in is a compromise. Its sources can be only partly numismatic. Its composite aspect does not, however, obscure its main character, which consists in having an obverse which is a portrait, like a coin, while the reverse shows a symbolical image.

The Virgin on the enamelled medallion wears the same crown as that received by the Virgin on folio 26 verso of the *Belles Heures* (fig. 5), and the relative positions of Mother and Son are very similar in the two cases. The composition of the

figures in the circular miniature on folio 22 of the Très Riches Heures (fig. 9) resembles very much that of the enamel, although oriented toward the left instead of to the right. The swing and fall of the folds of the mantle, ample but without the heavy Sluterian weight, is analogous. In these two illuminations the Virgin is borne up by the crescent of the moon,<sup>24</sup> symbol of the Immaculate Conception (Revelation, XII:1), but the image in the Très Riches Heures is cut off above the kneeand thus it is also on the bronze plaquette in Berlin (fig. 7)—and not at the waist, as is the case in the three images of the Virgin and Child in the Belles Heures (figs. 5, 6, 8). We may also cite the Virgin nursing the Child and cut at the waist by the moon-crescent, depicted on the devotional image pasted into the Book of Hours of Philip the Bold, on folio 6 of manuscript 11035-37 of the Royal Library in Brussels.<sup>25</sup> Again, one finds the Virgin on the crescent represented as a half-

<sup>21</sup> It conforms fairly well with historical truth. The corona civica decreed for Augustus by the Senate was a crown of ivy leaves. But as this distinction also included a laurel wreath, the leaves of the crown of Augustus shown on the sesterces in fact did resemble laurel.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. the list given by H. Wentzel, "Portraits à l'an-tique on French Mediaeval Gems and Seals," Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, XVI (1953), pp.

349-50, nos. 94-105, pl. 52 e-m. <sup>23</sup> The medallion of Octavian was described by the compiler of the inventory of 1413 as being in haute taille to distinguish it from basse taille, i.e., very shallow relief intended to be covered with translucent enamel. The reverse of the medal of Octavian showed "Lilia" (Livia, the wife of the emperor) "tenant en une de ses mains une estoille et en l'autre un fouet" (attributes of the Sibyl?). Undoubtedly this was a fantastic adaptation (as were all the pseudo-numismatic traits of the four medals acquired by the duc de Berry), either of the Pax Augusta holding a leafy branch and a sceptre, or of the Diva Augusta carrying the attributes of Ceres –the sheaf of wheat and the torch. Cf. H. Mattingly, *The Roman Imperial Coinage*, vol. I, London, 1923 (1948), pp. 98, 96, pls. V, 79, VIII, 126a. Such archaeological misinterpretations are very significant. The triumphal chariot become the Crease on the crease of the superior of bearing the Cross on the reverse of the medal of Heraclius must have been suggested by the carpentum or chariot drawn by two mules, struck on the reverse of certain imperial monetary issues (for example, Mattingly, op. cit., pls. VI, 104, VIII, 123). <sup>24</sup> It is curious to note that the moon crescent is not

absent from the obverse of the medal of Heraclius, where it changes in sense but not in formal function, since it underlines and reinforces the frame of the bust portrait as formed by the border of the medal (fig. 10). On the lunar crescent which cuts across the chest of Heraclius can be read: Super tenebras nostras militabor in gentibus. The crescent evokes the Golden Horn, Constantinople, which, besieged by a coalition of Avars and of the Salength Madonna in the Hours of the Dukes of Anjou and in the Grandes Heures de Rohan in the Bibliothèque Nationale.26 In these last two miniatures the Virgin holds the Child on her left arm, as on the enamelled medallion, but instead of inclining her head toward Him, like a Virgin of Tenderness, she turns her eyes away from Him, as in the Virgin of Compassion weighed down by premonition of the Calvary. On the medallion the Virgin's head and neck is uncovered, her hair waving in harmonious curves around her ears and spreading over her delicate shoulders. Her head is very small, her features thin. She is guite different from the seriously sweet Virgins painted by the Limbourg brothers without any mannerism whatever, in a classical and plastic vein, and which show not the uncovered head of a very young and childishly wistful girl, but a head swathed in a veil like the Roman matron.<sup>27</sup> She is the sister of the Virgins painted and carved in

sanians of Chosroes, was saved by the intervention of

the Virgin, the city-goddess of the capital of the Empire. <sup>25</sup> F. de Lyna, Mélanges Hulin de Loo (1931), p. 249; C. Gaspar et F. de Lyna, Les principaux manuscrits à peintures de la Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, I (Paris, 1937), pp. 419-423; R. M. Tovell, Flemish Artists of the Valois Courts (Carocte 1950), pp. 745 pl. 29 Valois Courts (Toronto, 1950), pp. 74-75, pl. 38. The image must have been earlier than the Book of Hours at the time when it was left unfinished around 1410 (it was not to be finished until 1451, for Philip the Good), and it could have been inserted there by Margaret of Bavaria, the wife of John the Fearless. The picture is further from the circle of the Limbourg brothers than the Immaculate Conception of the Breviary of John the Fearless [British Museum, Add. Ms. 35311, Harley Ms. reariess [British Museum, Add. Ms. 35311, Harley Ms. 2897; cf. F. Winkler, "Ein neues Werk aus dem Werk-statt Pauls von Limburg," *Repertorium für Kunst-*wissenschaft, XXXIV (1911), pp. 536-543] and than the Virgin painted at the head of the hymn to Mary, "Obse-cro te . . ." on folio 12 of a Parisian Book of Hours (British Museum, Add. Ms. 32454), the work of an artist who had approximate the studies procedures end the who had appropriated the stylistic procedures and the models of the Belles Heures (cf. Porcher, op. cit., p. 28 and note 55)

<sup>26</sup> Ms. lat. 1156 A and ms. lat. 9471. P. Durrieu, "Le Maître des Grandes Heures de Rohan et les Lescuier d'Angers," Revue de l'art ancien et moderne, II (1912), pp. 161-183, fig. 11; cf. folio 70 of the Heures de Rohan and fig. 14, reproducting the Virgin between St. Peter and St. Paul in the Hours of Isabella Stuart, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, Ms. 62. This latter miniature was attributed by Roger Fry to the Limbourg brothers: Burlington Magazine, VII (1905), pl. III, fig. 5, pp. 442-445

<sup>27</sup> With these Virgins of the Limbourg brothers, Winkler had compared a painting by Pisanello and a drawing in the Vallardi Codex: Jahrbuch des Berliner Museen, I (1959) 2, figs. 7, 8, pp. 186-187.

the period between 1420 and 1430 in the provinces of the Lower Rhine and northwest Germany.<sup>28</sup> She still belongs to the "soft style," and shows none of the tendencies toward an angular and contrasted treatment of the draperies, nor toward the pensive and even tragic melancholy of face and pose, such as one finds on the engravings of the Virgin and Child by the Dutch master  $\mathbf{W}\mathbf{A}$ which are of the middle of the fifteenth century.<sup>29</sup> Her Child does not play with her veil or with a fold of her mantle, but He holds a toy, a kind of top that is worked by strings, such as one sometimes sees in the paintings of the Virgin and Child in the International Style of the beginning of the fifteenth century.30

The Vision of the Ara Coeli in French miniatures of the beginning of the fifteenth century is not connected only with the image of the Immaculate Conception.<sup>31</sup> It also appears in the guise of a Throne of Grace, much like a Marialized Trinity. The Court of Heaven in the Belles Heures is a Trinity (fig. 8),<sup>32</sup> as is the Virgin on the Crescent in the Hours of the Dukes of Anjou. On the golden retable once in the Sainte Chapelle in

<sup>29</sup> M. Lehrs, Der Meister WA, Ein Kupferstecher der Zeit Karls des Kühnen (Leipzig, 1895), pl. II, 3-5.
 <sup>30</sup> For example, the panel of the School of Aragon, Walters Art Gallery, no. 37.747.
 <sup>31</sup> The Vision of the Ara Coeli was to continue to be

confused with the Apocalyptic vision of the Immaculate Conception. The Woman of the Apocalypse with the sun, and the moon under her feet," wh 'clothed which occupies the highest niche of the top of the altarpice of the Seven Sorrows at Kalkar—a work of Heinrich Douvermann in 1518 to 1521—is, on the left, pointed out to Augustus by the Sibyl, on the right, to St. John by the Augustus by the Sibyl, on the right, to St. John by the angel: Reallexikon zur deutscher Kunstgeschichte, I (Stuttgart, 1937), s.v. Augustus, col. 1269-1275, fig. 4; cf. the altar of the Virgin at the Cathedral of Xanten, about 1540: F. Witte, Tausend Jahre deutscher Kunst am Rhein, III (Berlin, 1932), pl. 228. These two scenes are contrasted typologically on the interior of the wings of the streaction the Morter of the Holy Blood of St. 100 of the altar by the Master of the Holy Blood at St. Jac-ques in Bruges, about 1520, and around the same period on the wings of the altar of the Trinity at St. Maria at Lübeck. [On the fourteenth and fifteenth-century iconography of the Woman of the Apocalypse, see E. M. Vetter, "Mulier Amicta Sole and Mater Salvatoris" in Münchner Jahrbuch der Bildenden Kunst, IX-X (1958-1959), pp. 32-71.]

Bourges, the Sibyl showed a Trinity to Octavian. It is also possible that the "tableau d'or quarré," presented to the duc de Berry as a New Year's gift in 1409 by Jean I, Count of Alençon, was a Trinity.<sup>33</sup> The Trinity of the Sainte Chapelle, surmounted by God the Father, can be explained by the presence of the Annunciation beneath the Vision of the Ara Coeli,34 that of the Court of Heaven in the Belles Heures because the miniature illustrates the feast of All Saints, which is also that of the Unity and of the Trinity of God. But the prayer, "O Intemerata . . ." invokes the Virgin as the sanctuary of the Holy Spirit-"Spiritus sancti sacrarium"-just as it calls her "Gateway to the Kingdom of Heaven," ". . . most pleasing Temple of God": "janua regni celorum . . . ," "... gratissimum Dei templum...." These epithets tend to represent the Virgin as the Church, within the Church or at the door of the Church (as did the Van Eycks), just as well as they apply to the Vision of the Ara Coeli. But the iconography of this vision, as it was established by the artists of the duc de Berry, is, above all, indebted to the double current-Christian and Humanist-which

<sup>33</sup> "Un tableau d'or quarré . . . ou il a un ymaige de Nostre Dame tenant son enfant et un demy ymaige . . . tout d'esmail": J. Guiffrey, *Inventaires* . . . , op. cit., I, p. 38.

<sup>34</sup> The triptych by Roger Van der Weyden which was given after 1452 to the church at Middelburg by Pierre Bladelin, Receveur Général of Philip the Good, shows the Nativity (which I believe to be placed symbolically in the ruins of the Temple of Peace in Rome) flanked by the Vision of the Ara Coeli at the left and at the right by the apparition to the Magi of an infant within a shining star in the eastern sky. Dr. Panofsky has shown that the Vision of the Ara Coeli corresponds to an annunciation of the Nativity to the West, while the messianic star was as an annunciation of the Nativity to the East: Early Netherlandish Painting (Cambridge, Mass., 1953), p. 277. This double Annunciation derives from the Golden Legend, the first text to present a synthesis of all the sources, both of the legend of the Magi and of that of the Ara Coeli. The star of Bethlehem, the nocturnal counterpart of the solar glory of the Ara Coeli, larger and more brilliant than the other stars in the sky, with light that shown to the eyes of the Magi around the vision of the Virgin carrying the crowned Child, was already described around the year 500 in the Syrian text of the Book of the Cave of Treasures: Ugo Mon-(Vatican City, 1952), p. 6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Compare also the statue of Saint Catharine dated 1422, which comes from Niendorf bei Lübeck: Hans Wentzel and Alfred Ehrhardt, Niederdeutsche Madonnen (Hamburg, 1940), pls. 31, 32, where the most striking feature of resemblance is the mannered assymmetry of the hair falling on the side where the folds are not bunched up, but vertical.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> This scene was copied in the Saint-Maur Hours: Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. Nouv. acq. lat. 3107. fol. 33; cf. J. Porcher, Manuscrits à peintures offerts à la Bibliothèque Nationale par le comte Guy de Boisrouvray (Paris, 1961), p. 59, pl. 31.

governed the passion of Jean as collector and bibliophile. He was just as generous in lending his books as his objects of art. Perhaps the medals of Augustus and Tiberius, Constantine and Heraclius, together with the plaquette of Philip the Arab, were the work of an artist-in an insidious way, a faker-who had worked for the court at Prague or for that at Vienna; and perhaps this anonymous fellow had dabbled in archeology and in Greek at Padua or Florence. But what concerns us here is the persistence with which the duc de Berry sought these medals, because as a series they presented a program of revival of Early Christian themes under the cover of imperial iconography. To the medals all'antica<sup>35</sup> must be added the pseudo-antique cameos collected by the duke of Berry, for example, one now in the Louvre, carved with the profile bust-portrait of a laurelcrowned Roman emperor or patrician, which came from a Crucifix formerly in the Sainte Chapelle at Bourges.<sup>36</sup> These cameos have a special interest as possible collateral sources of our enamelled medallion-for a cameo of two layers, with the figure set off in a whitish tint against a dark background, presents an effect aesthetically not unlike that of a painted enamel executed in the Netherlandish technique.<sup>37</sup> We know that in the fifteenth century cameos frequently were mounted in enamelled settings, which themselves were executed so as to produce what we today would call a camaieu effect. The inventory of the gold and silver jewelry of Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy, drawn up on July 12, 1420, mentions a "picture of silver-gilt in the middle of which is an image of Saint Anthony enamelled in grey, the face of which is a cameo, and it is edged with P's and M's."38 These last ciphers indicate that this object had been in the possession of Philip

the Bold, brother of the duc de Berry, who had married Margaret of Flanders in 1369. In the chapel of Philip the Good there was "a cameo set in gold, enamelled, and on the other side enamelled with Our Lady and her Child holding a pin-wheel in his hand."<sup>39</sup>

