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THE WALTERS ART GALLERY



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NOTE—*This present issue, comprising volumes XXVII-XXVIII, has suffered exceptional delay, due to technical problems, which we regret. Volumes XIX-XX will follow shortly, and the series will then resume a regular schedule.*

THE EDITOR



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Editor of the Journal: Dorothy E. Miner

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



FIGURE 1

*Bronze helmet with gold mask and diadem*

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# HELMET AND MASK

## AND A NORTH GREEK BURIAL\*

By DOROTHY KENT HILL  
*The Walters Art Gallery*

During 1964 the Walters Art Gallery purchased a bronze helmet and five pieces of thin gold, three of which have been used to construct a mask and fasten it within the helmet, thus creating the rather formidable and life-like representation which can be seen in figure 1. It appears almost certain that the helmet and mask and diadem and the minor gold fragments belong together and constitute a typical find of the north Greek area. In that vast part of the Balkan peninsula, still inadequately explored archaeologically, helmet-and-mask burials occurred during Classical Greek times, and the most striking examples yet dis-

covered are at Trebenishte in Yugoslavia, just over the border from Greece of our day.<sup>1</sup>

Our helmet is of a common type called "Illyrian" or "Thracian" and very large, of thick fabric, and extraordinarily well preserved with an attractive bright green patina (fig. 2).<sup>2</sup> This type, which is of very ancient origin, but was popular for only one brief period at the end of the sixth century B.C. and the beginning of the fifth, has a roughly rectangular face-opening between long, immovable cheek-pieces, pierced near their tips as if they were to be connected by a cord below the warrior's chin. All edges are decorated with a bead border. Along top and back of the head the metal was pressed outward to form a sort of frame into which to fit a perishable crest which was then tied to a metal loop at the back of the neck and to a knob above the forehead; this provision for the attachment of the crest is routine on "Illyrian" helmets, although the "Corinthian" type rarely gives any evidence of having had a crest. Judging from the helmet itself, one would suppose it to have been made for actual battle and worn by a Greek soldier at some time between the fall of the Athenian tyrants and the Persian Wars. But a very different purpose was to be served by the gold mask, of which the two parts are shown in figure 3.<sup>3</sup> By adding the mask, one turned the helmet into a grotesque effigy of the deceased, creating a substitute sepulchral image of the warrior. Today

\* Paper presented at the Sixty-sixth General Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America, Seattle, Washington, December 29, 1964. See *American Journal of Archaeology*, LXIX (1965), p. 169.

<sup>1</sup> For primary reports on Trebenishte see B. D. Filow and K. Schkorpil, *Die archaische Nekropole von Trebenishte am Ochrida-See*, Berlin and Leipzig, 1927; N. Vulic, *Jahreshefte der Österreichischen Archäologische Institutes*, XXVII (1932), pp. 1-42; C. Praschniker, *ibid.*, pp. 106-114; N. Vulic, *ibid.*, XXVIII (1933), pp. 164-186; N. Vulic, *Archäologischer Anzeiger* (Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts), XLVIII (1933), cols. 459-482.

<sup>2</sup> B. Schröder, "Thrakische Helm," in *Jahrbuch des K. Deutschen Archäolog. Inst.*, XXVII (1912), pp. 317-344; E. Kunze, *VI. Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Olympia* (Deutsches Archäologisches Institut) (1958), pp. 125-151. An example, source unknown, no. 54.796 in the Walters Art Gallery, *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* (1952), p. 311, fig. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Walters Art Gallery, no. 57.1944, A and B. L. of mask, 6¾ in. (.17); of nose-piece, 4½ in. (.114). The bronze helmet is numbered 54.2456.



one must reconstruct the mask and place it within the helmet. Of the two parts of the mask, the main piece (fig. 3, right) is of firm though thin sheet gold. It was shaped in a matrix to show brows, eyes and a mouth with a decided archaic "smile." Clearly, the gold was first hammered to make a sheet, then pressed into the matrix. This fact is proved by creasing and pleating in key areas, notably above the mouth, for such overlay would not have occurred if the mask had been hammered into the matrix from a rough mass, with all the hammering directed against the matrix. There has been no tooling subsequent to the hammering; the eyes are vague and indistinct under the sharper brows; impossible to say whether they are open or shut. A double cutting, like a T inverted, is where the nose should be, and the metal is bent to the front in two triangular wings. Five pairs of holes, one at the top, one at each side, and two in the lip just below the cutting indicate that the nose was attached to the two wings and to the lip by five metal stitches. Of each pair, one hole was made from the back, the other from the front, as the needle passes when one sews. The nose-piece (left in fig. 3) is triangular with its corners slightly rounded and came to us partly folded. It is of foil, thinner than the main part of the mask. It has five pairs of holes for stitches. By straightening it slightly and pleating the lower edge, all the while keeping the original vertical fold, we reconstructed a nose with five pairs of holes corresponding exactly to the holes in the mask. For our mounting the nose was not stitched in place, but two nails driven through the upper pair of holes into the wood model secure it in place. A hole at one side of the mask and a tear at the other probably result from original tying of the mask by a string. Finally, of the gold pieces which came with the helmet,<sup>4</sup> one is a gold strip, almost twelve inches long, ornamented with a double guilloche (fig. 4, top); it is the correct length to reach from ear to ear of the model and accordingly we used it to help hold the mask in place. That the band may be partly visible, the helmet is placed a trifle high; perhaps it should be worn closer to his eyebrows, concealing the band altogether.

There are two other pieces of gold, supposedly from the same grave. At the left in figure 4, below,

is a carelessly made ring of sheet gold, convex in its outer surface and not completely closed. Obviously it was a finger ring for grave use only. The other piece (right, below, in figure 4) is a plaque of rhomboid shape with light, indistinct relief ornament; at the center is a rosette, leaves filling the sides, all within a border consisting of a running spiral between lines. At the ends are holes, again suggesting an attachment string. Such plaques have usually been considered diadems.<sup>5</sup> In this case there would be two diadems, a thought surprising at first, though it would not be impossible to tie one in place over another within the helmet.

Assuming for the moment that the helmet and the five pieces of gold leaf are from a single grave, as they were represented to be, and that our reconstruction of the mask within the helmet is substantially correct, we next look for comparable burials with similar grave-goods. The obvious parallel is the burial field at Trebenischte, a site on the Sea of Ochrid in Yugoslavia, just over the boundary from modern Greece. Here seven amazingly rich graves were discovered during the Bulgarian occupation near the end of the First World War. Only two were excavated under scientific supervision. The contents were confiscated by the retreating Bulgarians and installed in the museum in Sofia, to be published in 1927 by Filow and Schkorpil in a volume which aroused a great interest that was directed chiefly at the archaic bronze vessels—by far the most beautiful such trove up to that time—and to some extent at the jewelry. A debate which still continues dealt with the bronzes; are they, or are they not, Greek and Corinthian? The other objects have received less attention, though they are no less striking: thin gold sandals and gloves, innumerable small gold decorations, weapons, a little pottery and glass, and, most important for us, from two of the graves

<sup>4</sup> Strip, Walters Art Gallery, no. 57.1945; L. 11¾ in. (.30). Ring, Walters Art Gallery, no. 57.1946; dia., 1 3/16 in. (.03). Diamond plaque, Walters Art Gallery, no. 57.1947; L. 6½ in. (.165).

<sup>5</sup> B. Segall, *Katalog der Goldschmiede-Arbeiten*, Museum Benaki, Athens, 1938, p. 6, nos. 11, 12, pp. 20 f. Cf. P. Amandry, *Collection Hélène Stathatos*, I, Strasbourg, 1953, pp. 36 ff., nos. 46 ff., pl. XI (from Macedonia, but not with the helmet group, below, note 13); also a rhomboid plaque with the helmet group formerly at Ars Antiqua, see below, note 14.



FIGURE 2

*Bronze helmet  
Greek, sixth century B.C.*

WALTERS ART GALLERY

a combination of bronze helmet and gold mask. Excavations were resumed much later and the second lot of finds is in the Yugoslavia National Museum in Belgrade. One grave with mask and helmet was discovered in 1930 and two years later, in 1932, there were four more, yielding a solitary gold mask. 1933 saw the final excavations at Trebenischte and the discovery of six more graves at a distance from the original group and generally less rich. There was then some research on the construction of the graves and some exploration of the adjacent ancient city.

It is thus from no simple excavation report that one tries to understand and appraise the Trebenischte burials and their contents. Graves 1 and 5 in the first group, discovered intact but not excavated by an archaeologist, had each a helmet and a mask toward one end, the sandals, gloves, jewelry and weapons, if any, at the appropriate points relative to a human body, and the bronze vessels assembled at the foot. The publishers, Filow and Schkorpil, drew complete skeletons in position, but represented the skeletons by dotted lines since few bones remained. In the later excavations the situation was different; either these graves were more disturbed or the excavators more skillful and, having leisure, more observant. Grave 8,<sup>6</sup> located close to Graves 1 and 2 but not discovered until 1930, was arranged with mask and helmet at one end, gloves, sandals, belt and sword at suitable distances, bronze vessels piled at the opposite end from the mask and helmet but—bones were non-existent. The four graves discovered the following year afforded even more surprises.<sup>7</sup> Grave 9 contained a mask but no helmet; the mask was at the far end of the grave from the pile of bronze vessels. There were no weapons—and no bones! Grave 10 which, like 9, seemed to be intact, had no mask, no helmet, no weapons offensive or defensive. There were bones, not forming a skeleton but collected in a large bronze vessel. (Graves 11 and 12 were not intact and their contents are of no great interest for us, and the same holds true of everything excavated in 1933).

Vulić had the bones from Grave 11 studied by an anatomist who identified them as belonging to a young woman. He concluded that both graves belonged to women, and that the mask in 9, closely

resembling that from Grave 1 but lacking some supposed indications of a beard, was a woman's face. Further, he suggested, though only in the fine print of his note 4, that the Trebenischte graves were what is known as "secondary burials," that is, the bodies were cremated and the partially consumed bones arranged in a full-length grave like the members of a complete skeleton.<sup>8</sup>

It is this theory—and it is only a theory—that connects our supposed grave-find with the Trebenischte graves even more closely than does the similarity of contents. All five gold pieces have a deep red discoloration, unevenly distributed; it is thickest on the two mask parts, least noticeable on the rhomboid plaque. Such discoloration is not unknown in secondary burials. Though there are other ways of making such patination occur, one cause is heat. In connection with the "purple" gold, intentionally and deliberately so colored, from the tomb of Tutankhamun, the late Robert Wood suggested that it might have been done by heating gold which contained some iron impurities.<sup>9</sup> What was a delicate and perhaps secret process for Egyptian craftsmen could have been repeated accidentally at a burial ceremony in which the body of the deceased was burned on a pyre, fully robed and armed, wearing his battle helmet and a mask which attempted to reproduce his features, this ceremony being followed by another when the scattered fragments of bone and the fire-proof parts of the equipment were collected and arranged decorously in a large grave. The color of our gold, then, while it proves nothing, is confirmatory evidence for establishing our group as a

<sup>6</sup> *Jahreshefte der Öster. Archäolog. Inst.*, XXVII (1932), pp. 1 ff.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, XXVIII (1933), pp. 164 ff.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 166, note 4.

<sup>9</sup> *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, XX (1934), p. 174; see also A. Lucas, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries*, 2nd edit., London, 1934, p. 174.

<sup>10</sup> Filow and Schkorpil, *Arch. Nek. Trebenischte*, pl. I, no. 1.

<sup>11</sup> *Jahreshefte der Öster. Archäolog. Inst.*, XXVII (1932), p. 1, fig. 1. There is a curious stitch on the left eye near the center of the face. It attaches nothing. Was there a larger nose attached by stitches over the necessarily small one made in the over-all matrix?

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, XXVIII (1933), p. 164, fig. 72. I assume that the stitches are original in all cases. Conceivably the actual stitches have been replaced in the original holes.



unified discovery from a type of burial not unprecedented.

Other points of similarity reveal themselves as one studies our objects alongside of the Trebenischte burials. Our helmet is identical with some from those graves. Our mask is not identical, but has some details in common. Most important is the use of gold stitches to attach the nose to the mask. The mask from Grave 1<sup>10</sup> has a nose made separately, but not as a sheet to be folded; it was carefully shaped in its own matrix and attached to the main part of the mask with stitches, each a strip of gold leaf. The stitches pass over the edge

of the nose, and in this respect the technique differs from the Walters mask. The mask from Grave 2 appears not to have stitches—one wonders how the nose was fastened in place. The mask from Grave 5 was made separately, but its means of attachment are not apparent in the illustration, while the mask from Grave 8 was in one piece, nose and all.<sup>11</sup> From Grave 9 came the mask with the separately shaped nose, attached exactly as on the mask from Grave 1.<sup>12</sup> Technically, then, the Trebenischte masks show points of resemblance to the Walters mask. Stylistically speaking, one cannot make the same claim, and, more specifically,



FIGURE 3

*Two parts of gold mask  
Probably Greek, sixth century B.C.*

WALTERS ART GALLERY

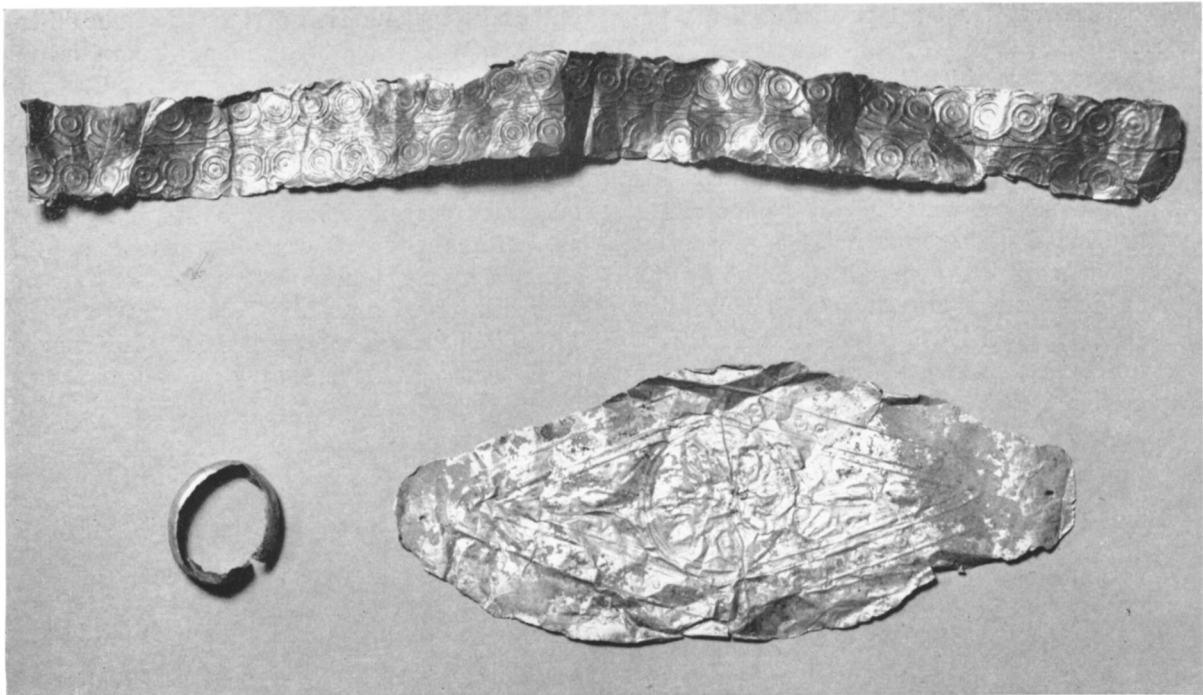


FIGURE 4

*Two gold diadems and finger ring*

WALTERS ART GALLERY

no Trebenischte mask has the archaic smile. As for ornamental detail, all from Trebenischte have border patterns, while ours has not. However, remember that in three cases the border is a guilloche, the similarity of which to the pattern of our long diadem has already been mentioned. By placing the diadem low on the forehead we have achieved in our reconstruction something of the same effect as that created by the Trebenischte masks.

Elsewhere there are masks and grave-groups, mostly of unknown source, that can be of assistance in localizing ours. In the Stathatos Collection in Athens, now displayed in the National Museum, is a mask and an Illyrian helmet mounted

together and reputed to come from northern Greece.<sup>13</sup> The mask consists of two pieces of gold foil; the larger, to cover the face, has no worked features, merely a cut-out to which the nose, a sheet cut at the corners, was to be applied by pressure after folding. There is no indication of eyes or mouth. Another group was recently sold at auction.<sup>14</sup> Another Illyrian helmet was fitted with a mask, a rectangular sheet of thin foil with the same type of nose cutting; unfortunately the nose-piece was missing, or was lost before the auction, although other grave-goods are present: a rhomboid diadem, gold-leaf triangles for the decoration of some object (the helmet?) and handsome bronze greaves. It seems highly probable that these three groups, all suddenly appearing within the last decade, have a common origin.

There are other masks, disassociated in all cases from their original companions in the grave, that have a bearing on our problem. There is a mask of thin foil belonging to the Ashmolean Museum which was published by Arthur Evans as Mycenaean.<sup>15</sup> It is of thin foil, rectangular,

<sup>13</sup> P. Amandry, *Collection Hélène Stathatos*, I, Strasbourg, 1953, pp. 110 f., pls. XIX, XX. Amandry has some doubts as to whether the mask and helmet belong together.

<sup>14</sup> *Antike Kunstwerke* (Ars Antiqua AG, Luzern, Dec. 7, 1962), pp. 28 f., no. 119, pl. XXXIX.

<sup>15</sup> A. Evans, *Shaft Graves and Bee-Hive Tombs of Mycenae*, London, 1929, p. 9, fig. 4. Ashmolean Museum no. 1929.23.

shaped in a matrix to show a straight mouth, a small nose, eyes that seem to be shut and resemble those of some of the Trebenischte masks, and hair radiating back from the forehead. Evans believed it to be Mycenaean, quite naturally, since few Greek masks were then known. Actually, in the light of subsequent discoveries, I would identify it as Greek. While not exactly like those mentioned above, its style is much more Greek than Mycenaean and it lacks the indication of ears, which are invariable on the masks from Mycenae. Pollak says it probably is female, but why? For another gold mask, formerly in the Nelidow Collection, Sidon is given as source, and it probably belongs with a gold diadem, also Nelidow.<sup>16</sup> Finally, as late as the time of Greek settlers on the Black Sea, that is, the fourth century B.C., there was at least one example of a gold death-mask.<sup>17</sup>

Immediately upon the publication of the first Trebenischte finds, Stanley Casson (who had devoted his life to the north Greek area, albeit largely to prehistoric studies), acting as reviewer, suggested that Bronze-Age burial customs persisted in Macedonia and in the north Balkans generally and that Mycenae and the finds at Trebenischte might fairly be described as two

phases of one culture.<sup>18</sup> Everything that has happened since tends to support his statement. There are still great gaps in our knowledge; we still do not know who was buried at Trebenischte and related sites, whether of Greek or other race. The metalware seems to be Greek, the helmets are exclusively Greek and some of the jewelry is Greek. Other jewelry and the masks may be of local, barbarian manufacture. But there can be little doubt that the helmet and five pieces of gold now at the Walters Art Gallery are from a single grave somewhere in northern Greece, contemporary with and typologically similar to the burials at Trebenischte and heirs of the great tradition of the grave-circle of Mycenae.

<sup>16</sup> L. Pollak, *Klassisch-Antike Goldschmiedearbeiten im Besitze Sr. Excellenz A. J. von Nelidow*, Leipzig, 1903, p. 19, no. 40, pl. VII; cf. no. 11.

<sup>17</sup> N. Kondakof, J. Tolstoi, S. Reinach, *Antiquités de la Russie Méridionale* (1891), I, p. 70, fig. 94; S. Reinach, *Antiquités du Bosphore Cimmérien*, Paris, 1892, pl. 1.

<sup>18</sup> S. Casson, *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, XLVIII (1928), pp. 267 ff. Casson mentions various burial masks in Macedonia from the tenth to the fourth centuries B.C., and seeming to be a sort of bridge between the Mycenaean and the Greek. Other such masks have since been discovered: Dieter Ohly, *Griechische Goldbleche des 8. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.*, Berlin, 1953, pp. 69 ff., figs. 37-38; Walther Reichel, *Griechisches Goldrelief*, Berlin, 1942, p. 50, fig. 4 and p. 58, no. 55, a-f.

## ADDENDUM

Since writing the above I have been informed by Dr. Franz Josef Hassel that other objects from the same grave, which was located in Chalcidice, are in the Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum, Mainz, Germany, and are to be published shortly.





FIGURE 1

*Bowl of Terra Sigillata by Pugnus*

WALTERS ART GALLERY

# A CENTRAL GAULISH BOWL BY PUGNUS IN THE WALTERS ART GALLERY

By HOWARD COMFORT  
*Haverford College*

In 1957 Professor S. J. de Laet of Ghent published an article, "Bol en terre sigillée trouvé à Lyon et conservé à la Walters Art Gallery de Baltimore," in *Hommages à Waldemar Deonna* [Collection Latomus XXVIII].<sup>1</sup> However, since his publication antedated by a year the epoch-making volume *Central Gaulish Potters* by Grace Simpson, based on the studies and drawings of the late J. A. Stanfield, de Laet's amply illustrated and well-documented treatment lacked one interesting final step, namely an attribution of this bowl to the potter who made it. It is now possible to propose a fairly safe identification of the manufacturer, in which Dr. Simpson concurs; I express my appreciation of her always unfailing collaboration in the preparation of this note.

Professor de Laet's illustrations and description, and the illustrations herewith (figs. 1-5), dispense with the need for a repetition of detailed analysis of the reliefs. The bowl is of the familiar hemispherical form, Dragendorff 37; it is unsigned, and

it is clearly of Central Gaulish manufacture in the Antonine period. The problem is merely to thumb through Stanfield-Simpson and select the most likely candidate for its authorship.

As de Laet points out, such major figure-types as the horned head of Pan in the demi-medallion are of little help. The great repertoria of Déchelette<sup>2</sup> and of Oswald<sup>3</sup> show that this and other conspicuous dies were widely used among the potters concerned. What is important, Dr. Simpson reminds us (p. xxxvi), are the minor "decorative details . . . which . . . were the exclusive property of single potters and therefore as characteristic of them as their signatures." The detail we select as criterion for the Walters Art Gallery bowl is the indescribable oval-shaped "doo-dad" (what other word will do?) used in the upper corners adjacent to the medallion with the bear devouring a fallen man (figs. 1, 2). Was this used by any identified potter, and was he the only one to use it? It appears in the same position on a fragment attributed to Pugnus,<sup>4</sup> and Dr. Simpson remarks that "several motifs are too blurred to be distinguished in detail [clearly including the "doo-dad"]", but they, seem to be characteristic of Pugnus and occur on No. . . . 22," which same fragment includes not merely a double-ringed medallion, but also the same Pan-head, the Perseus with Medusa, the stag running to the left (fig. 3), and the dolphin which, on our bowl, is placed beneath the

<sup>1</sup> It had already been illustrated and noted briefly as a new acquisition in the *Bulletin of the Walters Art Gallery*, IV, no. 4 (January, 1952); Inv. no. 48.2016.

<sup>2</sup> Joseph Déchelette, *Les vases céramiques ornés de la Gaule romaine* (Paris, 1904).

<sup>3</sup> Felix Oswald, *Index of Figure-Types on Terra Sigillata*, Liverpool, 1936-37.

<sup>4</sup> Joseph A. Stanfield and Grace Simpson, *Central Gaulish Potters*, Oxford University Press, 1958, pl. 155, no. 22.



FIGURE 2  
WALTERS ART GALLERY  
*Detail of Bowl*

Pan-with-syrinx (fig. 5). Further, the ovolos seem to be the same—doubtless the controlling reason for Dr. Simpson's attribution of her sherd to Pugnus in the first place.<sup>5</sup> The bear also appears on a sherd attributed to him,<sup>6</sup> as does the Amazon with *pelta*,<sup>7</sup> and the "doo-dad" likewise reappears in the same corner position as on our sherd and on the one already cited.<sup>8</sup> The absence of Pan-with-syrinx and the Diana seated on a rock from the available documentation on Pugnus is not disturbing; Albucius used the former<sup>9</sup> and Cinnamus and others, all contemporaries of Pugnus, used the latter.<sup>10</sup> Finally, so far as our evidence goes, the "doo-dad" is not attested for

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 259, fig. 45, no. 4.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. 155, no. 21.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. 154, no. 15.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. 154, no. 14; cf. note 4 above.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. 122, no. 29 and pl. 170.

<sup>10</sup> Oswald, *op. cit.*, pl. VII, no. 111.

any potter other than Pugnus; all the indications, positive and negative, thus point to him as the object of our search, and we are further enabled to add the Pan-with-syrinx and the seated Diana to his repertory (fig. 5). Indeed, one could wish that, instead of conforming so nearly to what is already known of Pugnus, the Walters bowl could have added even more to our knowledge of this comparatively unexplored potter.

The Walters bowl is the only complete specimen of Pugnus' work. It shows that his decorative technique could be, as in this case, the division of the decorated area into four quarters, each divided into four (unequal) panels, with the same decorative motives arranged in the same way in each panel—surely not a very imaginative discharge of an artistic opportunity. Dr. Simpson likewise notes his "untidy and careless way of set-

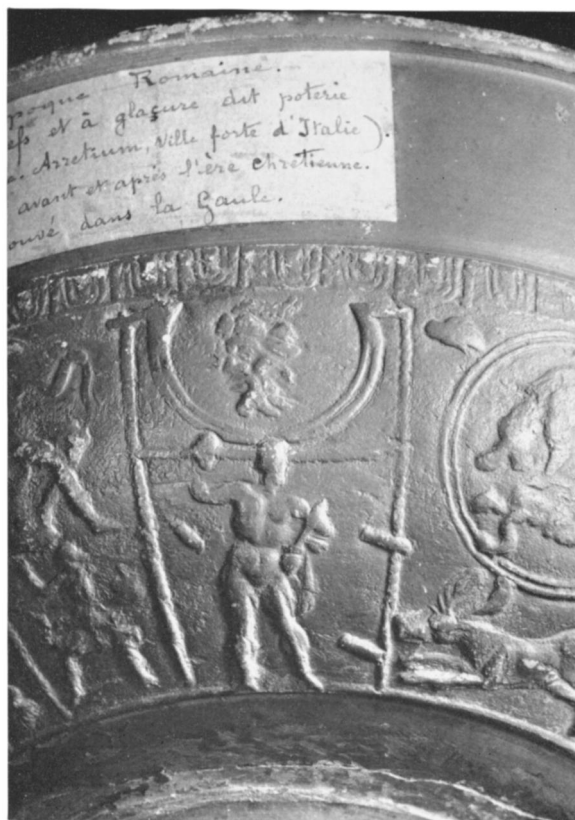


FIGURE 3  
WALTERS ART GALLERY  
*Detail of Bowl*  
(Text of old hand-written label is misleading)



ting out his designs." We are not dealing with a major figure of Roman art.

The date of Pugnus was approximately A.D. 150-190 (the era of Antonius Pius to Commodus), but like Stanfield-Simpson plate 155, 22 and p. 260, which has provided most of the parallels, the bowl before us specifically belongs to his later period.

A reflection is prompted by the gruesome scene in the medallion on the Walters bowl (figs. 1, 2). Martial's *Liber Spectaculorum* shows how common it was in his day, A.D. 80 (Titus and Domitian), to turn bulls, bears and other animals loose upon more or less defenseless humans in the arena, even to the extent of reenacting the myth of Or-

pheus charming the world of nature with his music, climaxed by the real dismemberment of Orpheus by a real bear. The prostrate form on our bowl is clearly not that of Orpheus, but it undoubtedly represents a victim all too familiar from the amphitheater. In general the works of Pugnus show a strong influence from the *venationes*<sup>11</sup> and the gladiatorial combats.<sup>12</sup> And there are many other figure-types on South and Central Gaulish terra sigillata which suggest the same source—men and women tied to stakes and attacked by

<sup>11</sup> Our deer, for instance, and Stanfield-Simpson, *op. cit.*, pl. 155, no. 27.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. 154, no. 19.



FIGURE 4

*Bowl of Terra Sigillata by Pugnus*

WALTERS ART GALLERY

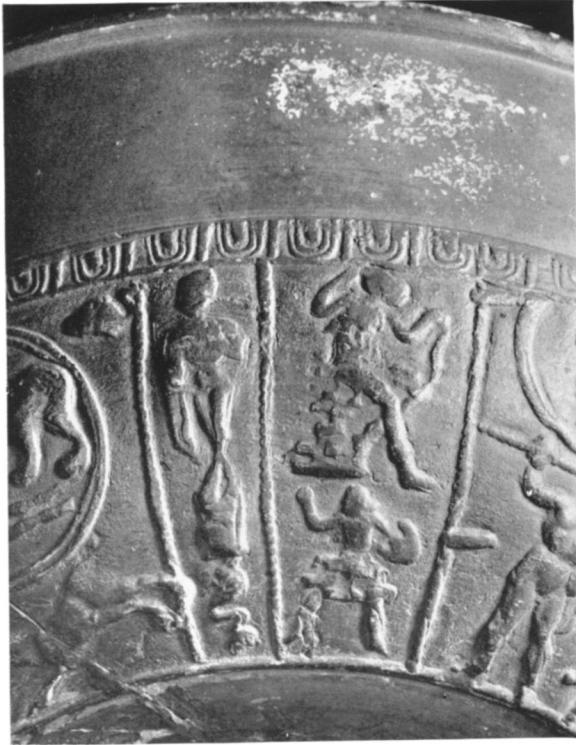


FIGURE 5  
WALTERS ART GALLERY  
*Detail of Bowl*

animals,<sup>13</sup> and bulls tossing helpless victims<sup>14</sup> or attacking armed toreadors.<sup>15</sup> All these and—if one were to search the evidence from this point of view—many other scenes and individual stamps were not echoes of more classical Greco-Roman original works of art or products of the free imagination of the minor artists who operated the potteries of La Graufesenque and Lezoux and

East Gaul, but were the reproduction, within their limited artistic capacities, of what the potters and their customers had personally witnessed and enjoyed periodically in the amphitheater. It is not without significance in the development of the imperial Roman social pattern that the brutality of the arena was unknown to the repertoire of the Augustan Arretines; it was the Graufesenque potters of the mid-first century after Christ who introduced death in the afternoon onto moulded ceramics, and the potters of the period of Pugnus who emphasized (more, I think, than has generally been noted) the butchery of the spectacles—not merely as practiced in the *urbs domina*, but in all the provincial arenas which we visit in various parts of the Empire.

\* \* \* \* \*

*Postscript:* Pugnus has also been briefly noted by A. P. Detsicas in *Antiquaries Journal*, XLIII (1963), p. 15, no. 7 [= *Revue archéologique du Centre*, III (1964), p. 61, no. 8]. However, the fragment from Les Martres de Veyre, illustrated by J. R. Terrisse in *Revue archéologique du Centre*, II (1963), p. 289, fig. 23, and originally assigned to Pugnus, has now been rightly re-assigned to his contemporary Casurius, and cannot be used to locate the shop of Pugnus at Les Martres.

<sup>13</sup> Oswald, *op. cit.*, pls. LIV, LV.

<sup>14</sup> Frédéric Hermet, *La Graufesenque*, Paris, 1934, pl. 23, no. 259.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. 23, nos. 245 ff.



FIGURE 1

MASTER OF THE ORLÉANS TRIPTYCH  
*Triptych of the Annunciation* (no. 44.316)

WALTERS ART GALLERY

## TECHNICAL OBSERVATIONS ON EARLY PAINTED ENAMELS OF LIMOGES: THEIR MATERIALS, STRUCTURE, TECHNIQUE AND DETERIORATION

By PETER E. MICHAELS  
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During the course of examining and treating the rich collection of French renaissance painted enamels in the Walters Art Gallery, a number of technical observations were made. Examples from the workshops of every recognized master were studied from a technical point of view, and a representative selection of illustrations will be found accompanying this article. The following discus-

sion will be devoted to enamel plaques produced in and around Limoges, between about 1470 and 1530,<sup>1</sup> including the work and workshop production of the Pseudo-Monvaerni (1470-1500; figs. 6, 13), the Orléans Master (1490-1510; figs. 1, 5, 7-8, 14-17), the Master of the Triptych of Louis XII (1500-1520; figs. 9-11); Nardon Pénicaud (1490-1525; figs. 2-4); Jean Pénicaud I (1525-

1535); the Master of the High Foreheads (1500-1525) and the Master of the Mauve Mantles (1500-1525). Almost nothing is known of these masters, not even their precise or probable dates. Those indicated above are rough estimates based upon existing scholarship, although recent studies indicate a much earlier date may possibly apply to the founding of this new technique.<sup>2</sup>

Around 1530, precisely known artists, their dates and many signed pieces become abundant; and the technique, having become standardized in the work of Nardon and Jean Pénicaud I, advanced toward new procedures which came to dominate the later sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. I do not include here a discussion of the Aeneid Master or of Jean Pénicaud II, whose output marks the introduction of the changes in technique around 1530.

\* \* \* \* \*

#### I—MATERIALS

The basic materials of glass or enamel are silica, a fluxing agent and a coloring matter. Since the twelfth century, the manufacture of opaque colored enamels in Limoges had taught artisans how to make only a few colors, but the extensive production of stained-glass during the later Middle Ages by thinly coating sheets of clear transparent glass with brilliantly colored layers brought to the renaissance enameller a new range of translucent colored glass materials.

Requisite for all enamel colors was a transparent glass which would melt and fuse at a relatively low temperature, so as to avoid melting the metallic support (usually copper or bronze). Since the addition of any metallic oxide or carbonate to melted glass may produce a variety of colors, depending on its concentration and the composition of the basic clear glass (called the flux), it is probable that fifteenth-century artisans made use of several kinds of glass, all melting at about the same temperature, around 1300°F. The flux was composed primarily of silica (from white sand) to which various other compounds were added to make it fuse at a low temperature, these being soda ash and potash ( $\text{Na}_2\text{CO}_3$  and  $\text{K}_2\text{CO}_3$  both from wood ashes), lime ( $\text{CaO}$  from

limestone), lead oxide, borax and others. The proportion of each compound may have varied greatly, but as more fluxing material (soda ash, borax, lead, etc.) was added, the glass became softer and more susceptible to weathering and deterioration. Of some importance was the presence or absence of lead in the glass, since this would change the color resulting from the addition of certain metallic oxides, and the resistance of the enamel to deterioration. With lead as a fluxing agent, the glass was generally harder and more resistant.<sup>3</sup>

Actually, the range of colors used in painted enamels from around 1470 to 1530 was limited. The transparent flux was either a soft lead-glass or a softer leadless-alkaline glass of about the same low melting point. The coloring elements (metallic oxides or carbonates) added to the transparent clear flux (while in a molten state) to make the principal colors were as follows:

- 1) Added to lead-glass:
  - transparent tan . . . . . iron
  - transparent green . . . . . copper
- 2) Added to leadless-alkaline glass:
  - mulberry red . . . . . manganese
  - transparent dark blue . . . . . copper in moderate to large amounts
  - transparent turquoise blue . . . . . copper in small amounts
- 3) Added to either leadless-alkaline or lead-glass:
  - opaque white . . . . . tin oxide

<sup>1</sup> The origin of painted enamels may lie in the Netherlandish and French decoration of secular objects during the first half of the fifteenth century. These *grisaille* designs were applied in colors of white, grey, blue and black with gold accents over the metallic base of gold and silver alloys on cups, spoons, bowls and medallions. A full discussion of this topic was published by Philippe Verdier, "A Medallion of the Ara Coeli and the Netherlandish Enamels of the Fifteenth Century," *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, XXIV (1961), pp. 9-37.

<sup>2</sup> Wilfred Buckley, "A 'Limoges' Enamel Plaque of 1434," *Burlington Magazine*, LIX (Sept., 1931), pp. 117-118.

<sup>3</sup> A larger proportion of silica may be used when lead is present, so that a stronger glass results, even though the melting point remains low. In leadless-alkaline glass of low melting point, it is necessary to increase the proportion of soda and potash ( $\text{Na}_2\text{CO}_3$  and  $\text{K}_2\text{CO}_3$ ) at the expense of the silica, thus lowering its resistance to deterioration, since some of the alkaline may be dissolved in the presence of moisture.

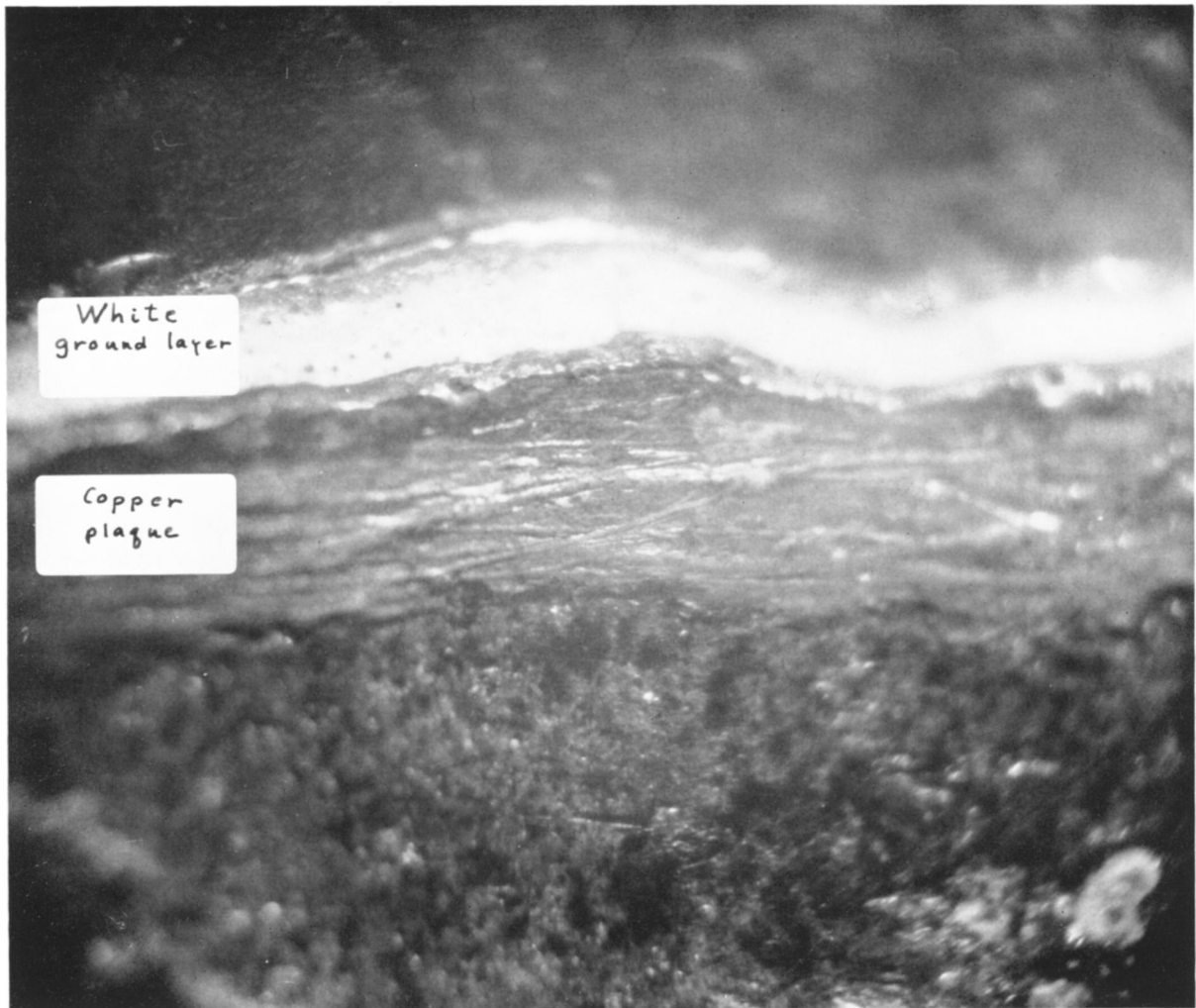


FIGURE 2

WALTERS ART GALLERY

NARDON PÉNICAUD

*Detail of Crucifixion Triptych (no. 44.149)*

*Micro-photograph showing copper plate and white ground*

opaque black . . . . . cobalt plus iron plus  
manganese  
russet red . . . . . iron (natural red ochre)

Moderately large batches of these fluxes were prepared in crucibles, allowed to cool, then ground and powdered. Additional tints could be made by mixing different powdered enamels, so long as colors within one system were kept together. In application, the powdered enamels were first mixed with water and some sticky material (such as gum arabic, gum tragacanth, or honey) to form a thin paste which could be applied to the copper

plate without subsequently falling off or blowing away. Sometimes larger flat areas were sprinkled into place dry.

\* \* \* \* \*

## II—STRUCTURE AND TECHNIQUE

A copper plate, sometimes slightly convex in contour, was the usual support. Its thickness varied from about 18 gauge to a thin 26 to 28 gauge. The copper surface was usually slightly roughened to provide better adhesion for the first opaque white layer of enamel. This opaque white

“ground” layer (fig. 2) provided the light-reflective surface essential for the luminous brilliance of the translucent colored enamels to be applied later. (It also corresponded to the customary preparation with white gesso for painting in oil or tempera on a wood panel.)

A counter-enamel, composed of remnants and contaminated colors from all the various enamels mixed together, was applied to the reverse of the plate and served the important function of counterbalancing the differences in expansion and contraction on heating and cooling between the copper plate and the enamel layers. The counter-enamel was applied on the back roughly, and fused in a

furnace at about 1300°F, at the same time as the opaque white “ground” layer on the obverse.

Over the fused opaque white ground were drawn in heavy lines of black or russet-red the outlines of the design, inner contours and sometimes hatched shadings. Usually ranging in width between 1/32 and 3/32 inch, these lines served as the basic artistic structure of the finished work. They organized all design elements, demarcated areas of color, provided shadows and a basis for the complex structure of flesh tones. (The use of black or russet-red did not typify particular masters or workshops.) These drawing-lines were fused to the opaque white ground before further



FIGURE 3

WALTERS ART GALLERY

NARDON PÉNICAUD  
*Crucifixion Triptych (no. 44.149)*  
*Enlarged detail of horse's trappings*



work was attempted. Once applied and fired they were unchangeable. At this point in the manufacture, the plaque would have appeared much like a woodcut or pen-drawing.

The translucent colored areas were applied next, completely covering the surface with a uniformly level layer of enamel formed of adjacent patches of colors. Since the heavy drawing-lines demarcated each area, the tendency for different colors to merge slightly at borders was masked (but it can be observed on most pieces under magnification). Where flesh tones were later to

be placed, the white ground with its russet or black lines was covered with a layer of transparent color, either dark blue, mulberry-red, or occasionally dark green. If the drawing-lines were painted in russet-red color, the use of blue or green rendered them black in appearance. Over the whole of a plaque using russet-red lines, the resulting optical effect of the lines varied from area to area, depending on the color of the translucent layer superimposed. A tan, brown or mulberry-red rendered the russet lines more or less reddish in color, while blues and greens gave them a dark brown or black

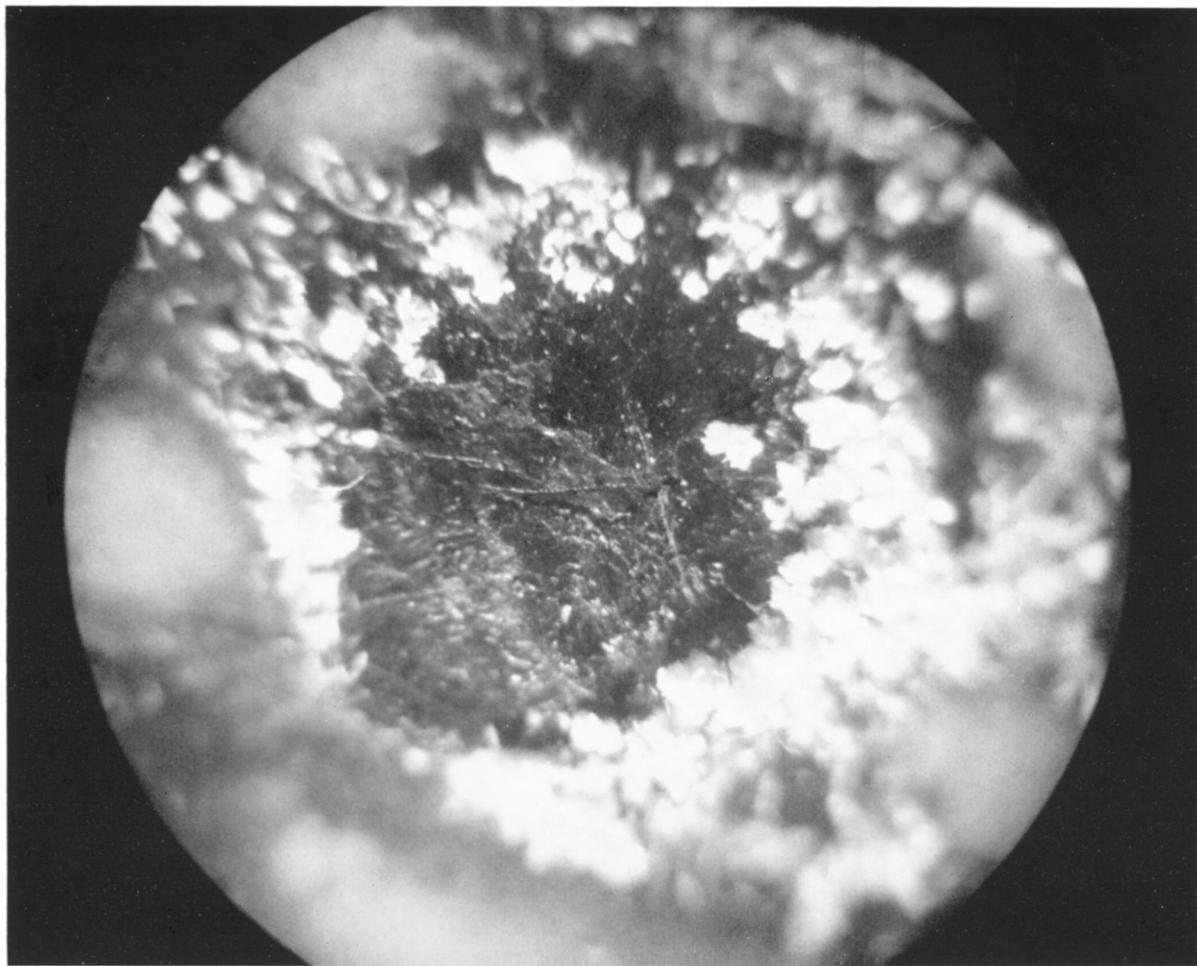


FIGURE 4

WALTERS ART GALLERY

NARDON PÉNICAUD

*Crucifixion Triptych (no. 44.149)*

*Micro-photograph of jewel from Figure 3*

appearance. This subtlety was much exploited by the Master of the Orléans Triptych and his followers.

By applying the translucent colored layers consistently over the entire surface, the artisan retained a level and smooth layer of enamel without unnecessarily complicating his procedures. This complete mosaic of translucent colors was fired at one time. No observations suggest that there were separate firings for separate colors, since in every case the edges fuse together evenly and smoothly, without subsequent cracking.

Decorative elements such as flowers and "jewels" were next applied, often with a tiny round or square piece of silver foil.<sup>4</sup> Over and around the foil, small beads of translucent enamels of various colors and of opaque white were laid, and the plaque fired again. The beads melted down, covering the foils, but still remaining somewhat raised. Being fused separately, raised and with an extra bit of metal, these "jewels" frequently have been damaged during the centuries, leaving round holes in the otherwise smooth surface of colored enamel (figs. 3, 4).

Several layers composed the flesh tones and opaque white garment areas. Here we find the greatest complexity in treatment and the widest differences among skilled masters. Two principal methods were used:

*The FIRST METHOD, using a single layer, found in the works of the Pseudo-Monvaerni and of the Orléans Master.*

Over an apparently black layer, the whole modelling of faces, hands, scrolls, books, head-dresses and other white areas was rendered by

applying a single layer of opaque white in varying thicknesses. The dark layer beneath made the thin parts seem gray, while the thicker places achieved pure white. Linear demarcations of the nose, eyes, mouth, chin, fingers, and so on, were produced by *enlevage*, i.e., by scraping away a line or a series of dots through the powdery enamel before it was fired (fig. 5, chin-line of the angel's head). Helpful to the artisan was the fact that the powdered enamel when applied in a moderately thick layer became reduced on firing to a much thinner and more compact fused layer. This greatly facilitated the subtle modelling and rendition of the delicate nuances of shadows.