According to their legends-quite fantastic to the numismatist, but so full of meaning for the historian of the revival of the concept of Rome toward the end of the Middle Ages-the medals of Augustus and Tiberius would have had to have been struck in the interval of time between the birth of Christ and His death. Philip the Arab would have been the first Christian emperor, although secretly, and in the fifteenth century it was believed that the one-thousandth anniversary of Rome, celebrated in 246 during his reign, signalled the transformation of the Roman Empire into the cradle of Christianity. Constantine adopted the Cross as the sign of victory, and Heraclius, like Christ, broke the gates of Hell (as the Greek inscription on the Heraclius medal recites) when he snatched from the hands of the Persians the wood of the True Cross. The medal of Augustus was mounted in a precious setting surmounted by a cartouche "ouquel a escript Manus (magnus) ab integro seculorum nascitur ordo." This alludes to the fifth verse of the Fourth Eclogue written by Vergil in the year 40 B.C., wherein all the Christian authors ever since Constantine and Saint Augustine discerned a mysterious prophecy of the coming of the Messiah, the Prince of Peace. Moreover, an identical conception inspired the epistle of Othea to Hector, written about 1400 by Christine de Pisan:<sup>40</sup> the peace of Augustus, the Roman peace, prepares for the Peace of Jesus Christ. The Roman peace was only a political aspect of the True Peace revealed to Augustus in the Vision

- <sup>38</sup> "... tableau, d'argent doré, ouquel a, ou milieu, ung ymage de saint Anthoine, emaillé de griz, duquel le visaige est d'un camahieu, bordé environ a p et m." <sup>39</sup> "Ung camahieu enchassé en or, esmaillé, et de l'autre cousté esmaillée de Nostre Dame et son enfant,
- <sup>39</sup> "Ung camahieu enchassé en or, esmaillé, et de l'autre cousté esmaillée de Nostre Dame et son enfant, tenant un molenet en sa main": de Laborde, *Les ducs de Bourgogne*, II, 2 (Paris, 1851), no. 4232, p. 263, no. 2123, p. 14.
- 2123, p. 14. <sup>40</sup> Cf. *Oeuvres de Christine de Pisan*, ed. M. Roy, Tome I (1886), p. ix; J. Porcher, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> Cf. R. Krautheimer, Lorenzo Ghiberti (Princeton, 1955), p. 59, note 28, p. 300, note 21. <sup>36</sup> Hans Wentzel in Wallraf-Richartz Jahrbuch, XVI

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> Hans Wentzel in *Wallraf-Richartz Jahrbuch*, XVI (1954), p. 72, fig. 49. <sup>37</sup> For the iconographical parallel of the Image of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> For the iconographical parallel of the Image of Pity carved on a Burgundian or Parisian onyx cameo of the end of the fourteenth century, which is now in the *Argenteria* in the Pitti Palace, and of the enamelled "Pitié de Nostre Seigneur et un angel qui la soutient" on a reliquary in the possession of the duc de Berry in 1402, cf. E. Kris, *Meister und Meisterwerke der Steinschneide* 

kunst (Vienna, 1929), p. 14 and note 6; pl. 3/6.

of the Ara Coeli.<sup>41</sup> A copy of the Epîtres of Christine de Pisan had been presented to the duc de Berry. In a miniature of another presentation copy. painted around 1402 for Louis d'Orléans (Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. fr. 606, fol. 46), the Cumaean Sibyl shows to the old emperor kneeling in the countryside, the Vision of the Virgin and Child depicted at half-length surrounded by radiating flames, like those which appear in the medallion-shaped miniature in the Très Riches Heures (fig. 9). In the iconography of the late Middle Ages, the circle of flames was ordinarily reserved for the image of the Veronica or for the monogram of Jesus, but here it corresponds somewhat to a miracle reported by Suetonius in Chapter 95 of his Life of Augustus: when Augustus made his entrance into Rome after the death of Caesar-he was already Filius Divi, the heir to the divine right of Caesar, the autocratic god, Divus Julius -a corona of rainbow hues surrounded the sun in a clear blue sky. In the version of the Golden Legend: ". . . at mid-day a golden glory appeared around the sun, and in the midst of it a most beautiful Virgin, holding her Child on her lap."42

The legend of the Ara Coeli is at the heart of the legend of Augustus in the Middle Ages. As early as the fifth century Orosius proceeded with the Christianization of the prohibition placed by Augustus against his being deified during his

<sup>41</sup> "La folle gent mecréant" attributed the reigning peace of the moment to Caesar and wished to worship him. "Mais la sibylle Cumane dit à César que bien him. gardast que aourer ne se faist en qu'il n'était fors un seul Dieu qui tout avait créé. Et lors le mena sus une haute montagne hors de la cité (the Capitol) et dedens le soleil par la voulenté de nostre Seigneur [this is what gives authority for the presence of God the Father in the Trinity of the Vision of the Ara Coeli] apparut une Vierge tenant un enfant et lui dist que cellui estoit vrai Dieu qui estre aouré devait": Bibliothèque Nationale,

ms. fr. 606, folio 46. <sup>42</sup> "In die media circulus aureus apparuit circa solem et in medio circuli virgo pulcherrima, puerum gestans in gremio.

<sup>43</sup> Augustus was too politic and too respectful of Ro-man tradition to accept during his lifetime a deification which had entailed death for Caesar. He was not decreed a god until by the decision of the Senate of September 17th in the year 14 of our era. But he did not reject the honors which, according to the tradition of Hellenic monarchies, were reserved to the deified sovereign, such as the striking of his image on coins; and he knew that after his death he was due the apotheosis and to rank alongside of Jupiter, Mars and Quirinus, the tutelary gods

lifetime.<sup>43</sup> In the 752nd year after the foundation of Rome, when the Emperor for a third time had closed the doors of the Temple of Janus-a year of universal peace-Christ was born, and Augustus refused to permit himself thereafter to be styled "lord of Humanity"-a title which belonged to the Son of God. The sovereign who was predestined by God to found the Church of the Gentiles within the framework of the Roman Empire, he ordered the general census. Joseph journeved from Nazareth and went to Bethlehem to be enrolled along with Mary, who was pregnant.44 In the second half of the thirteenth century. Jacques de Voragine gave the final form, the most poetic and the most complete, to the legend of the Ara Coeli, the first threads of which had been woven by Greek writers toward the end of the sixth century.45 In the fourteenth century, Petrarch added to this the sanction of the new humanism:

Hos equidem ex multis reor admiraberis actus Caesareos ut Tarpeio vestigia colle Fatidicae quondam ductu monitisque Sibyllae Presserit Augustus Caesar visoque feratur Obstupuisse Deo.46

It is by no means of indifferent interest to note that the visionary theophany of the Ara Coeli was born in Italy, along with the pre-Renaissance current of ideas,47 while in French Gothic art, the legend of the Sibyl stayed interwoven with the

that watched over the destinies of Rome. On the other hand, the private veneration rendered to the person of the emperor in his family—Genius Augusti--was enlarged into a state religion when, in the year 10 before Christ, this veneration was integrated into that of the Lares Compitales, which was the parochal cult of the districts of Rome. From Rome the cult of the *Genius* Augusti passed into the Augustea of the towns of Italy.

<sup>44</sup> Orosius, Historiae adversos paganos, VI, 22 F. M. Abel, "Saint Jérôme et les prophéties messianiques," Revue biblique (1916), pp. 435-436

<sup>45</sup> On the two sources, Greek and Latin, of the legend, see E. Cerulli, *Il libro etiopico dei miracoli di Maria*, Rome, 1943, pp. 408 ff.; A. Graf, *Roma nella memoria e nelle immaginazioni del Medio Evo* (Turin, 1882), e nelle immaginazioni del Medio Evo (1011, 1882), I, pp. 309-321; A. Monteverdi in Augustus, Studi in occa-sione del bimillenario augusteo, Reale Accademia Nazi-onale dei Lincei (1938), pp. 415 ff., and Saggi Neola-tini (Rome, 1945), pp. 25-37. <sup>46</sup> Epistolarum lib. II Ad Clementem VI, cf. the letter to Giovanni Colonna da San Vito, Familiares VI, Ep. U and the Dittemende of Ferie dali Ultertii

II and the Dittamondo of Fazio degli Uberti:

/edi la dove parve ad Ottaviano

Veder lo cielo aperto ed un bel Figlio Una Vergin tener nella sua mano . . .

allegorical symbolism of the Nativity.<sup>48</sup> As it is reflected on the enamelled medallion, the iconography of this vision is indebted to the intellectual atmosphere which the Limbourg brothers breathed at the court of the duke of Berry, with its passion for the new forms created in Italy—where, besides, it seems clear that they themselves had travelled.<sup>49</sup> It owes nothing to the systematic and *retardataire* Germanic allegory of the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis* of the second half of the fourteenth century. In the *Speculum*, Augustus asks the Sibyl, not if he should permit himself to be worshipped as a god, but whether there would come into the world a being more powerful than

vision of the Virgin standing in the sun. (On the sources of the altar of the Son of God and the presence of an ara deae virginis caelestis—or ara caelestis—linked on the Capitol with the cult of the Virgo Caelestis. Tanit imported from Carthage to Rome, see G. Gatti, Notizie dei scavi di antichità (1892), p. 407, and Diss, della Pont. Accad. Rom. di Arch., 2nd. ser., VI (1896), pp. 331-352; L. Borsari, Topografia di Roma antica (Milan, 1897), pp. 203 ff.; de Waal, Ara Coeli oder die Sibylle des Augustus; Eine mittelalterliche Legend (Rome, 1902), pp. 88-89. <sup>48</sup> Mosaic of 1169 at the western end of the Church of the Nativity at Bethlehem: F. Quaresimius, Historica ... Terrae Sanctae Elucidatio (Antwerp, 1639), II, pp. 645 ff.; the Sibyl in the archivolt of the portal of the Adoration of the Magi on the Cathedral of Laon; the

<sup>48</sup> Mosaic of 1169 at the western end of the Church of the Nativity at Bethlehem: F. Quaresimius, Historica ... Terrae Sanctae Elucidatio (Antwerp, 1639), II, pp. 645 ff.; the Sibyl in the archivolt of the portal of the Adoration of the Magi on the Cathedral of Laon; the two Sibyls incorporated into the Tree of Jesse in the second row of voussoirs in the portal of the Coronation of the Virgin on the Cathedral of Paris and in the stained glass window (partly destroyed) of the choir of the Cathedral of Soissons. At Laon the Sibyl carries the Tablets of the Law, on which is written: Adveniet per secla futurus. "E celo Rex adveniet per secla futurus" is the second of the twenty-seven acrostic verses, of which the initials transiterated into Latin the Greek eucharistic symbol of the Ichthus:  $1_{\eta\sigma\sigma\vartheta} \chi\rho\epsilon\iota\sigma\tau\vartheta \epsilon_{\theta\vartheta} i_{\theta\vartheta} \sigma_{\sigma\tau}\eta$ . They describe the fifteen signs that are to be precursors of the Last Judgment, according to the prophecy of the Sibyl of Erythrea [Eusebius of Cesarea, Oratio Constantini ad sanctorum coetum, ch. 18, Patrologia Graeca, XX, col. 1288; St. Augustine, De Civitate Dei, XVIII, 23], but they were very soon interpreted as announcing the birth of Christ, in the sermon of the Pseudo-Augustine [Patrologia Latina, XLII, col. 1123-26, and in the liturgy for Christmas, *ibid.*, LXXVIII, col. 1031]; cf. M. Sepet, "Les Prophètes du Christ," Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes, XXVIII (1867), pp. 1-27. The Middle Ages confounded the Sibyls of Tibur and of Erythrea; from the eleventh century in Italy, the prophecy of the Sibyl of Erythrea in twenty-seven acrostic verses was attributed to the Sibyl of Tibur, and thus shifted toward the Vision of the Ara Coeli. They are recited to Augustus by the Tiburnian Sibyl in the Mirabilia Urbis Romae in the twelfth century: E. Sackur, Sibyllinische Texte und Forschungen (Halle, 1898), p. 187 (cf. Lactantius, Divinae Institutiones in Patrologia Latina, VI, col. 144, and chapter 31 of Suetonius on the Sibyline texts collected by Augustus).

<sup>49</sup> They not only copied in their manuscript illuminations paintings by Taddeo Gaddi and Simone Martini, Florentine frescoes and ancient marbles, but also architectural settings, such as the portal of the Cathedral of Orvieto, the Porta della Mandorla of the Cathedral of Florence, the gables and finials of the Cathedral of Milan: F. Winkler, "Paul de Limbourg in Florence," Burlington Magazine, LVI (1930), pp. 95-96; P. Wescher, "Eine Modellzeichnung des Paul von Limbourg," Phoebus (1946), I, 1, pp. 33-34.

<sup>47</sup> The first monument of the Ara Coeli sculptured in Italy consists of the two spandrels—at the left the em-peror, and at the right the Virgin in the solar glory which decorate a sort of confessio of cosmati-work in the left arm of the transept of the church of the Ara coeli on the Capitol in Rome: A. Colasanti, Santa Maria in Aracoeli, Le Chiese di Roma illustrate, n. 2, figs. 20-21. This monument must have been constructed in the thirteenth century as an under-pinning to support the ciborium erected in the church in the time of Pope Innocent II (1130-1143) and of the antipope Anaclete II (1130-1134), to cover the ashes of Saint Helena transferred from her mausoleum in the Via Labicana. I even wonder if the cosmatesque confessio might not simply have replaced the twelfth-century ciborium and was not to the memory of Saint Helena. There was still in the choir of Santa Maria in Aracoeli a fresco by a follower choir of Santa Maria in Aracoeli a fresco by a follower of Cavallini, representing the Virgin in the guise of the *Sedes Sapientiae* (just as Van der Weyden did), which the Sibyl pointed out to Augustus: L. A. Muratori, *Antiquitates Italicae medii aevi*, III (Milan, 1740), pp. 878-879, fig. 2, pl. p. 880. As a result, it was in the very church of the vision, that, due to the intervention of the cult of Saint Helena, the legend of Augustus was for the first time related to the Exaltation of the Cross which the first time related to the Exaltation of the Cross which is connected with the memory of Saint Helena. This association is to be found again, curiously, in the series of medallions bought by the duc de Berry in 1401-1402. The church of the vision on the Capitol was not desig-nated by the name of Ara Coeli until 1323: C. Huelsen, Le Chiese di Roma nel Medio Evo (Florence, 1927), p. 323. The inscription on the cosmatesque monument, p. 323. The inscription on the cosmatesque monument, the confessional altar of the legend in the church, called the church *aula*, and the vision itself *ara*: LVMINIS . HANC . ALMAM . MATRIS . QVI . SCANDIS . AD . AVLAM ./ CVNCTARVM . PRIMA . QVE . FVIT . ORBRE . SITA . // NOSCAS . QVOD . CESAR . TVNC . STRVXIT . OCTAVIANVS . / HANC . ARA . . CELI . SACRA . PROLES . CVM . PATET . EI . The words *ara celi* of the fourth verse are in apposition to sacra proles and hanc which precedes *ara* is the to sacra proles, and hanc, which precedes ara, is the complement of struxit. In the Latin versions of the story which preceded the Golden Legend, there is reference only to the *ara filii Dei*. The *ara celi* of the inscription is thus intermediate between the primitive version of the oracle  $\beta \omega \mu \delta s \tau o \hat{v} \pi \rho \omega \tau o \gamma \delta \nu o v \theta \epsilon o \hat{v}$ , and the title given to the church in the fourteenth century. The Sedes Sapientiae of the fresco ought to be considered, as the paint-ing by Van der Weyen confirms, as a Theotokos—a Mother of God-enthroned on the altar, and not standing on the altar, as in the medieval versions of the oracle: "ilico apertum est celum et splendor maximus irruit super eum (*i.e.*, Augustus). Vidit in celum quandam pulcherrimam virginem stantem super altare puerum tenentem in brachiis. Miratus est nimis et vocem dicentem audivit hec ara filii Dei est." The Golden Legend substituted for the Virgin standing on the altar (*altare, ara*), the



FIGURE 11 VIENNA, KUNSTHISTORISCHES MUSEUM Enamelled Beaker of Hugo von Werdenberg

himself: "si in mundo aliquis eo major futurus erat."50 This question is concerned with the foreknowledge of his successors, and ignores the medieval implication of the legend. It reproduces the most ancient layer of its formation-that which has been transmitted to us by the Chronography of the Syrian, John Malalas, of the end of the sixth century, and by the Chronicon Palatinum, which dates around 740.51 The only modernizing trait of the Speculum was to substitute the Sibyl of Tibur for the Pythia, which Augustus consulted according to the primitive Greek and Latin versions. In any case, this substitution had already occurred in the second half of the twelfth century, perhaps as early as 1140, in the Mirabilia Urbis Romae;52 and Godefroy of Viterbo and Martinus Polonus confirmed it.53

\* \* \* \* \* \* \*

Apart from the iconographical derivation of the enamelled medallion of the *Ara Coeli* vision, is there a technical basis or any textual evidence to substantiate its localization and approximate date? The appellation, "Niderlenndisch Schmelzwerch," appears only belatedly, in the sixteenth century, to describe two covered cups or goblets which are today in the Museum of Vienna (figs. 11, 12). In the sixteenth century they were in the castle of Ambras and the property of Archduke Ferdinand of Tyrol. The inventory, drawn up in 1596,

<sup>50</sup> E. Lutz, P. Perdrizet, Speculum Humanae Salvationis (Leipzig, 1907), Ch. VIII, v. 88. In the Speculum the three types which prefigure the Nativity are: with the Ara Coeli vision, the dream of the chief butler of Pharaoh (Genesis XL) and the rod of Aaron (Numbers XVIII), plates 15 and 16 illustrating Ms. Clm. 146 of Munich. In the Speculum the Virgin is seated in the circle of gold (see note 47 above, at end). The solar nimbus is borrowed from Chapter VI of the Golden Legend (cf. Lutz, Perdrizet, op. cit., p. 193):

Sibylla Romae circulum aureum juxta solem contemplabatur.

In circulo illo virgo pulcherrima residebat,

Quae puerum speciosissimum in gremio gerebat.

Quod illa Caesari Octaviano monstravit. vv. 90-93. <sup>51</sup> Vatican cod. lat. 3973, ed. H. Jordan, *Topographie* der Stadt Rom im Altertum (Berlin, 1871), II, pp. 619 ff.; Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Scriptores antiquissimi, ed. T. Mommsen (Berlin, 1898), pp. 428 ff. <sup>52</sup> Mon. Germ. Hist., Scriptores, XXII, p. 69, 443.

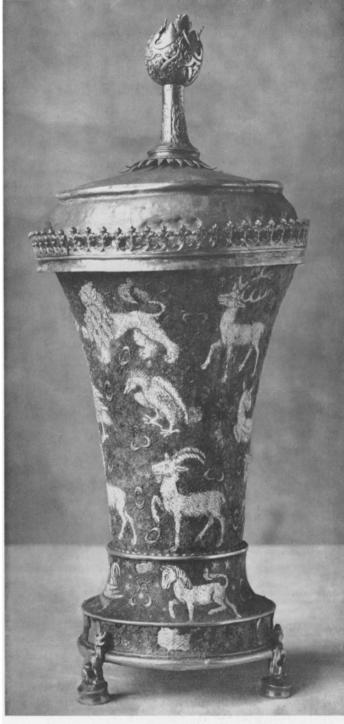
<sup>53</sup> The author of the Speculum has fused the contemporary texts of the Chronicon pontificum et imperatorum of Martinus Polonus and of the Golden Legend; cf. J. Lutz, P. Perdrizet, op. cit., pp. 192-193.

reads: "Two similar courtly beakers on lion stands, adorned with the Austrian coat of arms, all the inside and the outside with Netherlandish enamelwork, weight 5 marks, 1 lot."<sup>54</sup> There is no doubt that the technique of the Netherlandish enamels is alluded to in entries of the inventory of the estate of Philip the Good (died 1467) prepared

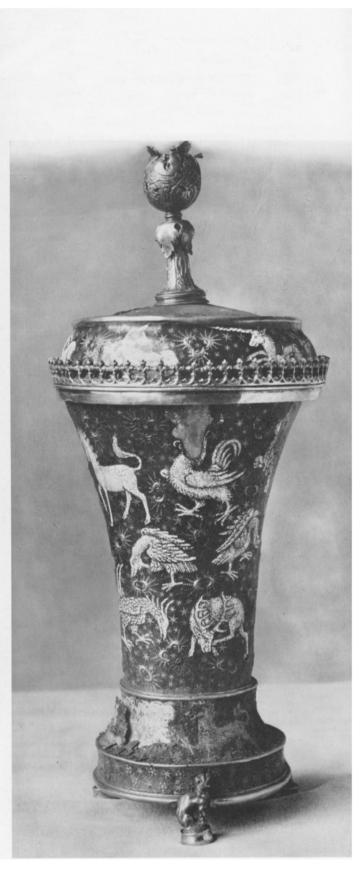
54 "Zwen gleiche hofbpecher auf lewen steend, im luekh das Osterreichische wappen, alles innen und aussen mit Niderlenndischen schmelzwerch, wegen 5 markh, 1 Lot": Wendelin Boeheim, "Urkunden und Regesten aus der KK. Hofbibliothek," Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses, VII (1888), p. cclxxxii. The two beakers show, in one case the coat of arms of Count Hugo von Werdenberg (1440-1508), the Counsellor of Emperor Frederick III (1440-1508), in the other, the motto of the same emperor: A.E.I.O.V. (i.e., Aquila Ejus Omnia Vincit): J. von Schlosser, Al-bum ausgewählter Gegenstände der kunstindustriellen Sammlung des allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses (1901), pp. 5 ff., pls. VII, VIII, 1. Whether the two luxurious covered cups were gifts of Charles the Bold to the Emperor and his coursellor in 1473, the year of their meeting at Trier, remains an open question. They are to be compared with a goblet in which the craft of the silversmith is similarly combined with a decoration of opaque painted enamel combined with a decoration of opaque painted enamel and mounted panels of rock crystal, which Charles the Bold presented to his camerlengo, Adolf von Hohenlo-he, in 1471: G. E. Pasaurek in Belvedere (1930), p. 191; H. Stafski, "Der Burgundische Prunkbecher des Hohenlohen-Museums zu Neuenstein," Zeitschrift für Kunstwissenschaft (1949), pp. 71 ff.; Bourgondische Pracht van Philips de Stoute tot Philip de Schone, Cata-logue of the exhibition at the Rijksmuseum in Amster. Practic van Philips are Stoute for Philip are Schone, Cata-logue of the exhibition at the Rijksmuseum in Amster-dam, 1951, p. 74, no. 254, pl. 62. Two other goblets in the Vienna Museum (von Schlosser, Album . . . , op. cit., pp. 6 ff., pl. VIII, 2-3), decorated with wild life and bestiary animals (figs. 13, 14), show a mixture of the new technique of enamelling in opaque colors and of the older technique of the transclucent enomels, only the older technique of the transclucent enamels-only here rendered more complex because, in the case of the two goblets, the translucent enamels were applied in double layers, each of a different color, or juxtaposed bandwise and with incrustations of gold or silver motives. The question as to whether these two Vienna gob-lets, together with the casket-shaped chasses of the Cathedral of Regensburg and of the Opera del Duomo in Florence—as well as a casket mentioned in 1524 in In Florence—as well as a casket mentioned in 1524 in the inventory drawn up in Malines of the riches of Mar-garet of Austria, Duchess of Savoy (1480-1530)—and a reliquary in the Cathedral of Prague [A. Podlaka, E. Sittler, *Der Domschatz des Metropolitancapitals* (Prague, 1903), n. 118, figs. 104-106], should be consid-ered as a variety of the Netherlandish (Burgundian) fetteenth contents of the wetter Correct March independent from the Flemish and Netherlandish workshops, cannot be examined here, and does not have any direct bearing upon the problem with which I am con-cerned: see J. J. Marquet de Vasselot, *op. cit.*, p. 17, H. Kohlhaussen, "Niederlandisch Schmelzwerk," in Jahrbuch der Preuzsischen Kunstsammlungen, LII (1931), pp. 153-160; E. Steingräber, "Das Silberemail Reliquiar in Regensburger Domschatz und seine Restaurierung," in Kunstchronik, V (1952), pp. 204-208. I share with Hans R. Hahnloser the belief that such pieces are Ger-



FIGURE 12 VIENNA, KUNSTHISTORISCHES MUSEUM Enamelled Beaker of Emperor Frederick III



FIGURES 13, 14 VIENNA, KUNSTHISTORISCHES MUSEUM Enamelled Beakers with Bestiary Subjects



#### • A MEDALLION OF THE "ARA COELI" •

for Charles the Bold: "Two salt-cellars of silver . . . the covers enamelled in azur and with personages enamelled in white"; ". . . A goblet of silver-gilt, with a knob on the cover enamelled in blue."55 The inventory of Piero de' Medici, drawn up in Florence in 1465, mentions nine goblets enamelled inside and outside, usually with a pattern of rays, flames and stars, and in one case with a fanciful and farcical scene of "monkey business," the "fiera delle bertucce smaltata di bianco," that is, the "farce of the monkeys enamelled in white," or the pantomime of the pedlar and the apes.<sup>56</sup> A piece closely corresponding to the description of the goblet decorated with the "fiera delle bertucce" has entered the collections of the Cloisters in New York.<sup>57</sup> It is the Monkey Cup, the exterior of which is decorated with animated scrolls in which apes perform a morris dance, after having robbed the sleeping pedlar and divided his goods among themselves (figs. 15, 16). The only discrepancy between the entry in the Medici inventory and the Monkey Cup in New York is in the color of its background, which is not blue as mentioned in the inventory ("smalta d'azurro dentro e di fuori"), but black or very dark marine blue. However, as the scenes and the scrolls painted in grisaille or camaieu technique on the body of the cup are executed in a bluish color, optically the background seems to

man, that many of them were executed by German (Rhenish?) goldsmiths and enamellers for the Venetian market, or else in Venice itself, and that they paved the way for the Venetian enamels of the end of the fifteenth century. This view Marquet de Vasselot intended to develop in the unwritten conclusion of his unpublished study (see note 3 above). 55 ... Deux sallières d'argent ... le couvercle esmail-

<sup>55</sup>"... Deux sallières d'argent ... le couvercle esmaillié d'azur et a personnaiges esmaillié de blancq": de Laborde, op. cit., II, pt. 2, p. 85, n. 2657; p. 168, 3562 (on the inventory itself, see p. iv).
<sup>56</sup> E. Müntz, Les Collections des Médicis au XVème siècle, Paris, 1888, p. 40.
<sup>57</sup> J. R. Rorimer, "Acquisitions for the Cloisters," The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin, June, 1953, pp. 265-270. Sale catalogue: O. von Falke, I. Teil der Sammlung A. Rütschi—Alte Goldschmiedewerke im Züricher Kunsthaus (Lucerne, 1931), no. 89, p. 24, pls. L-LI (the Kunsthaus (Lucerne, 1931), no. 89, p. 24, pls. L-LI (the cup was withdrawn from the auction). Cf. idem, Katalog der . log der . . . Kunstsammlung des Herrn Karl Thewalt in Köln (Cologne, 1903), n. 989, p. 67, pl. 16: sold for 98,000 marks.



FIGURES 15, 16 METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART The "Monkey Cup" The base shown below (The Cloisters Coll., Purchase 1952)

be glazed in a lighter tone than it actually is and to verge upon the blue. Consequently a good possibility remains that the Cloisters cup is, if not actually the same as the one owned by Piero de'



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Medici, at least a companion piece.<sup>58</sup> Furthermore, another cup and two goblets of rock-crystal are described in the same chapter of the Medici inventory: ". . . with foot and cover mounted in silver-gilt and enamelled . . ." ("col pie e coperchio legato in ariento dorato et smaltato . . ."), which may be compared to a quantity of "hanaps, gobelets, tasses verrés et esmailiez" registered in the inventories of the dukes of Burgundy.<sup>59</sup>

The subject painted on the New York cup is that of an entertainment performed on the fifth of July, 1468, in Bruges, at the third banquet offered to Charles the Bold and Margaret of York in celebration of their marriage. A tower was pushed into the banqueting hall: "On the platform of the gallery of this were six smart-alec companions dressed like monkeys, who found a pedlar asleep on the said gallery near his goods, which he had laid out to sell near the gate. They robbed him and took away finery, mirrors, needles, bonnets, and such, cutting many monkey-capers, and one took the flute and the tambourine of the said pedlar and played, upon which the others started a morris dance on and around the aforesaid gallery."<sup>60</sup>

The first appearance of this theme was in England in the middle of the fourteenth century. It is painted as a series of drolleries in a manuscript of the Decretals of Gregory IX made for St. Bartholomew's Priory, Smithfield.<sup>61</sup> In a fresco of the palace of the counts of Hainaut in Valenciennes (1375), it was associated with other themes of sensuous rather than courtly love: the chessplayers, the Fountain of Youth.62 As early as 1399, it had been executed in enamel on the interior of a "creusequin": a German-which is to say, Netherlandish-beaker, in the collection of King Henry IV of England: "Un creusequin with a white ground, mounted in silver-gilt, having a crenellated cover enamelled inside with a monkey farce."63 The lusty humor of the Monkey Cup indulges in an ambiguous note of obscenity understandable on a drinking vessel.64