Pseudo-Monvaerni (fig. 6), probably the earliest of the Limoges masters of painted enamel, employed a completely black ground-layer over the whole plaque. His techniques were complex, crude and probably experimental. The flesh tones were rendered by a single layer of opaque white, making extensive use of *enlevage* to indicate the features of the face. These *enlevage* lines almost always penetrate to reveal the full darkness of the ground. Little attention was given to the modelling of the form by varying the thickness of the white layer, but thin "washes" of red or grey were later applied to compensate for the sallow flatness of effect. The work of this master stood apart from all others in technique and design. He crowded the plaque with decorative details, many of which were enhanced by the extensive use of "washes" of many colors.<sup>5</sup>

In the work of the Master of the Orléans Triptych (figs. 1, 5), the use of a single layer of opaque white for the flesh tones is brought to an extraordinary height of refinement. Underlying the flesh tones is an apparently black zone, which

<sup>4</sup> The use of *round* spots of silver foil under "jewel" decorations seems to have been typical of the Master of the Triptych of Louis XII, of Nardon Pénicaud, Jean Pénicaud I, and of the original work of the Master of the Orléans Triptych. But *square* spots of silver foil are found beneath the "jewels" deriving from designs of the Master of the Orléans Triptych but executed by his followers in the second method of applying flesh tones (compare figs. 1, 5 with figs. 7, 8, 17).

<sup>5</sup> The technique of Pseudo-Monvaerni (ca. 1470-1500) employed, as mentioned, a ground-layer of black. Each colored area was first marked out with an opaque white layer in which lines were scratched (*enlevage*) through the powdery enamel before firing, to reveal the black ground. This layer was then fired, producing an irregular bumpy surface. Thin layers of color were then applied

over the white patches and fired. The flesh tones were applied in a single layer of opaque white over the black ground (or sometimes over grey). The resulting surface was not only uneven to the touch, but showed an irregular color rendition, since the translucent colors tended to form in little puddles where depressions occurred in the underlying white layer. The decoration of the final surface with gold and thin washes of several colors is much more extensive in Pseudo-Monvaerni than in any other workshop, although "jewels" seldom occurred. Thin washes of red were crudely applied to the faces to heighten the cheeks. Sometimes washes of very thin black or grey also helped deepen shadows along the neck and chin.



FIGURE 5

MASTER OF THE ORLÉANS TRIPTYCH  
*Detail of the Angel from Fig. 1*

WALTERS ART GALLERY



FIGURE 6

THE PSEUDO-MONVAERNI  
*Christ before Pilate* (no. 44.599)

WALTERS ART GALLERY

consisted actually of a solid russet-red area (or very wide lines of russet-red delineating the several features) painted on the usual white ground, over which a transparent blue was placed producing the optical effect of black. For the flesh tones themselves this black under-layer was utilized in the rendition of grey shadows by applying over it varying thicknesses of the opaque white. *Enlevage* was employed either as a line or a series of dots where stronger outlines were needed.

With both the Pseudo-Monvaerni and the Orléans Master, the general effect of fallow grey-ness resulted from this first method. To bring about a more ruddy complexion, extremely thin "washes" of red were applied as a last step, to be very briefly fired. This was a risky procedure, since the color would so easily be altered if subjected to heat for any length of time. To produce the opaque red "wash" (also used for the blood of wounds), a special enamel was made with red iron oxide,<sup>6</sup> then pulverized and mixed with various amounts of low-fusing transparent flux. This could be brushed very thinly onto the surface and briefly fired so that the transparent flux would melt just enough to adhere to the surface while retaining the sharp edges of the brush strokes. Gold accents and black lettering were applied at this time, all being mixed with transparent flux and fired at one time, the final firing.

The extraordinary refinement in tonal nuances of the work of the Orléans Master is the apex of achievement in this method of working. It is noteworthy that the two wings of the Triptych of the Annunciation<sup>7</sup> provided the designs for five other single plaques in the Walters Art Gallery (figs. 7, 8) which were executed by the second method, and utilize square foils under the "jewels." Precisely what relationship these plaques have to the Orléans Master is not known.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>6</sup> A granular, soft, opaque red of lead-glass, melting at a low temperature, had been used for *champlevé* enamels at Limoges since the twelfth century. It may be presumed that this same opaque red, when finely pulverized and mixed with some of the transparent flux, would have been satisfactory for the thin superficial washes needed in the fifteenth- and sixteenth-century painted enamels. Since no other reds are to be found in the structure of the later pieces, we may also infer that this older opaque red could not be subjected to the repeated firings of the new technique. A minute sample of opaque red from a twelfth-century Limoges *champlevé* enameled cross was

*The SECOND METHOD using two layers, found in the works of Nardon Pénicaud, Jean Pénicaud I, the Master of the Triptych of Louis XII and other anonymous masters*

This was the more common procedure for rendering flesh tones (fig. 9). Lacking a true red which would withstand the heat of necessary firings, a mixture of translucent mulberry-red and opaque white, which resulted in a semi-opaque lilac shade, was applied as a preliminary layer on top of the already fused translucent colored surfaces. Sometimes these colored areas beneath the flesh tones were blue, sometimes mulberry-red; but in nearly all examples the whole linear design has been thoroughly worked out at the level of the drawing-lines in broad strokes. In a few plaques a wash of black covered the whole area over which opaque white drapery or flesh tones would later be placed. These dark areas beneath the semi-opaque lilac-colored layer served the important function of providing tone for the shadows and black lines to delineate the eyes, nostrils and mouth. The layer of semi-opaque lilac formed a relatively thin, even surface through which lines and dots were scratched in *enlevage* in the powdered enamel before fusing (fig. 10, head of Virgin: detail; note the eye, nose, mouth). Tonal gradations were produced by thicker or thinner layers of enamel, allowing more of the black layer below to show through. However, the semi-opaque lilac mainly provided a general color and tone for the modelling of highlights and form in the final layer of opaque white.

After firing the lilac-colored layer, the last layer of opaque white was applied. The thickness varied with the degree of opacity desired, rendering with surprising delicacy minute transitions in shading. Where full white highlights appear along the ridge of the nose, chin, cheek, forehead, fingers

analyzed by spectrographic means. The colorant was iron oxide, probably from natural deposits which for centuries were known to be somewhat resistant to the heat of the furnace. Although the brilliant translucent red produced from gold was known, it was not used in the painted enamel technique.

<sup>7</sup> Walters Art Gallery, Inv. no. 44.316.

<sup>8</sup> Two other plaques in the Walters Art Gallery indicate strong stylistic affinity with the workshop of the Orléans Master, but were also executed in the second method: the Madonna and Child Holding a Bird (44.126) and the Annunciation (44.172).





FIGURE 7

MASTER OF THE ORLÉANS TRIPTYCH AND FOLLOWER

WALTERS ART GALLERY

*Wing Plaques from Three Triptychs: St. James (no. 44.128);*

*David (left wing of Fig. 1); Isaiah (no. 44.645A).*

and toes, the second layer was quite thick, forming small mounds easily distinguishable to the touch. Where darker shading and shadows appear along the neck, chest, legs and along receding edges, the layer was quite thin, gradually disappearing into the semi-opaque lilac layer. Linear accents were scraped away by *enlevage* to reveal again the black drawing-lines, just as had been done in the lilac layer. In addition, other lines revealed the fused

lilac color where the opaque white had been scraped away by *enlevage* before firing. These lilac-colored lines were particularly important for small details of anatomy, such as the delineation of the ribs, sinews of the neck, eyebrows and shading around the eyes (fig. 11, *Pietà*: detail of central panel; note the ribs and eyes of Christ).

Accents of gold along the folds of drapery, streams of red blood dripping from Christ's





FIGURE 8

MASTER OF THE ORLÉANS TRIPTYCH AND FOLLOWER  
*Wing Plaques from Two Triptychs: Isaiah (right wing of Fig. 1);  
 Prophet (no. 44.645B).*

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FIGURE 9

MASTER OF THE TRIPTYCH OF LOUIS XII  
*Triptych of the Pietà (no. 44.91)*

WALTERS ART GALLERY

wounds (both illustrated in fig. 11), and black lettering of inscriptions (figs. 7, 8) were applied at one time. The colored opaque powdered enamels or powdered gold mixed with some of the finely pulverized transparent flux was made into a sticky liquid with some water, gum, or honey and applied thinly by brush. The final firing of these "washes" and details was accomplished very quickly, so that the strokes would retain their crispness and remain on the surface of the other layers. If fired hot enough to soften the previously fused layers, the fine lines would have sunk into the upper surface, becoming diffused and hazy.

Although high degrees of refinement were attained in both techniques, crude examples were also produced. Figure 12 illustrates a Nativity using the second more complex method of producing flesh tones, but in which the conception and design were far inferior to the usual quality.

It is comparable in its lack of technical refinement and unsophisticated design to a plaque by the Pseudo-Monvaerni in the Walters Art Gallery (fig. 13). It is a matter for speculation whether both methods may have been in use from an early date (*ca.* 1470), and whether the first method may have been carried on by the Orléans Master, at a time when the second method had become dominant (*ca.* 1510-1530).

### III—DETERIORATION

Damage to a glassy enamel surface may easily result from direct mechanical breakage, from being bent, dropped or hit. Chips missing from the corners of plaques are common results of such mishaps.

More insidious are the effects of intrinsic weaknesses in the flux itself. The three leadless-alkaline glass colors, deep blue, light turquoise-blue and



FIGURE 10

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MASTER OF THE TRIPTYCH OF LOUIS XII  
*Head of the Virgin (detail of Fig. 9)*

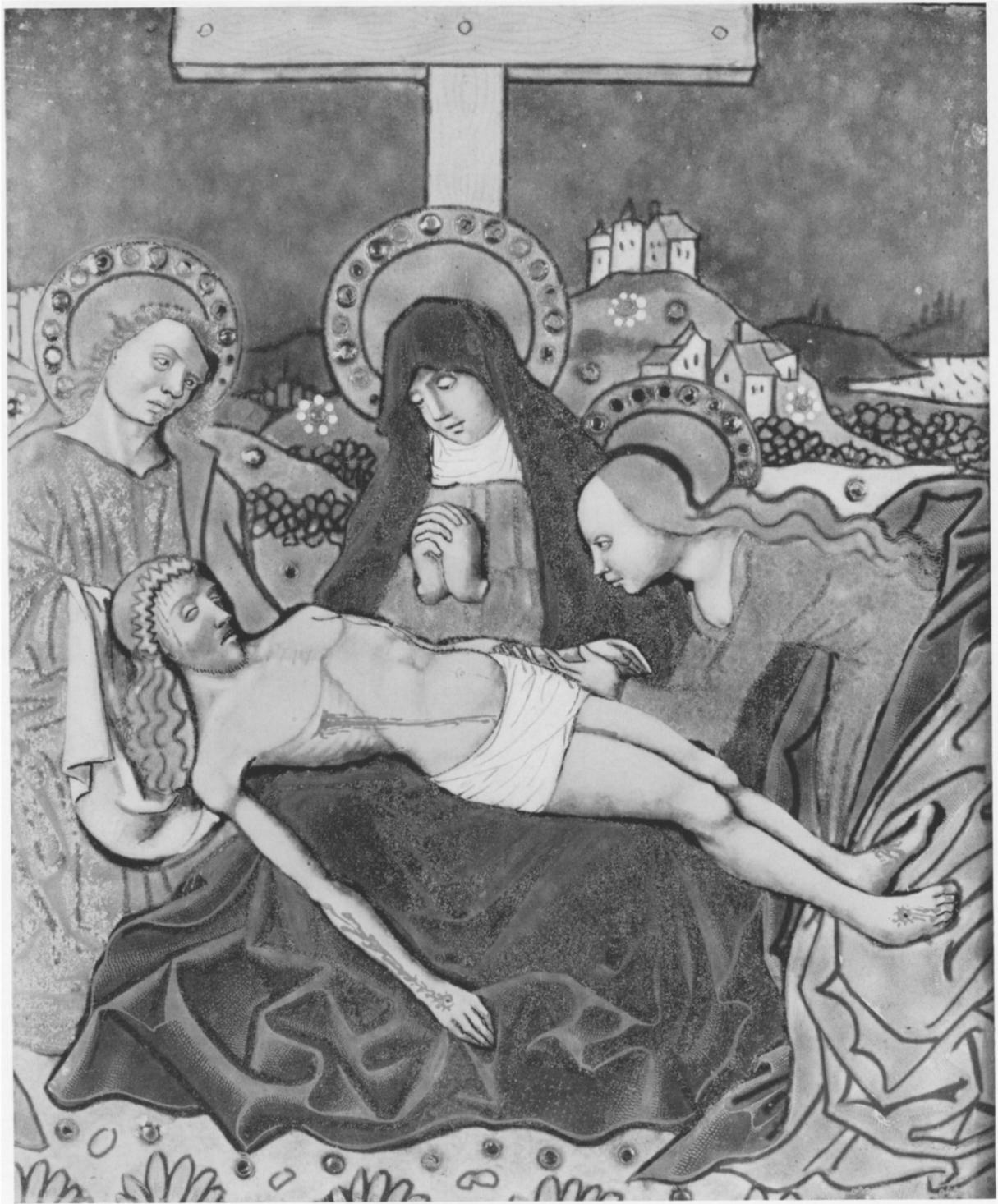


FIGURE 11

MASTER OF THE TRIPTYCH OF LOUIS XII  
*Pietà (detail of Fig. 9)*

WALTERS ART GALLERY

mulberry-red suffer from the same inherent vice. Excessive amounts of soda ash ( $\text{Na}_2\text{CO}_3$ ) were necessary to produce a glass which would melt at a sufficiently low temperature, but the sodium content tended to be dissolved out of the glass structure by exposure to moisture even in the form of high humidity. In moist climates, alkaline solutions accumulated on the upper surface during summer and gradually penetrated into the body of the enamel itself through minute cracks, especially where adequate fusion had not occurred, as around the circular "jewels" (figs. 3, 4). As the seasons progressed, each dry period caused the alkaline solutions to concentrate by evaporation of the water, leaving crystalline deposits which occupied more space than the liquids. These crystals gradually accumulated enough material and force to push outward against the enamel and dislodge flakes.

Clumps of the white crystalline efflorescence found over the surface of deteriorated pieces have been analyzed by emission spectrography and by X-ray diffraction.<sup>9</sup> Large percentages of sodium and calcium with lesser amounts of copper and silver were detected in the efflorescence removed from the area shown in figure 4 (see Appendix I for specific data). X-ray diffraction patterns of another sample indicated the crystalline pattern for sodium formate ( $\text{NaCOOH}$ ), possibly due to the presence of formic acid given off by certain woods used in furniture and display cases (Appendix I). The crystalline efflorescence is readily soluble in water, but great care must be taken to examine the surface closely under high magnification before any cleaning is attempted.

The extent to which the deterioration may go is indicated by the four illustrations of the Madonna



FIGURE 12

WALTERS ART GALLERY

*The Nativity with St. Michael (no. 44.227)*

and Child Holding a Bird<sup>10</sup> (figs. 14-17). Both blue and mulberry-red areas had become very heavily pitted and were flaking. Before treatment, the surface was covered with the typical white efflorescence, more heavily over the mulberry-red than the blue, but the latter showed large flakes dislodged from the mantle over the left shoulder of the Madonna. Under microscopic magnification the white efflorescence looked something like pieces of cauliflower, formed in rounded clumps. Both lower corners and a section of enamel in the middle at the top edge had been broken and formerly repaired with gesso painted to match the surrounding area, with pigments ground in damar resin.

My treatment commenced with a careful study of the surface, and removal of the large loose flakes (later to be replaced). Old gesso was removed from the lower corners where it no longer was firmly in place. (With a broken edge of the enamel laid open it was possible to examine closely the successive layers of the structure.) Then the whole plaque was submerged in water and care-

<sup>9</sup> I am indebted to Mr. William McLeran, Mr. Robert Mason and Mr. John Marquise of Pemco Corporation Research Laboratories, Baltimore, Maryland, who kindly made the spectrographic analysis of the white deterioration material and of the opaque red mentioned in footnote 6; to Mrs. Elisabeth West FitzHugh of the Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., who analyzed this material by X-ray diffraction; and to Mr. William J. Young, Head of the Research Laboratory at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, who performed X-ray fluorescence analysis and spectrographic analysis of three minute samples of enamel.

<sup>10</sup> Walters Art Gallery, Inv. no. 44.126.



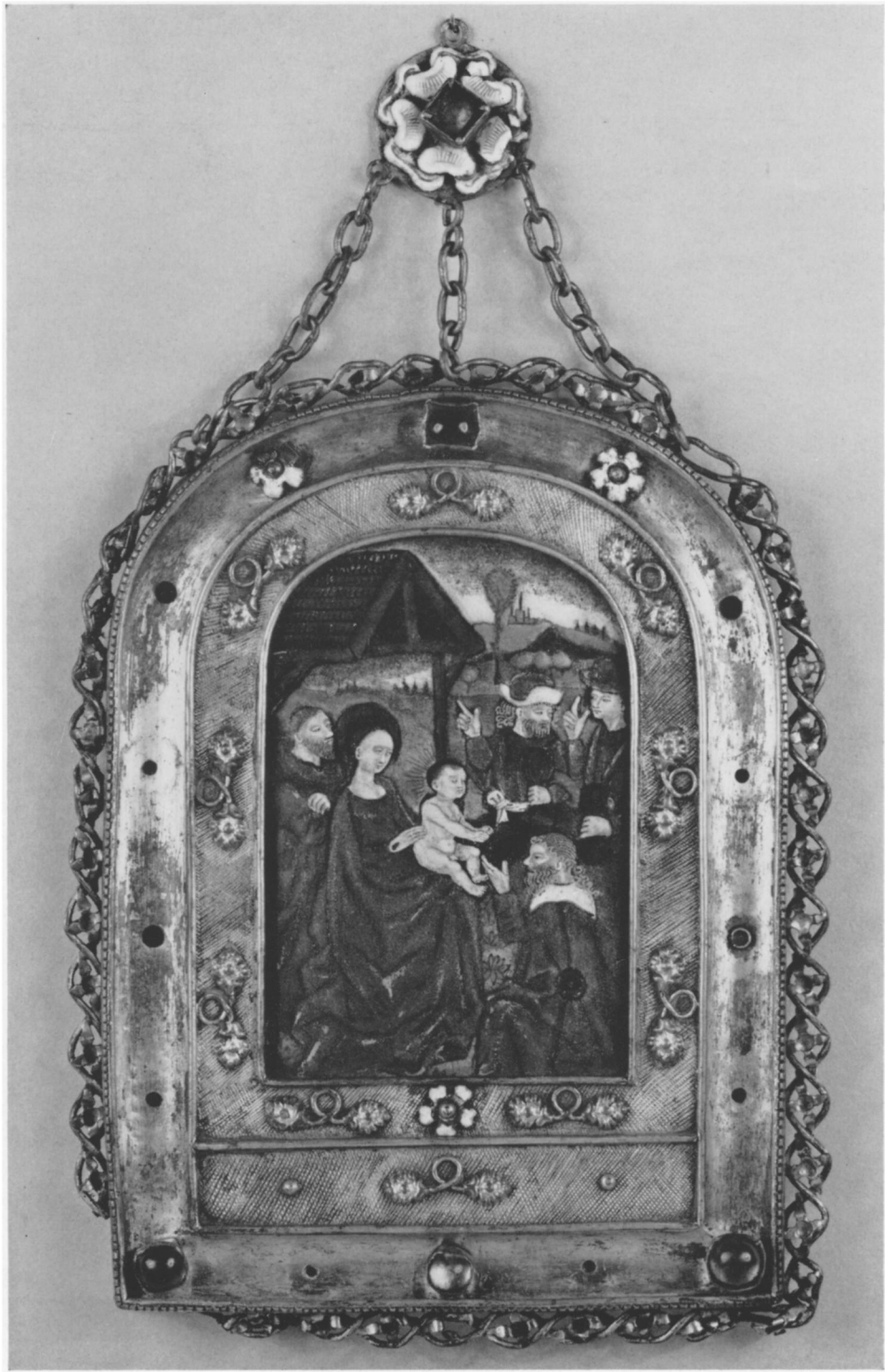


FIGURE 13

WALTERS ART GALLERY

THE PSEUDO-MONVAERNI

*Image de Chevet: Adoration of the Kings (no. 44.439)*



fully washed to remove the soluble alkaline efflorescence. Several changes of water were needed to insure adequate removal of the sodium salts. After final washing in distilled water, the plaque was placed in ethyl alcohol (two changes) and finally in acetone to remove all excess water and any accumulation of oil or resin.

After thorough drying, the surface was heavily coated with the clear synthetic resin AW-2 dissolved in benzine. This coating is not a superior moisture barrier, but it is readily soluble and tends to penetrate into the flaking surface, giving it better adhesion. The thickness of the coating was felt to compensate for its lower resistance to moisture. Furthermore, the sheen of AW-2 is quite similar to that of enamel. The loose pieces of enamel were replaced by using a small amount of AW-2 in a thick solution in benzine. Finally, the losses alone were inpainted with pigments ground in AW-2 synthetic resin, which could be easily removed. Most of the original gold had been worn off and was not replaced. One loss in the fingers of the Madonna's hand holding Christ was not restored, because it showed very clearly the layer of translucent blue enamel under the layers of semi-opaque lilac forming the flesh tones. The losses in both lower corners were left open to show the structure of the enamel.

Of special interest was the differing amount of deterioration in two parts of the blue vaulted interior above the columns in the background. Although the colors seemed only slightly different, the deterioration was quite heavy in the lighter

blue and only slight in the darker. Clearly, the delicate balance of ingredients used in formulating various colors had overriding importance on the degree of subsequent deterioration. In this plaque, the green robe of Christ, the darker blue of the background, the lighter shades of tan and mulberry in the background, and the green and tan of the foreground were relatively unharmed, as were all the flesh tones. All other shades of blue or of mulberry-red were heavily pitted.

For the best preservation, plaques from this period (1470-1530) should be displayed or stored in an upright position. This helps to reduce the tendency for microscopic droplets of moisture to accumulate on the surface and for such liquid to flow into the many microscopic cracks. Plaques to be stored should be wrapped in some transparent material, such as polyethylene or cellophane, to help protect against the accumulation of dust and grime. Of greatest importance is the control of humidity, which should be maintained as nearly constant as possible, preferably between 50%-60% RH.

The deterioration described above is common mainly to the painted enamels of the earliest period, ending about 1530. In the subsequent phases of development, better formulation of the enamel gave greater resistance to deterioration of these delicate surfaces. Even though often pitted and heavily deteriorated, the subtle and extraordinary skill of the early artisans using this new and difficult technique is still clearly visible and impressive in its splendid jewel-like effect.



FIGURE 14

SCHOOL OF THE "ORLÉANS MASTER"  
*Madonna and Child with a Bird* (no. 44.126)  
(before treatment)

WALTERS ART GALLERY



FIGURE 15

SCHOOL OF THE "ORLÉANS MASTER"

*Madonna and Child with a Bird*  
(partially cleaned)

WALTERS ART GALLERY



FIGURE 16

SCHOOL OF THE "ORLÉANS MASTER"

WALTERS ART GALLERY

*Madonna and Child with a Bird*  
(cleaned and surface coated)



FIGURE 17

SCHOOL OF THE "ORLÉANS MASTER"

WALTERS ART GALLERY

*Madonna and Child with a Bird*  
(final state)



## APPENDIX I

Emission spectrographic analysis was carried out on two small samples of deterioration material from the Crucifixion Triptych (Inv. no. 44.149) by Nardon Pénicaud. Micro-photographs of this deterioration material are shown in figures 3 and 4. The analysis was carried out by Mr. William A. McLeran, Jr. at the Technical Laboratory of Pemco Corp., Baltimore, Maryland, on April 7, 1960. The two samples are listed Specimen "A" and Specimen "B" in the following table of results. The concentration of each element was judged relative to its spectrum line intensity and is only approximate.

ELEMENT	"A"	"B"
Na—Sodium	Very Strong	Strong
Ca—Calcium	Very Strong	Strong
Cu—Copper	Strong	Strong —
Ag—Silver	Trace +	Strong
Fe—Iron	Trace +	Trace +
Si—Silicon	Trace +	Trace +
Cr—Chromium	Trace +	Trace —
Mg—Magnesium	Trace +	Trace
Pb—Lead	Trace +	Trace
Zn—Zinc	Trace	None
Mn—Manganese	Trace —	Trace

Further investigation of this white crystalline deterioration product by X-ray diffraction was carried out by Mrs. Elisabeth West FitzHugh at the New York Conservation Center during 1961. Although the diffraction pattern indicated the main crystalline constituent to be sodium formate ( $\text{NaCOOH}$ ), there was some doubt as to the presence of the formate radical. Due to lack of additional deterioration material, further analysis could not be undertaken.