Another unmistakable mark of the Burgundian

<sup>63</sup> "Un crusekyn de terre blanche, hernoisez d'argent endorrez ove un covercle embatelle, enaymellez dedeins avec une babouynerie." V. Gay, Glossaire archéologique du Moyen Age et de la Renaissance (Paris, 1887), I, p. 496, col. 2, s.d. 1399.
<sup>64</sup> One of the apes is about to open the breech cloth of the sleeping pedlar: Catalogue Rütschi, op. cit., pl. LI. The menning is made claerer by two Ltalian energying.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>58</sup> The identification of the Monkey Cup with the Medici *bicchiere* was proposed by A. Warburg in 1905 in his article, "Austausch künstlerischer Kultur zwischen Norden und Süden im 15. Jahrhundert," reprinted in *Gesammelte Schriften*, I, Leipzig-Berlin, 1932, p. 181. Warburg recognized in the Medici cup a Burgundian work of decorative art, reflecting the "Nordische Komik." The Monkey Cup was recorded as early as 1655 in the collection of Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel, who acquired it in Italy in the first half of the seventeenth century. The presence at the bottom of the cup of a silvergilt plaque transcribing a medal of Minerva at the Forge of Vulcan, made originally by Antonio Abondio in 1572, proves the early association of the cup with Italy.

century. The presence at the bottom of the cup of a silvergilt plaque transcribing a medal of Minerva at the Forge of Vulcan, made originally by Antonio Abondio in 1572, proves the early association of the cup with Italy. <sup>59</sup> A "couppe blanche, verrée et boullonée, esmailliée par dedans d'une raye de soleil," was decorated inside like the interior of the Monkey Cup: de Laborde, *op. cit.*, II, 2, p. 53, n. 2390. <sup>60</sup> ". . sur l'allée du pourthour d'icelle avait six habiles compaignions, habilliez comme singes qui trouvèrent ung merchier endormi sur le dit pourthour emprès sa merchere qu'il avait là mise avant pour vendre

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>60</sup>". . . sur l'allée du pourthour d'icelle avait six habiles compaignions, habilliez comme singes qui trouvèrent ung merchier endormi sur le dit pourthour emprès sa mercherie, qu'il avait là mise avant pour vendre emprès la porte, qu'il desrobèrent et lui prinrent primes, miroirs, aguillettes, huves et semblable, et en firent plusieurs singeries, et l'un print la flutte et tamburin du dit merchier et joua, et adont les autres se prinrent a danser la morisque sur et au long du dict pourthour": *Compte des ouvrages* . . . et entremetz et painture faicts a Bruges aux nopces de Ms. le duc Charles, established by Fastre Hollet: de Laborde, II, 2, op. cit., pp. 326-327.

let: de Laborde, II, 2, op. cit., pp. 326-327. <sup>61</sup> British Museum, Royal Ms. 10 E IV, fols. 149r to 151v. This information had been communicated by R. W. Chambers to Marquet de Vasselot in a letter dated March, 1929; F. Saxl discovered independently the set of drolleries: "Holbein's Illustrations to the 'Praise of Folly' of Erasmus," in *Burlington Magazine*, LXXXIII (1943), pp. 275 ff., pl. II F.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>62</sup> "A Loys le pointre pour plusieurs ouvrages de pointure qu'il a fait a le Sale (the castle went by the name of the Salle le Comte), c'est assavoir le Pas Salehadin, 1 pan de mur tout armoet des armes Monseigneur et me dame qui est desous le dit pas; item 1 parkiel dou Geu del eskiek, u li hiermitage est; item le parkiel dou Mierchier as singes; item le Fontaine de Jouvent . . .": Archives départementales du Nord. Registres relatifs au Hainaut. Comptes du domaine de la ville et prévôté de Valenciennes, vol. 51, Chanoine Dehaisnes, Histoire de l'art dans la Flandre, l'Artois et le Hainaut avant le XVème siècle, II (Lille, 1886), p. 533.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>64</sup> One of the apes is about to open the breech cloth of the sleeping pedlar: Catalogue Rütschi, op. cit., pl. LI. The meaning is made clearer by two Italian engravings of the pedlar and the apes, later than, but in the same vein as the Monkey Cup. One of them bears the inscription: "Dormi forte maesro pieterlin noi vuoter en tuo ischarzelin el tuo penier che to posa chaminar legier meniano laman presta tua il vino nella testa." On the second one, the gesture of the monkey, busy with the breeches of the sleeper, is even less ambiguous than on the cup. The coarse lewdness at the core of the scene becomes more undisguised in a Swabian tinted woodcut of the pedlar robbed by apes: A. M. Hind, Early Italian Engraving (London, 1938), nos. A.I. 76, 77, pls. 72, 73; cf. p. 54; H. W. Janson, Apes and Ape Lore in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance (London, 1952), p. 220, pl. XLI a, b. Huizinga in his Der Herbst des Mittelalters (published in English as The Waning of the Middle Ages) has time and again emphasized that at the court of Burgundy the preoccupation with the flesh



Charles V Receives a Cardinal (Cotton Ms. Nero E II)

origin and Netherlandish craftsmanship of the Monkey Cup is that the middle of its body is encircled by a ring beribboned with a crisp scroll, like that of the covered cup engraved by the Dutch master  $\mathbf{W} \mathbf{A}^{65}$ —a cup which corresponds to the description of many others listed in the inventories of Philip the Good. The dry scrolls designed by that master resemble those among which the apes cavort on the Monkey Cup.66 Furthermore, the inside rim of the Monkey Cup is ornamented with a corrugated motive of clouds from which a golden rain is falling. This motive of the shower

<sup>66</sup> Lehrs, op. cit., pls. XVI, 46; XVIII, 52. Compare the scrolls on the cup held by Herodias in the painting by Cornelius Engelbretschen in the Suermondt Museum, Aachen: A. Kisa, "Die kunsthistorische Ausstellung in Düsseldorf," in Zeitschrift für christliche Kunst, XVIII (1905), col. 257-264, pl. VIII. The comparison is all the more suggestive in that apes may be seen scurrying in the scrolls adorning the headdress of Herodias.

also decorates the stem of the "grolle d'Allemaigne" (i.e., Germanic covered cup or "crousequin") reproduced in a colored drawing on folio 329vo of codex 14 in the Castle Library of Aschaffenburg, to be examined presently. In its apparently abstract pattern it is not so remote from the pleasantries of the court of Burgundy, where there was a fondness for practical jokes which were often in dubious taste. We know that in the castle of Hesdin, around 1432-1433, there were automatic devices which without warning would commence to drench the guests with water.67 These had been set up in the castle by the counts of Artois in the fourteenth century. In 1386, Philip the Bold commissioned Melchior Broederlam to paint the "galleryes des engiens d'esbatement" (i.e., the gallery with the machines for jesting).68

On the Walters medallion the portrait of Augustus is set off against a background of dark enamel, pointed up with golden drops. Above the head of the emperor hovers a cloud from which shoot forth sunny rays. Undoubtedly the golden glory and sprinkle embracing Augustus are intended to indicate that he is enwrapped by the vision of the Virgin in the sun. This association is a normal phenomenon in the iconography of light peculiar to the Middle Ages. One may cite, for instance, a similar motive in an early fifteenthcentury illustration of the Grandes Chroniques de France (British Museum, Ms. Cotton Nero E II, vol. II, fol. 238). Here at the year 1378, the miniature (fig. 17) shows King Charles V of France under a canopy semé with sun-bursts interspersed with stars, conveying the cosmical connotation of the dome of Heaven. In the Hours of Maréchal de Boucicaut the prayer for the second Joy of the Virgin comments upon-although it does not immediately follow-the miniature of the Virgin on the Crescent (folio 26 verso): "... ut clara lux diei solis datur lumine, sic tu facis orbem vere tue pacis resplendere lucis plenitudine" ("As the bright light of day is given by the radiance of the sun, so thou maketh the world resplendent with the fullness of the light of the true peace you brought to it"). However, the motive of the rays darting out of a cloud is found on Burgundian enamels of a totally profane character, for instance, on the spoon now in the Victoria

tended to corrupt the ideals of chivalry. <sup>65</sup> M. Lehrs, *op. cit.*, pl. XXXI, 77. On the other hand, silverware decorated with enamelled apes is frequently encountered in the inventories of the court of Burgundy; see, for instance, de Laborde, II, 2, op. cit., p. 61, n. 2451; p. 169, n. 3575.

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>67</sup> de Laborde, *op. cit.*, II, 1, pp. 268-269.
 <sup>68</sup> Dehaisnes, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 430-431.



and Albert Museum, where the golden shower besprinkles a monkey riding a stag (fig. 18), and on another spoon whereon is illustrated the sermon of the Fox to the Geese, now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (fig. 19).<sup>69</sup> Marquet de Vasselot wrote in his unpublished notes: "C'était évidemment un motif décoratif courant dans l'atelier, où on l'employait d'ailleurs à tout propos et sans necéssité." One notices it again on the cup of Frederick III in Vienna.

But may there not be the sociological connotation of a widely accepted fashion behind this motive, which appears to be simply the repetitious pattern of a workshop? Perhaps it betravs the association of the enamellers of the Limburg and Gueldre, provinces on the outskirts of the duchy, with the Flemish goldsmiths engaged on work for the dukes of Burgundy. The "fuzils" or flints and sparks, emblem of Philip the Good, were incorporated by him in the collar of the order of the Golden Fleece in 1430. If we look again in the texts, his banners, his gold and silver plate, his garments, his paintings are all described as displaying fireworks of gold and silver rays. A preference for a contrast between gold and silver and sombre backgrounds was the keynote of the decorative arts at his court: "Bannières et estandars, paintes à huille, de bleu et de noir, semez de

<sup>69</sup> Kohlhaussen, op. cit., fig. 2, p. 154; fig. 5 a, b, p. 157; J. Rorimer, op. cit., fig. 266; Kunstchronik, V (1952), p. 219, fig. 8 a, b. The first spoon was in the collection of Canon Bock in Aachen until 1888. It came to the collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum from the Kunstgewerbe Museum, Düsseldorf (C2-1935). The second spoon once belonged to the princes of Anhalt-Dessau. In 1927, it was in the possession of A. S. Drey, Munich. It passed from the Goldschmidt-Rothschild collection, Frankfurt am Main, to the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, in 1951: Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (1957), p. 86, fig. 41; Flanders in the Fifteenth Century . . , Catalogue of the exhibition organized by the Detroit Institute of Art and the City of Bruges (1960), no. 131, pp. 294-296, fig.; Le Siècle des Primitifs Flamands, Catalogue of the same exhibition as held in Bruges (1960), no. 115, p. 217. The subject of the Boston spoon derives from the French Roman de Renart through the thirteenth-century poem, Van den Vos Reynaerde.

FIGURE 18

VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM

Enamelled Spoon

fusilz a sa devise, dorée et esmaillés et une petite nuée dont il part des flambes . . . esmailles de noir."<sup>70</sup> The fashion was already widespread at the court of John the Fearless. There is the record of a "drageoir d'argent doré" with the coat of arms of John, which was chased with "ung soleil et nues."<sup>71</sup>

Metaphors drawn from the glossary of the contemporary goldsmiths and their *camahieu* enamels are frequent in the poems of Charles d'Orleans:

Rivière, fontaine et ruisseau Portent en livrée jolie Gouttes d'argent d'orfaverie . . . Dedans mon livre de pensée J'ai trouvé escripvant mon cueur La vraye histoire de douleur De larmes tout enluminée<sup>72</sup>

We shall still examine two great works of enamelling. The first, a monstrance, which passed from the Basilewski Collection<sup>73</sup> into the Hermitage Museum in Leningrad, is the most important piece of religious art extant that is executed in this technique, with scenes painted in grisaille on a dull blue enamelled background, set in silver mounts (fig. 20). It retains the traditional gothic outline of a monstrance with the addition, on both sides of the rock crystal receptacle, of twisted colonnettes, the spiral flutings of which are filled with enamels alternately green, blue and violet.

 $^{70}$  de Laborde, op. cit., II, 1, p. 184, n. 618; p. 375, n. 1036; II, 2, p. 34, n. 2270; p. 35, n. 2273; cf. the cup of Philip the Good preserved in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, inventory no. 27, Münchner Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst (1954), p. 56, fig. 41.

Musculi, vielnia, inventory 10. 27, Muchiner Jahrbach der bildenden Kunst (1954), p. 56, fig. 41. <sup>71</sup> de Laborde, op. cit., II, 2, p. 505, n. 2405. Costumes in black fabric or "damastz," enhanced with gold and silver jewelry, are mentioned in 1416, *ibid.*, p. 114, n. 324, p. 136, n. 412. The hundred knights and squires who were in the retinue of the Countess of Namur at the wedding of Philip the Good and Isabel of Portugal, on January 7th, 1430, were all dressed in black satin sparkling with jewels: Kevyn de Lettenhove, La Toison d'Or (Brussels, 1907), p. 21. Philip had inherited the county of Namur after the death of Jean III of Namur in 1429. <sup>72</sup> P. Champion, Vie de Charles d'Orléans (1394-1465), (Paris, 1911), pp. 422, 582. <sup>73</sup> Collection Basilewsky; Catalogue raisonné by A. Darcel and A. Basilewsky; Catalogue raisonné by A.

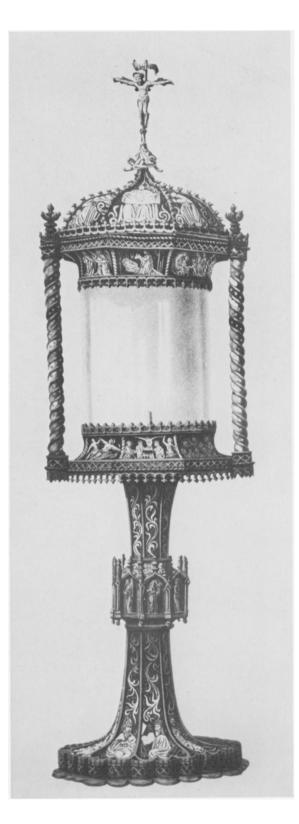
<sup>73</sup> Collection Basilewsky; Catalogue raisonné by A. Darcel and A. Basilewski (Paris, 1874), p. 120, n. 305, pl. XXXIX. Darcel, misled by the unwarranted comparison with the grisaille enamels of Limoges of the sixteenth century, has described the grisailles as "redessinées par enlevage," which is wrong, and would be a sheer technical impossibility. I doubt also the presence of counterenamels, although I never have seen the monstrance now in the Hermitage.



FIGURE 19

BOSTON, MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS Enamelled Spoon

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The shape and position of the twisted colonnettes of this piece correspond with those of the reliquary in the treasure of the Cathedral of Regensburg. The scrolls on the foot in grisaille enamel interspersed with golden streaks recall the design of those of the Monkey Cup and of the back of the Burgundian spoon in the Victoria and Albert Museum (fig. 21). The cylindrical crystal receptacle for the relic is provided inside with a base decorated with a raised design of a gilt sun with bursting rays. This sun motive is a typically Burgundian one, which one recognizes on the "bassins d'argent blanc" of Philip the Good,<sup>74</sup> and notices on the bottom of the marvellous Burgundian casket in rock crystal mounted with silver-gilt scrolls set with flowers incrusted in white enamel on gold, in the Walters Art Gallery (fig. 22).<sup>75</sup> The motive of the sun-burst even adorns the lead weathervanes of the Hospital at Beaune.

The ribbed dome of the Basilewski monstrance is flattened, so that in its proportions the piece curiously anticipates the type of monstrances executed in the Venetian workshops around 1500. However, on the basis of the design of the drapery folds of the figures painted in enamel in the religious scenes adorning the monstrance, Kohlhaussen has proposed a date in the second quarter of the fifteenth century.<sup>76</sup>

The second great enamelled work is a German double-cup, of the "crousequin" or "grolle" type,<sup>77</sup> in rock crystal and Netherlandish enamel mounted in gilt silver, which was used as a reliquary in the treasure of the "Neue Stift" of Halle, founded by Cardinal Albrecht von Brandenburg (1490-1545). The cup is represented in a colored

"A Splendid Crystal Casket Recently Restored," Bulletin of the Walters Art Gallery, vol. 13, no. 8 (May, 1961). <sup>76</sup> Op. cit., p. 166, n. 4. <sup>77</sup> On the shape and the name, see: E. Kris, Gold-schmiedearbeiten, Kunsthistorisches Museum (Vienna, 1932), p. 5, n. 9, pl. 7; de Laborde, op. cit., II, 2, p. 37, n. 2290; p. 76, no. 2584; p. 96, n. 2756; p. 165, n. 3539.

#### FIGURE 20

#### LENINGRAD, HERMITAGE

Basilewski Monstrance (after Darcel and Basilewski)

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>74</sup> de Laborde, op. cit., II, 2, pp. 88-89, nos. 2685-2691.
 <sup>75</sup> Walters Art Gallery no. 57.695. Peter Michaels,
 "A Splendid Crystal Casket Recently Restored," Bulletin

drawing in the inventory, drawn up in 1526 or 1527, of 353 reliquaries acquired during the last years of the fifteenth century and the first quarter of the sixteenth by Archbishop Ernst and the Cardinal (fig. 23).<sup>78</sup> The decoration of the upper part of the lower cup of the "crousequin" of Halle is similar to that of the interior of the Monkey Cup, which shows monkeys hunting in a forest (fig. 25). On the Halle cup the hunters are wild-women and their steeds fantastic animals; the monkeys are in attendance in the capacity of varlets or squires.79 The scenes developed around the foot are hard to decipher in the drawing, but they were certainly of an erotic nature and referred to the theme of the wild-men and Venus. The scrolls decorating the bulging rim of the upper cup are somewhat reminiscent of those seen on the enamelled cover of the Burgundian cup painted by Gerard David in his Marriage of Cana in the Louvre.<sup>80</sup> The lewd character of the decoration of the double-cup of Halle did not prevent it from being used as a reliquary.<sup>81</sup> It betrays the same

78 The inventory is manuscript 14 of the Schlossbibliothek of Aschaffenburg. It was published in extenso by P. M. Halm and R. Berliner, Das Hallesche Heiltum (Berlin, 1931). Although the great majority of the pieces assembled in the Heiltum of Halle represent works of art contemporary with their collectors, four are Romanesque, thirteen are Gothic earlier than 1400, one is Byzantine, and four are Siculo-Arabic (p. 14). The cup is reproduced on pl. 144 and briefly described on p. 56. <sup>79</sup> For a pageant of wild men and horses in fantastic

<sup>(1)</sup> For a pageant of wild men and horses in fantastic trappings organized upon the occasion of a carnival visit of the townspeople of Valenciennes to Lille in 1438, see R. Bernheimer, *Wild Men in the Middle Ages* (Cam-bridge, Mass., 1952), p. 69, n. 47. <sup>80</sup> M. J. Friedländer, *Die Altniederländische Mal-erei*, VI (Leiden, 1934), no. 183, p. 148, pl. LXXXII. The cup in the painting by Gerard David corresponds exactly to many entries in the inventories of the dukes of

exactly to many entries in the inventories of the dukes of Burgundy, describing covered cups standing upon three lions, and of which only the exterior part of the lid was enamelled.

<sup>81</sup> According to the inventory of 1526-1527, the cup contained 26 holy particles (folio 329 verso). In spite of their decoration, the chasses of the treasure of the Cathedral of Regensburg and in the Opera del Duomo, Florence, were originally used as reliquaries (cf. Stein-gräber in *Kunstchronik*, V, op. cit.). In the case of the cup of Halle, it may well be that the presence of wild men and women imparted a heraldic quality, rendering

#### FIGURE 21

#### VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM

Enamelled Spoon (back)





FIGURE 22

Burgundian Rock-crystal Casket Mounted in silver-gilt and enamelled gold WALTERS ART GALLERY

vein of humor as the Monkey Cup, for which Kohlhaussen has proposed a dating in the period 1430-1440, on the basis of details of costume: the bag sleeves and the scalloped hood of the sleeping pedlar.82

There is no doubt that at the court of Burgundy the enamels on gold, either the basse taille or encrusted and occasionally the "de plite" or "de plique" enamels, greatly outnumbered their poorer relatives, the ones in the "Niderlenndisch Schmelzwerch" technique on gilt silver. There is preserved in the treasure room of the Cathedral at Reims a work, dating in the last decade of the reign of Philip the Good (but of Paris not Burgundian work), in which the more luxurious enamel and the more modest one were employed side by side. It is a reliquary for a thorn from the Crown of Christ, made of a Fatimid rock-crystal vase, mounted in gold in the fifteenth century. The angel standing on the cover is of gold incrusted with white enamel. The foot flares downward into eight scalloped panels, enamelled alternately in blue and green stippled in gold with flowers, foliage and animals.83 The cradle of the Netherlandish enamels, if we locate it in Limburg and Gueldre,

it fit for liturgical use. R. Bernheimer has shown that the portal of St. Gregory in Vallodolid, where wild men stand in the jambs of the door instead of saints, assumes an heraldic character, and that, built as it was during the reign of Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabella, it was conceived as an heraldic showpiece in honor of the

conceived as an heraldic showpiece in honor of the King and Queen in their relationship with the See of Toledo: *op. cit.*, p. 181; cf. the heraldic cups of Philip the Good, held by wild men, in de Laborde, *op. cit.*, II, 2, pp. 153-154, nos. 3426-3428. <sup>82</sup> Op. cit., p. 158. <sup>83</sup> Chefs d'oeuvre de l'art français, Palais National des Arts (Paris, 1937), no. 1221, p. 554; [to make a correction on one point, the plate in Molinier is between pp. 210-211]. E. Steingräber, "Die französische Goldemailplastik um 1400" in Münchner Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst (1954), p. 60 fig. 49: cat n. 22 n. 75. Kunst (1954), p. 60, fig. 49; cat. n. 22, p. 75. The mount-ing of the reliquary of Reims is stamped with a "fleur de lys couronnée et une burette à encre," the mark of Guil-laume Lemaistre, master in Paris in 1458, still mentioned in 1464; H. Nocq, Le poinçon de Paris (Paris, vol. III, 1928), p. 92. The earliest incunables of enamelling in a painted technique anticipating what was later to be Netherlandish enamel are to be found on the reliquary from the Chapel of the Order of the Holy Ghost, in the Louvre; on the so-called goldene Roessel—the Golden Horse of Altötting, in the treasure of the church of Altötting, Bavaria—and on the reliquary of Pope Sixtus V in the treasure of the Cathedral of Montalto in the Marches. All three works were executed around 1400 in Paris. The niches, or little tabernacles of the reliquary



FIGURE 23

ASCHAFFENBURG, SCHLOSSBIBLIOTHEK

Drawing of the "Crousequin" of the Treasure of Halle (after Halm and Berliner)

in the Louvre are enamelled blue with vermiculés painted in white; white clover-leaves are brushed in opaque enamel over the transparent dark blue sleeves of Charles VI and on the cloaks of his attending knight and of the groom holding the reins of his horse of the Altötting *Roessel*—not a reliquary, incidentally, but a gold enamelled "imaige" of a Virgin in a garden [figs. 15, p. 41, 16, p. 42, 17b, p. 43 in: Münchner Jahrbuch der bilden-



FIGURE 24

WALTERS ART GALLERY

Miniature in camahieu d'or Book of Hours, W. 190

was situated on the outskirts of the duchy of Burgundy, along the northeastern frontier, which was not controlled by Philip the Good until 1426-1428.<sup>84</sup> It may very well be that the technique was extended to the workshops of Brabant and Flanders after 1430.<sup>85</sup> From the few surviving speci-

den Kunst (1954); cf. O. von Falke in Illustrierte Geschichte des Kunstgewerbes, of G. Lehnert, I, p. 385]; the angel sustaining the Man of Sorrows of the Montalto reliquary wears a blue tunic enamelled on gold that is pointed up with white rosettes: Münchner Jahrbuch (1954), fig. 10, p. 37. In the inventory of the treasure of Charles V, drawn up in 1405, the knight of the Golden Horse "imaige"—today in Altötting—is described as "esmaillé de blanc et de bleu" and so is the groom [Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. fr. 21446, folio 24; cf. J. Labarte, Histoire des arts industriels au moyen âge et à l'époque de la Renaissance (Paris, 1873), II, p. 54]. The same Paris workshop, active in the French court, executed for Louis, duke of Orléans, the reliquary of the Holy Thorn, now in the British Museum, where the angels blowing their trumpets around the base are clad in white encrusted enamel painted with fleurs de lys: J. Evans, "The Duke of Orléans Reliquary of the Holy Thorn," Burlington Magazine, LXXVIII (1941), pp. 196-201. <sup>84</sup> Limbourg had been incorporated into the duchy in

<sup>84</sup> Limbourg had been incorporated into the duchy in 1406. In Geldre, in the years 1426-1428, Arnold of Geldre, the ally of the Burgundians, took command of the situation against Adolf of Juliers, the creature of the German Empire. In Louvain, on October fifth, 1430, Philip the Good received the title of "duke of Lothier, Brabant and Limbourg, marquess of the Holy Roman Empire." mens of the fifteenth century, as well as from the recorded ones, it appears that this technique had its heyday in the duchy of Burgundy only after the first decade of the reign of Philip the Good (1419-1467).

Along with the general trend toward sombre and splendid fashions at the court of Burgundy, the aspect of the Netherlandish enamels exerted some influence on certain exceptional manuscript paintings, foremost of which are the illuminations in the so-called Black Book of Hours of Duke Galeazzo Maria Sforza now in the National Library at Vienna. The manuscript is written and illuminated on black vellum. Perhaps it may be identified with a Book of Hours "written in gold and silver letters on black parchment" presented by the town of Bruges in 1467 to Charles the Bold, which Philippe de Mazerolles(?) decorated after models which probably were Netherlandish cartoons.<sup>86</sup> A Book of



FIGURE 25 METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART, CLOISTERS The "Monkey Cup" (interior)

Hours in the Walters Art Gallery<sup>87</sup> also is very remarkable in this respect, because its decoration is made in two styles: the larger illuminations in the first part of the volume are executed as miniatures in grisaille against backgrounds in which blue, green and purple are sparsely used in pale tints; from folio 52 verso on, the illuminations shrink to medallions enclosed within initials, which are painted in silver and gold *camahieu* against a black background, as if they were vying with the effect produced by opaque enamels (fig. 24). In conclusion, the Walters medallion should be dated the earliest of the Netherlandish enamels, because it is the unique monument in the series that still retains features pointing backward in the direction of the International Style of years around 1400, and of the artistic and intellectual *milieu* at the court of Jean duc de Berry.<sup>88</sup> Its original destination remains a mystery, although it was probably commissioned as a pendant to be mounted in a precious setting, of which no trace remains today.



FIGURE 26 VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM Enamelled Crucifixion

(Salting Bequest)

<sup>85</sup> Cf. H. Kohlhaussen in T. H. Bossert, Geschichte des Kunstgewerbes (Berlin, 1932), pp. 388-389; S. Collon-Gevaert, Histoire des arts du métal en Belgique (Académie royale de Belgique; Classe des Beaux-Arts; Mémoires. 8vo, vol. III, 1951), pp. 340-342.
<sup>86</sup> Vienna, National Library, ms. 1856: F. Winkler,

<sup>86</sup> Vienna, National Library, ms. 1856: F. Winkler, Die Flämische Buchmalerei (Leipzig, 1925), pp. 82, 203, pls. 40-42; Le Livre d'Heures Noir du duc Galeazzo Maria Sforza (Vienna, 1930); L. M. J. Delaissé, La Miniature Flamande, le Mécénat de Philippe le Bon (Brussels, 1959): exhibition catalogue, no. 135, p. 119, pl. 44. Cf. manuscript 493 of the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York, a Book of Hours for Ghent, datable about 1475, also written in gold and silver on black vellum, with some of its miniatures by the so-called Master of Anthony of Burgundy (the Grand Bâtard of Philip the Good), the others in the tradition of Vrelandt, who was born in Utrecht: Brussels exhibition catalogue, no. 136.

<sup>87</sup> W. 190: Brussels exhibition catalogue, no. 137. The Book of Hours dates after 1450. The calendar points to the region of Maastricht (Saints Amandus, Monulphus,

Gondulphus, Remaclus). The technique of the painting of the scenes within the initials could be related, on the other hand, with that of two enamels executed in gold on black, which are attributed to Jean Fouquet: his selfportrait in the Louvre, and the medallion of the Descent of the Holy Ghost (destroyed in Berlin in 1945). But I believe that these two enamelled medallions confront the art historian with a case of imitation of late antique, Early Christian and medieval gold-glasses, which Fouquet must have seen and studied during his trip to Italy. <sup>88</sup> von Falke (in *Histoire de l'art*, ed. by A. Michel, III, 2, p. 893) and Marquet de Vasselot (in his un-published notes cited in footnote 3 above) have both noticed that in the case of the Crucifixion in the Vic-toria and Albert Museum—a production of Nether-landish enamelling coming chronologically next after the Walters medallion-the opaque modelling is the result of light superimposed glazings. The flesh-tones are vio-let, the drops of blood are painted in red, the ground is green. There is no enamel or counter-enamel on the back. The piece entered the Victoria and Albert Museum with the Salting Bequest (no. M 54b-1910); (fig. 26).