## APPENDIX II

X-ray florescence spectrographic analysis was carried out during July, 1963, by Mr. William J. Young, Head of the Research Laboratory of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Mass. Two areas of the drapery of the Standing Prophet (Inv. no. 44.128) from the School of the Master of the Orléans Triptych (fig. 7, far left) were examined to determine the colorant component of the enamel. One spot in the blue drapery about  $\frac{1}{2}$  inch from the left edge and  $1\frac{1}{4}$  inch from the bottom edge, and one spot in the mulberry-red drapery about 1 inch from the right edge and  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inch from the bottom edge were studied. This non-destructive test indicated in the blue enamel a high concentration of tin and copper; and lesser concentrations of antimony, barium, zinc, nickel, galium, iron, manganese and chromium. The relative concentration of each element is only roughly determined. Copper was the main colorant, while iron, and manganese may have had some slight effect, but their concentrations were too low to be significant. The presence of tin, lead and antimony may have had some influence on the tendency of this blue enamel to di-vitrify and deteriorate.

For the mulberry-red enamel, fairly high concentrations of tin, lead and copper were indicated by X-ray florescence analysis with lower concentrations of zinc, galium, nickel, iron and chromium. This examination was inconclusive in determining the colorant.

Mr. Young carried out three regular emission spectrographic analyses of small fragments of enamel dislodged from damaged parts of the same plaque. Again the mulberry-red (purple) and blue were studied, with an additional sample from the white ground layer. The semi-quantitative results of this investigation are below. For accuracy, a #80 Bureau of Standards glass was run in juxtaposition with the samples.



• EARLY PAINTED ENAMELS OF LIMOGES •

SEMI-QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS  
OF LIMOGES ENAMELS

Samples	Elements									
	Si	Pb	Mn	Mg	Fe	Sn	Ca	Cu	Na	Co
Purple	VS	M/S	T/W	M	ND	M	W/M	W/M	M/S	ND
White	S	M	ND	W/M	ND	M	M	W	M/S	ND
Blue	S	W	ND	FT	ND	ND	M	M	M/S	ND

Note: All samples were powdered and inserted in drilled carbon, boron-free electrodes.

KEY: FT —.001%  
T —.001%–.01%  
W —.01%–0.1%  
M —0.1%–1%  
S —1%–10%  
VS —above 10%  
ND —not detected

The colorant for the mulberry-red (purple) color was clearly shown to be manganese; for the white to be tin; and for the blue to be influenced by copper.



FIGURE 1

WALTERS ART GALLERY

*Ivory Relief of the Crucifixion*  
*Byzantine, about 1000 A.D.*

# A BYZANTINE IVORY RELIEF AND ITS COPY

By VICTOR H. ELBERN

*Frühchristlich-Byzantinische Sammlung*

*Staatliche Museen, Berlin-Dahlem*

Amongst the treasures of the Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore is an ivory relief of the Crucifixion of Christ (fig. 1).<sup>1</sup> The Lord is represented standing on the cross, His feet resting on the *suppedaneum*, His head turned to the left. The richly gemmed nimbus is backed by a *tabula ansata*, on either side of which is inscribed the contracted name, IC XC. In the upper corners of the plaque are placed the symbols of sun and moon, the former shaped like a star, as usually found on Byzantine ivory caskets of the "star-casket" type. Flanking the cross, which is set into a stylized representation of the hill of Golgotha, we see the figures of Mary (inscription MHP ΘV) and John the Evangelist (O A IωANNHC). Mary raises veiled hands to her face in the well-known classical gesture of grief. St. John holds his hands half lifted, in a gesture partially of astonishment, partially of appeasement.

In the course of time the relief has suffered grave damages. It is broken in many places, especially in its thinner parts. Deep cracks extend from the upper and lower rims, especially from the attachment holes, to the inner parts of the ivory plaque. Between the figures of the Madonna and the crucified Christ, a triangular piece of new

ivory replaces a loss and is easily recognizable from the lighter color of the material. The extreme right-hand side of the relief, including the rim, the end of the cross and the finger-tips of the Crucified, has been replaced completely.

The figures themselves are in a fairly good state of preservation, and, incidentally, are executed in a good style. It was precisely this discrepancy between the unpleasant state of preservation and the good artistic quality of the relief which caused uncertainty in judging the piece as expressed in the great corpus of Byzantine ivory carvings, compiled by Adolph Goldschmidt and Kurt Weitzmann. The zigzag breaks in the plaque mentioned above and the "very strange movement of the right hand of St. John," raised doubts in regard to the authenticity of the relief. These doubts seemed to be confirmed from a comparison with another ivory carving considered as dubious. On the other hand, the same authors stated that, based on the quality of craftsmanship and style, "those doubts seem not sufficiently substantiated."<sup>2</sup>

In spite of the debate concerning authenticity, the ivory plaque is on display at the Walters Art Gallery. The catalogue of the famous exhibition of Byzantine art held in Baltimore in 1947,

<sup>1</sup> No. 71.244. Acquired from the O. Homberg Collection (sale, Paris, May 16, 1908, no. 463). It was possible to study the ivory plaque thoroughly during a stay in the United States of America, made possible by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft. Moreover, I want to thank Mr. Edward S. King, then Director of the Walters Art Gallery, and the other members of the

museum staff, for their kind assistance to my work there.

<sup>2</sup> A. Goldschmidt and K. Weitzmann, *Die byzantinischen Elfenbeinskulpturen des X. bis XIII. Jahrhunderts*, Bd. II (Berlin, 1934), p. 80, no. 227. Cf. no. 231 for the relief in the Cabinet des Médailles, likewise considered as doubtful.



FIGURE 2  
BERLIN, FRÜHCHRISTLICH-  
BYZANTINISCHE SAMMLUNG

*Ivory Relief of the Crucifixion  
Nineteenth-century copy of Figure 1*

although mentioning these scruples, minimized them to a certain degree.<sup>3</sup> This appears to have been done rightly, because quite recently new arguments have been discovered which work in favor of the authenticity of the Baltimore plaque. The "Frühchristlich-Byzantinische Sammlung" of the State Museums, West Berlin, has acquired an ivory relief representing the Crucifixion, which from the very first was recognized as a nineteenth-century carving in the Byzantine style (fig. 2).<sup>4</sup> It was bought for a very moderate sum for the general art-historical interest of such a work.

Now this plaque corresponds exactly and in every detail to the relief in the Walters Art

Gallery. But both works differ from each other stylistically. In comparison with the plaque in Baltimore, the carving of the drapery is weaker and less precise on the Berlin relief. The carriage and gestures of Mary and St. John have a more pathetic and artificial effect in the latter, when confronted by the very slender, rigid and noble bearing of the figures of the other. All this, while speaking decisively for the nineteenth-century date of the ivory in the Berlin Museum, at the same time emphasizes the truly Byzantine character of the work in the Walters Art Gallery and its high artistic quality, already noted by Adolph Goldschmidt and Kurt Weitzmann.

So we may be confident in saying that one relief is a direct copy of the other. They are comparable even to the position and the size of the holes in the upper and lower frame which served to fasten the plaque to its background, which in our opinion was a book-cover—this in contradiction to Goldschmidt and Weitzmann, who supposed it to have been part of a triptych. So one might hypothesize that the modern carving was to replace the old one which, being badly broken, could no longer serve its purpose.

However plausible this explanation might seem, it is not compatible with the fact that the two pieces do not exactly correspond in size. The relief in Berlin measures 14.1 cm. in height by 9.3 cm. in width, while the Baltimore plaque is 16.5 cm. high, by 11.7 cm. Despite this, the possibility cannot of course be excluded that the original was replaced by a new one of slightly different size. Since nothing is known about the history of the two plaques, we shall perhaps never be able to give a definite answer to this problem.

The really important knowledge to be derived from the juxtaposition of the two ivory panels is that concerning the genuine Byzantine character of the Crucifixion in Baltimore, which is promoted to the highest degree of probability. It is

<sup>3</sup> *Early Christian and Byzantine Art* (Baltimore, 1947), no. 136.

<sup>4</sup> Berlin, Frühchristlich-Byzantinische Sammlung (Skulpturenabt.), Inv. Nr. 11/63. The plaque bears on its back in handwriting the note "plaque évangélique" and the traces of a number (131 ?).

well supported by the recognition of the good artistic quality of the relief in the Walters Art Gallery. As mentioned above, Goldschmidt and Weitzmann considered "the quality of the drapery, of the sun-star and of the cross-nimbus proper to the triptych-group as so good that the doubts [as to the authenticity] do not seem sufficiently founded." This judgment, questioned again in the same text, can now really be accepted seriously. At the same time, the dating of the Baltimore

ivory, left open till now, finally can be settled. In the catalogue of the great 1947 exhibition it was tentatively attributed to the "10th-11th century (?)." It can now be fixed with the general dating of the so-called "Triptych-group,"<sup>5</sup> i.e., to the period around the year 1000.

<sup>5</sup> Goldschmidt-Weitzmann, *op. cit.*, p. 18.



FIGURE 1

PIERRE SUBLEYRAS  
*Maria Felice Tibaldi*

WORCESTER ART MUSEUM



# THREE ROMAN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY PORTRAITS

By ANTHONY M. CLARK

*Director, The Minneapolis Institute of Arts*

Of the large group of paintings which passed from Rome to Baltimore in 1902 after the Don Marcello Massarenti sale, a nucleus consists of works produced in Rome in the eighteenth century and forms the best representation of the period and school in the United States. When Professor Zeri's catalogue of the Walters painting collections has been produced and the proper attributions—which the Roman pictures have largely lost—have been applied, it will be possible to see a typical if not very large palace collection and of a sort no longer easy to come by in Rome itself. Inventories tell us that a normal feature of such a collection was its portraits and these are not lacking at the Walters. Of well over a dozen Roman eighteenth-century portraits, all of iconographical interest and many of quality, it is my privilege here to present three of the most important and distinguished.<sup>1</sup>

For centuries the majority of Roman painters

were not native Romans; the leading portrait painters of the late period were no exception and included not a few who were Italian only by adoption. Eighteenth-century Rome was a center of portraiture, as is to be expected of a city whose great heritage made it the mecca of tourism, and whose pre-eminence, as a seat both of fashion and religion, made it particularly appropriate for worthies resident and in passage to be recorded by the portrait painter. The most fashionable of the Roman portraitists from the mid-1730's until his death in 1749 was the French artist, Pierre Subleyras, who is now best remembered for his grander religious commissions and his sketches for them. Although distinct in style, Subleyras' portraits often remain unnoticed, either among the descendants of his sitters or underneath such fashionable tags as "Drouais" or "Detroy" which the market, in its careful impatience, prefers to apply to this sort of handsome but not readily identifiable eighteenth-century product. In their time, Subleyras' portraits were esteemed for their freshness, directness, brilliant quality and their combination of French *chic* and the current Roman dignity and studious delicacy. It was upon Subleyras' style that Allan Ramsay (in Rome 1736-1738) based the portraits that made him the leading British portraitist before the emergence of Reynolds and Gainsborough.

There are almost no portraits by Subleyras in America and the principal exception (fig. 1)<sup>2</sup> is

<sup>1</sup> For a short treatment of Roman eighteenth-century portraiture see the author's "Neo-Classicism and the Roman Eighteenth-Century Portrait," in *Apollo*, LXXVIII, no. 2 (November, 1963), pp. 352-359.

<sup>2</sup> Worcester Art Museum, 1901.54, the gift of Helen Bigelow Merriman; oil on canvas, 39 x 29¼ in. See Odette Arnaud in L. Dimier, *Les peintres français du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Paris and Brussels, 1930, II, p. 84, no. 155 (there dated ca. 1739). Mme. Arnaud's identification of the Stockholm portrait as a self-portrait of Subleyras is erroneous; its pendant (apparently unknown to Mme. Arnaud: Gripsholm no. 1209) alone indicates that quite another couple is involved, as do the self-portraits in the Vienna *Studio*.

interestingly related to a Walters portrait of a woman which I would like to add to the artist's known work (fig. 2).<sup>3</sup> The smaller canvas in Worcester has been published as a portrait of Subleyras' Roman wife, the miniaturist Maria Felice Tibaldi (1707-1770; married 1739), and in it the ample young lady is shown holding a miniature in the proper style. Because Subleyras was careful and accurate in his likenesses, I must emphasize the close resemblance to the sitter in the Walters portrait, which shows a young dowager with her puppy, lynx fur, fan and party dress. The eye-brows are plucked, the personality is more aloof than that of the young lady in Worcester with her flowers and her more formal *pastorella* costume. And yet the two faces are so close they might be of the same person in Winter and Summer portraits, the execution of which was separated by a year or two. Although it is not impossible, I would doubt that either portrait represents the obvious second candidate, Teresa Tibaldi, the wife's younger sister and also a miniaturist. On the basis of style, the Worcester portrait seems to me the earlier of the two and possibly to predate the marriage, while the Baltimore portrait—which shows knowledge of Detroy (who arrived in Rome the summer of 1738)—could be from the beginning of the 1740's. That the same artist is involved I hope need not be argued. Although the Walters portrait is the grander and more refined product, any of its elements fit the Morellian tests at least as well as those of the Worcester portrait. Less appealing than the latter, the accomplishment of the Baltimore Subleyras is richer and more stunning; it is one of the finest eighteenth-century portraits in America.

On the death of Subleyras, Pompeo Batoni (1708-1787) promptly became the most fashionable portrait-painter of Rome, a position he held until the end of his long career.<sup>4</sup> The innumerable portraits of British Grand Tourists have become familiar once again, and one may recall their generalized likenesses, faint agreeableness and elegant quality.<sup>5</sup> The greater Milords of Britain and of all Europe, with their adroit poses, somewhat seedy furniture and guide-book antiquities, are not, however, the whole story of Batoni's portrait production: the female portraits (wrongly believed to be

rare) and the portraits of Roman grandees are different both in kind and style and are almost unknown. State portraits of the popes, the cardinals, the ambassadors and the grand native laity were necessarily more conservative and severe in style than Batoni's portraits of rich Protestants or an advanced Hapsburg emperor in semi-*incognito*. The term, "state portraits" is perhaps misleading: one is dealing with paintings more old-fashioned, staid and more highly finished than usual, which would hang in considerable state in the grandest halls in Rome, where not only the artist, but both his foreign clientele and his local protectors would often see them. They are often supreme exercises in craft.

A good example was engraved by J. G. Wille in 1754, after a portrait by Batoni of Cardinal Prospero Colonna di Sciarra, who died in the following year (fig. 3).<sup>6</sup> The only version known to me was in the Massarenti sale (no. 288), correctly as by Batoni, a name it lost in Baltimore to become, oddly but perhaps shrewdly, "German School" (fig. 4).<sup>7</sup> I write "version" advisedly: the needs of an important cardinal would have included a number of replicas of his portrait, the prime version was traditionally kept by the cardinal's family, other versions or copies went to his religious establishments in or beyond Rome. Batoni himself prepared superb replicas and also

<sup>3</sup> No. 37.260, oil on canvas, 46½ x 33½ in. Previously called "German School" or "A. R. Mengs."

<sup>4</sup> See Ernst Emmerling, *Pompeo Batoni*, Darmstadt, 1932; Brinsley Ford, "A Portrait Group by Gavin Hamilton with Some Notes on Portraits of Englishmen in Rome," in *Burlington Magazine*, XCVII, no. 633 (December, 1955), pp. 372-378; *Il Settecento a Roma* (catalogue), Rome, 1959, *passim* and pp. 49-56. Most of the portraits by Batoni mentioned in the present article are unpublished; they will appear shortly in the author's monograph on the artist.

<sup>5</sup> An example is in the Walters Art Gallery, no. 37.1932, a half-length portrait of an unknown man presumably British and ca. 1750-1755. I shall speak more fully elsewhere of this portrait, which seems to me a quite superior studio replica, probably touched by the artist, of which the prime original is unknown.

<sup>6</sup> The official engraved likeness of the cardinal by P. A. Pazzi is copied from the Wille, not directly from the Batoni.

<sup>7</sup> No. 37.1205, oil on canvas, 39½ x 29½ in. Inscribed on the letter *All' Emin<sup>mo</sup>. e Rev<sup>mo</sup>. Prin<sup>e</sup>. / il Card. Colonna de Sciarra*. The engraving by Wille does not bear this inscription.



FIGURE 2

PIERRE SUBLEYRAS  
*Maria Felice Tibaldi*

WALTERS ART GALLERY



FIGURE 3

BALTIMORE MUSEUM OF ART

J. G. WILLE, after POMPEO BATONI  
Cardinal Prospero Colonna di Sciarra, engraving



FIGURE 4

WALTERS ART GALLERY

POMPEO BATONI  
*Cardinal Prospero Colonna di Sciarra*





FIGURE 5

AUTHOR'S COLLECTION

ANTONIO PASSAGLIA  
Prince Abbondio Rezzonico as Senator  
of Rome. Bronze medal

supplied less expensive studio replicas, specified as such, of considerable quality, and yet apparent as studio work. Wille made his print in Paris, presumably from a version sent by the cardinal to the French king and possibly still in the very extensive portrait-storage at Versailles. The various descendants of the cardinal seem only to have today a number of versions of Wille's engraving which, after the disastrous Sciarra sale of the late nineteenth century, is not surprising. Marcello Massarenti could have bought the Walters portrait during the Sciarra disposal, and it is either the prime version or a very good autograph replica.

Wille engraved Cardinal Colonna not because Batoni painted him, but because he was Cardinal Protector of France (1758). The head of a prominent Roman family, important in the papal government, Cardinal Prospero was also the relative of the papal Maggiordomo, Cardinal Girolamo Colonna, through whom came the most important of Batoni's monumental commissions. Batoni could have painted Cardinal Prospero from late 1743 to 1764. A somewhat similar Batoni of Cardinal Domenico Rivera (private collection, London) is datable before 1752 and appears slightly later in

style than the Walters picture, as does even more the portrait of Cardinal Poitier de Gesvres of just after 1756 (formerly Linz, coll. Adolf Hitler) and the 1762 portrait of Cardinal Rochechouart (New-York Historical Society). Batoni's portrait of Cardinal Prospero's brother, Giulio Cesare, Prince of Palestrina and Carbognano (also born 1708), still in the family possession, inscribed as 1768, is in a much later style and shows, of course, a much older man. I believe that by style and apparent age the Baltimore portrait should be dated 1750 or a year or two before.

The third portrait I am able to illustrate (fig. 6)<sup>8</sup> has been attributed to Mengs and identified as showing a Roman Senator. The painting is certainly not by Mengs and the Senator can be known.

Since ancient times there has been no senate in Rome, but, since the Renaissance, Rome has had its Senators. These were chosen by the Pope, one and only one, to serve for life, from among noble foreigners resident in the papal states. The Senator resided in the Capitol, keeping great state and court. He was the chief lay magistrate of the city, created somewhat in the image of the ancient *praefectus urbi*, and was first among the laity.<sup>9</sup> The two most distinguished Senators of the eighteenth century were the Swedish Count Niels Bielke (1706-1765, Senator 1737) and the nephew of Clement XIII, Prince Abbondio Rezzonico (1742-1810, Senator 1765). The Baltimore portrait represents the latter, as the medal struck at the time of Rezzonico's accession confirms (fig. 5).

Abbondio Rezzonico was born in Venice and, with his two younger brothers (later prominent cardinals), studied in the Seminario Romano. As usual, the Rezzonicos came into great prominence when their uncle was elected Pope. Clement XIII

<sup>8</sup> No. 37.263, oil on canvas, 53 x 38¾ in. Previously called Mengs.

<sup>9</sup> See F. Cancellieri, *Storia de' solenne possessi . . .*, Rome, 1802, *passim*; *idem*, *Le due nuove campare . . .*, Rome, 1806, pp. 116 f.; Vitale, *Storia diplomatica de' Senatori di Roma*, Rome, 1791; L. Pompili Olivieri, *Il Senato Romano . . .*, Rome, 1886; S. Rebecchini, "Il 'magistrato' di Roma del secolo XII al 1870," in *Quaderni di Studi Romano*, I, p. 188 (1957); C. Pietrangeli, "Le insigne del Senatore di Roma," in *Sirena dei Romanisti* (1957), pp. 92-95.



FIGURE 6

STUDIO OF POMPEO BATONI  
*Prince Abbondio Rezzonico as Senator of Rome*

WALTERS ART GALLERY

(reigned 1758-1769) married his prime *nipote* to a leading Roman heiress and, among other honors, made him the Senator. Rezzonico was in actuality a distinguished man and the three succeeding Popes increased his honors: he became Gonfalonieri in 1787, was given the supreme command of the civil military in 1797 and 1800 was created one of the two Princes Attendant to the Papal Throne. The French suppressed the magistracy in 1809 and the Senator died in the next year, considered by Rome to be its greatest citizen. Well-travelled, cultivated and generous, Rezzonico's entertainments included the leading literary and artistic personalities present in the city, and his artistic patronage was important from the generation of Batoni, Mengs and Gavin Hamilton through that of his own compatriot, Antonio Canova, for whose success he was largely responsible. The Rezzonico set, the three brothers, their intellectuals and artists, was said to be the most advanced of their day in Rome.

Abbondio Rezzonico's portrait apparently was painted at the same time as the medal honoring his creation as Senator.<sup>10</sup> He is shown with the gold chain of office and in the gold and scarlet robes of state, holding the sceptre and with the senatorial hat and a book on the marble-topped table on which he rests his hand. Behind is a perspective of columns. The artistic personality involved seems to me without any question that of Pompeo Batoni: the pose, common to many of Batoni's portraits, could have been borrowed, but the style, the drawing of the face and hands, the modelling of the drapery, the rendering of the lace, are typical of the master and bear no resemblance to any of his imitators or rivals. The

quality of the painting is similar to that of the many Batoni studio replicas managed but not executed by the artist. The only surprising feature is the grandeur and crudity of the architectural background. Yet if the portrait was intended to hang in a series of portraits of the Roman Senators it would have hung fairly high up in the state rooms of the Senatorial Palace and its architectural perspective would then have been more suitable: the more graceful type usual to Batoni would not have been so. Unfortunately the Capitoline set of portraits, presumably including another version of the Baltimore painting, appears to be lost. The portraits of all the Rezzonicos, by Mengs, Angelica Kauffman and others, which hung in the Senatorial Palace in Abbondio's day, are also dispersed.

The prime version of the Baltimore portrait is unknown to me, although I am told several very good portraits of the Senator are with the descendants in Milan. Another replica of similar quality to the Walters portrait, but head and shoulders only, is presently in the Roman art market. In 1822, when Wardour Castle was still the seat of the Catholic Earls of Arundel, a number of Rezzonico portraits were hanging there, including a "whole length of Il Senator Rezzonico—Vincenzo after Pompeo Battoni."<sup>11</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Batoni's portrait is mentioned in letters of 1774 and 1776 kindly shown me by Mr. Brinsley Ford.

<sup>11</sup> J. P. Neale, *Views of the Seats of Noblemen and Gentlemen in England, Wales, Scotland and Ireland*, 1822, V, (unpaginated, *loc. Wardour Castle*).

Two other Massarenti paintings in Baltimore relate to Batoni and Subleyras. No. 37.1699 (as Maron) is an adaptation of Subleyras' portrait of Benedict XIV; no. 37.1840 (as Italian, seventeenth century) is a feeble copy of Batoni's "Hercules at the Crossroads" in the Uffizi.

# FEDERIGO DA VENEZIA'S COMMENTARY ON THE APOCALYPSE: 1393 / 94

By ANTHONY LUTTRELL

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Federigo de Rinoldo, usually known as Federigo da Venezia, was presumably born in Venice, probably about 1350.<sup>1</sup> He became a Dominican and matriculated as a Doctor of Theology in the university at Bologna around 1380.<sup>2</sup> In 1386 the chapter-general of the Clementist Dominicans meeting at Avignon denounced Federigo, among others, as a schismatic follower of the Roman Pope, Urban VI.<sup>3</sup> On 13 February, 1387, the Master of the Urbanist Dominicans assigned him as a conventual to the Order's house at Ferrara.<sup>4</sup> In 1388 he was back in Bologna, where he became prior.<sup>5</sup> On 13 June, 1389, Federigo was appointed *lector* or regent in the convent at Padua to teach in the *studium generale* there for two years. On July 11th he was granted a license to send two brethren of his order from Padua to Venice whenever he

wished, while in August, 1389, he was ordered to return to the convent at Venice all the books he had borrowed from it, or to make restitution if he had disposed of them.<sup>6</sup> On 8 September, 1392, Federigo da Venezia, described as *professor de collegio bononiensi*, was formally received and incorporated in *colegio paduano magistrorum et doctorum sacre theologie*.<sup>7</sup> He was at Padua on 16 October, 1393,<sup>8</sup> and on November 20th he delivered an oration in the cathedral at the funeral of Francesco da Carrara the Elder, the former ruler of Padua. The humanist Pier Paolo Vergerio, who reported this, described Federigo as "distinguished in doctrine and eloquence," and he mentioned that he spoke both in Latin and in the vulgar tongue so as better to be understood.<sup>9</sup> At about this time, in 1393 or 1394,<sup>10</sup> Federigo com-

<sup>1</sup> The basic studies are G. Stadtmüller, *Eine griechische Übersetzung des italienischen Apokalypsenkommentars von Federigo da Venezia O.P.* (Leipzig, 1936); P. Vaccari, in his *Scritti di erudizione e di filologia*, II: *per la storia del testo e dell'esegesi biblica* (Rome, 1958), pp. 407-416. These authors concentrated on the texts and manuscripts, which are not seriously studied here, but misleadingly declared that the biographical details here utilized to construct an outline of Federigo's career did not exist; further research would doubtless reveal more. The known manuscripts and the printed editions are listed at the conclusion of this article.