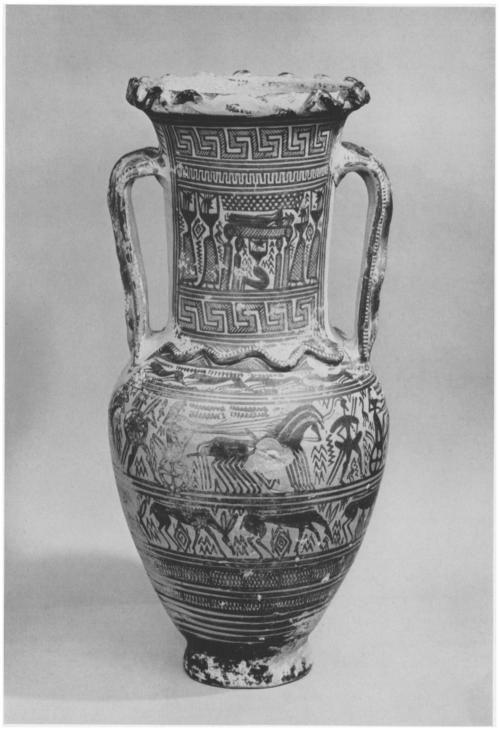


FIGURE 1

Greek Amphora of the Geometric Style

WALTERS ART GALLERY

# ACCESSIONS TO THE GREEK COLLECTION 1960 AND 1961

## By DOROTHY KENT HILL

The Walters Art Gallery

In Volume XXIII of this journal I reported on Greek vases acquired by the Walters Art Gallery in 1959. The major acquisitions of 1960 and 1961 are discussed here: six vases and one bronze statuette, all of the classical period or earlier.

The earliest is a Geometric amphora of Attic manufacture, its figured decoration of funereal import alternating with the angular patterns that are characteristic of the style (figs. 1, 3). It is fairly well known, having appeared in recent exhibitions, sales and scholarly publications.<sup>1</sup> Only one chip of the surface is missing, taking with it the bodies of one team of horses.<sup>2</sup> One handle has been broken loose at top and bottom and smashed in the middle, and a small chip of it was lost where it joins the neck. Over about half the surface the glaze has faded, leaving on the surface, however, traces sufficient to reconstruct the scenes completely. The form is enlivened by plastic snakes, one on each shoulder with tail at left and head at right, and one on each handle with head at top; these four are black with a reserved strip down the back, on which cross lines are drawn. Around the lip goes another undulating

snake, all black and without indication of any head or tail, unless they were placed in the short stretch now broken away.

The panels on the neck set the tone for the whole decoration; they depict a funeral bier with women mourning. On a bed of wickerwork, the construction plain for four legs, four knobs and flat top, lies a body clothed in a long straight black garment; the head of the deceased person has long and frowzy hair. Above is a checked blanket or quilt.3 At the corners of the bier stand four women, three with both hands to head, the fourth with one of hers down. Their skirts have lattice patterns. Kneeling under the bier is a fifth mourner, dressed in solid black, arms raised with hands on head. On the other side (fig. 3) the scene continues with four similarly dressed and similarly posed women, all walking to the spectator's right. The blank spaces in these two scenes are filled with zig-zag lines, one tiny bird and a number of elaborate diamonds which are well fitted to the spaces between the figures at waist height.

Around the middle of the body goes the main

<sup>1</sup> Walters Art Gallery, no. 48.2231. Acquired 1961. Height, 20" (.51). Sale Catalogue, Ars Antiqua, Luzern, III, April 29, 1961, p. 35, no. 83, pl. 33; sale catalogue, Münzen und Medaillen, XVI, Basel, June 30, 1956, p. 18, no. 59, pls. 11, 12: Villard, Mon. Piot 49 (1957), p. 34, fig. 17; and p. 27, note 9; J. M. Davison, Attic Geometric Workshops (Yale Classical Studies, XVI) (1961), pp. 41 f., 144, fig. 35. Between the sale in Basel in 1956 and that in Luzern in 1961 the vase belonged to Count

Lagunillas of Havana and was lent to the Louvre.

<sup>2</sup> Unlike most funerary vases, it was not broken at the funeral; see Young, *Late Geometric Graves and a Seventh Century Well (Hesperia*, suppl. II, 1939), p. 57.

<sup>3</sup> The checked quilt is standard in such scenes; see a Dipylon vase where the mourners lift its corners: R. Schnellbach, Antike Vasen des Badischen Landesmuseums, fig. 5. frieze consisting of four chariots, each with its driver (no indication of clothing or armor) and each drawn by three horses. The horses are shown with hind legs sharply bent, fore legs slightly

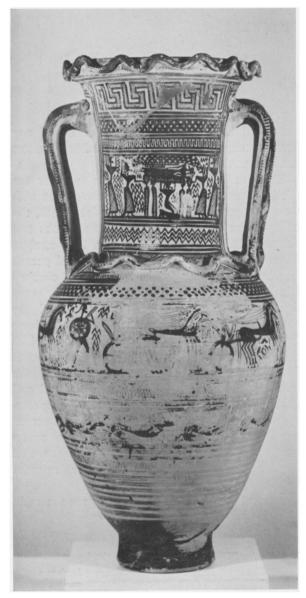


FIGURE 2

CLEVELAND MUSEUM OF ART Greek Amphora of Geometric Style (J. H. Wade Fund)

bowed, and with heads one above another, and in each chariot the man stands with feet braced straining at the reins. Separating the chariots, except in one case, are foot soldiers; one wears a helmet with plume and carries a shield of the "Boiotian" type as well as two spears; a second, without helmet, carries a circular shield and two spears, while the third has only the spears. Below, facing in the same direction, are grazing deer, their ears drawn in outline. Space fillers in these two friezes are zig-zags, an occasional bird, and diamonds, these last filling the areas between hind legs and fore legs. Above this main frieze is a narrow one, interrupted by the handle attachments, with highly stylized running dogs and many zig-zags that almost give horns to the dogs.

There can be no doubt about the meaning of the neck panels. In all probability the great frieze is related to the mourning scene, since the two occur together frequently. Perhaps the main frieze depicts a parade in honor of the deceased. The running dogs are for decorative purposes only.

The drawing is not beautiful, but it is effective for story telling. The distraught mourners tearing their hair, the one mourner who grovels under the bed, the drivers and the horses are all afire with activity.

This vase and related works have been studied repeatedly and its position in artistic history is therefore fairly certain. When the extremely simple abstract ornament that had dominated the Greek scene since the fall of Mycenaean civilization began to give way to human and animal representation, the first important creations to appear were the enormous funeral vases of Athens, named after the Attic cemetery, the Dipylon. Horses and men were drawn schematically. From this moment on, the break-down of old conventions and the movement toward freedom progressed rapidly until there evolved a new style which, from the preponderance of one set of motifs, is called "Orientalizing." Between the Dipylon and the Orientalizing styles belong the Walters vase and many others, in a group called "Late Geometric" or "Transitional." Several of these can be grouped around a handsome amphora which bears the number 894 in the National Museum of Athens. A vase in Cleveland was first recognized by Cook as being by the same painter as this Athens 894



Detail of amphora in figure 1, back

WALTERS ART GALLERY

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FIGURE 4 WALTERS ART GALLERY Greek Vase in form of Woman's Head

(fig. 2),<sup>4</sup> and more recently Miss Davison has assigned our vase to this same painter.<sup>5</sup> A number of others have been attributed to his associates in the workshop. One, found in the Agora Excavations (no. P4990), is very similar in subject matter to ours, having three-horse chariots and a prothesis scene with a woman under the bier.<sup>6</sup> It is from the same workshop. Another, also from the workship and now in the Stathatou Collection in Athens, has two figures under the bier; the painter of this one is named from the collection.<sup>7</sup> All these and many others show the Workshop of Athens 894 to have been one of the great productive establishments of early Greek art.

Though the relative positions in the Geometric Age are fairly well settled, there is still doubt about its absolute chronology. Even its later stages, which must be placed before Orientalizing pottery begins, are not quite certain. However, we will be on safe ground and in the company of most specialists if we date the Walters amphora in the quarter-century 725-700 B.C.<sup>8</sup>

The tiny vases of ancient Greece sometimes

<sup>5</sup> Loc. cit.

<sup>6</sup> Agora P 4990. R. Young, *op. cit.*, pp. 55-57, figs. 37, 38; Davison, *op. cit.*, pp. 43 f., 145, fig. 36. The three-hourse chariot seems to occur more frequently on Dipylon vases than on these later ones.

<sup>7</sup>J. M. Cook, "A Geometric Amphora and a Gold Band," in Annual of the British School at Athens, XLVI (1951), pp. 45 ff.

<sup>8</sup> For the most recent summary see Davison, op. cit.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> J. M. Cook, "Athenian Workshops Around 700," in Annual of the British School at Athens, XLII (1947), pp. 139-155, especially 140 ff.

ACCESSIONS TO THE GREEK COLLECTION



FIGURE 5 WALTERS ART GALLERY Front of vase in figure 4

assumed bizarre forms that still delight the beholder and suggest the personality of their makers, for they were almost the first real Greek sculpture. Two such vases are among our acquisitions, and they represent the typical man and the typical woman as seen through artists' eyes in the early sixth century B.C. In the case of the woman (figs. 4, 5)<sup>9</sup> time has even acted to increase our

enjoyment; the destruction of the vase aperture which projected from the top of the head reduces it to pure terra-cotta sculpture. The vase was moulded of very pale, yellowish white clay, to which a black glaze, shading at points to a brown, was applied sparingly. Some of the glaze has chipped off, leaving, however, recognizable traces; the incision which fortified the glaze decoration remains to give clues of its position. The hair is in relief, separating itself into long, undulating strands, each pointed at the tip, the whole dividing neatly over the shoulders. The ears, in very low relief, were decorated with rosette earrings, once black. The eyebrows, the rims of the eyes, and the irises were painted black. The costume consists of a chiton edged by a maeander-and-dot border around the top, with the same pattern orna-

The only certain nonconformist is Young, who dates all such vases at the turn of the century, op. cit. For all his title, I think that Cook does not, in his article cited in note 4. Schauenburg in the Ars Antiqua dates this vase 720-710 B.C. Bruckner in the Müzen u. Medaillen says about 740 B.C., which is very early indeed.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Walters Art Gallery, no. 48.2229. Acquired 1961. Height, 4<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>" (.112). Sale catalogue, *Hesperia Art, Bulletin XII* (Philadelphia, 1960), no. 87.

menting the seam along the sleeves, and a himation indicated by lines running diagonally across the back and front of the chest and converging on the right shoulder. The lines are more distinct on the back than on the front; triple lines mark the edge of the himation, double lines the various folds. Illogically, the ornamented seam of the chiton is drawn on the right shoulder and arm where it would be covered by the himation (fig. 4). On the bottom of the vase is a broad maeander running front and back. This curious pattern may be a method chosen by a whimsical artist of suggesting that the entire body must be conceived as well enveloped in the delicate garments.

Plastic vases of this type are fairly common. They have been found so frequently in Rhodes, especially at Camirus, that they are generally considered Rhodian, though in many cases, as in ours, the very pale clay is suggestive of Corinthian manufacture.<sup>10</sup> I know of only one that is like ours in all respects-the pale clay reserved over the entire draped surface with maeanders to make the edge of the chiton and with diagonal lines to bound the himation and indicate its folds. Its under side again is ornamented, though with curving patterns and volutes rather than a straight maeander.<sup>11</sup> Of similar pieces, many are shorter, extending only a little way below the neck, while others have the complete bust with folded arms modelled in relief; garments are apt to be blockedin solid, and sometimes a necklace is worn. Almost always, the whites of the eyes are painted white, as I think was never the case with ours. Despite all these variations, the general effect is so standardized and the faces-oval, with small, straight mouth and large chin and a slanting profile line

of nose and forehead-so uniform, that we can be assured that we are dealing with a single workshop that used very few molds. We could easily go farther and, with Poulsen, hypothesize some great sculptural masterpiece that was the prototype.<sup>12</sup> To Poulsen, all these head vases constitute an Ionian ware from Rhodes or Samos, dating from the early sixth century B.C. Previously, they were combined by Maximova with other types of a certain "Gorgoneion style" (named after a plastic vase in the form of a Gorgon's head which is in the museum in Vienna) and the whole group dated in the seventh century on the grounds that examples had been found in the west together with Proto-Corinthian and Corinthian pottery.13 This context and dating were accepted by Price,<sup>14</sup> but the evidence failed to convince Poulsen, and, indeed, I cannot recognize Proto-Corinthian or even very early Corinthian in the graves adduced nor in others which have been discovered subsequently in Rhodes.<sup>15</sup> Rather, there is only Corinthian pottery of the middle period-and the middle grade. Richter dated the heads in the early sixth century after comparison with the plastic heads on Corinthian pyxides,16 and with this dating I concur, considering ours as one of many made between 600 and 580 B.C. Higgins believes that the type continued over a longer period (late seventh to mid sixth century)<sup>17</sup> and Lullies, for reasons which I do not comprehend, dates all the head-vases in the quarter-century 575-550 B.C.<sup>18</sup>

One of those tombs at Camirus that contained a woman's head vase had also a warrior's head like the one that has now been acquired for the Walters Art Gallery<sup>19</sup> (fig. 6). It is complete, except for damage to the spout which protrudes

<sup>11</sup> V. H. Poulsen, From the Collections of the Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek, II (1938), pp. 103-107.

<sup>12</sup> Loc. cit.

<sup>13</sup> M. I. Maximova, Les vases plastiques (1927), pp. 148 ff.

<sup>14</sup> E. R. Price, Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum, Oxford, fasc. II, II D, pl. VII, text. The grave groups are Not. Sc.

1894, p. 347; 1895, p. 182, p. 500.

- <sup>15</sup> Clara Rhodes III, p. 75, fig. 66; cf. figs. 67 (Rhodian) and 69; IV, p. 312, figs. 346 ff.
- <sup>16</sup> American Journal of Archaeology, XLIV (1940), p. 183, with note 7.

 $^{17}$  See note 2.

<sup>18</sup> Lullies, Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum, Munich, fasc. III, text, p. 49, for plate 151, 1-3.