<sup>2</sup> Federigo's matriculation can only be dated approximately from its place in the list given in F. Ehrle, *I più antichi statuti della facoltà teologica dell'Università di Bologna* (Bologna, 1932), p. 105.

<sup>3</sup> *Monumenta Ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum Historica*, VIII: *Acta capitulorum generalium*, III, ed. B. Reichert (Rome, 1900), p. 24.

<sup>4</sup> *Monumenta . . .*, XIX: *Registrum litterarum fr. Raymundi de Vineis Capuani magistri ordinis: 1380-1399*, ed. T. Kaeppli (Rome, 1937), p. 9.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 23; M.-H. Laurent, *Fabio Vigili et les bibliothèques de Bologne au début du XVIe siècle* (Vatican,

1943), p. xxxi. Niccolò de Moymago, instructed in November, 1388, to settle a debt owed by Federigo, was *regens* at Bologna (*Registrum*, pp. 15, 17, 20).

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 23, 24, 27, 34. On 11 July, 1389, however, his license to act as regent at Padua was revoked (*ibid.*, p. 25). On the same day *Frater Andrea Raynoldi*, presumably a kinsman, was also assigned to the Padua convent, *sub cura magistri Federici* (*ibid.*, p. 24). On 11 March, 1395, *Andrea Renoldi de Veneciis quondam Francisci* was at Padua: *Monumenti della Università di Padova: 1318-1405*, ed. A. Gloria, II (Padua, 1888), p. 294.

<sup>7</sup> *Monumenti . . .*, II, p. 266.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 278.

<sup>9</sup> "Tum ut constitutum erat in medio sacrorum subiit Magister Federicus Praedicatorum Religionem professus, doctrina, atque eloquentia praeclarus, qui tum literato, tum vulgari sermone, quo magis quisque intelligeret, Defuncti merita, gloriamque constanter exposuit." *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, ed. L. Muratori, XVI (Milan, 1730), p. 193.

<sup>10</sup> Two manuscripts (E and L) give 1394: Ms. N. gives 22 June, 1393; Ms. A gives 24 July, 1393. The reference to Wyclif's death in 1384 as having occurred

pleted his *Commentary on the Apocalypse*, written in the vernacular at the command of Francesco da Carrara the Younger, Lord of Padua.<sup>11</sup> He was still at Padua in 1395,<sup>12</sup> but by 28 May, 1396, the General of the Dominicans had decided that he should leave; he was assigned as *inquisitor* to the convent at Bologna.<sup>13</sup> Whether or not he went, he was in Padua again on 15 February, 1398.<sup>14</sup> Probably he died soon after.

Federigo was a Dominican professor of theology, a minor local figure devoted to university teaching and popular preaching.<sup>15</sup> He produced what was technically a *literalis expositio*, a study of the text and its grammar, rather than an interpretation of its spiritual or allegorical significance. The approach was uninspired and, like many of his contemporaries among the Italian friars, Federigo kept close to his text, each Latin phrase being followed by a translation and a literal explanation of the meaning. Presumably his work was intended for the vernacular-reading public rather than academic teaching. Apart from copious references to the Scriptures, it cited only a few obvious authorities, including Augustine, Boethius and Bernard. Ignoring the more imaginative commentaries on his text by men like Gioacchino da Fiore and the Franciscans Alexander of Bremen and Niccolò de Lyra, he copied liberally and closely, at times merely translating, from such sound Dominican authorities as Hughes de Saint Cher and the anonymous *Expositio in Apocalypsim* falsely attributed to Albertus Magnus.<sup>16</sup> Although he was writing in Padua, a great humanist centre, classicizing references of the type favored by some of the fourteenth-century English friar commentators found no place in the work of Federigo, who represented an older, conservative

tradition of piety and aimed at a public largely ignorant of the classics. For example, the exciting opportunities afforded by a text so clouded with mysterious imagery, symbolism and numerology did not stimulate in Federigo such antique fantasies as those found in John Ridevall's *Lectura super Apocalypsim*.<sup>17</sup>

Federigo's *expositio* began with the assertion that the Apocalypse, the Book of Revelation, was the only biblical book of which Christ himself was the author, St. John being merely the scribe.<sup>18</sup> But where Alexander of Bremen found in the Apocalypse all sorts of prophetic references to Saladin, Thomas Becket and other figures of his own times, and included whole passages from contemporary chronicles, and where Niccolò de Lyra's commentary, written earlier in the fourteenth century, saw the book as full of allusions to many great historical figures,<sup>19</sup> Federigo made almost no reference to any event later than the fall of Rome. The problems arising out of the schism in the church and a consciousness of contemporary conciliar theory may have been reflected in Federigo's repeated insistence on the old idea of the *ecclesia* as including all good Christians; for example, he wrote, in his only reference to Padua, that "all the good Christians who live in Padua are together called the church of Padua, and all the faithful Christians of the world are of one church of God."<sup>20</sup> The only reference to a contemporary in the whole work demonstrated a concern with heresy. Federigo mentioned John Wyclif, who died in 1384, writing of the latter's doctrine that the body of Christ was not truly present in the mass and of his support among the nobles and the continued preaching of his ideas. He described the fatal paralysis

ten years earlier (cf. Vaccari, *op. cit.*, pp. 414-415), and the two Mss. (B and F) mistakenly giving 1384, suggest 1394 rather than 1393.

<sup>11</sup> Mss. B and N mention Francesco da Carrara.

<sup>12</sup> *Monumenti* . . . , II, pp. 294, 295.

<sup>13</sup> *Registrum* . . . , pp. 50, 51.

<sup>14</sup> *Monumenti* . . . , II, p. 323.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. the somewhat similar but better documented career of a Pisan contemporary: T. Kaeppli, "La Raccolta di discorsi e di atti scolastici di Simone da Cascina O.P. († ca. 1420)," *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum*, XII (1942).

<sup>16</sup> See Vaccari, *op. cit.*, pp. 413-414; no full analysis of the *expositio* has been made.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. B. Smalley, *English Friars and Antiquity in the Early Fourteenth Century* (Oxford, 1960), pp. 115-121, 265-298, 312-314, with extracts from Ridevall on the Apocalypse.

<sup>18</sup> *Incunabulum*, fols. 1-1v.

<sup>19</sup> See, for example, J. Gilson, "Friar Alexander and his Historical Interpretation of the Apocalypse," in *Collectanea Franciscana*, II, ed. C. Kingsford *et al.* (Manchester, 1922); W. Kamlah, *Apokalypse und Geschichtstheologie: Die mittelalterliche Auslegung der Apokalypse vor Joachim von Fiore* (Berlin, 1935).

<sup>20</sup> *Incunabulum*, fol. 8v. The phrase *et fecit nos regnum et sacerdotes* was glossed "tucti christiani se poteno dire sacerdoti, cio e preti" (fol. 5).



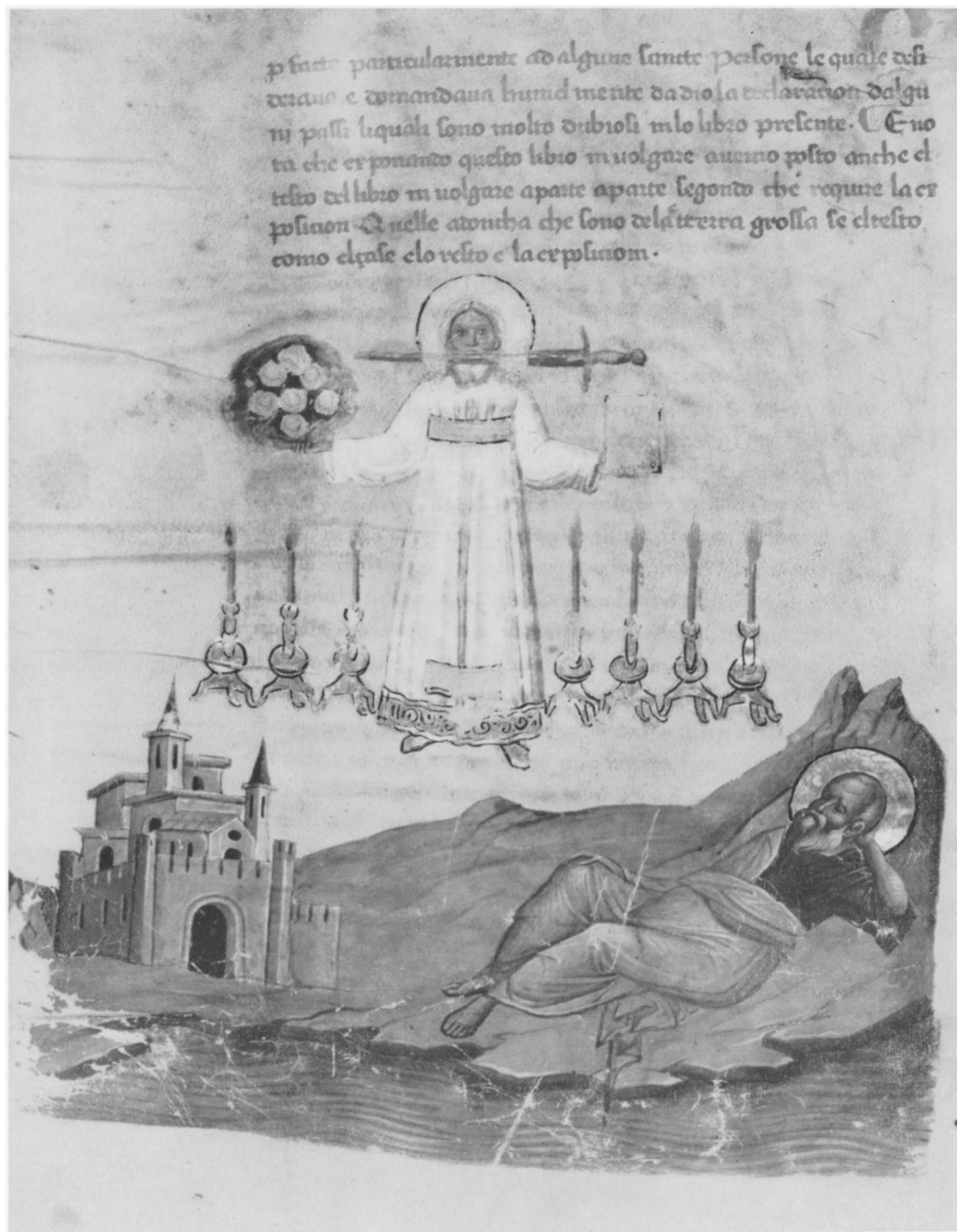


FIGURE 1

WALTERS ART GALLERY

*St. John on Patmos and his Vision*

(Ms. W. 335, fol. 2vo. Federigo da Venezia, "Commentary on the Apocalypse," Crete, 1415).



FIGURE 2

WALTERS ART GALLERY

*St. John Dictating to Prochoros*  
 (Ms. W. 335, fol. 3. Federigo da Venezia, "Commentary on the Apocalypse," Crete, 1415).

which struck Wyclif dumb at the moment—according to Federigo—that he entered the pulpit to preach his heresies.<sup>21</sup> This story, a version of which was current in England,<sup>22</sup> probably reached Padua through one of various students, some of them Dominicans, who went from Padua and Venice to study theology at Oxford and Cambridge.<sup>23</sup>

By the late fourteenth century, non-Tuscan dialects were quite commonly used for the more academic type of religious writing, as well as for a wide variety of spiritual works, published sermons and devotional treatises. A number of vernacular versions of all or parts of the Bible, including some in Venetian dialect, were current in *trecento* Italy, the Apocalypse being especially popular,<sup>24</sup> but Federigo's work, written in a rather literary version of his native Venetian speech, was one of the very first biblical commentaries composed directly in an Italian tongue rather than in Latin; it just preceded Rinieri dei Rinaldeschi da Prato's *Espositione dei Salmi*, commenced in 1397.<sup>25</sup> Federigo was presumably anxious to secure a wide general public. His Venetian-type text was probably comprehensible over a wide area of northern Italy, but since it was less easily understood in central Italy without adaptation, it was gradually "Tuscanized." Partly perhaps because it was in the vernacular, partly perhaps because it was so straightforward and uncontro-

versal, Federigo's commentary was widely copied during the fifteenth century, some of the manuscripts being translated into other dialects, one rather late manuscript being "reduced from the Venetian to the Perugian and common tongue."<sup>26</sup> One copy was the only manuscript in Italian in the library of the celebrated Nicholas of Cues, who was a student at Padua.<sup>27</sup> An *incunabulum* edition, most probably printed in Rome around 1470, was in a central Italian dialect, possibly Umbrian; it was followed by two "Tuscanized" texts, each in differing languages, printed at Venice in 1515 and Milan in 1520.<sup>28</sup> Federigo's own reputation suffered during this diffusion of what was apparently his only work, and several manuscripts and the *incunabulum* falsely attributed its authorship wholly or in part to the more famous commentator Niccolò de Lyra, while others presented Federigo as merely the translator of Niccolò de Lyra's work.<sup>29</sup>

At least two manuscripts of Federigo da Venezia's commentary were copied in Candia, the chief town of the Venetian colony of Crete. Candia's intellectual life was closely linked to that of Venice and many Cretans studied in the university at Padua.<sup>30</sup> One manuscript was copied at Candia by a Venetian notary for Zaccaria Vitturi of Venice in 1409;<sup>31</sup> another (which is in the Walters Art Gallery) was completed there in 1415 and apparently illuminated by a Greek

<sup>21</sup> Commenting on IX: 2 (the text in *incunabulum*, fols. 65-65v, is corrupt; cf. Vaccari, *op. cit.*, pp. 414-415).

<sup>22</sup> Eg. ". . . divino iudicio percussus, horribili tactus est paralyssi per omnia membra sua"; *Chronicon Angliae*, ed. E. Thompson (London, 1874), p. 362. Years later, in 1441, Wyclif's curate John Horn swore that Wyclif was paralyzed while "hearing mass": J. Workman, *John Wyclif, II* (Oxford, 1926), p. 316.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. A. Luttrell, "Giovanni Contarini, a Venetian at Oxford: 1392-1399," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XXIX (1966).

<sup>24</sup> Vaccari, *op. cit.*, pp. 378-389, and his "Bibbia," in *Enciclopedia Italiana*, VI (Milan, 1930), pp. 899-901. See also *Bibbia istoriata padovana della fine del trecento*, ed. G. Folena—G. Mellini (Venice, 1962), and the texts in *Prosatori minori del trecento, I: scrittori di religioni*, ed. G. De Luca (Milan, 1954).

<sup>25</sup> Vaccari, *op. cit.*, p. 416.

<sup>26</sup> See below under Ms. L. The autograph of Federigo's work is not known, but the other manuscripts and the editions would provide an interesting set of texts for a study of the transmission and "Tuscanization" of a didactic work originally composed in a regional prose.

The *incipits* and *explicits* reproduced below give some idea of the variations in language. (Mr. Alan Freedman of Edinburgh University kindly gave advice on these questions.)

<sup>27</sup> This point is made by P. Kristeller in a forthcoming article (cf. below under Ms. D).

<sup>28</sup> See below.

<sup>29</sup> Mss. B, E, G, H, I, J, K, L, O. This error is still being repeated. Lyra on the Apocalypse was partly summarized, partly translated into the vernacular (eg. Biblioteca Vaticana, Ms. Urbin. Lat. 546), but few manuscripts survive (Vaccari, *op. cit.*, p. 413).

<sup>30</sup> Extensive references in D. Geanakoplos, *Greek Scholars in Venice* (Cambridge, Mass., 1962), pp. 13-70; A. Pertusi, *Leonzio Pilato fra Petrarca e Boccaccio: le sue versioni omeriche negli autografi di Venezia e la cultura greca del primo Umanesimo* (Venice, 1964), pp. 30-34.

<sup>31</sup> Ms. K. In 1398 Vitturi was one of the *sapientes* Crete at Venice, and in 1401 he was sending a galley to Candia (Venice, Archivio di Stato; Misti, XLIV, fol. 34v; XLV, fol. 46v 47v); in 1409 he was a *consiliarius* Crete (see below, under Ms. K).

artist, presumably in Crete (figs. 1, 2).<sup>32</sup> It was almost certainly in Crete at about the same time that a rather clumsy and literal translation of the commentary was made into Greek, the biblical texts themselves being supplied from a Greek version of the Bible.<sup>33</sup> The work of an obscure friar thus took a minor place among the important series of translations, more usually from the Latin, through which Byzantine theologians acquired a knowledge of Roman theology. This process helped to produce that measure of understanding which made possible the serious attempt to secure the reunion of the churches which took place at the Council of Florence a few decades after Federigo's death.<sup>34</sup>

#### ITALIAN MANUSCRIPTS

A. BALTIMORE, *Walters Art Gallery*, Ms. W. 335. Copied at Candia (Crete), 10 October, 1415. "Incipit liber apocalypsis Beati Johannis Apostoli et evangeliste cum expositione notabili in vulgari sermone deo gratias." "Explicit literalis expositio super Apocalipsim Beati Johannis Apostoli et Evangeliste compilata et ordinata per fratrem Frederichum de veneciis sacro sancte theologie doctorem Ordinis predicatorum. Anno domini M.ccc. lxxxiii die xxiii mensis Julii. Scriptum atque completum fuit hoc celeberrimum opus Candide die X octobris ad laudem omnipotentis dei amen. Millesimo quadragesimo quintodecimo." It is mistakenly stated in S. de Ricci and W. Wilson, *Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada*, 2 vols. (New York, 1935-1937), I, p. 820, that the manuscript was copied in Venice. Two miniatures, attributable to a Greek artist, depict the vision of Christ among the seven candlesticks (fig. 1) and St. John dictating to Prochoros on Patmos (fig. 2). The rest of the illumination, including initials with foliage and figures, is in the early fifteenth-century Italian style. The manuscript is described and the two miniatures reproduced by L. Olschki, in *La bibliofilia*, XVI (1914-1915), pp. 49-50, plates III, IV. (Miss Dorothy Miner, Keeper of Manuscripts at the Walters Art Gallery, very kindly checked this description and provided additional information.)

B. BELLUNO, *Biblioteca Lolliniana*, Ms. 54. Copied in July, 1450. "Incipit litteralis expositio in vulgari fratris Federici de Veneciis sacre theologie professoris ordinis predicatorum super apocalipsim beati Johannis apostoli edita in M.ccc. xxxiiii (*sic*) ad mandatum Illustris domini francisci de Cararia." "Explicit Expositio Vulgaris Apocalypsis Sancti Johannis apostoli et Euangeliste edita ut habetur in exordio uoluminis cum aliquibus gloxis Nicolai de lira per me Guidonem de Campixiis de papia. 1450. mense Julij. deus miseatur sibi Carte scripte ducentas et quadragintaquatuor."

C. COPENHAGEN, *University Library*. Destroyed by fire in 1728. Stadtmüller, *op cit.*, p. 8, n. 4.

D. CUES, *Hospitalbibliothek*, Ms. 23. Incipit: "Questo libro elqual si appella lapocalisis;" conclusion: "Sancta Jerusalem sovra dicta. Amen. Deo Gracias. Amen." J. Marx, *Verzeichnis der Handschriften-Sammlung des Hospitals zu Cues bei Bernkastel am Mosel* (Trier, 1905), p. 18.

E. FLORENCE, *Biblioteca Laurenziana*, Ms. ital. XXVII. 7. Title: "La Exposicion dell'Apocalipsis per volgar, con le giose de Maistro Nichollo de Lira, traslatada per Maistro Federigo da Veniexa del ordene di Frari Predicatori in Mcccxciv." Incipit: "Questo libro, el quale si apella Apocalipsis tra tuti gli altri libri della Santa Scritura se die lezere." Conclusion: "Citadini della Citate Santa Ierusalem sopradita. Amen." The manuscript once belonged to Simone Malerbo of Zara in Dalmatia; an illumination depicts St. John the Evangelist and there is a family shield. A. Bandini, *Catalogus Codicum Italicorum Bibliothecae Mediceae Laurentianae*, V (Florence, 1778), pp. 6-7.

F. FLORENCE, *in the hands of the Libreria Leo S. Olschki in 1937*. "Incipit literalis expositio in

<sup>32</sup> Ms. A.

<sup>33</sup> The Greek version (Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana, Ms. Graec. VII. 9) was identified and its problems studied by Stadtmüller, who printed extracts from it; see also Vaccari, *op. cit.*, pp. 407-410.

<sup>34</sup> Survey and bibliography in K. Setton, "The Byzantine Background to the Italian Renaissance," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, vol. C (1956).

vulgari translata per Fr. Frederichum de Veneciis . . . edicta millesimo trecentesimo octuagesimo (*sic*) quarto mense januari." Vaccari, *op. cit.*, pp. 410-411; Olschki's records were destroyed, and this manuscript cannot now be traced.

G. MILAN, *Biblioteca Ambrosiana*, Ms. M. 22. sup. latino. Copied at Aquila, 27 May, 1467. "Incipit liber apocalipsis Sancti Johannis apostoli et euangeliste cum glosis Reuerendi magistri nicolai de lira ordinis seraphici francisci septatoris crucifixi yhesu christi qui easdem visiones Johanni reuelauit. Questo libro libro (*sic*) si e nominato apocalypsis." Conclusion: "citade sancta ierusalem sopra dicta. Amen. Deo gracias. Amen. Anno domini Mcccc sexagesimo septimo. Die 27 Madij. Explicit postilla libri apocalipsis in qua continentur septem visiones iohannis euangeliste ab agnello immaculato christi sibi diuinitas reuelate. edita a Reuerendo Magistri nicolao de lira ordinis seraphici Francisci. Laus tibi christe qui explicit liber iste. Amen. In urbe aquilana." Not given in Vaccari, *op. cit.*, p. 411.

H. NAPLES, *Biblioteca Nazionale*, Ms. VI. D. 78. "Incipit liber apocalipsis sancti Iohannis apostoli et euangeliste, cum glossis nicholai de lira ordinis fratrum minorum. In dei nomine. Amen. Questo libro, lo quale si e nominato apocalypsis, intra tutti li libri." The two final folios are missing. A. Miola, *Le scritture in volgare . . . della Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli*, I (Bologna, 1878), pp. 123-124.

I. NEW YORK, *Public Library*, Ms. 86. A late fifteenth-century manuscript in dialect. Incipit: "Questo libro e (*sic*) lo fi appella la pochalipsis tra tutti li altri libri de la sancta scrittura." Conclusion: "citadini de la citade sancta iherusalem sopra dita. Amen. Explicit liber apochalipsis sancti iohannis apostoli et euangeliste cum glosis magistri nicolai de lira." A sixteenth-century or later hand added: "Est magnifici Petri Guerruci, nec non filiorum eius nunc occupantium Muriani Oppidum, quod distat a venetiis itus Sagitae." Unknown to Vaccari, and falsely attributed to Niccolò de Lyra in de Ricci, *op. cit.*, II, p. 1328. Elaborate Venetian binding and an initial miniature of St.

John. The coat of arms on the first page forms part of the marginal ornament and consists of a shield; in the upper part is a blue lion, standing not rampant, on a gold ground, in the lower part a straight red field. There seems no reason for de Ricci, *ibid.*, to have attributed these arms to the Guerruci. (Professor P. O. Kristeller very kindly provided a description of this manuscript as well as other useful information.)