<sup>19</sup> Walters Art Gallery, no. 48.2126. Acquired 1960, Sale Catalogue, *Hesperia Art, Bulletin XII* (Philadelphia, 1960), no. 88. Height 2<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub>" (.07). Bulletin of the Walters Art Gallery, XIII, Dec., 1960.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> See the examples, chiefly from Camirus, in the British Museum: R. A. Higgins, *Catalogue of the Terracottas in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, British Museum* (1959), pp. 13 ff., nos. 1607-1618; for the problem of the clay, *ibid.*, p. 10.

from the top and for considerable loss of glaze. Being meant to hang by a cord wound around this spout, it does not stand well on a flat surface, for the cheek-pieces extend below the bottom of the vase. The clay is pale orange, where it appears on the bottom and on the warrior's face. This face, which peers out from between the huge protecting cheek-pieces of the helmet, has brownish-black eyebrows, lids and irises, and a little triangular mustache of the same color. The paint of these details is dull. The helmet is red in most parts; the crest, from which the spout arose like a plume, is shiny black glaze and so is the vizor that extends down almost to the eves, and also the cheek-pieces. Their hinges are carefully rendered in relief, and black. On the vizor and on each cheek-piece is a rosette, very faint but once painted white. No actual helmet of this form is preserved from antiquity, but, on the basis of these vases and also some in faience, it is believed that such helmets in bronze were worn regularly in Ionia in the late seventh and early sixth centuries B.C.20

The helmet vases are rather common—Higgins listed thirty-one published examples besides the eight in the British Museum and mentioned others, unpublished.<sup>21</sup> They are classified in the "Gorgoneion style." The color scheme, the combination of red and black glaze with matt black and white, is the identifying characteristic and it is of no moment that the placing of the red and black on ours is unusual and illogical. Though the beginning of the ware, as of the actual helmets, may date a little earlier, one can safely place our acquisition in the quarter-century 600-575 B.C.

Throughout the age of these plastic vases, painting was progressing, though very slowly. At Corinth for a century and a half of Proto-Corinthian and Corinthian pottery, as we name it, there was little variety of scene, though increasing flexibility in the treatment of figures. The typical

<sup>21</sup> Higgins, op. cit., pp. 18-20.

Corinthian vase has friezes of animals, especially goats and panthers, the blank spaces filled with lop-sided rosettes; there is little suggestion of action on the part of these animals. Human figures rarely occur. But late in the Orientalizing period Corinth began to put active people on her vases. A fine example is the fragmentary hydria which



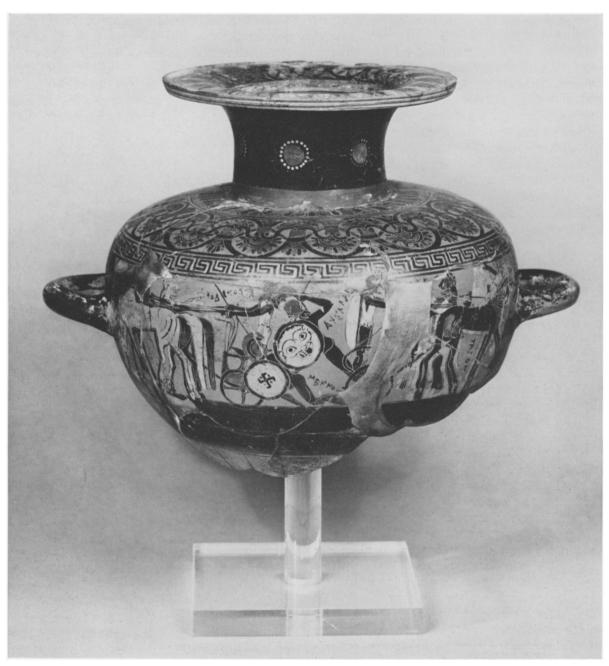
FIGURE 6 WALTERS ART GALLERY Greek Vase in form of Warrior's Head

is illustrated in figures 7 and  $8.^{22}$  Its main scene is a hand-to-hand battle between two heroes, identified by inscriptions in the Corinthian alphabet as Achilles and Memnon. Memnon was the prince who brought Ethiopian troops to aid Priam in the Trojan war. His doings, though merely hinted at in the *Iliad*, were the subject of early Greek writings now lost, and also of later writers. In revenge for the death of Greek Antilochus, Achilles attacked and killed Memnon, and his body was spirited away by his mother, Eos, the Dawn. In the picture, Achilles, who is winning, towers over

 $<sup>^{20}</sup>$  E. Kukahn, Der griechische Helm (1936), pp. 19 f., 43 f.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Walters Art Gallery, no. 48.2230. Acquired 1961. Height, preserved, 8" (.205); diameter, including handles,  $11\frac{1}{2}$ " (.29); the original height must have been about  $10\frac{1}{2}$ " (.27).

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Greek Hydria, Corinthian Ware

WALTERS ART GALLERY

his foe, thrusting his spear downward as he charges ahead, brandishing his shield on which a Gorgon's face is painted. Memnon has been forced to the ground where he tries to hide behind his shield, ornamented with a swastika. Two chariots, each drawn by four horses, have stopped at the sides; they have brought the contestants. One is driven by Automedon, Achilles' charioteer on many occasions, according to the *Iliad*, and he watches the battle over his shoulder. The other is driven by a warrior in short cuirass and with shield on his back, and he does not watch. His name was also written; a few letters survive beyond the missing area (filled in with plaster) that intrudes at just this point and some others between the legs of the horses could apply to the man.<sup>23</sup> Standing behind each chariot and watching the fray with arms extended as if in supplication, is a woman. The feet of one do not appear—she is merely an

 $^{23}$  Between the horses' legs, TATON. Above the horses, at least three letters, of which only the final M is certain.

unattached torso! Almost certainly they are Thetis, the sea nymph, mother of Achilles, and Eos, the Dawn, mother of Memnon, for they are frequently represented in vase scenes and occurred on one of the most famous early Greek monuments, the chest dedicated by the family of the Corinthian tyrant, Cypselos, at Olympia (Pausanias, v, 19, 1). The novel feature of the scene is the introduction of the chariots and charioteers.

The color scheme and decoration add to the beauty of the vase. Instead of the very pale tone that is typical of Corinthian pottery, the ground is decidedly reddish. A few others have this color



FIGURE 8

Hydria of figure 7, view from above

WALTERS ART GALLERY

and they are all of the later period of Corinthian work. Apparently Corinth, when she found her business slipping away to potters of Athens, attempted to imitate the Attic look by this artificial reddening. In addition to the dull black glaze there are the usual subsidiary colors, white and purple. Rendered in purple are the helmets, certain parts of the chariots, the greaves, and sections of the necks and spots on the flanks of the horses, where purple overpaints black. The white was applied directly to the pottery, surrounded by a line of black glaze; in one place the white seems to have been painted over black, that is, on the face of woman who, contrary to usual practice, now appears all black. The shields-the one with the Gorgon, the one with the swastika, and the one on the back of the charioteer-and also his cuirass and the long robe of his opposite number, are all white. Each chariot has two white and two black horses. In one case, a white horse is nearest us, in the other a black. The harnessing system placed those of one color together in the center, those of the other on the outsides; this system is apparent because, where the black horse is outermost, it is the white head that shows in second place, held back. Also, the legs are in groups of four; where we see the complete black horse, legs are grouped with two black between two white, and on the other chariot the reverse. On the white of the shields the emblemata are carefully painted, the Gorgon being especially charming.

The lower part of the vase is reserved with rays coming up from the base. The back of the handle zone is black. The shoulder above the scene is reserved with a beautiful palmette and lotus pattern in black and purple; at the center is a tongue. The neck is black with a collar just above the bulge painted in purple and with three big rosettes with purple centers and white petals. On the mouth, as one looks down from above, he sees a chain of open and closed lotus flowers, worked in black, white and purple (fig. 8). Here the white is applied over black, then black lines drawn on the white. Two plastic knobs above the handle imitate the rivets to attach the handle of a metal vase.

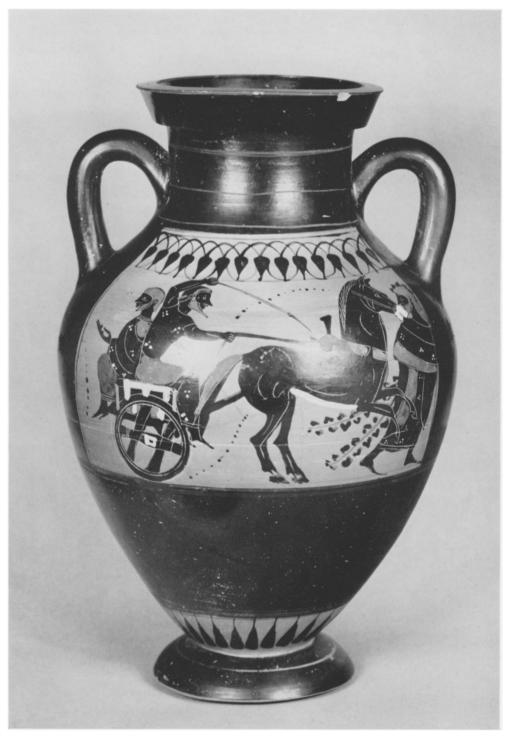
Such Corinthian vases were made in the quartercentury 575-550 B.C. and this example belongs late in that period. The Athenian ware which it

imitated is well represented in our next vase, an Attic amphora of the next stage, perhaps 530 B.C. (figs. 9, 10). It is of standard form and good size and has a brilliant orange ground tone and fine black glaze.<sup>24</sup> In the main scene (fig. 9) a simple cart of very primitive design, with only two wheels and these constructed without radiating spokes, is being drawn by two horses and driven by an elderly man who brandishes his whip in his excitement. Behind him, back to back, sits a passenger, another bearded man. Ahead of the horses runs a man heavily draped, bearded and wearing an ivy crown, and with long shoots of ivy trailing from his hand. To the black silhouette that renders these figures, white is added for the wheel hub and some of the upper part of the cart, dots on the garments, and nose and belly strip of the nearer horse (the second horse is almost concealed, and can be recognized only from a trace of the top of the head and the doubling of the hind legs). Red was added to large areas on the garments, the hair and beards, and tail and collar of one horse.

The wavy lines of dots occurring behind the cart, over the horses, and between horses and wheels, are placed just where the artist might have written the names of the participants in the scene-if he had known how to write. Such false inscriptions, and they are not uncommon, tease the modern beholder, especially when, as in this case, he is at a loss to identify the characters. Various scenes with carts are known, but none exactly like this; sometimes a man and woman ride together, and then the subject is a wedding. In this case, it seems that we have two simple countrymen. But who is the leader? Is it Dionysos, the wine god? It looks like him. No mythological explanation is at hand, and we must conclude that we have a simple scene from the life of the day, with the god, if such he is, merely suggesting that the men of the Attic plain cultivated the vine.

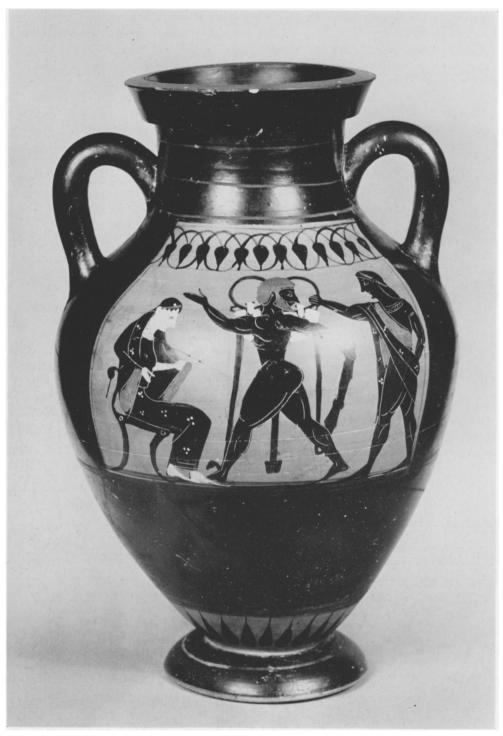
The scene on the other side (fig. 10) is readily understandable. Apollo stands at our right, hold-

<sup>24</sup> Walters Art Gallery, no. 48.2127. Acquired 1961. Height 16<sup>1</sup>/<sub>8</sub>" (.41). Sale Catalogue, Ars Antiqua, Luzern, II, May 14, 1960, pp. 51 f., no. 137.



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Greek Amphora from Athens Riders in Country Cart



WALTERS ART GALLERY

Vase of figure 9 Contest of Herakles and Apollo for Delphic Tripod

ing one handle of the tripod, his symbol at the oracle at Delphi. At the other side sits the priestess of Delphi, and between them before the tripod is Herakles striding and gesticulating, his club in his hand. Obviously, Herakles has been defeated in his effort to steal Apollo's tripod.

The artist who painted the scenes was identified in the sale catalogue as the Swing Painter, an artist so named from a vase (in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston) on which he painted a scene of swinging. He is one of the livelier painters of the period, about 530 B.C., and here, with the drivers and the Herakles exploit, he is at his best.

<sup>25</sup> Walters Art Gallery, no. 48.2232. Acquired 1961. Total height 6" (.153); diameter including handles, 11" (.28); diameter of cover, 8" (.203).

The last of our pottery acquisitions is a covered dish of black glazed ware of unusual size and splendor and almost perfectly preserved (fig. 11).<sup>25</sup> Its cover can be used separately as a flat dish on a tall pedestal which at other times serves as knob to the cover. The base or knob has a vertical edge; the center is set back so that when it is used as a pedestal it stands on its edge alone. The bowl is deep and well rounded, with a small foot in the form of an inverted echinus and two broad strap handles; beyond either end of each handle is a projection to suggest the end of a strap attached, like a leather trunk handle, a short distance from its ends. The entire surface is black except for reserved rings on the bottom and on the knob, a reserved upper edge of the vase proper, and the inner surfaces of the handles. The glaze is beautifully lustrous, Athens' good



FIGURE 11

Greek Black Covered Dish

WALTERS ART GALLERY

quality, but is slightly off color to the green side in certain areas.



FIGURE 12 WALTERS ART GALLERY Greek Bronze Statuette of Discus Thrower

The cover is marred by a pale ring in the glaze near its edge but slightly off-center. This blemish is due to the cover's having been fired upside down on the vase, the edge of which prevented good draught at its point of contact. The same mark has been noticed on at least one similar vase.26

The shape is known technically as lekanis, a variant of lekane. These ancient words have been applied to existing shapes with less than complete certainty of accuracy.27 The use of these vessels is not known, nor their place in the home, whether kitchen or boudoir. But from first to last in Greek history, small covered vases (pyxides) were used to store jewelry and trinkets belonging to women, and vases roughly similar to ours appear in illustrations of scenes of honoring the bride. It is therefore likely that our vase contained the ornaments of a lady who was fortunate enough to need a container larger than most of her contemporaries. That the producer was an Athenian is, as we have said, apparent from the quality of the glaze. An exact date cannot be assigned, but the fifth century B.C., and the second half of that century, is accurate enough.28

Our seventh and last accession is a sculptural work, a small bronze figure of a youth holding his discus in his raised left hand.<sup>29</sup> The subject is the start of a discus throw. The contestant stands with his right foot a little in advance of his left and with the discus aloft against the palm of his left hand. This pose is but momentary; the right hand, shown with outstretched fingers, will swing up to meet its partner and take the discus from it. Then the right hand will move down and back as the right foot steps back, then project the discus forward with a strong, underarm swing as the right foot comes again to its place.<sup>30</sup> Like all Greek athletes, the contestant is nude. His hair falls in a mass down his back and a knob at the front suggests a head-band tied in a knot. This

- <sup>26</sup> J. D. Beazley, Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum, Oxford, fasc. II, p. 40, no. 17.
  <sup>27</sup> G. M. A. Richter and M. J. Milne, Shapes and Names of Athenian Vases (1935), p. 23.
- <sup>28</sup> D. M. Robinson, *Excavations at Olynthus*, XIII (1950), p. 322, nos. 636, 636A and pl. 211 with drawings showing the evolution of the type.
- <sup>29</sup> Walters Art Gallery, no. 54.2452. Height 3<sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub>" (.083). Acquired by exchange, 1961.

<sup>30</sup> See E. Norman Gardiner, "Throwing the Diskos," in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, XXVII (1907), pp. 1-36.

<sup>31</sup> Some of the same features on better pieces of this age: K. A. Neugebauer, Kat., Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Die griechischen Bronzen der klassischen Zeit und des Hellenismus (1951), no. 12. For more refined modelling, but still without the Polykleitan stance, ibid., no. 43 (note the long hair). Much more provincial and with very incorrect proportions, ibid., no. 15.

is an old-fashioned hairdo which, taken together with a certain rigidity of the figure, might tempt one to appraise this work of art as archaic. But a very little study proves that this assignation would be wrong. Though the modelling shows every sign of haste, it is not unskillful and a certain knowledge of anatomy is subtly expressed. Note especially the delicate shaping of the left shoulder and upper arm<sup>31</sup> (figs. 13, 14), the treatment of the hips (fig. 14) and the curve of the





FIGURES 13, 14

WALTERS ART GALLERY Statuette of figure 12

back (fig. 12). Yet the weight-distribution is conspicuously not expressed in the idiom of Polykleitos, who began creating figures of athletes slightly before the middle of the fifth century B.C. What we seem to have is a provincial or hasty work made during the first half of that century. As such, it is an important addition to our collection, coming from an age of greatness which has of all its achievement left few such charming small mementoes.



ANDREA DI BARTOLO The Way to Calvary

# A FURTHER LINK IN THE RECONSTRUCTION OF AN ALTARPIECE BY ANDREA DI BARTOLO

### By GERTRUDE COOR

Princeton, New Jersey

In 1956 the writer published in this journal a small painting of the Lamentation of Christ (fig. 3) as a part of a predella by Andrea di Bartolo to which also belong the Crucifixion by the same hand in the Metropolitan Museum (fig. 2) and the Resurrection in the Walters Art Gallery (fig. 4).<sup>1</sup> It was pointed out that the subject matter of these panels together with their dimensions indicate that the Crucifixion was originally in the center of a series of not less than five scenes, and that the known portions suggest that the intact work might have included the Betrayal and Arrest of Christ and the Way to Calvary.

A short time ago the writer came across a representation of the Via Crucis which seems to be one of the missing panels of Andrea's dispersed predella with Passion scenes. It is a well-preserved painting in the Fondazione Thyssen in Castagnola near Lugano (fig. 1) which has been attributed to Bartolo di Fredi by almost all students.<sup>2</sup> Baron Heinrich Thyssen-Bornemisza had purchased this painting in the late 1920's. It had previously been

in the collection of Heinrich von Tucher, who had acquired most of his works in Italy.<sup>3</sup> Nothing else is known of the history of the Thyssen picture, which measures  $21\frac{1}{4}$  x  $19\frac{1}{4}$  inches (54.5 x 49 cm.).

The dimensions, crackle, ornament of the borders, haloes and garments, iconography and style agree in all four scenes with which we are concerned, and it seems therefore highly probable that these scenes belonged to the same work. As in the panels in New York, Stockholm and Baltimore, the example in Lugano has a part of one of the vertical borders shaved off, and the gold background is in part hidden behind light-colored rocky hills on which grow small dark-green plants.

Like the Lamentation in Stockholm, the Way to Calvary in Castagnola is based on a famous early Sienese example of the same subject; but rather than having as the basic model a representation by Ambrogio Lorenzetti, one by Simone Martini fills this role. The Thyssen Via Crucis is iconographically closely connected with Simone's

work by Bartolo di Fredi, and some have dated it about or shortly after the middle of the fourteenth century.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>G. Coor, "A New Link in the Reconstruction of an Altarpiece by Andrea di Bartolo," Journal of the Walters Art Gallery, XIX-XX (1956-1957), pp. 19-21, 97. <sup>2</sup>The painting is here reproduced by courtesy of the Fondazione Thyssen. It is described in Rudolf Heine-mann's catalogues, Stiftung Sammlung Schloss Rohoncz (Lugano, 1937-1941), I, p. 7 (18); and Sammlung Schloss Rohoncz (Castagnola-Lugano, 1958), p. 7 (18). See fur-thermore Sammlung Schloss Rohoncz, Gemälde (Auss-tellung Neue Pinakothek München, 1930), p. 5 (15); August Mayer in Pantheon, VI (1930), p. 314; and Rai-mund van Marle in Dedalo, XI (1930-1931), p. 1368. Most writers have referred to the painting as an early Most writers have referred to the painting as an early

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> The painting was in the Tucher collection in 1908, in which year Franz Wickhoff attributed it to Taddeo di Bartolo and dated it at the end of the fourteenth cen-tury (in *Münchner Jahrbuch für bildende Kunst*, I [1908], p. 22). The Tucher collection was sold in 1928, and in Otto von Falke's catalogue the Way to Calvary is attributed to the Sciences school of the fourteenth century; cf. Berlin, Cassirer and Helbing, December 8 [1928], *Die* Sammlung Heinrich Freiherr von Tucher, p. 35 (60); pl. XIX.

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FIGURE 2

ANDREA DI BARTOLO The Crucifixion

example in the Louvre (fig. 5), one of four small Passion scenes which together with paintings of the Archangel Gabriel and the Virgin Annunciate formed a complex portable work.<sup>4</sup>

Simone's Way to Calvary made a profound impression in Siena, as manifest several examples of the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, especially by Andrea di Bartolo and Giovanni di Paolo. In the Thyssen painting Andrea followed closely Simone's general composition of a mass of figures pouring from a city gate, moving down a short incline and turning at the bottom sharply to the right. He imitated Simone's representation of Christ as walking, shouldering a large cross, with His head turned toward His Mother whom a soldier with a large shield and raised sword (or baton in Simone's work) prevents from approaching her Son, and whose back is protected by the disciple John. Also the figure of Simon of Cyrene, who supports Christ's cross with his right shoulder and hand, the ruffian who pushes the Lord from behind, and the interested children in the right foreground are inspired by Simone's representation. However,

the henchman shown from the back who holds the unattached end of the rope which is tied around Christ's neck is not found in Simone's work and may have been derived from the analogous armed soldier in Barna's fresco in San Gimignano.<sup>5</sup> This monumental painting may have furnished also the idea for depicting a dense mass of soldiers behind Christ, whose pointed metal helmets form an oppressive "wall" behind the victim.

METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

Another detail not found in Simone's Way to Calvary, but exemplified in Sienese painting before Andrea, are the soldiers on horseback who are just coming out of the city gate. They are seen in an important fresco by an assistant of Pietro Loren-

<sup>5</sup> Reproduced in R. van Marle, *The Development of the Italian Schools of Painting* (The Hague, 1923-1938), II, pl. opp. p. 290.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Could this not have been a triptych, which displayed the Annunciation when it was closed, and the Way to Calvary, Crucifixion, Deposition, and Lamentation when it was open? It was probably produced in Simone's Avignon period, i.e., in the early 1340's. <sup>5</sup> Reproduced in R. van Marle, *The Development of* 

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FIGURE 3

STOCKHOLM, NATIONAL MUSEUM ANDREA DI BARTOLO The Lamentation



4 WALTER ANDREA DI BARTOLO The Resurrection

zetti in the lower church of S. Francesco, Assisi, the iconography of which work is connected in part with Simone's.<sup>6</sup> The mounted soldiers were soon used again, in the predella of the altarpiece of the Resurrection of Christ in the Cathedral of Borgo Sansepolcro.<sup>7</sup> This work is strongly influenced by Pietro Lorenzetti's art, but also affected by that of the circle of Segna di Bonaventura. Andrea employed the threatening mass of soldiers again in the predella scene in a series which was formerly in the Ruffini collection in Rome<sup>8</sup> and in a similar series in the Cathedral of Tuscania.<sup>9</sup> The main source of these two representations is also Simone's painting. Andrea omitted the crowd of soldiers in his Crucifixion altarpiece in the Jacques Stoclet collection, in which the Way

frescoes appear best placed in the 1330's. <sup>7</sup> For an illustration of the Via Crucis in this altarpiece see F. M. Perkins, *Pitture senesi* (Siena, 1933), pl. 39. The main model for the iconography of this representation, including the figures of the Good Thief and the Bad Thief, is the fresco at Assisi, which was probably conceived by Pietro Lorenzetti.

<sup>8</sup> See Anderson photograph no. 41613. The illustrated five predella scenes, which do not include the Crucifixion, are not in the original order.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. La pittura viterbese dal XIV al XVI secolo (Viterbo, Museo Civico, 1954), p. 30; pl. 19. In contrast to the author of this catalogue entry, I consider it very possible that Andrea's seven Passion scenes in Tuscania originally formed the base of the artist's altarpiece of the enthroned Madonna and Child and Four Saints in the same Cathedral (see *ibid.*, pp. 29 f.; pl. 18). Photographs in the Frick Art Reference Library of two panels with half-length figures of writing Evangelists suggest that these representations of SS. John and Matthew from the collection of Prince Fabrizio Massimo in Rome surmounted originally the SS. Peter and Paul in Andrea's pentaptych in Tuscania. This work still displays the panels with representations of Mark and Luke.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> For good reproductions see Carlo Volpe's article in *Paragone* No. 23 (1951), pls. 10, 11. This writer cannot accept Volpe's attribution to Pietro Lorenzetti of the group of frescoes to which the Way to Calvary belongs, and also not his date ca. 1315-1320 for this group. The frescoes appear best placed in the 1330's.



SIMONE MARTINI The Way to Calvary PARIS, LOUVRE

to Calvary forms a lateral scene;<sup>10</sup> but he retained Simone's disposition of St. John, the Virgin Mary, the soldier who threatens her, and the cross-bearing Christ. These figures in the Stoclet painting are in all respects close imitations of the ampler figures in the Thyssen collection (fig. 6).

Of Andrea's three series of Passion scenes which include the Way to Golgotha the example in Tuscania comprises the four known subjects of the artist's dispersed predella. Both this work and that which was formerly in the Ruffini collection include a representation of the Betrayal. In view of these facts, it appears probable that the Thyssen Way to Calvary was originally preceded by a representation of Christ's betrayal and capture, and it seems very possible that the unknown painting had important iconographic relations to the closely analogous known examples by Andrea.

The Thyssen painting has been attributed to Andrea's father and teacher Bartolo di Fredi because it has important stylistic relations to that artist's documented works, which are much better known than Andrea's. These very relations suggest that the dispersed altarpiece is an early work by Andrea, because toward the end of his father's life—Bartolo died in 1410—the son came under the influence of Taddeo di Bartolo's art. This influence is evident in Andrea's only surviving dated work, the polyptych laterals of 1413 in the Osservanza Church outside Siena.<sup>11</sup>

 $^{10}$  To my knowledge, this altarpiece was first attributed to Andrea di Bartolo by Giacomo de Nicola, in *Rassegna d'Arte Senese*, XIV (1921), p. 13. The relevant detail is here reproduced by courtesy of the owner, M. Jacques Stoclet.

<sup>11</sup> Van Marle, op. cit., II, fig. 361. Also Taddeo di Bartolo, to whom Wickhoff had attributed the Thyssen painting, was influenced by Bartolo di Fredi, and to this day there remains a good deal of confusion between the related art of Bartolo di Fredi, Andrea di Bartolo and Taddeo di Bartolo. I added to this myself when I ascribed a predella panel of the Crucifixion from the Ramboux collection, which I know only from a photograph, to Andrea di Bartolo instead of Taddeo di Bartolo (in *Wallraf-Richartz Jahrbuch*, XXI [1959], pp. 76 f.; fig. 27). The Crucified, Holy Women and the Child near them in this Crucifixion are copied from the same models as the corresponding figures in Taddeo's imposing altarpiece of 1401 in the Cathedral of Montepulciano.

piece of 1401 in the Cathedral of Montepulciano. <sup>12</sup> This scene is discussed in E. S. King, "Notes on the Paintings by Giovanni di Paolo in the Walters Collecton," *Art Bulletin*, XVIII (1936), pp. 215 ff.; and in C. Brandi, "Ricostruzione di un'opera giovanile di Giovanni di Paolo," *L'Arte*, XXXVII (1934), pp. 462 ff.



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It is interesting to observe that the henchman in the Thyssen painting, who is seen from the back and pulling the rope tied around Christ's neck, reappears in Giovanni di Paolo's predella scene from the Pecci altarpiece of 1426 in the Walters Art Gallery (fig. 7),<sup>12</sup> and again about ten years later in Giovanni's Passion scene in the Johnson Collection in Philadelphia.<sup>13</sup> These representations, too, show reflections of Simone's Way to Calvary (fig. 5), and the earlier includes the Lorenzettian horsemen; but the earliest combination in Sienese art of an unarmed rope-pulling henchman shown from the back and of mounted soldiers issuing from a city gate seems to be that in Andrea's painting. It might be noted at this point that Fabio Chigi's list of 1625-1626 of the paintings and sculptures in S. Domenico, Siena, includes Giovanni di Paolo's signed and dated Pecci polyptych (which was at that time on the altar of the Guelfi family), and furthermore two altarpieces by Andrea di Bartolo.<sup>14</sup> One of these,

on the altar of the Malevolti, was signed and dated 1397; the other, on an unassigned altar, was merely signed. It is tempting to think that the predella which we are trying to reconstruct might have belonged to one of these altarpieces and inspired in part the iconography of Giovanni di Paolo's Way to Calvary for S. Domenico.

<sup>13</sup> Reproduced in A Picture Book of Some XIV and XV Century Italian Paintings from the John G. Johnson Collection Philadelphia (1941), no. 105. <sup>14</sup> Cf. P. Bacci, "L'elenco delle pitture, sculture e architetture di Siena compilato nel 1625-26 da Mons. Echia Chiei nei Alessendre XII secondo il ms Chieiano

Fabio Chigi poi Alessandro VII secondo il ms. Chigiano I.I.11," Bullettino Senese di Storia Patria, X (1939), pp. 322, 323.



FIGURE 7

WALTERS ART GALLERY

**GIOVANNI DI PAOLO** The Way to Calvary