J. NEW YORK, *Library of Dr. Curt F. Bühler*, Ms. 20. Copied at Urbino, 8 October, 1456. Incipit: "Questo libro che se chiama lo apochalipsi, tra tutti li altri libri." "Explicit la uulgar exposition sopra lapocalipsi de sancto zohane appostolo euangelista conpilada et ordinada per frate federigo da uinexia del ordine di predicatori, magistro de la sancta theologia, etc. Queste glose ouer exposition sono de magistro Nicolo da lira del ordine di frati minori e de li altri comendatori ch'ano comendato sopra lapochalipsi. Questa sancta opera, de questa exposition del apochalipsi, fu acopiada per mi Bardo di mazi da bressa a honore e reuerentia del altissimo dio e del sanctissimo appostolo et euangelista miser sancto zohane quale sempre sia mio deuotissimo aduochato denanzi ala maesta diuina quale per la soa gratia mi faza degno de la soa cita superna e de la eterna uita. Amen. Anno domini completum fuit hoc opus existente in pretura Ciuitatis Vrbini Anno 1456 die 8 octubris." The manuscript is decorated, and has a shield on folio 1. (Information from photocopies kindly provided by Dr. Bühler.) Cf. T. Pettigrew, *Bibliotheca Sussexiana*, I (London, 1827), pp. ccxxxv-ccxxxvi; recorded by Vaccari, *op. cit.*, p. 411, as being in London.

K. PARIS, *Bibliothèque Nationale*, Ms. ital. 86. Copied in Candia (Crete), 9 February, 1409. On fol. lv: "Introitus. In nomine dei omne genu flectatur celestium terrestrium et infernorum quia dominus factus obediens usque ad mortem mortem (*sic*) autem crucis ideo dominus yhesus christus in gloria est dei patris." Incipit (fol.3): "Che si apella lapocalipsi tra tuti i altri libri dela sancta scrittura se die legere et aldire." "Explicit literalis expositio super Apocalypsim Beati Johannis



Apostoli et Evangeliste compilata et ordinata per Fratrem Fredericum de Venetia sacrosancte theologie Doctorem Ordinis Predicatorum. Anno, etc. Glose iste omnes que sunt in isto libro Sunt Magistri Nicolai de Lira ordinis Fratrum Minorum et aliorum commentatorum qui commentaverunt Apocalypsim. Hunc librum transcripsi ego Iohanes dono Venetiarum Notarius de Candida Egregio et Sapienti ac nobilo Viro Domino Domino Cacharie vituri Honorabili Consiliario Crete domino suo precordialissimo Sub anno Domini Millesimo quadringentesimo nono mense februarii die nono hora prima diei Indictione tercia. Candide. Deo Gratias. Amen." (Material kindly copied by Dr. Kenneth Fowler.) See also Stadtmüller, *op. cit.*, pp. 38-51, with extracts.

L. PERUGIA, *Biblioteca Comunale Augusta*, Ms. 979. A sixteenth-century or later manuscript. "Questa e la expositione de la Pocalipsis per volgare con le giose de mastro Nicolo de lira translata per mastro Federico da Vinegia de l'Ordine dei Frati Predicatori del m.cccclxxxiii copiata da Iosephe de li Oddi e ridotta di lingua Venigiana [a] perugina et communia. Incipit Proemium Apocalipsis. Questo libro il quale si apella apocalipsis." The final pages are missing.

M. ROME, *Archivio di Sta. Maria sopra Minerva*, uncatalogued (formerly Ms. VIII.K.3). On fifteenth-century paper. Incipit: "Questo libro che se chiama lapocalipsi tra tuti." "Explicit la volgar expositio sopra lapocalipsi del Sancto zuane apostolo e evangelista compilata per frate fedrigo da venexia del ordine dei predatore doctore de la sancta theologia." (Padre Thomas Kaeppli, O.P., very kindly provided this and other information.)

N. TURIN, *Biblioteca Nazionale*, Ms. 1720. Title: "Questa exposition sopra la pocalissi e stada facta per maistro federigo de rinoldo de lordene de i fratri predicatori in padoa." Incipit: "Questo libro che e appellado la pocalissi tra tuti altri libri de la sancta scriptura se die liezare et oldire." Conclusion (fol. 94): "citadini de la citade santa Ierusalem soura dicta. Amen. Explicit literalis expositio super apocalypsim beati

Iohannis apostoli compilata et ordinata secundum fratrem federicum de uenetiis sacre theologie professorem ordinis predicatorum ad Instantiam et mandatum Illustris principis ac magnifici domini domini Iuniorum francisci de cararia domini padue. Mccclxxxiii die xxii mensis Iunii fuit compilatum hoc opus." At fols. 94v-101 is what the catalogue describes as an "Apocalipsi ad literam (volgarizzamento dello stesso)" with incipit: "Apocalipsi de yheso Christo. La quala dio ha dada a manifestar ali soi servi: che bixonga esser facto tosto." B. Peyron, *Codices Italici manu exarati . . . in Biblioteca Taurinensis Athenaei* (Turin, 1904), p. 26.

O. VENICE, *Biblioteca Marciana*, Ms. ital. 4788 [Z2]. Copied at Venice, 31 August, 1433 to 22 October, 1434. "Incipit liber Apocalipsis Beati Iohannis Apostollj et Euangelliste chom Expositione notabilj in vulgarj sermone. Deo Gracias. Che si Appella l'Apocalipsj. Tra tuttj j altrj librij." Conclusion: "zitadinj della zitade sampta Ierusalem sopra ditta. Amen. Deo Gratias. Explicit Literalis Expositio super Apocalypsim Beatj Iohannis Apostollj et Euangelliste. Chompillata et hordinata per Andream de Vanijs de Venecijs. De chomffinio Sampte Marie Noue, etc. Scriptum atque chompletum fuit hoc celleberimum hopus Venecie Die vigesimo sechundo menssis hottobris. Ad laudem homnipotentis dei. Amen. Millesimo quadragentessimo trigessimo quarto, etc. Gloxe iste homnes que sunt in isto libro sunt Magistrj Nichollaj de lira. Ordinis Fratrum Minorum, et alliorum chomentatorum, quj chomentauerunt Apocalypsim." Further notes repeat the above information. In this manuscript the Latin text is omitted. A former (sixteenth-century?) owner was Jacopo Ghisi. Cf. C. Frati and A. Segarizzi, *Catalogo dei Codici Marciani Italiani*, I (Modena, 1909), pp. 4-5.

P. VICENZA, *Biblioteca Bertoliana*, Ms. 2, 8. 1. "Tuscanized" text, lacking first ten folios and without colophon; conclusion: "citadini de la citade sancta Ierusalem sopradicta. Laus Deo." Vaccari, *op. cit.*, pp. 411-412.

#### PRINTED EDITIONS

*Incunabulum* [ROME? ca. 1470]. Falsely ascribed to Niccolò de Lyra. Probably printed in Rome, or perhaps Naples, possibly by Ulrich Han or Sixtus Riessinger. No title. [Red] "Incipit liber apocalypsis Sancti Iohannis apostoli et euangeliste cum glosis Nicolai de lira ordinis fratrum minorum. In dei nomine. Amen." [Black] "Qvisto libro loquale si e nominato apocalypsis infra tucti li altri libri." Conclusion: "citatadini della Cita sancta ierusalem sopra decta amen." Discussed in G. Barwick, *Catalogue of Books Printed in the XVth Century now in the British Museum*, IV (reprint: London, 1963), pp. 142-143. References to the surviving copies, with variant incipits, in F. Goff, *Incunabula in American Libraries* (New York, 1964), p. 346. According to Vaccari, *op. cit.*, p. 415, the text is in a "dialetto centrale"; it is somewhat corrupt.

VENICE, 1515. Title: "Apocalypsis iesu christi. hoc est reuelatione fatta a sancto giohanni euangelista. cum noua expositione . . ." Following a *tabula* and a prologue the text proper commences on fol. 2v: "Questo libro el quale si e nominato."

Conclusion: "Qui finisce la expositione del reuerendo theologo frate Federico veneto nelle prophetie: ouer reuelatione de S. Giouanne ditte Apochalypsis nouamente deducte in luce per Alexandro Paganino in Venetia del .M.D.XV. Adi .VII. de Aprile." Described in M. Sander, *Le livre à figures italien depuis 1467 jusqu'à 1530*, II (Milan, 1942), p. 633. According to Vaccari, *op. cit.*, p. 414, the original language is "mediocrementemente toscanizzata."

MILAN, 1520. Title: "Prophetie seu apocalipsis Beati Ioannis apostoli et Euangeliste: Cum vulgari expositione . . ." Incipit: "Questo libro elquale he chiamato Apochalypsis tra tutti li altri." Conclusion: "Qui finisce la expositione del reuerendo theologo frate Federico Veneto ne le prophetie: ouer reuelatione de Sancto Giouanne ditte Apocalypsis nouamente deducte in luce per meser Io. Angelo Scinzenzeler in Milano el .M.D.XX. Adi .xv. de Aprile." Described in L. Balsamo, *Giovann' Angelo Scinzenzeler, tipografo in Milano: 1500-1526* (Florence, 1959), pp. 180-181 (no. 162). According to Vaccari, *op. cit.*, p. 416, the text is more "toscanizzata" than that of 1515.



FIGURE 1

ANTOINE LOUIS BARYE  
*Ape Riding a Gnu*

WALTERS ART GALLERY

# THE ORIGIN OF BARYE'S "APE RIDING A GNU": BARYE AND THOMAS LANDSEER

By JACQUES DE CASO  
*University of California, Berkeley*

The Walters Art Gallery owns an excellent bronze cast of a relatively little known sculpture by Barye, "Ape Riding a Gnu," a work usually dated to 1842 (fig. 1).<sup>1</sup> This group, indeed, represents a large ape, a baboon or perhaps a young chimpanzee, trying to master a strange-looking animal, a gnu, an uncommon species of the antelope to be found in South and East Africa.

Barye's historians have not dealt at length with the "Ape Riding a Gnu." Roger Ballu, in his important study on Barye of 1890, used this group in order to emphasize Barye's inventiveness

and fancy.<sup>2</sup> Charles Saunier, later, in 1925, was also to comment upon the "Ape Riding a Gnu" similarly in order to stress Barye's fancy, but he added some biographical data most valuable to Barye's historians, and he related a drawing by Barye to this group.<sup>3</sup> Charles de Kay alone, in his detailed biography of Barye written in 1889, devoted a long passage to the "Ape Riding a Gnu." De Kay's words are worth being quoted at length. They are noteworthy not only for their sensitive and enthusiastic evaluation of the iconographical and formal qualities of Barye's compo-

<sup>1</sup> Inventory no. 27.121. Bronze: signed on base BARYE. H. O. 236. Several casts are preserved in various public and private collections: their number cannot be estimated. Some are numbered. The Walters Collection included two casts of the "Ape Riding a Gnu," numbered 2 and 27: *Catalogue of the Works of Antoine Louis Barye Exhibited at the American Art Galleries*, New York, November 15, 1889-January 15, 1890, p. 19, Nos. 60 and 61. Several casts were exhibited at the Barye Exhibition in 1889 at the Ecole Nationale des Beaux-Arts, *Catalogue des oeuvres de Barye*, Paris, No. 116 (Doria Collection), No. 252 (Léon Bonnat Collection). One cast is preserved in the Louvre Museum: J. Guiffrey, *La collection Thomy-Thiery au Musée du Louvre, Catalogue descriptif et historique*, Paris, 1903, p. 44. The date 1842 has been accepted by most Barye historians, including G. H. Hamilton, "The Origin of Barye's Tiger Hunt," *The Art Bulletin*, XVIII (1936), p. 250, note 7. Stanislas Lami, *Dictionnaire des sculpteurs de l'école française au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle*, I (Paris, 1914), p. 76, suggested 1840-1850. The group is titled "Monkey Riding an Antelope" (*Singe monté sur une antilope*) in Barye's printed *Catalogue des Bronzes* of 1855, No. 21. Barye's first *Catalogue*, published in 1847-1848, named the work "Orang-Outang Riding a Gnu" (*Orang-Outang monté sur un gnou*), No. 54.

<sup>2</sup> "Would you like now to be amused looking at an

entertaining ride? A fanciful Orang-Outang is straddling a gnu. He has mounted the accommodating animal and he is going parading as a handsome cavalier. However, he does not entirely trust his mount and since he is a prudent monkey, and not particularly a brave one, he is holding the tail of the gnu where it begins. This gives an amusing and rakish look to his fancy. Paraphrasing some critics of 1831, I could say: in what country did Mr. Barye see Orang-Outangs riding antelopes? I just want to ask you: Who believed that Mr. Barye had no wit?" *L'Oeuvre de Barye*, Paris, 1890, p. 89. Ballu's reference to the "critics of 1831" is not meant to suggest a date for the group: it refers to the comments of the critics who were that year particularly antagonistic to romantic sculptors.

<sup>3</sup> "He (Barye) used to select his models anywhere, at the Zoo, at traveling animal shows, from certain animal tamers to whom Delacroix, through Barye's recommendation, had access; also at the horse-market and at the dog-market. He read extensively—his culture was broad and he had opinions in literature based on a very personal and shrewd criticism—he attended classes at the Museum, he took notes on the customs of the animals, on their physiological peculiarities. . . . The *Petit-Palais* owns one of his most remarkable (drawings), the transfer in ink of the composition representing on orang-outang riding on a gnu. The drawing possesses the same fantasies as the bronze . . .," *Barye*, Paris, 1925.

sition, but also for the clearly stated references to Barye's beliefs.<sup>4</sup>

On the basis of the "Ape Riding a Gnu" only and in the absence of any information concerning the nature of Barye's zoological philosophy, one does not feel entirely safe in blindly following de Kay in his conclusions. Although Barye must have been perfectly aware of the contemporary discussions that divided zoologists Cuvier and Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire, especially over the question of the fixity or the mutation of animal species,<sup>5</sup> Barye's sympathy towards the two points referred to by de Kay: first, a "progressionist" attitude in regard to the problem of the evolution of zoological species and, secondly, a belief in the "intelligence" of the primates, does not seem as evident as is suggested by de Kay's terms—which clearly reflect a Darwinian attitude.

Rather than being used as the conclusive argument in discussing whether or not the "Ape Riding

a Gnu" fundamentally illustrates "the reign of brain which has opened a chasm between human beings and beasts," Barye's group may serve to cast some light on his still obscure artistic methods and, specifically, give evidence of his concern for and debt to the zoological literature of his time—an attitude to be expected from an artist always involved in securing the most accurate knowledge of the animals he represented.

In the case of the "Ape Riding a Gnu," Barye's direct source, both iconographical and formal, appears to have been an engraved vignette made by a specialist in zoological illustrations, Thomas Landseer, for a publication by a noted traveller, John Henry Barrow, *Characteristic Sketches of Animals, Principally in the Zoological Gardens, Regent's Park*, published in London in 1832 (fig. 2).<sup>6</sup> This vignette is explicitly described in Barrow's publication as "gnus getting rid of baboons which have mounted their backs."<sup>7</sup> More-

<sup>4</sup> "Barye was permeated with the scientific spirit of the age but his ideas were necessarily lacking in the clearness they might have gained later in the century, and the forms in which to express them were necessarily limited to those already known and at least partially accepted as beautiful by men of cultivation. He could not very well model an imaginary Missing Link, that figment of a popular misconception regarding theories of evolution. He could not even, by using his knowledge of living animals and the record of extinct forms left in the rocks, create afresh the probable appearance of former denizens of the earth whether human or not; because to do so would not be art but palaeontology. But what he did do on the less artistic side was to advance a step from the combats of wild creatures to the first faint appearance of the subjection of one beast by another for its own profit. He seems to have been thinking of man at an epoch so remote that while he was by no means a monkey, some of the traits now found in the apes had not been eliminated from his nature. He fashioned perhaps his boldest and certainly one of his least beautiful groups, the Ape Riding a Gnu.

"The gnu is an African creature which recalls on the one hand the combination of animals found in the art of peoples of Asia Minor and through them the Greeks, such as the Centaur, Chimera, Pegasus, Bucephalus; and on the other the latest doctrines of evolution; because it seems to retain the type of a creature existing in an age when the present types had not been sundered. Its head is that of an antelope, its horns and feet those of cattle, its mane, body and tail those of a horse. With some likelihood the gnu may be considered the origin of the fabled unicorn, which may have been known in Europe only through profile drawings that showed but one of its two horns, and that one apparently jutting from the brow of a slender horse.

"Barye has seized on this extraordinary figure, partly because its fine legs and flowing tail make it a graceful object, whatever may be thought of its head; and on its back he placed an ape in the act of essaying to ride. It is a large ape of the chimpanzee variety, which of all the four-handed race is closest to human beings in intelligence. The look of earnest meditation on the ape's face as he attempts this wonderful feat relieves the statuette of any suspicion of the comic. Admirable in its ape-like gravity and signs of thought, the positions of hands and feet are no less characteristic. The long arms reach with ease the tail of the gnu behind and a big lock of the mane in front, thus preventing an upset from the bucking and rearing of the surprised steed. At the same time the other pair of hands, which in us are feet, grip the barrel of the gnu firmly and prevent the ape from slipping to either side.

"We have here an object less beautiful, less terrible than the lion smiting a python or the elephant transfixing a tiger with his tusk. It is no longer strength against strength and the weaker to the wall! Here is the reign of brain which has opened that chasm between human beings and beasts, which the ancients after the birth of Christ widened beyond all reason, and which the moderns, Barye among them, have sought to properly estimate and bridge. This neglected statuette that few own and still fewer care for, is in some respects quite the most remarkable work that ever emanated from the workshop of Barye's mind." Charles de Kay, *Barye, Life and Works of Antoine Louis Barye, Sculptor*. . . ., The Barye Monument Association, New York, 1889, pp. 68-69.

<sup>5</sup> On the development of zoological sciences in France during the early and mid-nineteenth century see H. Milne Edwards, *Rapport sur les progrès récents des Sciences Zoologiques en France*, Paris, 1867, *passim*.

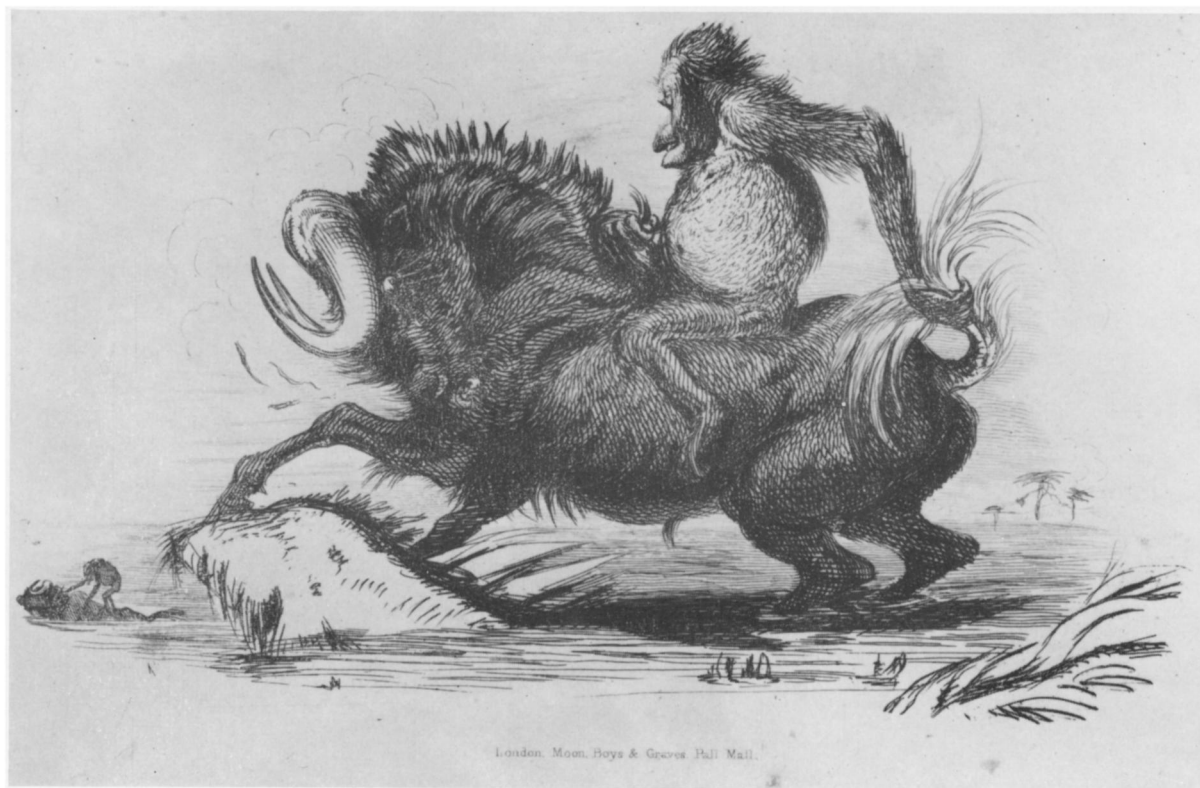


FIGURE 2

THOMAS LANDSEER

*Apes Riding Gnus*

(from J. H. Barrow, "Characteristic Sketches of Animals," 1832)

over, the drawing preserved at the Petit-Palais and mentioned by Saunier as "a tracing in ink of the composition" is the mere tracing in pen and ink on transparent paper of the composition by Landseer (fig. 3).<sup>8</sup> In fact, another drawing by Barye, "Jaguar Watching an Antelope," similarly executed in pen and ink on transparent paper and

also preserved at the Petit-Palais, is also a tracing of another vignette by Landseer published in the same book and representing, according to its title, not a jaguar but a "Puma Dropping from a Tree on a Moose-deer."<sup>9</sup>

Barye's group is quite faithful to Landseer's illustration and has accurately retained all details

<sup>6</sup> Thomas Landseer (London, 1795-1880) belonged to a dynasty of painters of animals of whom the most famous representatives were his father, John, and his brother, Edwin. Thomas engraved most of Edwin's works and only occasionally worked from his own designs: Thieme-Becker, *Allgemeines Künstler-Lexikon*, Vol. XXII, p. 305; *The Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol. XI, p. 511. On Sir John Henry Barrow (London 1764-1848), traveler and Secretary of the Admiralty, see *ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 1225-1227.

<sup>7</sup> Barrow, *Characteristic Sketches of Animals, Principally in the Zoological Gardens . . .*, London, 1832, List of Plates.

<sup>8</sup> 0, 105 mm. x 0, 130 mm. The drawing is not described in C. Gronkowski, *Palais des Beaux-Arts de la Ville de Paris, Catalogue sommaire des collections municipales*, Paris, 1927. It was reproduced by Claude Roger-Marx, "Barye, peintre et aquarelliste," *Art Vivant*, 1930, p. 688. It was included in the exhibition *Barye: Musée du Louvre*, October 1956-February 1957, under No. 175, and described as having entered the Petit-Palais collections in 1916 with the Zoubaloff bequest.

<sup>9</sup> This composition was never developed into a sculptured group. 0, 105 mm. x 0, 159 mm.; *Barye, Musée du Louvre . . .*, No. 159; G. Janneau, *La donation Jacques Zoubaloff aux Musées de France*, s.d., No. 1716.





FIGURE 3

ANTOINE LOUIS BARYE

PARIS, PETIT-PALAIS

*Apes Riding Gnus*

(Tracing of the Engraving in Figure 2) Courtesy of the Petit-Palais

of the association of the ape with the gnu, an association which, as noted by de Kay, itself deserves as much attention as does each of the two characters.

The gnu in the early nineteenth century was still a perplexing wild animal which had only recently been "catalogued" by zoologists after it had puzzled travellers in South Africa for a long time. Scientific and popular accounts had agreed in stressing the bizarreness of its parts. In 1801 John Barrow had well summarized the first views on the animal: "Nature, though regular and systematic in all her works, often puzzles and perplexes human systems, of which this animal is an instance. In the shape of its body, it evidently partakes of the horse, the ox, the stag and the antelope. . . ."<sup>10</sup> Among the zoologists, Georges Cuvier, the most prominent such figure on the European scene in 1817, was still referring to the

gnu as "a most extraordinary animal, which even seems, at first sight, a monster composed of parts of several animals . . ."<sup>11</sup> The bizarre appearance and wild behavior of the gnu found an echo in popular literature, which still quoted the description by Aelian and that by Pliny of the "Catoblepas"—the animal whose look could kill—a feature which had been recalled by Cuvier himself in his description of the gnu.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>10</sup> John Barrow, *Travels into the Interior of South Africa* . . . (1801-1804), second edition, London, Vol. 1, p. 215.

<sup>11</sup> Georges Cuvier, *Le Règne animal distribué d'après son organisation* . . . , Paris, 1817, here cited in the 1836-1849 edition, Vol. I, p. 319.

<sup>12</sup> Aelian, *On the Characteristics of Animals*, VII, 5; Pliny, *Natural History*, VIII, 32; *Le magasin pittoresque*, sixth year, 1838, "Le Gnou," unsigned article. See also, I. Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire and Frédéric Cuvier, *Histoire naturelle des mammifères*, Vol. I, Paris, 1824, n.p. The first lengthy description of the gnu was given by Charles Hamilton Smith in his additions to Georges Cuvier's *The Animal Kingdom* . . . , Vol. 4, London, 1827, pp. 366-399.

It is difficult to estimate what direct knowledge Barye could have had of the gnu, besides the image he found in Landseer's illustration and which he obviously found accurate enough to be closely imitated. Three living gnus could be seen in London in 1830 and had probably served as models for Landseer.<sup>13</sup> In Paris, one gnu was apparently living at the Ménagerie in 1801, although it is not included in Lacépède's *Description . . .* of 1804.<sup>14</sup> Accounts on the Ménagerie published around the mid-century, however, do not indicate clearly whether the gnus they mention were kept as living animals or as museum specimens.<sup>15</sup> Indeed, it does not seem that Barye had been particularly interested—or perhaps able—to study the challenging anatomy of the gnu as an example of contemporary ideas on "transformism." Nothing relates to the gnu in the numerous anatomical drawings by Barye, and among the animals Barye represented in his painted or sculptured figures or groups it appears only three times.<sup>16</sup> In contrast to his usual painstaking method of measuring each part of the body in order to master the anatomy of the animal, Barye seems in this case to have relied confidently

upon Landseer's illustration.<sup>17</sup> In fact, this illustration exemplified popular and technical accounts according to which, towards the mid-century, the gnu was progressively demythicized and related to the horse rather than to any other animal previously cited in connection with it—stag, buffalo or antelope.<sup>18</sup> Barye's most noteworthy alteration of Landseer's illustration lay in characterizing the gnu in an attitude typical of a prancing horse, its body arched and its leg raised; the ape itself has been given a more emphatic posture. Whereas Landseer's illustration had shown an extended animal, stumbling over a rock or a tree before entering the river, Barye's group, as pertinently stressed by de Kay, isolated the association of both animals in a controlled and ennobled composition which is typically that of an equestrian group.

After all, if presented with Landseer's illustration alone, the viewer might as well ask the very question de Kay posed in regard to Barye's "Ape Riding a Gnu." Indeed, so far as the meaning is concerned, the only point of the association of the ape with the gnu is provided by the caption cited above which accompanies Landseer's vig-

<sup>13</sup> *List of the Vertebrated Animals Exhibited in the Gardens of the Zoological Society of London, 1828-1927*, London, 1929, p. 277.

<sup>14</sup> "In 1801, a new hut was constructed for the gnu . . .," P.A. Cap, *Le Museum d'histoire naturelle*, Paris, 1854, p. 140, Lacépède, Cuvier and Geoffroy, *La Ménagerie du Museum, ou description des animaux . . .* Paris, 1804.

<sup>15</sup> M. Deleuze, *Histoire et description du Museum Royal d'histoire naturelle . . .*, Paris, 1833, pp. 687 and 690; P. Bernard, L. Couailhac, Gervais and Lemaout, *Le Jardin des Plantes, description . . .*, Paris, 1842, Vol. 1, p. 128.

<sup>16</sup> Charles de Kay dated as 1834 a group "Serpent with Bison or Gnu" as one of the nine groups eventually cast by Barye for the *surtout de table* which he made for the Duc d'Orléans, *op. cit.*, p. 148; G. H. Hamilton, *op. cit.*, p. 249, note 2. This group may be the "Python Catching a Gnu by the Neck" (*Serpent python saisissant un gnou à la gorge*) described as follows in the *Catalogue des Oeuvres de Barye . . . Ecole des Beaux-Arts*, 1889: "No. 247, haut. 28 cm. long. 37 cm. bronze inédit, app. à M. Léon Bonnat." From this group apparently the "Python Crushing a Gazelle" (*Serpent python enlaçant une gazelle*) may have derived: Barye, *Musée du Louvre*, No. 21, not reproduced; listed in Barye's *Catalogue des Bronzes* of 1855 under No. 149. The same *Catalogue* lists a *Gnu* as a "new model," not numbered. G. Laviron, *Le Salon de 1834*, Paris, 1834, pp. 360-361, mentioned that Barye exhibited a water-color representing "un serpent étouffant une antilope au

bord d'un étang" (Serpent crushing an antelope at a pond), a work which has not been located, C. O. Zieseniss, *Les Aquarelles de Barye*, Paris, s.d., p. 21.

<sup>17</sup> No inventory of Barye's library has been published. Although no copy of the *Characteristic Sketches . . .* is preserved at the Bibliothèque Nationale nor at the Library of the Museum d'Histoire Naturelle, drawings by members of the Landseer family were known to French artists and critics. Reviewing Barye's participation in the Exposition de la Société des Amis des Arts held at the Louvre in 1831, a critic writing in *l'Artiste*, noted that two water-colors sent by Barye "could make Landseer envious:" *cit.* by Zieseniss, *op. cit.*, p. 20 (*L'Artiste*, II, p. 177). G. H. Hamilton identified a sketch for the "Ape Riding a Gnu" in a sketchbook of Barye's kept at the Maryland Institute, Baltimore, which dates in the early 1830's; the page shows two sketches: one, an ape mounted on a horse and the other the neck and withers of a prancing horse with a suggestion of two horns which could relate it to a gnu, *op. cit.*, p. 250, note 7 (fig. 4).

<sup>18</sup> ". . . the form of the neck, tail and legs with the exception of the feet is exactly that of a small compact fleet and strong horse . . .," *The British Cyclopaedia of Natural History*, ed. by C. F. Partington, London, Vol. 1 (1835), pp. 150-151; ". . . a beard, a fetlock, a mane, and other parts of the body similar to that of a small horse with fine legs . . . When they become scared, they stamp the foot like a stubbornly disobedient horse . . .," *Dictionnaire Universel d'histoire naturelle*, ed. by Ch. d'Orbigny, Vol. 1, Paris, 1849, p. 625.



FIGURE 4

ANTOINE LOUIS BARYE  
*Sketchbook*

BALTIMORE, MARYLAND INSTITUTE OF ART

(Sketches Related to the Theme of Figure 1) Courtesy of the Maryland Institute, College of Art

nette. However, neither in Barrow's *Travels into the Interior of South Africa*, nor in his text for the *Characteristic Sketches* do we find any allusion to the reported association between the two animals; nor is there any allusion to it in the common technical or popular literature on both animals.

It may be stressed that the character of Landseer's illustration is that of an anecdote, a "genre scene," and if one considers the date of its publication, 1832 at the latest, one is not inclined to explain it in the light of ideas reflecting a "scien-

tific" attitude. Landseer's subject can only refer to allusions constantly repeated in art and literature concerning the anthropomorphic behavior and mimetic virtues of the apes—allusions very different from the speculations and experiments on the "intelligence" of the primates which were carried on not prior to the second half of the nineteenth century.<sup>19</sup> Since modern zoologists are not inclined to accept the represented association of the ape with the gnu as a natural means of locomotion of the adult baboon,<sup>20</sup> Landseer's illustration reflects a

<sup>19</sup> Milne Edwards, *op. cit.*, *passim*; R. M. and A. W. Yerkes, *The Great Apes, A Study of Anthropoid Life*, New Haven—London, 1929, *passim*.

<sup>20</sup> K. R. L. Hall and I. de Vore, "Baboon Social Behaviour," in *Primate Behaviour, Field Studies of Monkeys and Apes*, ed. by I. de Vore, New York, 1965, pp. 53-110.

"traditional" way of thinking, clearly unconcerned with scientific beliefs. One cannot deny, however, Barye's intense interest in this association and his success in transforming Landseer's illustration into a highly challenging zoological drama. Thus, although the exact nature of Barye's intentions remains unexplained, they are in any case closer to

early nineteenth-century thinking and especially to Lamarck's ideas on organic changes and Lamarck's consequent hypothesis on the "supremacy" of quadrumanous races<sup>21</sup> than they are to de Kay's conclusions, penetrated as they are with extrapolated Darwinism.

<sup>21</sup> "Let us now suppose that a quadrumanous race, say the most perfect, acquired through constant habit among its individuals the conformation just described, and the faculty of standing and walking upright, and that ultimately it gained the supremacy over the other races of animals, we can easily conceive . . . that this predominant race, having acquired an absolute supremacy over all the rest, will ultimately establish a difference between itself and the most perfect animals, and indeed will leave them far behind . . . The most perfect of the quadrumanous races might thus have become dominant;

have changed its habits as a result of the absolute sway exercised over the others, and of its new wants; have progressively acquired modifications in its organization, and many new faculties; have kept back the most perfect of the other races to the condition that they had reached; and have wrought very striking distinctions between these last and themselves," "Some Observations in Regard to Man," in J. B. P. A. Lamarck, *Philosophie Zoologique ou Exposition des considérations relatives à l'histoire naturelle des animaux*, Paris, 1809, Vol. 1, pp. 350-352, transl. by H. Elliot, London, 1914, pp. 170-171.



FIGURE 1

MARIOTTO DI NARDO  
*Saints Lawrence, Christopher, Sebastian and a Bishop Saint*

WALTERS ART GALLERY

# STUDIES ON ITALIAN PAINTINGS

By FEDERICO ZERI

Rome

## AN ADDITION TO MARIOTTO DI NARDO

A small panel in the Walters Art Gallery depicting four saints on a gold background (fig. 1) was formerly in the Massarenti Collection in Rome, attributed to Giotto. Bernard Berenson rightly recognized it as the work of Mariotto di Nardo.<sup>1</sup> Standing side by side, the four figures suggest—because of their hieratic pose and the cadence of their placement—a rhythmical sequence which indicates that the work was executed under the spell of the late Gothic style. The elongated proportions too, emphasized by the vertical lines of the palm tree in the hands of St. Christopher, and of the staff held by the bishop, add to the effect of an almost monodic phrase. The gold ground becomes here a sort of flat and clear background against which are projected the polychromed figures painted as if carved in high relief.

For the student of iconography, the saint on the extreme right, dressed as a bishop and holding an inscribed book in his hand,<sup>2</sup> offers a problem difficult of solution. Also, it must be noted that in the case of St. Christopher, the importance of

his traditional attribute of water is such that the marble paving on which the other figures stand is interrupted so that the saint may appear with his iconographic paraphernalia complete. But for the philologist this painting poses the question of its original use and position. The Walters panel might well have been a single picture, that is, a small image to be used for private devotion. Although a certain symmetrical balance dividing the four figures into two groups seems to suggest this solution (which, after all, is the simplest), the recent appearance in a London auction room of three hitherto unknown paintings gives a much more definite answer to the problem and establishes that the Walters picture is part of a more extended work.

In the anonymous sale at Christie's on January 29, 1965, lot 80 was composed of three small paintings on panel, all framed as one single item. Their size (overall, 9¾ x 36 inches), their subjects, their composition and ornamental details reveal at first glance that the imprecise label of "Italian school" under which they were catalogued

<sup>1</sup>Walters Art Gallery, no. 37.746. Panel, H. 10½; W. 11 11/16 in. (26.6 x 29.7 cm.) Formerly attributed to Giotto (Walters Collection, *Catalogue*, 1909) and later to Niccolò di Pietro Gerini (Walters Collection, *Catalogue*, 1929). The attribution to Mariotto di Nardo, first published by Bernard Berenson, *Italian Pictures of the Renaissance*, Oxford, 1932, p. 330, and reaffirmed in his list of 1936 (*Pitture italiane del Rinascimento*), p. 293, and that in his *Italian Pictures of the Renaissance*

. . . *Florentine School*, London, 1963, p. 129, was first suggested verbally by Richard Offner in 1925.

<sup>2</sup>See P. Verdier, catalogue of the exhibition, *The International Style*, Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, 1962, p. 19, no. 18. Mr. Verdier has suggested that the bishop may be Sant'Apollinaris, Bishop of Ravenna, to whom a church in Florence was dedicated. He has also read the inscription in the book as "Jamq[ue] su[btus] rudibus p[er] itu[rus] dura antistes arte."





FIGURE 2

MARIOTTO DI NARDO

LOCATION UNKNOWN

*Saints Apollonia, Ursula, Catherine of Alexandria and Lucy*

and auctioned can be easily corrected to the precise attribution to Mariotto di Nardo, and that they belong to the same complex as the Walters panel (figs. 2, 3, 4).<sup>3</sup>

Judging from the subjects, there are good reasons to believe that the panel showing four female saints (fig. 2) was originally the exact pendant to that from which our research started; in it well defined attributes allow us to recognize, from left to right, Apollonia, Ursula, Catherine of Alexandria and Lucy. The two other panels are less easy to interpret. The first (fig. 3) shows a

bishop saint, followed by Nicholas of Bari, Clement the Pope, and John the Evangelist; the second (fig. 4), apart from John the Baptist, includes three more bishops whose exact identities are elusive, unless the books they carry in their

<sup>3</sup> A sticker on the back of one of the panels indicates that in the late nineteenth century the series belonged to Capt. G. Fenwick. The size of the three panels is respectively, H. 10 7/16, W. 11 3/4 in. (female saints); H. 10 7/16, W. 11 9/16 in. (St. John the Evangelist); H. 10 7/16, W. 11 9/16 in. (St. John the Baptist).

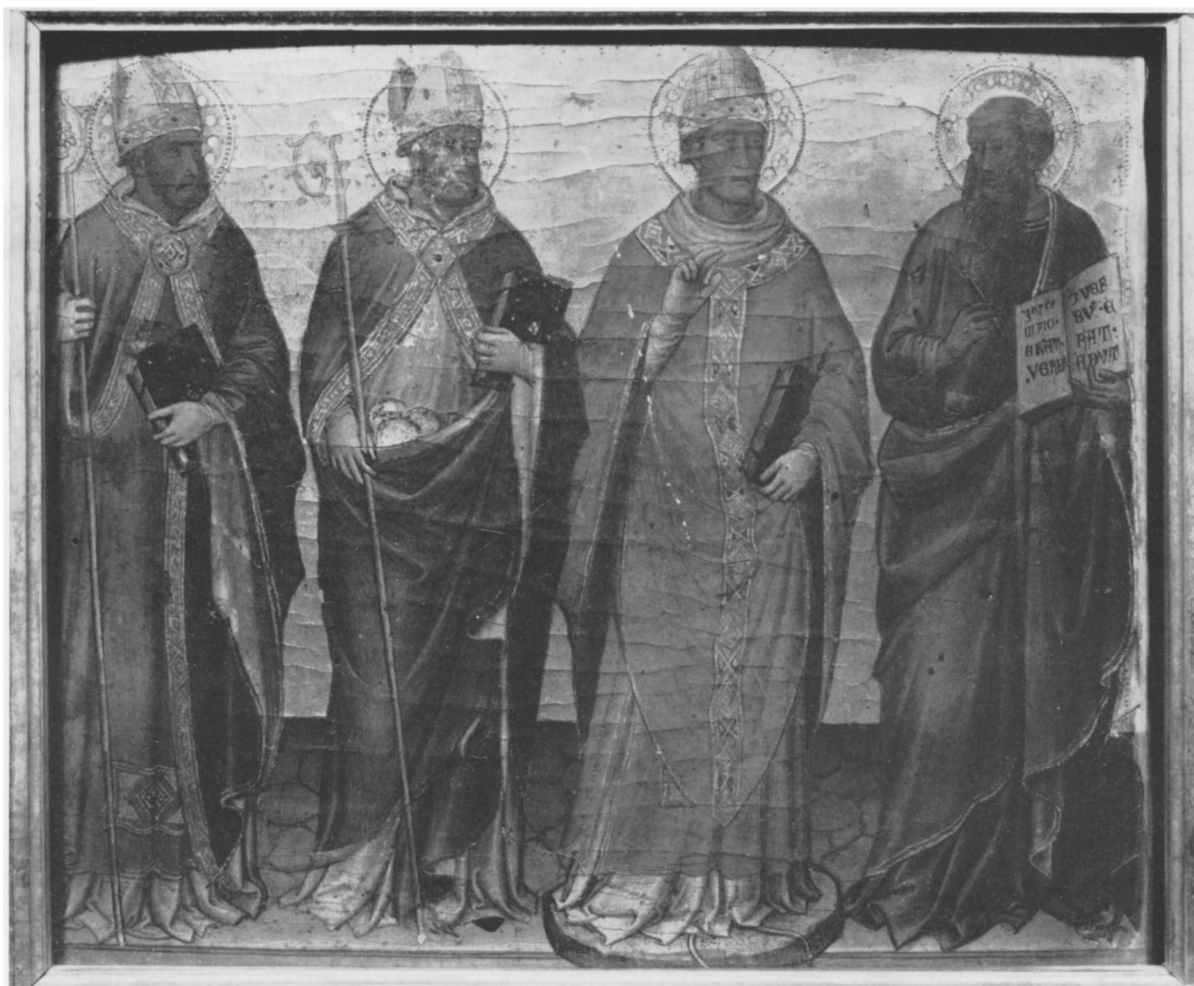


FIGURE 3

MARIOTTO DI NARDO

LOCATION UNKNOWN

*A Bishop Saint and Saints Nicholas, Clement and John the Evangelist*

hands indicate three of the Fathers of the Western Church—which would make the figure, also with a book, in the preceding panel, the fourth one. Whether this is so or not, there is no doubt that in the intention of the artist the two St. Johns were to be symmetrical and placed on either side of a center now missing. And this is exactly what a closer examination of the three panels from the London auction room and of that in the Walters Gallery has revealed. Once unframed, there is visible on the back a very well preserved painted decoration, exceedingly simple both in

pattern and coloring. It consists of a sort of frame which runs all along the outer edge of the surface on three sides of each panel; and it is very clear that this frame included originally two compartments, one placed above the other and painted on a single panel. Thus, when the wood was cut to separate the two rows of saints, each one of the new pieces was without the painted border on one side of the back. A close examination of the wood has also proved beyond any doubt that one of the original panels showed the compartment with St. John the Evangelist

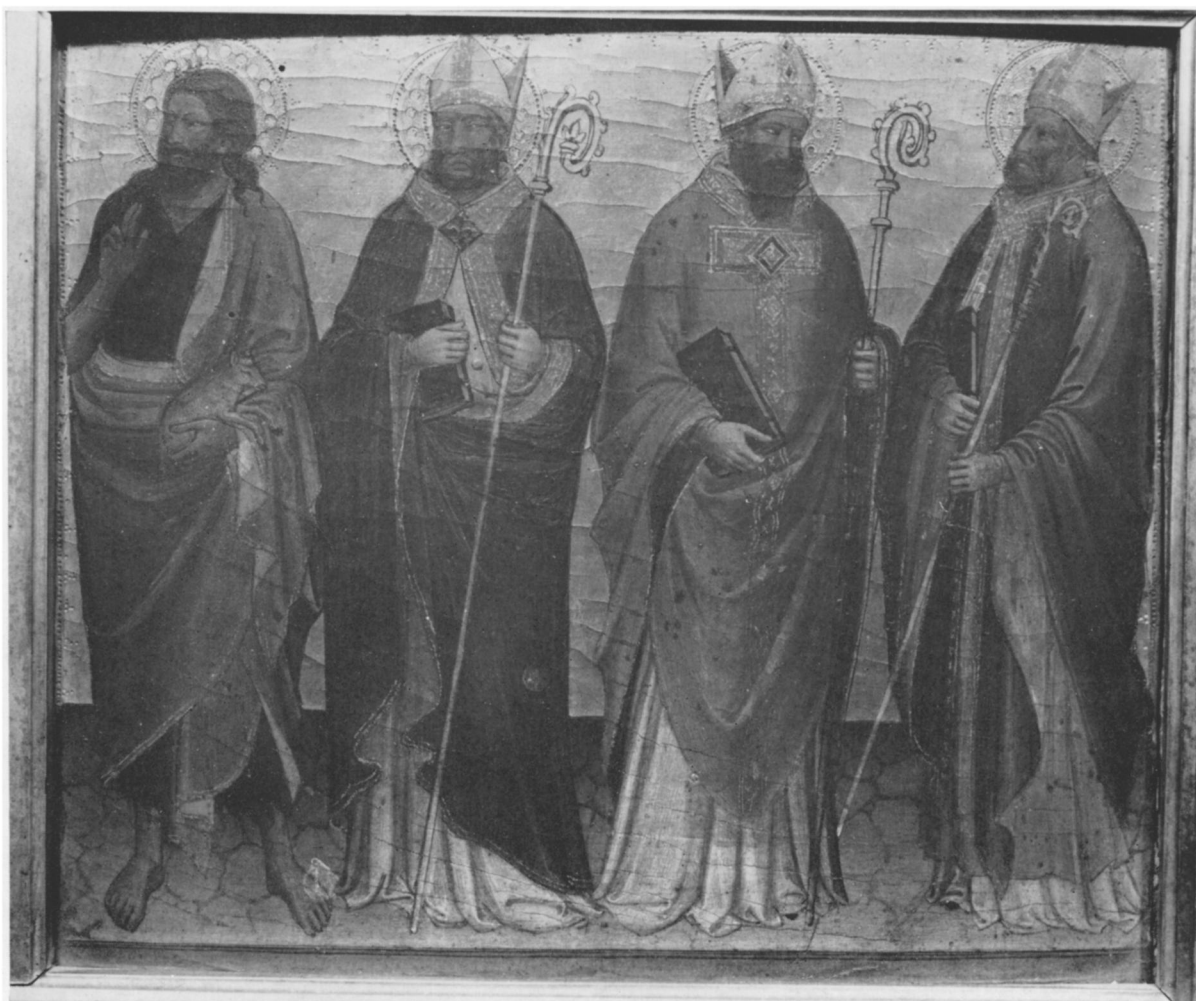


FIGURE 4

LOCATION UNKNOWN

MARIOTTO DI NARDO  
*Saint John the Baptist and Three Bishop Saints*

above the one with the four female saints. Needless to say, the compartment with St. John the Baptist occupied the upper portion of the panel of which the lower half was the Walters picture.

The fact that the two panels were rectangular, and that they had a painted framing on the back, excludes the possibility of their belonging to a large altarpiece. Evidently they were the shutters either of a tabernacle containing a crucifix or other wooden sculpture, or of a reliquary. The newly discovered pictures show very clear hinge-marks

which occur along the edges near the two St. Johns and near St. Lucy; the traces of a gilt and embossed frame run along the outer borders, as well as between the two superimposed scenes.

Listing the Walters picture under the name of Mariotto di Nardo, Berenson called it an early work. This is confirmed by the recovery of the other portions of the series. We have already remarked the evident rhythm of the composition, and it must now be pointed out that all four panels, although showing a close link with Niccolò

di Pietro Gerini, are also strongly related to the neo-Giottesque revival of the 1380's, and especially to Agnolo Gaddi. This will appear very

piece and now arranged as a single picture, which has been lent to the museum in Göttingen from the storeroom of the museum in Berlin (fig. 5). The connection is so close that one wonders whether Mariotto did not in fact base his figure upon the model of Gaddi; if so, the four panels here illustrated must be considered among Mariotto's very early works, possibly still from the late 1380's.

\* \* \* \* \*

## A PREDELLA BY GIACOMO PACCHIAROTTO

Among the minor works of the Italian Renaissance owned by the Walters Art Gallery is a small Crucifixion (fig. 6) that entered the collection of Henry Walters in 1902, with the acquisition of the paintings from the collection of Don Marcello Massarenti.<sup>1</sup> A recent cleaning has revealed its satisfactory condition, and, except for a horizontal crack through the top of the arch which frames the scene and through the ornaments surrounding it, no major damage has been found. The critical history of this brilliant panel is very short and starts with the attribution to Marco degli Ambrosi, alias Melozzo da Forlì, in the catalogue of the Massarenti collection.<sup>2</sup> Although Bernard Berenson had corrected this attribution as early as 1900 to the Sienese Giacomo Pacchiarotto, the name of the Romagnole painter was still kept in the Walters catalogue of 1909, to be changed to the present one only in 1929.<sup>3</sup>



FIGURE 5 GOETTINGEN MUSEUM  
AGNOLO GADDI  
*Deacon Saint (detail)*

clear when one compares the figure of Saint Lawrence in the Walters panel (fig. 1) with that of a deacon saint (possibly also St. Lawrence) by Agnolo Gaddi, which appears in a series of four saints taken from the framework of some altar-

<sup>1</sup> Walters Art Gallery no. 37.622. Panel, H. 14 15/16; W. 10 11/16 in. (38.0 x 27.2 cm.).

<sup>2</sup> Massarenti catalogue: E. van Esbroeck et al., *Catalogue du Musée de peinture, sculpture, et archéologie au Palais Accoramboni*, Rome, 1897, no. 88, as "Melozzo da Forlì."

<sup>3</sup> Bernard Berenson, *The Central Italian Painters of the Renaissance*, 3rd impression, New York, 1900, p.

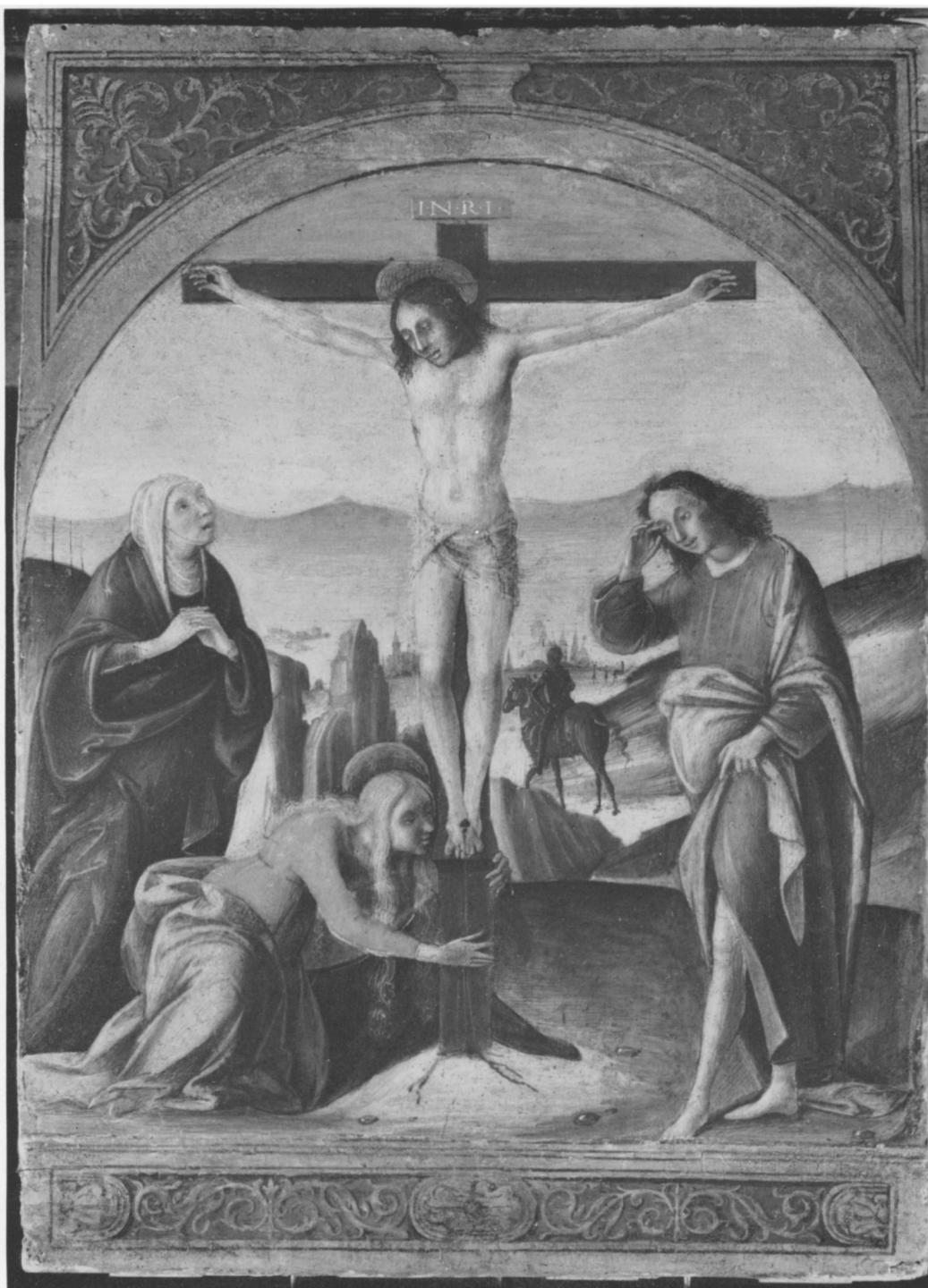


FIGURE 6

GIACOMO PACCHIAROTTO  
*The Crucifixion*

WALTERS ART GALLERY

A close examination of the panel may leave some doubt about its original destination, because there are no hints as to whether it was a single picture or if it rather belonged to a major complex. However, it is obvious that its present size is no longer the original one, and that, at least in the painted frame, it must have included a larger surface which later on was cut and reduced. In fact, along the left border, not far from the beginning of the painted arch, one still sees the remains of a horizontal entablature. Thus, one is allowed to presume that the scene was flanked on either side by small pilasters and that the dimensions of the panel were greater at least in width. But if the direct examination of the Walters painting leads to no further conclusion, study of the *oeuvre* of Pacchiarotto gives a precise answer. The Walters Crucifixion is in fact the central member of a predella of which it is possible to trace the other fragments.

To the Charles Butler collection in London belonged four small panels representing the Nativity with Saint Catherine of Alexandria (fig. 7), the Baptism of Christ (fig. 8), the Resurrection (fig. 9), and, finally, the Pentecost (fig. 10). The earliest mention of this series that I have been able to find is of 1894, when the four paintings were shown in the Winter Exhibition of the Royal Academy in London.<sup>4</sup> Later, in the 1909 edition of Berenson's *Central Italian Painters*, they figure in the list of Giacomo Pacchiarotto.<sup>5</sup> However, the exact date at which they left the Butler collection is unknown. They do not appear in the two Butler sales of 1911 and one is tempted to believe that they were sold privately, entering the collection of J. P. Morgan. They seem never to have been brought to the United States or to have left England. In 1944 they reappeared at an

anonymous sale at Christie's in London.<sup>6</sup> Their present whereabouts is unknown to me, but I have proof that, after many peregrinations through the art market in London, the series was split. One of the panels, the Pentecost, was for sale in Rome around 1950, and turned up again later in an auction in Milan.<sup>7</sup>

One need not bother the reader with a long demonstration of the precise correspondence which exists between the four Butler panels and the Walters one. Not only the size<sup>8</sup> and the framing recur with the most convincing precision; even the horizontal crack which has slightly damaged the Walters panel at the top of the arch is to be found in all the other pictures, as can be seen in the reproductions, where restorations appear clearly. Thus, one can assume that the five scenes were painted on a single piece of wood, and that when they were cut apart the little painted pilasters in the intervals were lost, so that their existence is demonstrated only by the traces which can still be seen in the Walters Crucifixion, in the Resurrection and in the Pentecost. Since the spaces between the various scenes have been lost, it is difficult to establish the original width of the entire predella, which in any case could not have been less than 140 centimeters. But this size may have been much greater, if, as is possible, the small pilasters between the various scenes included figures of saints, as is frequent in the works of several Siennese painters, and as must have occurred in some work of Pacchiarotto too. The three small panels with saints by Pacchiarotto now in the Parry collection at Highnam Court near Gloucester, for example, are to be identified with the remains of a predella and not of a frame.

In seeking the altarpiece to which the Walters-Butler predella belonged, there are no external

160, as Pacchiarotto; the same attribution occurs in *Italian Pictures of the Renaissance*, Oxford, 1932, p. 406, and in *Pitture italiane del Rinascimento*, Milan, 1936, p. 349. The panel has also been given to Pacchiarotto by Richard Offner (verbally, 1925), by C. Brandi in *Thieme-Becker*, XXVI, Leipzig, 1932, p. 115, and by R. van Marle, *The Development of the Italian Schools of Painting*, XVI, The Hague, 1937, p. 501.

<sup>4</sup> Royal Academy, Winter Exhibition, Burlington House, London, 1894, nos. 159 (Nativity), 160 (Bap-

tism), 162 (Resurrection), 163 (Pentecost).

<sup>5</sup> B. Berenson, *The Central Italian Painters of the Renaissance*, New York, 1909, p. 213.

<sup>6</sup> Anonymous sale, Christie's, London, October 6, 1944, lot 74.

<sup>7</sup> Finarte sale, Milan, October 29, 1964, lot 16.

<sup>8</sup> The size of the four Butler panels is 14¾ by 10¼ inches each (37.5 x 26 cm.) for the Nativity, the Baptism and the Resurrection, and 14 15/16 by 11 inches (38 x 28 cm.) for the Pentecost.



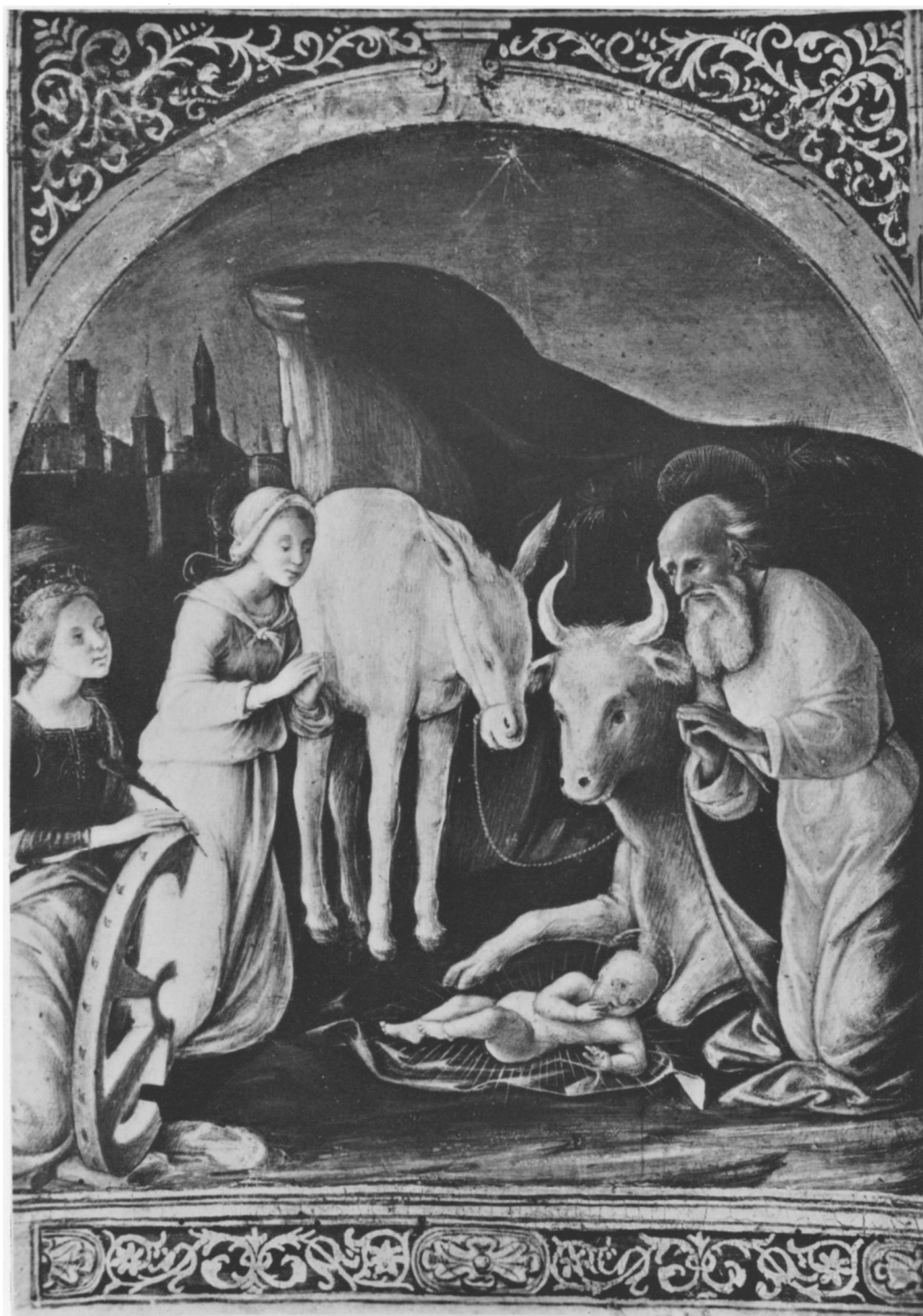


FIGURE 7

LOCATION UNKNOWN

GIACOMO PACCHIAROTTO  
*The Nativity, with Saint Catherine of Alexandria*



FIGURE 8

GIACOMO PACCHIAROTTO  
*The Baptism of Christ*

LOCATION UNKNOWN

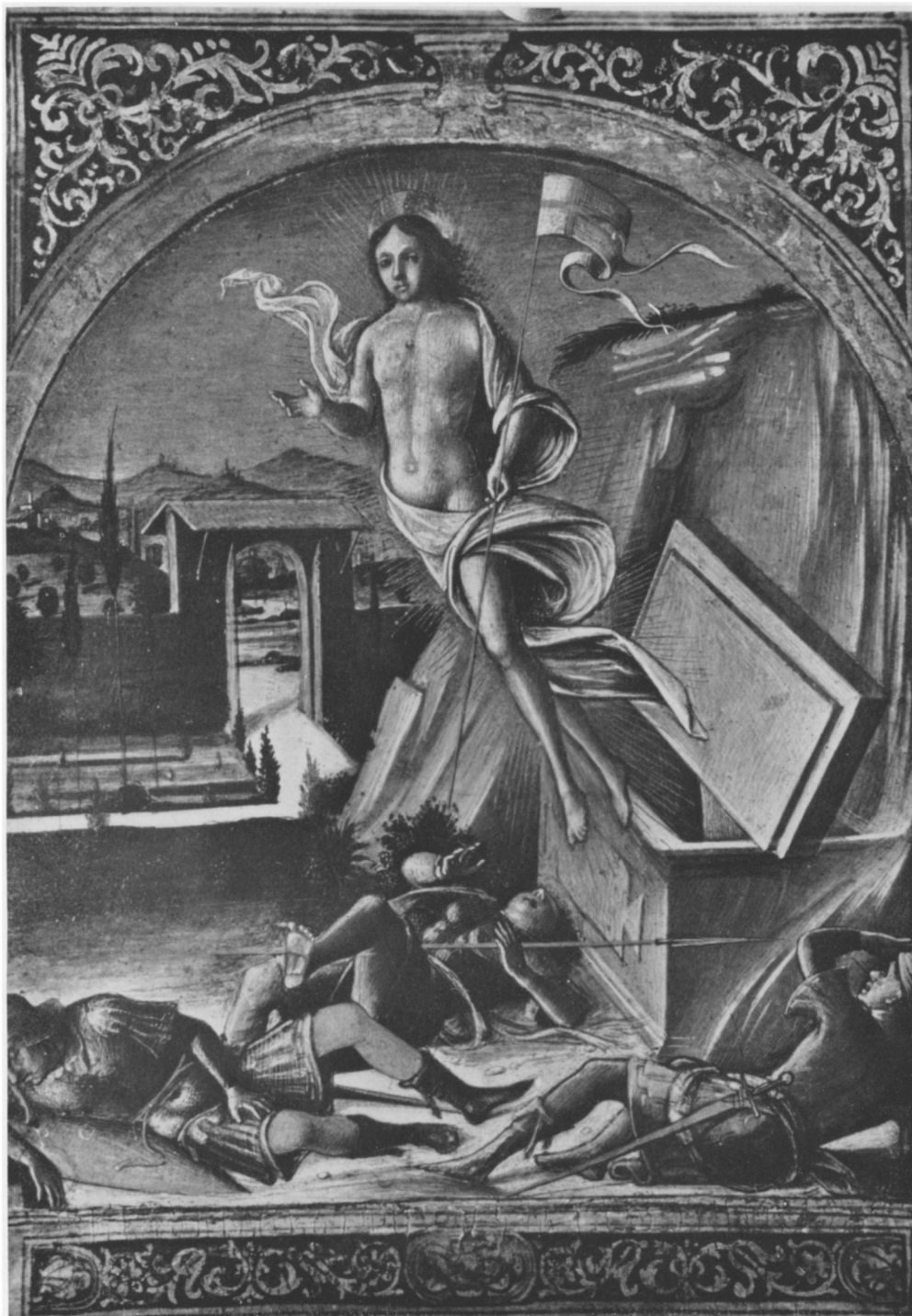


FIGURE 9

GIACOMO PACCHIAROTTO  
*The Resurrection*

LOCATION UNKNOWN



FIGURE 10

GIACOMO PACCHIAROTTO  
*The Pentecost*

LOCATION UNKNOWN

elements to follow, at least until we are certain of the full extent of the series; though the predella seems to be reconstructed now in its main features. On the other hand, it is not possible to trace the altarpiece on the basis of internal elements, because the subjects of the five predella panels are rather common and do not offer a specific iconographical clue. Stylistic comparison, too, would be useless, because Pacchiarotto's formal development shows very little sensible change during his long career. Once his style was formed, it did not undergo new cultural experiences; and, finally, we must remember that the entire *oeuvre* of Giacomo Pacchiarotto lacks any documentary dating. However, the reader will not fail to observe that some of the five scenes reveal, here and there, a use of chiaroscuro much more pro-

nounced than is usual in the artist's work. The angel on the left in the Baptism and the three warriors tumbling on the ground in the Resurrection are imbued with strong passages from light to shadow which, in all probability, reflect a knowledge of Sodoma, if not that of Beccafumi. This would suggest a dating certainly not earlier than the end of the first decade of the Cinquecento. Otherwise the types and the grammar are utterly Sienese of the late fifteenth century, and their main roots derive from Matteo di Giovanni, Liberale da Verona and Girolamo da Cremona. The echo of the two northern artists explains the peculiar appearance of the background in the Walters Crucifixion, where the fantastic rocks and the warrior on horseback have a north Italian touch, almost Paduan or Ferrarese.

\* \* \* \* \*

## A PANEL BY LORENZO COSTA, ITS MEANING AND ITS COMPANION PIECES

The panel painting illustrated in figure 11 stands among the best-known fifteenth-century pictures in the collection of the Walters Art Gallery,<sup>1</sup> but its precise meaning has remained obscure and the suggested interpretations are not satisfactory. Bought by Henry Walters between 1910 and 1911 in Italy or in France, the picture was listed in the early catalogues of the collection as a work of the so-called Ercole Grandi, following the opinion of Bernard Berenson, who had advised Mr. Walters on the purchase. Later, however, Berenson gave it to Ercole de' Roberti, while another scholar of Ferrarese painting, Sergio Ortolani, thought that the panel could not be related to the Ferrarese milieu, proposing instead to study

it in connection with paintings from Padua or Verona.<sup>2</sup>

That the picture is Ferrarese seems more than certain. The very type of architecture which echoes the repertory of Leon Battista Alberti and precisely that of his activity in Ferrara (especially in the motive of the columns detached from the wall supporting a heavy architrave) is most telling. As for the figures, they clearly show the types of Ercole de' Roberti, as may be recognized in the physiognomies, in the rhythm of the composition and also in certain particular motives, as for instance, in the woman with the child on the left, certainly derived from an episode in the predella by Roberti which was formerly in the

<sup>1</sup> Walters Art Gallery, no. 37.476. Panel, H. 17 11/16 in.; W. 17 5/16 in. (44.9 x 44.0 cm.). Formerly attributed to Ercole Grandi (Walters Collection, *Catalogue*, 1929).

<sup>2</sup> Bernard Berenson, *Italian Pictures of the Renaissance*, Oxford, 1932, p. 484, and *Pitture italiane del Rinascimento*, Milan, 1936, p. 416, as "Ercole Roberti, A Court Scene"; S. Ortolani, *Cosmè Tura, Francesco del Cossa, Ercole de' Roberti*, Milan, 1941, p. 200, pl. 198.





FIGURE 11

LORENZO COSTA  
*Court of Judgment*

WALTERS ART GALLERY



Griffoni chapel in the Church of San Petronio in Bologna and is now in the Vatican Gallery.<sup>3</sup> Despite these points, it is impossible to suggest Roberti as the author of the panel. The quality

here is not that of this very great master, and the stylistic characteristics are those of a close follower who, though adhering to the model, dilutes Roberti's sharp strength into a sort of sweetness not free of an academic touch.

Recently Roberto Longhi has again taken up the examination of the painting, suggesting for it the name of the Ferrarese Lorenzo Costa; and with this opinion we perfectly agree. In fact, every detail points towards the early period of Costa, which he spent in Bologna, in the circle of Giovanni II Bentivoglio; and comparison with other works that he painted at this time shows that the most likely dating must be around 1488, as Longhi himself has suggested.<sup>4</sup> The same scholar has put forward an important contribution to the problem of the Walters panel by publishing another work which, without any doubt, belongs to the same series. This is a painting which around 1945 was on the Florentine art market and which, more recently, was in New York at M. Knoedler & Co. (fig. 13). The perfect correspondence of style and of architectural setting, as well as in the height of the panel,<sup>5</sup> makes superfluous any long discussion about its relationship; but the discovery of the new scene poses the question of the meaning of the entire series. In regard to this, Bernard Berenson, knowing only the Walters picture, had left the subject under a rather vague denomination, calling it "A Court Scene." In fact, the Walters panel shows two elderly men seated on a sort of raised marble tribunal; their gestures in the symbolic repertoire of classical and renaissance times are not those of command or of authority. Rather, the man on the left with his raised hand seems to indicate an affirmation of principle, recalling with the extended forefinger the strength of a superior law; and his attitude is



FIGURE 12

MOSCOW, PUSHKIN MUSEUM

LORENZO COSTA  
*Fragment*

<sup>3</sup> See Ortolani, *op. cit.*, pl. 138. It is curious to observe that a similar motive of the woman with the child, but seen from the front instead of from the back, appears in another work by Roberti, the famous predella formerly in the church of S. Giovanni del Monte in Bologna, and now in the Gallery in Dresden (see Ortolani, *op. cit.*, p. 178).

<sup>4</sup> R. Longhi, *Officina Ferrarese*, Florence, 1956, p. 182, pl. 425.

<sup>5</sup> H. 18; W. 24 in. (45.6 x 61 cm.).



FIGURE 13

LORENZO COSTA  
*The Stoning of the Elders*

ART MARKET

evidently matched with the question posed by the soldier at the right. The other old man with his hand extended in a gesture of benignity gives his attention to the group of figures at the left, where, with a symptomatic selection, the painter has represented a young woman with a naked child, an old woman and another figure dressed in a costume which today we would call bourgeois, but which very likely indicated the upper social strata. Thus the meaning of the Baltimore panel is a scene of judgment in a law court; and its calm sharply contrasts with the other element of the series where the same two elderly men appear undressed, while a soldier is still tying them to a column and two ruffians are stoning them.

In publishing the second panel, R. Longhi interpreted the subject of the two scenes as related to the two martyr saints Felix and Nabor. Known particularly as protectors of the towns of Milan and Lodi, their iconological fortune has sometimes reached the region of Emilia and the town of Bologna—that is, the same place where, apparently, these pictures were executed. After reconsidering this matter, however, the solution suggested by Longhi does not appear convincing, and for a number of reasons. First of all, Felix and Nabor were Roman soldiers in the army of the Emperor Maximianus Herculeus. Neither the age nor the garments of the two old men represented here seem to fit what we would expect in their

representation. Second, the various accounts of their martyrdom relate that they were held in a dungeon, beaten, tortured on the rack, burned, and finally beheaded before the gates of Lodi; but, as far as we know, there is no indication that they were stoned, and no suggestions that they had ever acted as judges in a law court.

On the other hand, the problem does not seem so obscure, once we bear in mind that the stoning of two elderly men is always related, in renaissance painting, to the story of Susannah and the Elders, taken from the Apocrypha of the Old Testament, and once associated with the Book of Daniel. If this identification is suggested by the panel with the stoning, the companion piece in the Walters Gallery seems to confirm such an interpretation perfectly. In fact, the history of Susannah clearly relates that the two old men who attacked her chastity and who later were discovered and put to death had been appointed to be judges (*History of Susannah*, 5, 16, 62). If such an interpretation is the right one, the conclusion is that the series was composed of three scenes, the one now in Baltimore in the center, the stoning of the two elders on the right, and the episode of Susannah and the Elders, now missing, on the left. Such a sequence would emphasize not only the three main points of the history of Susannah, but especially its moral meaning, insofar as it would

put in the central focus the scene of the law court, with all its implications. On the other hand, it is not clear whether the series was painted on a single long panel or, rather, on three different panels, separated by frames. What is sure is that the left section of the entire series can be traced only partially. In the Pushkin Museum in Moscow a small panel attributed to an anonymous Italian painter of the fifteenth century (fig. 12) is evidently cut from a larger composition.<sup>6</sup> Its height is close to that of the other panels; in the background the architectural elements correspond exactly with those in the other two pictures and the little glimpse of landscape proves that the panel to which the Moscow fragment belonged must have been the exact pendant to the scene placed on the extreme right. The Moscow fragment also serves to confirm the subject of the entire series; it was evidently sawed off the original panel because the two figures were extraneous to the scene of Susannah being assaulted in her bath by the two elders, whereas in the whole series they functioned as compositional and narrative liaison between the episodes.

<sup>6</sup> Pushkin Museum, Moscow, no. 2692, catalogue, 1961, p. 88, as "Italian Master, fifteenth century." H. 18½; W. 6 11/16 in. (47 x 17 cm.).

the  
Walters  
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